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**Nineteenth-Century Irish Fiction: Irish Identity, O'Connell and the
Transnational**

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Submitted to the University of Ireland, Galway, September 2014

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my mother Kathleen, father Gerry, brothers Sean and Gerard, and my sister Caitriona.

My gratitude is to Nicholas Allen for his guidance, challenges, positivity, humour, and direction.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis represents original work and has not been submitted, in whole or part, by me or another person, for the purpose of obtaining any other qualification.

Signed: _____

Date: 29/09/2014

Summary of Contents:

This project contributes an analysis of the representation of Irish identity in the novel post-Catholic Emancipation (1829) to the turn of the twentieth century. The thesis focuses on the works of Gerald Griffin, William Carleton, and George Moore. The construction of Irish identity by the authors and O'Connell is focused on the use of transnationalist elements. The main theme is the transnational and anti-transnational response in fiction to the construction of Irish identity in politics, literature, and culture particularly the image propagated by Daniel O'Connell's political narratives. Additionally, a chief interest of Irish fiction post-Catholic Emancipation was a satirical treatment of the political culture. The spectre of Daniel O'Connell features heavily in the satire. In turn, both the authors and O'Connell are portrayed in a nationalist vein in the *Freeman's Journal*. The narratives of O'Connell's politics have a role in the political manufacturing of these authors' images in newspapers. The transnational identity of the O'Connell and Moore family provides a context for the transnationalist narratives created by the authors and politicians. The response of Moore to his father's politics and the narratives of Catholicism in Irish culture showcase Moore's knowledge of the European novel. The reconfiguration of Irish tenant and landlord character moulds throughout the work of Griffin, Carleton, and Moore's fiction is framed within the evolution of Irish satire in the nineteenth century. Newspapers are used to trace the available narratives of political and transnational clout which are present in Irish satire. Pointedly, political satire whether in literary or political narratives, offer a transnational dimension to Irish identity. Consequently, the far-reaching transnational legacy of Daniel O'Connell, as his narratives of Irish identity reverberated throughout the nineteenth century, modifies in representation in fiction, newspapers, and criticism as the requirements of Irish identity changed. Furthermore, the focus of this thesis is to branch out from the hereto defined historical

narratives of the Catholic and Anglo-Irish novel. This is achieved through detailing the nuanced transnational characters that the authors used to construct Irish identity beyond the confines of a relation to the British Empire.

Table of Contents

Summary of Contents.....	
Introduction.....	p. 1.
Chapter 1: The Transnationalism of Daniel O’Connell.....	p. 33.
Chapter 2: Gerald Griffin and Daniel O’Connell: Constructing identity in a changing Society.....	p. 79.
Chapter 3: William Carleton: Politics, Narrative, and Ulysses....	p. 115.
Chapter 4: G.H. Moore: The shift away from O’Connell.....	p. 167.
Chapter 5: A Rebellious Transnationalism: Reinventing the Traditional Novel	p. 215.
Conclusion.....	p. 247.
Bibliography.....	p. 261.

Introduction:

A Changing Society

Ireland in the early part of the nineteenth century was changing rapidly due to altering economic and social structures. The expanding nature of Irish industry in the late eighteenth century was created by the ports of Cork, Dublin, and Belfast.¹ Protective tariffs ensured that the business of importing and exporting was maintained. The population of Dublin increased by 50% from 1750 to the end of the century.² The citizenry of Ireland numbered 2.5 million in 1767 and rose to over 4 million in 1781.³ By the beginning of the nineteenth century the population was 5 million. Fifty years later 800,000 people died in the Famine of 1845 to 1851.⁴ The frequency of marriage dropped and the marriage age rose.⁵ Daniel O’Connell, Gerald Griffin, William Carleton and the Moore Family were products of this hastily changing population and culture. They were intellectuals trying to capture and shape a changing identity through narrative.

David George Boyce in *Nineteenth-century Ireland: the search for stability* wrote of the advent of the Catholicity of Irish identity as organised and directed by Daniel O’Connell.⁶ For Boyce, this religious fulcrum at the heart of Irish nationalist identity made O’Connell a more important figure than republicans or separatists. Boyce emphasised the multiplicity of

¹ Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland before the famine, 1798-1848* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1972.) p. 4.

² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴ Joseph Lee, *The modernisation of Irish society, 1848-1918* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1989) p. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.3.

⁶ David George Boyce, *Nineteenth-century Ireland: the search for stability*. (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2005) p. 132.

O’Connell’s nationalism and viewed O’Connell’s ambition for government as tied to performance rather than severance from Great Britain. The political aspiration was the improvement of Irish society and life, coupled with the removal of the Protestant stranglehold on political and economic power.⁷

Catholic Emancipation gathered clout as a campaign, led by Daniel O’Connell, in 1823.⁸ A transformation in British public opinion alongside the work of O’Connell’s Catholic Association resulted in the success of Emancipation in 1829.⁹ The Emancipation of the Catholics was a historical milestone that set in motion a shift in the feudal nature of Irish society. Emancipation concerned removing and lessening the constricting laws surrounding the rights of Roman Catholics.¹⁰ The removal of the penal

⁷ Kevin Whelan’s *The Tree of Liberty* maps the emergence of various events and institutions such as Maynooth College, The Orange Order, separatism, loyalism, and popular republicanism in the 1790s which redefined relations between Ireland & Britain (Whelan, p. i.). Burgeoning pressure on Protestants in terms of leases was reflected in the notices against Catholics bidding for leases. Whelan traces this to the areas of Oulart and Blackwater after the rebellion of 1798. In the 1820s and 1830s Catholicism was gaining power and Protestants were beginning to feel uncomfortable: ‘As an agonised Protestant observed to the French traveller Alexis de Tocqueville: ‘They want to put us in the position of a conquered people, in which we long held them. That is what we are not able to endure.’ Kevin Whelan, *The Tree of Liberty: Radicalism, Catholicism and the Construction of Irish Identity, 1760-1830* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996) p. 50.

⁸ On Catholic Emancipation, see Denis Gwynn, *The struggle for Catholic Emancipation (1750-1829)*, (London: Longmans, 1928), Denis Gwynn, *A hundred years of Catholic Emancipation (1829-1929)* (London: Longmans, 1929), Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland before and after the famine: explorations in economic history, 1800-1925*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).

⁹For a record of the development of Catholic Emancipation, see, James A. Reynolds, *The Catholic emancipation crisis in Ireland, 1823-1829* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954). Timothy O’Herlihy, *Catholic emancipation: reviewed a century after* (Dublin: Gill, 1928), Suzanne T. Kingon, ‘Ulster Opposition to Catholic Emancipation, 1828-9’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 34, 134 (2004), pp. 137-155, and Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant crusade in Ireland, 1800-70: a study of Protestant-Catholic relations between the Act of Union and disestablishment* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1978).

¹⁰ Boyce argued that the aggression towards the Protestant Ascendancy was based on absenteeism and xenophobia. The two major problems for Catholics were the Penal laws, and the corrupt and unrepresentative nature of the eighteenth century Irish Parliament. Boyce likened the Parliament and the aims of the Penal Laws to South African apartheid. This is where the power of the Protestant Ascendancy was made manifest. David George Boyce, *Nineteenth-century Ireland: the search for stability*. (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2005) p. 94. For a discussion of the Penal Laws, see: Eamon O’Flaherty, *Ecclesiastical Politics and the Dismantling of the Penal Laws in Ireland, 1774-82*, *Irish Historical Studies*, 26, 101 (May,

laws was central to the campaign. It was a period of time when the successes of O'Connell and his associations impelled a culture of change and a new chance to define Irish identities. This began an age where the impetus to challenge Irish character in literature went into overdrive. O'Connell's political speeches and the growing activity of Young Ireland were to the forefront of this movement. In O'Connell's political narratives Catholicism and Irish nationalism became welded together, yet O'Connell pointed towards a wider British, European, and South American of Catholicism. Authors began to produce Emancipation and post-Emancipation novels that tried to deal with the new possibilities for Irish identity.¹¹ The implications for the island and the different groups living within the country seemed to be manifold. However, Emancipation did not produce the profound social change expected.¹² Protestants and the Anglo-Irish still held stronger positions of power and wealth, but a change in attitude and identity was afoot amongst Irish culture and the novel. The initial years of Emancipation literature reflected this grappling to define identities and relationships within fictional characters; this was particularly evident in the work of Gerard Griffin and William Carleton. Joep Leerssen stresses in *Remembrance and Imagination* that literary narratives reveal the culture in operation in the time period they were produced.¹³

John Brannigan in *New Historicism and Materialism* identifies texts "as a constitutive and inseparable part of history in the making, and therefore rife with the creative forces, disruptions and contradictions of history".¹⁴ This work takes Catholic Emancipation as a historical point from which to assess the impact on and the reaction to such an event in

1988), pp. 33-50, John Gibney, *Protestant Interests? The 1641 Rebellion And State Formation In Early Modern Ireland, Historical Research* 84.223 (2011): 67-86, and Louis Cullen, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr*, 1, (1986), pp. 23-36.

¹¹ *The Collegians* was published the same year as Emancipation was passed in 1829.

¹² See O Tuathaigh, p. 45. Specifically, the chapter on the Catholic Question.

¹³ Joseph Leerssen, *Remembrance and imagination: patterns in the historical and literary representation of Ireland in the nineteenth century*. (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1996) p. 2.

¹⁴ John Brannigan, *New Historicism and Materialism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), pp.3-4.

Irish literature. Catholic Emancipation was a process of change that highlighted O'Connell's sweeping role in Irish life and the new form of Irish identity on offer in the first half of the nineteenth century. The counter movement against O'Connell's brand of Catholic Irish identity took many forms both within nationalism, in the form of Young Ireland and *The Nation*, to outside nationalism in the form of William Carleton and George Moore's challenging satirical literature. Religious and nationalist labels were in fictional and political narratives, yet individualism permeated each fictional interpretation of identity whereas political narratives tended to possess a Party line.

Two important literary figures who encapsulated the rising Irish Catholic were brothers John and Michael Banim, particularly John.¹⁵ Initially John Banim wrote for the *Leinster Journal* and *The Limerick Post*. Poverty and sickness did not prevent him from making his way to London. John wrote popular Irish short stories for London newspapers and journals, while producing novels that informed English audiences in relation to Irish custom and identity. He became an adviser to the English Opera House in London. Richard Lalor Sheil, Daniel O'Connell's right-hand man, was a source of good will and advice. After meeting Gerald Griffin in Limerick John took Gerald under his wing in London, helping to edit and introduce his plays on the London scene: 'What would I have done if I had not found Banim? I should never be tired of talking about and thinking of Banim. Mark me! He is a man – the only one I have met since I left Ireland, almost.'¹⁶ The Banims were in a literary race with James Whitty and E.E. Crowe to produce a work of Irish tales. Thomas Moore produced *Captain*

¹⁵ P. J. Murray, *The life of John Banim* with introduction by R. Lee Wolff (New York: Garland Pub. 1978), C. A. Read (ed.), Katherine M. Lanigan (ed.), *The cabinet of Irish literature*, 'The Banim brothers: a re-assessment', *Old Kilkeny Rev.*, xxv (1973), 2–12; Mark D. Hawthorne, *John and Michael Banim* (Hildesheim, Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, 1975); Patrick Maume 'The novels of the Banim Brothers', *Retrospect: journal of the Irish History Students' Association*, (IRE University College Dublin, 1989), 7–10.

¹⁶ Gerald Griffin quoted in Murray, *The life of John Banim*, p. 151.

Rock (1824) and in the process beat the Banims to the character name; consequently, the Banims had to change the name of their main character to John Doe. The *Tales of the O'Hara Tales* were produced in 1825 and quickly gained success. Catholic Irish literature and the novel in the form of tales had arrived. John became known as the Irish Scott, it is often stated that the English curiosity about Irish politics and culture proceeded from the perseverance of agrarian bloodshed and the Catholic question. However, Gerald wrote to his brother Daniel regarding this misplaced assumption. Griffin stressed the lack of interest in Irish affairs in London amongst the general population.¹⁷

Irish fiction began to offer a complex Irish identity that engaged with transnational elements such as within Griffin's *The Collegians*. Griffin's usage of the Ulysses myth, within the novel, brought about a new literary identity that was international, shifting, and cosmopolitan. Yet, it was an identity given an ancient basis. Gerald Griffin creates a space for Irish identity to evolve, beyond strict religious and class labels, through highlighting the hybrid nature of Irish identity's influences. Griffin achieves this by attaching characters, physically and mentally, to a multitude of places and cultures. Transnational associations are used to highlight the individuality of a character and the culture of the author; the character is not confined by nationality, but enriched. Griffin's independent characters, such as Myles na Coppaleen, do not depend upon a cosmopolitan nature of movement and education to possess individuality but the local character, through knowledge of history, the broad nature of Irish identity, and balance in acceptance of other cultures, achieves an independence supported by a conception of transnationalism.

The independent movements, physically and mentally, of figures such as O'Connell and his family led to a more transnational yet Irish

¹⁷ John Cronin, *Gerald Griffin, 1803-1840: a critical biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) p. 51.

identity. The fiction of the period of Emancipation reflected the transnational elements of O'Connell's identity that was a part of O'Connell's transnational family history (the O'Connell family were land owners in Kerry whose members had fought in armies all over the world).

David Lloyd's analysis of nineteenth-century Irish fiction looks through the cumulative lens of the nineteenth-century novel, concluding in Joyce's *Ulysses*.¹⁸ The achievement of *Ulysses* is placed as an end point of the development of the nineteenth-century Irish novel. Lloyd contended that the evolution of the Irish novel struggled to capture Irish society in comparison to Irish modernism and the British Realist tradition. For Lloyd the novel laboured to encapsulate the violence and social change afoot in Irish society. Lloyd described this as a crisis of representation due to, in one sense, a lack of a middle class in Ireland, as emphasized by William Carleton.¹⁹ There was no middle class to offer a vision of what life could be to the lower classes. Irish society and therefore the Irish novel were unstable. However, it is the contention of this thesis that there was not a crisis of representation within Irish fiction but an ambiguous crossroads. The arrested lower, middle and upper classes could not escape labels into new religious, class or identity labels within a generation. There was a dowry system and marriages of security among classes to try to secure family fortunes and estates as reflected in *The Collegians*. Gerald Griffin grew up in a middle-class family. This allowed for few chances of movement into the next class. The arrival of Emancipation was not an immediate and profound change in society; while a major historical event, it was slow in terms of economic social impact. Political legislation does not ensure immediate social change. It is the contention of this thesis that Irish fiction accurately captured the uncertain and sluggish changes to society; yet, a new confidence layered and expanded Irish identity

¹⁸ David Lloyd, *Anomalous states: Irish writing and the post-colonial moment* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1993) p. 133.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

conceptually. It was not a crisis yet; the Great Famine was over a decade away, the cholera outbreak of 1832 had not happened; the people faced a crossroads where political change was claimed yet life was still conditioned by a social class system that was dominated by inequality.

Definition of Transnationalism

Matthew Arnold's literary criticism began in the 1860s, three decades after Gerald Griffin's fiction. The transnational elements present in Griffin's work build upon the use of the transnationalism in O'Connell's politics and Irish identity. Paul Jay in *Global matters: the transnational turn in literary studies* (2010) outlined the Arnoldian model of literary study as a moment where a turn towards the transnational in literary studies began.²⁰ This included the responses to Arnold's set aestheticized and ahistorical assertions about literature and culture. The work of Arnold was a response to the changing class structure in Britain and a new liberalism in reform. The literature championed was the fiction that transposed the local as it reached what was universal in all men. Yet, earlier in the nineteenth century O'Connell and Griffin looked towards a historical and future Irish identity that was beyond the British Empire through using elements of the transnational.

Transnational studies are traditionally focused upon the origin and reproduction of social formations that cross national boundaries, incorporating a multiculturalism and globalisation.²¹ Often, the term *diaspora* is used to highlight national and religious groups living in a

²⁰ Paul Jay, *Global matters: the transnational turn in literary studies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010) p. 17.

²¹ *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010, Chapter 1, 'Diaspora and transnationalism: What kind of dance partners?', Thomas Faist p. 9. For works on Transnationalism see *Theorizing diaspora: a reader*, ed. Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur Malden (MA: Blackwell Pub. 2003). *Second-generation transnationalism and roots migration: cross-border lives*, Susanne Wessendorf (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub. 2013), and *Politics from afar: transnational diasporas and networks*, Terrence Lyons; Peter G. Mandaville (London: Hurst, 2012).

country not native to traditional culture.²² Transnationalism is usually used in reference to migrants with cultural influences from various countries. This does not just include communities but networks and organisations. There is at work in these usages of diaspora and transnationalism a connotation of intellectual genealogies. The utilization of the term transnationalism in this project identifies and traces the Irish intellectual engagement with other cultures post-Catholic Emancipation to layer Irish identity with historical and contemporary links to cultures outside the British Empire. This use of the transnational also serves an individualistic element of Irish identity. The proliferation of other cultures through philosophies and figures influencing Irish fiction is traced through the experiences and use of the transnational by Irish literary figures. This is tracked in terms of the influence of politics, family movements throughout Europe, knowledge of global intellectual movements, and the reworking of new international ideas into an Irish context. The transnationalism of ideas and personal exposure to new cultures is identified as running throughout wider Irish culture through identifying the narratives present in popular newspapers. Irish journalism in *The Nation* and *Freeman's Journal* constructs images, narratives and speeches of political figures and writers through a political agenda which is both nationalist and transnational. The images and reportage on Irish politicians and writers is constructed within and outside a transnational framework. Transnationalism and nationalism tend to both compete and blend depending upon the approach of any given article. This political tendency becomes the object of satire within Irish literature. Vivian Mercier's *The Irish Comic Tradition* is the first study to bring together both Anglo-Irish and Gaelic literatures.²³ Mercier postulated that "an unbroken comic tradition may be traced in Irish literature from

²² Jay, *Global matters: the transnational turn in literary studies*, p. 17.

²³ Vivian Mercier, *The Irish Comic Tradition*, (1962; New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. xvi.

approximately the ninth century down to the present day”.²⁴ The point is stressed that many of the influences on the lauded Irish literature of the twentieth century are rooted in the unfamiliar Irish texts of previous centuries.

Irish fiction’s engagement with ideas is not simply produced within the island nor rigidly defined by a relation to Britain. The Irish relationship with Britain does not solely inform nor define the Irish citizenry. However, the political and fictional transnational influence of Daniel O’Connell, Gerald Griffin, William Carleton, and G.H. Moore is often reworked by *The Nation* and *Freeman’s Journal* to suit a nationalist perspective. Nonetheless, the writers and politicians of Ireland were armed with experiences, philosophies and cultures from Europe and the wider world, from education in France to travel in Eastern Europe, and set about reworking the frameworks and ideas they engaged with to ensure relativity to an Irish context. These thinkers were not defined by a nationalist agenda nor are they individual thinkers. The body of work produced by the writers possesses an intricate set of local and global influences both theoretical and personal. Transnational ideas such as Utilitarianism possessed a European-wide discussion. Intellectual enquiry, education and reworking of transnational ideas connected these Irish men with the intercontinental world but also made an Irish contribution to international politics and literature.

Critical documentation of Irish identity, through the sphere of national and transnational influence, asserts the nationhood of Ireland as separate, but also related to Britain and Europe, and part of transnational affairs as a separate identity. The concept of transnationalism captures the usage of transnational elements within Irish politics and the literary culture of the nineteenth century.

O’Connell, Griffin, Carleton, G.H. Moore, Charles Kickham and

²⁴ Ibid., p. xvi.

George Moore used transnational experience or ideas to expand or constrict the intellectual sphere of Irish identity in the construction of fictional characters often attached to association of place. In this manner the transnational informed the construction of rural characters as framed within and beyond Irish identity –each writer was subjectively fixated upon the layers or lack of transnational elements to Irish character, often for political reasons. These factors consisted of references to and reimaginings of ideas from other cultures outside of Ireland and the British Empire in the building of political narratives, images, and character. These transnational fabrics to literary and political philosophy produce narratives that are not a sudden concerted effort to expand Irish identity through looking to existing international cultural ideas and identities. This is a part of Irish identity which preceded the nineteenth century.

The attempt by Empires to cultivate complex narratives surrounding their position in the world results in modelling colonies and peoples within definitions which placate an Empire's image. Such narratives of Empire also lead to various responses in politics and literature. One of the elements of such responses in nineteenth-century Irish literature was the highlighting of transnational characters of Irish identity. The traditional scope to criticism of nineteenth-century Irish fiction is bound to Irish, Anglo-Irish and British labels. This project is an attempt to move beyond those parameters but also treat of their significant contribution to Irish identity.

The transnational possesses a basis in Irish history and life; an intermingling of foreign cultural ideas and influences is inbuilt in the fabric of Irish identity for thousands of years whether through exploration or invasion. Therefore, Irish identity possesses at its core a component of the transnational and not simply a separate national identity that is part of a community of internationalism or practicing cosmopolitanism. While Irish identity is international and cosmopolitan it is partly achieved through a transnationalism that is interwoven into the historical movement, agency,

and intellectual practice of Irish culture. The figures examined in this project operate off a tradition informed by study, personal experience abroad and through generations of transnational family figures.

Transnational references are used by Daniel O'Connell, Gerald Griffin and G.H. Moore to affirm their individuality and Irish identity outside and within Empire.

The opposite use of transnationalism was at play within the work of William Carleton and George Moore in order to frame Catholic Irish identity within a constricted label tied to British Empire or to a negative perception of Catholicism. This suited the political ideology and market audience of Carleton and Moore at different periods throughout their work. The censorship of the multiplicity of Irishness was both anti-Catholic and pro-Protestant.

The individuals of this study are not separate from nationality or unique from the crowd, they are part of a population and locality, but they also practiced an individuality and leadership which surpassed religious or nationalist labels. Singularity is not what is at work here but rather uniqueness in leadership and self-definition. There have been men and women of equal and greater individuality from Ireland in the nineteenth century, nevertheless, these figures have been chosen for the demonstrable narratives of their unique Irishness and individualism.

Definition of Identity

The term *identity* is used throughout this work, conjoined to Irishness, to point towards the variety of local, national, and international usages of Irishness. The label of Irish is used differently at the level of the local, national, and international by both authors and politicians as the terms of comparison change. The context and medium of usage impacts upon the application and meaning of the word *Irish*. The function of such usage of Irish identity alters in the narratives of O'Connell's political

speeches depending upon the political goal; for instance the word *Irish* can take on associations of positivity or hostility towards Britain or France. The description of physical characteristics and actions of local tenant characters in the suburbs of Griffin's work differs from the Irish tenant in Britain in Carleton's fiction. The differing target audiences of each author demand a different interpretation of Irish identity. Carleton's political satire shifts to the level of nation and international in relation to Irish identity, as opposed to the local in Griffin's fiction, when engaging with the national figure and rhetoric of Daniel O'Connell in 'The Geography of An Irish Oath' (1833). Griffin concentrated upon local class interaction in *The Collegians* while utilizing a dynamic array of cultures and nations in descriptions of Irish characters from different social backgrounds and class. Carleton negatively framed the nature of the Irishman within the British Empire in various stories throughout *Traits and stories of the Irish peasantry*. Moore's satire ruptured both Griffin and Carleton's types of narratives through an ambiguous yet sharp satire of Catholicism. Tenant characters are placed within a straitjacket of Catholicism, despite possessing a transnational identity, while Moore's Irish identity as a writer was cultivated through a European intellectualism and a claim to a type of English Protestantism in his autobiographies. Moore applies a different standard to himself.

Current Criticism

The variety of Irish character previous to 1829 offers types such as Maria Edgeworth's scheming and roguish figures or the Irish tenant of agrarian violence. The balance of power in the depiction of Irish character was in the hands and markets of the Anglo-Irish and English novelists and readers. However, after Emancipation, confidence and interest in Catholic Irish life in Ireland and Britain began to build through O'Connell's

political success. A new character and identity was envisioned by a new emerging Catholic. Wilson Foster states that Ireland was attempting to catch up due to the removed control of the state in Westminster and this is reflected in the narratives abound in the 1830s.²⁵ However, the Irish representation was still not capable of entering modernity. Wilson Foster argues that this was part of the desire of Edgeworth and other novelists, to explain Ireland as not complex, but an identity that was explainable. According to Wilson Foster Edgeworth could not afford to produce complicated and ambiguous Irish figures with an English audience in mind. However, the figure of Thady Quirke can be read as one of the most ambiguous figures in Irish fiction, for the wrong reasons, as a calculating and untrustworthy character. An uncomplicated Irish character ensured a wider reading audience. Nevertheless, Wilson Foster identifies that there is a perpetual struggle between the charting of the human element and reflecting the broad historical narrative of history.²⁶

Wilson Foster also details Maria Edgeworth's complaint in the 1830s regarding the Irish novel that its characters are no longer conforming to type.²⁷ Edgeworth asserted that realities are too strong as she struggled to understand the new identity and character being created as Irish Catholic writers began to chart their culture and society. The Irish now had a say in the novel form. Post-Catholic Emancipation the feckless, roguish, scheming and struggling working and middle-class Catholic characters of Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* became complicated transnational characters of ambition and fortitude in the works of Gerald Griffin and Charles Kickham. There was a tradition of literary transnational influence between Ireland and Europe. Honoré de Balzac was a key author for European writers in the nineteenth century, whether in French or in translation.

²⁵John Wilson Foster, *Fictions of the Irish literary revival: A changeling art* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press; Dublin: Gill & Macmillan 1987) p. 70.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid, p. 69.

Balzac had found a way of depicting the local which could illustrate the universal. Anglo-Irish writer Maria Edgeworth's Irish writings are claimed as a profound influence on Balzac, Turgenev, and Walter Scott. The Walter Scott influence is clear and documented by Scott in his preface to *Waverley*: "[Scott] confessed that he had been inspired to turn from poetry to novel writing by Maria's stories of Irish life". Scott wrote of the figure of Edgeworth as both a friend and an influence:

"Without being so presumptuous as to hope to emulate the rich humour, pathetic tenderness, and admirable tact which pervade the works of my accomplished friend, I felt that something might be attempted for my own country, of the same kind with that which Miss Edgeworth so fortunately achieved for Ireland—something which might introduce her natives to those of the sister kingdom in a more favourable light than they had been placed hitherto, and tend to procure sympathy for their virtues and indulgence for their foibles."²⁸

Derek Hand in *A History of The Irish Novel* discusses the direction of Irish identity concerning its colonial relationship to Britain but also Irish culture's relationship to America, Europe and the world.²⁹ Hand argues that the Irish novel in the nineteenth century represents a Catholic population expressing a desire for power and political clout. The clear-cut nature of the nineteenth-century Irish novel is a reflection of the straightforward aspiration for status. This reads like the placement of a broad historical narrative upon the development of the nineteenth-century novel: the emancipation of the Catholic and this group's rise to a position of power. However, the Irish novel's development is a lot more complex.

Claire Connolly describes the use of the metaphor of love and marriage in the nineteenth-century novel as framing political realities and offering the private life of a union and family as an allegory of historical

²⁸ General Preface to *The Waverley Novels*, Edinburgh 1829, p.xv; quoted in Walter Raleigh, *The English Novel*, John Murray 1919, p.268.

²⁹ Hand, *A History of the Irish Novel*, p. 5.

conflict.³⁰ Katie Trumpener identifies the marriage plot in the early nineteenth-century novel as a political allegory which served to create a political reconciliation.³¹ Connolly classifies Trumpener's position as close to Seamus Deane but the perception of the political direction of the novels differs. Connolly's reading of the early nineteenth-century Irish novel is more regional and incisive with relation to the politics of the moment. Connolly shares Deane's assertion that the novel used allegory to treat of political contexts. This movement of Irish criticism regarding the nineteenth-century novel reveals the influence of Deane's work upon contemporary critics working on earlier works of the nineteenth-century novel. The broad narratives of Ireland's nationalism and links to Britain remain the extensive area of study. The neglected area I wish to outline is the transnational elements of Irish identity in fiction (post 1828) and how authors operate in tandem with the immediate politics of Ireland and the national concern with Irish identity attached to Britain and Europe. The contention is that this endeavour was to frame a new type of tenant and landlord character tied to elements of the transnational.

One of the aims of the thesis is to recover the lesser known works of William Carleton such as 'The Geography of An Irish Oath' and 'Phil Purcel, The Pig-Driver' (1830), and analyse their direct engagement with Catholic Emancipation and Daniel O'Connell. However, this analysis of Catholic Emancipation and its presence in the Irish novel and short story is not an attempt to confine the fiction to one event or politician in the form of Daniel O'Connell. The point is to identify the intellectual response as an individualistic critical and philosophical offering regarding the possibilities, and limits, of Irish identity. These authors do not blindly fall in-line or simply react in a negative or positive manner to a broad historical

³⁰ Claire Connolly, *A Cultural History of the Irish Novel, 1790-1829* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2012) p. 86-88.

³¹ Katie Trumpener, *Bardic nationalism: the romantic novel and the British Empire* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997).

event or figure. The different reactions were a long process of measured analysis that resulted in a unique narrative and not a strictly O'Connellite, Catholic, Protestant, or Anglo-Irish rejoinder. It was the response of individual authors, offering unique comment and insight that changed over decades.

Daniel Corkery dismissed Irish novels as 'English' in *Synge and Anglo-Irish literature*. This has been addressed in the last four decades as criticism has changed the examination of the nineteenth-century Irish novel. The essential criticism reinventing the approach to the nineteenth-century Irish novel includes W.J. McCormack's *Ascendancy and tradition in Anglo-Irish literary history from 1789 to 1939* (1985), Joep Leerssen's *Remembrance and imagination* (1996), James Murphy's *Catholic fiction and social reality in Ireland, 1873-1922* (1997), Katie Trumpener's *Bardic nationalism* (1997), Ina Ferris's *The national tale and the question of Ireland* (2002), Seamus Deane's *A Short History of Irish literature* (1986), Emer Nolan's *Catholic Emancipations: Irish fiction from Thomas Moore to James Joyce*, Claire Connolly's *A Cultural History of The Irish Novel, 1790-1829*, and Margaret Kelleher *The Feminization of Famine: expressions of the inexpressible?* (1997).

David Lloyd writes of the classification of literature into major and minor as raising the question of political and cultural significance.³² The value of a text lies in its cultural and political value. Lloyd outlines four points where the value of the nineteenth-century novel was stressed in criticism. The first being the instability of Irish society due to violence, most of it rural, that prevented the Irish novel from achieving the social integration of the English novel. The second point is the absence of a middle class that prohibited the social classes and Irish novel from possessing a barometer for the rise of the native Irish and the novel. The

³² Lloyd, *Anomalous States Irish Writing and The Post-Colonial Moment*, p. 129.

third issue is the bilingual aspect to Irish culture that vetoed a stable medium for literary production. The fourth point is that the style within the Irish novel was slow to mature. The strong and vibrant oral culture across the classes in rural and urban societies gave expression to a culture that did not rely solely on the novel.

Claire Connolly in *A Cultural History of the Irish Novel, 1790-1829* stated that the plots of love and marriage in Irish literature tended to simplify the political realities at work in society.³³ This reduced the historical and political conflicts present in Irish novels to plots not capable of administering a complex treatment of the multifaceted political situation. What Connolly stressed was the relationship between the various thematic levels of a novel and not their final meaning. Connolly highlighted that the portrayal of the themes of marriage and love in Irish literature tried to illustrate various issues between Britain and Ireland, including an offering of the resolution of difference. However, this project traces a shift in Gerald Griffin's *The Collegians* (1829) and stories from William Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* (1830) that did the opposite and used marriage and character as a metaphor to highlight the social and political problems in Irish society. The fictional engagement with the politics and symbolism associated with O'Connell resulted in complex political satire that had ramifications for the development of Irish fiction. Moreover, Griffin's fiction produced modernist elements that were reproduced in the work of George Moore, son of O'Connellite politician George Henry Moore.

A Transnational Daniel O'Connell

Daniel O'Connell's expansion of Irish Catholicism in speeches and Association meetings was often a concerted effort to reveal the role of Catholics in the formation of Britain and the culture of Europe. This

³³ Connolly, *A Cultural History of the Irish Novel*, p. 90.

multifaceted identity was at various times defined against or stretched to a British and European Catholic brotherhood. O'Connell established European and international elements to Irish Catholicism through drawing on British, French, South American and American figures and events in history. This was in part due to O'Connell's education in France and family history with France and wider Europe. O'Connell's narratives possessed a desire to work within Britain to maintain an economically balanced and peaceful society. The crafting of Irish identity in fiction was an effort on the part of Griffin and Carleton to engage with the changing face of Catholicism and Irish Catholic rights as the features of Irish and British politics changed. The character of the nation was evolving.

The nineteenth-century Irish writers who engaged or reinvented the figure of O'Connell as a symbol were thinkers (as was O'Connell) who manipulated an image. These crafted images, whether of Ireland, the population, individuals or characters often contained oblique references to O'Connell and his narratives and images of Ireland. Succeeding generations of writers had to choose to cherish, dismiss, or engage with these narratives of a transnational Irish identity. This type of engagement with O'Connell in fiction, newspapers, and biography often confined O'Connell to Irish environs both geographically and intellectually.

These authors could not escape the pervasive influence of O'Connell's Association as Catholic Emancipation gripped the country. The negative response came in the form of the Anglo-Irish novelist's reaction but, particularly, through the pen of arch satirist William Carleton, initially under the direction of Caesar Otway. Carleton initially produced stories that restricted and satirically undercut the character of the Catholic in the *Christian Examiner*.³⁴ The Catholic clergy and its flock were drawn as ignorant, dishonest and enthralled to an irrational religion. This was

³⁴ Brian Donnelly, 'William Carleton: Novelist of the People' in *Tyrone: History and Society*, Charles Dillon and Henry A. Jefferies (eds), (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2000), p. 576.

counter to the fiction of Gerald Griffin, an interested follower of O'Connell and Richard Lalor Sheil. Griffin offered a new identity where Irish characters possessed a transnational background and physical description that incorporated an Irish, British, European, and Persian gene pool.³⁵ Kevin Whelan has written of the historical narratives surrounding the rebellion of 1798 as never moving out of politics and into objective history.³⁶ Similarly, Irish journalists were tied to the condition of Catholic, Protestant and Irish rights as newspapers such as the *Christian Examiner*, *Freeman's Journal* and *The Nation* adopted and framed their images within and outside Nationalist discourse. In this manner a fictional and political combat, through narrative, took place in newspapers and the works of those novelists from the late 1820s through to the 1840s. This is tracked throughout the chapters of this work.

The use of newspapers allows us to avoid the one-dimensional narrative of broad history and move away from the subjective materials and letters of the author into the currents of the popular intellectual world. Through this device we can identify and judge the intellectual response of the author as a critic and philosopher offering an insight into unfolding Irish identity, its potential and restrictions. Griffin, Carleton, and Moore did not just offer a broad historical analysis or a simple response to a literary rival. These factors were all part of the production of the authors. One cannot deem these authors as simply O'Connellites or anti-

³⁵ Emer Nolan has noted an assumption in Irish criticism regarding the Catholic nationalist authors as strictly kowtowing to Catholicism and nationalism without deviation. This policy was oppositional to Protestantism and liberalism within the English novel. England was aligned with the modernisation of industrialisation and secularisation, which was not the condition of Ireland. That Irish Realism was secondary to English Realism is often stressed considering the superior Irish modernism that followed. The best Irish novelists are often twentieth century writers who discredit and attack the cultural and economic effects of the Catholic hegemony. Emancipation from Catholicism is viewed as the condition which brought modernity to Irish culture. William Carleton is viewed as the Irish nineteenth century author who broke with Catholicism. Emer Nolan, *Catholic Emancipations: Irish fiction from Thomas Moore to James Joyce* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2007) p. x.

³⁶ Kevin Whelan, *The Tree of Liberty: Radicalism, Catholicism and the Construction of Irish Identity, 1760-1830* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996) p. 133.

O’Connellite, Catholic, Protestant, or Anglo-Irish. All of these elements conditioned nineteenth-century thought in Ireland.

Writing nearly a century later Daniel Corkery outlined the difference between a colonial and native Irish writer as tied up with the expression of what Corkery felt defined the Irish consciousness, the religious consciousness of the people, Irish nationalism and the land.³⁷ However, there were many more issues of interest and features to nineteenth-century Irish identity within the novels of Griffin and Carleton. Corkery stated that writers such as Griffin produced work that was quaint and unIrish in an English prose removed from the Irish soul. This rigid categorisation of Irish literature was born out of a response to a new Irish Republic where assertion of the Irish language was paramount in Corkery’s perspective. This effort to remove Irish identity from the English language was not strange, it was a precise agenda. Seamus Deane’s perspective in *Strange Country* sought to describe the divergent strands of identity operating in Irish culture as producing an odd culture. According to Seamus Deane, “[...] The country remains strange in its failure to be normal; the normal remains strange in its failure to be defined as anything other than the negative of strange. Normality is an economic condition; strangeness a cultural one. [...]”.³⁸ Gerald Griffin and William Carleton did not seek normality or operate in strangeness but they did try to engineer an independent and an economically sound condition through writing for a living. Griffin and Carleton focused upon the political and culture elements of Irish identity tied to Daniel O’Connell and Catholic Emancipation through such an approach. Irish writers possessed an

³⁷ Daniel Corkery, *The Hidden Ireland: a study of Gaelic Munster in the eighteenth century* (Dublin: Gill, 1967) and Daniel Corkery, *Synge and Anglo-Irish literature: a study* (Dublin and Cork, Cork University Press, Educational co. of Ireland ltd.; London, New York etc. Longmans, Green and co. ltd., 1931).

³⁸ Seamus Deane, *Strange Country Modernity and Nationhood in Irish Writing since 1790* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) p. 197.

opportunity to reassess and reinvent a new type of character mould.

The Fiction of George Moore

The overbearing presence and achievements of G.H. Moore cast a long shadow over the Moore family identity. G.H.'s status as a champion jockey, Middle-East explorer, O'Connellite politician, M.P. in Westminster, and a Catholic Landlord brought a confused nationalistic image to the family for George Moore that he felt he had to contend with by moving in the opposite direction. G.H had a good reputation as a landlord and was Catholic but the Moore family came from Protestant English plantation stock before adopting the Catholic religion. George Moore tried to perform an autobiographical and fictional onslaught upon the Catholic Landlord status of his father and family.³⁹ Moore sought to carefully carve an image in his narratives that lent itself to a representation of his authorial self as an anti-Catholic, pro-Protestant, European novelist.⁴⁰ However, this presentation possessed satirical ambiguities.

This many-sided identity created an intricate layer to Moore's description of Irish society. The fiction of George Moore, through a contrast with the political world of his father as a man treading in the political footsteps of Daniel O'Connell, offers an insight into the interchangeability and complex nature of political and religious Irish identity as a choice. The Moore family are not a singular example of such a

³⁹ John Wilson Foster decried the inability of the Anglo-Irish novel to adjust to the changing circumstances of Ireland. The genre of satire and romance was unable to adjust to the political and cultural changes of post-Parnellite Ireland. The Anglo-Irish struggled to assert the relevancy of its position on Ireland. John Wilson Foster, *Fictions of the Irish literary revival: a changeling art* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press; Dublin: Gill & Macmillan 1987) p. xiv.

⁴⁰ George Moore, "Turgeneff," *Fortnightly Review*, February 1888: 237-51 – Moore detailed his aesthetic turn away from Zola closer to a Turgenev inspired aesthetic. It was the suggestion of W.K. Magee (John Elington), after taking George Moore to visit Edward Dowden, that Moore was suited to becoming the Irish Turgenev, which eventually resulted in *The Untilled Field*. Adrian Woods Frazier, *George Moore, 1852-1933*. (New Haven, Conn.; Yale University Press, 2000) p. 306.

transnational family (The transnational element to the O'Connell family is outlined in chapter one). The transnationalism of the Moore family is present in the history of the family's movement throughout Europe and the Middle East. The Moores were a family in the process of change throughout the nineteenth century as the landlord system began to crumble and absentee landlord George Moore tried to reinvent and remove the Moore family links to Catholicism and Nationalism. While George's brother Maurice maintained the family Catholicism and his father's political work by becoming an Irish Free State senator, Maurice also worked to maintain the Irish language. A multifarious and evolving identity was a feature of Moore's Irish fictional characters, it had both a negative and positive context. This series of contrasts helps to understand the afflicted nature of George Moore's writing and the complex narrative in operation in Irish fiction beyond the usual encountered definitions of the Catholic and Anglo-Irish novel.

The evolution of the Irish novel in Moore's work, from the Catholic Emancipation novels of Griffin and Carleton, resulted in an expanded treatment of the divergent representations at work in Griffin and Carleton's character moulds.⁴¹ These character moulds became melded in Moore's fiction into a Catholic character and society that was impeded by a Catholicism which, according to Moore, was anti-Art. However, this engagement with religion and landlordism was part of an escape from Moore's Irish identity and a move into the background of the Moore European identity. Moore was pursuing an innovative type of transnational novel and autobiography. It was an effort to shed an old skin while embracing the contemporary European novel. Contemporary and historical identities blended into Moore's aesthetic. Moore's ambition was to become a great European novelist; he did not want to become tied to local and national issues of religion and social order yet he kept returning to such

⁴¹ The usage of the term 'Catholic Emancipation novel' is relative to contextual chronology.

issues. They were ingrained in his life and family identity. However, Moore's fiction also investigated themes of human attachment such as marriage, gender and celibacy. The image of Moore as propagated in Irish newspapers, criticism and in Moore's purposely scandalous autobiographies continually reeled Moore back into the national debate on Irish identity and social order.

Often, the existing assertions and definitions of George Moore's art and aesthetic in Irish criticism are aligned to broad interpretations of Irish history, in particular to issues of landlordism and religion; these can offer rigid explanations that do not stress the complex humanity and international networks at work in the Moore family history or Irish society.⁴² International elements to Irish life were evident even aside from the emigration of the Irish through necessity of work and avoidance of famine.⁴³ Moore has often been defined in strict opposition to various labels, or subsumed within categories such as Anglo-Irish, French Naturalist, Landlord, or anti-Catholic.⁴⁴

James H. Murphy has described the Victorian romantic comedy of the 1880s as promoting the Victorian perspective which stressed and rewarded

⁴² Derek Hand stresses Moore's oeuvre as offering a type of romantic aesthetic, not stationed completely within Naturalism, but as an effort to portray a world outside the self. This is certainly present in Moore's work but there is also a definitive look within the self of the artist, particularly the arrogant self of the artist, within Moore's autobiographies. Hand highlights Moore's work as beginning the trend of novelistic depictions of artists, artists who are liberating, productive, challenging and celebratory. Derek Hand, *A history of the Irish novel* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011) p. 129.

⁴³ See T. J. Hatton and J. G. Williamson, 'After the famine: emigration from Ireland, 1850-1913', *Journal of Economic History*, 53 (3) (1993), pp. 575-600, A. Kerby Miller, 'Emigration, Ideology, and Identity in Post-Famine Ireland' *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* (1986), 75 (300), pp. 515-527.

⁴⁴ James H. Murphy in *Catholic Fiction and Social Reality in Ireland, 1873-1922* stated that Moore parodied Victorian characteristics of the Anglo-Irish novel in *A Drama in Muslin*. Murphy stressed this parody as based firmly in an Irish context and a lampoon of Victorian culture. Murphy underlined the novel as a movement into modernity but there are traces of the Victorian novel also being used by Moore such as the happy marriage ending. Moore depicted an upper middle class Catholic family (financially struggling) and the working-classes. Moore heavily criticised the Catholic faith, a feature that was not stressed by Murphy. Moore depicted a comical ritual of the mass ceremony, from the class-based seating arrangements to the abhorrence of upper-class perception of the lower class's attendance, to the bubbling threat of violence. (p. 25)

upper-class virtue.⁴⁵ Murphy placed three novels against the backdrop of the land war and home rule-crisis in Ireland including George Moore's *A Drama in Muslin*. According to Murphy, the novel refuses to portray the vastly changing society taking place, both socially and politically. It is a novel which is the antithesis of realist works. The concern of the Victorian romance novel was the tension between romance, the politics of the social world, and the economics of marriage. Social and financial security through marriage was the aim for these characters. The virtue of maintaining Victorian virtue insured the final goal of the desired marriage. However, Moore's bitterness towards Ireland was all encompassing regardless of class. Murphy outlines how the Anglo-Irish novel depicts the upper classes of the Anglo-Irish as capable of leading and ruling the unruly members of the Catholic working-classes in order to help its political bid for self-rule. It is a mistake to group Moore solely in this category. Moore's appreciation of European literary masters' works and his declaration of their genius meant that Moore's influence for any kind of reinvention or parody must start in French nineteenth-century literature. Moore's growth as a writer led him through periods of idealization through Zola, Flaubert, Turgenev and back to Balzac. Moore's reading and negotiation of Victorian literature should be framed within this indulgence for French literature. The major theme of Moore's *A Drama in Muslin* was the marriage market and its machinations; this was a major theme in French Literature. The discussion of bachelorhood and the marriage market was long parodied in Turgenev, Flaubert, Zola and within Balzac's *A Marriage Contract* (1835). Moore's debt and admiration for this work is documented throughout his autobiographies.

Criticism of the nineteenth-century Irish novel has framed works as

⁴⁵ James H. Murphy, *Catholic Fiction and Social Reality in Ireland, 1873-1922*, (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1997) p. 26.

endeavouring to merge and rebuild the cultures and communities of the Union of Britain and Ireland. James H. Murphy contends that the nineteenth-century Irish novel received new impetus by the power gained by lower middle-class Catholic nationalist farmers and shopkeepers.⁴⁶ Murphy also highlights tensions between upper-class Catholicism and Catholic intelligentsia. This class movement was firmly in place by the 1890s. W.J. McCormack and John Wilson Foster have identified how the Protestant upper class lost its political stranglehold through the deterioration of the landlord system and this is reflected in the Anglo-Irish novel. The Revival reaction to such economic and political developments was to create a fictional history and documentation of Ireland's past led by Lady Gregory, W.B. Yeats, and Edward Martyn. Myths and local stories were used to create an ancient aristocracy and pagan peasants. Seamus Deane in *Celtic Revivals* documents that the Protestant Ascendancy was a bourgeois social formation in origin in response to Yeats's narrative of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy.⁴⁷ Deane documents how the Irish-speaking natives held the Ascendancy in low esteem without lineage. Deane tracks such opinions in 17th century Irish poetry. Deane reveals how Yeats's perception of the Catholic middle-classes mirrored the native Catholic perception of the Protestant Ascendancy in the 18th century. The death of Parnell resulted in a new type of work, the hero as an artist struggling amongst a plebeian mob. The aristocracy must suffer this social threat. In this manner, Yeats had distorted history in his zeal to create a link between the aristocracy of the Catholic and Celtic working-classes with the Protestant tradition of aristocracy.

Derek Hand contends that the end of George Moore's *A Drama in Muslin* suggests Ireland as an impossible place where issues are not resolved; the ending comprises of Alice Barton marrying Dr Reed in

⁴⁶ Murphy, *Catholic Fiction and Social Reality in Ireland*, p. 6.

⁴⁷ Seamus Deane *Celtic revivals: essays in modern Irish literature, 1880-1980* (London: Faber, 1985) p. 30-32

London which contrasted with the eviction of a tenant family.⁴⁸ Hand argues that Moore believed that Home Rule was inevitable and this was reflected in the depiction of Anglo-Irish characters struggling against paralysis and ineffectual action. The ending revealed Alice as an upper-class Catholic who merged into a new world where she possessed an identity in London as a writer free to work and express herself. The rigid bind of the class system of Ireland and Britain was breached by a new character. However, this reading was overtly positive. The movement of this character, who left Ireland, moved within the confines of the British Empire. She moved to London, the seat of British power. Alice Barton was a Catholic and female rising in social circles, possessing independent expression in writing, but she was rigidly dependent upon London for freedom and marriage.

David Lloyd argues in *Anomalous States* that there is violence present in the creation and maintenance of an identity. Society is splintered by different ideologies and disputes between various establishments.⁴⁹ The sectarian ill-will that has permeated Ireland's history and formation has featured attempts to sever the voice of alternate identities. Dominating cultures possessed hegemony in regards to the narratives describing society and maintained this through an application of a diverse range of violent strategies. Fiction, history, and the political spheres is a decisive feature in the performance of state authority. Irish identity must be maintained by constructing and maintaining a narrative that is never established. This changing and expanding evolution is present in the narratives of Irish fiction and its networks. It is a series of choices within and outside enforced frameworks. Frameworks such as nationality, family history and the social mask cannot be escaped, they are present at birth. The writer or

⁴⁸ Derek Hand, *A History of the Irish Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) p. 105

⁴⁹ Lloyd, *Anomalous States*, p. 4.

politician creates a unique, shared or a fractured sense of social identity and this is mirrored in the works of nineteenth-century Irish fiction.

The first work dealt with in detail is Griffin's *The Collegians* (1829) and the thesis stretches to George Moore's *The Untilled Field* (1903). The link between each work is the politics of Daniel O'Connell and its legacy, in particular the response to the political narratives and images of O'Connell. There was a new development in Irish fiction in the form of original character moulds of tenants, landlords, and politicians as satirical challenges to old Irish identities. Gerald Griffin and William Carleton's response to Catholic Emancipation and the image of O'Connell was immediate and rigorous in its engagement. Moore's father was an O'Connellite politician from whom Moore rebelled; this produced a rebellious Irish identity that was reflected in Moore's depiction of the landlord and tenant character. Each author engaged with a representation of the tenant and landlord character that was attached to narratives of O'Connell's politics. The first three chapters set up the immediate and variant responses of Griffin and Carleton to O'Connell's narratives. These were attached to image issues that O'Connell had to contend with throughout his political career. The final chapter deals with the break of George Moore from the last generation with an immediate link to O'Connell, represented by Moore's father G. H. Moore. Moore's transnational identity broke with Catholicism and embraced the European novel.

Claire Connolly has identified Irish novels from 1790 up until 1829 as part of an effort to reshape the past by confronting dominant narratives with innovative opposition.⁵⁰ Fiction endeavoured to depict the everyday life of Ireland. However, the work of Griffin and Carleton questioned and documented the politics and political figures who dictated the present.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Connolly, *A Cultural History of The Irish Novel*, p. 21.

⁵¹ Nolan has argued how the image of the Ascendancy Big House threatened by the rise of the

This thesis captures this thread of political movement throughout the nineteenth-century as George Moore endeavoured to remove O'Connellite narratives and parody Irish characters from earlier in the century through his engagement with the modes of the Naturalist and European novel. The aftermath of the political shift post-Emancipation was present in the lives of the Moore family and the works of George Moore.

Chapter Outline

This study maps the fictional construction of plot, character, and image beyond the period of Catholic Emancipation in the novels of Griffin, Carleton, and Moore, as tied to the figure of Daniel O'Connell. Daniel O'Connell is a figure of change, the new Catholic, and periodically seen as a threat or comrade to the Anglo-Irish position and the British Empire. This literary and political analysis is mapped alongside the newspaper composition of Daniel O'Connell and authors in the *Freeman's Journal* and *The Nation*. These Nationalist newspapers imposed an identity that coalesced with the political agenda of the papers. Moore's *The Untilled Field* culminated in a return to a short story treatment of Nationalism, tied to Catholicism, in tenant characters, after the end of the Landlord system and the Government of Ireland Bill 1893, when the second Home Rule Bill was passed in the House of Commons. The earlier Griffin endeavour to broaden and the Carleton attempt to reveal the limits of Irish Catholic identity met as conflicting elements in Moore's work. Moore was an author who saw potential in Irish identity but did not respect the philosophy of Catholicism. Each author used place, conflated with

uncultured natives, perpetuated in the Anglo-Irish novel, is in contrast to the Catholic novelist's depiction of rise of the Catholic. Nolan's study deals with Thomas Moore, the Banims, William Carleton, Charles Kickham, George Moore, and James Joyce. The religious and cultural practices of the population are examined by these authors. Reform and democracy is a concern for the Catholic writer, a search for a transition from tradition to modernity. The search is not nostalgic or incoherent but a response to a modern capitalism where hopes of individual freedom are attached. However, this is not separated from mass conformity. Nolan, *Catholic Emancipations*, p. xi.

character, to create a broader or restricted Irish Catholic identity depending on the politics and readership market of the author.

The first chapter presents Daniel O'Connell as inheriting a practice of a transnational Irish identity at work in the O'Connell family. This identity is evident through travel and contact with other cultures, particularly France. O'Connell read American and European philosophy and followed the career of South American Liberator, Simón Bolívar. Additionally, O'Connell's speeches throughout the 20s and 30s reveal readiness to toil within and outside the British state. Moreover, newspaper articles reporting on O'Connell in the *Freeman's Journal* disclose practical modifications regarding British rule of Ireland but O'Connell was also capable of a reverse attitude to Britain. Nevertheless, O'Connell valued hybrid identities and did not revere a pure Irish nationalist identity. O'Connell reworked a concept of Irish identity that was applicable to a transnational Catholicism associated with a European and cosmopolitan Catholicism. Pointedly, O'Connell's broader transnational Irish identity presents the background to the literature of Gerald Griffin and William Carleton.

Chapter two discusses elements of Daniel O'Connell's political philosophy present in Griffin's *The Collegians*. Conversely, the presence of O'Connell's political philosophy and identity is not a political allegory or championing of O'Connell. Griffin's novel is the work of an independent thinker presenting questions on an emerging and suspended Irish identity. Post-Catholic Emancipation Irish identity whether Catholic, Protestant, working class, and upper class, possessed a chance to change in a series of ways, structurally and psychologically. Griffin's portrayal of suppressed acts and belief from the public eye, particularly clandestine marriage, encapsulates the crossroads of Irish identity post-Catholic Emancipation. Griffin presented a multi-ethnic amalgamation of transnational corporeal features and familial associations beyond the British Empire. This was a response to the idea of a Catholic and

pragmatic Irish identity which O'Connell helped to shape. The developments of Irish identity in fiction had a response from the Anglo-Irish sector in the form of Catholic-raised William Carleton.

The third chapter documents the fiction of William Carleton, contrasting Carleton's political depiction of Irish identity, themes and use of character with Griffin's *The Collegians*. David Lloyd suggests in *Anomalous States* that violence is present in the configuration of identity particularly when society is splintered by alien authority and dogma.⁵² Carleton's response to Irish Catholic identity, post-Emancipation, was destructive. William Carleton, writing for an Anglo-Irish audience, had to negotiate the new image of the rising Catholic in his fiction. Griffin's *The Collegians* was a product of the political, local, national, and international matters of the period. Later in Carleton's career, an attempt was made to change his audience to a nationalist readership through links to Young Ireland. Young Ireland's *The Nation* attempted to alter the representation of Carleton to an honest chronicler of the 'Irish peasant'. Griffin and Carleton's fiction depict a Catholic Irish identity fastened to the politics of O'Connell. Nonetheless, the transnationalist schema of Griffin differs to Carleton's work. Carleton's spoof on Irish Catholic identity was an aggressive satire; Irish culture was inferior and restricted to the local and immoral in contrast to an Anglo-Irish and British identity. The fourth chapter outlines the political background of G.H. Moore and Charles Kickham which leads into the fiction of George Moore. The political context of G.H. Moore is one operating in the long shadow of Daniel O'Connell's political influence and the consequences of O'Connell's legacy. G.H.'s family status as a landlord with tenants, of English background but born and raised in Ireland, although Catholic, is significant to contextualise George Moore's fictional non-treatment of O'Connell as a figure in Irish fiction. Nevertheless, G.H. and George Moore engage with

⁵² Lloyd, *Anomalous States*, p. 4.

O'Connell's political inheritance, in the form of Young Ireland and Fenianism, and the literary line of fiction influenced by O'Connell. G.H. Moore and Charles Kickham are the political and literary link between O'Connell, Young Ireland and Fenianism. G.H. Moore's political speeches followed the line of O'Connell's transnational Catholic brotherhood. Moore sought to disguise his landlord status behind Catholicism as the people were absorbed with eliminating the landlord system. Additionally, Charles Kickham's fiction, through the political inspiration of Young Ireland and Fenianism, shows an effort to create ethical and transnational working-class characters. In addition, Kickham built on the character moulds of Griffin and Carleton. Specifically, Kickham's representation of Catholic priests was a dismissal of religion's purpose in state politics. Accordingly, Kickham was a forerunner of George Moore. George Moore's ambition as a novelist was to fulfil the European vision of the writer as a cerebral philosopher and forward-thinking literary stylist.

The transnationalism operating in the politics of G.H. Moore and George Moore's fictional narratives amalgamated philosophies from Europe and the wider world. Criticism of nineteenth-century Irish fiction stresses the grand narratives of Home Rule, the division between native and Anglo-Irish, Catholicism or Protestantism, Ireland and Britain. It does not pursue the multiplicity of transnational elements present in the political and literary philosophy of the Moores. George Moore engaged with many different literary traditions across Ireland, Europe and Britain. Moore employed an atypical perspective in his treatment of Irish society. Furthermore, Moore engaged tenets of Naturalism and Realism. The carefully cordoned character moulds and sections of society underpinning the Irish novel were challenged by Moore's self-ironisation of authorial self, criticism of Catholicism and Irish society. In Moore's view Catholicism was not capable of improving Irish society culturally. This project contributes an analysis of the initial literary response to Catholic

Emancipation and Daniel O'Connell, particularly in the fiction of Griffin and Carleton. The initial chapters examine the image construction of Griffin, Carleton and Daniel O'Connell in the *Freeman's Journal*. The narratives of O'Connell's politics play a part in the political construction of these authors. Furthermore, the identity of the Moore family and their historical evolution as an English plantation family, who became Catholic Landlords and nationalist politicians, is used as background to the development of George Moore's transnationalist image and works. The response of Moore to his father's politics such as G.H.'s transnational Catholic narratives was part of a new European direction for Irish satire and the novel. In constructing the literary line of Griffin, Carleton, and Moore I reveal the evolution of nineteenth-century Irish fiction and its engagement with politics. This politics contains the far-reaching legacy of Daniel O'Connell as his narratives of Irish identity reverberated throughout the nineteenth century into the politics of Young Ireland and beyond. I begin by outlining the transnational nature of Daniel O'Connell's life and work.

Chapter One:

The Transnationalism of Daniel O’Connell

This chapter traces transnational elements present in the political career of Daniel O’Connell. O’Connell’s Irish identity and political speeches are a microcosm of the transnational aspects of nineteenth-century Irish culture. The political approach of O’Connell’s transnationalism was to reach beyond the immediate Irish and British dichotomy. Furthermore, the dominance of O’Connell as a political figure in the 1820s and 1830s is essential background to the literature of Gerald Griffin and William Carleton. Additionally, in the following chapters, an interlinked argument is made for the importance of O’Connell’s political image and narratives for these literary figures’ themes and characters, both as an inspiration, contemporary topic and figure to mock. This chapter sets up the central argument that the transnational elements of O’Connell’s political speeches are part of a movement towards a broader hybrid Irish identity. Consequently, this hybrid identity can be found at work in the subject matter of Gerald Griffin’s *The Collegians*. In particular, this chapter focuses on the transnational influences on O’Connell, particularly the tradition of transnationalism in O’Connell’s family and O’Connell’s knowledge of American and European philosophies and the inspiration of South American Liberator, Simón Bolívar. O’Connell’s speeches helped perpetuate a transnational cosmopolitanism at work in Irish culture and identity.

The image of Daniel O’Connell

Daniel O’Connell is a key figure in Irish political history. However, O’Connell’s reputation is drifting towards anonymity when compared with the standing of the heroic revolution of 1916. In a country where

Republicanism and Independence have become the chief barometers of Irish identity O'Connell's anti-violence and stress on reform, over violent usurpation from Britain, does not seem to fit contemporary dialogues of the state's celebration of the past, present, and future. The failure of the Repeal Movement is another criticism often lodged against O'Connell's legacy. Patrick Geoghegan's two-volume biography aims to revive the reputation of O'Connell through offering an intricate and layered O'Connell-identity.⁵³ Geoghegan's account of the Liberator is centred on O'Connell's greatest achievement, Catholic Emancipation (1829). Geoghegan cites James Joyce's *Ulysses* as capturing the contemporary standing of Daniel O'Connell in Irish society. The portrayal is of an old and obese O'Connell overcome by expectations, continually searching for compromises with Britain. However, O'Connell was an astute and pragmatic politician who achieved a broad range of rights and reforms for the majority of Irish people. Catholic Emancipation resulted in the Catholic portion of the population slowly stuttering towards the kind of rights, position, and power that could deliver Independence from the British Empire. This chapter outlines Daniel O'Connell's unique political philosophy. One focus is O'Connell's use of place and transnational elements, such as ideas and historical links to Europe, to create a space to expand upon or reduce Irish identity depending upon the political issue. The reduction or expansion of Irish identity was frequently linked to European and South American politics and ideas.

The word synonymous with O'Connell's image, in many critical narratives, is Catholic. The political contexts O'Connell operated within were dominated by the labels of Catholic, Protestant, Irish, and British. This has continued in literary criticism and history. However, the question must be put forward, are the actions and achievements of O'Connell encompassed within the strict borders of Catholic, Protestant, Irish, and British or is there an

⁵³ Patrick M. Geoghegan, *King Dan: the Rise of Daniel O'Connell, 1775-1829*. (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2008) p. VII.

individualistic philosophy and way of thinking beyond these broad labels. Some recent critical and historical commentary on O'Connell tends to present the man as having a coherence in political and economic beliefs which, this chapter will argue, oversimplify the many variations which take place in his lifetime. Declan Kiberd in *The Irish Writer and The World* associated O'Connell with the donning of a performative stage mask in his political career and identified O'Connell as a stage Irishman.⁵⁴ Kiberd classifies O'Connell's rhetoric, speech, and apparent 'charm among the ladies' as used in O'Connell's mission to emancipate the Catholics of Ireland. There is evidence of O'Connell's extra-marital affairs as outlined by Patrick Geoghegan but Kiberd's narrative asserts O'Connell as having complied with English politicians at all times.⁵⁵ This kind of narrative does a disservice to the complex and intelligent nature of O'Connell's politics and his Irish identity. Kiberd stresses the aloof, cold, and urbane Parnell as the complete opposite of O'Connell. This type of comparison is not logical or helpful considering Parnell was born the year before O'Connell died in Rome: there is a significant shift in the political context and requirements in Parnell's generation. This was a generation who benefitted from the work of O'Connell, Young Ireland and the Fenians. O'Connell's multidimensional public and private narratives of Irish identity filtered through societies whether through public meetings or influences on Young Ireland and generations to follow.⁵⁶ The nature of O'Connell's personality should not reflect or dominate the aptitude of one's political action. Kiberd states that it was not until the advent of Parnell that Ireland and its writers became determined to destroy the stage Irishman. This does a disservice to the

⁵⁴ Declan Kiberd, *The Irish Writer and The World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) p. 25.

⁵⁵ See, Geoghegan, *King Dan: the rise of Daniel O'Connell, 1775-1829*, p. 180.

⁵⁶ For an insight into the origins and machinations of Young Ireland, see Ian Delahanty, 'A Noble Empire in the West': *Young Ireland, the United States and Slavery*, *Britain and the World*. Volume 6, pp. 171-191. and Maurice R. O'Connell, 'Young Ireland and the Catholic Clergy in 1844: Contemporary Deceit and Historical Falsehood', *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 74, No. 2 (Apr., 1988), pp. 199-225.

influence of O'Connell's multifaceted identity and restructuring of Irish Catholic identity. The Irishman's character was used as a subversive tool by O'Connell and writers like Griffin, who reached towards transnationalism in their portrayal of Irish identity as independent.

The perception of O'Connell as seeking to fulfil Irish Catholic potential within a British framework is often coupled alongside the British perception of O'Connell as seeking a basis for revolution. It is important at this point to outline the shifts in perspective regarding Daniel O'Connell's character and status in Irish society. The perceptions of O'Connell stretch from James Fintan Lawlor's calumny, 'a sworn dastard and forsworn traitor,'⁵⁷ to Michael Davitt's observation that he was 'the first truly great leader the Celtic people have found since the death of Owen Roe O'Neill' but 'he was not a champion of the working-classes or [...] strenuously against landlordism.'⁵⁸ O'Connell's first public speech in 1800 at the Royal Exchange was summed up by Major Sirr as innocuous.⁵⁹ A strident O'Connell emerged later with the ambition of Catholic Emancipation. The tempered approach of winning small gains under British rule lost popularity to the more forceful Nationalist ambition and methods of Young Ireland. Young Ireland yearned for the assertion of an independent nation. O'Connell offended his followers in 1833 speaking on the topic of Coercion:

I have ever been and still am most attached to a British connexion!
...Yes, as long as I saw the utility of the connexion, and an immense utility may exist, I should prefer seeing this House doing justice to my countrymen, rather than it should be done by a local legislature ...If I thought that the machinery of the present government would work well for Ireland, there never lived a man more ready to facilitate its movements than I am. The only reason I have for being a Repealer is the injustice of the present government towards my country.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Lalor, letter to Charles Gavan Duffy, editor of the *Nation*, in L. Fogarty, *James Fintan Lalor, Patriot and Political Essayist (1807-1849)* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1918), p. 1.

⁵⁸ Michael Davitt, *Fall of Feudalism*, (London: Harper & Brothers, 1904) p. 35.

⁵⁹ William J. O'Neill Daunt, *Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell with sketches of his contemporaries, compiled from the works of W.J. O'N. Daunt, Mr. Fegan, R.L. Sheil, etc.* (Dublin, J. Mullany, 1867) vol. i. p. 54.

⁶⁰ Jesse Dunsmore Clarkson, *Labour and Nationalism in Ireland*. (New York: Columbia

Daniel O’Connell was not a hard-line Nationalist. The legacy of O’Connell’s vision of Catholicism and its role in Ireland was one that did possess an awareness of its disadvantages. O’Connell knew that the close bind between religion and politics could produce violence in Ireland. O’Connell stressed he did not take his orders or politics from Rome despite his Catholic politics. However, the Catholic Emancipation leader can be perceived as setting a new level of separation between Catholic and Protestant through bringing about a situation where Catholicism was a characteristic of the electorate, defining Irish politics. The ‘Catholic Rent’ collected at Churches for O’Connell’s Association contributed to sustaining a division in Irish society. Catholic priests possessed a prearranged and free membership of the Association.⁶¹ Yet, Protestants were allowed to be members of the Association. O’Connell had to mobilize a mass movement with monetary clout in order to achieve reform and rights for the Irish citizenry, attendance at Mass on a weekly basis provided an opportunity to procure such a situation.

However, a recent 2009 essay by Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh questions the coherence of O’Connell’s economic or social beliefs.⁶² For O’Tuathaigh, O’Connell opposed monopoly and supported individual liberty, but he also understood the regulatory requirements of the British state. This contradictory element to O’Connell is the rationale for my selection of O’Connell’s speeches in this dissertation. Articles and speeches by O’Connell are utilised here not to outline a single, coherent doctrine or philosophy, but to illustrate a variety of shifts, pragmatism, and open-mindedness in O’Connell’s thinking. In short, the rationale behind my selection of O’Connell’s speeches from the 1820s through to the 1830s

University, 1926) p. 132.

⁶¹ Geoghegan, *King Dan: the rise of Daniel O’Connell, 1775-1829*, p. 197.

⁶² Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, ‘O’Connell, Daniel’. *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009) (<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a6555>) Accessed 11/01/2014

reflects an evolving, eclectic and cosmopolitan political identity. As this chapter will demonstrate, O'Connell was informed by philosophies and various international figures from around the world including the Venezuelan general Simón Bolívar and the English philosopher Jeremy Bentham. In this way, the practice of O'Connell's politics and image can be shown to be framed by a transnational cosmopolitanism and a practicality in political action.

The argument put forward here deems O'Connell an individual first and foremost; that O'Connell's political action was dependent upon a 'Catholic Rent' does not justify a labelling of O'Connell's political philosophy or action as just Catholic or pragmatic. Perhaps, individuality and Catholicism were at the core of what it meant to be Irish for O'Connell. Religion, nationality and empire have a role in the life of the individual and community in the nineteenth century but were the unique experiences and actions of the individual confined within religious and national labels? This is open to debate. The leadership-role O'Connell attained and performed is one argument against general labels asserting O'Connell's identity; other reasons which challenge the broad definition of O'Connell's politics are his family background and education. O'Connell should not be completely defined by the labels and philosophies of nationality, religion or a struggle against the British Empire. The unique figure of O'Connell possessed an inimitable and hard-nosed leadership which inspired fictional characters that critiqued Irish identity as later chapters shall demonstrate.

The Precedent of Family and a Transnational Boyhood

Sean McGraw and Kevin Whelan stress O'Connell's belief in Catholicism as interwoven into his concept of Irishness.⁶³ Yet, it was one strand among many, included in O'Connell's thinking, from his legal training

⁶³ Sean McGraw and Kevin, Whelan, 'Daniel O'Connell in Comparative Perspective, 1800-50', *Éire-Ireland*, 2005, Vol.40 (1).

and practice, and an exposure to different cultures through wide reading in philosophy and transnational family connections such as his Uncle, Count Daniel Charles O'Connell (1745–1833). The Count reached a high army rank in two different countries, England and France, while O'Connell's son Morgan joined Bolívar in battle in South America and then later served in the Austrian army.⁶⁴

Early in life O'Connell followed a similar path to his uncle's youth, Count O'Connell became an officer in the Irish Brigades of the French Army, through enlisting in 1797 with a volunteer corps.⁶⁵ Both men spent their youth in France and Britain. The Count later joined the British army. Daniel O'Connell joined, as a young man, the Lawyer's Artillery Corps in Dublin. The Count was the twenty-first child of twenty-two children of Mary (1708-1795) and Donal Mór O'Connell (1701–70), a catholic landowner. Daniel Charles was educated in Latin and Greek. The figure of the Count provides insight into the type of transnational Irishman who traversed the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁶⁶ While the Count was a lucrative success in comparison to most Irish soldiers, his transnational tale reflected Irish movement and ingenuity. He remained in touch with home and active in the affairs of family life.

The Count was a crucial figure of the O'Connell family as he played a part in Irish, British, and French history. It was an exceptional achievement. He became a French general and Count in the French nobility; he was made Count O'Connell by Louis XVI in 1785. He went to France at 16 to join the

⁶⁴ Geoghegan, *King Dan: the rise of Daniel O'Connell, 1775-1829*, p. 175.

⁶⁵ Bridget Hourican. 'O'Connell, Count Daniel Charles'. *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009.)

(<http://dib.cambridge.org/quicksearch.do?jsessionid=B7373655CA4A283983AAD0E12E8EEB5B#>) Accessed, 03/03/2014

⁶⁶ J. C. O'Callaghan, *History of the Irish brigades in the service of France* (1870); Theobald Wolfe Tone, *Autobiography*, ed. Barry O'Brien (1873), 301–2; Mrs Morgan O'Connell, *The last colonel of the Irish brigade* (1892); Richard Hayes, *Ireland and Irishmen in the French revolution* (1932); id., *A biographical dictionary of Irishmen in France* (1949); Liam Swords, *The green cockade* (1989); Oliver MacDonagh, *O'Connell* (1991).

French army, becoming a cadet in the infantry regiment of the Royal Suédois. The Count's life became devoted to France through service with French regiments in France and abroad. The Count assiduously remained in correspondence with his brother Maurice O'Connell, known as Hunting-Cap, who was the proprietor of the family estate. Count O'Connell arranged for army appointments for his nephews and cousins. In 1788 the Count recommended the boarding school Saint-Omer to Daniel's Uncle Maurice as a fit college for his nephews, Maurice and Daniel O'Connell. Eventually, the rising temperature of the French Revolution resulted in a warning from the Count not to venture to France for education, but the young men were not to be dissuaded.

In 1769 the Count was a member of Col. Meade's regiment of Clare's Irish brigade obtaining the title of captain. After being stationed for two years in Mauritius he returned to Kerry. After leaving Clare's brigade after a reduction in numbers and the possibility of promotion unavailable, the Count began to study the military, literature, and chemistry. The Count produced 'Discipline of the army' which won for Daniel Charles a cross of St Louis (1778). He was active at the capture of Minorca (1781) and wounded at the battle of Gibraltar (1782). New stature and opportunities arose after saving the life of the duc d'Artois, the future Charles X. This resulted in the title of Count, becoming one of only twenty-two people outside the royal family to possess such a title. The Count became Colonel of the German division of Salm-Salm in French pay. This regiment possessed 30,000 French troops in Alsace (1785). In 1788 the Count rode in the King's coach and kissed the hand of Marie Antoinette. The men in his regiment mutinied in 1790 as the French Revolution took hold. The Count became a private to avoid a position in-command, to keep his name from being noticed at such a tense time in France. He moved to London in 1792, enduring economic hardship, and hid his opposition to the Republic. An alibi was created to the effect that he had spent the entire time in Tralee and was sent to Paris. This defence was to

thwart the taking away of the Count's material goods. In 1802 after service in the British army the peace of Amiens allowed him return to France. The recurrence of war saw the Count and his wife arrested under the orders of Napoleon as they were deemed British subjects. They were prisoners in France until 1814 when the renewal of the Bourbons took place. O'Connell then came to the rank of lieutenant-general in the French army. Count O'Connell's name was floated by Wolfe Tone as a possible Commander for the 1798 rising with Tone asserting that O'Connell hated the English.⁶⁷ Daniel Charles later refused to take the oath of allegiance to Louis Philippe, losing his military position. However, he was naturalised as a French citizen in 1831. Daniel Charles advised his nephew, Daniel O'Connell, to practice loyalty to the crown and advocated against Repeal of the Union while supporting emancipation. With his freedom and fortune on the rise in France, after his time in Britain, Daniel Charles gave to his nephew Daniel vast sums to rescue him from financial ruin in 1815 and then again in 1818. At his death in Blois, in July 1833, Daniel Charles O'Connell held the title of General in the French, Count in the French nobility and Colonel in the British army⁶⁸.

The life of Daniel Charles O'Connell reflected an Irish European identity, one that was cultured, practical, capable, and possessing a transnational Irish identity. He attained high rank in two of the most powerful European armies and an income from both. A reported dislike of England did not prevent him seeking work in the British Army and his practical advice to Daniel of showing submission towards the crown. The Count understood the importance of patience in an effort to achieve career development,

⁶⁷ Theobald Wolfe Tone, *The Autobiography of Wolfe Tone*, R O'Brien 1847-1918, (London, Fisher Unwin, 1893) p. 302.

⁶⁸Bridget Hourican. 'O'Connell, Count Daniel Charles'. *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press,2009.)

(<http://dib.cambridge.org/quicksearch.do;jsessionid=866E1D219AF951F28F933D1D1FF44186#>) accessed: 01/04/2013.

particularly in the cut-throat world of politics. The counselling and finance of such a figure in Daniel O’Connell’s life was important as it provided the insight and example of a man of transnational experience, international influence and gave Daniel a pathway to enter France for an education. It was from such beginnings that which O’Connell built his cosmopolitan and transnational identity. O’Connell’s image and Irish identity is one which inspires many different types of perspective.

The Man in the Middle: Ireland and Britain, Protestant and Catholic

O’Connell needed different narratives and images for different sectors of society. Speeches were carefully cultivated within the British parliament and in various other forums as they reached an audience in Ireland. One particular *Freeman’s Journal* article reporting on a Catholic Association meeting captured O’Connell’s reasoning regarding the enmeshed society of Protestant and Catholic, Ireland and Britain:

[...] Let them show me what breach of the laws of society and good fellowship we [Catholics] have violated? Have we invaded religion or morality? Have we interrupted trade, or deranged the commerce of life? In a word, what principle of the law, or the Constitution, is at variance with our existence, although it is possible to commit a breach of the one without violating ‘The other, for we have too often seen, that what was declared to be law was subvertive of the Constitution — (Cheers)—but the Constitution is the parent of the law, and we could not destroy the parent without committing an injury on its offspring. [...] ⁶⁹

The logic of O’Connell’s position regarding Ireland’s relation to Britain was practical and financial as well as ideological. O’Connell’s metaphor for Britain and Ireland was one which was stretched to one of parent and child, but O’Connell also accentuated his and the Catholic Association’s irreversible determination to ascertain equality. O’Connell used the metaphor of parent and child to outline the reliance of Irish politics

⁶⁹ Anon, ‘Catholic Association.’ *Freeman’s Journal*, January 10, 1825 p. 3.

and rights as dependent upon Britain under the current situation of Union. During the effort to win Emancipation O'Connell was faced with taking the oath of supremacy, which he refused, or with pursuing re-election. O'Connell tried to take his seat on May 15th without taking the oath. Solicitor-General Nicholas Conyngham Tindal moved that the seat be confirmed as unoccupied, ensuring the need for another election. O'Connell was then elected unchallenged on July 30th, 1829. The motive and action, on O'Connell's part, was to polarize himself from Britain in the eyes of his fellow countrymen rather than taking a balanced approach to secure reform. During this political episode, the hunt for Emancipation, we get an insight into the esteem with which O'Connell was held by Catholics in Ireland, in an article in the *Freeman's Journal*. The article merely documents O'Connell's journey from his Dublin abode to get the ferry, describing his attire and awaiting reception upon leaving his house:

This honourable and learned gentleman left Dublin yesterday, in the most unobserved and unostentatious possible way. Thousands of persons were congregated, at an early hour, in the several thoroughfares leading from his residence in Merrion-square, but, in conformity with his expressed wish in the Association, on Thursday, he eluded their observance [...]⁷⁰

A description of O'Connell merits portrayal even when he avoids the thousands of people awaiting his leave. The focus of the journalist shifted to O'Connell's clothing, to which the greatest effort was made to colour O'Connell in the colours of the Irish flag, inspecting a band around O'Connell's hat '[...] on closer inspection, we found to be a combination of yellow (perhaps orange) and green. [...]'. O'Connell was portrayed as the ideal of an Irishman. The hopes of Catholic Emancipation were placed on O'Connell's shoulders as the journalist ends with a flourish, documenting O'Connell's leaving of the harbour for Holyhead: '[...] At about four o'clock the Holyhead steamer with its patriotic freight put to sea, with every

⁷⁰ Anon, 'Daniel O'Connell, ESQ., M.P.,' *Freeman's Journal*, 7 February 1829, p.2.

prospect, from the calmness of the water and favourableness of the tide, of reaching Holyhead by ten o'clock last night.'⁷¹ However, this image of O'Connell, as representative of Ireland, was more complex than this nationalist image.

While O'Connell stressed that the nature of Ireland's political and human connection to Britain must be on a platform of equal rights and not as a dominion of Empire or as a second class citizen, a description of another Daniel O'Connell speech at a Catholic Association Meeting reveals a belief in British rule if equality is gained:

But, I am told we are to have a Parliamentary interference for our suppression. Well, should they be displeased at the formation of this room, or our meeting in it, why we can build another. — If they object to the denomination which we have given ourselves, why, we can change it with that of Board, or Committee, or even Directory.— (Laughter.)—If they prohibit our meeting, surely they cannot, prevent our assembling to dine together. This Association is the creature of the penal code, and as long as Catholic disabilities exist, so long must some organ have its being, through which to convey our complaints— to proclaim our grievances and to demand their redress.⁷²

This attitude of O'Connell, while subsumed within the quest for Catholic rights, reveals a comfort and openness towards mutability as a principle of defence and action. O'Connell wittily stressed the shape-shifting nature of the Association which could escape censor in a variety of manners. The Catholic Association can avoid and become invisible to British law in the ambition of attaining rights simply by adapting various different names to their Association – avoiding the letter of the law. While, it is simply a tactic of changing the Association name, it reveals O'Connell does not fear change or the Empire, but takes strength from an ideology of change. O'Connell possessed a lawyer's nose for a legal loophole, which leaves no room for sentiment, tradition, or steadfastness in the known. Principles and identities are to be reinvented, just as O'Connell reinvented himself, his image and

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 3.

⁷² Anon, 'Catholic Association.' *Freeman's Journal* 1763-1924, 10th of January, 1825 p. 2-3.

beliefs many times over the period of his life.

O'Connell further highlighted that Ireland was not an illegal mistress but a member of a family with full rights to shape and claim a constitution. O'Connell demonstrated his penchant for asserting a position of strength rather than highlighting dominion status to Empire, O'Connell stressed rights over weakness even if it must give way to a position of authority. O'Connell then created a narrative where he favoured what is deemed a 'hereditary government' which brought stability through sequence. O'Connell used a number of familial metaphors:

[...] I am also firmly attached to British connexion, as useful to Ireland. I am a friend to the British Constitution, under such an arrangement as will secure equal laws and equal rights—(hear, hear)- and a full participation of the British Constitution, and of natural liberty, by which the one shall not be - the mistress nation and the other that of slaves-(great applause) by which we shall be brother freemen of a free state, and have been always ready to support that connexion, to insure its solidity, and to wipe from off it the mildews and rust of oppression. For this my blood is ready to flow to the last drop.—(Applause.) I am firmly and conscientiously attached to an hereditary government, because I know that in the fixity of the succession, is the security for individual property [...]'⁷³

Here, O'Connell advocated a friendly disposition to the Crown and declared that he was willing to fight for freedom within the United Kingdom for Ireland. This was evident from his tolerance towards the British connexion. It is an attempt to ascertain Irish rights, court a favourable reaction from British authority, and secure reform. The hallmark of the pragmatic lawyer is easy to espy in its practicality. This O'Connell speech device of a brotherhood framed the relationship between Ireland and Britain as a masculine and familial union rather than a feminised role for either country. This is highlighted when O'Connell dismisses the concept of a mistress nation in favour of a state of brother freemen; this highlights legal familial rights rather than a woman and child without hereditary rights. The

⁷³ Anon, 'Catholic Association.' *Freeman's Journal* 1763-1924, 10th of January, 1825 p. 2-3.

hereditary government was mapped alongside the masculine line of monarchical succession. This served to bring a manly role to the friendship and correlated to the monarch-like line of succession.

In 1825 the *Freeman's Journal* recorded an O'Connell speech that stressed the multitude of European identities invested in the Irish position regarding the British Empire. O'Connell outlined a history of Irish collaboration with European forces which had not yet realised its potential for asserting itself against the British Empire. O'Connell emphasised the precedent of the French landing in 1798 and the declaration of the Republic of Connacht:

[...] It is the fashion in the orgies of Orangemen to boast of the power of the Irish Protestants, and to vaunt that they would alone repel any attempt upon our shores. An accident, or rather a merciful dispensation of Providence, prevented the great body of the French forces from landing at Killala. But mark what was accomplished by only a handful of men! Twelve hundred Frenchmen marched into the heart of the country and defeated six thousand of the British troops. I admit that those troops were very different from the veterans of the Peninsula—they were like the present Irish Government, formidable only to their friends.—(cheers.) [...] The Bourbon family are aware of that mistake which Bonaparte committed and regretted. They turn their-eyes towards Ireland- a community of religious feeling may be easily cultivated. [if] the united fleets of France and of America were to appear, with twenty thousand men and one hundred thousand stand of arms, off our coast, gracious God! [...] Miserable as the condition is to which we are reduced, it is better than the connexion of Ireland to a foreign Power; I had rather see the streets patrolled by Scotch Highlanders, than French dragoons.—(Loud cheers.)⁷⁴

O'Connell went on to reveal his dislike of French liberalism and thoughts of the French playing a part in the achievement of liberty for Ireland did not please him. O'Connell's speech highlighted to Britain the possibility of American and French collusion. He highlighted the attainment of the Republic of Connaught with French help with a small band of men as an instance of what was achievable. O'Connell pointed towards revolutionary

⁷⁴ Anon, 'The Bristol Petition-Calumnies-State of the Country.' *Freeman's Journal* 1763-1924, Friday, January 14, 1825 p. 3.

national identities beyond the Empire which Ireland could emulate. Ireland possessed its international links outside of the British Empire if equality and reform for Ireland was not granted. Through highlighting Irish allies O'Connell underscored Ireland as a separate nation. The transnational links to previous moments of Irish independent action under English rule were emphasised.

O'Connell is often cited as viewing Catholicism as the traditional religion of Ireland but he also saw it as a tool of political organisation. O'Connell required a perception of Catholicism as integral to Irish identity as it was at the centre of his finances and electorate. Whelan and McGraw point out, the title of Britishness when applied to Irish citizens disturbed O'Connell. O'Connell's engagement with the British suppression of Ireland was to the forefront of his Catholic Emancipation fight. O'Connell also produced speeches that decried Britishness. Britishness was tied to Protestantism in the particular argument put forward by O'Connell that McGraw and Whelan highlight:

British!!! I am not British. You are not British. When the British north and south fell away and dissipated amongst the profligate and the renegades of Protestantism and of every species of infidelity, the inheritance of the Lord amidst the land, the Irish nation and the Irish church were the victims of and not the participators in these crimes.⁷⁵

O'Connell, for the most part, married the established lament of the seven hundred years under 'British' rule alongside the tenets of Catholicism and the biblical themes of captivity and deliverance. However, this nationalist narrative was utilised at specific moments alongside various other narratives which welcomed Britishness or stretched out towards a European or an anti-American identity concerning abolition. The legal career of O'Connell helped him to form an expertise with language and rhetoric, a skill perfected in his political speeches.

⁷⁵ Quoted in Sean McGraw and Kevin, Whelan, 'Daniel O'Connell in Comparative Perspective, 1800-50', *Éire-Ireland*, 2005, Vol.40 (1), p. 73.

Philosophical and Political Influences

O'Connell had other influences on his political thought, including Jeremy Bentham and Simón Bolívar, neither of whom was Catholic or Irish. O'Connell sent his 15 year old son to fight with Bolívar in South America. The philosopher Jeremy Bentham felt that O'Connell's hero Bolívar had become a despot.⁷⁶ O'Connell championed Bolívar's defeat of the Spanish, his services to liberty in bringing Columbia to freedom, and the acquisition of civil rights throughout the classes, for all tones of skin. The people who accused Bolívar of despotism, according to O'Connell, were envious of Bolívar's success and deserving of the same criticisms they launched at Bolívar. O'Connell identified with a man in such a position as Bolívar, trying to lead a Catholic people to liberation in a colonised country. He stated in a letter to Bentham: 'If I must abandon my reliance on the purity of Bolívar, I will shed a tear for poor human nature. But no: I venture to prophesy that he will live to have his patriotism and disinterested virtue recognised all over the world.'⁷⁷

McGraw and Whelan stress that a comparison of O'Connell and Bolívar highlighted the uniqueness of O'Connell.⁷⁸ While both men shared the ambition of freedom and self-government for their compatriots in nationalism and religion, both men did not advocate radical social change. Bolívar ultimately sought a national identity separated from the colonialist state and Church. The liberation of a people from colonisation with a view to gaining Catholics the right to attain and act in various government positions of note was an objective shared with Bolívar. This allowed both men's countries to gain a healthier balance across the classes, based on a democratic will.

⁷⁶ James E. Crimmins (1997), 'Jeremy Bentham and Daniel O'Connell: Their Correspondence and Radical Alliance, 1828-1831'. *The Historical Journal*, 40, p. 378.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ McGraw, Sean, and Kevin Whelan (2005), 'Daniel O'Connell in Comparative Perspective, 1800-50', *Eire-Ireland*, 40 no1/2 60-89 Spr/Sum. p. 83.

Simón Bolívar did not confine himself to the rule of law never mind O'Connell's anti-violence stance.⁷⁹ Bolívar believed in his ability to guide Columbia and South America regardless of the individuality and rights of others. This separated O'Connell from the approach of Bolívar as a liberator. Bolívar did not have a Catholic faith but he did realise the importance of having the Church as a force to gather support. He realised that Independence could not be achieved without the support of the Church network. This is also similar to O'Connell. Bolívar worked with the Church and convinced the clergy that Independence was not harmful to the clergy's practice and power. Bolívar practiced referring to the Church and God in his speeches, establishing religious oaths for public offices. He attended Church as a public relations exercise as it appeased his electorate and furthered his popularity: In a bid to secure the support of New Granada's powerful clergy Bolívar showed a pronounced religious streak, attending Mass every morning. General Daniel Florence O'Leary was surprised: 'Bolívar was a complete atheist. Notwithstanding, he thought religion necessary for government. His indiscretion, which was very great at all times, knew no bounds when he spoke of religion, which he used to ridicule in a disgusting manner. At mass he was sure to have some book [...]'⁸⁰

One of Bolívar's most trusted figures was Daniel Florence O'Leary, a man whose Irish identity became suffused with South American culture and attained a dignitary position in Europe. O'Connor was an Irishman much closer to Bolívar and the fight for liberation in South America than O'Connell; there were also thousands of Irishmen involved in this war as guns for hire:

Shortly before his death Bolívar expressed the wish that General O'Leary write the story of his life, and it would seem that he chose the man pre-eminently qualified to record his lifelong struggle for freedom. The active role O'Leary played in the war of independence as soldier, diplomat, and chief aide-de-camp of Bolívar gave him an

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Harvey, Robert. *Romantic revolutionary*. (London: Constable, 2011), p.363.

excellent opportunity to become well acquainted with his subject and to evaluate Bolívar 's career in the light of the stirring events of this period of Spanish American history. In addition, the very fact that O'Leary came from a distant land enabled him to view these events with a certain amount of detachment⁸¹.

Daniel Florence O'Leary (1801–54) was born in Cork⁸². He became a soldier, historian, and diplomat. O'Leary was the eighth child of ten children fathered by Jeremiah O'Leary, butter merchant, and his wife, Catherine O'Leary. At fifteen years of age he was recruited to a mercenary group that was enlisted to help Bolívar's drive for independence. The presence of these Venezuelan agents in Europe in 1816 saw O'Leary join the Red Hussars of Venezuela. They were a regiment of the British Legion. O'Leary was aboard the Corvette Prince in December 1817 sailing for St Georges, Grenada from Portsmouth. O'Leary's service and rise throughout the army ranks saw see him take part in every battle for freedom in New Granada and subsequently in Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. He became a staff officer for Bolívar. At the age of 25 O'Leary had made it to full Colonel, then ADC to Bolívar, the general had recognised the skills of O'Leary in particular his diplomacy, and in 1829 became General de Brigade. O'Leary was sent to various places as a representative of Bolívar such as to Caracas and Bogotá on assignments of pacification. He was also sent to Ocana for the reformation of the Colombian constitution. O'Leary held the ambition of becoming a historian of the war and collected the correspondence and papers of Bolívar after his death. O'Leary's epic work *Las Memorias* has proved a continual source of education and scholarly importance in South America. It

⁸¹ Daniel Florencio O'Leary, *Bolivar and the war of independence Memorias del General* Translated and Edited by Robert F. McNerney, Jr. Austin, University of Texas Press 1970, p. xi.

⁸² See: Dictionary of Irish Birth entry, O'Leary, Daniel Florence by Peter O'Leary Simón B. O'Leary (ed.), *Memorias del General O'Leary* (1883); Elizabeth Waugh, *Simón Bolívar* (1944); J. B. Trend, *Bolívar and the independence of Spanish America* (1946); Salvador de Madariaga, *Bolívar* (1952); Manuel Perez Vila, *Vida de Daniel Florencio O'Leary* (1957); J. G. Healey, 'Daniel Florence O'Leary', *Cork Hist. Soc. Jn.*, lxiv (1959), 28–34; R. A. Humphreys (ed.), *The detached recollections of General D. F. O'Leary* (1969), Gabriel Márquez, *The general in his labyrinth*, trans. Edith Grossman (1991)

is a history of the fight for independence and of Bolívar's life.

O'Leary was part of a company sent to Europe to affirm Venezuela's status as a nation. This saw O'Leary spend six years in Europe; part of his mission was to go to London where he tried to ascertain a position as a British diplomat to South America. He eventually became the British consul at Caracas and Puerto Cabello. In 1843 he became British chargé d'affaires and consul-general at Bogotá. In 1834 he returned to Cork and refused a civil reception (simply due to his reserve). In 1828 he married Soledad Soublotte, whose brother became president of Venezuela, they had nine children. He was given a state funeral in Bogotá and later he was buried with Bolívar. Three of Bolívar's favoured generals, including O'Leary, occupy this grave position. A report on O'Leary's funeral in *El Neo-Granadino*, 23 March, 1854 stressed the eagerness with which his British colleagues wished to mark his achievements:

At one side of [O'Leary's] coffin one could see the jacket, shoulder markings, stripes, sword and other insignias of a Colombian General. This was the wish of the British subjects, the General's compatriots, who wanted to recognise the posthumous honours which the New Granadan government had paid O'Leary ... Outside the British Legation, the English flag hung at half mast from a black chord to announce to the public the deplorable calamity which had occurred. [...]

The sumptuous coffin, covered with the British flag, was carried by subjects of that powerful nation, and placed upon a new stand (catafalco) prepared by the Church. Then the ceremony began, with all the solemn, pompous and majestic rites of the Catholic creed. [...]

O'Connell was not alone in his individualistic streak and ability to lead, O'Connor is further proof of this Irish characteristic. Bolívar put pressure on priests to push the nationalist agenda in Churches and had local newspapers edited to the same effect. This was in contrast to O'Connell; state McGraw and Whelan, who possessed conformity to the Church. However, another perspective is O'Connell possessed the oratory skills necessary to entreat the Catholic hierarchy and clergy. In O'Connell's early life he was an

atheist and changed his ways to appease his wife, one of which was to become Catholic⁸³.

O'Connell's identity and image was informed by the relevance of Bolívar to his political thought. In 1824 O'Connell warned of a Rising led by an Irish Bolívar if the inadequate treatment of the Irish continued.⁸⁴ Bolívar was the general of an army who used the type of violent means that was alien to O'Connell. In this narrative O'Connell seemed open to violence if reform through democracy was not going to change Ireland's status and persecution. In the *Freeman's Journal*, Tuesday, December 28, 1824 an opinion, in an article entitled 'Mr O'Connell', was given on the charges of sedition against O'Connell:

The sedition imputed to Mr. O'Connell is an allusion to the victories of Bolívar in South America, and the expression of a hope, that if Ireland be oppressed beyond endurance, she also many find a Bolivar.

[....]

[....] There is a striking case of this kind that occurs to our recollection, that of Winterbotham, the Baptist Minister, who was convicted at Exeter for sedition, and suffered a long imprisonment. The words alleged to be seditious were uttered in a sermon preached on the 5th November, and consisted in praise of some revolution. The witnesses against Winterbotham swore that he meant the French Revolution. The witnesses for him swore as positively that he meant The Glorious Revolution of 1688 [...] The witnesses against Winterbotham carried it, and he suffered accordingly. No man, who dispassionately reviews the proceedings now, can doubt that he was innocent.⁸⁵

The article highlighted the ambiguity at work in the interpretation and judgement of such speeches. O'Connell's speech was adjudged to be part of a plan to arouse the meeting into a passionate response. The logic and sentiments expressed in such a speech are second to the passion and support

⁸³ Geoghegan, *King Dan: the rise of Daniel O'Connell, 1775-1829*, p. 35 & 109.

⁸⁴ As cited by Crimmins the speech was reported 8 Jan. 1825. O'Connell was unsuccessfully charged with sedition as a result of this speech. James E. Crimmins (1997), *Jeremy Bentham and Daniel O'Connell: Their Correspondence and Radical Alliance, 1828-1831. The Historical Journal*, 40, pp. 359-387.

⁸⁵ Anon, 'Mr O'Connell', *Freeman's Journal* 1763-1924, Tuesday, December 28, 1824 p. 2.

provoked. It was a device and the general angle of the article was that O'Connell was being set upon by whatever means justifiable; the purpose was to attack and quieten O'Connell rather than to serve justice. The use of Bolívar was viewed as a means to O'Connell's end rather than a summons to a revolution or even an outright support of Bolívar. The practice of politicians was stressed through highlighting the censorship in English politics by the example of Winterbotham, the Baptist Minister. The article concluded:

But even if the words are well ascertained, it is not just to question a man very narrowly as to the words uttered in the heat of argument. Any particular member of a sentence in the speech of an orator can hardly do much mischief, or be taken as a symptom of much malice.⁸⁶

Daniel O'Connell was famed for his ability to offer ambiguous points of phrase which were capable of being suitably interpreted by various perspectives. O'Connell took Irish Catholic politics and organised it into a mass organisation of renown throughout Europe. He managed to make population figures an important factor, through the 'Catholic Rent', as the reforms produced a developing democracy in parliament. The 1834 census put Catholics at 81% of the population of Ireland.⁸⁷ Catholics had possessed the vote since the 1793 Relief Act but had been excluded from sitting in parliament. By the 1820s there were 100,000 Catholic voters in eighteen counties.

Oliver MacDonagh has made the point that the utilitarianism behind O'Connell's politics was informed by Godwin's *Enquiry* and thought on political justice. There are two perspectives, which MacDonagh outlined: that O'Connell prized government restraint regarding people's private opinion and the second being the avoidance of violence for political ends.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Sean McGraw and K., Whelan 'Daniel O'Connell in Comparative Perspective, 1800-50', p. 68.

⁸⁸ Oliver MacDonagh, *The emancipist: Daniel O'Connell, 1830-47* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989) p. 18.

Therefore, public opinion was at the root of all power and the bond of social peace was the protection of civil liberty and equality.⁸⁹ McGraw and Whelan treat of Daniel O’Connell’s claims to basing his political life on a Utilitarian philosophy.⁹⁰ The principles of the Utilitarian philosophy grew from influences both in Britain and on the continent in the form of Hume, Beccaria, Helvetius, and Priestley. The individual’s rights were prized but the community must take precedence in matters where a personal choice affected wider society. In such incidences the community is the sum of its individuals; therefore the greatest happiness for the greatest number applied in such circumstances. The highest possible individual freedom was sought to exist alongside happiness for the majority of people within a community. All individuals no matter the religion or nationality should be seen as equal before a law is passed.

Philosophical circles in the first half of the nineteenth century in Britain and Ireland were dominated by the pragmatic philosophies known as Benthamism and Malthusianism. Daniel O’Connell seemed to be an advocate of Benthamism.⁹¹ A friendship developed between O’Connell and Jeremy Bentham, initially based on Utilitarianism, as they expressed their mutual admiration and ideas upon Ireland’s future and politics. Crimmins wrote that a disagreement upon O’Connell’s use and idealisation of Bolívar later saw both men endeavour to rectify the former relationship they had. Bentham wrote at one point: ‘O’Connell, I love you with a father's love!’⁹² Bentham’s admiration for O’Connell was for the independence of mind he demonstrated: ‘the only man perhaps in the world, by whom, for many years to come, Radical Reform, or any approach to it can be brought upon the

⁸⁹ See, F. O’Ferrall, *Daniel O’Connell* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1981), p. 9 & 11. p. 19. Oliver MacDonagh, *The emancipist: Daniel O’Connell, 1830-47* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989) p. 18.

⁹⁰ Sean McGraw and Kevin, ‘Whelan Daniel O’Connell in Comparative Perspective, 1800-50’, p. 61.

⁹¹ Thomas Duddy, *A History of Irish Thought* (London: Routledge, 2002) p. 215.

⁹² James E. Crimmins (1997), Jeremy Bentham and Daniel O’Connell: Their Correspondence and Radical Alliance, 1828-1831. *The Historical Journal*, 40, p. 361.

carpet, with any the smallest chance of success'.⁹³ O'Connell expressed a desire to help Bentham with law reform. However, Bentham's perception of O'Connell's steadfast link to Catholicism troubled him as he viewed it as damaging to O'Connell's reputation as a reformer.

On the cusp of being elected a second time in Clare, 1828 O'Connell wrote to Bentham, 'Then for Utility, Law, Church, Finance, Currency, Monopoly and, representation. How many opportunities to be useful!' and 'I will not express indeed, I could not express my affectionate veneration to you.'⁹⁴ This early part of O'Connell's political career also contained a letter after his second election including the joyous proclamation: 'benefactor of the human race, I avowed myself on the hustings this day a "Benthamite" and explained the leading principles of your disciples'⁹⁵. O'Connell stressed that he was committed to utility and used utilitarian references in parliament. Bentham responded by questioning why the English newspapers had no reports of O'Connell's avowals.

O'Connell began to promise Bentham support regarding Bentham's theories of codification and reform. He highlighted issues in parliament and stressed Bentham in his speeches. Bentham responded through affirmations to O'Connell that he was gathering supporters for O'Connell in the house of parliament. Bentham even floated the idea of a Law Reform Association which backed up O'Connell. Each man went into specific details about possible reforms and gave each other positive feedback and ideas for changes to proposals. Enthusiasm was running ahead of the political reality. Bentham paid close attention to the activity of O'Connell, writing to O'Connell of his Law Reform Association and O'Connell's attempts to drum up support. O'Connell produced a petition with 10,000 signatures for a comprehensive legal code, supporting Peel's reform of the Courts of Law and called for the abolition of the fee-gathering system. O'Connell spoke on the

⁹³ Ibid., p. 362.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 375.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

need for a proposal covering the codification of laws and Bentham wrote to him with possible arguments he could use in defence of this proposal. Even when their relations cooled O'Connell still used the work of Bentham to support his claims.

Thomas Duddy outlines that it was revealing that O'Connell was prepared to address Bentham in correspondence as 'Dear honest, supremely, public spirited, truly philanthropic, consistent, preserving, self-defeating Friend' with Bentham returning with the extravagant compliment 'Liberator of Liberators'.⁹⁶ O'Connell pronounced himself to Bentham as a 'Benthamite', referring to Bentham as the 'Benefactor of Human Race'. Joseph Lee wrote there is more to O'Connell's moral conception of Benthamism than Bentham's 'felicific calculus', which is the estimation of the amount of pleasure an action will cause.⁹⁷ Duddy suggests O'Connell's Benthamism was political rather than doctrinal, as he quoted a change O'Connell made to Bentham's key philosophical statement in a letter: 'The greatest possible *good* to the greatest possible number'.⁹⁸ O'Connell desired to improve conditions for Ireland and not improve happiness for a community. 'Good' was a more solid political building block for a practical politician than a philosopher. O'Connell's good is not happiness but the stressing of democracy and opportunity for a beleaguered people. Bentham did not want to see this political agenda in place in O'Connell's stances against French liberalism, his support of Catholicism and of Bolívar. Bentham wrote letters which entreated O'Connell to confirm whether he was now pro or anti-Bentham. Bentham did not consider that O'Connell was never pro or anti-Bentham but rather saw the use of Bentham and his work. The silence of O'Connell seemed to confirm something in the perception of Bentham, O'Connell did not care, Bentham wrote:

⁹⁶ Duddy, *A History of Irish Thought*, p. 217.

⁹⁷ Joseph Lee, *The modernisation of Irish society, 1848-1918* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1989) p. 82.

⁹⁸ As cited in Duddy, *A History of Irish Thought*, p. 217.

In England the men of his own religion are cold to him, and indifferent; Liberals, all to a man, his warm friends, and the only ones: and this is the return he makes to them. The friends of liberty all over the world, those are the men he thus makes war upon. The liberal Spanish Cortes, the liberal Portuguese Cortes, all over late Spanish America, the constituted authorities, with the exception of Bolívar, till the t'other day the Liberator, now the Subjugator.⁹⁹

O'Connell knew the value of a correspondent and ally such as Bentham, but, as a politician that friendship could neither be avowed nor denied without judging the response of the electorate and of Bentham. Bentham was a powerful figure in the intellectual circles of Europe and Britain but O'Connell's first agenda was to win his support and the contacts that produced. This was the balancing act which was operating within the transnational element of O'Connell's Irish identity. Bentham issued O'Connell with a warning that if he failed to break from such ideas as Papal infallibility, the stressing of Catholicism as a life regulator above all other approaches to life, and Bolívar, then O'Connell faced the loss of the support of the Whig reformers and parliament radicals. However, Bentham had failed to understand or perhaps did not care that these were fundamental tenets to O'Connell's popularity in Ireland and his means of finance. O'Connell needed an image as a liberator to the Catholic populace in order to ensure a healthy return on the Association's 'Catholic Rent'. Bentham later tried to redirect the letters to issues of codification and legal reform but the damage to relations had been done.

James Crimmins points out that scholars have mistaken rhetoric by O'Connell for political conviction. This statement could in turn be applied to Bentham's perception of O'Connell's interaction with him on reforms. Crimmins declares that O'Connell was more than expediently using the prestige of Bentham and his works to backbone his parliamentary oratory.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ James E. Crimmins (1997), 'Jeremy Bentham and Daniel O'Connell: Their Correspondence and Radical Alliance, 1828-1831'. *The Historical Journal*, 40, p. 382.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 385.

Crimmins stresses O'Connell as sincere in his application and seeking of advice from Bentham. The practical nature of O'Connell's approach to politics allowed him to shrink from positions which Bentham's philosophy warranted. Bentham did not countenance the presence of religion as a dominating force in politics. Bentham's dislike of O'Connell's attachment to Bolívar and his haranguing of continental liberals were based upon O'Connell's Catholicism. The Bentham ideal of a statesman did not include Catholicism but objectivity concentrated upon parliamentary reform. English reform was viewed with scepticism by O'Connell; scepticism was demanded by O'Connell's relationship with his electorate on the Catholic ticket. Ultimately, O'Connell was an Irish politician, who served the Catholic populace who elected him. However, this did not mean that O'Connell had no room to manoeuvre. He never adopted the position of statesman-like objectivity as envisioned by Bentham, as it is a philosophical ideal. The symbol and standing of Daniel O'Connell changed through political success. The work and reputation of O'Connell, post his avocation and backing of the abolition of slavery, rose to new heights. This status was built upon a reinterpretation and affirmation of the role of Irish identity on an international level. The individual right to freedom in regards to religion and the separation of Church and state were to the forefront of O'Connell's Catholic liberalism. Nevertheless, this belief was conditioned by O'Connell's depth and reliance on Catholic support. Yet, O'Connell was knowledgeable of contemporary philosophy in politics and the cosmopolitan nature of culture. It was an approach that O'Connell indoctrinated his intelligent electorate with, mainly through speeches. This is often attached to O'Connell-like literary characters as developed in later chapters.

The Political Philosophy of O'Connell

The weakness of O'Connell's Catholic Association was that it failed

to unite Catholic and Protestant, particularly as O'Connell did not campaign in the North of Ireland. The southern unity across the classes did not manage to circulate in the North of Ireland. O'Connell had alienated the Protestant Irish. O'Connell claimed that Protestants were Protestant due to the political advantages that existed. He believed that if the political arena were to become more democratic then dissipation of the division and hatred of such groups as the Orange Order was a possibility¹⁰¹. Therefore the democratic improvement of parliament and the severance of Church and State were paramount to peaceful relations between the Protestants and Catholics. However, due to O'Connell's dependency on the 'Catholic Rent' he was not in a position to untie such links without achieving Repeal of the Union; Catholicism was integral to the political image and money that O'Connell had fashioned.

In the *Freeman's Journal* in 1824 a letter documented the intertwined state of Ireland and Empire (written by a 'Charles Church'). This was read at an English Catholic Association meeting. The potential economic disasters from possessing an economy heavily dependent upon the whims and losses of an Empire were highlighted:

To poor rate - there are many plain and palpable objections- first, that the poor farmer would have to pay them as he does every other land tax, without obtaining one shilling abatement in his present rents, so that every farmer must lose his last shilling, before the landlord loses one. [...] Will the English employ the Irish to diminish employment for themselves, [...] Or if Government would purchase a bog or mountain, for the purpose of reclaiming it, it will cost twenty pounds to render an acre of either worth one half guinea yearly, and it will take at least three acres to provide one family, consisting of six persons [...]¹⁰²

The criticism of British economic policy situated Irish identity as firmly tied to Britain. In this particular narrative the immediate concern did not allow for an Irish identity as part of Europe as we shall witness in

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 52

¹⁰² Anon, 'Catholic Association.' *Freeman's Journal*, Thursday, November 04, 1824 p. 2.

O’Connell’s speeches or in Griffin’s fiction. The English Catholic Association’s plea for fairness and objectivity in relation to economic governance was a reaction to a perceived anti-Irish and anti-Catholic bias in Britain. Within Ireland the Catholic Association often described a prejudice emanating from Ulster. In 1825 a *Freeman’s Journal* report on a ‘Catholic Association Meeting’, described a man as having written and delivered anti-papist letters, in blood, to a post office in the West of Ireland. The report suggested it was a man from the North who had frequented the West:

[...] On the 28th, he was discovered at the Post office putting in letters also written with blood; he was arrested by Catholics, [...] The letters were very incoherent, and the man appeared to be a maniac; [...] When asked by one of the police, why he wrote the letters with blood, he gave this significant answer, ‘If it was not for such letters you would not have so fine a jacket on your back.’ [...] in this neighbourhood, a poor mad creature considered he would benefit society by ridding it of all old women, and when the men were all at work in the fields, he slew with an axe his mother and grandmother, [...]

The article’s description of events depicted a violent and hate-filled perspective towards the southern Catholic stemming from the North. The usage of the words ‘incoherent’ and ‘maniac’ are applied to a person who is further described as a pawn utilised by a Northern agenda. The individual/group who caused this hostility was conjectured to be an unknown puppet master, who controlled the actions of this deranged person. The article described a second instance:

[...] There is also another instance in the North lately, where a mad son murdered the father, and yet the man into whose mind some wretch has instilled ideas of blood and murder, is at large in the country. One of the letters, blotted with gore, and written to a Catholic Lady, contains this passage—’ If my brother Martin’s head is not cut off; depend upon it you or I must commit murder.’ [...] there was no scrutiny by the Bench, to ascertain whether he had been the tool of others or not. I would congratulate you, but you know me well. Mr. Plunkett hates Orangemen—so do you—I think you help

¹⁰³ Anon, ‘Catholic Association. Saturday, 8th January, 1825.’ *Freeman’s Journal* 1763-1924, Monday, January 10, 1825 p. 2-3.

him to rise from the fall he got stumbling over you [...] ¹⁰⁴

The narrative created a picture of people from the North as capable of indiscriminate violence. The bloodlust of the Orangeman was asserted towards the end of the narrative. The image of gore splattered-letters gave the North a gothic dimension. Contradictive of the criticism that the political narratives of O'Connell failed to incorporate and bridge the division in the North of Ireland, Daniel O'Connell was described as dismissing the furore surrounding these gore splattered letters as designed to whip up strong feelings and conspiracies. O'Connell was at pains to stress an even-handed approach to this matter of the gore splattered letters, which was a hallmark of his politics:

[...] Mr. O'Connell said, that this letter related to a portion of those strange conspiracies that have agitated the public mind and disturbed the country for some time past. They burst upon the public simultaneously, though in different directions and where somewhat of the nature of the late famous Loughrea discovery, where, with the aid of one of the Orange dignitaries, a pensioner of the Government fabricated a story of having seen and counted sixteen thousand men paraded with fire-arms in a field [...] ¹⁰⁵

O'Connell attempted to avoid speech which might incite division, he categorised the loaded narrative as part of an attempt to cause tension. Interestingly, O'Connell then stressed his escape from charges of sedition, allotting this event alongside the political narratives of division, as belonging to both sides of Irish society: [...] but it is owing to the kindness of my Catholic, and to the justice of my Protestant countrymen, that I stand acquitted and discharged from that ridiculous accusation [...]. ¹⁰⁶ O'Connell was eager to keep both sides happy and at peace, to place himself as a representation of both. O'Connell failed throughout his career to achieve the incorporation of the North as agreeable towards his politics. However, the

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

effort was there at times, O'Connell did not view his religion or nationality as a cause to separate himself from a community in this instance. O'Connell was at pains to underline the perceived opposed elements in society as a community and a nation locked in relations with each other. This was inescapable and one that could bear fruit if devoid of hatred and irrational behaviour.

Boyce outlines how the consolidation of the identification of the Irish state with Catholicism did not mean a bi-polarised community of separate groups. Boyce wrote of a sense of Protestant Irishness: 'they could use that term as an adjective, even if they could no longer employ it as a collective noun.'¹⁰⁷ In O'Connell's 39-member parliament of 1832 there were thirteen Protestants.¹⁰⁸ There had been Protestant emancipationists and Protestant repealers.

Kevin Whelan in *The Tree of Liberty* distinguishes O'Connell's campaign as built upon Burke and the Defenders rather than the United Irishmen.¹⁰⁹ Whelan outlined that Burke asserted that Protestant Ascendancy was an irredeemable charade. In the 1790s during Grattan's reign, Whelan stressed, that a freely elected Irish parliament ensured a Catholic majority and as a historically persecuting religion this meant tyranny upon Protestants.¹¹⁰ Protestants had to prevent this from happening.

An O'Connell speech documented in the *Freeman's Journal* in 1827 emphasised the inequality of the Irish Catholic position in relation to Britain and the intertwined nature of their history. This speech stressed the unequal standing of the Catholic and was part of the drive to win Catholic Emancipation. Initially, the binary of the English and Irish was stressed:

[...] Before the separation of Irishmen by religion, an equally marked division existed between Englishmen and Irishmen. There remain on

¹⁰⁷ Boyce, *Nineteenth-century Ireland: the search for stability*, p. 154.

¹⁰⁸ O'Connell supporters in the House of Commons were known as 'O'Connell's Tail'.

¹⁰⁹ Whelan, *The Tree of Liberty: Radicalism, Catholicism and the Construction of Irish Identity, 1760-1830*, p. 55.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

the records of the Legislature, an Act of Parliament which prohibits, under pain of the penalty of felony, an Irishman or woman from intermarrying with an Englishman or woman. There are two Acts of Parliament which make it felony for an English merchant to sell his goods or wares to an Irishman. It is also rendered penal by Acts of Parliament for the wife of an Irish Lord or Baronet, to nurse the children, legitimate or illegitimate, of an Englishman or woman. [...]¹¹¹

O'Connell's conception of the division between Irish and British rights fluctuated and was dependent upon the possibility of reform. A mere 9 years later, post-Emancipation O'Connell possessed a worldlier and cosmopolitan standing. In 1836 he was described at a meeting documented in the *Freeman's Journal* as an advocate of civil and religious rights not just in Ireland but across the globe: 'The next toast was 'Daniel O'Connell, the advocate of civil and religious rights to every portion of the human race. 'Nine times nine. The toast was pledged with the most unbounded applause. Air—See the conquering hero comes.'¹¹² The politics and image of O'Connell was a major presence in Irish culture and abroad. Practical and shrewd thought was at the centre of Daniel O'Connell's politics which led to a major development in the liberation of Catholic society. Liberation through reform was propounded throughout the Repeal Association years as reform in the form of small gains became the predominant method. O'Connell's political thinking was often charged with not being open-minded enough to forgo Catholicism in the face of wider reform such as the Queen's Colleges issue. However, O'Connell's suspicion of the British Empire and its practice of broken promises on Emancipation meant that a belief in the English proposal for non-religious denominational education could not but be regarded with misgiving. These experiences of O'Connell's practice in politics conditioned him to pursue continual reform

¹¹¹ Anon, 'Catholic Address. To the People of Ireland.' *Freeman's Journal* 1763-1924, 08/03/1827 p. 3.

¹¹² Anon, 'Public Dinner to Daniel O'Connell, ESQ., M.P., At Drogheda' (From our Special Reporter.)' *Freeman's Journal* 1763-1924, 21/12/1836, p. 3.

in order to improve the standard and freedom of Irish culture and life. The struggle to attain Catholic Emancipation meant that the ideal of major and fast gains was firmly left behind.

In the *Freeman's Journal* in 1839 there was an insight into the nuanced philosophy and layered approach to O'Connell's politics. He opened out Catholicity to a wider identity beyond Irishness while ensuring the votes of the Catholic hardcore at the hub of his political popularity remained.¹¹³ Public advertisement was used to call Catholics to the Freemason's Hall in London to discuss the issue of national nondenominational education. The *Freeman's Journal* declared the meeting the first public assembly of this Catholic kind in London for centuries. O'Connell, who was against the joining of religions in this way, accused Gladstone of misunderstanding Catholics: '[...] he does not understand the history of the Catholics'.¹¹⁴ O'Connell proceeded to lecture an absent Gladstone on some of the injustices experienced by Ireland and its education system, highlighting the confiscation of monasteries:

[...] when they were confiscated by Henry VIII, and I find they amounted to 150,000 of our present money; and as money was at that time ten times more valuable than it is now, that made it equal to 1,500,000 a year. The people of England would have had all that money for the purposes of education and charity to this day, for each of these monasteries had schools attached to them. I am glad I said convents instead of monasteries, for it reminds me that there were also 400 convents, in which the nuns had their schools. [...]¹¹⁵

O'Connell pointed toward the financial benefits Britain secured in colonising Ireland. O'Connell tried to capture the crossover of religions, Catholic and Protestant, throughout England's history:

But I am guilty of no excess—I talk nothing but silent sober history, and if I were silent, the trumpet of history has already blazoned these

¹¹³ Anon, 'Education- Great Catholic Meeting in London'. *Freeman's Journal* 1763-1924, 7/18/1839, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Anon, 'Education- Great Catholic Meeting in London'. *Freeman's Journal* 1763-1924, 7/18/1839, p. 3.

facts to the world (hear, hear). We are told, forsooth, that education belongs to the conscience of the state. Then, Mr. Gladstone has found out that the state has a conscience. The state's conscience is a very different thing (a laugh). First, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, when he got the title of Defender of the Faith, the state conscience was Catholic. Then, when he declared himself the head of the church, and recognised the six articles, which included the seven sacraments, the state conscience became a mongrel thing, half Protestant and half Catholic—half Protestant, because he threw off the Pope; and half Catholic, because he retained the seven sacraments. I wish Mr. Gladstone, who is a very clever young man, was there to decide what the state conscience then was (a laugh).¹¹⁶

The humanisation of the state as possessing a consciousness that was tied to education was used by O'Connell to undercut British rule with reference to oppression. O'Connell attempted a history of the evolution of British consciousness starting with the Catholicism of Henry the Eighth. O'Connell outlined the subsuming nature of Empire, how identities are absorbed and change into different avenues of expression and definition. This shifting identity and nature resulted in an entity which was tied to profit and a protection of revenue regardless of religions or the philosophy which backboned the pursuit of profit. O'Connell continued to stress the personal history of English figures and the confused state of such a politically religious zigzagging and intermeshed history:

[...] Then came Edward VI., who threw overboard the six articles, and introduced forty-two instead of them. Poor child, he was as Calvinistic as could be desired, [...] followed by the unfortunate Mary; and would to God we could blot her name out of the history of England. [...] but I enter upon no defence of her—she persecuted and left a stain upon Catholicity in England, which it is impossible to wipe away, [...] Then came the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and what was the state conscience then? I don't know what was the domestic conscience (laugh)—but I know that she had great worldly glory and the leading gentry her slaves, while the rest of Europe was incapable of touching her flag wherever it flew. [...] and I have seen her spending the last four days of her life in an agony, I hope of repentance, but I know of terror and of bitterness [...]¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Anon, 'Education- Great Catholic Meeting in London'. *Freeman's Journal* 1763-1924,

O'Connell's speech reduced the initial metaphor of the consciousness of the state to the heads of the state and their personalities. He related the success and actions within those reigns to the personhood of the figure. This was then tied to the monarch's historical reputation as coloniser. The state of guilty consciousness, oppressively reducing the monarch to a bed of sickness, was tied to one of Ireland's bloodiest oppressors, Queen Elizabeth. O'Connell pushed for a rule in the Catholic Association which outlined that Protestants could attend meetings for free but Catholics had to pay the 'Catholic Rent'. Later, the *Freeman's Journal* reported that Daniel O'Connell passed a motion for his Association stating that all college students should be allowed to attend the Catholic Association's meetings in order to expose them to the policy and conduct of the Association. This was to demystify reports regarding beliefs of anti-Protestantism or anti-British sentiment. O'Connell through such a motion wished to confirm the democracy and equality of the Association to all classes and religions. The article details objections against the suggestion and accounts of disruption from Trinity college students attending Catholic Association meetings. However, O'Connell was steadfast in his belief that it was the best for the Association and that such disruptions from Trinity students were infrequent. This opened out the possibility for the development of Young Ireland as it ensured the attendance of various students of a Protestant background who were attending Trinity College. In the article a Mr. Curran desired that, due to recent behaviour of students, Trinity College students should be banned from attending:

Mr. Curran (Dundrum) [...] would suggest the giving notice of a motion for facing into consideration the propriety of rescinding the regulation introduced by Mr. O'Connell whereupon the Students, of Trinity College were spectators to the meetings of the Association. Mr. O'Connell said, he should be sorry to affix a stigma upon all the Students of the University merely for the misconduct of a few embryo

Orange persons, [...] the Orange, Students of Trinity College were to be recognised by their costume, which consisted of a blue coat with metal buttons, upon which were the letters, T.C.D. Mr. M. J. O'Kelly reminded the meeting that there were very many liberal Students in College and those of opposite feelings were the lesser number, [...]¹¹⁸

The article attests that a particular coat was used to by the upper class and wealthy student of Trinity College. The identification of division through coats was a way of identifying class and religious difference. The coat of the Trinity student apparently demarcated an anti-Catholic Orangeman frequenting the Catholic Association to cause trouble. O'Connell stressed that this was just one strand of Trinity student who was in a minority. The material possessions and universal powers of the Church were lamented by O'Connell. The separation of Church and State was a goal. The freedom of the individual to practice a religion of choice was of primary concern. However, these were ideals O'Connell never found a way of practicing in politics and offering to his electorate. Catholic Emancipation did not bring the profound change to Irish society hoped for. It was a slow ticking change for generations of Catholics rather than a sudden end of Catholic persecution and a movement into a fulfilment of ideals. The Protestant Ascendancy still inhabited the corridors of power and held the most powerful positions in the country. The 1830s saw the escalation of a determination to see a change in the landlord system as the poor suffered. The Catholic political ticket which saw O'Connell backed by the clerics of the country became unwilling in its support as bishops retreated from such extreme politics. O'Connell's march was coming to an end as new generations sought to establish a culture of nationalism over reform and legal rights. *The Nation* newspaper, formed by Young Ireland, was part of a European trend of Young movements in Italy, Switzerland, Greece, Austria, and Bohemia. The Liberal utilitarian quest for law made by a democratic majority protecting the individual and community

¹¹⁸ Anon, 'College Students', *Freemans Journal 1763-1924*, 04/11/1824 p. 3.

fell to the demand for a national identity. The inspiration for a new type of Irish identity built on a socially conscious individual was present in the objective thinking and philosophy present in the speeches and thinking of O’Connell. However, this did not mean that authors such as Gerald Griffin were simply a disciple of O’Connell.

Beyond the Label of Catholic

To define the political philosophy or place a label upon the character or of Daniel O’Connell - in order to capture the tenets of his politics goes against the grain of this work. The point is to stress the individuality and critical ability, first and foremost, in contradistinction to the dominant political images and labels current in Irish history and literary criticism such as Catholic, Protestant, Irish, or Anglo-Irish. The perception of O’Connell in Irish history and nineteenth-century literary criticism has become conditioned by such labels. O’Connell is a skilful political thinker rather than merely an opportunist or pragmatic. This work assesses various political and literary figures’ narratives to analyse the treatment of Irish identity. This is achieved through analysing narratives, fiction, and speeches as both within and outside various religious and nationalist labels. Daniel O’Connell developed into a pragmatic and unique reformer but not before wild years spent in London. O’Connell was widely read in American philosophy and it is one of many influences – a will to improve but in a progressive manner.¹¹⁹ The aims and achievements of O’Connell’s, such as Catholic Emancipation, life do not define the man but rather act as end points for wider ambitions never realised.

O’Connell is often held responsible for putting in place sectarian boundaries in Irish society and cheapening political discussion through aggressive oratory. Geoghegan champions O’Connell as never opting for physical force to achieve his political goals. However, Geoghegan’s view

¹¹⁹ Geoghegan, *King Dan: the rise of Daniel O’Connell*, p. 32 & p. 35/6

that O'Connell needed to persuade Irish Catholics that they were more than slaves or that O'Connell had to manoeuvre the populace out of a psychological defeatism is an exaggerated claim. O'Connell did not play a key role in the rebellion of 1798 and the establishment of the Republic of Connacht or various other rebellions throughout the centuries. Resistance to the British Empire in various forms had been in place long before the advent of the O'Connell family. O'Connell did deliver Catholic Emancipation and an intelligent politics which gained Ireland and Irish Catholics a march towards Independence. However, O'Connell's greatest achievement was creating an innovative Association which was successful, to the point of being the envy of Europe; he also created a political image which was to the forefront of a new type of political philosophy.

O'Connell's Catholic rent for the Catholic Association, collected at Churches, was the first time in Ireland or Britain a mass political organisation had organised such a transaction.¹²⁰ Endeavours to repress the Association by the British government failed; in 1828 Daniel O'Connell was elected as an MP representing Clare. O'Connell's ineligibility as a Catholic was challenged and, after re-election, he took his place in parliament. The Tory government, led by Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington, folded soon after passing Catholic Emancipation. Through the emergence of Emancipation the forty-shilling freeholders, who were key to Emancipation becoming law, became disenfranchised. The electorate was reduced from 200,000 to 60,000. Emancipation was contrived to benefit the wealthy, as O'Connell stated: 'emancipation was calculated to benefit the wealthier classes, and did not do much for the poor'.¹²¹

O'Connell possessed a professional grounding in law, as a barrister, which led to him becoming a skilful orator. Various skills gained in law-practice such as rhetoric, interrogation, and negotiation were utilised by

¹²⁰ Richard Davis, *The Young Ireland Movement*, (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1987), p. 10.

¹²¹ As quoted by, Richard Davis, *The Young Ireland Movement*, p. 10.

O'Connell in his political career. Geoghegan's O'Connell is a politician who espied a growing culture of defeatism in the outlook of Irish Catholics and their culture.¹²² 'The Liberator' addressed this problem by confronting British authority and rule in Ireland. O'Connell created a political image of himself as positive, defiant, and as a source of opposition to Britain. O'Connell's education as a boy in France, during the French Revolution, contributed to a later loathing for the concept of Revolution and political-inspired violence. This was in part due to threats suffered as a boy from local soldiers. However, a young O'Connell did join the United Irishmen (against his Uncle's wishes) and became a radical in the 1790s. Geoghegan captures the vanity of O'Connell through documenting O'Connell's womanising and various duels in the first half of his life.¹²³ O'Connell came to reject duelling. This earlier vanity did not impair his political ability or achievements which culminated in O'Connell's defeat of the Protestant Ascendancy by becoming elected in Co. Clare in 1828.

The Act of Union 1800 was greeted with disdain by a young O'Connell. O'Connell argued that the Rebellion of 1798 had contributed towards the Union, a point O'Connell used against armed resistance. Geoghegan outlines how O'Connell later used a key principle of the United Irishmen, the hope to fuse Protestant, Catholic, and Presbyterian under the title of Irishman to repeal the Union.¹²⁴ The argument was that the Union was catastrophic for Ireland; British MPs had no knowledge of Ireland and Irish culture.

The Repeal Campaign of the 1830s aimed at repealing the Union. In 1832 thirty-nine Irish MPs were elected to follow O'Connell's line in parliament, they were known as 'O'Connell's tail'. The main parties of Parliament refused debate upon the issue of Repeal. This forced O'Connell to try to engineer a working relationship with the Whigs; it seemed the only

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Geoghegan, *King Dan: the rise of Daniel O'Connell*, p. VII.

¹²⁴ Geoghegan, *King Dan: the rise of Daniel O'Connell*, p. 91.

way of gaining reforms. This led to the 'Lichfield House compact' which denoted that in exchange for administrative and legislative reform for Ireland, O'Connell and his MPs supported the Whig government.

O'Connell's achievement such as Catholic Emancipation have encased O'Connell's reputation in a Catholic light which push away the diversity in thought, contradictions and paradoxes of his political action.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, the call of O'Connell's politics always ventured towards equality. The championing of social and religious independence meant O'Connell did not desire to create a Catholic Ascendancy. However, the ferocious nature of O'Connell's speeches and demand for Catholic rights alienated Protestants. O'Connell contributed to Catholic Nationalism in a major way which estranged, in particular, protestant Ulster. This is not to suggest that O'Connell was not criticised by Irish nationalists. O'Connell did not go far enough for various nationalist figures and groups. Young Ireland criticised the elasticity of O'Connell's politics as deficient of principle, particularly when it came to his anti-violence stand. The O'Connell style of one-man-leadership was not democratic enough for Young Ireland. Yet, it was the legacy of O'Connell's style of leadership which created an opportunity for Catholic Emancipation, Repeal of the Union, and for groups like Young Ireland to develop.

O'Connell believed in the separation of Church and State, he is on record as advancing such a position at a banquet celebrating Polish Independence.¹²⁶ However, it is often a condemnation of O'Connell's political career that he allowed religion to become ensconced in the rule of State. One argument against this is O'Connell's documented support of the British Jews in England particularly on the issue of a lack of representation in parliament.¹²⁷ W.E. Gladstone has also documented O'Connell's position on

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Geoghegan, *Liberator*, p 18.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

the separation of Church and State.¹²⁸ Nonetheless, O'Connell's pragmatism prevented any movement away from the power he gained from a Catholic alliance (backboned financially by collections at Churches). Such a move could have proven disastrous for his career.

A slight often aimed at O'Connell's style of public speaking was cowardice. This was due to O'Connell's rejection of duelling.¹²⁹ It was said that O'Connell could insult as he wished and then refute the inevitable duel due to his religious stance. It is also a reminder of O'Connell's ability to be an individual and different, despite social pressure, to hold fast to his principle and independence. As a young man of gentleman status, who caused and suffered insult, O'Connell took part in duels. Daniel O'Connell's political career was marred by several encounters with the possibility of and the engagement in duelling. O'Connell's experiences in various attempts to duel and the consequences of those duels drove O'Connell toward a religious rejection of violence and selfish ways. O'Connell shot and killed renowned duellist John D'Esterre.¹³⁰ It was at this point that O'Connell turned to Catholicism in a serious manner, Rev. F.J. L'Estrange, of the Order of Discalced Carmelites, at St Teresa's, Clarendon Street, Dublin, began giving O'Connell instruction:

In the middle of his financial crisis, O'Connell underwent a spiritual conversion. He had returned to the Catholic faith some years earlier, or at least for a short time, but this was something deeper and more sincere. Coming so soon after the killing of D'Esterre and the abortive duel with Peel it seems certain that there was a connection. O'Connell approached the Rev. F.J. L'Estrange, of the Order of Discalced Carmelites, at St Teresa's, Clarendon Street, Dublin, and began receiving religious instruction.¹³¹

The aim of the D'Esterre duel was to get rid of the head man

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Geoghegan, *Liberator*, p 24.

¹³⁰ Kevin Whelan, *The tree of liberty: Radicalism, Catholicism and the construction of Irish identity, 1760-1830*, p. 166.

¹³¹ Geoghegan, *King Dan: the rise of Daniel O'Connell*, p. 166.

(O’Connell) who was to the forefront of Emancipation. D’Esterre defended the honour of Dublin Corporation that O’Connell had offended; O’Connell described it as a beggarly corporation. The prospect of a duel with Sir Robert Peel was successively postponed; at one point the duel was to take place in France.¹³² These duels were coupled alongside the stress of O’Connell’s deepest financial struggles. James Kelly in ‘Decline of Duelling and Emergence of the Middle Class’ illustrates the end of duelling as capturing the end of an era.¹³³ The middle class coalition that rejected duelling as a method of resolving difference came to possess power and influence in society in the early nineteenth century. This emergence brought the advent of middle-class values.

A further demonstration of O’Connell’s pragmatism and individualism was his continual reinvention of the Catholic Association under different names as the group tried to avoid censor. O’Connell tried to negotiate this censorship by affecting union with Protestants; Geoghegan has outlined in 1831 O’Connell’s toast to William III of Orange.¹³⁴ This was despite William III being synonymous with Catholic oppression. Yet, where O’Connell saw an opportunity to make a gain for equality and the evidence of censorship he took it. The ruthless nature of O’Connell’s politics was never far from the surface when confronted with a wrestle for power. One political enemy was Charles James O’Gorman Mahon, a former colleague who helped O’Connell win the election in Co Clare, who later sought to challenge O’Connell’s leadership.¹³⁵ O’Connell reported O’Gorman Mahon for a violent campaign of threats and the enlistment of Whiteboys. It left O’Connell open to charges of informing. Another political enemy was Sir Abraham Bradley King, a defender of the Protestant Ascendancy and former

¹³² Geoghegan, *King Dan: the rise of Daniel O’Connell*, p. 159-163.

¹³³ Fintan Lane (ed), *Politics, society and the middle class in modern Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) ‘Decline of Duelling and Emergence of the Middle Class’ by James Kelly. pp.

¹³⁴ Geoghegan, *Liberator*, p 29.

¹³⁵ Geoghegan, *Liberator*, p 35.

lord mayor of Dublin. However, when King fell into economic hardship it was O'Connell who successfully campaigned for monetary help in 1832. Geoghegan further highlights O'Connell's belief and respect for Queen Victoria, believing that the Queen could deliver justice for Ireland.¹³⁶ O'Connell first met Queen Victoria in 1838, she recorded in a letter to her Uncle 'quite a treat for me to see him,'¹³⁷ O'Connell's romantic idealisation was misplaced as she would later express joy at his arrest.¹³⁸ O'Connell was not so removed in Catholic Nationalism that it did not preclude an attachment to the Queen of England nor did he believe that British hearts held a vision of equality for Irish interests. He was a politician who saw the benefit of securing reforms rather than the massive bloodletting a revolution required with no guarantee of the desired outcome.

At a monster meeting at Mullaghmast, Kildare on the 1st of October, 1843, O'Connell stated that Ireland was a country worth dying for but that constitutional liberty was the ultimate goal.¹³⁹ O'Connell argued 'Let the English have England, let the Scottish have Scotland, but we must have Ireland for the Irish.'¹⁴⁰ The following monster meeting at Clontarf defined O'Connell's career for many historians and critics. O'Connell cancelled the meeting after nationalistic feeling reached a feverous intensity after the release of a proclamation on the 7th of October, 1843. The government called a large military force together to prevent the meeting from taking place, in order to avoid violence O'Connell cancelled the meeting. O'Connell was then arrested, tried and convicted of sedition. O'Connell spent months in Richmond jail. *The Nation* criticised O'Connell for not encouraging revolt at Clontarf. Relations with *The Nation* and the Young Irelanders were further exacerbated by O'Connell's denunciation of the American practice of

¹³⁶ Geoghegan, *Liberator*, p 103.

¹³⁷ As quoted in Geoghegan, *Liberator*, p103.

¹³⁸ Ibid, p 179.

¹³⁹ Ibid, p 161.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, p162.

slavery.¹⁴¹ The Young Irelanders believed that O'Connell should be concentrated on Irish politics rather than American issues. The Repeal Association should be focused on the domestic and not scare away American allies. The break between O'Connell and the Young Irelanders was ultimately caused by the failure to attain Repeal and O'Connell's stance on the Queen's Colleges proposal of 1845. O'Connell and the Catholic bishops of Ireland opposed the scheme while the Young Irelanders argued it was an opportunity to create a non-sectarian education for Catholics and Protestants within the same place, improving relations. Peel's government had been firm in their resistance to Repeal and O'Connell saw opposition to the Queen's Colleges proposal as a way of bargaining with the Whigs for a substitute to Repeal. The Young Irelanders could not tolerate such a position.

Another criticism which contributes towards O'Connell's current unpopularity was O'Connell's decision to not defend or encourage the Irish language.¹⁴² O'Connell stressed his utilitarian approach to the issue; English was modern and more beneficial in terms of commerce and interaction with the wider world. O'Connell was too quick to look towards the future without providing a strident defence or protection of the Irish language. This was despite his fluency in Irish which he often used to address crowds.

O'Connell's Politics as a Model for Europe

O'Connell became a model for European Catholic political action.¹⁴³ The Irishman had established a connection in his Association between Catholicism and democracy which worked powerfully to gain independence and power for Catholics. It is this achievement which caused European Catholic liberals to adopt O'Connell's methods. Both Lammenais and Montalembert saw at work in O'Connell's political achievements a type of Catholic philosophy which was outside the concern of monarchy and

¹⁴¹ Ibid, p 103.

¹⁴² Geoghegan, *Liberator: the life and death of Daniel O'Connell*, p 9.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 85.

conservatism.¹⁴⁴ Montalembert visited O'Connell before he died, asserting the importance of O'Connell stating:

[...] Your glory is not only Irish; it is Catholic. Wherever Catholics begin anew to practice civic virtues and devote themselves to the conquest of their legislative rights under God, it is your work.¹⁴⁵

In the nineteenth century Catholic Nationalist movements in countries such as Belgium and Poland began to appear around Europe, as movements witnessed and followed the Irish model. O'Connell's identity possessed transnationalism, as an international figure of Catholicism and politics, his ideas spread throughout Europe. Catholicism, in the Irish sense, was coupled with the trauma of a colonised identity in the hunt for a new democracy. The German Catholic movement saw O'Connell and his Association as a model to build upon as they too existed in a Protestant-dominated country:

The Germans felt that O'Connell's piety and loyalty to the church showed how adherence to Rome did not necessarily imply disdain for secular heads of state and their governments, and proved to many that Catholicism was not intrinsically opposed to popular demands for justice and civil rights.¹⁴⁶

Perception of O'Connell, as strictly Catholic and pro-Britain, was inspired by the end-product of Catholic Emancipation and Repeal of the Union, rather than a detailed analysis of the analytical and incisive nature of O'Connell's philosophical pragmatism. McGraw and Whelan have argued against the contention that O'Connell realised how he merely needed to be pragmatic in his treatment and practice of Catholicism in order to attain success as a politician; O'Connell's Catholicism was highlighted as key to his character. The religion of O'Connell's life was Catholicism but his

¹⁴⁴Hugues-Félicité Robert de Lamennais (1782-1854), was a French Catholic priest, philosopher, and political theorist. Charles Forbes René de Montalembert (March 18, 1810 London - March 13, 1870 Paris) was a French publicist, historian and Count of Montalembert, Deux-Sèvres.

¹⁴⁵ S. Deane, 'O'Connell and European Catholic Liberalism,' *Daniel O'Connell*, ed. Kevin Whelan (Dublin, Keough Centre, 2002.) p. 32.

¹⁴⁶ G. Grogan, *The Noblest Agitator: Daniel O'Connell and the German Catholic Movement, 1830-1850* (Dublin, 1991), 57.

political character possessed a more important element than any one belief. The dominant side to O'Connell was his practice as a deep and challenging thinker; politics was his predominant outlet in this regard. He sought new methods of thinking both within and outside of his immediate locality, searching various philosophies and approaches which included the influences and utilisation of Bentham and Bolívar. This involved the adjustment and localisation of these philosophies and approaches to his political situation. This was part of O'Connell as a politician and public figure, as he infused transnational narratives and ideas into Irish life. O'Connell happily stresses himself as a radical: 'I was always an avowed, perhaps an ostentatiously avowed Radical. [...] Yes, it is quite inevitable that I should hoist the standard of Radicalism, because I am deliberately, and upon principle, of the political sect of the 'Benthamites.' Our maxim, our motto, and our object is – the greatest good of the greatest possible number.'¹⁴⁷ O'Connell was a man who stressed his knowledge of European and world politics, but he was not a Benthamite in the strictest sense. Daniel was an individual, first and foremost. This is evident through changing Bentham's definition from pleasure to good.

This chapter reveals O'Connell as following a tradition of transnational identity at work in his family, particularly in the form of travel and exposure to other cultures, particularly French. O'Connell was exposed to American and European philosophies, not to mention the influence of the South American Liberator, Simón Bolívar. Through an analysis of selected speeches, I have argued that despite O'Connell's willingness to work with and within the British state he valued individual liberty and transnational hybrid identities. O'Connell crafted his Irish identity into a transnational Catholicism tied to a European brotherhood. Newspaper articles and speeches by O'Connell in the *Freeman's Journal* reveal pragmatic shifts in relation to British governance and open-mindedness towards hybrid

¹⁴⁷ Anon, 'Mr O'Connell and the French Liberals', *Freeman's Journal*, 10/13/1829, p. 4

identities. In short, the politics of O'Connell reveal a transnational cosmopolitanism. Due to the widespread contemporary reporting of O'Connell's speeches, this transnationalism spread throughout Irish society. The chapter that follows will explore how this transnational Irish identity is present in the life and fictional characters of Gerald Griffin's *The Collegians* (1829).

Chapter Two:

Gerald Griffin and Daniel O’Connell: Constructing identity in a changing Society

The Irish identity of characters within Gerald Griffin’s *The Collegians* is a complex amalgam, a multi-ethnic hybrid of transnational physical features and familial connections with the wider world. Declan Kiberd outlines that Synge and Joyce began the attack on the stage Irishman.¹⁴⁸ However, Daniel O’Connell’s political narratives regarding the transnational identity of the Irish Catholic caused nuanced responses in the fictional works of Griffin long before the advent of Synge and Joyce. Post-Catholic Emancipation Griffin responded to the idea of a Catholic and pragmatic Irish identity which O’Connell shaped into a political image over many decades. Griffin’s transnationalism and individuality in fiction became lost to a fear of the moral responsibility he saw at the heart of fiction. Griffin’s early death ensured he did not change his mind. Yet, Griffin was not an O’Connellite, the writer’s treatment of O’Connell’s image and politics is critical and subjective. Griffin’s uniqueness as a writer and thinker on Irish identity is present in the distinctive characters of *The Collegians* that are infused with a transnational individualism.

Griffin’s Background

The novelist Gerald Griffin was born in Limerick city in 1803.¹⁴⁹ He was the twelfth of fifteen children who survived. His father was Patrick Griffin, a brewery manager, and his mother was Ellen Geary. Despite the

¹⁴⁸ Declan Kiberd, *The Irish Writer and the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹⁴⁹ See Daniel Griffin, *The life of Gerald Griffin* (Dublin: J. Duffy, 1857); M. Moloney, ‘Limerick and Gerald Griffin’, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, ii (1940–41), 4–11; Thomas Flanagan, *The Irish novelists* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958); John Cronin, *Gerald Griffin, 1803–1840: a critical biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Seamus Deane, *A Short History of Irish Literature* (London: Hutchinson; Notre Dame, IND: University of Notre Dame Press 1986), *Strange Country* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

father's job the economic state of the country meant that the Griffin family became financially challenged.¹⁵⁰ Gerald's father was a member of the Catholic merchant class who benefited from the first Catholic Association in 1756.¹⁵¹ The Anti-Catholic laws had eased with the introduction of Gardiner's Relief Act of 1782 but the majority of anti-Catholic laws remained.¹⁵² The Act of 1782 allowed Catholics to teach and the Catholic ecclesiastical seminary at Maynooth was opened in 1795. The various failed businesses of Gerald's father caused the family to move house several times, away from the city and further into the countryside of Limerick. This interrupted Griffin's education, which had taken place within the family home, in a Limerick city school and hedge school. Most of Griffin's family eventually had to emigrate but Griffin's elder brother stayed and became a doctor. Gerald's father left in 1820, taking his wife and some of the family with him. Gerald remained with the family members who decided to stay in Limerick and never saw his parents again.

Gerald lived in Adare with his brother, Doctor Daniel Griffin; he wrote reviews of theatre for a local paper and met the writer John Banim. Influenced by Banim he moved to London in 1823. He lasted three challenging years, struggling to make a living as a reviewer and journalist.

¹⁵⁰ For an account of the economic state of the country, see Cormac O Grada, *Ireland before and after the famine: explorations in economic history, 1800-1925*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland before the famine, 1798-1848* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1972.), See chapter on the Catholic Question p. 45, and Joseph Lee, *The modernisation of Irish society, 1848-1918* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1989).

¹⁵¹ John Cronin, *Gerald Griffin, 1803-1840: a critical biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) p. 4.

¹⁵² Boyce outlined that the aggression towards the Protestant Ascendancy was based on absenteeism and xenophobia. The two major problems for Catholics were the Penal laws, and the corrupt and unrepresentative nature of the eighteenth century Irish Parliament. Boyce likened the Parliament and the aims of the Penal Laws to South African apartheid. Through the penal laws the power of the Protestant Ascendancy was made manifest. David George Boyce, *Nineteenth-century Ireland: the search for stability*. (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2005) p. 94. For a discussion of the Penal Laws, see: *Ecclesiastical Politics and the Dismantling of the Penal Laws in Ireland, 1774-82*, Eamon O'Flaherty, *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 101 (May, 1988), pp. 33-50, Irish Historical Studies Publications Ltd. Gibney, John. 'Protestant Interests? The 1641 Rebellion And State Formation In Early Modern Ireland.', *Historical Research* 84.223 (2011): 67-86. Louis Cullen, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr*, Vol. 1, (1986), pp. 23-36, Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society.

Griffin used pseudonyms in London journals such as the *Literary Gazette*, *News of Literature and Fashion*. In the *Literary Gazette*, using the title Horae Monomiense, he wrote Irish satire. Irish customs were to the forefront of such pieces as Griffin explained the practices and behaviours of Munster to an English audience. This helped Griffin to adopt a different mindset and way of thinking outside of Limerick and his Irish origins. Griffin had to measure the understanding of a readership different from the culture he knew. Griffin began to feel that he ‘must offer himself as interpreter of a Gaelic-speaking people and of an emergent Anglo–Irish [...]’ class.¹⁵³ In London Griffin blossomed further through a friendship with a Spanish man, Valentine Llanos.¹⁵⁴ The men planned to translate various Spanish works into English in an effort to make money, a plan that never came to fruition.

Griffin’s proud and reserved character prevented him from taking full advantage of the literary and networking assistance he received from John Banim. Banim gave Griffin letters of introduction to various theatre managers and Griffin wrote two plays, which were never produced in his lifetime. The second of these was *Gisippus*, which intrigued a famous actress, Fanny Kelly, whom he ignored. The play was produced successfully in 1842, two years after Griffin’s death and fifteen years after he left London in 1827. Griffin had found his life in London exasperating, he details his days to his brother Daniel:

[...] [T]he situation which was to have taken up six hours of my time per day, goes much nearer to the twelve regularly. I never return before evening to my lodging, and then, to half complete every evening's work keeps me drudging until two or three — sometimes four and five o'clock every morning — [...] You can't conceive the utter drudgery of beating your unfortunate brains to write articles without receiving remuneration regularly [...]¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Cronin, *Gerald Griffin, 1803-1840: a critical biography*, p. 22.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

Griffin produced two collections of short stories *Holland-tide* and *Tales of the Munster festivals* (1827) which were praised for their depiction of the working-classes. Stories of a length which mirrored a minor work became fashionable and John Banim's *Tales of the O'Hara Family* had created interest in Irish life in England.¹⁵⁶ This helped Griffin find a publisher for *Holland-tide*, and after returning to Limerick from London Griffin began *Tales of the Munster Festivals*. The condition of the poor was a theme which dominated the work of the Banim-influenced Griffin. These were stories that Griffin experienced as a local boy and man of the Munster area, specifically in Limerick. Griffin's depiction of the working-classes captured the knock-on effect of an unjust society dominated by the landlord system. After leaving London, Griffin's life in Adare, County Limerick, allowed him to work steadily and in 1829 he completed *The Collegians*. The first half of *The Collegians* was written in London and was completed in Limerick. The twenty-five-year-old Griffin, writing in Limerick, possessed a curious and pressurised writing routine:

Every morning, just as we were done breakfast," his brother writes, "a knock came to the door and a messenger was shown in saying 'printers want more copy, sir.' The manuscript of the previous day was handed forth, without revision, correction, or further ceremony, and he went to work again to produce another supply. [...] every moment [...] was occupied in preparing as much matter as possible before the dreaded printer's knock."¹⁵⁷

The Collegians was very popular throughout Ireland. Griffin made a sum of eight hundred pounds from *The Collegians* and sent it to his father in Pennsylvania.¹⁵⁸ Griffin is often described as an O'Connellite such as in Emer Nolan's *Catholic Emancipations*. Griffin had stressed to his brother that Ireland was not high on the British political agenda: 'You have a queer notion on the other side of the water, that your concerns are

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. x.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 13.

greatly thought about here.’¹⁵⁹ While in London Griffin attended and wrote about a Catholic meeting where Daniel O’Connell and Richard Lalor Sheil spoke. Griffin was critical of the behaviour and speeches of O’Connell and Sheil in London. This changed on Griffin’s return to Ireland as he was swept away by the wave of support for O’Connell: ‘The people have certainly proved themselves to be a most resolute set of fellows [...] They fill the streets more like a set of Pythagorean philosophers than a mob of Munstermen. [...]’¹⁶⁰ Nevertheless, Griffin was an individualistic thinker and was not indoctrinated in any one political creed.

Griffin produced two novellas in the same year, 1829, *The Rivals* and *Tracy's Ambition* which dealt with the theme of agrarian violence. After this success Griffin’s career stalled and he descended into a depression which culminated in his decision to enter the Christian Brothers. A reason often given for Griffin’s joining of the Christian Brothers was his love for the daughter of Mary Leadbeater, Lydia Fisher, who was a married woman.¹⁶¹ It was not an intimate relationship and it was Griffin who ended the friendship. The name he took in the Christian Brother order was Joseph. He was sent to Cork to teach in 1839 before dying the following year from typhus.

The Image of Griffin

After the sudden death of Griffin the *Freeman's Journal* described him as “possessing energy of purpose which shrank from no difficulty—and an absorbing devotedness to the best interests of religion and humanity”.¹⁶² Griffin was constructed as one of the writers who captured Ireland and its particular character:

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 51.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p 6.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 98.

¹⁶² Anon, ‘GERALD GRIFFIN, ESQ, AUTHOR OF “THE COLLEGIANS.”’, *Freeman's Journal* 1763-1924, Thursday, 25/6/1840, p. 1.

[...] Making the elucidation of truth or the inculcation of morality the principal object of his writings, he accommodated himself to the taste of the day by employing fiction as the vehicle of his sentiments and observations, appealing through it to a class of readers who have been repulsed by the formal and didactic mode of instruction. In exhibiting the national character in its various shades and modifications [...]¹⁶³

The article claims to clarify the ambition of Griffin as an author revealing social truth and a protector of morality. However, the stand-out achievement of Griffin's fiction was the highlighting of Irish identity as a historically cosmopolitan culture and the struggle for new Catholic identities to obtain social mobility within the current class system. Griffin depicted a nationality that was transnational, contemporaneously tied to Europe and predating the British Empire. The article was not accurate in its description of Griffin's treatment of religion: religion was not at the centre of Griffin's work.

Griffin highlighted in *The Collegians* the melting pot of influence and culture bubbling on the surface and in the actions of everyday Irish society. Ireland as a unique nation was one aspect of Griffin's work but there was present in *The Collegians* the international blurred lines of various cultures which operated in the interactive classes of Irish society.¹⁶⁴ Griffin acknowledged the presence of Anglo-Irish and British culture in everyday Irish life but also stressed that wider Europe and beyond was a traditional factor.

In 1842, two years after Griffin's death, a summation within *The Nation* of Griffin detailed him as a child of the city and a man of the suburb. Griffin's mind, the article suggested, was sharpened by Limerick city before understanding the nation through exposure to the countryside.¹⁶⁵ *The Nation* described the Limerick portion of the Shannon

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ As outlined in the previous chapter dealing with the transnationalism of Griffin's characters.

¹⁶⁵ Anon, 'No. II.—GERALD GRIFFIN, ESQ., AUTHOR of "THE COLLEGIAN'S."', *Nation* 1842-1897, 10/12/ 1842, p. 14.

as beating back the Atlantic. The view from Limerick of its fellow Munster coastal counties Kerry and Clare was identified as cultivating Griffin's childhood domain, Fairy Lawn.¹⁶⁶ This view was pronounced as influential upon Griffin's mind. The international influence of the Atlantic was cut from Griffin by *The Nation* as the paper confined and championed the writer as a man and writer of Ireland. Griffin's education at a local school and then at home was highlighted before revealing that Griffin's eldest brother returned from Canada.¹⁶⁷ This brother had joined the British Army before departing to Canada to serve. The brother's talk of the greatness of America inspired his father and most of the family to later move across the Atlantic to Pennsylvania after a period of initial reluctance. *The Nation's* narrative stressed Griffin and two of his sisters relocating to one of their brothers, Dr William Griffin, who practised as a G.P, in the suburb of Adare. This narrative of *The Nation* was to play down the importance of Gerald's time in London in search of literary greatness.

Griffin's hard work in London resulted in a publishing deal. *The Nation* article emphasised this deal as allowing Griffin to return from London to Adare where his best work was produced. *The Nation* republished a letter from Griffin to a friend and the letter was affirmed as capturing Griffin's thoughts on various subjects. Griffin emphasized in the letter that he had managed to rid himself of a tendency towards meaning and that his style provided: "[...] a string of glass beads, given in clear, separate, small hits, with the coarse thread of a narration running through the middle."¹⁶⁸ In the same letter Griffin detailed an ambition to become a historian who could objectively narrate the story of Ireland's history in preference to his fictional work. Griffin highlighted Ireland as a powerful country with an international influence but generations of suffering and

¹⁶⁶ Griffin's parents would later name their house in Pennsylvania, USA Fairy Lawn.

¹⁶⁷ Cronin, *Gerald Griffin, 1803-1840: a critical biography*, p. 13.

¹⁶⁸ Anon, 'No. II – Gerald Griffin Esq., Author of "The Collegians' *Nation* 1842-1897, 10/12/1842 p. 14.

domination hampered the task of making a narrative of Ireland's history readable without crushing the spirit. Style and the tale of Ireland's progression as a country were to the forefront of Griffin's mind as a writer. Griffin was aware of his status as a novelist, which included an element of a call to preserve a class of Irishness fading from existence. Through this call Griffin felt he was a historian:

[...] in connexion with this particular subject, there, probably, something unparalleled in the annals of literature, for the author has reason to think that several of the originals, who sat for their portraits here presented, were the last of their class which the country will ever again produce – a fact calculated of itself to occasion an interest which a mere perusal of them could not give.¹⁶⁹

However, in this letter published by *The Nation*, Griffin stressed an admiration for Byron in casting aside the influence of organized religion. Griffin also detailed how a thorough investigation into religious matters must not be refrained from in order to avoid dishonouring religion and to achieve an objective narrative. This objectivity, Griffin believed, could be maintained through a scientific approach best for truth. Griffin possessed an ideal that this endeavour could attain a truth.

The Nation article underlined London as producing a dispiriting psychological state in Griffin where his health was spoiled. However, Griffin was also exposed to an international city and its transnational culture. Griffin's moral difficulties with literature as an occupation and *raison d'être* turned him to a religious life. The ethics of leading young minds toward a moral path imbued Griffin with a sense of worth he had not found in literature. He wrote humorously, while living in a monastery in Cork city, of his previous life of literary ambition, after having left the cities of London and Limerick behind:

I have since been enlightening the craniums of wondering Paddies in this quarter, who learn from me, with profound amazement and profit,

¹⁶⁹ William Carleton, *Tales and Sketches Illustrating the Character, Usages, Traditions, Sports and Pastimes of the Irish Peasantry* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1845), p. viii.

that o-x spells ox ; that the top of the map is the north, and the bottom the south, [...] and yet it seems curious even to myself, that I feel a great deal happier in the practice of this daily routine that I did while I was moving about your great city, absorbed in the modest project of rivalling Shakespeare and throwing Scott into the shade.¹⁷⁰

A Transnational Suburb

Griffin focused upon the suburb and its transnationalism in *The Collegians*. Griffin's use of possession and colonisation as metaphors in depiction of relationships between the different classes is similar to O'Connell's political speeches regarding imbalanced economy between colonized and colonizer.¹⁷¹ The economic metaphor of the personification of a nation and its economy was prevalent in the speeches of Daniel O'Connell. The family as concentrated upon matters of money whether in marriage or social interaction is at the centre of O'Connell's economic politics and Griffin's fiction. The theme of everyday social interaction dominated every thematic exploration from politics to morality in Griffin's *The Collegians*. The novel is driven by local characters from the working, middle, and upper classes. The materiality of local interaction was privileged above ideal notions of nationalism.

The Collegians was far from this world. It was based on a crime from the local area of Garryowen, in Limerick the murder of Ellie Hanley in 1819, which captured the imagination of Griffin. The plot centred on the relationship of two villains, Hardress Cregan and Danny Mann. These male characters took on a complexity beyond the dimensions of the central female character. Griffin's Ellie Hanley character, Eily O'Connor, was passive as Griffin represented the mentality of a fifteen-year-old swept off her feet by the local 'prince'. In real life, Ellie Hanley secretly married John Scanlan, a man in his mid-twenties. Scanlan's background was of the Ascendancy class; his child bride was from an underprivileged background

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁷¹ As discussed in the first chapter.

and not presentable in upper-class society. Scanlan's realisation, after the clandestine marriage, of Ellie's unsuitability resulted in the recruitment of his friend and servant, Stephen Sullivan to murder Hanley. Sullivan shot her with a musket on the river Shannon near Kilrush, Clare. The body was tied to a stone and dumped into the river where it washed up six weeks later at Moneypoint. The men had absconded but were eventually arrested and tried. John Scanlan was defended by Daniel O'Connell; he was found guilty and hanged at Gallows Green, the Clare side of the Shannon.

O'Connell wrote of the case:

I do not feel the most slight regret at his conviction. [...] In the first place he got a creature, a lovely creature of fifteen, to elope with him from her uncle who brought her up an orphan and to rob him of his all, 100 guineas, and in three weeks after he contrived to get her into a boat on the Shannon with his servant, [...] she was not heard of afterwards for near two months when a mutilated carcass floated on shore, [...] He will be hanged tomorrow unless being a gentleman prevents him.¹⁷²

Sullivan was captured later and was tried four months after Scanlan, before being hanged. Kevin Grattan maintained that Sullivan had privileges that a servant was usually denied because it was rumoured that Sullivan was a foster brother of Scanlan.¹⁷³ A local woman, Ellen Walsh, was hired by Scanlan to be part-time help and a companion to his wife as Ellie was hidden away in a remote place. Ellie was secluded away from her guardian Uncle and the prying eyes of the community (notably Scanlan's family). Ellen identified the body and stated that she had last seen Ellie leaving on a boat on the Shannon with Sullivan and Scanlan. Griffin

¹⁷² *The correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, ed. Maurice R. O'Connell, 8 vols (Dublin, Irish University Press for the Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1972), ii, p. 243.

¹⁷³ For a full account of the case and various reports, see Kevin Grattan, *The True Story of Colleen Bawn*, www.limerickcity.ie All Content © Limerick City Council 2001-2014, 07/02/2014, <http://www.limerickcity.ie/media/colleen%20bawn%2013.pdf>
<http://www.limerickcity.ie/media/colleen%20bawn%2004.pdf>
<http://www.limerickcity.ie/media/colleen%20bawn%2003.pdf>
<http://www.limerickcity.ie/media/colleen%20bawn%2010.pdf>
<http://www.limerickcity.ie/media/colleen%20bawn%2011.pdf>

changed the Ascendancy Scanlan background to a middle-class Catholic background in the character Hardress Cregan. The mimicry and hybridity of Irish culture's interaction within its community, Britain and Europe was present in Cregan, as elements of the supposed opposite elements of Irish society were present in Cregan.

Griffin began *The Collegians* with a discussion of the boys of Garryowen, a group of overindulged young men from the upper classes, who caused minor disturbances at night such was their spoiled nature and sense of entitlement:

[...] They were the sons of the more respectable citizens, the merchants and wholesale traders of the city, just turned loose from school with a greater supply of animal spirit than they had wisdom to govern. These young gentlemen, being fond of wit, amused themselves by forming parties at night, to wring the heads off all the geese, and the knockers off all the hall-doors in the neighbourhood.
[...]¹⁷⁴

From the beginning of *The Collegians* Griffin offered an insight into the community of entitlement and superiority from which his character Hardress Cregan has emanated, through The Garryowen Boys. Griffin ironically listed the reasons for the fame of Garryowen, stressing its fair and the ballad which bears its name, Garryowen: "Tis there we'll drink the nut-brown ale. And pay the reck'nin' on the nail. No man for debt shall go to jail From Garryowen na gloria."¹⁷⁵

Griffin applied an animal comparison to the middle-class characters which their intelligence was inadequate to master. The satirical application of 'superior' to the boys led into a description of the slaughter of innocent animals. To question the intelligence involved in such practices was stressed by Griffin's satire. This was an interesting association as we shall see in the next chapter when William Carleton applies such terms of animal-likeness to the working-class Irish. Garryowen became a prominent

¹⁷⁴ Gerald Griffin, *The Collegians* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1953) p. 4.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

ballad perpetuated in fame by military circles across the world, particularly the British military. Thomas Moore put lyrics to the air in 1807. A perception of Garryowen in the song was tied to ribaldry and the determination of a set of men in Garryowen to enjoy life no matter what the circumstances. However, Griffin aimed to reveal Garryowen to the world as part of a cultured European society and not just as an area of bawdy behaviour. This is done through references to the Milesians and descriptions of the physicality of characters as possessing features from far areas within and beyond Europe. The travelling armies' brought the song Garryowen to America and Canada. The microcosm of the suburb was elevated with a relevance to the wider-world.

At the time of writing *The Collegians* a sister of Griffin's, to whom he was very close, died. This gave his writing at that period a morbid quality that affected Griffin's portrayal of Eily O'Connor.¹⁷⁶ The character of Eily is a young woman who was the perfect theoretical embodiment of innocence. It was a stereotypical patriarchal perception of the feminine ideal. In opposition to the Garryowen boy, the Hardress Cregan character, Griffin depicted Eily O'Connor who was the physical quintessence of the area of Garryowen. The first appraisal of Eily is by a male character called Owen. Owen is contained within the locality name of Garryowen and the perception of Eily as the embodiment of the area is tied to a colonizing metaphor of female attraction:

[...] Owen, like all Irishmen, even of the humblest rank, was an acute critic in female proportions, and although time had blown away the thatching from his head, and by far the greater portion of blood that remained in his frame had colonized about his nose, [...] It is true, indeed, that the origin of the suburban beauty was one which, in a troubled country like Ireland, had little of agreeable association to recommend it; [...] few could detect [...] the traces of a harsh and vulgar education.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Cronin, *Gerald Griffin*, p. 102.

¹⁷⁷ Griffin, *The Collegians*, p. 7.

Griffin ironically highlighted that despite the humble origins and education of Eily she was beautiful and her personality was radiant. The humorous phallic description of Owen's nose - 'by far the greater portion of blood that remained in his frame had colonized about his nose' - used a metaphor that highlighted the condition of enthrallment with which Eily's beauty affected men. Eily is tied to the land while the phallic metaphor was attached to Empire through the connotation of "colonized." Eily was a passive coloniser of men. She did not use sexuality to capture or lure. The laws of physical attraction through Eily held a power over men. Attraction was innate and Griffin used this to highlight the inborn nature that had to engage society, as bodies are designed to attraction. This was one of the systems of human nature which defined society, just as in the same way the upper and working-class generations are born into a system of Landlordism regardless of choice or ability.

Griffin's Hardress Cregan married a working-class beauty but refrained from the class-transgression because of the concerns of his social circle and family. Hiding Eily, he hovered between affirming his position as a husband. Later, after the murder of Eily, Cregan's guilt was based upon his wavering between assertions of shipping her to America or simply putting her in harm's way. Eily was married but she had to protect the identity of her husband and secret marriage for Cregan's sake. She must hide herself deep in the countryside. Identity changed and hovered as labels of husband and wife were kept in secret. Social mobility was taking place but under a cloud of secrecy due to the unacceptable class transaction.

The hardness of rural life was juxtaposed by Griffin with the softness of rural etiquette. Griffin attached to Eily's uncle a transnationalist element as the priest character was trained in Salamanca, a country beyond the British Empire, on the outskirts of Britain and Ireland, part of Europe. A reference to *Gil Blas* suggests knowledge of the French picaresque novel

by Alain-René Lesage. It was from this priest that Eily received council:

[...] Father Edward undertook to bestow a degree of attention on her education, which rendered her, in a little time, as superior in knowledge as she was in beauty to her female associates. [...] Father Edward, however, was appointed to a parish, and Eily lost her instructor. [...] no eye, save that of a consummate observer, could detect the slightest alteration in her sentiments, the least increase of toleration for the world and worldly amusements. That change, however, had been silently affected in her heart. She was now a woman — a lovely, intelligent, full grown woman — and circumstances obliged her to take a part in the little social circle which moved around her. [...]¹⁷⁸

Salamanca symbolizes a Catholic internationalism, the evidence of which could be found in different forms across Ireland.¹⁷⁹ The description of Eily was of a suburban beauty. She was neither of the city or the country village, the usual residences of the typical character of Irish fiction. She resided on the periphery of Limerick city; she was neither possessed by the country folk nor the gentry. The sex the suburb Garryowen was assigned was male in Griffin's comic description of the village:

But that principle of existence which assigns to the life of man its periods of youth, maturity, and decay, has its analogy in the fate of villages, as in that of empires. Assyria fell, and so did Garryowen! Rome had its decline, and Garryowen was not immortal! Both are now an idle sound, with nothing but the recollections of old tradition to invest them with an interest. The still notorious suburb is little better than a heap of rubbish, [...] of a once populous row of dwelling-houses.¹⁸⁰

Griffin's satire situated the suburb of Garryowen alongside the Neo-Assyrian and Roman Empires. The association of these major empires served to humorously stress the compactness of Garryowen. But it also highlighted the local as the immediate world for the rural and suburban

¹⁷⁸ Griffin, *The Collegians*, p. 8-9.

¹⁷⁹ For an insight into the education of priests in Salamanca, Rome, and Paris, see: Nicholas M. Wolf. "The Irish-Speaking Clergy in the Nineteenth Century: Education, Trends, and Timing." *New Hibernia Review* 12.4 (2008): 62-83. Project MUSE. Web. 31 Jul. 2014. <<http://muse.jhu.edu/>>.

¹⁸⁰ Griffin, *The Collegians*, p. 5.

character. This everyday world of Garryowen was removed from the capital of empires. Yet, this locality was the immediate world and everyday Empire of the character's lives. The character Myles's brothers are dragoons, men who joined the army of Empire to earn a living. The construction of Eily's beauty as currency within the male world and an object to be possessed was mapped alongside the colonisation of Ireland by the British Empire; this was also a feature of the relationship between Mann and Cregan. The lack of education suffered by Danny Mann was offered as one reason for Mann's turn to villainy and subservience towards Cregan. Griffin, through a conversation between two minor characters, Lowry and Phil, has the men converse upon the plight of the gentleman:

[...] I wouldn't like to be born a gentleman. They're never out o' trouble, this way nor that way. If they're not fighting, they have more things upon their mind than would bother a dozen poor men; an' if they go divarting, ten to one they have a *jewel* before the day is over. Sure if it was a thing two gentlemen axed a lady to dance, an' she gave in to one of 'em, the other should challenge him for to go fighting! Sure that flogs Europe! [...] I wouldn't lade such a life if I got Europe. [...] I'd a' most as 'lieve be born a female as a gentleman maning no offence to the ladies, [...]

¹⁸¹

Margaret Kelleher wrote of the feminization of the famine in Irish writing particularly in regards to a contemporary of Griffin, William Carleton. Kelleher addressed Carleton's work, such as *The Black Prophet* (1846), where an emphasis was laid upon the feminization of natural disasters, morality, and the economic and political spheres in the Irish novel.¹⁸² Griffin's *The Collegians*, predating Carleton's work, highlighted a wish for the feminisation of self rather than taking on the life of a gentleman, which stressed the difficulty of the life of a woman or a gentleman in nineteenth-century Ireland and the distain which was held for

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 221.

¹⁸² Margaret Kelleher, *The Feminization of Famine: expressions of the inexpressible?* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1997) p. 39

the gentry. The figure of the female becomes an alternative resource to reorient the question of effective political identity in Ireland. The morality and poise of the state of femininity in such characters as Eily was more desirable. The colonisation of land was aligned alongside the status of gentleman as such a life brought a pressure and principle which was undesirable and dangerous. The existence and principle of the gentleman was dismissed as a life not worth an Empire and status due to the pressure and threat of violence. Griffin's gentlemen were part of a pressurized world where an ego cannot suffer insult and must be perfect in social manner. The life and plight of a woman, outlined in the objectified treatment and fate of the murdered Eily O'Connor, was preferable to that of a gentleman. Hardress and Eily O'Connor's secret marriage meant there was never a public recognition of the marriage. Later in the novel, Griffin placed Europe as the source of scientific knowledge (this is described later in the chapter).¹⁸³

The Transnational: Status as Currency

Griffin constructed characters who struggled with various grand narratives and assertions of nationality or religion. These figures were often based in opposition to Empire. This was often undercut by references to possible emerging identities in characters. These features of identity were transnational, beyond known Irish labels. The hybridity of identity in Griffin's work flows between the classes of society. The characters of Myles, Mann and Cregan interacted with different classes which the system of society and labels of tradition made psychologically difficult for the characters involved to express and understand. This resulted in dialogue which was repressed and full of allusions to meanings beyond the stated words. There was a desire in characters from each class to develop

¹⁸³ For insight on the Penal Laws and the impact on education, see Who Made the Penal Laws on Education? T. Corcoran, *The Irish Monthly*, Vol. 59, No. 692 (Feb., 1931), pp. 86-93 and John Bergin, *New perspectives on the penal laws*. (Dublin: ECIS, 2011.)

into freer action and sense of identity without admitting the associations of traumatic history. The broader terms of Europe or the world possessed an appeal which stretched identity into an arena less defined or classified in performance or definition. It was a reaching beyond past conventions outside of a dominating and immediate version of an Ireland in thrall to the British Empire. Nationhood with transnational elements meant being tied culturally and ideologically to an international and cosmopolitan world to provide a currency of status. This particularly evident is the allusions, associations and conflation of character names.

Cregan is an ancient Irish name with a strong presence in Limerick to this day while the choice of Hardress seemed to point to one man with a particular history in Limerick, Hardress Waller. Sir Hardress Waller was an English parliamentarian who was charged with the murder of a monarch, James I.¹⁸⁴ He managed to avoid losing his life due to the powerful network of friends he possessed. Waller eventually died in prison. Through a marriage with Elizabeth Dowdall, Waller attained an enormous estate in Castletown, Kilcornan, Limerick before becoming governor of Askeaton. He served in the British army against Irish rebels and became the governor of Cork in 1644. Waller was a major-general in Cromwell's invasion and played a major role in the siege at Limerick before being appointed governor of Limerick. The daughter of Waller later married Sir William Petty.¹⁸⁵

Danny Mann is representative of the repressed working-class Irishman. The use of the name Danny and Dan in a series of characters of working-class characters in *The Collegians* is a type of conglomerate “here

¹⁸⁴ Little, Patrick. "Waller, Sir Hardress". *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.) (<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a8861>) accessed 3/6/2014.

¹⁸⁵ William Petty, 1st Marquess of Lansdowne and The Earl of Shelburne was an Irish-born British statesman. Petty became Prime Minister in 1782–1783 during the close of the American War of Independence. He secured peace with America. See: Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, *Life of William, earl of Shelburne* (3 vols, 1875), Herbert van Thal (ed.), *The Prime Ministers* (1974); John Ehrman, *The younger Pitt* (3 vols, 1969–96).

comes everybody” character before Joyce’s HCE and a reference to Daniel O’Connell. The attempt can be read to place O’Connell as representative of the interests of the ordinary Catholic. However, it also serves to criticise the fame and politics of O’Connell in terms of the worth of his work for the ordinary man. Danny was physically disabled by a violent act in childhood committed by Hardress Cregan. Cregan threw Danny down a flight of stairs after Danny had been rude to a cousin of Hardress. Danny had apparently forgotten his station in life and had assumed equality due to his friendship with Cregan:

"For which," added Hardress, with a slight change in his countenance, "he has to thank his master."

"You, Mr. Hardress!"

"Even so, Eily, When we were both children, that young fellow was my constant companion. Familiarity produced a feeling of equality, on which he presumed so far as to offer rudeness to a little relative of mine, a Miss Chute, [...] my vengeance was summary [...] without even the ceremony of a single question or preparatory speech, I seized him by the collar and hurled him with desperate force to the bottom of the flight [...]"¹⁸⁶

Anne Chute is the upper-class character at the heart of the childhood argument. Cregan’s depiction revealed the attempt to reaffirm the social lines appropriate to class by Hardress Cregan in an act of violence; a childhood of equality and friendship was desecrated by a cold momentary action. The words which frame Cregan’s description of his crime, through ‘summary’, ‘ceremony’, and ‘preparatory’, connoted a formal event with language which resembled a legal contract. Through such language Griffin underlined the unpredictable nature of Hardress. The friendship was poisoned by the societal structures which created the union. However, Danny remained committed to his friendship with Cregan despite the injury and increased his loyalty and servility. A reading that Danny’s murder of Eily is revenge on Hardress does not equate with both

¹⁸⁶ Gerald Griffin, *The Collegians*, p. 153.

Hardress and Danny's assertion of Danny's commitment to Hardress. The husbandry of the subservient native with the advantaged gentlemen led to a passionate, loyal, violent, and abusive relationship between Mann and Cregan. The construction of society and the origins of the men led to a friendship and exchange which Griffin's depiction indicated can only be based on varying degrees of repression. Elements of inferiority, superiority, entitlement, and injustice, between the classes, affected the relationship. The men are ultimately bound to the conventions of society yet there are subversive moments and transactions which move past these rigid boundaries. A chance conversation between Mr. Hyland Creagh and Kyrle Daly, Kyrle happens upon a group of men out riding their horses, results in a violent outburst from Kyrle on learning of the conduct of Hardress:

While Creagh made this speech, Kyrle Daly was running over in his mind the entire circumstances of young Cregan's conduct, and the conclusions to which his reflections brought him was, that a more black and shameful treason had never been practised between man and man. For the first time in his life, Kyrle Daly wholly lost his self-government. Principle, religion, duty, justice, all vanished for the instant from his mind, and nothing but the deadly injury remained to stare him in the face.¹⁸⁷

The offended cousin who reported Danny's rudeness to Hardress was Miss Chute, the cousin who entered the marriage frame as the acceptable family choice for Hardress. However, Miss Chute was desired by a more principled man than Hardress, the upright Kyrle Daly. Daly was at the opposite end of the moral spectrum of the prosperous Catholic upper-middle class in contrast to the spoiled and violent upper-class Hardress. Kyrle was kind, idealistic, calm, friendly and dull. He was devastated and outraged by the actions of Hardress and began to think of violence towards Hardress.

Nevertheless, Kyrle Daly was a character capable of losing his

¹⁸⁷ Gerald Griffin, *The Collegians*, p. 304.

principle, religion and justice. He was capable of both objectivity and raw passion. Daly was adept at removing himself from the regimented order and disorder of society to access a part of his psyche which can see a morality above his self-interest. Yet, the rawness of feeling which emerged from the despairing and secretive actions of Hardress caused thoughts of violent revenge in Daly, as news spread of Hardress's intended marriage to Miss Chute and drowned body of Eily: "I will horsewhip him!" he said within his mind, "I will horsewhip him at the wedding feast. The cool, dark hypocrite!"¹⁸⁸ This later dissolved into a measured principle. The initial thirst for revenge is shocked into a rethinking due to the flippant manner in which Mr Creagh outlines how to kill a man. The man prepped for murder being Hardress, who is a mutual friend of Creagh and Daly. Mr Creagh outlined in detail how to take great care over a weapon and aim to ensure murder of a rival:

“[...] Dry it yourself, overnight, -on a plate, which you may keep hot over a vessel of warm water. Insert your charge at the breech of the pistol, and let your ball be covered with kid leather, softened with the finest salad oil. See that your barrel is polished and free from dust. [...] draw an imaginary line from the mouth of the barrel to the third button of your opponent's coat. When the word is given, raise your weapon rapidly along that line, and fire at the button. He will never hear the shot.”¹⁸⁹

In the description Griffin contrasted domestic items to the destruction of a single gun, to capture the horror of a duel against the juxtaposition of everyday family practices. The murderous detail of “half-sir” Creagh caused Catholic Daly to react with an impassioned moral reasoning which defended Hardress, the Cregan family, and his idealistic morals:

[...] “Pray, what is the object of these curious questions?”
“It is this,” said Kyrle, fixing his eyes fully upon the man: “I find it impossible to express the disgust I feel at hearing you [...] I hope the

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 305.

time will come, in Ireland, when you and your mean and murderous class shall be despised and trampled on as you deserve.”¹⁹⁰

Griffin created oppositional interaction between members of the classes through a disparity of morality and individuality. A label did not define the human, the characters were moral beings and not confined by a categorization. Kryle described his disgust at the murderous intention of this supposed gentleman. The Mr Hyland Creagh character was introduced as a notorious duellist and a member of the Hell Fire Club. He was an older member of a more cavalier Ascendancy where principle was put before logic and morality:

There was, in the first place, Hyland Creagh, commonly called Fireball Creagh, a great sweater and pinker — a notorious duellist, who had been concerned, either on behalf of himself or his friends, in more than one hundred " affairs of honour " —a. member of the Hell-Fire Club, a society constituted on principles similar to that of the Mohocks, [...] Mr. Hyland Fireball Creagh had been a member in his early days, and was still fond of recounting their customs and adventures with greater minuteness than always accorded with the inclinations of his hearers [...].¹⁹¹

The Hellfire Club was a title given to various clubs managed and frequented by men from English high society throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁹² The club was initially established in the United Kingdom before becoming banned in England then spreading to Scotland and Ireland. The original name of the club was the Order of the Friars of St. Francis of Wycombe. The narratives surrounding the club described a place of pagan ritual and immoral action by men who were known to be involved in political circles. These narratives were due to the secrecy of the club and the difficulty of ascertaining information on its activities. The first club was founded in England in 1719 by the Duke of Wharton and his

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 305.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁹² See, Geoffrey Ashe, *The Hell-Fire Clubs: A History of Anti-Morality*. (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2005) and Daniel Mannix, *The Hell Fire Club*. (London: Simon and Schuster, 2001.)

circle. A lodge on Mount Pelier Hill was erected in 1725 on the foothills of the Dublin Mountains. William Connolly of Castletown House purchased Rathfarnham Castle in 1724, and built a hunting lodge.¹⁹³ After Connolly's death in 1729 the building allegedly housed meetings for the young men of the Irish Hell Fire Club. One of the Connollys, it was reported, believed he met the devil during a card game. One officially recorded incident is the murder of Charles Cobbe, a son of the archbishop of Dublin, during a duel in 1751. The motto of the Hellfire Club was *Fais ce que tu voudras* meaning Do what thou wilt. This sense of entitlement was a trait of Hardress Cregan and Hyland Creagh, gentleman who engaged in threats of violence and took marriages outside of their class which put their family fortune in peril.

The power struggle and division of Irish society was treated by Griffin in the form of the relationship between Hardress and Mann in *The Collegians*. Both of these characters were Catholic but there was a difference of class, master and servant. Through this relationship Griffin described Cregan as a Catholic with upper-class pretensions and Anglo-Irish influenced behaviour. However, this was not the only outside influence on Cregan's character as his psychical description is littered with references to other nationalities. Mann's speech and grammar structure resemble native Irish, in his Hibernian-English. Cregan's language and manner is closer to Anglo-Irish English. The traditional difference of nationality gives way to a class barrier, class befits behaviour and influence.

The depiction of Cregan and Mann was central to Griffin's difficulty with the moral compass of literature. That both men were from Catholic families, but from upper and lower classes, was a way for Griffin to stress class ideology as tied to Imperial traits of dominance and control.

¹⁹³ Michael Fewer, *The Hellfire Club, Co. Dublin. History Ireland*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (May/June 2010), p. 29.

The gentry's elements of the upper-class Catholic saw Griffin tie upper-class Catholic characters to the Anglo-Irish gentry in manner and behaviour. Griffin chose to depict a murderer and his violent master, both with elements of likability and detestable traits. They were characters who struggled to fulfil the role of society demarcated by their family origins and immediate social interactions. The author portrays the eventual murder of Eily O'Connor as a result of a failure in communication. Hardress Cregan did not want Mann to kill her but simply to put her on a ship to America. This does not fit the facts of the real crime where Scanlan had implored Sullivan to rid him of his burden even after Sullivan's first attempt had resulted in an inability to do the deed. However, Sullivan managed to pull the trigger the second time. Griffin's Mann was subservient and of such keenness to prove his loyalty and love for Cregan that he committed a murder for him. This was a problematic relationship as in many characters Griffin portrayed an interactive society that was capable of communication and respect but the core relationships at the heart of the novel were also abusive and violent. Perhaps, another reason that Mann did not want Hardress involved in a murder was the loss of his master and income.

The shifts in character between the initial Danny Mann of the first half of the novel and the second part are not smooth. It is hard to understand the sudden violent turn which the character of Danny developed, from clueless and kind to deranged and violent. It seemed that Griffin was keen to emphasise within the novel the innocent victims of a social system. Hardress Cregan was an agonized man due to his love for a woman outside his class and the expectations of his high social rank. The issue of the secret marriage which leads to the murder of Cregan's wife reveals the force of social consciousness at work in the middle-class Catholic family. Both finance and social morality dictate the cure of marriage for the Cregan family to uphold status within the community:

[...] Oh! Dora Cregan, if anyone had told you in your youth that you should one day thank Heaven to find a murderer safe from justice! I do not mean you, my child," she said, turning to Hardress; "you are no murderer."

Hardress made no reply and Mrs. Cregan remained silent [...] But her fate had been already decided, and it would be only to make the ruin of her son assured, if she attempted now to separate the destiny of Anne from theirs.

"We must hasten this marriage," Mrs. Cregan continued, after a silence of some minutes," [...]¹⁹⁴

There are varying levels of institutionalisation that have warped Danny Mann's mind and body. Danny had been a servant his entire life and crippled by his master, a slave to work and his body. Cregan cannot marry freely; he must perpetuate the lineage and monetary position of his family through marriage. The decision to marry Ms Chute supported his family and class preventing ruin and exile. The appearance of Danny Mann was stressed as not just lacking beauty but was a cage of deformity. Mann's state was limited in various ways through being a hunchback, of an apparent low city class, of a simpleness and ignorance:

In the bow sat a being who did not share the beauty of his companions. He bore a prodigious hunch upon his shoulders, which, however, did not prevent his using his limbs with agility, and even strength, as he tended the foresail, [...] distinguished by that look of pert shrewdness which marks the low inhabitant of a city, and vents itself in vulgar cant, and in ridicule of the honest and wondering ignorance of rustic simplicity.¹⁹⁵

The description of the deformed appearance of Mann suggests the figure of Caliban from Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Caliban possessed a monstrous form and was the son of the malevolent witch, Sycorax. The main protagonist of the play Prospero possessed an offstage book that was central to his dominance over the island. The book enabled Prospero to manage the spirits that arrived after Prospero called them. These spirits

¹⁹⁴ Gerald Griffin, *The Collegians*, p. 368.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

torture Caliban which ensured his submission. The spirits turn into various Greek mythological figures. Prospero used magic to ensure that Caliban performed his duties. This made Caliban the human inhabitant of what was described as an inhuman island, forced into a life of servitude. After the imprisonment of Caliban and Ariel, Prospero realised this imprisoned him also. This was due to the dependency of his power and circumstances upon the presence and existence of Caliban and Prospero. This reflects the tie between Hardress and Mann. Mann in the second half of the novel inhabited a sphere of shrewdness and vulgarity, his ignorance was dangerous. Griffin described the speech of Mann as 'vulgar cant'. Cant possesses two connotative possibilities, one being a duplicitous and self-righteous expression which is moral, religious, or political. The other meaning for cant is the speech of a group which is used to eliminate others from understanding or to deceive others listening. The men are within and outside a relationship with one another. The initial depiction of Hardress and Danny's relationship revealed an uneven bond which seemed to stain the character of Hardress rather than Danny:

"Why, din, indeed," said Danny, " I'll tell him nothin' o' de sort. 'Twould be de same case wit him still, for he's a boy dat if you gave him England, Ireland an' Scotland for an estate, he'd ax de Isle o' Man for a kitchen-garden."

"Well, well, do as you please about it, Danny, but have him on the spot. That fellow," [Hardress] continued, speaking to Eily as he conducted her out of the cavern, "that fellow is so impudent sometimes, that nothing but the recollection of his fidelity, and the honesty of his motive, keeps my hand at rest. He is my foster-brother, and, you may perceive, with the exception of one deformity a well-looking man.

"I never observed anything but the hunch," said Eily.¹⁹⁶

Satisfaction and status within the Empire are addressed by Danny, the tenant character, in his description of the unending greed set in motion

¹⁹⁶ Gerald Griffin, *The Collegians*, p. 153.

by power. The British Isles was not enough to sate an individual, as Griffin linked gluttony and Empire, in a system which can no longer control its desire for power and rule. The Empire had become associated with the unquenchable lust for more. In this sense, the Empire is given a human characteristic without gender. The metaphor for the possession of countries, the possibility of ownership and control as not enough to guarantee satisfaction, was linked to the abusive relationship between Hardress and Danny. Hardress viewed Danny as a foster-brother, a brother who he cruelly made lame, when he overstepped his social status as a child. Hardress expressed a tendency towards violence to deal with what he called Danny's impudence. However, it was Danny's loyalty and subservience which prevented further violence. Hardress spoke of Danny as his foster-brother yet Danny was Hardress's servant. The ability to affirm a clear state of relationship or one type of personality was beyond the characters. The closed nature of the class system in society paralysed the growth but not the identity of the relationships.

The forced attachment and subservience of the working-class Irish native towards his master was an obvious metaphor for the broken society which operated in Ireland, a society which was within and outside nationality and Empire, in terms of status, economy, and politics. The characters cannot attain an identity accepted across the classes of Ireland and Empire; status changed depending upon the class perception of the character. This theme of *The Collegians* reflected the struggle of the Catholic in Ireland to firmly define and readjust identity in the face of Catholic Emancipation. This was reflected in the importance of Daniel O'Connell in Ireland and his struggle to instigate political reform and manage his image in the perception of the electorate and his political peers.

Griffin mixed cultures, nationalities, and religions in his choice of character names for the Irish Catholic working-class Danny Mann and upper-class Hardress Cregan. In the case of Danny Mann Griffin combined

biblical with Germanic names. The name Daniel is associated with judgement through God which is a possible caveat Griffin intended for his working-class murderer. The violent actions of such a tormented man, disfigured for life by his master Hardress in childhood, can only be judged by God due to Mann's disadvantaged and paralysed position in society. The ancient Irish name of Cregan is in combination with the name Hardress that was tied to English colonisation and bloodshed in Limerick. This revealed the sense of Irish blood and British history intertwined into the powers present in Irish society. The superior position of being a master of a servant in Irish society was unacceptable on one level to a majority of locals. This led to agrarian crime, committed by those with inferior social and monetary positions in society. Those in positions of power were forced to maintain a superior distance from the rest of society. Griffin captured this in the names and traumatic 'friendship' of Mann and Cregan.

The Crossroads: Irish Identity

Terry Eagleton in *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger* and David Lloyd in *Anomalous States* offered a theory of the nineteenth-century novel that relates to the issues uncovered in *The Collegians*. Realism was at the centre of both theoretical approaches as the Irish novel's problem with the form of the Realist novel was traced. Eagleton was focused on establishing the protomodernist elements of the nineteenth-century Irish novel.¹⁹⁷ Authors who do not exhibit the modernist elements of Eagleton's approach are dismissed as an irregularity. Lloyd's appraisal of the nineteenth-century novel was conjoined also to modernism, in particular to Joyce and to *Ulysses*.¹⁹⁸ The nineteenth-century Irish novel was deemed inadequate in comparison with Irish modernism and the British tradition in the novel. However, Lloyd stressed that the violence and social movement

¹⁹⁷ Terry Eagleton, *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: studies in Irish culture* (London: Verso, 1995) p. 154.

¹⁹⁸ Lloyd, *Anomalous states: Irish writing and the post-colonial moment*, p. 133.

of Irish society resulted in a crisis of representation, which caused in turn an authorial inability to document Irish society and identity. The absence of a middle class in Ireland, as highlighted by Carleton, led Lloyd to assert the representative purpose of class to the Irish novel.¹⁹⁹ There was no middle class to hold up as a counter to the working-classes, which was a feature of classic realism. Irish society and the Irish novel were unbalanced. However, it is the contention of this thesis that there was a concerted and balanced effort to map an Irish identity tied to Europe and beyond the boundaries of the British Empire and O'Connellite politics. In short, Gerald Griffin offered an Irish identity at a crossroads, not a crisis.

Thomas Flanagan in *The Irish Novelists 1800-1850* writes of how Griffin represented many different levels of society in *The Collegians*.²⁰⁰ The “half-sirs” or squires of Griffin’s novel are the class of people who are most condemned, due to their gluttonous and duelling lifestyles. Griffin captured the landlord system of Irish society through the Cregan family who were fading economically. It is the contention of this project that Griffin depicted an interactive collection of social classes supposedly possessing definitive boundaries in labels such as religion, nationality, land possession, power and name. *The Collegians* was in part an attempt by Griffin to capture the blurred divide of the various social classes from the gentry to the working-classes by means of a real life crime. This social interaction within *The Collegians* unsettled definitive boundaries of identity such as religion and class through the space of social interaction in conversation, attraction, love, humour, and violence. This can be witnessed in the speech of Myles na Gopaleen in the castle of the Chutes and in the presence of Kyrle Daly. Myles gives an oral account on the whereabouts of his brothers and their vocation in the English army:

The Captain, Mr. Cregan? Except in so far as we are all servants of

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 154.

²⁰⁰ Thomas Flanagan, *The Irish Novelists 1800-1850* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959) p. 51.

the Almighty, and children of Adam, I know of none. But I have a *feeling* for the red coat, for all. I have three brothers in the army, serving in America; one of 'em was made a corporal, or an admiral, or some *ral* or another, for behavin' well at Quaybec, the time of Woulf's death. The English showed them- selves a great people that day, surely.²⁰¹

However, Griffin also revealed how this Landlord structure impacted upon the morality and mindset of the upper and working-class characters that operated in such a feudal system. Griffin's main upper-class character, Hardress Cregan, possessed a sense of entitlement and authority which struggled with interaction with those below his station. The morality in operation between the working and upper-class varied in Griffin's characters from fighting desire for insubordination and a restructuring of society to placation and simple friendliness. The classes interacted with success such as in Myles' interactions with the Cregans, but there is a suspension of belief in action and interaction. This increased in difficulty when bonds are built through friendship, respect, love, marriage or attraction.

Dominick Tracy highlighted Griffin's attempt to modernize the image of the Irish middle classes that desired an equal share in the British Empire.²⁰² Tracy criticized Griffin's lack of a bourgeois polemic of self-discipline and progress or a celebration of the strength of a rural Irish identity surviving the persecution of the injustice of the British regime. Tracy is not convinced by the hasty marriage of Daly and Chute or the death of Hardress. These pastoral characters, for Tracy, reveal pre-Famine literature as suspended in a nostalgic nationalism and imperialist 'assimilationist amnesia'.²⁰³ The tag of pre-Famine literature is anachronistic and removed from the spirit and society in which Griffin

²⁰¹ Gerald Griffin, *The Collegians*, p. 85.

²⁰² Dominick Tracy, 'Squatting the deserted village: idyllic resistance in Griffin's *The Collegians*', in Jacqueline Belanger (ed), *The Irish novel in the nineteenth century: facts and fictions* (Dublin: Four Courts 2005) p. 109.

²⁰³ Ibid.

wrote the novel in 1829. This is to give the literature the context of an event which has not taken place yet. It is probably more accurate to delineate the work as post-Famine fiction of 1740-1 than pre-Famine literature. Given that the text was produced in 1829, Catholic Emancipation fiction is the most accurate broad historical context. However, this is an injustice to the intricate philosophy of the fiction of Griffin: he was a thinker and writer deserving of more erudite analysis.

Emer Nolan in *Catholic Emancipations* documented the Catholic author's propensity to produce novels which were based upon the nineteenth-century British novel.²⁰⁴ Such literature had the ambition of performing a key cultural purpose to capture Irish nationalist life and culture. Daniel Corkery identified Griffin's *The Collegians* and Charles Kickham's *Knocknagow* as the two novels which sufficiently captured Irish life to an extent that they could be used to build a tradition. Corkery labelled these works as Anglo-Irish literature as they are written in English. The nationalism of Corkery rendered a strict divide as to what was acceptable as national literature. Nolan stressed the questions which Griffin's fiction posed for the Irish-nineteenth century novel.²⁰⁵ Griffin's morality- he became a devout Catholic- resulted in a personal crisis with regards to the moral scope of fiction. This issue of morality was inflamed by distaste for the capitalism in operation in Ireland and Britain, over production and luxury for the upper classes while the masses became poorer. For Nolan, Griffin saw parsimony as a virtue but within the context of *The Collegians* Griffin stressed an Ireland of interactive classes struggling to overcome a British economic system and a social divide caused by the plantation and landlord structures. Frugality became a virtue for Griffin in later life through his rejection of fiction in favour of education and religion but Griffin's work in *The Collegians*, which caused

²⁰⁴ Emer Nolan, *Catholic Emancipations: Irish fiction from Thomas Moore to James Joyce* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press 2007) p. xxi.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

his crisis of faith towards fiction, highlighted a Daniel O’Connell-like openness, tolerance, and inclusivity for the rights of the working and upper classes.

Daniel O’Connell and Ulysses

In 1827 the *Freeman’s Journal* documented the movement of troops, which demonstrated militarism as a daily presence and source of employment. The political concern of the European World was moving throughout the countryside of southern Ireland:

On Thursday, the 1st division of the depot companies of the 84th Regiment arrived in Limerick from Buttevant, [...] to replace the 32d Regiment, now in Limerick garrison. On Friday, the 2nd division of the 81st, under command of Major A. Vaughan, marched into Limerick, and proceeded next morning on route to Birr, the headquarters. [...]

The 32d Regiment, now in Limerick Garrison, bore a distinguished part in the memorable battle of Waterloo. The colours of the Regiment are decorated with the inscriptions, ‘Salamanca’, ‘Nivelle, Nive,’ ‘Peninsula,’ and ‘Waterloo.’ [...] ²⁰⁶

The 32d Regiment had performed admirably at the Battle of Waterloo in the United Provinces of Netherlands (present day Belgium). Griffin stressed the history of Irish movement throughout Europe as soldiers in the imperial armies when Myles detailed the movement of his brothers as members of the Red Coats. ²⁰⁷

The characters operated within local and national spheres through actions and narratives which deviate in and out of grand narrative definitions such as Irish, British or upper class. This mirrors the identity and political action of Daniel O’Connell. There are four characters called Dan or Danny in Griffin’s *The Collegians* Dan Dawley, Danny Mann, Dan Hourigan, and Dan Hogan. Griffin’s Dan Dawley was one of many

²⁰⁶ Anon, ‘The Army.’ *Freeman’s Journal* 1763-1924, Wednesday, May 09, 1827 p. 1.

²⁰⁷ For a discussion on early nineteenth century soldiers, see: William R. Miles, *Britain and the World: Irish Soldiers, Pensions and Imperial Migration during the Early Nineteenth Century*. Volume 6, Issue 2, p. 243-257.

characters given an international dimension by comparing the character with one of Homer's characters from the *Odyssey*: "Dan Dawley was a lucky man," said Kyrle. "Neither Orpheus nor Theseus had so much to say for themselves as he had."²⁰⁸

Griffin's Kyrle Daly projected the character of Ulysses onto Dan Dawley. Kyrle Daly was vying for the hand in marriage of Miss Chute, an upper-class character. Kyrle Daly eventually married the landed gentry Miss Chute, as Griffin provided a post Emancipation trans-class vision of the Catholic merging into the upper economic tiers of wealth. While both Daly and Miss Chute are Catholics the behaviour and ambition of the characters aspires towards highly reserved principles and wealth, which was usually retained in Victorian novels for the Anglo-Irish. The name Dawley is an old English name (and a small town in Shropshire). A story was told of how Dan Dawley as a young boy worked for the local Landlord Mr. Chute and remained in this position. The upper-class character Ms Chute expressed a fear and respect of the 'morose' man. Daly projected the county system onto the world of Ancient Greece. The lack of education of the working-class Lowry Looby, Daly's servant, was played with by Kyrle Daly:

"I never hear talks o' them gentlemen, sir. Wor they o' these parts?"
"Not exactly. One of them was from the county of Attica, and the other from the county of Thrace."
"I never hear of 'em: I partly guessed they wor strangers," Lowry continued with much simplicity; "but any way, Dan Dawley was a match for the best of 'em, an' a luckier man than I told you yet, moreover; that's in the first beginnin' of his days."²⁰⁹

Dawley was framed in references to the great artificer Ulysses. Characters named Dan are continually compared with *Ulysses*, as the figure of Daniel O'Connell is unsubtly linked to the great spinner of stories, the giver and receiver of mischief and a wanderer. Ulysses was the

²⁰⁸ Gerald Griffin, *The Collegians*, p. 48.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Roman name for the Greek hero Odysseus of the *Odyssey*, attributed to Homer. The inability to recognise the difference between the origins of the myths was played with by Griffin. The character of working-class Danny also cannot tell the difference between Greek and Roman: "'More Latin, sir?'" "That's Greek, you goose." "It's all Greek to me," said Danny".²¹⁰

Dan Hogan was the next character to receive the Ulysses comparison from Anne Chute:

And, to follow up my Homeric parallels, close behind him, on that long-backed, ungroomed creature, with the unnameable colour, rides the crafty Ulysses of the assemblage, Dan Hogan, the process-server. [...] but the smoky Achilles, who gets drunk with him every Saturday night, has a full reliance on his friendship. Whether, however, Cupid or Bacchus will have the more powerful influence upon the process-server, is a question that I believe yet remains a mystery even to himself; and I suspect he will adopt the neutral part of doing all he can to win the saddle for himself.²¹¹

The Homeric parallels placed the character of Ulysses upon a secondary character and more central characters like Myles or Hardress Cregan. The application of Achilles and other character types are strewn throughout the novel. The aim of self-preservation and success override secondary ambitions of love as the stereotype of the shrewd politician was repeated by Griffin.

Success for the Catholic Irish was tied to the future political and economic direction of the country. To be part of this future O'Connell and the Irish had to be prepared to engage with whatever power and opportunities were available. Principle and morality in the face of such ambition required adaptability and ambiguity. Griffin captured the movement and interaction of Catholic classes, suggesting the mimicry and hybridisation of Anglo-Irish culture, as the Catholic classes moved into the upper-classes of society. Griffin was also at pains to stress a history of hybridisation and mimicry of different cultures and within literature

²¹⁰ Gerald Griffin, *The Collegians*, p.251.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

through the use of the Ulysses myth. The final defence of Hardress Cregan stressed the religious morality of Griffin's later prose which eventually crippled his writing. Griffin's duplicity as a judge of character in *The Collegians* found a block in the shape of his ethics:

Reader, if you have shuddered at the excesses into which he plunged, examine your own heart, and see if it hide nothing of the intellectual pride and volatile susceptibility of new impressions, which were the ruin of Hardress Cregan. If, besides the amusement which these pages may have afforded, you should learn anything from such research for the avoidance of evil, or the pursuit of good, it will not be in vain that we have penned the story of our two Collegians.²¹²

The movement and education of two collegians was incomplete and not without its pitfalls. Irish Catholic society was struggling to understand how to adapt and what's its new identity would bring. What Griffin produced were Irish and Anglo-Irish characters of varying degrees of intelligence, morality, affection, and identity. The humanity of the classes was stressed above the political or religious propaganda at work in society: '[...] Myles Murphy, likewise, a good natured farmer from Killarney, who travelled through the country selling Kerry ponies, and claiming relationship with everyone he met, claimed kindred in vain with Eily, for his claim was not allowed.'²¹³ The gentry's violence in the form of Hardress towards the lay Catholic person Danny Mann evolved to native-on-native crime, when Danny attacked Eily, because of the misinterpreted desires of the upper class. The metaphor extended itself to a society of victims born into a feudal system where everyone was a victim due to the paralysis and disparity of class difference. The culture was depicted as an unequal and unintelligently structured society devoid of foresight thanks to a removed British government. However, Griffin was a very intelligent young writer who gained success at a young age despite economic hardship. Thomas Flanagan cites Padraic Colum's judgment on Griffin's

²¹² Ibid., p. 437.

²¹³ Ibid., p. 10.

falling off in output:

Holland-tide was written when he was twenty-three, and *Tales of the Munster Festivals* before he was twenty-five. These two volumes would make a creditable introduction to a series of powerful novels they are on the level, for instance, with Thomas Hardy's early books. With *The Collegians* the series seems to have been begun.²¹⁴

That Griffin died at 37 is surely the most pressing argument for withholding a judgement on the direction of his aesthetic as Griffin never got the chance to reassert or redirect. Griffin's output throughout the 1830s did not possess the verve and achievement of his earlier work as he embraced a dry version of the historical novel. Griffin felt literature did not possess the moral compass to convey the condition of Irish society. A difficulty lurked behind his character portrayals in *The Collegians*. Griffin's depiction of compelling villains in *The Collegians* troubled him. Griffin wrote to his publishers asking that publication of his work stop and he burned his unpublished material. The desire to escape literature and prevent any further impact of his work dominated his will.

To conclude, the influence of Daniel O'Connell's cosmopolitan political philosophy was present in *The Collegians*. However, it was not a simple retracing or political allegory of the political philosophy of O'Connell. Griffin stressed a changing and suspended Irish identity, evolving towards greater freedom in Irish society. Griffin's suppression of public affirmation of act and belief through clandestine marriage in *The Collegians* was designed to capture the crossroads at which Irish identity stood post-Catholic Emancipation. Pre-famine, this was not a crisis, it was a crossroads. The author's predicament arrived, after producing *The Collegians*, in the form of Griffin's principles regarding literature. The pragmatic approach of O'Connell to politics ensured a longer career and a more effective image of Irish identity than Griffin. The hybrid and cultured

²¹⁴ Flanagan, *The Irish Novelists 1800-1850*, p. 52

Irish characters created by Griffin later became reimagined by William Carleton.

Chapter Three:

William Carleton: Politics, Narrative, and Ulysses

This chapter outlines the context of William Carleton's fiction and contrasts Carleton's work with Gerald Griffin's *The Collegians*. Carleton's politics, themes and use of character in is opposition to Griffin's *The Collegians*, particularly concerning the image and treatment of Daniel Connell's politics. Carleton responds to the rise of the Catholic post-Emancipation in a negative manner as he is writing for an Anglo-Irish

audience. Later, Carleton's audience changes to a nationalist audience through personal links to Young Ireland; there is an attempt by *The Nation* to change the image of Carleton as a betrayer of his Catholic background to a recorder of Irish working-class life. Both Griffin and Carleton depict a Catholic Irish identity attached to the politics of O'Connell. However, the transnationalist agenda of Griffin is in contrast to Carleton. In his early career, Carleton attempted a satirical attack on Irish Catholic identity; Irish culture was portrayed as inferior and immoral within the British Empire and restricted to the local.

David Lloyd suggests in *Anomalous States* that violence attends the formation of identity when society is fractured by ideology and a contested authority.²¹⁵ The history of sectarian antagonism within Ireland provoked the suppression of alternate identities. The dominant culture had a monopoly of narratives over the diverse strands in society through the threat and application of actual violence. Control of narratives whether in fiction, history, or the political arena is a critical factor in the function of state authority over the inhabitants of a nation, whether they choose to conform with or challenge hegemony. Irish identity is not a settled or defined construct; it is perpetually mutating and expansive, as is reflected in the evolution of Irish fiction and its networks. Nevertheless, one cannot escape identity frameworks such as nationality, marriage, family history and their social performativity. The writer can be emollient or irritant, creating a shared or a broken sense of social identity.

Controversial Beginnings

Carleton is a controversial figure. By his thirties William Carleton had left Catholicism behind to become a Protestant. Carleton stated in his unfinished autobiography that his adoption of the Anglican faith was due to its intellectual rigour in comparison to the political passions of

²¹⁵ Lloyd, *Anomalous States*, p. 4.

Catholicism.²¹⁶ Carleton's shift was pragmatic as being Catholic was a disadvantage in the publishing world. That Carleton became a Protestant meant that patronage and opportunities became readily available. In November of 1826 Carleton wrote to Sir Robert Peel, the British Home Secretary, and stated he could provide evidence that O'Connell's Association and the Catholic clergy were involved in agrarian crime.²¹⁷ This revealed that Carleton had very specific ideas as to what kind of identity and audience he wanted to cultivate. Peel was against Catholic Emancipation, against O'Connell, and Chief Secretary to Ireland at the time of the Wildgoose Lodge Murders. Carleton wrote to Peel that 'the priests are those that I principally fear, not more from the habitual dissimulation of their character than from my knowledge of the unforgiving fire which burns within them black, malignant, and designing, systematically treacherous and false, and inherently inimical to Protestants'.²¹⁸ Carleton stressed the "terrible" influence of Catholic teachers, which impelled young minds towards violence. These letters reflected a strand of thought that weaved throughout Carleton's short story 'Wildgoose Lodge'.²¹⁹ Shortly after writing this letter Carleton came under the influence of Reverend Caesar Otway. Otway was an evangelical proselytiser, to the forefront of the 'New Reformation' and an anti-papist.²²⁰ Carleton found an outlet for his fiction in Otway's paper the *Christian Examiner* (the fiction was tailored by Carleton to suit the paper). Donnelly describes how Carleton was instructed to undercut Catholic ritual as irrational and to represent the clergy as corrupt and ignorant.²²¹ This

²¹⁶ Carleton died before he could finish the autobiography. William Carleton, *The autobiography of William Carleton*. (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1968) pp. 180-1.

²¹⁷ Terence Dooley, *The Murders at Wildgoose Lodge: Agrarian crime and punishment in pre-Famine Ireland*. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007) p. 30.

²¹⁸ William Carleton to Sir Robert Peel, 3 Nov. 1826 (British Library, Peel papers, vol. ccx, fols 29-32, Add. MS 40390).

²¹⁹ The story was originally titled 'Confessions of a Reformed Ribbonman'.

²²⁰ W.B. Yeats, *Representative Irish tales* (Gerrards Cross, 1979 ed.) p. 118.

²²¹ Brian Donnelly, 'William Carleton: Novelist of the People' in *Tyrone: History and Society*,

early position of Carleton's fiction was counter to the fiction of Gerald Griffin. What both fictional accounts contained was an engagement with Daniel O'Connell's image. The violence of Carleton's identity formation revealed a fear of Catholic hybridity and transnationalism.

The Violence of Identity Formation

David Lloyd criticises Bakhtin's concept of the workings of the novel because the social dynamics at work in Ireland were too complicated to be related to one concept of the novel or its mimetic premise of representation. Lloyd summarised his criticism of Bakhtin as a reversal of the actual order within the colonial system: '[...] accordingly not only reverses the logical order of literary formations in the colonial context but obscures both the relation of the novel to hegemony and the significance of deviations from metropolitan generic norms.'²²² Griffin contributed to this reinvention of the established genre system through the deployment of transnational characters that were disruptive of dominant forms of Irish identity.

Bakhtin's novel theory resulted in a mimetic picture of an organically national community with homogenous perspectives on social and political subjects.²²³ Political and religious terms held sway as they possessed the power of identifying and defining an individual and a group's mind. Lloyd reiterated the regulative function which the novel imposed through its narrative in an effort to mirror the nation and Empire. The novel created an identity which caused a hierarchy amongst its characters and the class system drawn in the work. The novel was active in the construction of identity; it was not democratic and benign. There is a violent construction of identity taking place.

Charles Dillon and Henry A. Jefferies (eds), (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2000), p. 576.

²²² David Lloyd, *Anomalous States*, p. 153.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

Both Griffin, with his flowing comic prose, and Carleton, with his sharp polemic, addressed an audience uncovered by John Banim.²²⁴ Tom Dunne and David Lloyd expressed misgivings about Banim and Griffin's work since their concept of a crisis of representation in the Irish novel pointed toward exclusion and stereotyping of classes within Irish society.²²⁵ While there is certainly an element of writing to type in Banim, Griffin was more inventive in his realignment of a received identity through modification of name and transnational origins. However, both writers were realist enough to still document the rigidity of the social world which stifled the growth of characters throughout all classes.

Patrick Maume stresses the bitterness of John Banim's attitude towards resistance to Catholic Emancipation, as reflected in *The Anglo-Irish of the Nineteenth Century* (1828).²²⁶ During the Clare election and the Emancipation Act, John's brother Michael was an O'Connellite activist and John wrote verses against Protestant opposition to Emancipation that advocated a military uprising. Griffin broke from Banim towards a transnational Irish and Anglo-Irish identity that was not confined to opposition or relation to the British Empire. The strict dichotomy of Banim's fiction of a divided Irish and Anglo-Irish world was not the representation of society in Griffin's *The Collegians*. The Banim's work was closer to the restrictive Irish identity at work in Carleton's early work. In outlining the development of Carleton's profession and image, mapped alongside Griffin, a sense of the fluctuation and development of both men's careers immersed in Irish culture and politics is revealed. This is aimed at helping the reader to understand the culture of politics both men struggled to operate in their initial works particularly in the case of Carleton. 'Wildgoose Lodge' has an important history for Carleton and

²²⁴ William Carleton was born in 1794, a decade earlier than Griffin.

²²⁵ Lloyd, *Anomalous State*, p. 135.

²²⁶ Patrick Maume, 'Respectability against Ascendancy' in *Ireland: Revolution and Evolution*, John Strachan and Alison O'Malley-Younger (eds), (New York: Peter Lang, 2009) p. 148.

nationalist culture. Carleton struggled to prevent his reputation from being defined by 'The Wildgoose Lodge'. Framing this work against Griffin's output outlines the culture of O'Connell's politics operating in Irish life and fiction in the early nineteenth century.

Wild Goose Lodge

In January 1830 in the *Dublin Literary Gazette* Carleton's 'Confessions of a reformed Ribbonman' (later to become Wildgoose Lodge) was introduced by the editor as 'a true record' with a genuine foundation.²²⁷ McCormack has argued that nineteenth-century writing in Ireland tended towards allegory and stereotype.²²⁸ The perceived tendency of the literary form was to repeat established themes and plots. However, as Carleton's work shows, nineteenth-century literature was more complex than this reading, particularly in the treatment of narrative and politics.

William Carleton's 'Wildgoose Lodge' (1830) portrayed a night of bloodlust perpetrated by the Ribbonmen, an agrarian secret society of which a young Carleton was once a member. The Wildgoose Lodge Murders resulted in the death of eight people, which occurred on a farmhouse in County Louth on the night of the 30th of October 1816. The victims, including a five-month-old baby, were forced to stay in the lodge by Ribbonmen as a fire raged throughout the structure:

[...] The victims who had died on the morning of 30 October were later identified as Edward Lynch, an elderly Catholic farmer and linen weaver; his bachelor son, Michael; his married daughter, Bridget; her husband Thomas Rooney; their five-month-old son, Peter, and three young servants: Ann Cassidy, Bridget Richards and James Rispin. [...] According to the chief secretary of Ireland at the time, Sir Robert Peel, it equalled 'in atrocity' (though not in scale) the 1798 massacre at Scullabogue in Co. Wexford when 126 men, women and children,

²²⁷ Quoted in Barbara Hayley, *Carleton's Traits and Stories, and the nineteenth century Anglo-Irish tradition* (Gerrards Cross: C. Smythe, 1983) p. 123.

²²⁸ W. J. McCormack, *Ascendancy and Tradition in Anglo-Irish Literary History from 1789 to 1939*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) p. 5.

predominantly Protestant, were burned to death in a barn by rebels.²²⁹

There were up to eighteen men captured and hanged for the crime, many of whom were innocent. Carleton's account of the event became the dominant narrative despite its status as a fiction that underwent many edits over the years of Carleton's writing career. Carleton had in fact lived in Killanny, Co. Louth in 1817, where he worked as a tutor in Piers Murphy's farming family. During this stay Carleton saw the gibbeted corpse of Patrick Devan, the convicted leader of the gang who murdered the victims of the Wildgoose Lodge. The sight stayed with Carleton and he made a vow to write an account of the event. His account attracted a massive readership and was republished many times.²³⁰ It began dramatically: 'Reader,--not many months elapsed ere I saw the bodies of this Captain, whose name was Patrick Devan, and all those who were actively concerned in the perpetration of this deed of horror, withering in the wind, where they hung gibbeted, near the scene of their nefarious villainy [...],'²³¹

Carleton's initial edit of the story portrayed Catholic characters with a murderous and evil temperament toward a lone Protestant family in the community. This was dressed in the Gothic elements of shadowy figures and deranged facial expressions, including various mad members of the group who provoked the violence. Carleton stressed the leadership of the Ribbonmen as behind the group's violence. They are described as meeting in the Catholic Church as Carleton stressed the danger of the church as a source of institutional violence. In one instance an alleged informer, during the crime, is portrayed as begging for the life of his child:

"My child," said he, "is still safe, she is an infant, a young crathur that

²²⁹ Terence Dooley, *Agrarian Crime and Punishment in pre-Famine Ireland: The Murders at Wildgoose Lodge*. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007) pp. 17-18.

²³⁰ Quoted in Barbara Hayley, *Carleton's Traits and Stories, and the nineteenth century Anglo-Irish tradition* (Gerrards Cross: C. Smythe, 1983) pp. ix-xiv

²³¹ William Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, (Dublin: W. Curry, jr. and Co.; London: W. S. Orr and Co., 1843) Vol. II p. 362.

never harmed you, or any one--she is still safe. Your mothers, your wives, have young innocent children like it. Oh, spare her, think for a moment that it's one of your own; spare it, as you hope to meet a just God, or if you don't, in mercy shoot me first--put an end to me, before I see her burned!"

The Captain approached him coolly and deliberately. "You'll prosecute no one now, you bloody informer," said he: "you'll convict no more boys for takin' an ould gun an' pistol from you, or for givin' you a neighborly knock or two into the bargain."²³²

Carleton highlighted the murders as revenge for 'a neighborly knock or two'. The motive for the attack, as described in Carleton's story, was revenge against an occupant of the house, Edward Lynch, who had informed on three of the perpetrator's members for a previous raid on the Wildgoose Lodge. These three men were hanged. Carleton's story underlined how no one was allowed to leave the burning house and people were piked back in. Carleton's portrayal of the victims as the only Protestant family in town was problematic when, in fact, the victims in the real case were all Catholics:

[...] It is also clear that from its first publication Carleton's story was being widely heralded as factual and authentic. That he used the narrative technique of telling the story in the first person, disguising it was an eyewitness account, undoubtedly had a misleading effect on a generally less sophisticated literary audience than exists in the present day. [...]²³³

Publication of the story in the *Newry Telegraph* resulted in an incensed response from Father Loughran, the curate in Ardee from 1812 to 1821. He wrote to the editor that 'The wonder is that a person of such intellect should be seduced or duped by so vulgar, so insignificant, or so illiterate a character as the inhuman Devan.'²³⁴ That Carleton had changed the victims to Protestants from Catholics revealed to Fr Loughran the author's agenda. Carleton presented an Irish Catholic identity as violent

²³² Ibid., p. 360.

²³³ Dooley, *Agrarian Crime and Punishment in pre-Famine Ireland*, p. 31.

²³⁴ As cited by Fr B.J. Loughran to editor, 13 Feb. 1830 in *Newry Telegraph*, 19 Feb, 1830.

towards Protestantism. The story reappeared in Carleton's collected stories *Traits and stories of the Irish peasantry* (1833), but it contained changes. The character of Lynch was no longer Protestant but now Catholic. That Carleton's changes shifted the crime of violence from Protestant victims to Catholics did not remove the impact of the violence or the association of violence and viciousness with the Catholic community. Many critics complained that the story failed to capture the extreme political and social pressure of the period on rural communities. Others noted that it was not an isolated crime.²³⁵

Carleton's ending of 'Wildgoose Lodge' tried to reassert the factual nature of his account of the murders, laying claim to its status as an eye-witness account in an attempt to persuade the reader of the legitimacy of his story. This strengthened the impact of Carleton's depiction of the Irish Catholic. However, Carleton's "facts" were not facts but a fictional account. The attempt was to create a dangerous link between the violence that secret societies were capable of and the Catholic clergy and Catholic teachers. This was counter to the attempts of Daniel O'Connell's Catholic and Repeal Association. Terence Dooley has documented the Judge's summation of the real case of the Wildgoose Lodge murderers in relation to Carleton's narrative:

[...] Judge Fletcher's charge to the juries at the later Wildgoose Lodge trials at the spring assizes of March 1818 was to be strongly echoed in Carleton's introduction to his *Traits and stories*. Fletcher said: 'It appears that the monster, Devan (who now on a gibbet pays the forfeit of his crimes), was clerk to the parish priest; he was, it seems, the parish schoolmaster too. It was to this wretch that the forming of the morals and the minds of the rising generation was committed.'²³⁶

The various different narratives which appeared post Carleton's account of the murders toed the line regarding Carleton's account, as

²³⁵ See, Samuel Clark, *Irish Peasants: Violence & Political Unrest, 1780-1914*, (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press 1986, c1983)

²³⁶ Dooley, *Agrarian Crime and Punishment in pre-Famine Ireland*, p. 36.

writers used it as a basis to build their stories upon. However, nationalists rewrote and attacked the anti-Catholic narrative of Carleton's story later in the century. The political and social landscape had changed from the context of Carleton's ambitions in the 1830s. The advent of the Catholic middle class and the now brittle nature of the landlord system with the rise of the Home Rule movement, the disestablishment of the church in 1869, the advent of the Land League and Parnell's rise saw Catholic writers occupy a firmer position from which to challenge narratives of endemic violence. This led, post the 1880s, to a major rewriting of the narratives concerning the Wildgoose murders.

Terence Dooley has tracked Carleton's motivations at the time of writing, investigating how the story had come to shape popular belief and narratives regarding the Wildgoose Lodge Murders. Dooley showed how the changing politics of each generation reinvented the account of the event, as Catholic Nationalists began to assert their position in society through their newspapers. In 1881 John Mathews assumed the editorial position at the *Dundalk Examiner*. The first edition began a series of articles on the trials of the Wildgoose Murder suspects. Mathews reproduced the articles of 1817-18 alongside an assessment of the trials and the reaction to them. Mathews attempted to highlight Carleton's inaccuracies. As an Irish nationalist Mathews was critical of what he perceived to be legislative oppression. He drew parallels between the application of the Insurrection Act in Louth in 1817-18 and the proclamation of the county in 1881 in an effort to explain violent reaction towards authority. Mathews stressed that the perpetrators of the crime, were not demons or outright victims. The crime of the murders was placed within a narrative of social injustice, diffusing the flash-point of a repressed people. Mathews portrayed Devan as a man who met his fate with courage, and a pamphlet by him, on the cusp of the 1798 centenary, put Devan on the road to becoming a nationalist hero, a symbol of

opposition.

A lack of a Middle Class

David Lloyd argues that the fiction of the nineteenth century was in a state of crisis in *Anomalous states: Irish writing and the post-colonial moment*. This crisis was linked to the problem of representing violence in the novel. Lloyd quotes Carleton's observations on the lack of an Irish bourgeoisie, a need that Carleton felt was detrimental both to society and to literature:

This absence has spilt the kingdom into two divisions, constituting the extreme ends of society – the wealthy and the wretched. If this third class existed, Ireland would neither be so political nor so discontented as she is; but on the contrary, more remarkable for peace and industry. At present, the lower classes being too poor, are easily excited by those who offer them a better order of things than that which exists. The theorists step into the exercise of the legitimate influence which the landed proprietors have lost by their neglect. There is no middle class in this country who can turn round to them and say, 'Our circumstances are easy, we want nothing; carry your promises to the poor, for that which you hold forth to their hopes, we enjoy in reality.'²³⁷

The perception of Ireland's society that Carleton wanted to portray in his early works was bipolar. In reality there was a middle class in Ireland at this period, but in a state of decline; Gerald Griffin was the product of such a middle-class upbringing.²³⁸ Carleton's denial of the Catholic middle class may in part have been a denial of the work and figure of Griffin. There was a tempered approach to fiction by Griffin, in his treatment of character and nationality, which was absent from Carleton. Griffin was open-minded in his documentation of the different social and religious classes, whereas Carleton was confirmed in his anti-Catholicism

²³⁷ Quoted in Lloyd, *Anomalous States*, p. 136.

²³⁸ The middle class background of Gerald Griffin was discussed in the previous chapter. See O Tuathaigh, *Ireland Before the Famine, 1798-1848*, p. 45. Specifically, the chapter on the Catholic Question.

from early in his career.

Carleton's complaint regarding the lack of a middle class in Ireland was that there were no figures to hold up as exemplary in Irish society. Lloyd described Carleton's main point as no visible middle class who had achieved an ideology and agenda beyond political, class and sectarian separation.²³⁹ However, Griffin did offer such an ideological portrayal in his Myles (Murphy) na gCopaleen and Kyrle Daly characters in *The Collegians* (1829). Daniel O'Connell was also represented as an emblematic political figure. That Griffin held up Daniel O'Connell as a figure alongside a Ulysses figure in *The Collegians* probably proved to be controversial and troubling for later generations of readers, particularly due to events after Griffin's death. O'Connell's reputation suffered in later decades as new movements such as Young Ireland, the Fenians and Parnell broke away from O'Connell's narratives and visions. In 1845 the English press were savage in condemnation of O'Connell as he was accused of profiteering from Repeal rent.²⁴⁰ Later, O'Connell was exposed as an absentee landlord through Thomas Campbell Foster's letters to *The Times*. In *Punch* in 1845 a cartoon by John Leech portrayed O'Connell as a gigantic potato with a begging plate.²⁴¹ Griffin tried to create an Irish character that was tolerant, moral, and open-minded.

Griffin's Transnational Ulysses and Carleton's Paddy Irish the Pig

Carleton's 'Phil Purcel, The Pig-Driver' was the tale of a conniving and duplicitous pig seller travelling throughout England. The devil-may-care humour and good natured playfulness of Griffin's Myles from *The Collegians* was the opposite of Carleton's deceptive Phil. Myles was one of Griffin's nineteenth-century prototypes of the Irish Ulysses, a

²³⁹ David Lloyd, *Anomalous States* p. 137.

²⁴⁰ Melissa Fegan, *Literature and the Irish Famine, 1845-1919* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press 2002) p. 45.

²⁴¹ *Punch* 9 (July-Dec. 1845), p. 255.

wandering expert with words. Carleton created a character more dangerous in Phil as he robbed the English of their money. Rather than being lord of the pigs like Phil, Griffin's Myles was a master of the ponies/horses:

The door opened, and the uncommissioned master of horses made his appearance. His appearance was at once strikingly majestic and prepossessing, and the natural ease and dignity with which he entered the room might almost have become a peer of the realm coming to solicit the interest of the family for an electioneering candidate. A broad and sunny forehead, light and wavy hair, a blue cheerful eye, a nose that in Persia might have won him a throne, healthful cheeks, and a mouth that was full of character, and a well knit and almost gigantic person, constituted his external claims to attention, of which his lofty and confident, although most unassuming carriage, showed him to be in some degree conscious. [...]²⁴²

The description of Myles held a number of words usually attached to a monarch such as 'majestic', 'dignity', 'lofty' and 'throne'. This was a native prince without title or riches. The character of Myles gave him status outside the received social structure. Kryle's appraisal of the Persian nosed Myles was of a silver tongued networker when he declared: "[...] This fellow is irresistible," said Kyrle. "A perfect Ulysses."²⁴³ The Roman name Ulysses, a gentle highlighting of the classical education of Catholicism, was developed from Odysseus who was a Greek king of Ithaca and the hero of Homer's epic poem the *Odyssey*. Odysseus's key characteristics are cunning and adaptability. Griffin imbued Myles's character with a European dimension which described a look from the middle-east to Myles's face. Griffin tried to stress the various international dimensions to Myles, outside of Ireland and British Empire, through the Persian nose. Griffin padded out this depiction of Irish identity as part of not just a European tradition but part of a religious custom outside of Europe. Religion was not used by Griffin to highlight a decisive barrier amongst Irish, Anglo-Irish and English identities as in various political

²⁴² Griffin, *The Collegian*, p. 82.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

narratives, but it was a shared quality that was present across continents and cultures. Myles was depicted as part of an ancient European people, the name Myles calls to mind the mystical race of the Milesians. These ancestors are referred to as Milesians in *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* (Book of Invasions), which was written in the Middle Ages.²⁴⁴ This Gaelic people of Ireland reportedly originated in Scythia (south Russia), and it was thought they were used by medieval scholars to create a connection with the Scoti, the latin for the Irish.²⁴⁵

‘Phil Purcel, The Pig-Driver’ (1830) describes an Irish tenant selling pigs dishonestly in England. Parts of Carleton’s early work from *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* were a negative counterpoint to the character, morality and intelligence of the tenantry in Griffin’s *The Collegians*. Carleton’s relationship to Griffin’s work was both complimentary and oppositional. It was flattering through its adaptation of a similar approach of parody and irony, particularly in the address of Irish political affairs by means of a rambling, roving Ulysses-type character. Carleton’s character of the native Irishman in ‘Phil Purcel, The Pig-Driver’ was a response to Griffin’s portrayals of Irish personality, characters based on the ancient character of Ulysses, and a critical engagement with O’Connell’s politics. While Phil was a traveller, Carleton made sure Phil was untouched by his experience of Britain, being too close to animals in intelligence to benefit from the improvements of empire: “In short, whatever might have been the habits of the family, such were those of the pig. [...]”²⁴⁶ Phil proceeded to England to swindle money from farm to farm by selling the same pig over and over. This pig was a breed peculiar

²⁴⁴ John Carey, ‘Did the Irish Come from Spain? The Legend of the Milesians’, *History Ireland*, Vol. 9, No. 3, Ireland & Spain through the Ages (Autumn, 2001), pp.8-11. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27724896>, Accessed: 25/05/2014 08:12 p. 8. See Carey, J. P. (1994). *The Irish National Origin-Legend: Synthetic Pseudohistory: Quiggin Pamphlets on the Sources of Mediaeval Gaelic History* [B4626] . University of Cambridge.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁴⁶ William Carleton, ‘Phil Purcel, Pig-Driver’ *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* (Dublin: W. Curry, jr. and Co.; London: W. S. Orr and Co., 1843) p. 411.

to Ireland and unwilling to integrate into another environment. The pig was in this sense a metaphor for Irish character, Carleton sought to depict the Irish as recalcitrant on other continents:

But alas! for those happy days! This breed is now a curiosity—few specimens of it remaining except in the mountainous parts of the country, whither these lovers of liberty, like the free natives of the back settlements of America, have retired to avoid the encroachments of civilization, and exhibit their Irish antipathy to the slavish comforts of steamboat navigation, and the relaxing luxuries of English feeding.²⁴⁷

The pigs are described as lovers of liberty and framed as the animal equivalent of the newly emancipated Catholics or Native Americans. Phil's deceptions represent an inbred antipathy to progress that was at the same time a source of comedy, much as Swift had made his horses speak. Carleton's breed of wild Irish pig had its positive qualities, of which "patriotism" was one:

Indeed, their patriotism, as evinced in an attachment to Ireland and Irish habits, was scarcely more remarkable than their sagacity. There is not an antiquary among the members of that learned and useful body, the Irish Academy, who can boast such an intimate knowledge of the Irish language in all its shades of meaning and idiomatic beauty, as did this once flourishing class of animals. Nor were they confined to the Irish tongue alone, many of them understood English too; and it was said of those that belonged to a convent, the members of which, in their intercourse with each other, spoke only in Latin, that they were tolerable masters of that language, and refused to leave a potato field or plot of cabbages, except when addressed in it.²⁴⁸

Here, Carleton plays on ideas of class, language and race. The pigs are a metaphor for the Irish working classes. There is melancholy in the mockery as the richness of the Irish language is reflected in the pigs' intimate understanding of the landscape through the commands associated with it. The culture of Ireland was relegated to pigs, cabbage, and potatoes against which was set the remote book learning of the academy. The

²⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 409.

²⁴⁸ Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, p. 409.

duplicity in relation to language pointed towards not a lack of education or ignorance but to immoral character. Phil's movement in England as a man selling a product he later retrieved depicted the Irishman as untrustworthy. It was a political narrative for an Anglo-Irish and English audience worried about the rise of the Catholic.

In 'Phil Purcel, The Pig-Driver' the depiction of Irish character was not just contrasted against English identity but both were satirized. The mockery of the suffering of Irish people, through poverty and famine, scathingly pointed the finger at a British system and an Irish attitude:

In Phil's time, however, pig-driving was not so general, nor had it made such rapid advances as in modern times. It was, then, simply, pig-driving, unaccompanied by the improvements of poverty, sickness, and famine. Political economy had not then taught the people how to be poor upon the most scientific principles; free trade had not shown the nation the most approved plan of reducing itself to the lowest possible state of distress; nor liberalism enabled the working-classes to scoff at religion, [...] When either a man or a nation starves, it is a luxury to starve in an enlightened manner; and nothing is more consolatory to a person acquainted with public rights and constitutional privileges, than to understand those liberal principles upon which he fasts and goes naked.²⁴⁹

This was both an attack on English government policy and liberal utilitarianism. According to Carleton's satire the enlightened principles of English policy and O'Connell's movement regarding a Utilitarian and expansive Catholicism, both culturally and European, was a remote ideal which could lead to starvation. The Catholic classes who were gaining power must realise what system served best. The advantage of small political reforms was weighed negatively against the economic gain and positive situation of a more prosperous era. Carleton banded together principles of science, economy, morality, class, and rebellion in a lampoon of the colonial relationship between the oppressor and Irish character. The ironic suggestion was that Empire had brought advantages and

²⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 409.

opportunities to Ireland that its people could not have created themselves. The state of oppression within a union with a coloniser produced an impossible situation. The maintenance of such a union produced no clear value for either country in Carleton's highlighting of the possibilities of starvation and illusory ideals.

Griffin's Myles did not sell ponies, as Phil sold pigs, to the local landlords in *The Collegians*, but sought to retrieve animals that had strayed onto the landlord's land. Myles called to the house of the local gentry in Garryowen and it was highlighted to one of the characters, Kyrle Daly a catholic son of a middleman farmer, that this was an opportunity to practice the skills of cross-examination. Myles was seen as a test due to his great skill with language and amiability: 'Kyrle Daly, here, who is intended for the bar, will be our assessor, to decide on the points of law. I can tell you, Kyrle, that Myles will give you a lesson in the art of pleading, that may be of use to you on circuit at one time or another.'²⁵⁰

Griffin's portrayal of Myles's nature was a likable character, held in admiration and respect, not just by the local upper classes but across the classes. He was not the removed misunderstood deceiver we find in Carleton's Phil Purcel. Griffin's character was respected by the gentry while Carleton depicted the Irish native as misunderstood and dismissed as fatuous by the English gentry (Phil's language is often misinterpreted). The heritage of Myles was one which was respected by the upper classes:

"But this fellow is a genuine mountaineer," cried Mr. Cregan, "with a cabin two thousand feet above the level of the sea. If you are in the country next week, and will come down and see us at the Lakes, along with our friends here, I promise to show you as sturdy a race of mountaineers as any in Europe. Doctor Leake can give you a history of 'em up to Noah's Flood, some time when you're alone together - when the country was first peopled by one Parable, or Sparable."²⁵¹

In order to stress the historicity of Myles's family biblical

²⁵⁰ Griffin, *The Collegians*, p. 80.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

references are used by the gentleman Mr Cregan. The transnational descriptions of Griffin's characters, across the classes, are mirrored by the interactive engagements and family history of the tenant and landlords. Griffin's Myles outlined a history of interaction between his family and the family of the upper classes:

"The ould wind always then, Mr. Cregan," said Myles, with another deep obeisance, "seeing would I get a feow o' the ponies off. [...] My father (the heavens be his bed this day!) was a fosterer o' your uncle, Mick's, an' a first an' second cousin, be the mother's side, to ould Mrs. O'Leary, your honour's aunt, westward. So 'tis kind for your honour to have a leanin' towards uz."²⁵²

The humour at work in Griffin's Myles was of a different type to that in operation in Carleton's pseudo-Ulysses 'Phil'. Griffin, in contrast to Carleton, tied together a social and historical interaction between upper and working-classes which complicated the respective narratives of their historical identities and cultures. Griffin's figure of Dawley as Ulysses was instilled with retellings of tall tales. One story was about the death of his wife and her unwanted return from the grave which interrupted a feed of bacon as he sang of wandering, a tale which was an inversion of Ulysses's return to his wife:

"Well, aisy, an' I'll tell you. Dan was married to a girl o' the Hayeses, a very inthricate little creatur, that led him a mighty uneasy life from the day they married out. Well, it was Dan's luck she got a stitch, an' died one mornin', an' if she did, Dan made a pilliloo an' a lave over her, as if he lost all belongin' to him. They buried her for all, an' Dan was sittin' in his own doore, an' he twistin' a gad, to hang a little taste o' bacon he had, an' he singin' the Rovin' Journeyman for himself, when, tundher alive! who should walk in the doore to him only his dead wife, an' she livin' as well as ever! Take it from me, he didn't stay long where he was. 'Eh, is that you, Cauth?' says he. 'The very one,' says she; 'how does the world use you, Dan?'²⁵³

Dan was sarcastically elevated from the local area to a man of the world by his wife returning from the world beyond; his wife asks how does

²⁵² Ibid., p. 83.

²⁵³ Ibid. p. 47.

the world use you, Dan? The returning wife belittled Dan sarcastically:

'There are two dogs,' says she, 'that are sleeping on the road I was goin' in the other world, an' the noise you made cryin' over me wakened 'em, an' they riz again' me, and wouldn't let me pass.' 'See that! why,' says Dan, grinning, 'warn't they the conthrairy pair ? 'Well, after another twelve- month, Cauth died the second time; but Til be your bail, it was long from Dan Dawley to cry over her this turn as he did at first. 'Twas all his trouble to see would he keep the women at the wake from keening over the dead corpse, or doing anything in life that would waken the dogs. Signs on, she passed 'em, for he got neither tale nor tidin's of her from that day to this. 'Poor Cauth,' says Dan, 'why should I cry, to have them dogs tearin' her, maybe?'²⁵⁴

Griffin's Dan Dawley, as a Ulysses figure, used practicality to ensure a peaceful life away from his wife as Griffin used humour to emphasise the unhappy nature of a marriage; a marriage which was used to reflect the state of Irish and British relations. This marriage metaphor, through Dawley's marriage and the secret marriage of Hardress and Eily, portrayed a political and aggressive relationship where feigning natures are apt to break out in violence while desiring the end of or silence of a union for self-benefit. This metaphor can be read as a humorous reflection, through the character of Dan Dawley, on the practical and illusive nature of Daniel O'Connell's politics and his unique haranguing of the English and Anglo-Irish politicians of Westminster.

Griffin's depiction of Hardress Cregan in the second half of *The Collegians* linked his physical appearance to the south-west of Europe. This man of upper-class stock was given Spanish features, which was a trait of the gene pool often applied to native Ireland and associated with the native people of the West of Ireland who were engaged in trade with Spain. This aspect of Hardress pointed towards a history of Spanish settlement in Ireland and vice versa.²⁵⁵ In Spain a long tradition of contacts and settlement awaited the Irish. This was backboned by economic

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Rosé Perez y Zamora, *The Irish Community in the Basque Country, c. 1700-1800*. Patrick O'Flanagan and Julian Walton (eds), (Dublin : Geography Publications, 2003) p. 6.

opportunity due to the international trade operating in Bizkaia, south of the Bay of Biscay.²⁵⁶ A limited flow of emigration to Spain from 1720 to 1740 was followed by higher numbers in the decade from 1750 as the Irish flocked to a land of a Catholic monarchy. Galway and Limerick possess ports at the mouth of the river Shannon. This was an entry from the western coast of Ireland into the Atlantic which facilitated trade with the wider world.

Griffin's depiction of Hardress's physical appearance was framed in the context of transnational associations outside of the British Empire. Griffin tried to unsettle established perspectives of Irish identity through associating European countries with the physical description of Hardress Cregan:

[...] His figure was tall, and distinguished by that muscularity and firmness of set which characterises the inhabitants of the south-west of Europe. [...] His features were brightened by a lofty and confident enthusiasm, such as the imagination might ascribe to the Royal Adventurer of Sweden [...] his hair "coal-black," and curling; his complexion of that rich deep Gipsy- yellow which, showing as it did the healthy bloom beneath, was far nobler in its character than the feminine white and red. [...]²⁵⁷

Further associations described Cregan's appearance with the form of Northern Europe through the association of Sweden. The East of Europe emerged in Hardress's complexion of 'deep Gipsy'. A collection of European travelling peoples was reflected within Hardress's appearance. The complex array of nationalities and races within Cregan's exterior alluded to the Spanish and Viking settlers in Ireland. The travelling complexion of his skin revealed Hardress to be another type of wandering Ulysses. A number of races converged in Griffin's physical description to make Cregan a European hybrid. Griffin developed this transnational aesthetic through his use of the Ulysses myth, but this aesthetic of Griffin

²⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 7.

²⁵⁷ Griffin, *The Collegians*, p. 108.

was troubled by his moral difficulty with fiction:

It is clear that, for a time, he must have come very close to despair. He underwent some crisis for religious belief during these years, on which we now have no precise information (he mentions it in a letter of April 22, 1827 to Banim). All that was most negative in his nature came unhappily into the ascendant at the expense of the very considerable qualities of warmth, ardour and geniality which he undoubtedly possessed. Even the poverty of his eventual literary aesthetic, the dreadful moralistic narrowness which finally killed the writer in him, may not unreasonably be traced to this period. [...] ²⁵⁸

Emer Nolan's suggestion that Griffin should have depicted a fictional union between Eily and Kyrle Daly rather than Hardress and Eily is one example of a critical attempt to stretch a novel's plot to make it fit an existing broad historical narrative, rather than to consider the novel on its own irregular terms. ²⁵⁹ Nolan maintained that this marriage was the best allegory for the Emancipation of the Catholics. This is asserted by Nolan as Griffin's ambition. Nolan's suggestion meant a union between the working-class and the 'high principle' ²⁶⁰ of the catholic middle-class Kryle. This attempt in *The Collegians*, the novel Griffin considered a moral failure, profoundly affected the rest of Griffin's work as he retreated into the historical novel. The marriage of a working-class Catholic with a middle-class Catholic, through Eily and Kryle as suggested by Nolan, is too seamless a shift into an ideal marriage. Griffin wanted to stress a society which was paralysed by a landlord system. The British control of economy and rights also pointing out the blurred, yet difficult, lines of interaction between the Anglo-Irish and native, working-class and upper class. Nolan's marriage proposal does not reflect the world Griffin was familiar with; this was a world of suspicion and struggle which indicated the political world of Ireland and O'Connell.

Griffin's depiction of pig jobbers and fairs in *The Collegians* was

²⁵⁸ Cronin, *Gerald Griffin*, p. 35.

²⁵⁹ Nolan, *Catholic Emancipations*, p. 122.

²⁶⁰ Cronin, *Gerald Griffin*, p. 67.

set in Ireland and possessed a more rounded treatment. This was in contrast to Carleton's Phil character and setting. Griffin's fair resulted in the spoiled upper-class boys of Garryowen setting upon Danny Mann before Hardress Cregan protected him and fought the gang off. Danny, the Irish working-class character, was protected by Hardress, the gentleman figure. There are variant strands of morality operating in Griffin's upper and working-class characters. This degree of variation was missing from the work of Carleton. Griffin showed social interaction to be both problematic and complicated by clouding lines between his characters, rather than by forcing clear division. The experience of the Fair in *The Collegians* was the sensation of multiple experiences and interactions:

"Middling, sir, like the small piatees, they tell me," said Lowry, suddenly changing his manner to an appearance of serious occupation;" but 'tis hard to make out what sort a fair is when one has nothing to sell himself. I met a huxter, an' she told me 'twas a bad fair, because she could not sell her piggins; an' I met a pig-jobber, an' he told me 'twas a dear fair, pork ran so high; an' I met another little meagre creatur, a neighbour that has a cabin on the road above, an' he said 'twas the best fair that ever come out o' the sky because he got a power for his pig. But Mr. Hardress Cregan was there, an' if he didn't make it a dear fair to some of 'em, you may call me an honest man."²⁶¹

Griffin puns on the word 'fair' to introduce questions of moral value. There is a high price attached to these exchanges between landlord and peasant. Various characters equated the experience of the fair to their business profits, and all were attached to elements of the pig trade. These pig traders are portrayed as business-minded individuals and do not possess the element of subversive danger or corrosive satire that Carleton attached to his pig trader. Carleton's pigs and people are an ancient and unique race: 'Phil Purcel was a singular character, for he was never married; but notwithstanding his singularity, no man ever possessed, for

²⁶¹ Griffin, *The Collegians*, p. 35.

practical purposes, a more plentiful stock of duplicity.’²⁶² Griffin’s Myles was a man admired by all classes of society in contrast to Carleton’s travelling pig salesman. The character was granted esteem and respect in his behaviour and knowledge of how to behave around the upper classes, which was in contrast to Phil’s ultra-confident deception and pseudo-deference:

[Myles]The mountaineer now commenced a series of most profound obeisances to every individual of the company, beginning with the ladies, and ending with the officer; after which he remained glancing from one to another with a smile of mingled sadness and courtesy, as if waiting, like an evoked spirit, the spell word of the enchantress who had called him up. "'Tisn't manners to speak first before quality," was the answer he would have been prepared to render, in case anyone had inquired the motive of his conduct.’²⁶³

Griffin’s entrepreneur Myles knew how to address company and to ingratiate himself. In Carleton’s work the perception of an English lady of Phil’s brand of Hibernian English links the language to stupidity. The many masks of the Irish in Carleton’s depiction are in contrast to the portrayal of the English. The Englishman’s firm belief in his perception of Phil as ridiculous was revealed in vocalisation of the opinion directly in front of Phil:

"Oh, that was so laughable! We will speak to him, though."
The degree of estimation in which these civilized English held Phil was so low, that this conversation took place within a few yards of him, precisely as if he had been an animal of an inferior species, or one of the aborigines of New Zealand.²⁶⁴

Carleton engaged in criticism of the English through the portrayal of Phil. The performance of Phil was of a character that faked stupidity. The English characters are hoodwinked into perceiving the Irishman as stupid. This in turn depicted the English perception of the Irish as dim-witted in that these characters are gullible to Phil’s subterfuge. The

²⁶² Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, p. 407.

²⁶³ Griffin, *The Collegians*, p. 85.

²⁶⁴ Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, p. 419.

Irishman perceived and vocalised his intentions in front of the Englishman, confident in English stupidity. Nevertheless English morality and dignity remained intact. The satirical singularity of Carleton's Phil and the attempt to broaden Irish Catholic identity through European associations by Griffin were responses to the O'Connellite affirmations of Irish identity. This identity was both a singular Catholic identity in the eyes of Carleton's Anglo-Irish audience and an identity with a history and links to a European identity outside of the British Empire in Griffin.

The politics of O'Connell were present in Griffin particularly in relation to character configuration. The O'Connell communication with philosopher Jeremy Bentham revealed differing viewpoints, despite agreeing upon the problems of the English legal system. The main difference arose when O'Connell became vocal in supporting Bolívar in South America. O'Connell defended Bolívar when European liberals had dismissed him after Bolívar limited the freedom of the press and rights of representation.²⁶⁵ The Bolívar ideal for O'Connell consisted of a leader's stance and fight against a political dictatorship. It was a major source of pride to O'Connell that he had won for his name the same title as Bolívar, that of 'The Liberator'. O'Connell presented a stout defence of Catholicism in the face of French liberalism and the English coloniser. This sense of a man breaking down divisions and barriers to social and political life was found in the character of Griffin's Myles, a man who engaged in dialogue with all classes and backgrounds.

David O'Donoghue in *The Life of William Carleton* stated that Carleton was responsible for the Saxon notion that Paddy and the Pig are inseparable due to the sketch of the Irishman and his pig in 'Phil Purcel, Pig Driver'.²⁶⁶ English writers followed this idea of Paddy and his pig as central to Irish story and anecdote. O'Donoghue stated there had been

²⁶⁵ James E. Crimmins (1997), 'Jeremy Bentham and Daniel O'Connell: Their Correspondence and Radical Alliance, 1828-1831'. *The Historical Journal*, 40, p. 378.

²⁶⁶ D. J O'Donoghue, *The life of William Carleton*, (New York: Garland Pub, 1979) p. 355.

nothing like this before. However, Griffin had used the pig metaphor attached to the Anglo-Irish landlord before Carleton's usage. In the case of the character of Dan Dawley there was a link to a vision of pig-herding in the form of a ghost of Mr Chute, Dan Dawley's gentry' master, who had passed away.

Dan Dawley as a young boy took over the position of steward at a landed estate. Dawley claimed to have witnessed Mr Chute rise from the grave and turn into a herd of pigs. The oversized nature of Mr Chute signified the greed and wealth of the landlord as Kryle Daly outlines:

[...] His body-coat, when he died, med a whole shoot for Dan Dawley, the steward, besides a jacket for his Uttle boy; an' Dan was no fishing-rod that time, I tell you. But any way, fat or lain, he was buried, an' all the world will tell you that he was seen rising a fortnight after by Dan Dawley, in the shape of a drove o' young pigs."

"A whole drove?"

[...]

"Dan Dawley is not easily caught by appearances. What a sharp eye he must have had, Lowry, to recognise his master under such a disguise!"²⁶⁷

In Carleton's fictional detail the coat of the Catholic was used to dismiss his cries of poverty. Carleton's identification of the coat-wearing working-class showed a sign of their progress and rise through the British system whereas the coat of the Trinity student demarcated an anti-Catholic Orangeman frequenting the Catholic Association to cause trouble²⁶⁸. That a working-class boy interpreted a herd of pigs to be his deceased Landlord is satire as Griffin outlined a class bias through the voice of the character of the Catholic middle-class Kryle Daly. The tall tale was questioned and alluded to as nonsense but Lowry maintained its truth. On another level Griffin criticised the unequal distribution of wealth in society through the drove of pigs which the obese Mr Chute took the guise of. This revealed

²⁶⁷ Griffin, *The Collegians*, p. 47.

²⁶⁸ See discussion, in the first chapter, of Repeal Association meeting where O'Connell discusses the issue of education and the attendance of Trinity College to meetings. These trinity students are identified by their coats.

the local criticism of the gentry and one of the forms it took in resident ghost stories. Griffin parodied the working-class tendency towards fable and tales in the fanciful story of the drove of pigs. This story was introduced to the text after Lowry claimed that every aspect of Irish society had become weaker, diluted in form and identity, from the gentry to the local people due to the Landlord system and the introduction of the absentee landlord. The authorial voice asserts the role of the middleman:

[...] Opprobrious as the term "middle-man" has been rendered in our own time, it is certain that the original formation of the sept was both natural and beneficial. When the country was deserted by its gentry, a general promotion of one grade took place among those who remained at home. [...] The covetousness of landlords themselves, in selling leases to the highest bidder, without any inquiry into his character or fortune, first tended to throw imputations on this respectable and useful body of men, which in progress of time swelled into a popular outcry, and ended in an act of the legislature for their gradual extirpation. There are few now in that class as prosperous, or many as intelligent and high-principled, as Mr Daly.²⁶⁹

Griffin's portrayal of the middleman and their evolution as a result of the abandoning of Ireland by the gentry, to a status of absentee landlords, was relayed through a humorous simplification of Irish society as becoming "upgraded" after the departure of the gentry. The phenomenon of the absentee landlord meant the removal of important finance from Ireland to England and further afield. This ironic depiction of the classes of Ireland becoming elevated through the emergence of the absentee landlord was probably owed to the middle-class origins of Griffin's family and his father's financial trouble which necessitated the emigration of half the family. Griffin's depiction was grounded in personal experience.

Fergus O'Ferrall outlined that the Catholic middle class of Longford possessed a leadership of O'Connellite activists who benefitted

²⁶⁹ Griffin, *The Collegians*, p. 41.

from the growing freedom of Catholics since the 1770s.²⁷⁰ That Longford's gentry were largely absent meant that power for Catholics occurred through an enterprising urban bourgeoisie who directed Catholic tenants to a position of power. O'Ferall asserted that the Larkin and Whelan conclusion that O'Connellism was a middle-class phenomenon was illustrated by this situation in Longford.²⁷¹ Prior to the Famine of the 1840s Protestants emigrated from Leinster and the midlands; this totalled approximately half a million.²⁷² The destinations of this emigration usually took the form of Canada and Ontario leading to the termination of the middleman system. This resulted in a loss of prospects for servants, labourers, and poor Protestants as their sources of patronage had been lost.²⁷³ This reinforced the Catholic situation.

Carleton depicted the Irish as possessing a unique nature that the English found difficult to understand. This made a case for the Anglo-Irish governance of Ireland as it was contended that the Anglo-Irish and not the English who understood the native Irish people. Carleton's Phil character lacked Griffin's elements of internationalism and was stationed firmly within the narrative of the British state:

[...] It was, then, simply, pig-driving, unaccompanied by the improvements of poverty, sickness, and famine. Political economy had not then taught the people how to be poor upon the most scientific principles; free trade had not shown the nation the most approved plan of reducing itself to the lowest possible state of distress; nor liberalism enabled the working-classes to scoff at religion, and wisely to stop at the very line that lies between outrage and rebellion. Many errors and inconveniences, now happily exploded, were then in existence. [...]²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ Fergus O'Ferall, 'The Rise of the Catholic Middle Class: O'Connellites in County Longford, 1820-50', in *Politics, Society and the Middle Class in Modern Ireland*, Fintan Lane (ed), (Basingstoke, UK; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) p. 60.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²⁷² Kevin Whelan, *The Tree of Liberty: Radicalism, Catholicism and the Construction of Irish Identity, 1760-1830*, p. 51.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

²⁷⁴ Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, p. 408.

Carleton used irony to portray citizens as reliant upon the structures and ideals operating in society such as in politics and religion. This highlighted such frameworks and ideas as free trade, which allowed Carleton to parody the removed theory from the practice of everyday life such as in pig-driving. The highlighting of the theory of free trade undercut Carleton's portrayal of the uncultured pig driver. Carleton emphasised this removed and alienating structure of disconnection in order to apply a satirical treatment in Phil's fraudulent caper across England. The year before publication of the story, papers such as the *Freeman's Journal* possessed stories on the expanding markets of the British Empire in India:

[...] Mr. Gladstone rose to move the first resolution. He commenced by saying that the resolution which had just been read by the worthy town-clerk had informed the gentlemen whom he had the honour of addressing, that the grant object of the meeting was to oppose the renewal of its exclusive privileges which the East India Company had so long enjoyed; to obtain free access to and free trade with India, [...] also to open the trade with China[...] The noble premier (the Duke of Wellington) had recently -said that he considered the settlement of a certain great question as necessary to the well-being, not only of the country generally, but of the inhabitants of the whole empire individually. [...]²⁷⁵

It was argued that the removal of a cartel and a movement into wider international trade had a positive knock-on effect for the Irish economy. This opportunity provided the logic for British control over Ireland: '[...] Mr. Henry Booth²⁷⁶ considered that Ireland would be considerably benefited by free trade being opened to the Indies.²⁷⁷' A year later the *Freeman's Journal* detailed the type of product sold in India and

²⁷⁵ Anon, 'Free Trade in India', *Freeman's Journal* 1763-1924, Monday, February 02, 1829 p. 4

²⁷⁶ Henry Booth is not to be confused with Sir Henry William Gore Booth, landlord and Arctic explorer, who was from Sligo. Henry Booth was born a Liverpudlian and was a descendant of the Booths of Twemlow. He was a corn merchant, businessman, and engineer. Booth became one of the first London & North Western Railway's directors. See, Booth, Henry. *Henry Booth: Inventor, Partner in the Rocket and the Father of Railway Management*. (Ilfracombe, Devon: Stockwell, 1980.)

²⁷⁷ Anon, 'Free Trade in India', *Freeman's Journal* 1763-1924, Monday, February 02, 1829 p. 4.

provided a figure of over 12 million as the value to the British market:

Trade to the East Indies. Even under all the obstacles still opposed to it, the commerce carried on by the free traders to India only, has exceeded that carried on by the Company itself to India and China, for thirteen years, to the extent of 12,332,455 sterling. These exports consist [...] ²⁷⁸

Carleton's fictional narrative continued the depiction of the disparity in wealth between the classes. The illusory ideal of free trade as beneficial to the Irish when it was controlled by Britain moved ironically into the reality of bad blood between the landlord and working-classes. Carleton introduced the state of the tenant's life by satire and highlighted their complaint against the landlord system. The state of the working-classes as free from famine and pestilence was seen as an improvement from The Irish Famine of 1740–1741. The recent Emancipation of the Catholics and the new narratives of liberalism regarding religion are satirized. O'Connell stressed the conscience of the Empire as one beset by guilt because of the oppression of the Irish. He was mindful, however, that Ireland's precarious financial situation necessitated a close economic tie with England:

Then came in the driveller James I, who was half Papist and half Protestant; and then Charles I. What was his state conscience? [...] Charles II persecuted the Protestants. But turning from these matters, I ask you seriously if you once lay down the principle that education is to be guarded and regulated by the state conscience, as it is called, what would become of England (hear, hear, and loud cheers) ? Has not almost every state conscience varied up and down like the keys of a piano, and must not the public harmony be disturbed by these discordant movements of the state conscience, [...] I have shown you that in Catholic times education has abounded; and I have shown you that since the Reformation it has shrunk and dwindled away. ²⁷⁹

O'Connell further stated that the 'half Papist and half Protestant'

²⁷⁸ Anon, 'Trade to The East Indies', *Freeman's Journal 1763-1924*, Wednesday, May 28, 1828 p. 1.

²⁷⁹ Anon, "Education- Great Catholic Meeting in London". *Freeman's Journal 1763-1924*, 7/18/1839, p. 3.

James I was a driveller, childishly silly, despite his leniency towards Catholics. James I was, akin to a political illustration of character by Carleton, reducing his representation of English monarchical identity to a status of a half-wit. O'Connell wished to convey to his audience James I's status as half Papist and half Protestant. This perception of the state consciousness as outlined by O'Connell was divisional and partisan in matters of religion. Charles I, who was historically deemed to have not pushed the Protestant agenda far enough, married a Catholic French Princess, and was under pressure due to the issue of religion being to the forefront in his reign.²⁸⁰ This reign was pressurised through fear of the possibility that Catholicism was strengthening, a particular fear of Calvinists. That the British possessed a zigzagging and transnational history regarding religion and marriage highlighted that these religious brands are subject to changes and distortion, it was an interlinked history. O'Connell highlighted his distrust of the ability of State, Church and Empire to steer the population's faith. He stressed his viewpoint upon the practice of personal religion as an issue for the individual regardless of faith or class. Yet, he was at pains to emphasise the Catholics strength in numbers and identity in the Empire:

[...] Have we not then a right to come forward and to claim for all—not for Catholics alone, but for the Protestant Dissenters—for every class—the right to be free from the control of the state, in the management of their religious education (hear, hear, and cheers)? Have not the Catholics a right to demand this? How many have we? We are 7,000,000 in Ireland (cheers,). They say we are at least 2,000,000 in Great Britain. I believe that is not exaggerated. In Liverpool we are 100,000; in Manchester, 70 or 80,000; however, say only a million and a half—we are 8,500,000. What other persuasion has so many attached to it? Not the Presbyterian, they are only 3,000,000 ; not the Wesleyan Methodists, they are but 1,000,000; not the Established Church, they have but 7,000,000. And when one talks of the Established Church, I know a most respectable family in

²⁸⁰ For an assessment of the rule of Charles 1, see: Jared van Duinen. "'An Engine Which the World Sees Nothing Of': Revealing Dissent Under Charles I's 'Personal Rule'." *Parergon* 28.1 (2011): 177-196. Project MUSE. Web. 29 Jul. 2014. <http://muse.jhu.edu/>.

Dublin, stated to belong to the Established Church the eldest daughter frequents the Darbyites (we understood); the other the Calvinists ; the third the Established Church—the father does not go anywhere—reminding me of Paddy's description of a "bitter good Protestant" (which in Ireland means an Orangeman)—“He ates meat of a Friday—hates the Papists—and goes nowhere of a Sunday" (laughter and cheers).²⁸¹

O'Connell used satirical humour to undercut the Established Church. The attachment of a religious label was not one which guaranteed performance and belief in an individual regarding a religion's rules. O'Connell wanted to stress the rights of the Catholic due to its historical basis in British life. He desired state aid for a religion and not the state's regulation. O'Connell highlighted the groups broken away from the Established Church such as the Wesleyan Methodists. He emphasized the part Catholics played in the alliance between the Irish and English in religion and in the formation of the Empire. O'Connell then revealed the ambition of acquiring state education aid for Catholic schools:

Have not we a fair claim for our proportion of the state education aid? Look to the institutions valuable to the present generation, and tell me which you do not owe to your Catholic ancestors? Is it the judicial system? Catholics instituted the sheriffs [...] Above all, Catholics established the trial by jury—the only natural and effective protection of the British people (cheers). Our English Catholic ancestors, too, formed our hereditary monarchy, and introduced the principle of representation, not nominal, but real representation Our Catholic ancestors it was who built our churches, and filled our churchyards, and erected our splendid cathedrals—oh, it was our Catholic ancestors who introduced Christianity among us (loud cheers)—
[...]²⁸²

Catholicism as the original Christian religion was used by O'Connell as his historical context and reasoning for state aid. The impact of the Catholic religion on the formation and structures in place within the

²⁸¹ Anon, "Education- Great Catholic Meeting in London". *Freeman's Journal* 1763-1924, 7/18/1839, p. 3.

²⁸² Anon, "Education- Great Catholic Meeting in London". *Freeman's Journal* 1763-1924, 7/18/1839, p. 3.

Empire was underlined. The trick of ensuring a rapturous applause to O'Connell's speech meant intermeshed cultural associations of the earlier part of the narrative was lost in order to ensure an ecstatic finale as O'Connell championed Catholicism.

Carleton's narrative mischievously relayed that the structures put in place in the early nineteenth century gave the working-class Catholics a position to envision their rights and position in society. The rise of a European liberal attitude towards religion and politics led by Daniel O'Connell was the target of Carleton's humour. Unfortunately for Carleton there was only a matter of fifteen years to the next major Irish famine. Carleton went further in his dismissal of Irish character as unable to recognise key issues such as a lack of independence and rights. The Act of Union passed in 1800 united the Kingdom of Great Britain and the Kingdom of Ireland to produce the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. However, central control remained in London. The portrayal of the deceptive Phil ensured an interpretation that the native Irish are too self-protective and self-centred to run the country.

Griffin's Ulysses and Carleton's Phil

The great artificer and spinner of stories Ulysses was the template Griffin attached to working-class Myles in his role as a local wanderer and a man of good yet duplicitous nature. If Griffin wanted a character to override definitions of religion and nationality he needed to attach elements which were outside the political attachments of British and Irish identity. So Griffin further linked many of his characters with names from Greek literature:

[...] He is the great Achilles; O'Reilly the Telemon Ajax of the neighbourhood. And, to follow up my Homeric parallels, close behind him, on that long-backed, ungroomed creature, with the unnameable colour, rides the crafty Ulysses of the assemblage, Dan Hogan, the

process-server. [...] but the smoky Achilles, who gets drunk with him every Saturday night, has a full reliance on his friendship. Whether, however, Cupid or Bacchus will have the more powerful influence upon the process-server, [...] ²⁸³

Each of the Greek heroes mentioned are fated. The story and history of each character is known as Griffin lends to the reader an existent mode of interpretation and a transnational element to the characters beyond Ireland and Britain. The easy and confident air of Myles's skill with humour, logic, and language became in, William Carleton's Phil a more masked and fawning deception for the sake of making a financial gain. Carleton's metaphorical pigs in "Phil Purcel" answered to various masters of language to which they had grown accustomed in Irish, English and Latin. The pigs possessed a dislike of English, Carleton humorously emphasised:

To the English tongue, however, they had a deep-rooted antipathy; whether it proceeded from the national feeling, or the fact of its not being sufficiently guttural, I cannot say; but be this as it may, it must be admitted that they were excellent Irish scholars, and paid a surprising degree of deference and obedience to whatever was addressed to them in their own language. In Munster, too, such of them as belonged to the hedge-schoolmasters were good proficient in Latin; but it is on a critical knowledge of their native tongue that I take my stand. On this point they were unrivalled by the most learned pigs or antiquaries of their day; none of either class possessing, at that period, such a knowledge of Irish manners, nor so keen a sagacity in tracing out Irish roots. ²⁸⁴

The continual ambiguous play on double meanings through the nature and habits of pigs included the usage of roots as food and as organic history. This revealed a determination on Carleton's part to create a particularly unstable perception of Irish tradition and its people. The Irish had good graces, but focussed on the wrong objects: 'Their education, it is true, was not neglected, and their instructors had the satisfaction of seeing

²⁸³ Griffin, *The Collegians*, p. 96.

²⁸⁴ William Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, p. 409.

that it was not lost. Nothing could present a finer display of true friendship founded upon a sense of equality, mutual interest, and good-will, than the Irishman and his pig.’²⁸⁵ An upper-class English character laments of Phil: “What an amazing progress civilization must make before these Irish can be brought at all near the commonest standard of humanity!”²⁸⁶

The usage of various multiple countries in background and physical description was a method also used much later by James Joyce. John Cronin wrote of the shared literary appetite and similar lives of Griffin and James Joyce, from both writers’ interest in the religious life to literary routine and literary commitment.²⁸⁷ There was an element of fawning over the possibility of a link with Joyce: ‘[Griffin] had written, in a Joycean phrase, of ‘a powerful people, labouring under a nightmare for ten centuries’.²⁸⁸ Joyce was a descendant of Griffin in chronological logic. However, the most interesting tie between Joyce and Griffin was the use of the Ulysses myth and *Odysseyan* characters in the constructions of both their great works, *The Collegians* and *Ulysses*. Griffin was first to the post here in this construction, Joyce followed, to reach towards the global human condition of a shared experience which was the struggle to attain a moral and preferred identity. In the Cyclops episode in *Ulysses* Bloom’s heritage and lineage was questioned and refuted as questionable and not Irish:

—And after all, says John Wyse, why can't a jew love his country like the next fellow?

—Why not? says J. J., when he's quite sure which country it is.

—Is he a jew or a gentile or a holy Roman or a swaddler or what the hell is he? says Ned. Or who is he? No offence, Crofton.

[...]

—He's a perverted jew, says Martin, from a place in Hungary and it was he drew up all the plans according to the Hungarian system. We

²⁸⁵ William Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, p. 410.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 422.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

know that in the castle.

—Isn't he a cousin of Bloom the dentist? says Jack Power.

—Not at all, says Martin. Only namesakes. His name was Virag, the father's name that poisoned himself. He changed it by deedpoll, the father did.²⁸⁹

Bloom was an outsider with ties to a history and culture outside of Ireland and the British Empire. The collection of essays entitled *Semicolonial Joyce* edited by Marjorie Howes and Derek Attridge documented the postcolonial perspectives at work in Irish studies surrounding Joyce.²⁹⁰ Joyce was cordoned off as an apolitical modernist in the 1990s, which ignored Joyce's nationalism, which has been traced by various critics.²⁹¹ Another strain of Joyce readings highlighted the political element to *Ulysses* through a subaltern reading.²⁹² Marianna Gula made the case for a performative dimension in her analysis of the Cyclops episode as endeavouring to reassess Irish cultural nationalism.²⁹³ The use of humour and drama to mock nation building was central to Gula's reading. This type of approach to nation building was evident in the work of Griffin's attachment to the Ulysses myth in terms of the transnational elements of Griffin's characters. It was this broadening of identity with the narratives of Griffin and O'Connell which Carleton sought to counteract and restrict within his early work.

²⁸⁹ James Joyce, *Ulysses* (Introduction by Jeri Johnson). (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1993.) p. 323.

²⁹⁰ Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howes (eds), *Semicolonial Joyce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 4.

²⁹¹ Dominic Manganiello in *Joyce's Politics* (London: Routledge, 1980) emphasized Joyce's understanding and following of Arthur Griffith's Sinn Fein policy. Emer Nolan in *James Joyce and Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1995) did not stress the tie to Griffith. Nolan sought to remove the Joyce link to Griffith. Joyce's tendency towards a republican tradition of Irish nationalism was stressed.

²⁹² Vincent J. Cheng's *Joyce, Race, and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Enda Duffy, *The Subaltern Ulysses* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994) and David Lloyd, *Anomalous States: Irish Writing and the Post-Colonial Moment* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993).

²⁹³ Marianna Gula, 'As Good as Any Bloody Play in the Queen's Royal Theatre': Performing the Nation in the 'Cyclops' episode of "Ulysses", *Irish University Review*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Autumn - Winter, 2006), pp. 257-279, Edinburgh University Press, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25517312>. Accessed: 03/06/2014 07:56

Joyce mentions the 'colleen bawn' five times in *Ulysses*. The *Colleen Bawn* was the title given to Dion Boucicault's famous nineteenth-century play which was a reworking of Griffin's *The Collegians* and Carleton's *Willy Reilly and his dear Colleen Bawn* (1855). The refraction of Irish texts in the mimetic reworking of character and theme in Joyce's *Ulysses* reveals Joyce using a similar character device to Griffin. Joyce layered his Irish characters with transnational characteristics beyond the Irish and British dichotomy in the form of the Irish Jew Bloom and Spanish Molly. Molly is the daughter of Irish Major Tweedy and Lunita Laredo. Lunita is Gibraltarian and of Spanish Jewish ancestry. Bloom is the son of Rudolf Virág and Ellen Higgins, an Irish Protestant. Rudolf is a Hungarian Jew who changed from Judaism to Protestantism. The name was changed to Bloom. The examination of Bloom's nationality in the Cyclop's episode of *Ulysses* contains the first mention of the Colleen Bawn. It is strewn among world historical figures from across the globe:

[...] From his girdle hung a row of seastones which jangled at every movement of his portentous frame and on these were graven with rude yet striking art the tribal images of many Irish heroes and heroines of antiquity, Cuchulin, Conn of hundred battles, Niall of nine hostages, [...] Theobald Wolfe Tone, the Mother of the Maccabees, the Last of the Mohicans, the Rose of Castile, the Man for Galway, The Man that Broke the Bank at Monte Carlo, The Man in the Gap, The Woman Who Didn't, Benjamin Franklin, Napoleon Bonaparte, John L. Sullivan, Cleopatra, Savourneen Deelish, Julius Caesar, Paracelsus, sir Thomas Lipton, William Tell, Michelangelo Hayes, Muhammad, the Bride of Lammermoor, Peter the Hermit, Peter the Packer, Dark Rosaleen, Patrick W. Shakespeare, Brian Confucius, Murtagh Gutenberg, Patricio Velasquez, Captain Nemo, Tristan and Isolde, the first Prince of Wales, Thomas Cook and Son, the Bold Soldier Boy, Arrah na Pogue, Dick Turpin, Ludwig Beethoven, the Colleen Bawn, [...]²⁹⁴

The mimetic reworking of old Irish fictional narratives and figures such as the *Colleen Bawn* through Griffin, Carleton, and Joyce had a more

²⁹⁴ James Joyce, *Ulysses*, p. 285.

sentient reality for Irish identity, in terms of author image, after Gerald Griffin's death.

Carleton's Image after Griffin's Death

The Nation's repackaging of William Carleton after the death of Griffin was of an Irish writer who knew the working-classes better than any other writer. The death of Griffin had left a gap in the market for a nationalist writer. However, Carleton had caused offence to Catholic readers early in his writing career:

The publication, in 1834, of "Tales of Ireland " deeply offended some of his Catholic well-wishers, and the charges of intolerance and rank bigotry brought against the work are amply justified. It is deeply to be regretted that Carleton allowed these feeble and illiberal stories — his weakest and worst — to be collected from the pages of the *Christian Examiner*, but it is quite possible that he had no power in the matter. He certainly never knew how to make a business arrangement with his publishers, and the republication may have been as much due to his carelessness as to his publishers' greed.²⁹⁵

However, regardless of publishing intention Carleton had written what he had written. Carleton came from a working-class background. Griffin was a Catholic nationalist writer who had left behind a legacy of moral fiction and a balanced approach to Irish society based on a tolerance towards each class and religion. Carleton was seen as the betrayer of his Catholic Irish working-class origins: '[...] Carleton suffered the fate of the convert: rejected by his own people, but never allowed to become fully integrated into his chosen sphere. Too often, his work is criticized in terms of betrayal and blasphemy, rather than bad writing. [...]'²⁹⁶

Gerald Griffin and William Carleton were contemporaries for little over a decade; Griffin's career began to take off in the late 1820s just before Carleton's did in the early 1830s. There is an intriguing overlap

²⁹⁵ D. J O'Donoghue, *The life of William Carleton*, (New York: Garland Pub, 1979) p. 30.

²⁹⁶ Melissa Fegan, *Literature and the Irish famine, 1845-1919* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press 2002) p. 134.

between character and theme in Carleton and Griffin's *oeuvre*. This is not surprising as both writers were engaged with the fraught nature of local and national politics, and both strived for publication within a particular market.

After the passing of Griffin in 1840 a void was left in Catholic Nationalist fiction which *The Nation* endeavoured to fill. Carleton was friends with Charles Gavan Duffy and through this link knew of the circle of writers of *The Nation*.²⁹⁷ Carleton was known to frequent *The Nation* building and once felt the need to demand of *The Nation* that they print an editorial dismissing rumours to the effect that Carleton wrote *The Nation* newspaper.²⁹⁸ Later *The Nation* tried to construct Carleton as a nationalist, but Carleton's commitment seemed to waver as O'Donoghue writes:

[...] Carleton never was a Nationalist, and was quite incapable of adopting the principles of the Young Irelanders. He never attended the weekly *Nation* suppers, even after he wrote for the paper, but he went on excursions with some of the party, and was a frequent caller at the office, where he did not spare his applause or his criticism of the work done by the young men. But he could not understand their aspirations.²⁹⁹

Therefore Carleton was not Nationalist nor did he share the beliefs of Young Ireland. Even after Carleton began to write fiction which suited the paper Carleton never fully immersed himself into the world of *The Nation*.³⁰⁰ Carleton tends to be viewed as a type of mercenary chameleon. The satirical nature of Carleton's prose was ambiguous, which often

²⁹⁷ Charles Gavan Duffy was one of the founders of *The Nation* alongside Thomas Osborne Davis and John Blake Dillon. In July of 1848 Duffy was arrested for sedition. Duffy published a manifesto The creed of "*The Nation*". Duffy called for an independent Ireland joined to Britain by the crown. He threatened that if peaceful means could not achieve such independence then the need for violence would arise. While in prison Duffy edited *The Nation* before Margaret Callan took control. Patrick Maume, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, <http://dib.cambridge.org/quicksearch.do?jsessionid=647879A04FE0E5DDAC2EC404CDB7BF71> accessed: 02/02/2014.

²⁹⁸ D. J O'Donoghue, *The life of William Carleton*, (New York: Garland Pub, 1979) p. 56.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

surpassed the demands of literature for money into political manoeuvring. The ideals and ambitions of the Young Irelanders were apparently a source of confusion to Carleton. John Duffy, the publisher, stated:

"With all his splendid equipment of brains, [...] he was incapable of comprehending them." At this time, according to the same authority, "his name was odious to Catholic publishers," and until he wrote "Valentine McClutchy" he was regarded as an enemy by the people. [...] The book appeared in 1845, and within the year a translation into French was published in *L'Univers*, the celebrated organ of Catholic orthodoxy and royalism in France, then, and for many succeeding years, edited, and in a large measure written, by Louis Veuillot, one of the finest literary controversialists, satirists, and wits that his party and his country have ever possessed — a belle epee indeed! It was the pressure of the Young Irelanders which caused Carleton to write books of a really Nationalistic character.³⁰¹

A revealing review of the work of Carleton appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* in 1845. This demonstrated the attempt to rehabilitate Carleton's troublesome image:

[...] Hitherto Carleton has painted the Irish for the amusement of others, now, however, he essays a higher flight, to point out their errors to themselves. This is a noble duty- "a task" as himself expresses it, "in which many feel proud to engage"- a task which, in the story before us, has been nobly executed, and which must ensure to the author the respect and affection of every honest Irishman.³⁰²

The dominant reason for Carleton's change of direction in his writing, from anti-Catholicism to *The Nation*, was money. The need for income decided the politics of his pen. The vigorous nature of his writing voice meant that he was incapable of adopting a balanced position in his prose: this was another rationale offered for the vehemence of his character portrayals when writing for either political end.³⁰³ The books Carleton wrote in connection with Young Ireland qualified the disgust he had for

³⁰¹ Ibid., p. 56.

³⁰¹ Ibid., p. 57.

³⁰² Anon, "Art Maguire; or, The Broken Pledge." *Freeman's Journal* 1763-1924, Saturday, July 26, 1845; p: 2.

³⁰³ D. J O'Donoghue (David James), *The life of William Carleton*, p. 57.

Catholics but it was now directed at landlords, parsons, and agents in such works as *The Emigrants of Ahadarra* (1847):

There are other and still more indefensible causes, however, which too frequently drive the independent farmer out of the country. In too many cases it happens that the rapacity and dishonesty of the agent, countenanced or stimulated by the necessities and reckless extravagance of the landlord, fall, like some unwholesome blight, upon that enterprise and industry which would ultimately, if properly encouraged, make the country prosperous and her landed proprietors independent men. We allude to the nefarious and monstrous custom of ejecting tenants who have made improvements, or, when permitted to remain, making them pay for the improvements which they have made. [...]³⁰⁴

Carleton engaged with the narratives of O'Connell's political manoeuvres as he brought up the topic of the forty-shilling franchise.³⁰⁵ The elimination of two hundred seats with the Act of Union left Ireland with 100 seats in parliament.³⁰⁶ There were 64 county seats with big electorates in which the forty-shilling freeholders became the crucial voters. In the 1820s there were over 100,000 Catholic voters:

[...] By the forty-shilling franchise, the landlords encumbered the soil with a loose and unsettled population that possessed within itself, as poverty always does, a fearful facility of reproduction—[...] This great evil the landlords could conjure up, but they have not been able to lay it since. Like Frankenstein in the novel, it pursues them to the present moment, and must be satisfied or appeased in some way, or it will unquestionably destroy them. From the abolition of the franchise until now, an incessant struggle of opposing interests has been going on in the country. The "forties" and their attendants must be fed; but the soul on which they live in its present state is not capable of at the same time supporting them and affording his claims to the landlord; for the food must go to England to pay the rents and the poor "forties" must starve. [...].³⁰⁷

The injustice of the social system which operated in Ireland in

³⁰⁴ William Carleton, *The emigrants of Ahadarra* (New York: Garland Pub. 1979) p. 89.

³⁰⁵ For an outline of the Forty-shilling franchise holders see: T. Hoppen, *Elections, Politics, and Society in Ireland, 1832–1885* (Oxford, 1984).

³⁰⁶ G. C. Bolton, *The Passing of the Irish Act of Union* (London, Oxford U.P. 1966).

³⁰⁷ Carleton, *The Emigrants Of Ahadarra*, p. 89.

subservience to the British economy was detailed as part of the Young Ireland remit. *Frankenstein* was used as a reference for the monstrous injustice suffered by the working-classes. The mention of *Frankenstein* is interesting as it reflected the landlord figure as Victor Frankenstein, chased by the monster it had created. A whole class had become a dead weight to crush the life of Ireland. It was a class produced by landlords and its economic value was void according to Carleton. *Valentine McClutchy, the Irish Land-Agent*, and *The Emigrants of Ahadarra* highlighted the oppressive actions of the land-agent, the landlord class, the violence of the Orangemen, and the biased nature of juries:

[...]I know not whether the authenticity of the facts and descriptions contained in it may be called in question; but this I do know, that there is not an honest man, on either side, who has lived in the north of Ireland, and reached the term of fifty years, who will not recognize the conduct and language of the northern Orangemen [...] I was born in one of the most Orange counties in Ireland (Tyrone)— [that] the violence and licentious abuses of these armed civilians were perpetrated before my eyes—and [that] the sounds of their outrages may be said still to ring in my ears.³⁰⁸

The movement and fluctuation of Carleton's fiction went from the portrayal of the Catholic class in the South of Ireland as murderous in 'Wildgoose Lodge' to the lethal Protestant Orangeman in the North of Ireland. It was under the direction of Davis and other Young Ireland members that Carleton was to focus upon the middlemen and rack-renting.³⁰⁹ In advertising continually for *Valentine M'Clutchy The Nation* wrote in one issue:

[...] We could find faults with this book-especially with the caricature effect of the irony –and, when were half through the first volume we were disposed to do so; but the history went on, and we were swept away with it. It went on, a perfect Shannon in mass and strength [...] We criticised no more: we saw and felt, and (unconsciously) learned, and we laid down the book full of admiration at this varied and

³⁰⁸ William Carleton, *Valentine McClutchy, the Irish Land-Agent* (Dublin: J. Duffy: 1848) p. vi.

³⁰⁹ Roger McHugh, "William Carleton: A Portrait of the Artist as Propagandist", *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 27, No. 105 (Mar., 1938), p. 56.

consummate genius, and thankful that powers so unrivalled were now devoted to Ireland'.³¹⁰

The Nation outlined the overt nature of Carleton's irony as resulting in caricature but stressed the documentation of this Irish estate as a worthy and important account of Irish culture. The framework of history was attached to the novel's narrative and the metaphor of the Shannon was the attempt of *The Nation* to reframe the image of Carleton as an Irish writer and not the betrayer of Catholic Ireland. One again, like with Griffin, the image of the Shannon has been employed to strengthen an Irish author's credentials as a chronicler of Irish identity. In the preface to *Valentine McClutchy* Carleton stated:

Within the last few years, a more enlarged knowledge of life, and a more matured intercourse with society, have enabled me to overcome many absurd prejudices with which I was imbued. [...] I am willing to admit, which I do frankly and without hesitation, that I published in my early works passages which were not calculated to do any earthly good, but, on the contrary, to give unnecessary offence to a great number of my countrymen.³¹¹

In *Nineteenth-century Ireland: the search for stability*, Boyce claimed that Young Ireland's evolution was a cultural nationalist response to the sectarian nationalism of O'Connell, there was a separation of a religious society at work.³¹² Boyce described O'Connell's political morality as that of the eighteenth century. Thomas Davis endeavoured to stop a Catholic Ascendancy from replacing the Protestant Ascendancy. Protestantism as a political force in Ireland possessed a commanding position that did not reflect the Protestant's population status as a minority. Boyce asserts a Catholic fear of the authoritative Protestant position as at the heart of O'Connell's politics. The apparent O'Connell hope was that Protestants could become subsumed within the culture of the Catholic

³¹⁰ Anon, "Valentine M'Clutchy", *Nation* 1842-1897, Saturday, January 25, 1845; p. 13

³¹¹ Carleton, *Valentine McClutchy, the Irish Land-Agent*, p. vii.

³¹² Boyce, *Nineteenth-century Ireland: the search for stability*. p. 85.

majority. Perhaps, O'Connell's position on severance of Church and State was lip-service, certainly according to this interpretation. Young Irelander Thomas Davis felt the need to halt the march of O'Connell and his movement toward an elite Catholic class. Davis favoured a multinational and multicultural Irishness, Boyce quoted Davis as emphasizing that:

[...] The Saxon and Norman colonists were 'melted down into the Irish'; and the Wexford rebels of 1798, though their blood was 'for the most part English and Welsh, though mixed with the Danish and Gaelic, yet they are Irish in thought and feeling'. Thus he pleaded for 'the Milesian, the Dane, the Norman, the Welshman, the Scotchman, and the Saxon' to 'combine, regardless of their blood'.³¹³

Boyce depicted Davis as against modernisation, which Davis viewed as backboned by Utilitarianism, Yankeeism, and Englishism.³¹⁴ The values of these cultures were adjudged to be linked to monetary value, duty tied to gains and desire locked to food, clothes, and uprightness. These were ideals brought to Ireland by English politicians in Davis's perspective. This viewpoint of the influx of different cultural values into Irish identity was treated differently post-Catholic Emancipation in the fiction of Gerald Griffin.

Christopher Morash's study of the fiction concerned with the Irish famine defined the Young Ireland movement as a nationalist and bourgeois group concerned with the burgeoning European identity of Irishmen. Young Ireland viewed themselves as part of the enlightenment wave sweeping Europe as a continent of progression.³¹⁵ These middle classes were an impressive group of daring and intelligent nationalists. The narratives of *The Nation* contrasted the lack of progression and state of Ireland with Europe and its various members. Morash saw these nationalist liberation narratives using terms such as tyranny and oppression as wrapped up in the Benthamite vision of Utilitarian progress, which for

³¹³ Ibid., p. 86.

³¹⁴ Ibid., p. 87.

³¹⁵ Chris Morash, *Writing the Irish famine*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) p. 57.

Morash was imperialist and representative of Empire.³¹⁶ However, Bentham's philosophy was inspired to counter the narratives of elitism within the corridors of power. Bentham, while from a well-to-do family, envisioned his ideas as being snubbed due to not being part of the elite imperial set. This was another division within the rich set of the upper classes. For Morash, O'Connell and Young Ireland are part of these narratives of Enlightenment progression.

Morash criticised the historical and cultural criticism that positioned Ireland as a victim of English colonial writing where Ireland was portrayed as a barbarian evil which must be tamed or slaughtered by the civilised Empire.³¹⁷ At the time of the famine, Morash outlined how poets reclaimed the demonization by using those same images from imperial discourse to pursue their aims. The moral character of the Irish people was stripped of its decency and trustworthiness, a narrative which Carleton picked up in his early writing for the Anglo-Irish set.

The second draft of Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* resulted in the removal of the passages most offensive to Catholicism while, in the second half of Carleton's career, the narrative of *Valentine McClutchy* instead detailed the violence of the Orangemen. The 1899 D.J. O'Donoghue introduction to *The Black Prophet* (1846) stated 'Otway recognised Carleton's high intelligence, unequalled knowledge of the people, and saw that he would be of great service to him in his "No-Popery" crusade. Carleton, having definitely abandoned his early faith, entered into the plan with all the zeal of the apostate, and commenced a series of sketches of peasant life for a magazine conducted by Otway.'³¹⁸ Morash identified that the offence which Carleton caused to both Catholic and Protestant throughout his career had at its heart an idealized morality

³¹⁶ Ibid., p. 58.

³¹⁷ Ibid., p. 114.

³¹⁸ William Carleton, *The Black Prophet a tale of Irish famine*. Introd. by D. J. O'Donoghue and illustrations by J. B. Yeats. (London: Lawrence & Bullen, 1899) p. xiii.

regarding the family of a small farmer.³¹⁹ The claimed ability of Carleton to capture the heart of the labouring classes possessed its appeal as an interpretation for a middle-class readership pleased with a rejection of middle-class values as the labouring classes became the victims who must depend on the middle classes to bring them to democracy and a progressive life.

The later years of Carleton's life were marked by poverty and a lapse into alcohol. He received a pension due to his literary achievements, granted after a petition was signed by various notable writers such as Maria Edgeworth (Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* being an influence on Carleton). The *Evening Mail* railed against him as a turncoat who was bought off by the government. Some commentators ventured it was a payment to prevent Carleton from writing for the campaign for independence³²⁰. Roger McHugh recorded that Carleton responded to the accusations of the *Evening Mail* in an unpublished letter that he was "no Republican, no Jacobin, [...]."³²¹

Griffin and Carleton addressed similar national themes such as the life of the working-class and the interactions between various classes such as the tenant and landlord. The political motivation of both writers resulted in a very different tenant and landlord character. Often the critical judgement of the writers resulted in a competition, which writer was more Irish and in tune with the Irish people:

English readers were practically unacquainted with the real Irish peasant who is met in Carleton's vivid pages. Banim and Griffin were not peasants like Carleton, and even their undoubtedly excellent pictures of Irish life pale into distant and superficial visions before his intimate descriptions of Irish home scenes, his astonishing memory for every turn of peasant speech.³²²

³¹⁹ Morash, *Writing the Irish famine*, p. 160.

³²⁰ Roger McHugh, *William Carleton: A Portrait of the Artist as Propagandist*, *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 27, No. 105 (Mar., 1938), p. 60.

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² O'Donoghue, *The life of William Carleton*, p. 13.

While Griffin was not of the labouring classes and came from a middle-class background this did not mean that he was not acquainted with all classes of Irish life from the working-classes to the upper classes. Witnessing and working in his older brother's waiting room ensured this.³²³ Consciously or unconsciously William Carleton's fiction attempted to usurp the kind of post-Catholic Emancipation work, such as Griffin's works. The second half of Carleton's career resulted in an attempt to undermine his earlier anti-Catholic work and to reach the balance of Griffin. This shift by Carleton was an attempt to inhabit a new image as a writer, an image of a true Irish writer which was vacated by the death of Griffin:

In April, 1828, the first part of "A Pilgrimage to Patrick's Purgatory" appeared [...] in fact, it displayed all "the bitterness of a renegade," and was obviously modelled upon Otway's sketches. It revealed, however, far more knowledge of the peasantry than Otway ever possessed or had been in the way of acquiring. In later years, Carleton modified and abridged this sketch, and acknowledged his regret for some of its offensive observations. The pilgrimage to Lough Derg was a very ancient one; [...] Carleton knew nothing of its antiquity or of its claims upon the reverence of his countrymen, or he would hardly have written of it in so narrow and unsympathetic a spirit. In the Middle Ages the legends connected with Lough Derg spread all over Western Europe, and, at a later period, furnished Calderon and other writers with a theme.³²⁴

The ever changing political image of O'Connell is also a theme of Carleton's image. Terry Eagleton in *Scholars and Rebels in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* outlined Lecky's take on Grattan and O'Connell in *Public Opinion in Ireland* as Lecky positioned himself as a protestant nationalist.³²⁵ Lecky's O'Connell was sporadically impolite, volatile, and insulting but not a mouthpiece for the Catholic Church. O'Connell was anti-socialist, anti-agitation and open-minded on all religions. Eagleton

³²³ Cronin, *Gerald Griffin, 1803-1840: a critical biography*, p. 14.

³²⁴ O'Donoghue (David James), *The life of William Carleton*, p. 4.

³²⁵ Terry Eagleton, *Scholars & Rebels in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers 1999) p. 74.

asserted that Lecky later revised *Leaders and Public Opinion in Ireland* to adapt to various developing anti-nationalist theories that grew close to imperialist and elitist views. This was an avenue of thought Lecky was originally seeking to avoid. Standish O'Grady's *The Story of Ireland* (1894) championed Cromwell, but not the butchery at Drogheda, as the conquest of the Protestants was due to their courage, but the penal laws were unjust; the Ascendancy should never have relinquished authority to Westminster. O'Connell was dismissed by O'Grady as a swindler and deceiver however spirited. The Repeal Association was over the top and deceptive. Eagleton stressed that Young Ireland's case for violence was a self-protective response to the denied rights of Irish citizens who had endeavoured to possess a nation; this was similar to the position of O'Connell's pacifism. Eagleton maintained that 'a well bred gentleman like Davis' could never be comfortable or behind 'mass insurgency'.³²⁶ It was a political position, part of the severance from links to O'Connell, to be viewed as supporting armed action against the British Empire. The image of O'Connell became a narrative where various political perspectives and interpretations projected their subjective views as the century developed. Image was also at the centre of Carleton's writing and he offered an image of O'Connell in his fiction.

Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* contains both literary sketches and short stories. Literary sketches tend to examine customs and cultural identity in a satirical and amusing manner, often ironic. The sketch is a more disciplined analysis than the short story despite the ironic and comical nature of the prose. Sketches are without detailed characters and action, which ensures a lessening of dramatic effect, in comparison to the short story. Nevertheless, while such sketch-like satire and analysis is present in Carleton's 'The Geography of an Irish Oath' it is too detailed and analytical in scrutiny of theme, character,

³²⁶ Ibid., p. 134.

addiction, and social structure to be a literary sketch. Also, the narrative of the family's life is dramatic. The tale and short story are closer to traditional elements of fiction as a dramatic narrative of a plot than a literary sketch. The latter nineteenth century saw the emergence of the short story as a distinct literary form. Often, Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* included an opening literary sketch to serve as a type of preface to themes of identity and culture e.g. 'An Essay on Irish Swearing', followed by a fictional tale or short story, such as 'The Geography of an Irish Oath'. Moreover, Carleton's 'An Essay on Irish Swearing' is more concise and pointed in purpose than an essay or sketch. Additionally, the comical and ironic treatment of Irish character and principle, particularly through the stereotypical Paddy character, gives the narrative of 'An Essay on Irish Swearing' a dimension beyond an essay. This becomes apparent through the short story, 'The Geography of an Irish Oath', which reveals the over-lap in theme. Therefore, the purpose of 'An Essay on Irish Swearing' is tied to the short story 'The Geography of an Irish Oath'. 'An Essay on Irish Swearing' serves the Carleton purpose of writing for an Anglo-Irish and English audience as the sketch highlights Irish customs. 'The Geography of an Irish Oath' possesses sustained character portrayals and action tied to the earlier satire on swearing and oaths. Carleton satirizes the subject of Irish customs and identity through 'An Essay on Irish Swearing'. Pointedly, 'The Geography of an Irish Oath' is concentrated on two families, a tenant and landlord family, a simple plot, and the exploration of oaths and Irish character as detailed by 'An Essay on Irish Swearing'. The short story explores the rise of a Catholic family named Connell and, in particular, the theme of oaths attached to an analysis of Irish principle and addiction. Carleton's theme of oaths is tied to the Connell family, possessing multiple allusions which suggest the figure of Daniel O'Connell.

'The Geography of an Irish Oath' makes reference to lawyers

becoming obsolete if truth became an open secret, as Carleton caricatures the ‘truth’ of Daniel O’Connell’s oaths and narratives. Fiction was stressed as being at the basis of society and law as the ultimate oppressor. Daniel O’Connell was a barrister before he became a politician. The O’Connell position of professing various political oaths and pledging faith to the Catholics of Ireland were mocked by Carleton in ‘An Essay on Irish Swearing’:

It would be unpardonable in us, however, to overlook the beneficial effects of Paddy's peculiar genius in swearing alibis. Some persons, who display their own egregious ignorance of morality, may be disposed to think that it tends to lessen the obligation of an oath, by inducing a habit among the people of swearing to what is not true. We look upon such persons as very dangerous to Ireland and to the repeal of the Union; [...] Could society hold together a single day, if nothing but truth were spoken, [...] Fiction is the basis of society, the bond of commercial prosperity, the channel of communication between nation and nation, and not unfrequently the interpreter between a man and his own conscience.³²⁷

Carleton’s layered satire ridiculed the oaths of government for going ahead with public demonstrations in parliament where swearing oaths took place by politicians who the public knew did not believe in such pledges. The furore surrounding such oaths and scandals only served to stress allegiance amongst a community and heighten the profile of men such as O’Connell rather than question practical political protocol. Conversely, Carleton also satirically examined such protocol by asserting the necessity of fiction for society to run smoothly. Carleton defended fiction through highlighting its role in all aspects of society including parliament and all basic communication from business transactions to inner consciousness. However, such a position included Carleton himself as a writer and the story itself, which highlighted the role of fiction as important in society for communication and the creation of belief. The theme of fiction allowed Carleton to highlight his mask as a writer who

³²⁷ Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, p. 481.

created a narrative about society and the identities operating in culture. This was in part an argument for the role of the author as necessary to generate narratives that questioned the political figures and structures in operation in society.

The issue of oaths at the centre of Carleton's parody of Daniel O'Connell and Irish Catholic identity in "The Geography of an Irish Oath" depicted untrustworthiness at the heart of the Catholic, particularly in Peter Connell. Carleton portrayed a social system and indoctrination of behaviour as programming Catholics; Peter was constricted by his alcoholicism and violation of oaths. Nevertheless, such assertions are undercut by Carleton's portrayal of Elish:

[...] she was still the moving spirit, the chief conductor of the establishment. [...] She was everywhere. In Peter's farm-yard her advice was as excellent and as useful as in her own shop. On his farms she was the better agriculturist, and she frequently set him right in his plans and speculations for the ensuing year.³²⁸

Elish was competence and intelligence personified while Carleton's Peter was disparaged on nearly every page. Alcohol became the crutch of his life and Peter continually failed in his pledges to quit. The result of Carleton's portrayal was to relegate Irish identity to a limited national dimension and not an influential European identity. Carleton's Connell family were portrayed as benefitting from the guidance of an Anglo-Irish Landlord who displayed a high moral regard for the tenant family and its welfare. Carleton contrasted the drinking and behaviour of the Catholic Irishman to a concerned Landlord who endeavoured to induce Connell away from alcohol. Peter informed the landlord that the landlord's family was the equal of any in Europe. This assertion could not be upheld due to the flawed nature of Peter as a character. Peter used the European family as an expansion beyond Ireland and Empire to lend gravitas to his estimation of the Anglo-Irish Landlord family:

³²⁸ Ibid., p. 443.

"Faix, your honor, it's jist what I'd expect from your father's son-- kindness, an' dacency, an' devotion, wor always among yez. Divil resave the family in all Europe I'd do so much for as the same family [...]"

The gentleman and lady looked at each other, and smiled. They knew that Peter's blarney was no omen of their success in the laudable design they contemplated.³²⁹

Peter dismissed the European family in favour of the local landlord. This drunken affirmation of Peter's loyalty was not taken seriously by the landlord family. In the usage of the name of Connell Carleton parodied O'Connell's family origins in Kerry. The O'Connell family were recorded as smugglers of sherry and port who signed themselves alternatively as Connell or O'Connell. As outlined by Daniel Corkery, this depended upon the legality and positivity of the contract. Corkery, as a nationalist, nativist and staunch supporter of the Irish language had a political agenda that could not accommodate a favourable interpretation of the Repeal advocate Daniel O'Connell. In *The Hidden Ireland* Corkery writes about the background of the O'Connell family as smugglers: '[...] Moreover, the Martins, the O'Connells, and indeed every other big family as well, Gall or Gael, along the seaboard, were professional smugglers, and as such had ideas of the true functions of the law and its officers. [...]'³³⁰ Corkery constructed a narrative of the O'Connells that placed them in a long line of illegal activity and roguish behaviour. He detailed a story of how Hunting Cap O'Connell bribed Captain Butler in 1782, over breakfast, into colluding with a smuggling operation off the coast of Kerry for a percentage of the profits. This was after Captain Butler had apprehended Hunting Cap in the act of bringing a consignment of port and sherry ashore. Corkery asserted that the character of the O'Connells was a stage Irishman shrewdness, (an image of O'Connell repeated by Declan

³²⁹ Ibid., p. 468.

³³⁰ Daniel Corkery, *The Hidden Ireland: A study of Gaelic Munster in the eighteenth century, 1878-1964*, (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975). p. 47.

Kiberd³³¹):

When the O'Connells were writing business letters, or indeed putting their hands to any official document whatever, they signed themselves Connell. Omitting the distinctively Gaelic O. But when any one of them succeeded in making his way on the Continent and found himself at last of some importance in the world, little by little he came to sign himself O'Connell again; that is, he resumed the Gael. Of the Connells, Young could have made some report; of the O'Connells, none.³³²

Often, political reputation depends upon the interpretation of succeeding generations. Carleton, like Griffin, engaged with the political culture pertinent to his generation. The political speeches and ideas of O'Connell contain elements which are present in Griffin's *The Collegians* and the work of Carleton. In the narratives of O'Connell and Griffin Ireland was a culture among and engaged with different nations, this allowed the narrative of Irish character to escape a strict British and Anglo-Irish narrative. The literary legacy of Griffin's novels left behind a standard by which Irish writers were judged. Carleton had to negotiate such an image whether he wanted to or not. *The Nation* engaged in Carleton's renewal as an Irish writer who gave voice to a multitude. The effort of *The Nation* to recreate Carleton in the mould of a nationalist author was a subjective assertion for a political agenda. In contrast, the crossroads of representation in Ireland in the late 1820s, 30s and early 40s reveals Griffin and O'Connell as endeavouring to find moral and political narratives that tie Irish society and its people to the local and transnational. Griffin and O'Connell's effort was to create a space which gave Ireland the option of a national identity outside of the British Empire as a country on the international stage. This was counter to the initial project of Carleton. Nevertheless, post-Carleton's death, the politics of Irish identity in literature and politics did not disappear and was as relevant as ever in the

³³¹ Declan Kiberd, *The Irish Writer and the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) p. 25.

³³² Corkery, *The Hidden Ireland: A study of Gaelic Munster in the eighteenth century, 1878-1964*, p. 58.

Moore family.

Chapter Four:

G.H. Moore: The shift away from O'Connell

This chapter details the political context of the transnational life and narratives of George Henry Moore and Charles Kickham. The background of G.H. Moore and Charles Kickham's political career reveals the influence and efforts to break with the legacy of Daniel O'Connell. The political world of G.H. Moore and Charles Kickham is a political milieu of landlord and tenant, Ireland and Britain, Catholicism and Protestantism, Ireland and Europe. This

backdrop is important in order to provide the context for George Moore's break with the fictional treatment of O'Connell's politics. Nevertheless, G.H., Kickham and George Moore engaged with the political legacy and fiction influenced by O'Connell. G.H. Moore is the political bridge between O'Connell, Young Ireland and Fenianism. G.H. created political narratives that document a transnational Catholic brotherhood. These speeches sought to camouflage G.H.'s identity as a landlord as nationalist politics was fixated with the removal of the landlord system. The advent of Charles Kickham, under the political influence of Young Ireland and Fenianism, revealed an author seeking to construct moral and transnational working-class characters. In this manner Kickham is building upon the characters of Griffin and Carleton. Moreover, Kickham's depiction of Catholic priests was a dismissal of religion's function in the state. In this way, Kickham was a literary forerunner of George Moore.

Political Shifts: the prevalence of the transnational and local within the literature of Charles Kickham

This final section looks specifically at the ways in which the work of Charles Kickham bridges Griffin and Carleton's literary responses to O'Connell. The political limelight has shifted away from O'Connell, but his influence is still present in Young Ireland, the major political influence on Kickham. However, images and character discussions on O'Connell are present within Kickham's *Knocknagow* (1879). Firstly, I discuss the political context in which Kickham developed his literature, it is a context shared with G.H. Moore as both men flirt with Fenianism. The rest of the chapter clarifies the complex political ideology which influenced Kickham's fiction and his attempt to build upon the character moulds of tenant found in Griffin and Carleton. Additionally, it is outlined how Kickham's relationship to Catholicism was a rejection of religion's role in the state. Kickham's *Knocknagow* portrayed Irish characters of morality; these moral characters

were not founded solely on religion but based on principles of decency and nationalism. *Knocknagow's* characters are layered with a transnational European and American element attached to Irish temperament. The local character, infused with a transnational knowledge, is cultivated by the sense of community and history of the neighbourhood which forms a principled nature. In this manner, Kickham's characters are the opposite of Carleton's restricted Irish characters.

As has been briefly discussed earlier, Fenianism provides a useful conceptual means of approaching both Kickham and G.H. Moore. G.H. Moore was not a Fenian but practiced pragmatism in his dialogue and attempts to understand the Fenian position. Vincent Comerford's authoritative 1998 history *The Fenians in Context: Irish politics and society, 1848-82* argues that it is mistaken to perceive the fenians, involved in Home Rule, as breaking clean from I.R.B. ideology.³³³ Often, this was simply a matter of control rather than divergent ideologies. Fenianism as a distilled and pure philosophy is a myth; it struggled for an existence and possessed a myriad of influences and individuals. A historical narrative was established in the 1870s which dictates that the supposedly fraudulent Irish and British political world impaired fenianism as a narrative. Comerford identifies inaction and violence as the undulating see-saw unbalancing fenianism; this was embodied by two of the fenians' central figures, John O'Leary and Charles Kickham. O'Leary, after release from prison in 1871, was expelled from Ireland until 1885 as part of his sentence. Kickham lived in Ireland throughout the 70s (after four years imprisonment in the late 60s); later, he became president of the supreme council of the I.R.B. Kickham was almost blind and deaf, due to a gun accident as a child which worsened throughout his life. As President of the I.R.B. Kickham eventually preferred to try to avoid violence, rather than idealise a previous romantic notion of revolution, and was notoriously

³³³ Ibid., p. 204.

stubborn in his views. Kickham was not afraid to assert his individual views regardless of the position of Young Ireland, Fenianism, or his political foes. Kickham's depiction of tenant characters in *Knocknagow* presents a balanced and ethical Irish identity.

O'Leary and Kickham's idealistic nationalism and determination to achieve independence did not mean that their supporters were as equally gripped by such a political philosophy.³³⁴ Comerford stresses those farmers, throughout the country, that rowed in behind such fenian ideals were motivated by agrarian aspirations. The removal of the landlord system ensured better quality land and the attainment of it for tenants; this insured a better quality of life. Comerford asserts that the philosophy behind such goals as independence did not matter, as long as the agrarian end-goal was promised. However, it must also be pointed out, using the same logic, not all farmers could be so inclined and, surely, independence and nationalism spoke to a fair share of the agrarian community coupled with land concerns. The appeal of the I.R.B. was not principally due to nationalist and republican ambitions but it did serve as a uniting point. However, Kickham and O'Leary were not blind to the injustices suffered by landlords who were sound; both men did not endorse the persecution of any particular class.³³⁵ While Kickham was a member of many groups, and deeply influenced by Young Ireland, he was a thinker capable of independent action within and outside these associations.

Kickham and O'Leary never tired of making the point that the priest, whether pro or anti Independence, should not have power in Irish politics.³³⁶ Their paper, the *Irish People*, highlighted the betrayal of priests during past revolutions in 1798 and 1848. Themes relating to fenianism, nationalism, religion, and tenant rights dominate Kickham's output as a writer but there is also an attempt to readdress the portrayal of morality

³³⁴ Comerford, *The Fenians in Context: Irish politics and society, 1848-82*, p. 214.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

attached to Irish character in works such as Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*. The local tenant character of *Knocknagow* is compared to the morality and principles of Empire and Europe, stressed as a figure on an equal footing of ethics and affability.

Transnational origins of the Moore Family

The Moores of Mayo arrived as an English Protestant plantation family.³³⁷ The family changed religion to Catholicism when John Moore married Jane Lynch Athy. The Lynch Athy family were prominent in Galway. The first son this couple produced was George Moore of Alicante (1729-1799). His mother Jane used her family's European network with Irish Jacobite exiles in Spain, the "Wild Geese" (not to be confused with the Flight of the Earls), to set George up in the wine business in Alicante.³³⁸ George of Alicante became Catholic when he married a local Irish Catholic raised in Spain, Katherine de Kilikelly. George Moore of Alicante built Moore Hall beside Lough Carra after he returned to Mayo in 1792. This generation of the Moore family had managed to avoid the effect of the Penal Laws that had destroyed the power and property of Irish Catholics:

In Ireland, the first substantial relaxation of the penal laws came in 1778 with the removal of some of the restrictions on the purchase of landed property by Catholics, and the repeal of the despised gavel act. The measure was a direct result of pressure from the British government on the Irish administration of the earl of Buckinghamshire, as a consequence of the British decision to grant partial relief from the penal laws to English Catholics.³³⁹

The emancipation Act of 1829 meant that Catholics had access to

³³⁷ Kenelm Gow, Kevin Coyne and Art Ó Súilleabháin, *The Moores of Moorehall: A Short History*, (Carnacon: Carra Historical Society, 1989) p. 20.

³³⁸ For background to the Wild Geese, see Renagh Holohan and Jeremy Williams, *The Irish chateaux: in search of descendants of the wild geese*. (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1989) and Hector McDonnell, *The Wild Geese of the Antrim MacDonnells*. (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1996).

³³⁹ Eamon O'Flaherty, 'Ecclesiastical Politics and the Dismantling of the Penal Laws in Ireland', 1774-82, *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 101 (May, 1988), pp. 33-50, Irish Historical Studies Publications Ltd.

parliament and the middle classes vied for positions in society³⁴⁰. The Catholics of Irish society had come a long way since the Penal laws. Edmund Burke deemed the Penal Laws: “[...] a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man.”³⁴¹ This quote is taken from a work by George Moore (1770-1840), the historian, the second son of George of Alicante. He wrote about the history of the French and English Revolutions. The novelist George Moore read the work of his historian grandfather in 1909 and stated on a preface to a history of the French Revolution, that it was an anticipation of his writing: “My grandfather and I are one”.³⁴² The historian’s eldest son was G.H.Moore, the father of the aforementioned novelist George Moore.

The eldest son of George of Alicante was John Moore (1767-98), the first president of the short-lived Republic of Connaught in 1798. Trained in law in London and Paris, John attained the Presidency after an Irish and French force won a victory over General Humbert at Castlebar.³⁴³ John Moore had taken a nominal leadership of the rebels. He was soon captured by the British at Castlebar as the Irish and French force was too small. John died in Carlow in an Inn en route to being deported at Duncannon Fort, a town mentioned in Moore’s *The Untilled Field*. “Home Sickness”, was the tale of a man Bryden who returned from America to Duncannon on doctor’s orders. The prognosis was a sea journey for his health.³⁴⁴ Bryden met a woman in his home place and marriage was on the

³⁴⁰ O Tuathaigh, *Ireland before the famine, 1798-1848*, p. 74.

³⁴¹ George Moore, *The History of the British Revolution of 1688 – 89*. (London: Longman, 1817) p. 532.

³⁴² Helmut E. Gerber, *George Moore on Parnassus: letters (1900-1933) to secretaries, publishers, printers, agents, literati, friends, and acquaintances*. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1988) p. 170.

³⁴³ Kenelm Gow; Kevin Coyne; Art Ó Súilleabháin, *The Moores of Moorehall: a short history*, (Carnacon: Carra Historical Society, 1989) p. 44.

³⁴⁴ George Moore, *The Untilled Field*. (Freeport, N.Y., Books for Libraries Press, 1903)

cards but the call of the Bowery and America soon overpowered the lure of Ireland:

The smell of the Bowery slum had come across the Atlantic, and had found him out in this western headland; and one night he awoke from a dream in which he was hurling some drunken customer through the open doors into the darkness. [...] But how should he tell Margaret Dirken that he could not marry her? She had built her life upon this marriage. He could not tell her that he would not marry her... yet he must go³⁴⁵.

Escape from marriage and family ties, was a constant of Moore's literature, and the lure of a major city away from Irish rural culture was seductive. The temptation of America and Bryden's former work in a bar in New York was chosen over the perceived small town philosophy and restrictions of the local area he was from.³⁴⁶ The 'slum' of the Bowery was prized over a rural Irish village. However, the sense of place attached to home did not leave Bryden in his elder years. The memory returned him to the area and his former finance:

There is an unchanging, silent life within every man that none knows but himself, and his unchanging, silent life was his memory of Margaret Dirken. The bar-room was forgotten and all that concerned it, and the things he saw most clearly were the green hillside, and the bog lake and the rushes about it, and the greater lake in the distance, and behind it the blue line of wandering hills³⁴⁷.

Distance was required for Ireland to be palatable, to be longed for and resided in, according to Moore's portrayal. Distance and the past are often intertwined in Moore's thematic concerns. The Moores of yore, featuring in and writing important historical and political narratives, were present in the novelist's mind. G.H. Moore set a high standard for his sons, George and Maurice. G.H. also had to follow a high standard, given his

³⁴⁵ Moore, *The Untilled Field*, p.156.

³⁴⁶ For an account regarding the movement of victims of the Famine and their emigration to the Bowery in New York, see: Tyler Anbinder, 'From Famine to Five Points: Lord Lansdowne's Irish Tenants Encounter North America's Most Notorious Slum', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 107(2), 2002. pp. 351-387.

³⁴⁷ Moore, *The Untilled Field*, p. 160.

family tree, and the ambition of embarking on a political career in the generation post-O'Connell.

The Transnational early life of G. H. George

G.H. Moore (1810- 1870) served as an Irish politician, as MP for Mayo. He was a founder of the Catholic Defence Association (1851) and leader of the Independent Irish Party (1852-1858).³⁴⁸ The Catholic Defence Association was under the patronage of Archbishop Cullen and reinforced the practice of Irish M.P.s in Westminster raising Catholic objections.³⁴⁹ The Moore family mirrored Ireland's history and culture like any family with roots in a nation. G.H. published poetry at sixteen in *The London Magazine* and *The Dublin Magazine*. He was a brilliant student who went to Cambridge University.³⁵⁰ G.H.'s love of women affected his study. His mother, Katherine, feared the possibility of G.H. marrying a Protestant and he was worried that marriage to a poor Catholic was inevitable.³⁵¹ Katherine was under the tutelage of her novelist friend Maria Edgeworth regarding the development of her son and G.H.'s apparent lack of focus. They managed to persuade G.H. to further his life by moving abroad and utilising his education, first in Russia in 1834 for three years. G.H. left behind a married woman whom he had been having an affair with in Bath. The affair took a Byronic twist as the lady in question convinced her husband to travel in the East, and she pursued G.H. for a year.³⁵² An engagement with Europe was not new territory for G.H.'s mother; it was a family tradition. George Moore's mother was Mary Blake. She was

³⁴⁸ His leadership came near the end of the reign of this group, a dispute over the oath to join sealing the fate of its existence.

³⁴⁹ Boyce, *Nineteenth-Century Ireland: The Search for Stability*, p. 140

³⁵⁰ Maurice Moore, *An Irish Gentleman: George Henry Moore; His Travels, His Racing, His Politics* (London: T.W. Laurie, 1913)

³⁵¹ Adrian Woods Frazier, *George Moore, 1852-1933*. (New Haven, Conn.; Yale University Press, 2000) p. 7.

³⁵² Haim Goren, 'Irish Explorers of the Jordan Rift and the Euphrates Valley in the 1830s: Science, Adventure and Imperialism', *George Moore Dublin Paris Hollywood*, Conor Montague and Adrian Frazier (eds.) (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2012) p. 31.

Catholic and from Mayo, the daughter of Anne Lynch Blake. The Blakes were a successful family and members of “the twelve tribes of Galway” who traded with the French and Spanish from the 14th century onwards. The Blakes of Ballinafad had been successful throughout the generations due in no small part to shrewd marriages.³⁵³ The Blakes switched religions to Protestantism when it became clear that life as a Catholic was becoming impossible as the Penal Laws began to strangle Catholic finances. This meant marriages with Protestants, as Catholics found it difficult to own land: the Blakes were securing and enlarging their assets.

Athens, Egypt, Palestine and Syria, were some of the places G.H. explored. He became the third recorded Irish or British explorer to venture to Palestine and Syria. G.H.’s travelling in the East was a future portent of George Moore’s *The Brook Kerith* (1916), a controversial work, which suppositioned that Christ did not die on the cross but was nursed back to health before travelling to India to find wisdom: ‘[...] But he had not forgotten the brotherhood by the Dead Sea, and invited Joseph to accompany him and tell him of those whom he had left behind. We are of the same brotherhood, he said [...]’.³⁵⁴ The interaction between peoples of India and the Irish had been in operation a long time. Irish troops were hired by the East India Company as soldiers and civil servants from the end of the seventeenth century.³⁵⁵ The Anglo-Irish Ascendancy held higher stations. It was recorded that almost 40% of employees of the Company were Irish at various points.³⁵⁶ A quarter of the Indian Civil Service was made up of Irish. Through *The Brook Kerith* George Moore was following

³⁵³ Gerard Moran (ed.), *Galway History and Society* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1996) p. 319-31.

³⁵⁴ George Moore, *The Brook Kerith: A Syrian Story* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916) p. 123.

³⁵⁵ Joseph Lennon, *Irish Orientalism: a literary and intellectual history*. (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2004) p. 169-176.

³⁵⁶ Haim Goren, ‘Irish Explorers of the Jordan Rift and the Euphrates Valley in the 1830s: Science, Adventure and Imperialism’, *George Moore Dublin Paris Hollywood*, Conor Montague and Adrian Frazier (eds.) (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2012) p. 36.

in the same vein as his great French friend, Édouard Dujardin, who had left fiction behind to become a religious studies critic and historian. This venture of G.H. Moore was obviously quite different; it was an expedition that only a rich man could embark upon. It was very different to the working-class or lower-middle class Irishman seeking a job and survival. However, the interaction of Irish and Indian culture was established. Irish culture was a world of transnational movement; the Moores were part of this, through a family tradition of transnationalism on both sides. The Moores were transnational in the sense of psychical travel, but also in an engagement with other cultures and ideologies outside of Ireland.

B. Kreiger and J. Vardi document two Englishmen who created a buzz surrounding the scientific community's mindfulness of the depression of The Dead Sea in the 1830s.³⁵⁷ One of these "English" men was G.H. Moore. The 1837 volume of the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* stated:

In the month of march 1837, Mr. G.H. Moore and Mr. W.G. Beek, having made the necessary preparations and produced a good boat, left Beirut in a small coasting vessel for Jaffa, their intention being to make a trigonometrical survey of the Dead Sea, to ascertain its depth, and to procure collections of all that could be of use to science. [...] There appears also to be another remarkable feature in the level of the sea, as from several observations about the temperature of boiling water, it appears to be considerably lower than the ocean.³⁵⁸

The interest of the British government in The Dead Sea blossomed in the 1830s because of the possibility of developing transportation to India, digging canals or building bridges from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Suez or from Syria to the Euphrates.³⁵⁹ This ensured a quicker and

³⁵⁷ B. Kreiger, *Living Waters: Myth, History and Politics of The Dead Sea*, (New York: Continuum Publishing, 1988) pp. 60-1. and J. Vardi, 'How was the Height of the Lowest Place in the World Established?', in M. Na'or (ed.), *The Dead Sea and the Judean Desert* (Jerusalem: Yad BenZvi, 1990), pp. 23-5 [Heb.].

³⁵⁸ As cited in Haim Goren, 'Irish Explorers of the Jordan Rift and the Euphrates Valley in the 1830s: Science, Adventure and Imperialism', *George Moore Dublin Paris Hollywood*, Conor Montague and Adrian Frazier (eds.) (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2012) p. 29.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

easier route to India for trade. Moore, along with Beke, was hot on the heels of another Irish explorer and scientist, Christopher Costigan (1810-1835).³⁶⁰ Costigan was credited with the first study of The Dead Sea. A student of Clongowes Wood, in Maynooth, Costigan sailed on the lake and measured it for various types of information. He died in the process.

G.H.'s diaries and letters possessed value both as an adventure and as a narrative of scientific worth. Maria Edgeworth in her frequent visits to Moore Hall listened to the letters of G.H. read by his mother. Maria observed how rare it was to find "[...] judgement and imagination in one so young [...]".³⁶¹ Edgeworth recognised the worth of the correspondence and sent the reports to the Royal Geographical Society and the Hydrographer of the Navy, Sir Francis Beaufort.³⁶² G.H. returned to England and his influence brought his brother Augustus away from mathematical study at Cambridge. Both men now became jockeys and horse breeders.³⁶³ They built a stable at Moore Hall against their mother's wishes; she had lost her youngest son to a fall from a horse. The Turf Club and its forerunner, The Jockey Club of the Curragh, owed its existence to aristocratic and gentry members such as the O'Haras, Clements, and Gones.³⁶⁴ Fergus D'Arcy painted G.H. as one of the most celebrated riders of the period in either Ireland or England. He was an outstanding chase rider but also had success as a flat rider. Returning from his English racing days G.H. had almost a monopoly on the Corinthian Stakes at the Curragh in the early 1840s.³⁶⁵ He was known as 'Dog' Moore after a horse of his called 'Wolfdog'. He became a steward of the Turf Club in 1843 at 32. He

³⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 30.

³⁶¹ J.M. Hone, *The Life of George Moore* (London: Gollancz, 1936), p. 57; M. Edgeworth, *A Memoir of Maria Edgeworth, with selection from her letters*. Edited by her children. (London: private ed., 1867), III, pp. 178-85.

³⁶² Goren, *George Moore: Dublin Paris Hollywood*, p. 31.

³⁶³ Kenelm Gow; Kevin Coyne; Art Ó Súilleabháin, *The Moores of Moorehall: A short History*, (Carnacon: Carra Historical Society, 1989) p. 114.

³⁶⁴ Fergus A. D'Arcy, *Horses, lords and racing men: the Turf Club 1790-1990*, (The Curragh: Turf Club, 1991) p. 13.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 154.

was condemned for continuing to ride during the first two years of the Famine. Coranna's victory in the Chester Cup in May 1846 won Moore over 10,000 in bets:

Mr Moore, we hear won 11,000, the Marquis of Waterford about 1,000. Mr Moore had very liberally permitted his trainer to stand 1,000 to 10 with him, but not fancying it, laid it all, off at 50 to 1, and then, having brought the horse to the post in his very best form, had the mortification to see him carrying off the prize without winning a sixpence on him.³⁶⁶

G.H. sent remittances to his mother telling her 'every tenant of mine or being on my land, whether tenant or squatter, shall receive immediate and full relief'.³⁶⁷ This suggests that G.H. possessed a democratic approach to the working-classes on his farm. G.H. enjoyed success in the Irish Gold Whip in 1843 and 1845 and in 1846 the English Whip. In 1845 his brother Augustus died from a fall at a meet in Liverpool. G.H. continued winning and in 1849, 500 pounds was spent on direct Famine relief and 500 for work projects. He came back to the sport in 1861 with a number of wins by a horse called Master George, named after his son, the novelist. These winnings allowed him to pay for his son's education in England and repay his own political debts.

In the *Freeman's Journal* in September of 1846, alongside a racing report involving two of G.H. Moore's horses we find a report of the latest Repeal Association Meeting whose speeches hit upon the strands of history tugging within George Moore's fiction.³⁶⁸ John A. O'Neill's speech, after he introduced himself as a landowner, magistrate and gentleman, highlighted the Protestant will and effort to provide relief for the Famine.³⁶⁹ Landlord relief of the working-classes was not a popular course

³⁶⁶ Anon, "Results", *Freeman's Journal 1763-1924*, Monday, April 20, 1846 p. 3.

³⁶⁷ Maurice Moore, *An Irish Gentleman: George Henry Moore; His Travels, His Racing, His Politics* (London: T.W. Laurie, 1913) pp. 106-7.

³⁶⁸ Anon, "Repeal Association Meeting", *Freeman's Journal 1763-1924*, Tuesday, September 29, 1846 p. 4.

³⁶⁹ Christine Kinealy in *The Great Irish Famine* outlined how landlords played a key role in the

of action.³⁷⁰ O'Neill lamented the starvation throughout the period of the Famine and then went on to say:

[...] we have taxed ourselves for the support of the poor of that barony to the amount, and on my own motion, of forty thousand pounds (cheering). I have the greatest pleasure in assuring you that upon that occasion the Protestant clergyman stood side by side with the priest (cheers). [...] We referred to the clergy of both religions to state the amount of distress in their different localities. I need not tell you that the Catholic clergy are identified with the people; but I tell you that the Protestant clergyman was borne on the shoulders of the people (loud cheers). There is a community of suffering that has reached every class, and God be praised it has touched every heart (hear).³⁷¹

O'Neill made an effort to stress Protestant commitment toward helping victims of the Famine. The Repeal Association driven by O'Connell professed tolerance for religion. G.H. Moore came to occupy a similar position. In 1845 G.H. was defeated, in a local by-election, by "the Twenty Tumbler Man" Joe MacDonnell, an O'Connellite who advocated repeal of the Act of Union.³⁷² Moore was against repeal and this cost him. There was no stopping the march of O'Connellites like MacDonnell. If Moore could not beat the O'Connellites, he had to join them. The practicalities of becoming elected overtook any natural inclinations G.H. possessed.

distribution of charity. This role varied amongst the various landlords. The Poor Law took the responsibility of relief, meaning the role of landlords was reduced. Landlords struggled to pay the poor rate fees. The years of 1845 to 1850 produced 10 million by the Irish taxpayer which equalled the contribution of the British government to poor relief. Five million of the British contribution was a loan. Christine Kinealy, *The Great Irish Famine impact, ideology, and rebellion*. (New York: Palgrave, 2002) p. 64.

³⁷⁰ For an account of how finance was managed during the Famine, see: Aidan Hollis, "Microfinance and Famine: The Irish Loan Funds during the Great Famine." *World Development*, 2004, 32, 9, pp.1509 -1523 and *English Historical Review* Volume CXXVI, Issue 523, pp. 1408-1429, Virginia Crossman and Donnacha Seán Lucey 'One Huge Abuse': *The Cork Board of Guardians and the Expansion of Outdoor Relief in Post-Famine Ireland*. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, Volume 35, Issue 4, May 2010, pp. 416-430.

³⁷¹ Anon, 'Conciliation Hall', *Freeman's Journal 1763-1924*, Tuesday, September 29, 1846 p. 4.

³⁷² Maurice Moore, *An Irish Gentleman: George Henry Moore; His Travels, His Racing, His Politics*, p. 134.

Flirtations with Fenianism

G.H. Moore's initial standpoint against the repeal of the Union was from a Landlord's perspective. The Repeal Association was founded by Daniel O'Connell in 1840 in order to attain the repeal of the Act of Union of 1800 between Ireland and Great Britain, to reassert the previous constitutional position won by Henry Grattan and his partisans in the 1780s.³⁷³ O'Connell desired and attained the full backing of the Catholic majority. This was made achievable by the Act of Emancipation in 1829, approved under the Reform Act in 1832.³⁷⁴ G.H. had to continually learn to adapt to the Irish world of politics as his political image became challenged and reinvented first by O'Connellites such as Archbishop McHale and then Young Ireland. In 1847 G.H. was elected as a nationalist Catholic landlord.³⁷⁵ G.H. the fearless jockey, known as Dog Moore, became a man divided by his identity as a Catholic, landlord and Irish politician in London advocating Catholic tenant rights. Yet, G.H. tried to retain his grip on the advantages and tradition of his landlord heritage. This was placed upon the generations of Moores who came from a Protestant and English heritage.

Not long after being elected, Moore proposed at a Dublin convention of Liberal MPs that Irish MPs should have to vow to assist as a collective on issues important to Ireland.³⁷⁶ The proposal fell on deaf ears. Moore had to wait until 1851 to attain an opportunity to bring such a pledge into play; he was chief spokesman in parliament for the Irish Catholics' opposition to the Ecclesiastical Titles Act. Moore, supported by Archbishop McHale, led the Catholic Defence Association against the

³⁷³ Gearoid O Tuathaigh, *Ireland before The Famine*, p. 185.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³⁷⁵ Maurice Moore, *An Irish Gentleman: George Henry Moore; His Travels, His Racing, His Politics*, p. 150.

³⁷⁶ Owen McGee. "Moore, George Henry". *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009.) (<http://dib.cambridge.org/quicksearch.do?jsessionid=772C4AD6FCBFD14F54BC43AF1F9F90FB#>)

act. In 1852 Moore launched, with the backing of twenty-six MPs, the Friends of Religious Freedom and Equality group. The aim was to disestablish the Church of Ireland but the group did not last long. Moore became a key figure alongside Charles Gavan Duffy in pressing MPs who defended the Tenant League to vow not to enter government office until the league's mandate was secured. It was this conflation of the land question and religious inequality, uniting liberal and Catholic MPs, which formed the policy of 'independent opposition'. Moore became the key campaigner of the loosely tied 'independent party' of the 1850s. He persistently tried to convince William Smith O'Brien to lead an Independent Party. Moore had been against the Young Irelanders of the 1840s but this changed in the early 1860s, as he warmed to the idea of a nationalist party. However, this flirtation with Fenianism does not categorise Moore as a fenian. John Devoy claimed Moore was offered an opportunity to join the IRB but James Stephens rejected Moore as a possible member³⁷⁷.

G.H. was one of the first Irish MPs to support the Tenant League, which hoped to attain security of tenure and just rents.³⁷⁸ By defending Catholics he lost the Protestant vote and by fighting for the tenant cause alienated his fellow Landlords. He was denied appointment in the 1857 election through a charge of vote corruption despite having the backing of priests including Archbishop MacHale and the vote of the majority.³⁷⁹ In 1870 G.H. advocated for Catholic tenant rights, voting for the Gladstone Landlord and Tenant Act. The Act, he felt, required more protection of tenants rather than just securing fair rent, free sale, and fixity of tenure. The bullying of tenants off the land through succeeding rent rises resulted in evictions. Moore spoke against such landlords who drove away the sick

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Kenelm Gow; Kevin Coyne; Art Ó Súilleabháin, *The Moores of Moorehall: A short History*, p. 160.

³⁷⁹ R.V. Comerford, 'Conspiring Brotherhoods and Contending Elites, 1857-63,' *A New History of Ireland*, pp. 415-416.

and the elderly, the landlord's reasoning being it was not in their interest in terms of making profit from the land. This was where the complexity of G.H.'s balancing act became challenging. Moore was not against landlordism, nor against secret societies, nor even Fenianism.³⁸⁰ He struggled to balance the divide between these three ideologies.

The Evolution of Moore's Politics

Fenian militancy and constitutional nationalism in the 19th century possessed differences but it was often merely a case of a theoretical approach.³⁸¹ However, it is a mistake to merely separate these two groups as there were differences within these categorizes. Constitutional nationalists such as Daniel O'Connell, G.H. Moore, and Parnell desired self-government within a British Union through non-violent campaigning. Fenianism required a Republic and violence was judged to be justifiable means. These divergent approaches shared and diverged in mentality and ideology. Young Ireland and the Fenians drew on European romantic nationalism to stress the culture of Ireland as a separate entity and to make a case for the requirement of independence. Young Ireland marketed themselves as a move away from the sectarian towards a secular ideology. G. H. Moore was part of a new generation following O'Connell but there were complicated caveats to Moore's politics. Moore, like O'Connell, and other constitutional nationalists was pragmatic and utilitarian. He was also a member of the landlord class. O'Connell and Moore, for their parliamentary politics to achieve its aims, required a dialogue and positive action among British allies. Young Ireland and figures such as John Mitchel, who desired separation from Britain, were often militant in narratives and regarded the Empire as evil. The narratives of Young Ireland and Fenianism tried to portray O'Connell and Moore, after initially

³⁸⁰ Frazier, *George Moore*, p. 4.

³⁸¹ McGarry, F and James Richard Redmond McConnel, *The Black Hand of Republicanism: Fenianism in Modern Ireland*. (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2009) p. xiv/xv.

supporting the Repeal Association, as selfish and self-serving. These politicians were perpetuating a link to the British Empire which was anti-Irish.

Fergal McGarry and James McConnell point towards a tendency of commemoration history to overstate the Fenian rejection of parliamentary politics.³⁸² In this manner, the importance of parliamentary politics becomes obscured. The truth of the political history is far more complex, as the boundary between the ideologies was blurred by influence and, often, mutual respect. O'Connell was a United Irishman in his youth. G.H.Moore's speeches and politics seemed to inhabit the sphere of parliamentary politics but it was rumoured that he was Fenian in secret. McGarry and McConnell conclude that it is impossible to decipher just how many Fenians and constitutional nationalists shared ideas and admiration for each other's objectives. It is conjectured that the greatest achievement of Fenianism has been the group's ability to create a narrative (through the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries) that transcends the inconsistent nature of the history of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

Fenians and constitutional nationalists were influenced and interested in the transnational language of political violence emerging out of Europe.³⁸³ McGarry and McConnell question the over-arching label of Fenianism as possessing value over a long period of time due to the changing ideology and divergence of individuals composing the membership.³⁸⁴ James Quinn outlines how in 1847 Young Irelanders separated from O'Connell's Repeal Association due to the Association's peaceable refusal to utilize violence. This basis for a new Irish Confederation in 1847 spawned future IRB leaders. These confederate clubs throughout Ireland played more of a role than Young Ireland in creating the minds that undertook leadership of the IRB. The popularity of

³⁸² Ibid., p. xv

³⁸³ Ibid., p. xvi

³⁸⁴ Ibid., p. xx.

the clubs increased after the French Revolution saw a monarchy overthrown in 1848. The leaders of Young Ireland were soon arrested for sedition. By July of 1848 there were 200 clubs consisting of 40,000 members with club names such as Wolfe Tone and Hugh O'Neill. However, Young Ireland was not full-blooded in terms of supporting uprising and the power at their disposal fizzled out. Martha Ramon tracks the founding of the National Brotherhood of Saint Patrick (NBSP) in 1861.³⁸⁵ The organisation stated a desire to bring together Irishmen of every class and creed but its establishment caused discord in nationalist politics. A.M. Sullivan observed of this new venture:

Not a single man known and trusted by the country joined the organisation. Smith O'Brien did not join; John Martin did not join; The O'Donoghue did not join; George Moore did not join; John B. Dillon did not join [...] could such an affair be a National Organisation?³⁸⁶

Due to underhand politics, behind the scenes, by the IRB portion of the membership in selecting a leader, members such as G.H. Moore resigned.³⁸⁷ Fenians outnumbered constitutional nationalists and the group was imbalanced from the beginning. These delicate intricacies were the political context G. H. Moore had to negotiate as a landlord parliamentary politician with tenants. Moore had to come into politics as an O'Connellite and achieved success due to the support of Archbishop John McHale. Francis Stewart Leland Lyons in *Ireland Since The Famine* outlines the failure to create a powerful movement out of the Tenant League and the Irish Brigade as responsible for the failure to gain the type of reform achieved by O'Connell's Catholic Association³⁸⁸. G.H. Moore was one politician who failed to grasp the achievement and key to Irish politics established by O'Connell, a powerful movement gathers attention and

³⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 23.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

³⁸⁸ Lyons, F. S. L., *Ireland since the famine*, (London: Fontana Press, 1985). p. 122

momentum leading to pressure and change. Parliamentary pressure alone was not enough. It took Davitt and Parnell to reintroduce the O'Connell template through a mass agrarian movement.

Richard Davies writes in the late 80s regarding the position of Young Ireland in historical narratives as 'little more than a link in the chain of nationalist ideology extending from Wolfe Tone to the Irish Revolution of 1919-21. Its legacy of chauvinistic verse, bombastic rhetoric and ineffectual soul-searching has little appeal. Thomas Davis is merely a plaster saint. Only the Provisional IRA takes seriously Young Ireland's role in the tradition it claims to defend.'³⁸⁹ Young Ireland is dismissed as a movement that did not articulate a clear agenda, it is deemed a collection of O'Connell Repealers. Davies stresses that Young Ireland dismissed links to other groups around Europe such as Young England and Young Italy.³⁹⁰ Young Ireland is described by Davies as formed after being expelled from the Repeal Association in 1846; this resulted in the formation of the Irish Confederation which did not last long. In 1848 a reunion with the Repeal Association was almost achieved, this augmentation might have resulted in a more decisive rebellion. Yet, most historical narratives tend to suggest that Young Ireland broke with O'Connell due to his lack of revolutionary spirit and a perception of a future Ireland conjoined to Britain. Young Ireland is often claimed as more open minded and forward thinking on Irish identity than O'Connell. Davies offers a controversial and different perspective.

The history of Young Ireland as a movement possesses diverse contexts, including links to Daniel O'Connell, Europe, and trans-Atlantic influences, and the group's anti-imperialism.³⁹¹ Davies points out, unfairly, that O'Connell failed to reform the land system before the onset of the Famine of 1845-1851. This was not the sole responsibility of Daniel

³⁸⁹ Richard Davis, *The Young Ireland Movement*, (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1987) p. 1.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

O'Connell. The core group of Charles Gavan Duffy, John Blake, and Thomas Davis founded *The Nation* to promote O'Connell's campaign. This perception of Davies is simplistic, Young Ireland, while members of the Repeal Association and backing O'Connell at this point, were not under O'Connell's control. Agitation and nationhood were the aims of Young Ireland; these were not the aspirations of O'Connell's Repeal Association. The intricacy of *The Nation's* early treatment of O'Connell was both positive and negative from O'Connell's perspective. The paper maintained an interest and support of O'Connell's Repeal ambitions but eventually developed a Young Ireland agenda that spilt from O'Connell's standpoints. Davies documents the differing historical narratives regarding the split.³⁹² Duffy claimed that O'Connell's desire to forgo Repeal and realign ambition through a relationship with the English Whigs was unacceptable to Young Ireland.³⁹³ The issue of the break is contentious. Denis Gwynn maintains that Young Ireland pressurized O'Connell out of his usual tolerance. Kevin Nowlan maintains that O'Connell's son John began to dominate his father's politics. The failure of the monster meetings of 1843 and the imprisonment of O'Connell in 1844 resulted in a mentally fragile O'Connell. Professor Maurice O'Connell states that the issue of O'Connell's non-violent approach to rebellion and reform caused the breakaway of Young Ireland.

Davies further states that Young Ireland's position on various topics was often a projection of O'Connell's stance.³⁹⁴ The Mazzini's inspired European nationalism spreading throughout Europe in the form of 'Young' movements received criticism of parochialism due to their 'Ourselves Alone' motto. The divide between young and old Ireland on nationalism is not straight forward.³⁹⁵ O'Connell viewed religion as

³⁹² Ibid., p. 3.

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 231.

possessing a responsibility for the poverty-stricken. Young Irelander Thomas Davis viewed nationalism as invaluable and dismissed any other approach as narrow-minded. Reform was not the equal of independence, there was no room for concession on this point. To view Young Ireland as romantic revolutionaries and O'Connell as pragmatic and utilitarian is too simplistic as Davies makes the point that divisions within Young Ireland were often greater than the division between Old and Young Ireland.³⁹⁶ These issues included imperialism, economics and relations with Orangemen. Young Ireland's existence is inextricably linked to O'Connell and the Repeal movement. However, Young Ireland was a collection of diverse individuals and ideas, the open-minded Catholic and Protestant dimension to their group is its lasting and important legacy.³⁹⁷

O'Connell's Repeal Association and Young Ireland was followed by the next generation of 'independent opposition, which included G.H.Moore. The 'independent opposition' party used their numbers to vote against the Conservative government.³⁹⁸ A new administration, led by Robert Peel and Liberals, resulted in a new challenge to the independent opposition party. The independent oppositionists grew apart, with a decent portion of the party returning to the Liberal-Whig party. G.H. Moore pledged his allegiance to 'independent opposition', alongside Frederick Lucas and Gavan Duffy. Their main goal was still land legislation, despite the decline of the tenant-right movement. The conflict within 'independent opposition' was complex, two major points of difference being issues of class culture and financial gain. These Irish Catholics consisted of Whigs intent on land purchase and accumulating wealth versus shop keepers and tenants. 'Independent opposition' possessed a nationalist agenda in its political speech; members consisted of O'Connellites and Young

³⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 232.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 264.

³⁹⁸ Comerford. R.V., *The Fenians in Context: Irish politics and society, 1848-82*. (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1998), p.26.

Irelanders who did not always see eye to eye. However, Young Ireland never achieved the party strength which the independent oppositionists attained.³⁹⁹ This popularity was enabled by former Young Irelanders and priests focused on tenant-rights. The biggest supporter and figure of authority surrounding the independent oppositionists was Archbishop MacHale of Tuam, McHale had formerly been dismissive of Gavan Duffy during O'Connell's reign. In this stance, McHale had positioned himself on the opposite side of Archbishop of Armagh, Paul Cullen.

In 1859, when support of the pope and Italian nationalism could not coexist due to the pope's condemnation, *The Nation* and the *Irishman* both supported the pope.⁴⁰⁰ In 1859 public support of the pope throughout the country was supported by independent oppositionists such as G.H. Moore.⁴⁰¹ Irish nationalists chose the religious leader over nationalist principles. The inconsistency of this stance by Irish nationalists was glaring and acknowledged, but it was also the feeling of the people. Cullen's Catholic Whigs did not want to criticize the government. In 1864 Cullen was equivocal in his support of the National Association of Ireland. The establishment of the Catholic Church and financial backing of church-controlled education by the state was to the forefront of the Association's various aims.⁴⁰² However, compensation by law of all occupiers of terra firma who improved the land was top of the agenda. Archbishop McHale rebuked this new Association on the grounds that a similar movement was not backed in 1852; Cullen was the object of the rejoinder.⁴⁰³ G. H. Moore followed suit, both McHale and Moore required the National Association to implement the phrase 'Independent opposition'. This was the crux of the matter; it was unacceptable to Cullen and others.

In 1870 the same men who had featured regarding national

³⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 26.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 59.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., p. 62.

⁴⁰² Ibid., p. 105.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., p. 106.

organisation were seeking to combat Butt, Butt managed to gain their support.⁴⁰⁴ A momentum that was national was now possible. The death of Moore in 1870, and his principle of Independent opposition, was a major obstacle removed from Butt's path. Comerford makes the case that the federalism of the 1840s had influenced Butt's conception of Home Rule. Ireland could possess an executive, responsible to an Irish parliament; this parliament possessed a rule of veto. However, England, Scotland, and Ireland were still under one sovereign.

G.H., Orator and Political Policy

The political policies of G.H. Moore followed the O'Connell prototype of transnational political narratives. Moore claimed membership of a universal Catholicism and could be pro-or anti-Empire when an issue demanded a certain position amongst an electorate or the tempering of agrarian unrest. Whether there was a discrepancy between how important Catholicism was to Moore, the individual, or his political persona is unclear. Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam McHale, a devout Irish nationalist who campaigned against mixed-faith schools and the landlord system, was favourable towards and an advocate of Moore despite his status as landlord.⁴⁰⁵ McHale was elected Archbishop of Tuam in 1834, defying opposition from the government. After Daniel O'Connell, McHale became the most popular man in Ireland. Opposition to England, Landlordism, and Protestantism was a staple of his political character. Moore's good reputation as a landlord helped to override this position and, while Catholic, Moore was of Protestant lineage with firm links to English culture through education and horse racing but McHale over-looked these aspects and backed Moore. As a Catholic landlord G.H. had to use Catholicism to placate his status as a landlord in the eyes of tenants and

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., p.187

⁴⁰⁵ See, Nuala Costello, *John MacHale: Archbishop of Tuam*, (Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1939) Hilary Andrews, *The lion of the west: a biography of John MacHale*, (Dublin: Veritas 2001).

nationalists. The use of transnational elements in the narratives of O'Connell, Gerald Griffin, William Carleton, Charles Kickham and the Moores varied generation to generation from the different social and political contexts. The lives and experiences of figures like G.H. Moore and O'Connell were brought to large audiences in society through their speeches. G.H. Moore continually created narratives that put his landlord status into the background. An example of this appears in the *Freeman's Journal* in an article from 1867 that covered a celebration of the Bishop of Tuam, John McHale. This article revealed the interactive cultural network that operated in Irish society. G.H., at this point the High Sherriff of Mayo, demonstrated in this speech the particular international component of his Irish identity.⁴⁰⁶ His standing as a landlord was in stark contrast to the other speakers but G.H. was present and receiving a listenership. Moore began his speech by discussing the impact of two men named Charles, Lucas and Gavan Duffy:

[...] What has been the fate of men like these? Lucas died of a broken heart, despairing of the cause of his adopted country. Duffy is winning on the other side of the earth; that fame and name which no honest Irishman can ever win at home (hear, hear). Irishmen are leaving a land in which success in an honest cause is almost impossible (hear, hear), in which freedom has become at last so inert and degenerate. [...]⁴⁰⁷

Moore celebrated the intellect of Duffy and his political achievements in Australia. Charles Gavan Duffy was one of the founding members of *The Nation* newspaper (1842) and its first editor.⁴⁰⁸ He joined Daniel O'Connell's Repeal Association, and later became a pivotal figure in Young Ireland. He eventually despaired of the possibility of Irish

⁴⁰⁶ Anon, "Dedication of St. Mary's Church, Headford." *Freeman's Journal 1763-1924*, Aug 17, 1867 pp. 1-4.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴⁰⁸ For an overview of Duffy's life, see: Charles Gavan Duffy, *My life in two hemispheres* (2 vols, 1898) (London: T. F. Unwin, 1898), Cyril Pearl, *The three lives of Gavan Duffy* (O'Brien, 1979), Melissa Fegan, *Literature and the Irish famine, 1845-1919* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

independence and moved to Australia. He became a darling of the Irish Catholic community and became the 8th Premier of Victoria. An Irish Catholic Premier was unpopular with the Protestant majority of the community and Duffy was accused of favouring Catholics in government selections. The transnational movement of Duffy did not escape the British Empire (as the British Empire was transnational itself in a negative sense due to its practice of colonialism) and the division of identities operating in Ireland. However, the movement of Duffy reflected an ever-changing and expanding culture of Irish identity.

As a seasoned politician G.H. became famous in the English Parliament for his aggressive oratory, which meant a presence in the English and Irish dailies. As M.P. for Mayo, he gave a lecture in the Town-hall in Birmingham entitled “United Action of the Working-classes in England.”⁴⁰⁹ Moore was accompanied by various members of the Reform league. The audience was predominantly composed of Irish men and the aim of the lecture was to raise money. An article in *The Birmingham Post* reprinted in *The Freeman’s Journal*, expressed confusion as to what the object of the funding was for. Various speakers asserted the money was for the building of schools in Mayo. It was stated in the article that Mr Moore emphasized it was to help an Irishman in legal proceedings against a London company with tenants in the north of Ireland. Moore outlined within his speech that the landlord operating in these companies were the worst form of landlordism. G.H. likened these companies to the vampire bats of South America, lulling their victims to sleep before sucking them dry of their blood. Moore stressed that the problem was not religious or political; it was a question of when in England will the labourer have a right to the shares of the produce of their work. Such a statement was contradictory coming from a landlord in Ireland. Capitalism was stressed

⁴⁰⁹ Anon, “United Action of the Working-classes in England.” *Freeman’s Journal 1763-1924* Thursday, August 12, 1869, p. 3.

by Moore as beginning to push out the aristocracy of its birth right; the labourer did not get the share of his work but “hopeless toil or suicidal vengeance”. Moore asked the audience, to great cheers, to form a giant labourer league to show their power and attain rights but not through strikes or violence. He asked the Irishmen to forget the past in order that Irish and English people can live together for their common good. G.H. stated that English Protestants had not persecuted Irish Catholics to the extent that Irish Protestants had and not worse than Irish Catholics could persecute both Irish and English Protestants if they had the power. Moore asked the Irish men to unite for independence through a dignity that England respected. He stated English rule and conquest of Ireland was to the detriment and disgrace of the Empire as it was to any country who tried to dominate another race. This is comparable to a landlord dominating a tenant. The men are told to stand firm, Irish and English, to their class and not let differences of nationality, religion or politics interfere with their common goals. The religious tolerance of G.H.’s narrative was in stark contrast to the satirical position of son George Moore regarding Catholicism:

[...] I thought of all my Catholic relations, every one of whom believes in the intervention of priests and holy water, the Immaculate Conception, the Pope's Indulgences, [...] I remembered their faces, I could hear their voices — that of my dear brother, whom I shall always think of as a strayed cardinal rather than as a colonel ; I could see his pale eyes moist with faith in the intercession of the Virgin — one can always tell a Catholic at sight, just as one can tell a consumptive [...] My thoughts swerved, and I began to wonder if the face of a country takes its character from the ideas of those living in it. How shall I escape from that vault? [...] ⁴¹⁰

The transfer of a family identity from father to son took a sudden change in their use and treatment of Catholicism, as we shall see in the next chapter. G.H., as a landlord politician, used Catholicism in political

⁴¹⁰ George Moore, *Memoirs of My Dead Life* (New York: Appleton and Company, 1906) p. 298.

narratives as a universal brotherhood to override his status as a landlord. The novelist son sought to break with Irish Catholic identity to create an image of himself as a European author and intellectual. However, there is at work in George's Moore's narrative a satirical depiction of the selfish nature of the artist. David Lloyd states that the supposed inherent violence of identity formation does not necessitate sectarian antagonism for an identity to define itself against another identity.⁴¹¹ However, Lloyd affirms that the construction of an identity requires repudiation of other conceivable characteristics and means of life. This repudiation of or reaction to difference varies in levels of violence from outright destruction to narratives that describe lower cultures and identities as uneducated or uncivil. Such narratives chart phases of development rendering the life or qualities of characters as inferior. Lloyd asserts that the creation and documentation of Irish identity had been an effort to integrate dissimilar identities into a modern state to transcend social difference.⁴¹² This has meant the rejection of disparate components of Irish identity by consecutive nationalist and unionist movements. This has been a feature of Irish identity formation. The regulation of narratives was a fundamental aspect to controlling identity formation. The sharing of a narrative and assertion of its dominance over a period of time ensured normative labels. The state and various bodies, from Empire to secret societies, sought to control the identity they desired or dismissed. The state manipulated the forms of representation and its content; this can also be done by excluding difference. This subsuming of narrative was activated through an adoption of the narrative of difference in order that the state adopted new twists. The narrative fits into the governing narrative as a satellite of the dominant identity.

G.H. Moore was elected an M.P. in 1868 and was based in

⁴¹¹ David Lloyd, *Anomalous States*, p. 4.

⁴¹² David Lloyd, *Anomalous States*, p. 5.

Westminster. Backed by McHale, Moore was elected through a campaign centred on tenant rights and amnesty for Fenian prisoners.⁴¹³ This did endear Moore to Fenians but this flirtation with I.R.B. members did not result in membership of the I.R.B. Moore tended to follow the established narratives, still in use since O'Connell, of appealing to his political backers and an electorate focused on land and religion through peaceful means.⁴¹⁴ However, this did not prevent Moore's oratory from seeking to break down the oppositional identity barriers between Irish and English, Catholic and Protestant. John O'Leary recounted in *Fenian and Fenianism* a Charles Kickham account, from 'the twenty eighth number of the second volume about America and the close of the civil war', where Kickham stated that the only argument for the role of priests interfering in elections was to thwart the role of landlords.⁴¹⁵ Kickham declared that priests have been more detrimental to popular candidates than Orangemen. Kickham highlighted the savaging of G.H. Moore in Kilkenny and argued that he hoped Moore did not run for election again but if so the priests might devour him. The criticism was due to Moore's status as a landlord. Moore did run again but the backing of Archbishop John McHale ensured his election in Mayo.

Moore's speech at a celebration of McHale elaborated upon the international dimension of Irish identity and Catholicism.⁴¹⁶ It was a safe topic for a landlord in the presence of men who desired the end of the landlord system:

It was said of the old Baron de Montmorency, when told the law titles were abolished in France, "I may cease to be a Frenchman, but I can

⁴¹³Owen McGee. "Moore, George Henry". Dictionary of Irish Biography. (ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009.) (<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a5931>)

⁴¹⁴ Joseph Lee, *The Modernisation of Irish society, 1848-1918*. (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1989) p. 37.

⁴¹⁵ John O'Leary, *Fenians and Fenianism*. (Dublin: University Press Shannon Ireland, 1969) p. 149.

⁴¹⁶ Anon, "Dedication of St. Mary's Church, Headford." *Freeman's Journal* 1763-1924, Aug 17, 1867 p. 4.

never cease to be the first baron of Christendom” (hear, hear); so I say in the same spirit that, let who may be the head of the Irish Church, none but John Archbishop of Tuam can be the head of the Irish people (cheers). [...] the Irish people, now as in all generations, are fulfilling a divine as well as a national destiny. In the first ages of their history they were called a nation of saints. They subsequently became a nation of martyrs (cheers). [...] And whether, wherever it may be – if it is to be – the noble Celtic language their fathers spoke is to become like the Sanscrit, or Greek, or Latin, or the other languages of the great Arian race which have vanished, we still know that wherever the English language is spoken there is one well known voice in its large diapason, which will pour forth the old hallelujah,⁴¹⁷

Like O’Connell, Moore used rhetoric concerning universal elements of identity, class and religion to gain support and popularise himself. However, he was at pains to stress the international aspects of Irish identity, in his references to French Christianity and Irish emigration spreading Irishness across the world. The logic was in contrast to the other speakers. The Asiatic world entered G.H.’s narrative, giving it another dimension. The opening remarks in the meeting from P.L. Foy contained a pledge to help build the churches of Ireland and support the Catholics of Ireland by any aid required. Foy was visiting from the “little Rome” of America, St. Louis:

[...] The Chairman gave the toast – “The people of America,’ and prayed God to bless the home of millions of the Irish race. Mr. P.L. Foy, of the city of St. Louis, responded. [...] The American had assisted them to build the church of Headford. They would assist them to build all other churches that might be undertaken in Ireland, and they would give to Ireland all other aid she might require [...] In the city of St. Louis, from which he came – 1,000 miles west of the Atlantic – that name was as honoured as it was in Tuam.⁴¹⁸

In George Moore’s *The Untilled Field* (1903), a book of short stories on Ireland, this American-Irish relationship as documented in Foy’s earlier speech, was a theme Moore touched upon frequently; in particular,

⁴¹⁷ Anon, “Dedication of St. Mary’s Church, Headford.” *Freeman’s Journal 1763-1924*, Aug 17, 1867 p. 4.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

American support of Irish Nationalism and Roman Catholicism in the building of Churches and donations. Moore used this as another angle to criticise Catholicism in the short story 'In The Clay'. It was the tale of a sculptor hired by a Catholic priest to produce a statue of Mary. The use of a nude model results in the destruction of the statue. The statue is destroyed by two brothers of the young lady who modelled for the statue of Mary after the family is informed by the priest. Moore wanted to portray limiting Catholic principles regarding morality which were unsocial and a lavish waste of money by the Catholic Church:

One of Rodney's principal patrons was a certain Father McCabe, who had began life by making an ancient abbey ridiculous by adding a modern steeple. He had ruined two parishes by putting up churches so large that his parishioners could not afford to keep them in repair. All this was many years ago, and the current story was that a great deal of difficulty had been experienced in settling Father McCabe's debts, and that the Bishop had threatened to suspend him if he built any more. However this may be, nothing was heard of Father McCabe for fifteen years. He retired entirely into private life, but at his Bishop's death he stated in a newspaper that he had a scheme for the revival of Irish Romanesque. He had been to America, and collected a large sum of money. Father McCabe received permission from his Bishop to set an example of what Ireland could do "in the line" of Cormac's Chapel.⁴¹⁹

Moore was critical of Church building and prolific spending as a waste of money as it was funds that could have supported the impoverished flock. This issue of frivolous use of money was nowhere more evident than in the story "The Window", where the building of a church with funding from America was mapped alongside the descent into religious obsession, madness, and penury of the main character of the story, churchgoer Biddy McHale. America is mentioned over a hundred times in *The Untilled Field*. America as a place to go, in Moore's fiction, was used as a place of refuge, an escape from religion and a society of

⁴¹⁹ George Moore, 'In The Clay', *The Untilled Field*. (Freeport, N.Y., Books for Libraries Press, 1903) p. 296.

restrictive morality: ‘They may just leave you, they may just go to America.’ [...] ‘Then you think that it is our condemnation of sin that is driving the people to America.’⁴²⁰ However, money returning from America to Ireland was wasted on Catholicism. The freedom alluded to in the earlier quotation regarding the Bowery of New York was preferable to Moore’s perception of a strict Catholic morality operating in rural Ireland. Conversely, the Irish in America held dearly to such elements of Irish Catholic identity, as was evident in the support for Fenianism.⁴²¹ Foy’s speech advice turned towards advocating the freedom of America, which entreated the audience to come to America if freedom was not available in Ireland:

[...] Unless there was a great change in their mode of government and their social organisation in Ireland, he (Mr. Foy) did not think the Irish people could ever be anything in the land of their birth. His advice to them would be to leave the country, unless there was a chance of their getting the land they tilled (hear, hear); and if there was that chance, then he would say stay (cries of hear, hear.) [...] The city from which he came was called the Rome of America, from the fact that the Catholic Church was the chief church there. They had a wise, learned, and good prelate, Archbishop Kendrick (applause).⁴²²

These remarks must have left G.H. Moore feeling very awkward as it encroached upon his position as a Landlord. The opened-ended associations of G.H.’s universal Catholicity and international Irishness was left aside by Foy in a much more direct approach about land and the denial of working-class rights. Moore’s landlord position came to a head after being elected, as agrarian unrest erupted at his estate.⁴²³ The outlining of G.H.’s concept of Catholicism is not to suggest that landlords or politicians brought a universal philosophy and internationalism that spread throughout

⁴²⁰ ‘Some Parishioners’, *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁴²¹ See, M. J. Kelly, *The Fenian ideal and Irish nationalism, 1882-1916*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006) and *Fenianism in North America*. (Wilfried Neidhardt University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975).

⁴²² Anon, “Dedication of St. Mary’s Church, Headford.” *Freeman’s Journal 1763-1924*, Aug 17, 1867 p. 4.

⁴²³ Frazier, *George Moore*, p. 12.

the country. Moore stressed modes of self-definition and non-rigid religious narratives devised to challenge Irish people outside of strict labels of religion and nationality. The demonization of landlords was not the only narrative practiced by nationalists, as witnessed by McHale's support of G.H. Moore. The landlord and priest were both powerful sources of information with large audiences, capable of influencing a large following. The Catholic religion was part of a Christianity that G.H. associated with France and the wider world. This was in contrast to his son's work where the novelist's Parisian-influenced aesthetic of art alienated him further from Catholicism.

There was a multiplicity of narratives regarding different ideologies and philosophies permeating the country from speeches, journals, ballads, newspapers, and literature. The kernel of each political, religious, or literary narrative was a question of whether to rebel, rethink, remain on point or adjust. This was evident throughout both G.H. and George Moore's narratives. The politics of G.H. Moore's speeches gravitated towards an openness to a broad Catholicism and European-wide identity. The fictional characters of Moore's work highlighted the dangers of becoming aligned to one perspective as shall be outlined. Catholicism dominated the perception of the individual in relation to society and the wider world in George Moore's portrayal of the Irish tenant.

Death of G.H. and Inheritance of George Moore

G.H. Moore returned to Moore Hall from London in 1870, leaving his family behind. Moore had received notification that his tenants were threatened by the Ribbonmen, an agrarian society.⁴²⁴ The threat was that payment to agents, bailiffs, and landlords was to cease or the tenants had to face the consequences. Moore had a good reputation as a landlord; he could be legitimately described as the landlord against bad landlordism. He

⁴²⁴ Maurice Moore, *An Irish Gentleman: George Henry Moore*, p. 374.

had a proven record of fighting for tenant rights and playing a part in removing tithing by the Protestant Church. He was a landlord who did not evict tenants; he had been elected on the back of the tenant vote.⁴²⁵ There are differing accounts from Maurice Moore, Joseph Hone and John Devoy as to whether Moore had taken a Fenian oath before the Fenian Rising of 1867.⁴²⁶ The Landlord politician faced the end of his political career and prison if such an event and oath were proved in public. He had spoken in defence of Fenians John O'Leary and O'Donovan Rossa in parliament. Adrian Frazier describes G.H. as speaking of John O'Leary and O'Donovan Rossa as patriotic heroes defending a righteous cause against colonisation.⁴²⁷ G.H. was at loggerheads with a secret organisation in the form of the Ribbonmen threatening his status as landlord while defending another, the Fenians. He seemed to support the concerns of the local tenants while possessing a desire for political recognition and the maintenance of his rights as a landlord. Moore wanted to produce a nationalist and interdenominational organisation; this was his desire for the Fenian organisation. Moore also advocated relations with the Orange Order. Visitors to Moore Hall included O'Donovan Rossa and John O'Connor Power, who was a member of the Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood for Connaught.

G.H. wrote to a priest, Father Lavelle, and asked him to intercede with his disgruntled tenants.⁴²⁸ The Asiatic explorer and Catholic Nationalist landlord of Protestant English heritage refused to let go of his rights as landlord and non-payment of rent was not permissible. The tenants were wedged between a rock and a hard place, the type of scenario that Charles Kickham depicted in *Knocknagow* where tenants faced continual rent hikes and the last resort was a turn to violence:

⁴²⁵ Frazier, *George Moore*, p. 8.

⁴²⁶ Moore, *An Irish Gentleman: George Henry Moore*, p. 350.

⁴²⁷ Frazier, *George Moore*, p. 3.

⁴²⁸ Moore, *An Irish Gentleman: George Henry Moore*, p. 374.

[...] "to a great extent I agree with Father Hannigan. But there is no use in denying that the dread of assassination is the only protection the people have against extermination in this part of Ireland."

"I say 'tis justice in the eye uv God," exclaimed old Phil Morris, "to punish the bloody tyrants the robbers and murdherers that rob the people uv their little spots, an' turn 'em out to perish. 'Tis justice to punish the bloody robbers!"

[...]

"Tisn't the judge an' jury in the coort-house," returned Phil Morris, "because they 're all for the tyrants, an' some uv 'em tyrants themselves; but a fair jury uv the people, an' a fair judge."⁴²⁹

This discussion of justice was where Charles Kickham outlined the vicious circle perceived by the tenant under the landlord system. The courts were biased towards the landlords and upper classes; the only chance of justice, according to some tenants, was through violent means. The priest endeavours to outline the biased perspective of the tenant. Kickham also portrays the counter-perception of the perceived lack of action within the priesthood by the tenantry. Kickham viewed the priesthood as interfering and removing the chance of eradicating the landlord system through advocating peaceful means.⁴³⁰ Kickham had idealistic notions regarding leadership from social leaders such as the priesthood and could not understand when such figures did not follow his principles. Kickham depicted a beset community, strongly principled, who were struggling in a crippling landlord system. The middle-class Kickham concentrated on the perception of the tenantry in contrast to George Moore's landlord or absentee landlord observation. Moore perceived landlords as struggling against the crude grip of the Catholic priest's stance. Kickham depicted a social world where there are people who fear and do not fear the power of the priests. George Moore's depiction illustrated a tenantry who dreaded priests in 'The Wedding Feast' from *The*

⁴²⁹ Charles Joseph Kickham, *Knocknagow, or, The homes of Tipperary*. 13th edition (Dublin: J. Duffy, 1879) p. 230.

⁴³⁰ R. V. Comerford, *Charles J. Kickham: a study in Irish nationalism and literature* (Portmarnock: Wolfhound Press, 1979) p. 39.

Untilled Field:

"Tis said that Father Maguire was up at the Kavanagh's three days ago, and I heard that she hunted him. She called him a policeman, and a tax collector, and a landlord, and if she said this she said more to a priest than anyone ever said before. 'There are plenty of people in the parish,' she said, 'who believe he could turn them into rabbits if he liked.' As for the rabbits she isn't far from the truth, though I don't take it on myself to say if it be a truth or a lie. But I know for a fact that Patsy Rogan was going to vote for the Unionist to please his landlord, but the priest had been to see his wife, who was going to be confined, and didn't he tell her that if Patsy voted for the wrong man there would be horns on the new baby, and Mrs. Rogan was so frightened that she wouldn't let her husband go when he came in that night till he had promised to vote as the priest wished."⁴³¹

George Moore constructed the tenantry as perceiving Father Maguire as a combined policeman, taxman, and landlord. The priest pressurised his congregation to go in the direction the Church desired. This conflation of roles was an attempt by Moore to attach an iron fist rule to the priesthood. This represented Catholicism as running a regime of fear. Moore's depiction of tenant belief in the powers of the priest associated Catholicism with paganism and magic, removing Catholicism from an ordered and contemporary philosophy to outdated and fantastical beliefs.

G.H. required of Father Lavelle insurance that these tenants suffered no more.⁴³² Surely, the landlord possessed just as much power in this regard. On G.H.'s return to the estate he died within a few days, never getting a chance to visit his struggling tenants. It was announced that he died of apoplexy. George Moore was the eldest son and the next in line (he was only eighteen). He inherited his father's disposition of a splintered but decisive self, struggling under the weight of an exploring, political and religiously zigzagging family history. Did George Moore see the rise of the Catholic as responsible for the early death of his father? The antagonism

⁴³¹ George Moore, 'The Wedding Feast', *The Untilled Field*. (Freeport, N.Y., Books for Libraries Press, 1903) p. 70.

⁴³² Frazier, *George Moore, 1852-1933*, p. 4.

towards the landlord system obviously put his father under stress.

The election of G. H. in 1868 had meant a move for the family to London. In London, George dithered to his father's annoyance, over a possible career. George was sent to military school.⁴³³ He was a disappointing son. The joke of the family home throughout his childhood was he was so ugly marriage with the local beggar woman, Honor King, was imminent. G.H. called a meeting in the family home after asking the seven-year-old George to read some of Burke's speeches, the boy faltered.⁴³⁴ G.H. could read *The Times* at four. In 1867 George's education at St. Mary's College, Oscott, Birmingham (an English Catholic school⁴³⁵) ended, as he was too difficult and uneducable.⁴³⁶ He had devised a betting ring, openly read Shelley, and reported a priest, who held him back from cricket for tuition, for extending his arm around George's shoulders and into George's pocket.⁴³⁷ He refused confession at Oscott which led to his Father having to visit the school. George never professed belief in God and informed his mother of his disbelief on the steps of Moore Hall.⁴³⁸ He soon repeated the same behaviour, failing at school occupied by his father's old vices of horses and women. Suddenly his father was in Galway, and then unexpectedly his father was dead.⁴³⁹ George Moore was unready and unwilling to follow in his father's footsteps. G.H. had to return from Damascus, after his own father suffered a stroke.⁴⁴⁰ George Moore became Moore Hall's guilty absentee landlord; guilty in the sense that the feelings he had towards his father were complex. This was due to the overbearing spectre of his father's achievements and the standards he held over George

⁴³³ George Moore, *Hail and Farewell A Trilogy* (London, W. Heineman, 1914) p. 32.

⁴³⁴ Moore, *An Irish Gentleman: George Henry Moore*, p. VII.

⁴³⁵ Kenelm Gow; Kevin Coyne; Art Ó Súilleabháin, *The Moores of Moorehall: A short History*, p. 50.

⁴³⁶ Frazier, *George Moore, 1852-1933*, p. 17.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Joseph Maunsell Hone, *The Life of George Moore*. (London: Victor Gollancz, 1936) p. 30.

⁴³⁹ George Moore, *Hail and Farewell A Trilogy* (London, W. Heineman, 1914) p. 38.

⁴⁴⁰ George Moore, *An Irish Gentleman: George Henry Moore*, p. VII

as a parent. The novelist changed the way Moore Hall was run by running away. George could not help but feel free as London and Paris beckoned:

Then my father died, and I suddenly found myself heir to considerable property—some three or four thousands a year; and then I knew that I was free to enjoy life as I pleased; no further trammels, no further need of being a soldier, of being anything but myself; eighteen, with life and France before me! [...] it developed the natural man, who educates himself, who allows his mind to grow and ripen under the sun and wind of modern life, in contra-distinction to the University man, who is fed upon the dust of ages, and after a formula which has been composed to suit the requirements of the average human being.⁴⁴¹

He had begun drawing lessons in London while his father was alive.⁴⁴² To become an artist was a way to fight against all the identities surging to be placed upon him in the perceptions of others. He followed the path of his uncle Jim Browne, who he had met in London. Jim had first whetted George's appetite for the life of the painter, painting the female form and living an apparently carefree life. If George Augustus wanted to learn to paint the female form he must go to Paris was Jim's advice: "Instantly I knew I should, that I must, go to France, that I would live there, that I would become as a Frenchman. I knew not when nor how, but I knew I should go to France...".⁴⁴³ Soon after Moore's twenty first birthday he was in Paris with his valet, a Mayo man, William Molony.⁴⁴⁴

The Connaught Telegraph in 1922 detailed a piece on Senator Maurice Moore as a brilliant man from an old and great Catholic family of Mayo.⁴⁴⁵ *The Connaught Telegraph* was called a national rather than a nationalist newspaper, the vast majority of newspapers being either nationalist or unionist.⁴⁴⁶ The piece detailed how his father was a second Daniel

⁴⁴¹ George Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man*. (London : Heinemann, 1917) p. 9.

⁴⁴² George Moore, *Hail and Farewell A Trilogy*, p. 65.

⁴⁴³ George Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man*, p. 7.

⁴⁴⁴ Joseph Maunsell Hone, *The Life of George Moore*, p. 45.

⁴⁴⁵ "Senator Moore Distinguished and Brilliant Mayo Man". *Connaught Telegraph* 1830-current, Saturday, December 16, 1922; p: 3

⁴⁴⁶ *The Newspaper Press Directory*, 72nd Annual Issue, (London: C. Mitchell & Co Limited, 202

O'Connell, dying of a broken heart for Ireland as he struggled as a politician against English rule. G.H. Moore was described as spending his money lavishly on the Irish native working-classes on his estate. The truth, in both cases, regarding the history of the family and of G.H. was more complex. The eagerness to do a positive piece upon Maurice undercut the complexities of the various Moore identities. The article described G.H.'s life in as much detail as the object of the article, Maurice. The presence of the son's larger-than-life father was tough for George and Maurice to avoid. The family was stated as being hated by Protestant landlords due to their work for the working-classes but always respected due to their upright manner as a family.

Kickham's Origins

Charles Kickham was born and raised in Tipperary, throughout his life he practiced journalism, was a Fenian, short-lived politician, and novelist. He was a product of a middle-class upbringing. Kickham's education was affected by a hunting accident which left Kickham with life-long eyesight and hearing injuries. Long periods of illness resulted in an avid reading habit. The Kickhams, as a rising Catholic family, marched as O'Connellites against tithes in the 1830s and supported Repeal in the 1840s.⁴⁴⁷ Kickham's Uncle became an agent for *The Nation* and this newspaper's Young Ireland beliefs such as non-sectarian politics informed Kickham's later politics and literary aesthetic. He was part of a generation which supported agitation and violence as a last means rather than O'Connell's non-violent political approach. The failed revolution of 1848 indicated the end of Repeal and the Irish Confederation. Kickham was not enamoured with parliamentary politics or the legitimisation of Westminster

1917) p. 210.

⁴⁴⁷ William Nolan. "Kickham, Charles Joseph". *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009.) (<http://dib.cambridge.org/quicksearch.do#>)

through practicing Irish politics.⁴⁴⁸ In 1852 the deflection of William Keogh and John Sadlier from the Independent Irish Party into Lord Aberdeen's government seemed to confirm Kickham's suspicions regarding the treacherous and untrustworthy nature of parliamentary politics.

Kickham's friendship with James Stephens led to his re-entry into revolutionary politics and membership of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood in 1858, this later became the I.R.B.⁴⁴⁹ John O'Mahony created the Fenian Brotherhood in America and recruited Kickham in 1860. Over the next decade Kickham was deeply engaged in paper disputes between the Fenians and constitutionalists, arguments within Fenianism, and critiques of the Catholic Church and British government. Kickham's accounts in the *Irishman* led to a national status and, eventually, he became joint editor of the *Irish People* in 1863 alongside John O'Leary and Thomas Clarke Luby. The same year Kickham visited America and attended a convention of the Fenian Brotherhood in Chicago, which led to Kickham articles in the *Irish People* on Fenian philosophy. The Catholic Church was continually deprecated for its active influence on persuading people against Fenianism and revolutionary politics. The paper was closed in 1865 and its editors were arrested. James Stephens escaped before sentencing, through a jail break, but Kickham was given 14 years by William Keogh, the defector from the Irish Party for a place in government. Kickham had a history of blasting Keogh in the press for this political issue and Keogh's judgment of hanging the McCormack brothers for the murder of a land agent, the McCormack brothers were held to be innocent by many. Kickham spent much of his sentence in an invalid prison at Woking. As the Fenian threat petered out Kickham was released on compassionate grounds in 1869 as the new Gladstone regime favoured a move towards conciliation. This period of Kickham's life coincided with the publication of his first work, *Sally Cavanagh, or The untenanted graves*

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

(1869). National character and manners were to the forefront of Kickham's ambition for his fiction; moral characters eventually reach a balanced portrayal in *Knocknagow*. The high moral ground of Young Ireland and Fenian philosophy culminated in extreme inaction, through the dismissal of parliamentary politics. Revolution was seen as a practice of a higher and honest calling.

The Fenians were against constitutional parliamentary politics but they still ran in elections to garner public encouragement and to state their beliefs.⁴⁵⁰ Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa was elected M.P. for Tipperary in 1869. However, as a convicted felon serving in jail, his election was squashed. Kickham was convinced to run in his place, he was a very reluctant candidate. Kickham's candidacy consisted of one letter to the *Freeman's Journal*, he lost narrowly. It was Kickham's only involvement in parliamentary politics. Isaac Butt's Home Government Association gained momentum and was concentrated with non-violent parliamentary politics. The I.R.B. rowed in behind the Association due to its weakened state, various members were in exile or prison. Kickham was elected to the I.R.C supreme council in 1872 and two years later became the chairman. The following year *Knocknagow, or The homes of Tipperary* was published. It was printed by an adversary of Fenianism, A.M. Sullivan as a gesture of kindness towards Kickham. A flawed text in terms of its literary achievement, it is the bestselling nineteenth-century Irish work, a detailed analysis and record of Irish life in the nineteenth century. *Knocknagow* reveals the level of English malpractice in governance and Irish self-interested gombeenism destroying the working-classes of rural Ireland.

The emergence of 'the new departure' in the form of Michael Davitt and Charles Stewart Parnell resulted in a brand of Irish politics which left Fenianism in its wake in the 1870s. The Land League promoted tenant rights and Parnell sought home rule. The masses had new leaders;

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

once again one man super-campaigns had captured Irish imagination. Nevertheless, Kickham remained committed in his stance against parliamentary politics.

If the nineteenth-century works of Carleton evolved, in the second half of his career, to an attempt to shift the Anglo-Irish and Protestant perspective closer towards the Young Ireland remit then Kickham was coming from the opposite direction. Kickham was addressing the hereto nineteenth-century fictional portrayal of Irish community and character by portraying the village life of Mullinahone through *Knocknagow*, where he had grown up and returned to. This realistic, yet, at times, maudlin, depiction of rural Ireland was attached to Kickham's distinctive interpretation of Young Ireland and Fenian philosophy. Similarly to Carleton, the nationalist fiction of Charles Kickham evolved beyond stereotypical characteristics. Kickham was building upon the influence of a Continental Republicanism, a European ideal of the nation state and its citizenry. Kickham's *Knocknagow, or The Homes of Tipperary* endeavoured to offer a society as mature as that of any European country in terms of its morality and manner through revealing the context of the struggle of small farmers in tortured rural Ireland. While Kickham's *Knocknagow* ultimately evolved into something new, a vacant space as the village dispersed, the happiness and, more importantly, the integrity of Tipperary folk was stressed. The characters survive the death of the village. However, the passing of the village was a memory to be recalled in a positive manner by shrewd survivors, eager for a new challenge. Kickham judged character in the context of a political ethics, the fictional background to which was Gerald Griffin's *The Collegians* and Carleton's work.⁴⁵¹ Kickham's fictional concentration was not a critique of constitutional politics or a complicated satire of the politics of O'Connell, Emancipation, Young Ireland, and the Repeal Association, *Knocknagow*

⁴⁵¹ See, Comerford, *The Fenians in Context: Irish politics and society, 1848-82*.

was an attempt to move away from Irish character as flitting between roguish intelligence and troubled innocence into an intelligent character of strong morality. This is why the book had such mass appeal.

Kickham achieved a class of Irish characters in *Knocknagow* who sought a society built on peace and shared interaction, with the threat of force if required. This was the template of Young Ireland, which was initially sympathetic to O'Connell. In contrast, Carleton's initial career set about portraying an uncultured working-class character. The various different opinions between the layers of Irish society stuck between the Church, Young Ireland, the Independent opposition, Fenians, tenant, landlord, and secret societies was outlined by Kickham throughout the novel. However, at the core of the novel were the principles of the tenant, the character Phil Lahy discusses with Father Hannigan and an absentee landlord's son, Mr. Lowe, the intricate justification for violence:

"The divil a hair uv his head would be touched," replied Phil. "He gives good lases at a fair rent; and the man that does that won't turn out a tenant unless he desarves to be turned out. Answer me this wan question. Did you ever know uv a good landlord to be shot, or a good agent? Answer me that."

[...]

"Well, now, Mr. Lowe," said Father Hannigan, "what's your opinion of this matter?"

"I am almost entirely ignorant of it," he replied. "But I confess I came over to Ireland under the impression that the people were lawless and revengeful, particularly in your county."

"You only saw the dark side of the picture." returned Father Hannigan. "We are not so black as we are painted."

"I believe that. And a remark made by an Irish judge, with whom I had the honour of dining a few weeks ago, made a great impression en me, I confess."

"What did he say?"

"He had sentenced several men to be hanged a short time before, and a gentleman present made some severe remarks, while discussing the subject of agrarian outrages, when Judge said: ' I never met an instance of a landlord being killed, who did not deserve I won't say to be hanged, as I am a judge but I do say, a case of the kind never came

before me that the landlord did not deserve to be dawnsed!"⁴⁵²

The general consensus concerning violence against bad landlords who take advantage of their tenants is discussed between tailors, tenants, the absentee landlord's son, and the priest. An interactive community is depicted where access and a common consensus can be reached through dialogue. Emer Nolan positioned Irish nationalist novels as struggling to uncover a new path from tradition to modernity. This was a response 'to the antinomies of modern capitalism' where the liberty of the individual expressed its freedom amongst mass conformity.⁴⁵³ Nolan highlighted the issue of agrarian violence as a prominent feature of nineteenth-century Irish life from the 1820s to the 1880s. This violence became problematic for authors to capture within the confines of the Irish novel. While Moore's *Captain Rock* and the Banims dealt with the issue comprehensively, in Nolan's view an author such as Kickham failed to incorporate adequately such violence. It was absent from Kickham's work, Nolan stated, in favour of an idealised Ireland:

[...] Kickham's pastoralism is carefully constructed to create this inverse, counterfactual condition as a defense against the cultural trauma and despair with which he is actually preoccupied. In his other life as a Fenian leader and propagandist, Kickham had pleaded with the Catholic Church to drop its opposition to this separatist, underground organization in his fiction, too, we see evidence of the some of the tensions between nationalist and Catholic versions of how the Irish masses were to be recuperated, culturally and politically.⁴⁵⁴

The perplexing issue that Irish novelists found in placing Irish themes and social problems within a framework of English realism was not to be as difficult with the advent of Naturalism, writes Nolan.⁴⁵⁵ The determinism of environment and heredity factors at work in Naturalism profited Moore and Joyce with such works as *The Untilled Field* and *Dubliners*. These

⁴⁵² Charles Joseph Kickham, *Knocknagow, or, The homes of Tipperary*. (Dublin: J. Duffy, 1879 13th ed) p. 231.

⁴⁵³ Nolan, *Catholic Emancipations*, p. xi.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

revolutionary and international works signalled a new type of Irish fiction. This was in contrast to Kickham's fiction, Nolan asserted, as Kickham's *Knocknagow* depicted an 'Irish rural idyll and historical actuality' that was in stark contrast to the author's political and public actions. Nolan documented Kickham as coming from an O'Connellite position that was a product of his middle-class upbringing. This grew into a rejection of constitutional and parliamentary politics due to the slowness of political reform. Kickham was the theoretical Fenian president of the Republic. Nolan viewed *Knocknagow* as perpetuating a vision of Ireland as a sacred place of home affection that British imperialism could not shake: 'Knocknagow relies on anecdote, repetition, the realm of local color and unique personal experience that it depicts is largely autonomous, without any allegorical or other attachments of implications.'⁴⁵⁶ However, Kickham does describe the violence, both historical and contemporary, which troubles society but he seeks to offer a vision which offers hope. The rage and violence of previous generations are outlined by Kickham:

So Mat Donovan's slate and pencil made the sad look in his mother's face a shade sadder, lest by any chance he should be qualifying himself for the "peelers." She would rather a thousand times see him dragged out and shot like the bright-eyed boy whose head rolled against her foot in '98, or hanged from the old cherry-tree in the garden. It strikes us that statesmen might learn something from the sad look in Mrs. Donovan's face.⁴⁵⁷

Mat Donovan's study to try to find steady employment possesses a movement beyond old grievances but it is present in the eye of a generation scarred by a traumatic history through his mother. This also holds true for a scene where a local man gives a dragoon a lift to Clonmel. The local man informs the Dragoon of the traumatic history which still haunts the Tipperary town:

"Becase Clo'mel was never wudout a cloud over id since the day

⁴⁵⁶ Nolan, *Catholic Emancipations*, p. 110.

⁴⁵⁷ Kickham, *Knocknagow*, p. 377.

Father Sheehy was hung," replied Billy Heffernan.

"For what was he hung?"

"Begor, for killin' a man that was alive twenty years afther," said Billy. "But the rale raison was because he wanted to save the people from bein' hunted, an' the whole counthry turned into pasture for sheep and cattle. But I'll show you the house where his blood was sprinkled on the doore when the head was afther bein' cut off uv him, and they wor bringin 'his body to Shanrahan to bury him."⁴⁵⁸

Towards the end of the novel, Kickham introduces numerous comparisons and conflations of local places with the universal. It is an attempt to place local Irish identities alongside the continents of the world in stature, the village of *Knownagow* has disappeared but a new Irish identity is burgeoning which can place Irish identity beyond strict relation to Empire. The first allusion possesses humour but it is a negative allusion by the none-too-subtlety named Dan Brit:

"The divil so ugly a foot as that," said Dan Brit, solemnly, "I ever see, anyhow."

"There's an uglier wan in the house," rejoined Barney.

"No, nor in Ireland," returned Dan. "Nor in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America."

"Will you bet a quart uv portlier?" said Barney.

"That there's not an uglier foot in the house?" exclaimed Dan, staring in astonishment at him.⁴⁵⁹

The next comparison of Irish identity with Europe comes from an Anglo-Irish Dragoon, born of Tipperary, who has just been beaten by the local hero, Mat Donovan, in a game of pitch and toss. Captain French describes Mat as without equal in Europe before alluding to his own Tipperaryness, Britain and Europe is reconfigured within the local and highlights the individual as a representative of each concept/place:

"Donovan," said Captain French, "your match is not in Europe. I was never beaten before."

"Well, it took a Tipperary-man to beat you, captain," returned Mat Donovan.

"That's some consolation," said the captain. "I'm a Tipperary-boy

⁴⁵⁸ Kickham, *Knocknagow*, p. 265.

⁴⁵⁹ Kickham, *Knocknagow*, p. 191.

myself, and I 'm glad you reminded me of it."

The morality of Irish character was treated by Kickham by engaging with the figure of O'Connell and fictional narratives of morality. In a scene one of Kickham's tenants offers a different perspective of O'Connell:

"I don't know," was Tom Hogan's comment at the conclusion of the speech. "I never minded them soart uv things. An' though I gave my shillin' as well as another to O'Connell, to plaise the priest, I never could see the good uv id. If people'd mind their business an' industhre, they'd be able to hould on, barrin' sich a 'd be turned out be the landlord."

"Tom," said Phil Lahy, with a sort of solemn indignation, "'tis wastin' words to be talkin' to you."⁴⁶⁰

There is a difference of opinion regarding Daniel O'Connell, in this instance; one character feels that the instruction of the church led to the leadership of O'Connell. The return of O'Connell's power was not a satisfactory one for tenant Tom Hogan. The other side of the argument is a partisan regret that anyone could question O'Connell and his achievements for the masses. The allusions of O'Connell tied to the church continues when Mat Donovan, after Mass, encounters a photo of Daniel O'Connell:

He left the church a happier man than he had been for many a day before. On passing a small print-shop within a few doors of the church, the well-known portrait of Daniel O'Connell, "the man of the people," caught his eye, and Mat stopped short, feeling as if he had met an old friend. And, while looking into the "Liberator's" face with a smile almost as full of humour and pathos as his own, the writing materials displayed for sale in the window reminded him of the necessity of communicating his intention of going to America to his mother.⁴⁶¹

O'Connell's achievements had not stopped agrarian unrest or the landlord system, poverty and the plight of the tenant still caused trauma and emigration. O'Connell's standing and principle of reform had not imbued Ireland and its people with independence. However, O'Connell

⁴⁶⁰ Kickham, *Knocknagow*, p. 275.

⁴⁶¹ Kickham, *Knocknagow*, p. 588.

was a respected figure who still inspired the people.

Kickham layered *Knocknagow* with justifications of tenant violence in response to landlord injustice and political aggression. Kickham was part of a Young Ireland movement that sought to break with O'Connell and the tempered aims of inch by inch reform; but the origins of Young Ireland was heavy with admiration for O'Connell. Kickham's ambition, as a political mind writing fiction, was to directly rewrite the satirical narratives of ambiguous morality regarding Irish identity as portrayed in the previous generation into straight laced moral characters.

Kickham was responding to earlier Victorian fiction, such as in Griffin and Carleton, where the moral character of the Irish was in question. Kickham's *Knocknagow* ensured a high morality to the lower and middle classes. Irish character was asserted as the equal of any nationality in Europe. It was restorative job and not a removed idealised paradise. It was a necessary step to reform and uphold the temperament of the Irish in fiction. The representation of violence in *Knocknagow* was a product of Kickham's suspicion of the method of violence. Kickham's previous anti-landlord stance of the 1860s transitioned into a realisation that the Irish tenantry could be just as violent as the landlord. Kickham wanted to portray a society capable of peace and reform: 'Landlords might be the worst offenders but that was merely because they had the greatest scope. Kickham knew that tenant farmers were quite as diligent and ruthless in clearing labourers and smallholders from the countryside as were the landlords.'⁴⁶² The Land League-inspired violence of 1880 and 1881 disgusted Kickham; he believed only authentic injustice should warrant a defensive response from tenants.⁴⁶³ His voice was becoming an isolated one. The Catholic Church perception of Kickham perceived the Fenian and nationalist activities of Kickham as warranting a refusal of a burial service

⁴⁶² Comerford, R.V., *Charles J. Kickham: a study in Irish nationalism and literature* , p. 149.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, p 153.

in a Catholic graveyard.⁴⁶⁴ The politics of Kickham's career from decades earlier still defined Kickham for the Catholic Church. The written work of Kickham had not reinvented his image in the eyes of the Church.

Carleton's attempts to appease a Protestant Anglo-Irish audience shifted to tentative attempts to placate the Young Ireland philosophy in the 1840s. These later works of Carleton fall into step as an influence for Charles Kickham. As authors their politics was completely different. However, Kickham adopted from Carleton and Griffin the device of inside accounts of characters of the working-classes and the village. Kickham sought to reveal the universal and the individual through the local. The lethal satire of Carleton was severed from such accounts in Kickham's fiction as he concentrated upon depicting an ethical and international identity: moral characters move between England, Europe, and America. Kickham was comfortable with the aims and philosophy of Young Ireland; while not a Catholic (lapsed) he was a nationalist. Nevertheless, while a nationalist, he was a man aware of ideological shifts in the wider world and its perception of Ireland. Charles Kickham, while not anti-Catholic, did reject the role of Church in state and rejected the domineering power of the clergy. Kickham was not a political literary gun for hire; he was firmly in the camp of fighting for Irish independence and nationhood. This is where his fiction lapses into political treatise and the aesthetic can suffer from such a rigid and doctrinal approach. A different Irish-European identity was followed in the next generations in George Moore and Joyce, who were also political. However, these authors first principles as novelists was to fall in line with a European perception of the writer as associated with the intellectual thinker possessing an avant-garde literary reputation. The future of Ireland as a moral identity, on a par with any nation and independent, was not the foremost agenda of George Moore. Moore's allegiance lay in the individual goal of literary greatness. George Moore

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 173-176.

did not engage in forthright or satirical depictions of O'Connell but he is an important bridge from Kickham's Young Ireland generation and into Joyce. George Moore was no stranger to an engagement with the Catholic Church in the major themes of his story stories and novels.

Chapter Five:

A Rebellious Transnationalism: Reinventing the Traditional Novel

This chapter argues that George Moore's tenant and landlord characters build upon a character mould at work in European literature rather than Irish literature, sans the direct influence of O'Connell's politics. Yet, Moore's satire of Irish identity and culture was a return to the razor sharp satirical approach of Carleton. Moore tied to Irish characters a transnational element which was limited by Catholicism. In Moore's estimation Catholicism bred a culture that was anti-Art. Additionally, this chapter discusses Moore's categorisation as an Irish, British, or a European author. A definition of Moore's nationality as a writer is complicated. Yet, Moore's

value as an author is his complexity and ambiguity, a transnational identity where individualism dominates. At times, Moore affirms his identity as Irish, Protestant, English, and European only later to try to escape and obfuscate the links.

George Moore's physical and psychological movements, whether in fiction or private life, were in keeping with the transnational and historical networks established in his family and Irish society.⁴⁶⁵ Irish identities prior to the nineteenth century across religion and class possessed movement, practicality and the international.⁴⁶⁶ However, it was Moore's expression of this in prose that brought new developments to narratives on Irish identity. The political figures of O'Connell and, his father, G.H. created narratives that were infused with the philosophy and ideas of Europe and the wider world. The broad binary and historical context prevalent in Irish criticism of nineteenth-century fiction, that of native Catholicism and Anglo-Irish Protestantism, while immediate and real, is often at the price of blurring or removing the wide-ranging transnational ideas and practices involved in Irish society. There were transnational narratives of a philosophical and political nature at work in nineteenth-century Irish life that informed Irish fiction. The application of an exclusive religious, political label or a broad historical framework such as Catholic Emancipation or the Famine to a generation of novels, while practical, is to simplify or confine some of the challenging and rebellious thinking at work in nineteenth-century Irish fiction.

James H. Murphy states that Moore parodied Victorian characteristics of the Anglo-Irish novel in *A Drama in Muslin*. Murphy stressed this parody

⁴⁶⁵ Zola promised to write a preface for George Moore's *A Mummer's Wife*. However, after Moore had finished reading to Zola his critical opinion of Zola's literary style, Zola informed Moore he could not provide a preface. Yeats banned his sisters from reading Moore's *A Mummer's Wife*. G.M. moved between Médan, Paris, and London, writing popular novels. Frazier, *George Moore*, p. 170 & p. 242.

⁴⁶⁶ As has been outlined in the exploration of lives of the O'Connell family and various other Irish figures in the previous chapters. Moore and his family share with these men a movement through education and profession in Paris, France and London, England.

as based firmly in an Irish context and lampoon of Victorian culture.⁴⁶⁷ Furthermore, Murphy underlined the nineteenth-century Irish novel as a movement into modernity but there are traces of the Victorian novel also being used by Moore such as the happy marriage ending. Recently, Murphy in *Irish Novelists and the Victorian Age* changes his approach to Moore's fiction when he states that Moore's work did not possess an Irish setting for the most part.⁴⁶⁸ Murphy stresses the influence of Balzac and Flaubert, before Moore became absorbed by the impact of Zola. However, the case is made in this chapter that Moore returned to Balzac, Flaubert, and Turgenev over the initial and personal influence of Zola as documented in Moore's autobiographies. Moore sought to break from Zola on a personal level and the persistent critical association of Zola to his work. Additionally, Murphy argues that *A Drama in Muslin* meets the criteria of the Irish land-war novel, due to its depiction of tenant unrest and landlord assassination.⁴⁶⁹ However, such themes and scenes also existed in Ivan Turgenev's work on the Russian serf, a key influence on Moore's fiction. Murphy agrees with Adrian Frazier that *A Drama in Muslin* does not reflect nineteenth-century Irish fiction.⁴⁷⁰ However, Moore as an absentee landlord and son of an Irish politician and Landlord engages with the major themes of nineteenth-century Irish fiction through a European literary lens. It is this transnational approach, through Russian and French literary influence, which separates Moore from the Irish and English literary scene.

Moore depicted an upper middle-class Catholic family (financially struggling) and the working-classes in *A Drama in Muslin*. However, Moore heavily criticised the Catholic faith, this was not stressed by Murphy. There is a transnational framework present in Moore's set of influences, including the Naturalist European literary movement from which he emerged. The style

⁴⁶⁷ James H. Murphy, *Catholic Fiction and Social Reality in Ireland, 1873-1922*, p. 31.

⁴⁶⁸ James H. Murphy, *Irish novelists and the Victorian Age*. (Oxford, Oxford University Press 2011) p. 216.

⁴⁶⁹ Murphy, *Irish novelists and the Victorian Age*, p. 217.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

of reinvention and parody of a former genre, as specified by Murphy regarding the Victorian novel traits in *A Drama in Muslim*, can also be found in the French literary influences of Flaubert and Zola's reinventions and parody of each other and their scrutiny of Balzac.⁴⁷¹ Moore served a literary apprenticeship under the direction of Zola but he later rejected that influence. The status of Griffin and Carleton as important Irish figures in the evolution of Irish satire, conjoined to tenant and landlord characters, should be contrasted with the European framework of absentee landlord Moore's work and his break with the traditional approach to Irish fiction. The work of Moore was a profound development for the nineteenth and twentieth century Irish novel.

Catholicism as Anti-Art

James H. Murphy in *Catholic Fiction and Social Reality in Ireland 1873-1922*, wrote of Victorian virtue in the fiction of upper-middle-class writers. The aim was to advance their political cause: self-rule in Ireland.⁴⁷² The Victorian standards of Britain must be conciliated and upheld with the Anglo-Irish novel in order to be acceptable as a powerful class seen as capable of ruling Ireland. This resulted in insipid and agreeable characters: 'These novels, so often first published in *The Irish Monthly*, assert their authors' staunch refusal to recognize the economic and social changes going on all around them. They are works in that convention and stock plots replace realism, as is evident in George Moore's *A Drama in Muslim* (1886).⁴⁷³

Emer Nolan's position on Moore's *A Drama in Muslim* was that the novel produced significant themes for future Irish novels.⁴⁷⁴ Nolan

⁴⁷¹ See, Finn Fordham and Rita Sakr, *European Joyce Studies 19 James Joyce and The Nineteenth Century French Novel*. (New York: Rodopi, 2011) Jones tries to rectify the neglect of Moore in relation to Joyce. Moore is often overlooked in favour of directly linking Joyce to Flaubert or Zola overriding the presence of Moore.

⁴⁷² Murphy, *Catholic Fiction and Social Reality in Ireland*, p. 25.

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ Nolan, *Catholic Emancipations*, p. 136.

maintained that Moore's depiction of the Irish working-classes in his *oeuvre* did not include their sexual lives. Moore reserved such themes for his upper class depictions, such as in *Celibates* (1895). The working-classes of *A Drama in Muslin* are depicted as possessing a desire and instinct that fired a national outcry against the landlords. However, Moore depicted the celibacy and sexuality of the working and middle class, on his return to Ireland, in *The Untilled Field* (1903) in 'A Letter to Rome', 'A Playhouse in the West', 'The Window' and 'Julia Cahill's Curse'. 'A Letter to Rome' described the fantasy of a priest who wanted the priests of Ireland to be allowed to marry in order to repopulate the country due to the loss of the Catholics who had emigrated. 'The Window' detailed the plight of a working-class woman who was single and had repressed her sexuality. This subjugation resulted in a devotion to the Catholic Church and led to psychotic episodes. 'Julia Cahill's Curse' concerned a beautiful and independent young woman, the shop-keeper's daughter, who defied the authority of the local priest when she refused to stop courting different boys in the area. As an outcast she eventually cast a curse upon the locale. These stories are not objective treatments of Irish society as Moore was at pains to stress the limiting and confining effect of Catholicism on Irish culture. However, the attempt was there to treat of Irish sexuality and its celibates. In contrast to Nolan I venture that Moore represented the sexuality of multiple classes. This added different elements to Moore's tenant and landlord characters, one that was solely directed at stressing Catholicism as at the centre of limiting and frustrating the progress of Irish society.

National Place of a Writer

Pascale Casanova contests the extent to which world literature operates in a space somewhat autonomous to the political and economic

spheres of a nation⁴⁷⁵. Pascale Casanova's *The World Republic of Letters* argues for a literary capital that possesses a political and national use in France and world literature, '[...] In their colonial ventures, but also in their relations with other nations, the French have practiced what Pierre Bourdieu has called an "imperialism of the universal."⁴⁷⁶ This is achieved through literature's language structures, aesthetic principles, and genres. At literature's heart, Casanova argued, was a system of inequality where minor languages and literatures struggled against a national and global system that connected the world through the presence of Empire and dominant cultures as the central other:

The particular case of Paris, denationalized and universal capital of the literary world, must not make us forget that literary capital is inherently national. Through its essential link with language - itself always national, since invariably appropriated by national authorities as a symbol of identity - literary heritage is a matter of foremost national interest. Because language is at once an affair of state and the material out of which literature is made, literary resources are inevitably concentrated, at least initially, within the boundaries of the nation itself. Thus it is that language and literature jointly provide political foundations for a nation and, in the process, ennoble each other.⁴⁷⁷

Casanova argues that this literary capital, Paris, became subsumed by national and political agendas in France.⁴⁷⁸ This was marked by 'a denationalized capital for national purposes'.⁴⁷⁹ One example Casanova highlights is the narrative of the French model of the nation as the mother of

⁴⁷⁵ Derek Hand in *A History of The Irish Novel* discusses the direction of the Irish novel concerning identity in terms of its colonial relationship to Britain but also Irish culture's relationship to America, Europe and the world. Hand views the Irish novel in the nineteenth century as a Catholic population expressing a desire for power and political clout. The straightforward nature of the nineteenth century Irish novel is a reflection of the straightforward aspiration for status. This reads like the placement of a broad historical narrative upon the development of the nineteenth century novel: the emancipation of the Catholic and this group's rise to a position of power. However, the Irish novel's development is a lot more complex. Derek Hand, *A History of the Irish Novel*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) p. 5.

⁴⁷⁶ Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2004) p. 34.

⁴⁷⁷ Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, p. 34.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 34.

the arts which led writers to proclaim their allegiance to a national tradition. However, Casanova states that literature was invented and processed through an evolution that was separate to the political. The writer initially endeavoured to secure a place within the traditional national purposes of the state before moving into a new space. This allowed a freedom to aesthetically produce a literary language, by a process throughout a writer's career allowed a critic to assess the originality of a writer.

The novelist relationship to the world literary space was conditioned by the nation/place the writer was born into or came to occupy.⁴⁸⁰ The novelist's choices with regards to aesthetic and linguistics shaped the author's position as a national and world figure. Casanova identified the choices of Samuel Beckett and James Joyce who both rejected their national heritage and tried to transform the existing heritage. Casanova stated that Joyce left his country of origin, rejecting the literary modes and aesthetic of Ireland, in order to free Irish literature from nationalist constraints. The novelist may also seek to affirm the existing national literature. This led Casanova to assert that in order to identify and characterize the fiction of an author, that work must be placed within the native literary space occupied by the nation within world literature and the author's position within that world. George Moore moved from Mayo to London to Paris to Dublin and back to London. Moore rejected his family and nation's dominant religion of Catholicism and at various points throughout his career embodied and rejected various countries' literary spaces. George Moore was an example of an author who moved in and out of Casanova's theory of the national place within world literature. Nevertheless, he was a product of his nation and dealt with national themes. In this manner, Moore challenged the existing identity of the Irish novel. Moore created a new transnational approach, through an engaged reinvention of elements of Naturalism and Realism throughout his novels. This was often backboned by a criticism of the heavily infused

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 41.

dimension of religion and art in Ireland. Moore's concept of the image of the author, through his self-depiction in his autobiographies and veiled portrayals of real people in his fiction, was measured through a comparative exploration of Irish culture against his transnational experiences in Paris and London.

Transnational Rebel

The narrative image of Moore contained a self-ironisation that endeavoured to undercut the author's image in its narrative thrust to treat of Catholicism and Protestantism. This challenged Irish identity and the Irish novel. The literary currency of Moore was as a transnational rebel corrupting the traditional form of the national cultural expression through autobiography and the novel. Moore satirized the Irish fiction's focus on Irish identity as tied to religion and the local. However, Moore's anti-Catholic fiction tried to portray a society infused with transnationalism but limited by a Catholic belief system that was anti-art. Moore's perception of Catholicism was a philosophy afraid of the freedom of art. Derek Hand wrote regarding Protestant fear of the novel's capability for expression:

[...] for the Protestant novelist the form has been, from its inception, something to be approached with apprehension – for a class that increasingly imagines itself in aloof aristocratic terms, the novel's vulgarity and its access to the privacies of the inner world of the consciousness signal a loss of power rather than its realization. For some, then, the novel is not a means for revealing truth; rather it allows truths to be concealed. [...] ⁴⁸¹

However, George Moore as a Catholic-turned-atheist-turned-Protestant followed the Manet principle of shame being the only thing to be ashamed of ⁴⁸². Moore became a professed Protestant who revealed his mind and challenged positions upon matters of religion, art, and nationality frequently. Through detailing the lives and literature of Gerald Griffin and William Carleton an evolving transnational identity and its counterpoint

⁴⁸¹ Derek Hand, *A History of the Irish Novel*, p. 6.

⁴⁸² Frazier, *George Moore, 1852-1933*. pp. 63-5.

emerged that can be traced through the succeeding depictions of the landlord and tenant in the nineteenth-century Irish novel. Griffin attempted to fuse an interactive class of landlords and tenants who shared a transnational identity and could meet in social exchange through shared experience. Griffin also depicted the negative and corrosive relationships at work in a landlord system. His character relationships are tempered by oppositional relationships that are abusive and violent, revealing the landlord and tenant relationship at its worst. This balance of good and malevolence was essential to the direction and equilibrium of the plot. Griffin sought to override the traditional depiction of the divisive and culturally confined relationship of the landlord and tenant that was a metaphorical representation of Ireland and the British Empire.⁴⁸³ Griffin incorporated a transnational element to his characters that transcended the Irish and British dichotomy restricting the depiction of Irish identity. Carleton's fiction similarly tried to show a wide spectrum of interaction between the classes, but this identity was not transnational. The depiction was politically motivated to curb Irish identity. Carleton restricted the Irish Catholic tenant character to a relation with Britain, depicting an immoral and violent Irish identity in his early work. David Lloyd has written of the tendency to depict the Irish as violent: '[...] the repeated stereotyping of the Irish as violent permits the presumption of their incapacity for self-representation and underpins in turn the "legality" of state violence in terms of both ends and means. [...]'⁴⁸⁴ In Carleton's later work this evolved into a more balanced character who was a victim of a

⁴⁸³ A perfect example of this is in Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent*. The wives of *Castle Rackrent*'s landlords are often from foreign shores and religions but it was always a negative transnational connotation: 'Had she meant to make any stay in Ireland [...] But when I saw she had made up her mind to spend the rest of her days upon her own income and jewels in England, I considered her quite as a foreigner, and not at all any longer as part of the family. She gave no vails to the servants at Castle Rackrent at parting, notwithstanding the old proverb of 'as rich as a Jew,' which she, being a Jewish, they built upon with reason. But from first to last she brought nothing but misfortunes amongst us; and if it had not been all along with her, his honour, Sir Kit, would have been now alive in all appearance. Her diamond cross was, they say, at the bottom of it all; and it was a shame for her, being his wife, not to show more duty [...] especially when he all along made it no secret he married for money. [...]

⁴⁸⁴ David Lloyd, *Anomalous States*, p. 128.

British system of law and governance. Kickham's effort, like that of Griffin, was to offer characters from both ends of the spectrum, from the violent and bad character to gentrified tenants who can out-gentleman landlords in morality.

Long before Moore wrote *The Untilled Field* he undertook a long and studied engagement with Ivan Turgenev, whom he had met as a young man in Paris.⁴⁸⁵ *The Untilled Field* was not a simple adornment of the Emperor's clothes; it was very much a Moore work. Conversely, Turgenev's *Sportsman's Sketches* (1852) became the schematic template for Moore's *The Untilled Field*.⁴⁸⁶ W.K. Magee suggested to Moore that he become the Irish Turgenev; it was a suggestion that excited Moore. Nonetheless, there were a myriad of authors who had influenced Moore.⁴⁸⁷

Honoré de Balzac was a key influential author for European writers in the nineteenth century, whether in French or in translation. Balzac had found a way of depicting the local that could illustrate the universal. Anglo-Irish writer Maria Edgeworth's Irish writings have often been claimed as a profound influence on Balzac, Turgenev, and Walter Scott. The Walter Scott influence was clear and documented by Scott in his preface to *Waverley*: "[Scott] confessed that he had been inspired to turn from poetry to novel

⁴⁸⁵ Frazier, *George Moore, 1852*, p. 62.

⁴⁸⁶ George Moore, "Turgeneff," *Fortnightly Review*, February 1888: 237-51 – Moore detailed his aesthetic turn away from Zola to a Turgenev-inspired aesthetic. It was the suggestion of W.K. Magee (John Eglinton), after taking George Moore to visit Edward Dowden, that Moore was suited to becoming the Irish Turgenev, which eventually resulted in *The Untilled Field*. Frazier, *George Moore*, p. 306.

⁴⁸⁷ Philip's Keel Geheber's P.h.D. *The Nineteenth-Century French Novel and Joycean Realism* possesses a chapter "Dubliners Grow Up, or Turning from Naturalism," which aligns the influence of Balzac's treatment of urban characters in *La Comédie humaine* and Zola's naturalist aesthetics in Joyce's *Dubliners*. Geheber traces the stylistic development of Joyce's prose as Joyce shifts from Realism to concentrating on the language which presented images rather than the images. The role of Moore as a Naturalist and Irish author framing the use of the French novel, and Joyce's awareness of Moore's work is mentioned but an analysis of Moore's textual presence in Joyce's *Dubliners* is absent. A further element that requires research is how the French and Russian fiction of Flaubert and Turgenev is refracted through Moore in Joyce's work. Moore's work, devoured by Joyce, is the first presentation of Russian and Flaubertian influence in Irish fiction.

writing by Maria's stories of Irish life".⁴⁸⁸ Scott wrote of the figure of Edgeworth as both a friend and an influence:

Without being so presumptuous as to hope to emulate the rich humour, pathetic tenderness, and admirable tact which pervade the works of my accomplished friend, I felt that something might be attempted for my own country, of the same kind with that which Miss Edgeworth so fortunately achieved for Ireland—something which might introduce her natives to those of the sister kingdom in a more favourable light than they had been placed hitherto, and tend to procure sympathy for their virtues and indulgence for their foibles.⁴⁸⁹

A reinvention of the depiction of Scottish natives using the Edgeworthian template was the ambition of Scott. Edgeworth is often the overlooked influence and link to the importance of Irish culture and writing as a stimulus for European, Scottish, English and French material in the early nineteenth century. It has been asserted that Turgenev was inspired by Edgeworth's treatment of the relationship between landlords and the workers on the estates. Heather Ingman mentioned this Turgenev connection but does not outline its trail.⁴⁹⁰ Ivan Turgenev became a pivotal figure of influence in the European novel in the latter half of the nineteenth century, particularly for the direction of the French and Russian novel. Moore was often documented as the figure that brought the Naturalist novel to London and Ireland, challenging the Victorian novel. Moore's aesthetic in *The Untilled Field* was based upon the influence of French naturalism, Flaubert, and Ivan Turgenev.

In one sense Moore's fiction was a return to an anti-Catholic portrayal of the tenantry, in the vein of Carleton, but the characters were comfortable travelling the world. Nevertheless, these tenant characters were paralysed by Catholicism in the face of culture and art. *The Untilled Field* possessed characters who rejected Catholicism and the oppressive morality of society. Moore's appraisal of Turgenev in "Turgeneff" in the *Fortnightly Review*,

⁴⁸⁸ Lane, Maggie, *Literary Daughters*. (London: Robert Hale Lane, 1989) p. 51.

⁴⁸⁹ Ioan Williams, *Sir Walter Scott on Novelists and Fiction* (Routledge Revivals) (London: Routledge, 1968) p. 294.

⁴⁹⁰ Heather Ingman, *A history of the Irish short story* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) p. 87.

turned away from Zola and his *La Terre*, “the physiological school”.⁴⁹¹

Moore described Turgenev as the great master of the “thought school” and installed him ahead of Flaubert and George Eliot. However, Moore stated Turgenev was less than Balzac due to his “irritating reserve”. The words and themes of Moore’s autobiographies are reproduced in the character’s dialogue of his fiction, as evidenced in “The Way Back” from *The Untilled Field*. It was a satirical analysis of Catholicism without measured reason through the voice of character, Ned Carmody:

"I do not believe in Catholics. The Catholic kneels like the camel that burdens may be laid upon him. You know as well as I do, Harding, that the art and literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were due to a sudden dispersal, a sudden shedding of the prejudices and conventions of the middle ages [...] Nothing thrives in Ireland but the celibate, the priest, the nun, and the ox. There is no unfaith, and the violence of the priest is against any sensual transgression. A girl marries at once or becomes a nun—a free girl is a danger. There is no courtship, there is no walking out, and the passion which is the direct inspiration of all the world's music and art is reduced to the mere act of begetting children."⁴⁹²

An exotic animal, the camel, is again tied to the Catholic as a mark of deference, an ignorant unquestioning acceptance of the doctrines of religion. Various epochs are highlighted through the shifts of taste in art; the transition was described as sudden as the middle ages moved into the Renaissance. The satire moved into a description of a singular and sexless society where the religious celibate positions thrive. Religion, art, instincts and sex are frequently interlocked in Moore’s characters and his autobiographies:

[...] The mind that can understand one can understand the other, but there are affinities in literature corresponding to, and very analogous to, sexual affinities the same unreasoned attractions, the same pleasures, the same lassitudes. Those we have loved most we are most indifferent to. Shelley, Gautier, Zola, Flaubert, Goncourt! how I have loved you all ; and now I could not, would not, read you again. How womanly, how capricious; but even a light of love is constant, if not faithful, to her amant de occur. So with me; of those I have loved

⁴⁹¹ Frazier, *George Moore*, 1852 p. 162.

⁴⁹² Moore, ‘The Way Back’, *The Untilled Field.*, p. 377.

deeply there is but one that still may thrill me with the old passion, with the first ecstasy it is Balzac. [...] ⁴⁹³

Moore's fictional identities breach nineteenth-century novel moulds of character. These characters challenged and demanded society's norms but were eventually subsumed and punished by wider society. Moore's tenant was ill-equipped to express his mind and independence. Griffin, Carleton, and Moore shared in their depiction of the landlord and tenant an attempt to bring a new literary development. The motivation of each author was directed at a particular audience and turned between political and subjective motivations. On the part of George Moore, his fiction was often anti-political in the sense that Moore rejected his father's political life and placed at the core of Irish society a war of Art versus Religion. This was particularly evident in 'In The Clay' where the issue of nude modelling as offensive to the Irish Catholic Church as opposed to being the common practice in Italy was stressed. A people with the same religion but with a different culture of art frustrated Rodney:

He had been on the point of telling Father McCabe that he could not undertake to do the Virgin and Child because there were no models. He had just stopped in time. He had suddenly remembered that the priest did not know that sculptors use models; that he did not know, at all events, that a nude model would be required to model a Virgin from, and he had replied ambiguously, making no promise to do this group before he left Ireland. "If I can get a model here I will do it," he had said to himself. "If not, the ecclesiastic will have to wait until I get to Italy." ⁴⁹⁴

In order to understand George Moore as a novelist, and the complex aesthetic at work, we must include Moore's response to his father as a landlord and political figure. Moore's life and family housed a collection of conflicting religious and national labels that reflected Irish society. It was a family immersed in Landlordism, Protestantism, Catholicism, Irish

⁴⁹³ George Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man*. (London: Heinemann, 1917) p. 82.

⁴⁹⁴ Moore, *The Untilled Field*, p. 8.

Nationalism and Europe. The transition of estate and generation from G.H. Moore, landlord and Irish Nationalist, to George Moore, author and absentee landlord, revealed one strand of the fissured multiplicity of Irish identity. If George Moore wanted to carve for himself an identity as an intellectual European author he must seek to shape his identity away from, his father's Irish nationalism, Mayo, Catholicism, and Landlordism: as an author he applied himself to and eventually away from English realism and French naturalism. Moore at alternative periods inhabited such labels but was always on the point of transgressing them.

The identity of a landlord was associated with the Anglo-Irish in the nineteenth century. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, land was sequestered from Irish Catholic landowners. The Plantations of Ireland saw English settlers, members of the Church of England, including Presbyterians, acquire Irish land. This changed in the nineteenth century:

In 1870, there were about 6,500 landlords in Ireland. [...] following the Tudor, Jacobean, Cromwellian, and Williamite confiscations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. [...] dispossessed the Catholic Gaelic and Old English landowners, [...] penal laws – forbade Catholics from owning land. However, some Catholic landowners did survive the dispossession of the plantations and the penal laws of the eighteenth century generally by holding their estates in trust to Protestant neighbours and relations⁴⁹⁵ [...].

Campbell defined a Landlord as an owner of an estate of over 500 acres and who rented to tenants.⁴⁹⁶ These English nobles and soldiers managed the land and/or rented it to the Irish, while absentee landlords remained residents of England and further afield. However, there were Catholic Irish landlords in the nineteenth century in Ireland. The public

⁴⁹⁵ Fergus J. M. Campbell, *The Irish establishment 1879-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p. 17. For an intricate account of the plantations, see Nicholas P. Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001) p. 559

⁴⁹⁶ For further reading on Landlords see: Cormac O Grada 'Irish Agriculture after the Land War' in *Land rights, Ethno-nationality, and Sovereignty in History*, Stanley L Engerman; Jacob Metzger, (London: Routledge, 2004) Estates and landed society in Galway Patrick Melvin Knight of Glin, (Dublin: Éamon de Búrca for Edmund Burke Publisher, 2012). W. E. Vaughan, *Landlords and tenants in mid-Victorian Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1994).

figures of the Moore family in Irish history represented an elite microcosm. This family reflected a practical and transnational philosophy at work throughout Irish politics and Irish life (albeit in an at times fraught environment), similar to the O'Connell family. Wilson Foster documented how Moore came from landowning stock in the West which should have provided credentials for joining the revival.⁴⁹⁷

Wilson Foster was right to an extent to point out that conversion was in Moore's blood as the family were recently Protestants (however, not as recent as Moore and Foster tried to maintain). Moore claimed a background of Protestant Ascendancy when he asserted in *A Story Teller's Holiday* "a fact that must be borne in mind always – Irish Catholics being worthless."⁴⁹⁸ The anti-Catholicism of Moore embarrassed revival Protestants as it offended Catholics, who were nationalist and Irish. In *Hail and Farewell* Moore stated he came to Ireland to save the Irish from Catholicism. This was not part of the revival remit. Moore described a conversation with Edward Martyn that involved a plan to publish a translation of a world masterpiece of literature in Irish. Moore decided Irish-language literature needed a book for Irish-language speakers to discuss and to inspire major works in order to begin a tradition.⁴⁹⁹ The book decided upon, after the possibility of translating Maupassant was discussed and dismissed, was *The Arabian Nights*. Martyn wrote to the *Freeman's Journal* describing the plan and looked for financial backing. Moore realised the dangers of having his name linked to such a project, which reinvigorated his reputation as an author for scandalous works amongst the Irish, as highlighted in the *Freeman's Journal* by a certain 'Sacerdotus': '[...]' Mr. George Moore has selected *The Arabian Nights* because he wishes an indecent book to be put into the hands of every Irish

⁴⁹⁷ John Wilson Foster, *Fictions of the Irish literary revival: a changeling art* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987). p. 119.

⁴⁹⁸ George Moore, *A story-teller's holiday*. (London: Heinemann, 1928) p. 345.

⁴⁹⁹ George Moore, *Hail and Farewell A Trilogy*, p. 144.

peasant. [...]'.⁵⁰⁰ There were letters of response in the *Freeman's Journal* complete with suggestions for other works, some letters remarked upon Moore's choice as possessing the motivation of corrupting the working-classes with an indecent work: 'We do not take our ideas of love from Mohammedan countries ; we are a pure race.'⁵⁰¹ The response depressed Moore, and Martyn compounded matters through explaining the worries of the priesthood concerning Moore's work. Moore reacted by attacking the Irish race:

[Marytn] is the Irish Catholic people,' I said, and later in the afternoon, my disappointment caused me to doze away in front of my beautiful, grey Manet, my exquisite mauve Monet, and my sad Pissaro. 'The Irish are a cantankerous, hateful race,' I muttered, on awaking. And the mood of hate endured for some days, myself continually asking myself why I had ventured back into Ireland. [...] One can only get the better of the clergy by setting the clergy against the clergy. In that way Louis XV. ridded France of the Jesuits, and obtained possession of all their property ; and in Ireland, no more than in France, are the Jesuits on the best of terms with the secular clergy . . . they might be inclined to take me up.'⁵⁰²

This description was what Moore claimed to be the arrogant thoughts that resulted in the idea for *The Untilled Field* (1903). Moore's ironic portrayal of his stream of consciousness regarding a mission to save Catholics through fiction revealed an attempt to mock the grand ambitions of the Revival undertaking. Moore associated himself with European art and an imposing ambition to save the Catholic population. The attempt to portray Ireland and hold a mirror up to its inhabitants was not a new one in the nineteenth-century Irish novel. This was repeated throughout the nineteenth century beginning with authors such as Maria Edgeworth. Later authors such as Gerald Griffin, William Carleton, and Charles Kickham produced more fulsome and knowledgeable attempts. Edgeworth claimed: "I have read all the works that Carleton has yet written, and I must confess that I never knew

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 146.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² Ibid., p. 147.

Irish life until I had read them.’⁵⁰³ Moore began an account of his reaction to problems translating *The Arabian Nights* by moving from a dismissal of the Catholic Irish to underlining his cultured refuge in the Parisian artists adorning his wall. Assumptions regarding intentions Moore had for corrupting the Irish population resulted in Moore satirically portraying himself with striking plans to save, giving him the effect of being a one-man religious temperance society. Moore continually throughout this narrative, used humour to stress this artistic cultural opposition within his identity towards what he felt to be the backward and corrupt nature of Irish Catholicism: ‘Of course, if Ireland is to be governed by parish priests!’ and I fumed about the office, talking of the Italian Renaissance.’⁵⁰⁴

Moore: The Revival and his French influences

The first artist Moore mentioned was Édouard Manet (1832-1883), the French painter who took Moore under his wing in Paris. Moore tried to learn to paint with Manet, gave up, and became a writer. Manet was one of the first nineteenth-century artists who captured modern life. Manet’s *The Luncheon on the Grass* and *Olympia* (1863) were controversial and pivotal in the movement towards Impressionism. Manet’s childhood and youth reflect the path of Moore’s life, both perhaps sharing a rebelliousness that drew them together. Manet was born into a rich family with political clout but rejected the life seemingly mapped out for him by choosing to become a painter. The influence of Manet in art can be seen to bridge the generational drift from Realism to Impressionism that was an aspect of Moore’s aesthetic as a writer. The second painter mentioned by Moore is Camille Pissarro (1830-1903).⁵⁰⁵ Pissarro was a Danish-French Impressionist and Neo-Impressionist painter. Pissarro was part of the Parisian circle of which Manet was a member and a dominant figure. He was the only painter to reveal his

⁵⁰³ *Illustrated Dublin Journal* (2 Nov. 1861), p. 132.

⁵⁰⁴ Moore, *Hail and Farewell*, p. 117.

⁵⁰⁵ See, p. 160.

work at all eight Paris Impressionist exhibitions from 1874 to 1886.

Moore highlighted the circles in Paris that he was acquainted with in an effort to emphasize the free and cultured morality he occupied. Moore's struggle, as he viewed the situation in *Hail and Farewell*, was to fight against the Gaelic League and Catholicism in order to infuse Ireland with a similar European artist's morality of openness and rebelliousness:

'Fiddlesticks. The Moore and Martyn Company would have no success whatever. If it is to be done at all it will have to be called The Gaelic League Touring Company. Besides, Mr. Martyn wouldn't go into any project that the priests opposed on the ground of faith and morals; so I suppose the thing is at an end.⁵⁰⁶

Another illustration of Moore's perceived tendency to offend and test the boundaries was highlighted in the form of an Irish musician's letter to the *Freeman's Journal*. The letter complained of Moore's failure to hire an Irish musician for his play *Diarmuid and Gráinne*:

[...] Mr. George Moore does not know any Irish musician who can write for an orchestra except one in Paris, who is not available"! This is really sublime effrontery from an Irishman: but, perhaps, one must rather commiserate a newly-arrived Dublin resident, who has spent all his life in France and England, and of course, could not be expected to make the acquaintance of any common Irish musician. [...]⁵⁰⁷

Moore's Anti-Catholicism

The perception of the strained allegiances and motives of Moore are not just born out of a perception of his family as a Protestant-turned-Catholic Landlord unit. Moore's physical and intellectual movements through cultures and countries outside of Ireland produced a negative perception of Moore's judgements. His status and choice to be an absentee landlord made Moore a target. He was seen as a foreigner. Moore's continual attacks on Irish life and Catholicism further disconnected him from Irish people at a time when people were seeking to band together:

⁵⁰⁶ Moore, *Hail and Farewell*, p. 117.

⁵⁰⁷ 'The Music for Diarmaid and Grannia', *Freeman's Journal* 1763-1924, Monday, September 16, 1901 p. 12.

'When I lose my reason, perhaps. I have often wondered at my hatred of Catholicism, so original, so inherent is it. Sometimes I have wondered if it may not be an inheritance of some remote ancestor.'⁵⁰⁸ Moore wished to present a historical basis for his anti-Catholicism in *Hail and Farewell*, a strain within his family that disassociated the Moore family from Catholicism. Moore depicted a staged conversation with his brother Colonel Maurice Moore:

'Not so very remote,' the Colonel said.

'Why? Weren't we originally a Catholic family?'

'No, it was our great-grandfather at the end of the eighteenth century that changed his religion.'

'So our great-grandfather became a Catholic. He went to Spain, I know that, and made a great fortune and married in Spain; but whom did he marry? A Spaniard?'

'A Miss O' Kelly.'

'An Irishwoman, a Catholic of course? And it was she who persuaded him to change his religion. Theology and sex go together. If there were no sex there would be no theology.'⁵⁰⁹

Moore was quick to interpret the cause of the marriage and conversion was sex and the lady in question must have persuaded his ancestor. This is an anti-Marian position; the origin of Jesus in Mary without sex was replaced by the idea of a woman changing a man's religion through seduction.⁵¹⁰ However, Moore was happy he had found a precedent:

'Her family, the Colonel said, ' had been in Spain so long that she was practically a Spaniard.'

'And grandfather was an Agnostic, mother told me, so there is only

⁵⁰⁸ Moore, *Hail and Farewell*, p. 301.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 302.

⁵¹⁰ Marian devotion is not an organised Church directive; it arose through the belief of congregations. The popularity of Marian devotion arose in Ireland in the 8th Century. The peak of Marian devotion operated in the Middle Ages throughout Europe. This faith is often viewed as a response to the threat of Muslim armies during the Crusades. Muslim armies had conquered Spain and moved into France. The continent of Africa had come under Muslim colonisation. The Cistercians, Dominicans, and Carmelites responded to this Muslim threat through spreading Marian devotion across Europe.

During the Cromwellian siege of 1642 the Confederation of Kilkenny announced the Virgin Mary as 'Protectress of Ireland'. However, throughout the 18th century religious objects signifying devotion were banned. It became common for rosary beads to be hidden up sleeves. See The Irish Catholic, <http://www.irishcatholic.ie/article/marian-devotion-ireland>

one generation of pure Catholicism behind me. You don't know how happy you've made me. Your news comes as sweetly as the south wind blowing over the downs.'⁵¹¹

Nonetheless, there were times in Moore's life when it was fruitful to repress such zeal. His attitude grieved his brother, Colonel Maurice Moore. The situation that faced Moore meant controversy and attention:

'[...] My dilemma was most painful — to bear the shame of being considered a Catholic all my life so I consulted a friend of mine in whom I have great confidence, and she said: "If you can't remain in Ireland without declaring yourself a Protestant, and wouldn't grieve your brother, you had better leave Ireland."

'But were you in earnest when you told your brother you'd like to declare yourself a Protestant?' John Eglinton asked.

'I don't joke on such subjects.'⁵¹²

After Eglinton stressed the importance of being earnest, Moore claimed he did not joke upon the subject, but he did provoke: 'The Roman Church relies upon its converts, for after two or three generations of Catholicism the intelligence dies.'⁵¹³ Moore's self-portrayal in his autobiographies was an attempt to create an image of a rebellious spirit. There was also an attempt to be attractive to French and English markets. The wider umbrella of Christianity was also criticized by Moore:

'The fault I find with Christianity is that it is no more than a code of morals, whereas three things are required for a religion — a cosmogony, a psychology and a moral code.'⁵¹⁴ #

George Moore was the product of a Chateaux Catholicism, a wealthy gentry European Landlord Catholicism; this status informed Moore's ability and confidence in judgement and declaration. The focus of the country's political momentum was on bringing about a major change in Ireland's relationship with Britain. Derek Hand in *A History of the Irish Novel* tied

⁵¹¹ Moore, *Hail and Farewell*, p. 302.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*, p. 324.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

⁵¹⁴ Moore, *Hail and Farewell*, p. 68.

three 1886 novels together, George Moore's *A Drama in Muslin: A Realistic Novel*, Rosa Mulholland's *Marcella Grace: An Irish Novel* and Emily Lawless's *Hurriah: A Study. For Hand* these novels captured the direction of the Irish novel. Hand maintained these novels reflected the social and political landscape of Ireland and Britain.⁵¹⁵ The land question, Home Rule and violence are identified as the main themes and concerns of the works. Yet, Moore's novels engaged broad political themes and were not constrained to such political narratives. The attempt at such a treatment of Irish politics suffered due to the limits of Moore's work. Moore's parody of high society, the marriage market and the patriarchal treatment of women in Dublin took aim at the upper middle class to the gentry in society.⁵¹⁶ While the novel was peppered with interaction between the gentry and their tenantry it was a small part. Moore's literary ambitions meant that there was a full engagement with the themes and aesthetic of European literature such as marriage, and the plight of woman in society. At times Moore's depictions were born out of a contrast rather than an insight:

[...] I thought of all my Catholic relations, every one of whom believes in the intervention of priests and holy water, the Immaculate Conception, the Pope's Indulgences, and a host of other things which I could not remember, so great was my anguish of mind at the thought that my poor pagan body should be delivered helpless into their pious hands. I remembered their faces, I could hear their voices — that of my dear brother, whom I shall always think of as a strayed cardinal rather than as a colonel [...]⁵¹⁷

Hand deemed Moore's *A Drama in Muslin*, subtitled 'A Realist Novel', as a response to the fantasy fiction of the *Irish Monthly* magazine whose fiction was embodied by the writer Rosa Mulholland.⁵¹⁸ Moore was described by Hand as a Catholic Landlord despite his absenteeism and anti-

⁵¹⁵ Derek Hand, *A History of the Irish Novel*, p. 100.

⁵¹⁶ See Brendan Fleming, 'Re-gendering the nation: representations of Ireland and the figure of the new woman in George Moore's *A Drama in Muslin* and George Meredith's *Diana of the Crossways*' *Barcelona: Bells, English language and literature studies*, 2000, Vol.11.

⁵¹⁷ George Moore, *Memoirs of My Dead Life* (New York: D. Appleton, 1906) p. 297.

⁵¹⁸ Hand, *A History of the Irish novel*, p. 102.

Catholic stance. Hand highlighted that Moore suffused a European contemporary aesthetic into his thought and that a goal was to position Ireland on the outskirts of the British Empire. He further described Moore's Ireland in *A Drama in Muslin* as on the brink of a profound transformation as Parnell struggled for Home Rule.

Moore's realist effort can be perceived as an attempt to take advantage of his Paris apprenticeship to reveal the stagnation gripping Ireland due to British colonial rule. However, it is hard to support the view that Moore perceived Ireland to be on the cusp of profound change. This was due to his scornful view of Catholicism and every class in Ireland. The Catholicism of his youth quickly turned to atheism before turning to Protestantism.⁵¹⁹ His grounding in French literature allowed him to portray Ireland in a merciless vein and with no little skill in producing literature for maximum controversial impact. Moore's Catholicism and Irishness were a source of embarrassment to him. He wrote two years after the publication of *A Drama in Muslin* in *Confessions of a Young Man*:

[...]Was there a French man or woman in my family some half dozen generations ago? I have not inquired. The English I love, and with a love that is foolish—mad, limitless; I love them better than the French, but I am not so near to them. Dear, sweet Protestant England, [...] England is Protestantism, Protestantism is England. Protestantism is strong, clean, and westernly, Catholicism is eunuch-like, dirty, and Oriental.... Yes, Oriental; there is something even Chinese about it. [...]⁵²⁰

In this passage Moore tied Irishness to the East and to a country outside of the British Empire: an opposing Oriental Empire. Therefore Ireland was dirty and eunuch-like, which suggested a country of male character that had no issue and was unable to produce. This did not suggest a society capable of profound change. Moore's parody of the Victorian upper class Catholic and Anglo-Irish novels in *A Drama in Muslin* did not spare the

⁵¹⁹ Frazier, *George Moore*, p. 117 & 162.

⁵²⁰ George Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man*. (New York: Brentano's, 1907) p. 85.

working-classes. The culture and minds produced by Catholicism seemed to be Moore's bugbear and not the landlord system that the Moores had benefitted from financially. A scene from *A Drama in Muslin* drew an interaction between a nervous and inept landlord conversing with an angry tenantry:

'I should be delighted to give you thirty per cent. if I could afford it,' said Mr. Barton, as soon as the question of reduction, that had been lost sight of in schemes for draining, and discussion concerning bad seasons, had been re-established; 'but you must remember that I have to pay charges, and my creditors won't wait any more than yours will. If you refuse to pay your rents and I get sold out, you will have another landlord here; you'll ruin me, but you won't do yourselves any good. You will have some Englishman here who will make you pay your rents.'

'An Englishman here!' exclaimed a peasant. 'Arrah! he'll go back quicker than he came.'⁵²¹

Belief within the working-classes began to grow to the extent that removal of the landlord became a focus. The next sentence highlighted a reverse situation of the Irish tenantry making the English Irish. Moore was playing with the history of landlord and identity: 'Maybe he wouldn't go back at all,' cried another, chuckling. 'We'd make an Oirishman of him forever.' 'Begad, we'd make him wear the grane in raal earnest, and, a foine scraw it would be,' said a third. [...] ⁵²² Moore used the green -ymbol on the flag of Ireland to stress his perception of the Catholic population's attitude toward the English. Moore underlined that Landlords and their culture were under threat from becoming overrun by the working-classes :

From the drawing-room window Mrs. Barton watched the conflict. On one side she saw her daughter's beautiful white face becoming the prize of a penniless officer; on the other she saw the pretty furniture, the luxurious idleness, the very silk dress on her back, being torn from them, and distributed among a crowd of Irish-speaking, pig-keeping peasants. [...] ⁵²³

The pig metaphor was initially attached by Griffin to the lower gentry Chutes

⁵²¹ George Moore, *A Drama in Muslin: A Realistic Novel* (London: Walter Scott, 1918) p. 126.

⁵²² Ibid.

⁵²³ Ibid., p. 127.

of Chute Castle in *The Collegians* and then by Carleton to the native Irish. Moore did not satirically treat of colonial rule or pander to a British audience in the manner of the Anglo-Irish novel for self-rule. He did not try to champion the cause of the working-classes or dismiss the landlord system.

Hand describes the end of *A Drama in Muslim* as suggesting Ireland as an impossible place and issues are not resolved.⁵²⁴ Alice married Dr Reed in London to finish the novel which is contrasted against the eviction of a tenant family. Hand felt that Moore believed that Home Rule was inevitable and the depiction of Anglo-Irish characters struggled in paralysis and ineffectual action. Alice Barton was an upper-class Catholic who merged into a new world where she possessed an identity in London as a writer free to work and express herself. The rigid binary of Ireland and Britain was breached by a new woman character. However, this reading was overtly positive. The movement of this upper class woman was one who rejected Ireland and moved within the confines of the British Empire. She moved to London, the seat of British power. John Wilson Foster decried the inability of the Anglo-Irish novel to adjust to the changing circumstances of Ireland.⁵²⁵ The genre of satire and romance was unable to adjust to the political and cultural changes of post-Parnellite Ireland. The Anglo-Irish was struggling to assert the relevancy of its position on Ireland.

What was set in motion in French Literature and into George Moore's work, such as *A Drama in Muslim*, was a literary sedimentation where a standard had been set by the long shadow of Balzac. The reinventions of Flaubert and Zola followed. The boredom and affairs of marriage occupied Flaubert's middle-class depiction in *Madame Bovary* while Zola treated of similar themes throughout his constant reinvention of Balzac's work on the working-classes, in particular in Zola's *L'Assommoir* and *Nana*. Balzac's *Les Célibataires* (1832 – later to be renamed *Le Curé de Tours*) became the exact

⁵²⁴ Hand, *A History of the Irish Novel*, p. 105.

⁵²⁵ John Wilson Foster, *Fictions of the Irish literary revival: a changeling art*, p. XIV.

title of Moore's *Celibates* (1895). Balzac's *Les Chouans* (1829) caused a shift in his novel writing, inspired by the historical and political work of Walter Scott and Maria Edgeworth, as he sought to use his nation's history as a literary framework for his novels. In the work of Edgeworth and Scott there was a Georgian novel influence that set in motion a particular strand of representation in French literature. However, Moore was indebted to Balzac more than any Irish novel:

[...] I would add that personally he seems to me to have shown greater wings of mind than any artist that ever lived. I am aware that this last statement will make many cry "fool" and hiss "Shakespeare!" But I am not putting forward these criticisms axiomatically, but only as the expressions of an individual taste, and interesting so far as they reveal to the reader the different developments and the progress of my mind. [...]⁵²⁶

These comments were, in part, inspired by a desire on Moore's part to shield himself from accusations of being overly reliant upon the influence of Zola and Flaubert. However, the appreciation and engagement with Balzac's work was accurate in terms of directly reinventing Balzac's plots and character. The self-ironisation of the writer's self and whims as the author moved through diverse periods of influence and appreciation was the target. The acknowledgement of Balzac's fulsome impact and influence upon Moore was underlined by him:

[...] of those I have loved deeply there is but one that still may thrill me with the old passion, with the first ecstasy—it is Balzac. Upon that rock I built my church, and his great and valid talent saved me often from destruction, saved me from the shoaling waters of new aestheticisms, the putrid mud of naturalism, and the faint and sickly surf of the symbolists. Thinking of him, I could not forget that it is the spirit and not the flesh that is eternal; that, as it was thought that in the first instance gave man speech, so to the end it shall still be thought that shall make speech beautiful and rememberable. The grandeur and sublimity of Balzac's thoughts seem to me to rise to the loftiest heights, and his range is limitless [...]⁵²⁷

⁵²⁶ Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man*. p. 18.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

The religious frame that Moore used to describe Balzac's influence was another ironic admission. The religion of Moore's life was fiction therefore the accusations of being anti-progress and closing the mind against other avenues and perspectives in life, applied by Moore to Catholicism, were equally applicable to Moore's Balzacian church. The vitriolic satirical approach to Catholicism and gentle lampooning of the authorial self was separated by a bias to the world of art over religion. Moore raged against the religious and cultural practices of Irish society as being uncultured. In *A Drama in Muslim* Moore writes:

From afar the clanging of a high-swinging bell was heard, and the harsh reverberations, travelling over the rocky town-lands, summoned the cottagers to God. The peasants stepped aside to let the carriage pass. Peasants and landlords were going to worship in the same chapel, but it would seem from the proclamations pasted on the gate-posts that the house of prayer had gone over into the possession of the tenantry.

'Now, Arthur—do you hear?—you mustn't look at those horrid papers!' Mrs. Barton whispered to her husband. 'We must pretend not to see them. I wonder how Father Shannon can allow such a thing, making the house of God into—into I don't know what, for the purpose of preaching robbery and murder. Just look at the country-people—how sour and wicked they look! Don't they, Alice?'

'Goodness me!' said Olive, 'who in the world can those people be in our pew?'

Mrs. Barton trembled a little. Had the peasants seized the religious possessions of their oppressors? Dismissing the suspicion, she examined the backs indicated by Olive.⁵²⁸

The movement of the Catholic into new classes, as a Catholic middle class began to develop, caused the Bartons of *A Drama in Muslim* to fear for their future. Moore described the possession of the Church as belonging to the tenantry and his upper class Bartons began to feel removed from their Church. The pulpit was described by Moore as advocating violence against the landlord classes. Moore's father was a good landlord and politician who dealt with the issues of agrarian unrest. G.H. lost his life upon returning to

⁵²⁸ George Moore, *A Drama in Muslim*, p. 69.

Ireland to deal with the concerns of his tenants. George Moore's denunciation of Catholicism was a dismissal of the family religion that had become associated with the tenants and the changing nature of Irish society. These changes cost the Moores their former standing and wealth in the community. Moore's bitterness towards Ireland was all encompassing irregardless of class. The Anglo-Irish novel was perceived to depict the upper-classes of the Anglo-Irish and upper-class Catholics as being capable of leading and ruling the unruly members of the Catholic working-classes in order to help its political bid for self-rule.⁵²⁹ It is inaccurate to group Moore solely in the category of Anglo-Irish novel.

Moore's appreciation of European literary masters' works and his declaration of their genius meant that Moore's influence for any kind of reinvention or parody begins with French nineteenth-century literature. Moore's growth as a writer led him through periods of idealization through Zola, Flaubert, Turgenev and back to Balzac. Moore's reading and negotiation of Victorian literature was frame worked within this indulgence for French literature. The major theme of Moore's novel of the marriage market and its machinations was foremost in French Literature. The discussion of bachelorhood and the marriage market was long treated and satirised in Turgenev, Flaubert, Zola and within Balzac's *A Marriage Contract* (1835). Balzac's novel concerned upper-class nobility through the background and figure of Paul de Manerville's desperation for, and then illusion in, marriage to a Spanish heiress, Natalie Evangelista. Paul became trapped in a distant and barren marriage. His delusions caused him to

⁵²⁹ James H. Murphy has described the Victorian romantic comedy of 1880s as promoting the Victorian perspective which stressed and rewarded upper class virtue. Murphy placed these novels against the backdrop of the land war and home rule crisis. The novels refuse to portray the vastly changing society taking place around them, both socially and politically. They are the antithesis of realist works. The concern of Victorian romance novel was the tension between romance, the politics of the social world, and the economics of marriage. Social and financial security through marriage was the aim for these characters. The virtue of maintaining Victorian virtue insured the final goal of the desired marriage. Murphy, *Catholic Fiction and Social Reality in Ireland*, p. 26.

sacrifice everything from his wealth to his name, blind to his wife's infidelities. The novel was set in the Scènes de la vie privée division in *La Comédie humaine*:

Be as wild as you please in the province, make a fool of yourself there if you please that will be better still! perhaps you will gain celebrity by it. But don't marry. Who marries nowadays? Business men, to increase their capital, or to have two to draw the plough; peasants, who aim at raising a crop of workmen, by producing a lot of children; brokers or notaries, compelled to find the money for their licenses; ill-fated kings who continue ill-fated dynasties. We are the only ones who are exempt from the pack-saddle, and you propose to put it on your back? After all, why should you marry?⁵³⁰

These are the French pages where Moore served his internship. Moore gloried in Balzac's style, above the rest of his influences, at the period of writing *A Drama in Muslin*. Balzac's work showed Moore a literary avenue to release his grievances with Catholic Ireland and its variant classes. Murphy's narrative was a specific reading of Moore's *A Drama in Muslin* and it has its strong points but it was removed from the essential literary influences and themes of Moore's work in its stressing of Victorianism. It suited Murphy's successful narrative:

A Drama in Muslin was part of George Moore's advocacy of modernity. It is an attack both on Victorian social and novelistic conventions in themselves and on the craven deference to them of the Catholic upper middle class. [...] *A Drama in Muslin* is thus an assault on Victorianism in a specifically Irish context. But it is equally an attempt on Moore's part to normalize the modern conventions and values with which he seeks to replace it with another. [...] Yet this stock bedside romance plot is the very one Moore resorts to at the end of *A Drama in Muslin* in order to provide Alice with a happy future. [...]⁵³¹

The setting was undoubtedly Irish but the literary treatment was a French literary one. Generally speaking the upper-middle-class Irish writer struggled in narratives to show a contemporaneous faultless Ireland that was

⁵³⁰ Honoré de Balzac, *The Marriage Contract*, (Philadelphia: G. Barrie & son, 1897), p. 12.

⁵³¹ Murphy, *Catholic Fiction and Social Reality in Ireland*, p. 31.

ruled within the delineations of a normalcy supposedly existent in Victorian culture: “When are we to have what neither Banim nor Carleton nor Lover or Lever has given us—a story describing the real peasant life of Catholic Ireland? It is not so drearily sensational nor so stupidly comic as some of those hard pressed storytellers would have us believe.”⁵³²

Balzac’s treatment of the theme of marriage revealed the machinations of questioning family life, the sacrifices involved, the bartering that was at work, the involvement of lawyers and clerks to secure the best deal, the psychological warfare in dealing with potential suitors, the dismissal of love, and the championing of the bachelor celibate life. These are all at the forefront of Moore’s *A Drama in Muslin*. Moore depicted marriage as a business transaction full of underhand dealing and psychology. Balzac’s clerks, Mathias and Solonet, the marriage negotiators, represented the two differing approaches to secure marriage, serving to undercut belief in marriage as an ideal.⁵³³

James H. Murphy wrote of Anglo-Irish ambition in the nineteenth century:

The disadvantageous position of the upper middle class in its attempt to win British approbation was most clearly seen when it came to dealing with the adverse publicity that violent resistance to British rule in Ireland generated in Britain. There was a constant stream of incidents of revolutionary or agrarian violence, from the local agitation known as ribbonism to the revolutionary activity of the Fenians in the 1860s, and the violence phase of land war in the 1880s, which tended to feed English prejudices. As all the Irish were bracketed together in English eyes, writers knew that distancing themselves from Irish violence was not enough. They had also to rehabilitate the adverse perception of the Irish peasantry which was current in Anglo-Saxon culture.⁵³⁴

Moore was attacking all types of Irishness, Anglo-Irish and native. He parodied every class and their cultural practices. He lampooned himself as

⁵³² Quoted in Murphy, *Catholic Fiction and Social Reality in Ireland*, p. 17.

⁵³³ Honoré de Balzac, *The Marriage Contract* (Philadelphia: G. Barrie & son, 1897), p. 62.

⁵³⁴ Murphy, *Catholic Fiction and Social Reality in Ireland*, p. 19.

an author. Brendan Fleming argues that the fictional representation of woman compromised the representation of the New Woman as promoted by Irish nationalist discourses in the Home Rule Movement.⁵³⁵ Traditional categories of the feminine managed to readminister the New Woman within *A Drama in Muslin*. George Hughes argues against the consistent placement of *A Drama in Muslin* in social realism.⁵³⁶ Hughes maintained that such criticism distorted the anti-Victorian stance of Moore. The novel was asserted as an experiment within the mould of European naturalism and this was achieved through a dandyesque aesthetic that was counter to Victorian discourse.

James H. Murphy states that Moore parodied Victorian characteristics of the Anglo-Irish novel in *A Drama in Muslin*. Murphy stressed this parody as based firmly in an Irish context and a lampoon of Victorian culture.⁵³⁷ Murphy underlined the novel as a movement into modernity but there are traces of the Victorian novel also being used by Moore, such as the happy marriage ending. Moore depicted an upper-middle-class Catholic family and the working-classes. Moore heavily criticised the Catholic faith; this was not stressed by Murphy. Moore depicted a farcical mass ceremony, from the class-based seating arrangements to the abhorrence of the upper-class perception of the lower class's attendance, to the bubbling threat of violence. However, the conversation centred on the rift between landlords and tenants:

'I am sure,' she said [Alice], 'we never knew finer weather than this in England. I don't think there could be finer weather, and still they say the tenants are worse off than ever; that no rent at all, at least nothing above Griffith's valuation, will be paid.'

'Do they speak much of Griffith's valuation at Dungory Castle?'
[...] The Bishop has sent down another priest—I think they call it a mission—and we are going to be preached against, and papa received a threatening letter this morning. He is going, I believe, to apply for

⁵³⁵ See Brendan Fleming, 'Re-gendering the nation: representations of Ireland and the figure of the new woman in George Moore's *A Drama in Muslin* and George Meredith's *Diana of the crossways*' Barcelona: *Bells, English language and literature studies*, 2000, Vol.11. <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/Bells/article/view/102906/149254>

⁵³⁶ Ibid.

⁵³⁷ . Murphy, *Catholic Fiction and Social Reality in Ireland*, p. 31.

police.'

[...] He told Sarah and Jane this morning at breakfast that he'd have no more of it; that they had no right to go into the poor people's houses and pull the children from under the beds, and ask why they were not at school; that he didn't care what religion they were as long as they paid the rent; and that he wasn't going to have his life endangered for such nonsense. [...]⁵³⁸

The removed nature of the upper classes from the life of the tenantry was underlined through the statement of weather as informing and equalising the standard of life. This, coupled with a reduced rent, must ensure happiness. That equality and a share of the profits of the land might be a concern of the tenant was not realized. Moore described the role of the priest in maintaining peace and the violent threat hanging over the upper classes. The power of the priest to incite violence called to mind the work of Carleton's fictional description of malign priests. The reimagining of history to suit the perception and anger of a certain class was a major theme in *A Drama in Muslin*:

And very soon everybody fell to babbling of the history of the Castle, which nobody knew: Ireland has had few chroniclers. Lord Dungory pointed out that in the seventeenth century people lived in Ireland naked—speaking Latin habitually—without furniture or tapestries or paintings or baths. The Castle suggested a military movement to Mr. Barton.

'If things get any worse, we might all retire into this castle. The ladies will stand on the battlements, and I will undertake to hold the place for ever against those village ruffians.'⁵³⁹

The similarity to Carleton continued in the description of the Irish natives as living in a natural animal-like state of nakedness, devoid of art, and speaking the dead language of the Catholic Church, Latin. Like Carleton's equating of the Irishman to a pig there was no sophistication to the native's life. The perception of a nation and its inhabitants was reduced to an attempt to uphold their class-bias. The style of reinvention and parody of a sub-genre, as specified by Murphy supposedly regarding the Victorian novel traits in *A*

⁵³⁸ George Moore, *A Drama in Muslin: A Realistic Novel*, p. 65.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

Drama in Muslim, can be read in Flaubert and Zola's reinventions and parody of each other and their scrutinisation of Balzac.⁵⁴⁰

The transnational elements operating in the politics of G.H. and George Moore produce narratives fused with philosophies from Europe and the wider world. The criticism of the nineteenth-century Irish novel that stresses the grand narrative of the framework of Home Rule and the division between native and Anglo-Irish, Catholicism or Protestantism, Ireland or Britain is unsuccessful in tracking and acknowledging the diverse variety of transnational ideas at work throughout the philosophy and experience of the Moores. George Moore was an author who moved in and out of literary traditions, applying a number of influences across Ireland, Europe and Britain into his work. This allowed Moore to reinvent and apply his unusual perspective to Irish society and its changing social dynamics. Moore applied a fresh transnational method to the Irish novel that utilised tenets of Naturalism and Realism. The challenge of Moore's self-ironisation of authorial self, criticism of religion and Irish society undermines previous assumptions of clear divides and character moulds within the Irish novel. Moore challenged Catholicism as incapable of moving Irish society forward, culturally, in a different manner to Kickham. Catholicism confined perspective on art and life. Moore's anti-Catholic fiction endeavoured to depict a society of mushrooming transnationalism restricted by a Catholic belief system that was anti-art.

⁵⁴⁰ See, Finn Fordham and Rita Sakr, *European Joyce Studies 19 James Joyce and The Nineteenth Century French Novel*. (New York: Rodopi, 2011) Paul Jones tries to rectify the neglect of Moore in relation to Joyce. Moore is often overlooked in favour of directly linking Joyce to Flaubert or Zola overriding the presence of Moore.

CONCLUSION:

In *The World Republic of Letters*, Pascale Casanova questions the separation of history and literature as found in Roland Barthes's essay "History or Literature".⁵⁴¹ Barthes argues that giving literature a historical foundation diminished the literary nature of texts. History was not an art form. Barthes emphasizes geography as the link that could bring the two spheres of literature and history together. Casanova asserts that on one level literature eventually frees itself from the constraints of the temporality of history and politics.⁵⁴² It enters a literary historicity separate from the laws of history. This literary space creates its own laws through the interaction

⁵⁴¹ Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, p. 348.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 350.

between the literatures of nations across the world. It is termed a temporal national literary space, which is a structure of inequality. Casanova states that the idea that literature can be free from history is an invention of historical philosophy. Additionally, Casanova offers a new method of literary history that allows scholars to interpret literary texts from a new basis. Casanova's theory presents literature as a universal and national phenomenon which dominates writers on the periphery of the literary world. This national and universal order accordingly realigns literary space, the status of authors, and their output.⁵⁴³ While Casanova accuses Barthes and historians of a conception of literature that reduces texts to a chronological narrative of historical events, she is also guilty of reducing history and the political spheres to a narrative of events. History and the political sphere are historicized narratives but they are also philosophical and possess a realm of fiction. The construction of image by O'Connell and G.H. Moore in speeches and the production of an image of authors within the *Freeman's Journal* reveal the process of fictional elements in historical and political narratives. This project highlights the literary engagement with the narrative currency of politics and wider popular narratives in the works of Griffin, Carleton, and Moore.

Narratives of history or the political are a different type of storyline from literature but still require the piecing together of a narrative. This involves elements of literature just as literature necessitates elements of history and politics. This thesis argues that on levels of local and national history, politics and literature are inseparable. Literature does not ever reach a sphere outside of history or politics. To try to move outside of politics or a particular narrative of politics or history is in itself political and historical. Casanova's conditioned world of writers on the margins and within the centre of dominant narratives of national literary movements already exists at the level of the local. The local world of politics, history, and literature involves

⁵⁴³ Ibid., p. 354.

the presence of the national and the wider world in the texts we have presented. There is an interaction with the wider world within the presence of the local individual, not to mention the uniqueness of the village or city. The creation of character in biography, history, literature and political speech alters on a national and universal level but is also equipped with elements of the local and individual. From newspaper constructions of the image of authors such as Griffin and Carleton, to political speeches addressing Irish identity to literature constructed around real life crimes from local areas, to the engagement with national and wider world literature in myths, legends and novels, these elements are present on various levels in the nineteenth-century Irish novel. Gerald Griffin, William Carleton, and George Moore brought varying degrees of transnationalism to Irish literature. It involved evolving Irish politics and outshoots of that Irish politics, led by Daniel O'Connell and followed by such men as George Moore's father. The political and literary newspaper criticism, novels and historical narratives of the nineteenth century blended images of political and literary figures into narratives of the local, national, and international, creating a social bricolage. Literature cannot, nor should it be, separated from the social community.

Patrick Kavanagh wrote in 'Parochialism and Provincialism':

[...] In Ireland we are inclined to be provincial not parochial, for it requires a great deal of courage to be parochial. When we do attempt having the courage of our parish we are inclined to go false and to play up to the larger parish on the other side of the Irish Sea. In recent times we have had two great Irish parishioners James Joyce and George Moore. They explained nothing. The public had either to come to them or stay in the dark. And the public did come. The parochial mentality on the other hand is never in any doubt about the social and artistic validity of his parish. All great civilizations are based on parochialism - Greek, Israelite, English.⁵⁴⁴

It is this sense of the local, within the national and international,

which is mapped throughout the political, fictional, and popular narratives of the *Freeman's Journal*. Through detailing the O'Connell and Moore family

⁵⁴⁴ 'Parochialism and Provincialism', in Antoinette Quinn, ed., *A Poet's Country: Selected Prose* (Dublin: Lilliput Press 2003), p.237.

history we gained an insight into the political nature of the upper-class nineteenth-century Irish world as embedded in a transnational intellectual movement throughout Britain and Europe. These families played a massive part in the direction of Irish society both politically and intellectually through historical narratives, political representation and inspiring literature. The changing image of the families and their political manoeuvrings, as presented, mapped the popular response and narratives that offered an image of the various authors and political figures. The use of newspapers in this manner is vital to cut across broad and teleological narratives of history and literature. This culture partly impelled new tenant and landlord character types in Irish fiction as Griffin and Carleton critiqued the political ideals and culture of the period. The new generation of George Moore and his determination to sever his identity and intellectual philosophy from his father's O'Connellite-inspired generation resulted in another break based in new challenges to tenant and landlord characters. It was tied to the autobiographical presentation of the author.

The year of Catholic Emancipation was a historical point from which to identify a new Irish identity presented in tenant and landlord characters as authors traced the new social movements in Irish literature. Tenant and landlord characters were at the basis of a fundamental shift in Irish identity that saw blurred lines of interaction depicted in literature. This suggested the possibility of new types of interaction and rights, questioning the known social structure and its demarcations. Emancipation was one political and historical step towards a changing Irish identity. The New Historicist approach to newspapers, political speeches, and literature helps to identify the contradictive narrative forces in the nineteenth century such as in O'Connell's movements, through anti-British and pro-British political speeches, in his use of transnational elements in defining Irish identity. This thesis revealed G.H. Moore's conception of an international Catholic brotherhood, and the continual preening of his landlord image showed the

complex nationalism at work in Irish politics. George Moore attempted to move away from such a difficult balancing act. George Moore's fiction and his satirical presentation of an author's self in his autobiographies showed a writer endeavouring to problematise and expand his identity into a transnational aesthetic founded upon an authorial devil's advocate position.

The transformation of the Irish novel post-Emancipation also entailed a different form of interaction between working and upper class characters, and an increase in ambiguous endings and satirical observations of national identity. This amplification of satire was impelled by the political beliefs and the target audience of the writer. The event of Emancipation revealed possible new directions for future identities within Ireland. This included a questioning of the possibility of change. Claire Connolly's assertion regarding the tendency of Irish novels to try to engineer the past into a more oppositional alignment against present dominant narratives in the novel up to 1829 becomes, post-Emancipation, a desire for the Catholic novelist to try to bring a more positive outlook on the future for working-class and upper-class interaction.⁵⁴⁵ The novel about the everyday life of Ireland suddenly incorporated an unrealistic vision for its future. The ambiguous ending of *The Collegians* offered the assurance of a rise in class but as to what moral or political side that rise led to, was left undecided. The engagement of the authors with the figure of Daniel O'Connell presented oppositional takes upon the character and future of the politician.⁵⁴⁶ Griffin conflated O'Connell and Ulysses in character moulds to depict the working-class, they possessed humour and hope but an ambiguous future. The Carleton mould creates a

⁵⁴⁵ Connolly, *A Cultural History of The Irish Novel, 1790-1829*, p. 20.

⁵⁴⁶ Nolan has argued that the image of the Ascendancy Big House threatened by the rise of the uncultured natives, perpetuated in the Anglo-Irish novel, is in contrast to the Catholic novelist depiction of the rise of the Catholic throughout the nineteenth century. The religious and cultural practices of the population are questioned. Reform and democracy is a concern for the Catholic writer. There is at work in the texts a search for a transition from tradition to modernity. This is not nostalgia or incoherence but a response to a modern capitalism where hopes of individual freedom are attached. However, this is not separated from mass conformity. Nolan, *Catholic Emancipations*, p. xi.

character determined by a lack of education and a rigid social system, a character forever selfish with a threat of violence. The removal of mention of O'Connell from the works of George Moore, despite his father initially being an O'Connellite, was personal. The reinvention of tenant and landlord characters in Moore's work came through a studied apprenticeship in European art and the novel. Moore brought an eccentric and challenging aesthetic that ran through a gamut of styles and devices in his swashbuckling engagement with literature and autobiography. It was a manner that Joyce adopted, in a more academic manner. The impact of Irish politics and the rise of Catholic identity had a profound long-term impact for Irish culture and thus the novel. The centrality of the Catholic novelist's Catholic tenant and middle-class character in the nineteenth-century novel slowly made way for the lapsed Catholic artist's rejection of Catholicism in favour of art and literature in the cases of Moore and Joyce. This was in marked contrast to the artist Gerald Griffin whose Catholicity rejected the novel and embraced the wholesome morality of educating children.

Gerald Griffin laboured to keep up with the expanding culture of his life and Irish society. This included his life in London with a Spanish friend, the author Valentine Llanos, his family emigration to America, and his return to Limerick.⁵⁴⁷ William Carleton in his early career toiled to confine Irish character through a characterisation of the native inhabitants of the island as untrustworthy and violent, struggling in a system that paralysed their economic and cultural development. However, Carleton's skill for satire could not be contained; his rebellious humour destabilized this perspective. A description and commentary upon local tenant characters suddenly branched into national political figures and narratives upon the expansive British Empire colonies throughout the world. The Irish novel's political narratives, after O'Connell's death, often engaged with narratives that can be traced to O'Connell or events with which O'Connell was heavily involved with. This

⁵⁴⁷ Cronin, *Gerald Griffin*, p. 19.

was due to the major paradigm shifts created by O'Connell's Associations and reforms early in the nineteenth century that left a lasting legacy. How O'Connell's narratives on the transnational nature of Catholicism and Irish identity was treated and changed through Young Ireland, Michael Davitt, and Charles Stewart Parnell's political narratives requires analysis in relation to the literature of the period. These political movements adopted the O'Connell approach to attracting, keeping and galvanising support but removed themselves from O'Connell's reform tactics in politics. A comparative study of Kickham and Joyce's use of their period's politics, with the findings of this study, will identify key literary shifts in the documentation of Irish identity in the novel. It will also help elucidate further the popularity of Kickham's work.

Analysing the lesser-known works of Carleton reveals his studied engagement with Daniel O'Connell. Carleton satirically criticised the contradictions of O'Connell's personal life and political stances while ambiguously mapping the contradictory logic existent in political narratives of equality in British politics and society. The caustic nature of Carleton's satirical treatment of Irish identity and society was a forerunner of the involved authorial image satire of Moore's autobiographies.

The new international brand of nationalism asserted by *The Nation* was another factor that helped to track the shift in Irish literature as authors were part of, influenced by or rejected Young Ireland. O'Connell became a symbol attached to fictional character, involved in intricate political satire. Griffin produced modernist antecedents in character, satire, and use of myth that George Moore reproduced. Griffin's fiction offered a more detailed response to O'Connell's narratives and reforms through offering a vision of the struggle that working, middle and upper-class people must overcome to garner new identities. Griffin's portrayal of society was a slow difficult birth post-Emancipation into new identities. The ability to change and reinvent identity was slowed by the arrested nature of its social structures.

The Future

Themes of powerless characters trapped in a paralysing society were present in later writers such as Moore and Joyce. However, the focus upon the tenant and landlord character shifted to clerks and managers in Moore and Joyce's twentieth century works. Powerlessness in regards to societal position and rights translated into issues of sexual expression and by extension, morality. Choice became more readily available for characters within Moore and Joyce's short stories as society changed but social morality remained a force. The theme of paralysis predominated, but there were new choices emerging.

The argument for a key position for George Moore in the canon of Irish Literature is linked to Moore's physical and psychological movement as a European, British, and Irish author. Moore's status as a translator and originator of an English version of the French Naturalist novel in Britain is one basis for a stronger Moore standing in the canon.⁵⁴⁸ Moore's reinvention of the Irish short story and novel in the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century decisively places Moore as a bridging author across nations and generations.⁵⁴⁹ The Turgenev-influenced *The Untilled Field* (1903) had a

⁵⁴⁸ Moore, after being introduced to Zola at a party by Manet, later wrote to Zola in 1881 asking permission to be his agent in London. Moore asked to translate and publish *L'Assommoir* in London. Moore had to write a second time before Zola invited Moore to Medan. Moore documented the visit in a newspaper article in *St. James's Gazette*, 'A Visit to M. Zola'. At one stage Moore professed a desire to become "a ricochet of Zola in England". This friendship resulted in a long complicated relationship where eventually Moore broke with Zola. Moore professed allegiance first to Flaubert and then Balzac before seeking to assert his star. The influence of French literature on Moore turned in his direction. Maupassant described a novel he intended to write entitled *Bel Ami*. Moore responded that he had already written this novel and published it in London. Maupassant assured Moore it would be a different work. Critics ignorant of the correct dates accused Moore of plagiarism. Adrian Woods Frazier, *George Moore, 1852-1933*. (New Haven, Conn.; Yale University Press, 2000) p. 82 & 104 & 105

⁵⁴⁹ Seamus Deane in *Celtic Revivals: essays in modern Irish literature, 1880-1980* (London: Faber, 1985) discussed the parody of English culture and fiction which took place through a Catholic European heritage and culture in Joyce's writing. However, Moore is an important figure in this regard as Moore had already embarked upon a parody and treatment of Irish and English culture and fiction. Emer Nolan outlines in *Catholic Emancipations: Irish Fiction from Thomas Moore to James Joyce*, (p.xvii) that Moore's introduction of the Naturalist novel to

major impact upon the direction of the Irish short story particularly on the work of James Joyce. Therefore Moore's work is central to an understanding of the European strands of influence at work in Irish modernism. However, Moore's tendency towards controversy and challenging positions complicated his status among peers and his critics. Controversy coupled with a vast output of novels, letters and journalism means that Moore's work suffered due to a constant flow of books rather than a rigorously edited output. The work outlined in this thesis regarding Moore's position as following a tradition of satire and rebellion in the Irish novel needs further work to incorporate the European influence of Moore's satirical aesthetic in his autobiographies and its influence upon James Joyce and Elizabeth Bowen.

Turgenev's *A Sportsman's Sketches* (1852), one of the major works of European literature, shares the theme of the complicated and aggressive nature of the master and servant relationship with Griffin's *The Collegians* (1829). The condition of the Irish working-class under British rule was similar to serfdom in Russia. Turgenev underlined the humanity of the working-class, their skills and intelligence, the difficulty inherent in their daily lives and their human relationships.⁵⁵⁰ The characters lacked opportunity due to the paralysed nature of the feudal system. The derision and contempt at work in intellectual depictions of the working-classes in Russian literature was changed by Turgenev. The conscious and unconscious cruelty of serf-owners to their employees was portrayed. A comparative study of the Irish novel with the Russian serf novels of the nineteenth century is necessary to give an accurate reflection of the historical and realist state of

Britain and Ireland allowed oncoming Irish writers to bridge beyond English realism. The realities of Irish life as espoused in Moore's Naturalism allowed Irish writers to critique the crowd mentality of religion and politics.

⁵⁵⁰ See, Leonard Schapiro, *Turgenev: his Life and Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); Henri Troyat, *Turgenev*, trans. Nancy Amphoux (London: W.H. Allen & Co, 1989); *The Complete Correspondence Flaubert and Turgenev A Friendship in Letters* (New York: Fromm International Publishing Corporation, 1987), and George Moore, "Turgeneff" *Fortnightly Review*, 2680.254 (February 1888): 237-51.

the Irish novel in European terms. The colonial literature of Ireland is not as readily comparable to the Empirical literature of England and France despite geographical proximity.

John Wilson Foster in *Fictions of the Irish Literary Revival: A Changeling Art* stated that Moore was the unacknowledged father of Irish realism, making Joyce the stepfather.⁵⁵¹ Moore's shift from French Naturalism to French Realism is identified as happening under the influence of Balzac.⁵⁵² *Esther Waters* (1894) was a major novel for Moore as a London-based novelist. Moore celebrated the self whereas Irish Revivalists wanted to celebrate the history of Ireland and unify its divergent political and religious elements. John Wilson Foster highlights Moore's preface in *The Untilled Field* as stating that Synge was inspired by the book. Foster argues that Joyce was the writer influenced, not Synge.⁵⁵³ Wilson Foster pinpoints *The Untilled Field*'s "The Wild Goose" as the major influence for "The Dead" in Joyce's *Dubliners*.⁵⁵⁴ Moore's influence on Joyce, James Stephens, and Elizabeth Bowen requires further study. The influence of George Moore upon twentieth-century fiction has been neglected.

John Carey in *The Intellectuals and The Masses* associates the words "crackpot and pervert" with George Moore. Carey sought to challenge these associations by highlighting Moore as a friend of W.B. Yeats.⁵⁵⁵ Moore is described as a friend and collaborator of Yeats and a leading figure in the Irish Literary Renaissance. The truth of such statements was far more complex.⁵⁵⁶ Carey highlighted a passage from *Confessions of a Young Man* as an example of Moore's stance against democracy and a hatred of the

⁵⁵¹ John Wilson Foster, *Fictions of the Irish literary revival: a changeling art* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press; Dublin: Gill & Macmillan 1987) p. xviii.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁵⁵⁵ John Carey, *The Intellectuals and The Masses Pride and Prejudice among the Literary Intelligentsia, 1880-1939*. (London: Faber and Faber, 1992) p. 56.

⁵⁵⁶ Adrian Frazier documents the often fraught and close relationship of Moore and Yeats as friends and collaborators during Moore's time with the Revival. Frazier, *George Moore, 1852-1933*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

working-classes:

Pity, that most vile of all vile virtues, has never been known to me. The great pagan world I love knew it not. Now the world proposes to interrupt the terrible austere laws of nature which ordain that the weak shall be trampled upon, shall be ground into death and dust, that the strong shall be really strong,—that the strong shall be glorious, sublime. A little bourgeois comfort, a little bourgeois sense of right, cry the moderns.⁵⁵⁷

However, Carey failed to frame this quote against Moore's outlandishly humorous yet committed assertion of his interest in nothing more than writing. There was an irony at work in Moore's self portrayal. Moore dramatised the political speak of the upper classes and the working-classes, fight for equality. He used the words of Empire and connotations of the Imperial through virtue, pagan, strong, glorious, sublime, and bourgeois. Moore was lampooning a self-important snobbish artist who must remain within the bubble of the artist's world and ignore the world of others. It was a satirical stance upon the requirements of the writer seeking to become an elite artist. The one-dimensional presentation of Moore in Carey's book is unsettling. Moore's *Confessions* maintained that he ran from his responsibilities as a Landlord:

That some wretched farmers and miners should refuse to starve, that I may not be deprived of my demi-tasse at Tortoni's; that I may not be forced to leave this beautiful retreat, my cat and my python—monstrous. And these wretched creatures will find moral support in England; they will find pity!⁵⁵⁸

That Moore was actively promoting a denial of democracy for the working-classes was wrong. The lives of farmers and miners are dismissed so that Moore can undercut his writer's selfishness and highlight his Parisian attitude. Moore framed himself as enjoying coffee from a small Turkish-style cup 'my demi-tasse at Tortoni's'. Café Tortoni was a famous Parisian café on Boulevard des Italiens. This coffeehouse was frequented by the elite of the

⁵⁵⁷ George Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man*, p. 116.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

Paris art scene. Moore named items associated with the Orient and absurdly painted himself as a man on retreat with a cat and a snake for company. He satirically suggested it is the miners who are monstrous. The appeals of the miners will be met by the Empire using pity as a weapon towards what it perceived to be an inferior element. This was stressed by Moore in this ridicule of British Imperialism. It is not a dismissal of democracy for the working-classes but a stressing of individual and bourgeois selfishness.

Further work remains in outlining the development of such character moulds from Moore into James Joyce's *Dubliners*. Particularly, in the transfer of Moore's paralysed rural character cast of tenants and clerks into the urban clerk characters of James Joyce's *Dubliners*. The earlier novels of Griffin endeavoured to broaden, while Carleton attempted to reveal the limitations of Irish Catholic identity. These two strands of tenant depiction met as conflicting elements in Moore's work. George Moore offered a cultural analysis that viewed the Irish Catholic tenant as culturally arrested due to the moral grip of Catholicism in society. Moore was an author who saw potential in Irish identity but did not respect the philosophy of Catholicism. This became a more tempered and objective critique of society in Joyce's first work, where the system of regulation, lack of choice and independence was not centred on just criticism of Catholicism.

William Carleton's move into short stories and novels was one where money decided the outcome of his portrayal in terms of political angle, whether it was with the *Christian Examiner* or later for *The Nation*. Carleton's depiction of society did not so much reflect a culture in crisis but in arrested development. Some of the narratives on Carleton, and later Moore, were of an expedient move into Protestantism. The Protestant in Irish life had access to more opportunities. Carleton's satire was his crowning glory, offering to Irish literature a depiction of society that was undercut at every corner. There was no class, religion or institution safe from the venom of Carleton's wit. Carleton's engagement with the figure of O'Connell

through satire revealed a writer determined to question O'Connell's morality and tie it to agrarian violence and an untrustworthy nature. In Carleton's work the figure of O'Connell was tied to the tenant and not to the landowning class from which O'Connell emanated. The image of O'Connell and the tenant became deceitful and singular. Carleton wanted to sever links with his former Catholic origins in his early work. This changed when Carleton tried to find a more balanced authorial voice under the politics of *The Nation*.

This was similar to the later authorial portrayals of Moore's self-image in his autobiographies. However, Moore was not writing for his family's supper, he was using his image as a device. It was a layered satirical approach to fiction, reality and the status of the author. Moore purposefully complicated the self of the author as arrogant and removed from society while offering sweeping opinions of Irish society. He satirised his status as an author and absentee landlord; it was both a satirical lampoon of the landlord and the highbrow perception of the author as moral. Where Moore began and ended as a character was not obvious in his autobiography. It led to problems for Moore's reputation in society and long-term literary reputation but it meant that Moore remained in the social limelight in Dublin and London. The evolution of this narrative strand of authorial image was a fascinating development in the Irish satirical form, as Moore the absentee landlord-author parodied the crumbling condition of the landlord and put in place a self-ironisation of the author. How international authors such as Henry James, Zola, Walter Pater, G. B. Shaw, and Oscar Wilde in the 1880s and 90s played a role in influencing Moore's perception of the artist and the autobiographical presentation of self deserves to be considered alongside the long tradition of satire in the Irish novel regarding upper-class landlord characters. These figures were part of the social world of Moore's time in London, many of whom Moore made friends or enemies with. This research gestures towards a project to follow this.

An abundant assortment of influences is present in Moore's fiction, dominated by a European culture that he tirelessly engaged. Moore's style of reinvention and parody of former genres, in contrast to Murphy's stress on the Victorian novel traits in *A Drama in Muslim*, can be found in Flaubert and Zola's reinventions and parody of each other and their scrutiny of Balzac.⁵⁵⁹ Moore served a literary apprenticeship under the direction of Zola but created a unique style of Irish satire. The presence of Griffin and Carleton as significant Irish writers in the evolution of a transnational satire in Irish fiction, conjoined to tenant and landlord characters, should be a starting point for the European framework of Moore's work. Regardless of Moore's entrenchment in European literature, Moore's fiction enters a nineteenth-century Irish tradition.

Nineteenth-century Irish fiction's development in the construction of character and satire is important in charting the evolution of Irish identity. O'Connell, Griffin, Carleton, G.H., Kickham and George Moore created narratives of a unique distinctiveness, conjoined to a transnational element, which challenged Irish identity to change. These narratives were inspired by a multitude of developments, in politics and fiction, such as a drive for self-preservation, wealth, individuality, independence, nationhood, the advent of the short story and novel, patriotism and principles stretching from a strict moral code to ambitions of a cosmopolitan nature. Nineteenth-century Irish fiction engaged with elements of the transnational to assert a historical background and contemporary international status for Irish identity. Consequently, chronicling the stages of Irish fiction's development in the construction of character is important to chart the evolution of Irish identity.

⁵⁵⁹ See, Finn Fordham and Rita Sakr, *European Joyce Studies 19 James Joyce and The Nineteenth Century French Novel*. (New York: Rodopi, 2011) Jones tries to rectify the neglect of Moore in relation to Joyce. Moore is often overlooked in favour of directly linking Joyce to Flaubert or Zola overriding the influence of Moore.

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