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THE LITERATURE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY:

A CASE STUDY OF REVITALIZATION IN 19TH CENTURY COLONIAL IRELAND

by

PATRICK MICHAEL HUGHES

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

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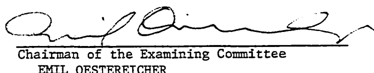
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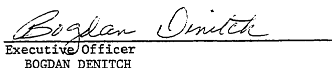
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Abstract

THE LITERATURE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY:

A CASE STUDY OF REVITALIZATION

IN 19TH CENTURY COLONIAL IRELAND

by

Patrick Michael Hughes

Adviser: Professor Emil Oestereicher

This dissertation examines the culture of national identity in a colonial situation. While a modern development requires the transformation of traditional class structures, in Ireland, the urban middle classes also had to overcome the problem of settler and native status community differentiation while relating to an overseas colonial state.

An investigation of the Irish Tories, Daniel O'Connell, and the Young Irelanders of the 1830s and '40s reveals a high degree of social cleavage. The political classes of Dublin failed to unite and develop an industry which would absorb the massive rural population made redundant by the rationalization of agriculture. Apart from the antagonism of Protestant settler and Catholic native, each social class was internally divided. A natural aristocracy confronted an upwardly mobile new elite while one church sought to outmaneuver the other. The secularized were tied to a conservative clergy; those articulating a specific Irish interest were associated with a political party at Westminster. The economic and political proposals of this period reflected these oppositions, the contradictory and impossible nature of their situation.

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However, they did formulate an aesthetic nationhood in the pages of Dublin University Magazine and the cultural nationalism of Thomas Davis. While in 19th century Europe there was a popular urban identification with the modern nation, economic opportunities and the "march of the intellect," in Ireland, the culture of national identity, Tory and progressive, looked to the past. To achieve hegemony within the middle classes, all sought to naturalize their own social class, defining the nation through a revitalization of different symbologies from long dead eras or using the imagery of social classes in their twilight years.

The inner structure and form of this 19th century aesthetic nationhood is analyzed in a selection of materials ranging from Moore's Irish Melodies to W.B. Yeats and the cultural renaissance at the turn of the 20th century.

Aspects of Karl Marx's political theory, Roland Barthes' theory of myth as depoliticized speech, and Max Weber's theory of status legend are critically incorporated in this case study of a revitalized national identity.

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Acknowledgments

I wish to thank my wife, Mary, for her support throughout the years in which this thesis was formulated. I also thank all those who in conversations, debates and arguments in Ireland, Brazil and New York, contributed to the development of my ideas.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the 18th century many new nation-states have been formed and older nations made new. In contrast with their relative isolation in the past, economic integration in the international market posed the problem of identity for each regional society. All faced the problem of establishing a unique, distinctive national identity while at the same time embracing the modern institutions and norms of an international community. In a colonial society this question takes a particular form. First, the relation with the foreign power must be resolved and this involves a cultural problem of being different from their oppressors. Second, there are two social problems that must be resolved within that colonial society. There may be two status groups, settler and native, as in Ireland. And then there is the normal modern problem, the predominance of the landed classes over urban strata must be abolished. In terms of both these social realities, a social revolution is necessary and this also involves a transformation of culture.

In this thesis I will examine how these problems were resolved in Ireland. A comparison with other nations will enable us to map out the specific difference of the Irish path to a modern identity.

Ireland, as part of Great Britain, saw the end of absolute monarchy in the 17th century. However, the new polity did not signify the release of all the lower orders of society or their political emancipation. Since this was an era of extremely repressive legislation for Catholic landholders especially (the penal laws), it was difficult for native Irish to identify with the new state and its enlightened rationalism. A popular identification with the idea of a new kind of nation-state only made its appearance in Ireland after the American and French revolutions.

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The American identity, according to S.M. Lipset, consisted in a popular loyalty to a new political unity or entity, the nation-state, and the institutionalization of a radically different political culture. "National identity was formed under the aegis first of a charismatic authority figure, and later under the leadership of a dominant 'left wing' or revolutionary party led successively by three Founding Fathers. . . . The Revolutionary democratic values, which thus became part of its national image and the basis for its authority structure, gained legitimacy as they proved effective" (1). The popular nature of the political revolution of the "intermediary class of society" (2), as Metternick described it to the Tsar in 1820, was even more evident in France. Apart from the days of the Sans Culottes and the overthrow of the Bastille, the "little corporal," Napoleon, was perceived as an Emperor who rose from below, a leadership that came from among the people. Even though he stabilized the revolution and established the authoritarian apparatus of the new state, he was "the figure every man who broke with tradition could identify with in his dreams" (3).

The social movement known as the United Irishmen in the 1790s identified with both these political revolutions. But it did not succeed in uniting the population of Ireland in a demand for a separate state. For all United Irishmen the American case was especially apt since it signified the formation of a separatist state on the part of a colonial society. The French case, however, was less apt since it represented the overthrow of an aristocracy. This class question was complicated by the fact that the aristocracy of Ireland was Protestant and of settler stock while the peasantry in southern Ireland was Catholic, of Gaelic stock. On the other hand many of the urban middle class in the Dublin United

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Irishmen were Catholics whereas all of the Belfast and northern "rebels" were Protestant. These complex class and social class combinations resulted in the formation of two different views of the United Irishmen and the social movement and generated different "rebellions." (4)

Political developments in Great Britain itself lagged behind such radical transformations. It was not until the reforms of 1829 through the '30s that a popular participation and influence in government were legally established. However, the second leg of the "dual revolution" which characterized the modern era had already made its appearance in England. In the words of Eric Hobsbawm, the industrial revolution "means that some time in the 1780s, and for the first time in human history, the shackles were taken off the productive power of human societies, which henceforth became capable of the constant, rapid, and up to the present limitless multiplication of men, goods and services. This is now technically known to the economists as the 'take-off into self-sustained growth'" (5).

In all these leading nations, a political leadership of the intermediary class articulated the new identity for their social world. They openly sought a popular identification with the new state. This form of domination became a legitimate authority. On the other hand an intellectual elite formulated a concept of the dual revolution in terms of the progress of civilization, and the "wealth of nations" which these changes implied. There were indeed some reservations concerning the new society and new nation. Many agreed with Carlyle that the "cash nexus" was the only remaining social bond in this new world. However, in all three nations, belief in the progressive movement of history became the prevailing view. Even in A. de Tocqueville's recognition of the horrors of a well established factory system in Manchester in 1835, we find an

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emphasis on the more positive aspect of the situation. "From this foul drain the greatest stream of human industry flows out to fertilize the whole world. From this filthy sewer pure gold flows. Here humanity attains its most complete development and its most brutish, here civilization works its miracles and civilized man is turned almost into a savage" (6).

The first nations of the new industrial and political era positively embraced their socio-economic changes. The progress of the nation and the progress of all modern social classes,i.e., those that emerged in the urban industrial revolution and gained predominance over rural society--were synonymous in the early stages of development (even if at a later stage the limits set by their unity would pose a problem for the further development of these independent elements of society). There was a popular identification with the modern nation, its political culture, personal freedoms, modes of organization, institutional arrangements, technological and scientific growth and economic opportunities. The new came to be synonymous with the good. The many adherents of the rationalist "march of the intellect" were happy to shed all aristocratic and religious traditions, forms of authority, anachronistic modes of behavior and the superstitious conceptions of their predecessors. The distinctive and unique characteristics that they sought consisted in a desire to be more advanced, more progressive, more powerful politically and economically than all other societies and nations.

The Italian nation-state was conceived in a condition of economic, political and social backwardness. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries intellectuals of the Futurist movement especially articulated the social aspirations of an elite political class. Everything associated

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with the actual retarded conditions of their society was to be rooted out. Italy should cease to be irrelevant in the international community and play a leading role in the modern world. Their society would be made of new cloth and composed of new men. The new Italian nation was idealized in terms of modernized magnificence. Neverthless, though modernized and hence similar to and even greater than all other nations, their new world would be uniquely Italian. Their nation was to be distinct from all the nations of the new world. Fascism would be their distinctive and Italian route to ultramodernism. A Fascist Italy would be a modern but at the same time a nationalist—i.e., parochial Italian—community. Mussolini was to politically articulate this aspiration and culture of the intelligentsia and effectively establish the new Italy. The literary and intellectual idea was to be historically real. However, the revolution of the intermediary class no longer substituted the liberal state for an absolute monarchy, but established an authoritarian master of economic and cultural formation.

The culture of social identity in Ireland was quite different from that of those nations which engaged in the revolutionary overthrow of traditional cultures and self-images. While 18th century social identities and cultures were indeed supplanted, it was the symbology of long dead and dying social classes and eras that came to prevail as the content in revitalized forms of social and national identities. The focus of this study therefore is not the fact that Ireland became a nation-state or that a nationalism developed, or the role that nationalism has played. There are many excellent studies of such histories. Here rather we are looking at the kind of social and national identity that prevailed, a revitalized one, composed and expressed through a very specific kind of

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cultural symbology.

Revitalizations by both conservative and progressive elements in the 19th century Ireland were not futuristic in orientation. On the other hand, the "Gaelic Catholic Ireland" proposed especially by the Fianna Fail Party ("Soldiers of Destiny"), clergy and nuns in the '20s through the '50s, even if it did have a notion of a "lofty destiny" for Ireland, was thoroughly anti-modern. From the standpoint of this revitalization "modernist" self-conceptions and world views were judged essentially unhealthy. Hence the new Ireland of this era was to reject all modern social philosophies and identities--the rational secular traditions of bourgeois England and Ireland itself, the "atheistic" communist labor movement, the Fascism of Germany and Italy.

This does not mean that modern cultures and ideas were not articulated in Ireland. Indeed the many modernist Irish writers and intellectuals who in their own lifetimes were acclaimed by the international world as the "greats" of this century found themselves banned or very selectively retained in their native land. None of these ideologies achieved hegemony within any social class though all were assimilated in part by one or another revitalization.

Moreover, national identity is formulated and expressed in literature, in the aesthetic region, especially in poetry, song and story, rather than in the analytical form that prevailed in modernist nations. After the 18th century, philosphical conceptions were mainly borrowed from European thinkers. No "political economy" or "school of philosophy" or any other complete paradigm or scientific formulation was produced. Nationalist ideological and cultural forms lacked an analytical perspective. All prominent writers articulated their viewpoint mainly

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within a traditional Irish form with a verbal-oral emphasis on poetry, song and story.

They used this medium to communicate a "stance," a passion, a "synthesis" (7) that integrated feelings which were hitherto experienced only by the isolated individual. This cultural form or communication matrix can be easily developed on different levels of cultural sophistication ranging from archeology to football. Not only did revitalization mean a rediscovery of ancient works, but it also meant an ongoing production of a whole new literature, arts, theatre, poetry. It involved the professionalism of the writers and the business acumen of editors and publishers and an interested readership. As an intellectual endeavor, this constructive action has implied a "refashioning of the aesthetic region of ideology" (8). Of even greater significance is the possibility that this form of social identity and cultural aesthetic has meant "substituting that region for ideology as such" (9).

In Ireland then modernization and development combine with a revitalization of culture and identity in a single contradictory symbiosis. They are a synthesis, they make one another necessary and possible. We find a reformulation of a pre-modern, pre-British, pre-capitalist culture and national identity accompanying the very process of specific development and displacement, class formation and modernization itself. In other words the more modern, capitalist and internationally integrated the island became, the more a pre-capitalist national identity and aesthetic emerged.

From the methodological point of view this historical sociological study requires that distinction be made between structure and process. This is a study of the structure underlying the process--i.e., the

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appearances in Irish history. Research must uncover the ongoing structure and its principal operations in Irish society made manifest on the level of process. It must reveal the social relations that fully comprehend this specific revitalization. The structure itself is always a co-determination of many factors. Once research and analysis have determined and clarified this configuration of factors, the operation of this structure can be used to explain the many paradoxical events that make no sense except as the manifestation of such a structure.

Initially this study was formulated within the perspective of Georg Lukacs in The Historical Novel (1881). At the very general level I was looking at the Marxist theory of reflection in relation to the problem of the differentiation of forms in culture and aesthetics. Lukacs sought to "demonstrate that its (the historical novel's) different problems of form are but artistic reflections of those social-historical transformations" (10). In his 1960 preface, Lukacs says: "What I had in mind was a theoretical examination of the interaction between the historical spirit and the great genres of history which portray the totality of history" (11). However, the actual investigation of the materials gradually evoked a different methodological and theoretical perspective.

I was also very much aware of Marx's point (12) that one should not assume a direct relation between the regional socio-economic situation and the cultural developments within that region. Thus Germany had developed the most advanced form of thought concerning the modern state even though the practical break with the past had taken place elsewhere.

We will examine only some of the literature of national identity and this from a specific period of Irish history, that of the 19th century. The term 19th century will itself be broadly defined to include the late

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18th and the early 20th centuries. Thus, the period begins with the industrial revolution and the political event of the United Irishmen and ends before the successful struggle for national independence (1916-1922).

There is a structural reason for limiting this study to the 19th century as defined above. The industrial revolution made a great change in Irish society. This will be analyzed in detail later. But there was also a radical change in the structure of Irish society at the end of our period. When the land war of tenants and the Ascendancy landlords of Ireland was finally settled, it established a whole new class of proprietors, the farmers of Ireland, who were subsidized and financed in this buy-out in the late 19th but more broadly speaking in the early 20th century (13). Secondly, at the turn of the century and during the recovery period after the great depression of the 1870s, industry in southern Ireland became even more concentrated and modern even if it still was not an industrialization of Irish society (14). Thirdly, the new century saw the emergence of a large-scale working class movement in the cities of Ireland (15).

Finally, it was also in the early 20th century that the status relations of Protestant and Catholic populations were resolved. It was not, however, through their fusion in a single Irish nation as the United Irishmen of the 1790s and the 19th century nationalists had hoped. Instead the problem was shelved through the partition of the island. In Northern Ireland Protestant supremacy and domination were maintained and guaranteed by Westminster. In the south, where the Protestant population was very small and tended to be wealthy as a social class, they maintained a very low profile within a Catholic nation.

These structural transformations did not mean that the problem of

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national identity and the revitalization of culture ceased to have relevance. When Fianna Fail, or "Soldiers of Destiny," which would dominate political life in the new state, was founded in 1926 (16), the name signified a banding together of the people for national service. Their standard of personal honour would be as high as that which characterized the ancient Fianna Eireann, and their spirit of devotion should be equal to that of the Irish Volunteers (1913-1921).

In this statement the image, the ancient Fianna or the warrior class of pre-Christian Ireland, is taken over by a new concept, that of a loyal and honorable servant of the nation. Moreover, a "part" of the nation, a political party, appropriates the national identity to itself, a "part" becomes the nation. Revitalizations continued to prevail for some time and as recent events in Northern Ireland show the thorny question of national identity remains a central issue even if 20th century Ireland gives these questions a new direction.

The study is arranged in six chapters.

In Chapter 1, I show how the union with Great Britain (1800), the industrial revolution and the Reform government at Westminster (1829-) affected the different strata of the population of Ireland. The new international market situation determined a decline in urban Ireland and the re-establishment of agriculture as the primary and unchallenged economic activity. At the same time the political transformations at Westminster not only opened the political door to the upwardly mobile Catholic middle class, but also left the landlords of Ireland dependent on a bourgeois state. Moreover, it divided the middle class of Ireland, allowing this new strata to challenge the hegemonic Protestant gentry and middle class of Dublin.

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In Chapters 2, 3 and 4 I show how the different strata responded to this situation. The Protestant gentry led by the Tory party in Dublin and whose ideas are found in the pages of Dublin University Magazine (see Appendix 1) took two contradictory stances. They thought of re-establishing the Protestant community in southern Ireland. They thought of controlling the political debate and culture of the Catholic population should it remain in Ireland.

In Chapter 2, I demonstrate how the Tory gentry blended their Christianity, political economy and political science in a critique of the Reform government of England and the new industrial society. Their solution for Ireland was to try and regain control of the market forces, to manage the Irish economy both at the local level and the national level. This control meant reducing the labor supply by forcing the exile of the "agitators," the Catholic laborers and tenants and planting Protestants in southern Ireland in a rational manner.

Even though there was no hope of achieving this, it is important that this policy be shown as their most important strategy. Moreover, in this section we see how they blended religion and social policy and how they understood the meaning of religion and national identity in Ireland.

The Irish liberals on the other hand (Chapter 3) sought to break the power of the Protestant gentry and landlords especially. O'Connell, who headed the Repealers, took two approaches. First, he sided with the Liberals at Westminster on every issue. Second, he argued that the Act of Union should be repealed in order to attack the decline in Irish manufactures. This latter policy posed the most serious threat to the Protestant middle class since the Catholic middle class vote in southern

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Ireland would have been able to gain a Parliamentary victory in the long run.

A "left wing" in the Repeal movement, the Young Irelanders, led by Thomas Davis, proposed a more serious social transformation of Irish society. Davis argued for the explusion of the foreign aristocracy and the establishment of peasant proprietorship in rural Ireland. On the other hand, unlike O'Connell, he did not seek to introduce the factory system to Ireland, but rather a return to the system of home manufactures, the 18th century model. To achieve both these goals he decided that the Union with Britain would have to be broken. Hence both he and O'Connell translated the social questions into a political issue of the Union.

On the other hand, in order to gain the support among the Protestant middle class and landlords for the Repeal, and to unite Catholic and Protestant factions of the middle class, Davis formulated a cultural nationalism--a nationhood that stood above all these practical divisions.

In Chapter 4, then, I show how the Tories also assumed in this same period that the native Gaelic population would remain in Ireland and hence would have to be won over to the cause of the Tories and the Union. Hence they tried to control the direction of the cultural developments in the 19th century. They tried to aid Westminster introduce a secular educational system and to re-define the concept of the Irish nation, eliminating the Catholic content.

But they also realized that the Irish interest as a region was opposed to that of England. Hence the new Irish population would have to formulate a national literature and culture; they too articulated the need for a cultural nationalism.

They tried to identify the specific quality of the native Irish

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people for their readers. In this they hoped that a better knowledge of the finer qualities of the Irish peasantry would allow their landlords and gentry of settler stock to appreciate them as a population worthy of their aristocratic and enlightened leadership.

Davis too struggled for the same middle class and gentry mind, to develop a sense of the national distinctiveness. But many of the Young Irelanders during the Great Famine took a more radical stance. The failure of all practical solutions pushed them to armed insurrection. They were crushed in 1848, but the Dublin Tories, in the absence of an organized Catholic middle class at this point began to identify with the cultural nationalism that Davis had articulated for them.

In Chapter 5, "The Remembrance of Things Past," I examine the literature of 19th century Ireland concerning national identity. The chapter begins with a brief methodological discussion of how the literature has been selected and how it is to be presented in the chapter. Basically the material is presented according to its function, to motivate or to make a status claim in political interaction. These two criteria are cross-related to class content both in terms of the "past" which is revitalized and the class for which it is intended.

In Chapter 6, there is a theoretical discussion of the findings in both the historical material and the aesthetic form of national identity.

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Footnotes: Introduction

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16. See The Earl of Longford (Frank Pakenham, 7th Earl of) and Thomas P. O'Neill, Eamon de Valera (London: Hutchinson of London, 1970), pp. 245f.

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CHAPTER 1

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATIONS IN PRE-FAMINE IRISH SOCIETY

In this chapter I will examine the structural transformations in the Irish economy during the 19th century. First I will outline the colonial history and the economic and political developments of the 18th century. We will then look at the effects of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain and Ireland and how it affected Dublin city. There follows a discussion of the 19th century agricultural market and the transformation of landed capital.

This section relies heavily on a number of writers for their original research and economic data: Cullen (1972), Clark (1979), Crotty (1966), and Pomfret (1969). It is their investigation of the facts that makes this summary assessment possible.

I then go on to show how the significance of the Act of Union was changed by the establishment of a Reform Government in England in 1829. An agricultural Ireland and a weak and divided middle class had no political center but were tied to a modern bourgeois state.

Historical Background: The 18th Century

The island of Ireland was largely unaffected by the great developments in European history until the 16th century. A community life of clansmen and their chieftains engaged in agricultural production for their own consumption remained unchanged in spite of the many invaders who settled in the country. The Catholic Church converted the population in the 4th and 5th centuries to a new cultural form. But this event did not

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affect the economic system nor did the cultural integration of the island result in a political identity or political unification. Ninth century Danish invaders tended to "become more Irish than the Irish themselves." They lost their own identity and cultural distinctivenss and were assimilated.

It was not until the Anglo-Norman invasion that two status groups were established. These settlers remained spatially segregated from the lands of the clansmen and were mainly confined to a small area near Dublin known as the Pale. Though not distinct from the point of view of religion, they retained their identity. Intermarriage between the aristocratic families of both status groups diffused antagonisms somewhat.

The plantations of the 16th and 17th centuries brought a different kind of invader. These outsiders introduced a completely new economic system in which private rather than clan property and production for a market rather than for use prevailed. They were, moreover, of a different religion—Protestant. During these two centuries almost the whole ruling elite of Gaelic Ireland went into exile. Many of the Anglo-Norman aristocratic families suffered the same fate as the Gaelic chieftains.

For the first time the whole island was now subject to one system, and integrated politically and administratively. The Dublin Parliament was, however, subject to Westminster. Within this state two status groups were formed. In this religiously stratified social order, Catholics were not citizens and could not easily have property in land, could not vote or participate in government (1). Within the Protestant status group, citizens were either Presbyterian Dissenters or Established Church. The former were spatially segregated though not completely confined to what is now Northern Ireland. There they formed the bulk of the population. The

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Ascendancy or Church of England Protestants were spread throughout the island but as an elite. Most of their tenants and laborers were Gaelic and Catholic. They firmly controlled Dublin city and its parliament, and dominated commercial and cultural life. It was through Dublin that the enlightenment reached Irish shores and found some of its more able spokesmen during the 17th and 18th centuries (2).

While economic production was in general improved in spite of the horrors experienced by the Catholic peasants at the hands of middlemen who held long-term leases, it was not until after 1730 that the Irish economy experienced real prosperity. With some exceptions Irish producers in both manufactures and agriculture gradually came to participate in English and colonial markets and to provision the naval forces of England. The expansion was not confined to Dublin, Belfast and Cork, the major cities on the east and southeast coast. Domestic employment combined with agricultural employment even in many regions of the western seaboard (3).

This happy world of the peasant who could earn money for the first time was given poetic form by William Allingham a century later when it no longer existed. He pictures the Leprechaun or Fairy Shoemaker happily engaged in his work accumulating his pot of gold while hidden from prying eyes in his fairy rath. The passerby only hears the tip-tap of the little hammer and can barely distinguish the sound from that of "the grasshopper and the bee." If you "lay your ear close to the hill" you might hear him speak:

> Scarlet leather, sewn together,
>   This will make a shoe.
> Left, right, pull it tight:
>   Summer days are warm;
> Underground in winter,
>   Laughing at the storm!
> ...

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Big boots a-hunting,
Sandals in the hall,
White for the wedding feast,
Pink for a ball.
This way, that way,
So we make a shoe;
Getting rich every stitch,
Tick-tack-too! (4)

Indeed the "busy click of the elfin hammer" in the countryside was the counterpart of a thriving craft industry in urban Ireland. Dublin city expanded as the seat of banking, wholesale business and trading. Cork city supplied the colonial markets and provisioned naval vessels. Belfast, of course, began its great linen industry. But it was Dublin that especially thrived. During the last half of the century its great architectural masterpieces were built. Dublin parliamentarians and businessmen even confronted their English government. The Grattan Parliament was successful in its demands for great autonomy and freedom in legislation. Its parliamentary debates were bound in the finest leather and adorned with the most exquisite design renowned throughout the world.

Self-assertion took the form of a separatist drive in the 1790s. Wolfe Tone, of Protestant Cromwellian stock, a barrister and son of a Dublin coachbuilder, led the United Irishmen, founded in Belfast. Thomas Paine's Rights of Man became, in Tone's words, the Koran of Belfast. Initially the movement intended to continue agitating for parliamentary reforms begun during the Grattan era. However, it was radicalized very quickly and devloped into a nationalist and separatist drive. They now sought "to break the connection with England," Tone wrote in his diary. They should forge a united front of the whole people of Ireland. In place of the former divisive identities—the denominations of Protestant,

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Catholic, and Dissenter--they would substitute "the common name of Irishmen" (5).

Tone had from the beginning attempted to unite Catholic and Dissenter. When founded in 1791, the movement declared itself "constituted for the purpose of forwarding a Brotherhood of affection, a communion of Rights, and a Union of Power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the Principles of civil, political and religious liberty" (6). The United Irishmen were the first and last completely non-sectarian and fully ecumenical Irish rebellion (7).

The majority of those involved in this political organization were urban middle class Protestants professing "the religion of sensible men" (8). But the movement also had its Lafayettes. Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey lead a Catholic peasantry in rebellion against their own class and status group, the Protestant landlords. This combination of urban middle class and a Catholic peasantry mediated by a minority of dissident gentry would characterize the radical nationalism of the 19th century. However, as O'Brien points out (9), in the United Irishmen, Protestant and Catholic viewed the French revolution differently. The Protestant urbanite focused on the revolution as a war on superstition--i.e., medieval Catholicism. The Catholic element looked to the end of feudal, i.e., Protestant privileges.

The first nationalist movement organized by a minority generated a very real though contradictory unity among the political class (10). In its hour of rebellion the United Irishmen were crushed militarily and politically in both the Protestant and Catholic communities. When Robert Emmett made a final attempt to resurrect a republican Ireland in 1803, he

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was pushed aside by a Dublin mob that roved leaderless through the streets. This inglorious moment was forgotten, however, in nineteenth century nationalist imagery. His address to the court on being sentenced, with its emphasis on blood, death, self-denial and sacrifice and the cultic worship of the nation-state, translated the nationalist reality into a glorious media event, and the real unity into a non-event.

> My lords you are impatient for the sacrifice. The blood which you seek is not congealed by the artificial terrors which surround your victim—it circulates warmly and unruffled through the channels which God created for noble purposes . . . Let my memory be left in oblivion, and my tomb remain uninscribed, until other times and other men can do justice to my character. When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written. I have done. (11)

The real unity of the political class was composed of strange bedfellows. Westminster was, of course, at war with Napoleon and Tone had attempted to exploit the situation and open a revolutionary back door to England. But the British government had another urgent military reason for securing te Irish situation and binding the island to her jurisdiction. During the 18th century, warfare had shifted from land to sea and the Brisih Navy had come to rely heavily on Irish foodstuffs. Politically, Prime Minister Pitt succeeded in forging an alliance of the Catholic hierarchy, the Ascendancy landlords and most of the urban middle class. The Irish Parliament voted itself out of existence and the Act of Union of 1800 esablished the common market of Great Britain and Ireland in the political-administrative unit of Westminster.

The Act of Union was not the outcome of disunity—quite the contrary. It represented a national front different from that envisaged by the rebels. The Catholic hierarchy, of course, wanted nothing of the French

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revolution and its secular enlightenment. The Wexford rebellion in 1798 of Catholic peasants organized by some parish clergy and militarily led by landlord Harvey was not supported by the Church. However, the Church's support of the landed aristocracy and opposition to the secularism of Irish Jacobites was combined with a progressive drive for Catholic emancipation. Prime Minister Pitt not only gave financial support to the Catholic Church to organize the training of a clergy in Ireland rather than have them going to revolutionary Europe, but he also promised emancipation in return for their support of the union.

The Protestant Parliament of Dublin had enacted penal laws which outlawed but failed to suppress the Catholic Church. Catholic ownership of land was made very difficult and precarious though not impossible, and in practice during the 18th century the laws were not seriously enforced. Their exclusion from land guaranteed the settlers and the Church of England against claims on the land they had expropriated from the Gaelic aristocracy or rather the clans of Ireland. But the code did not prohibit Catholics from commercial and financial activities, though merchants could not participate in urban guilds. By the end of the century Catholic merchants were quite strong and had considerable influence (12).

Yet their legal insecurity threatened investments and loans. Their financial strength afforded them political influence in local government and the Dublin Parliament but they only had indirect leverage since they could not hold office. Urban Catholics could therefore see the Union as a real improvement and liberation from the domination of local government which would never give them citizenship status. Westminster's House of Commons was not interested in the religion of its population and the Industrial Revolution just begun sought the freedom of labor and

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investment in civil society, not the monopoly of any status minority. (As it turned out the Liberal Ascendancy was unable to keep this promise of emancipation. It was blocked after the Union by other English Lords in alliance with the Irish landlords and only conceded after the agitations led by Daniel O'Connell in 1919.)

As for the Irish Ascendancy, the Union offered full partnership in the most advanced economy of the world. Irish investors and merchants would have access to British and overseas markets and complete freedom to avail of the profitable opportunities of England's finest century. Of course the reverse was also true. British capital as well as British commodities would be free to flow to Ireland and did. Protections for Irish manufactures and banking would be gradually removed. One exchequer would control the revenues of both islands. Irish parliamentarians would sit at Westminster in full equality to govern Great Britain.

This prospect contrasted with the potential threat of a Catholic peasantry in rebellion with Jacobite revolutionaries. They would have the protection of British troops and Peelers. But it was the landlords who most needed this alliance. Having lost the overseas markets England was the main export market for Irish beef, pork and butter at the turn of the century (13). The Jacobite alliance with an America that did not need agricultural supplies and a France that had a peasant proprietorship was clearly uninteresting.

However, by 1830 the economy and politics of the Irish situation had been transformed utterly. We will first examine the economic developments.

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The Industrial Revolution and Depression

Change did not take place overnight. For example, in the woollen industry, Irish firms that had once dominated the home market resisted competition in the late 1790s by introducing factory type firms. They were successful in halting the decline in output and employment. Even though the population growth at this time was extremely high, woollen imports in 1825 were somewhat below the total for 1799-1800. However, the depression forced English manufacturers to sell their unsold stocks at very low prices. Irish firms were idle for many months. Small firms were eliminated and the large ones took years to recover. By 1838 Irish woollen textile industry only supplied about 14 per cent of the Irish market. A few firms such as the worsted trade at Mountmellick and Abbeyleix emerged strengthened and purified. But most of capital in the woollen industry was centralized and concentrated in Yorkshire, England (14).

The linen trade was stagnant in the first two decades of the century. Exports recorded for 1795/6 were not exceeded until 1817 when they fell again during the general depression in industry, 1819-20. Cotton mills, however, had expanded principally around Belfast and thrived during the first two decades. After the recession cotton mills were closed down almost everywhere but northern investors transferred capital to the linen industry. Exports in linen had recovered by 1825. Water powered machinery was introduced in the '20s to spin the flax, and steam power the following decade. As the linen industry expanded, it drew its regional population into the city of Belfast where they had hitherto been exmployed in the domestic aspects of cotton and linen production. In 1852 there were 28 mills in the city (15). Later shipbuilding was added to make

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Belfast a full partner of the British industrial revolution.

Belfast therefore became the locus of an urban modernized and skilled population. But it was a spatially isolated segregated status community of Protestants who controlled and monopolized both the investment and labor markets. Its major markets for both linen and ships directed all attention towards England and overseas. Belfast would have little economic relationship with the remainder of the island, but especially Dublin. Though it had been totally dependent on a centralized money market and wholesale monopolies in Dublin in the 18th century, the city now broke loose. The linen industry dealt directly with its suppliers in the countryside and in theirexport trade with wholesalers in England (16). Politically it was no longer dependent on Dublin or the south.

Dublin, however, was displaced as the most important economic center of Ireland. The textile industries in the Liberties succumbed before competition and many of its craft industries, the pride of the 18th century, had no place in the standardized mass production of the industrial revolution. Transport became a major source of employment. Unlike most of the other major cities in the south, its population continued to expand from 185,881 in 1821 to 232,726 in 1841 (17). But the city functioned as a center for the export of agricultural goods and the importation of consumer goods. The city's elite gave no direction to this process. The few large industrial firms that survived—e.g., Guinness—were not sufficient to make Dublin an industrial center.

Not only did it experience the loss of control over Belfast, but it also suffered from a process of decentralization in the south. Dublin money markets that had dominated all Ireland and the Bank of Ireland lost all real influence. In the import business, merchants and bleachers

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shipped goods directly overseas on their own account, reducing their reliance on intermediaries in the Irish capital. In the import business, country wholesalers often chose to deal directly with merchants in Britain. These direct exchanges between the villages, towns and cities outside Dublin with their counterparts in England meant that local merchants and banks needed balances in England. Balances held in London were used to finance the overseas trade. Thus, the Bank of Ireland in Dublin lost accounts to local banks. In turn local banking revolved around discounting of bills on English commercial centers and the Bank of England. They became part of the centralized financial market of Great Britain and Ireland located in London. Dublin lost its control of the financing of manufacturing, the wholesale business, insurance and local accounts (18).

Dublin also lost out when checking accounts were introduced. The bill of exchange had financed inland and foreign trade in the 18th century. But this major form of investment was phased out when after the 1830s payments were organized through checking accounts. Government securities became the source of investment. Thus, when Irish local banks were in difficulties they were not dependent on the Bank of Ireland for assistance but would sell some of their holdings of securities on the London market (19).

Ireland lost its woollen and cotton industries to Yorkshire and Lancashire and the linen industry was concentrated in Belfast city. However, in the remainder of the island no new large-scale industrial plant developed. Some individual firms would indeed be among the greatest competitors in the international markets of the century once they reorganized. These would also grow in their monopoly control of Irish and

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even English markets. But the larger cities, insofar as they developed, functioned more as a locus for the circulation of commodities or transport centers. They connected the great industrial centers with agricultural Ireland which, as we shall see, was the locus of employment and progress. Outside of Belfast the population experienced the consequences of the industrial revolution, but did not have an industrial revolution itself; the large rural population was not transferred to Irish cities.

The industrial, wholesale and banking depression of Dublin did not mean that there was a shortage of capital in Ireland though it consisted of small amounts rather than large concentrations. In the mid-century there was in fact an actual surplus of capital in relation to the demand for it within Ireland. The English insurance and railway companies knew this. They advertised their shares in Irish papers and appointed agents in various towns to tap the potential supply. By 1860 about 40 million pounds of Irish money were invested in British government stock and another 20 million pounds were on deposit in the Irish joint stock and savings banks. Since only a small amount of capital was required for manufacturing industry compared with infrastructural investments in roads, docks, ships, etc., there was sufficient capital to launch an industrial revolution in the south. But risk capital for most of the entrepreneurial activity in Ireland came from England. When the investment proved itself capable of survival—e.g., railways, banks, shipping, brewing—then Irish capital bought out the stock. Solid dividends were considered better than risky innovation (20).

Thus, in southern Ireland we find the paradoxical situation of a monied middle class and, as we shall see, a successful tenant farmer class who deposited their savings in local banks which financed growth. As

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private individuals they accumulated capital by vicarious investment in the industrial revolution while their social world experienced considerable decline and the dissolution of its most advanced center, Dublin.

Previously Irish businesses had tended to operate with their own private capital rather than as joint stock companies which shared the risk with others. Given the general insecurity of doing business and the local improvement in agriculture after the '30s, we find not only an exceptionally large number of professional people in Ireland and a rapid turnover of firms, but also many used business as a stepping stone to investment in land. ". . . encumbered estates were gobbled up by the middle class buyers once they came on the market after 1850" (21).

Pre-Famine Transformations in Agriculture and the Rural South

During the industrial revolution and Great Britain's imperial hour agricultural production prevailed as the basis of the Irish economy. Its population remained dependent on the land and emigration. It was the rural areas—the world of landlords, tenants, cottiers, and laborers—and the small towns and villages with their petit bourgeoisie that serviced their consumption needs that experienced real if painful economic development. But this progress was contradictory. The development of landed capital was not a smooth linear affair but consisted in the successful though painful resolution in the 19th century of a number of problems. What follows is an analysis of the structural constraints operating in this sector of the economy, the principal axis of 19th century Irish society (if one excludes Belfast) (22).

Toward the end of the 18th century Ireland lost the coloninal trade.

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This was especially ruinous in the case of Cork as the city's export trade died. Population growth ceased after 1821. In the 1840s, the exports of beef and pork to destinations outside the home market of the two islands were only 1/35th of the corresponding exports in the end of the 1780s (23).

As part of Great Britain, Irish agriculture had therefore equality of access to the urban markets that expanded with the industrial revolution. Apart from the high degree of competition with British producers, this market involved a very different kind of political force from that which operated in the provisioning of the British colonies and ships. The pressure to keep down the price of foodstuffs emanated from all urban classes.

The Napoleonic Wars helped to keep agricultural prices high, but after 1815 the depression hit agriculture as well as manufacturers and industry. Heavy competition between English landlords and farmers and their Irish counterparts for a smaller market drove prices for foodstuffs to all-time lows. Between 1812-15 and the 1830s prices fell by a third or more, especially for corn, butter and provisions (24). Though prices recovered after the mid-twenties and improved in the thirties, it was by means of increased output for an expanding urban population of Great Britain that farmers and the great estates were able to keep their heads above water.

This efficiency in production compensated for the fact that the recovery in agriculture did not mean that prices returned to former levels. Indeed, throughout the century the pattern of overall prices for farm goods in Britain shows a steady fall with the high points in the new cyclical patterns forever lower than formers highs (25). The decline was

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most significant in wheat than in any other commodity—falling from 965 pennies per imperial quarter in the quinquennial 1796-1810 to an average of 354 for 1896-1910 (26).

This price pressure was outside the control of Irish landlords. Indeed the landlord lobby of Great Britain could only maintain Corn Law support for prices until the 1840s. New land was opened up for cultivation in the United States in the 1870s and agricultural commodities flooded the English and Irish markets (27). The landlord lobby was unable to use Westminster protection since industrial capital demanded a lower wage.

The response of Irish agriculture was to focus on the production of other commodities. Between 1854 and 1912 tillage crops were displaced by livestock. This change was even greater on small farms. The smaller the holding the larger the increases in the density of all livestock except dry cattle two years and over, and the larger the decrease in the density of ploughed land. Cattle that were closer to the meat market, dry cattle two years and over that needed to be fattened, were concentrated in the bigger holdings where land tended to be richer (28).

But here too prices fell in the last quarter of the century. Dead-weight beef at the Dublin market dropped from three pound four shillings per cwt. in 1881 to two pounds thirteen shillings and three pence in 1905 (29). Hence the larger holdings were specialized in those areas of production that experienced the greater decline in prices--tillage and fat cattle—but where productivity increases were easier. On the other hand, while smaller farmers produced more food per acre and their commodities declined less in price the livestock they maintained required more labor, for example calves, cows and pigs. The

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figures for 1912 in southern Ireland clearly indicate this difference in output per worker. There were 200,000 males and females per holding of 1-15 acres compared with 54,000 persons per holding of 200 acres and over (30). In the small farms this labor was of course of family and relatives and not wage labor.

It is not surprising, therefore, that rents did not increase very much after 1815. In fact the problem was that they remained relatively stable. After 1750 and throughout the boom period in agriculture rents went up. Between 1778 and 1815 rents "rose from about six million pounds to 10 or 12 million" (31). Rents doubled, even tripled between 1750 and 1820 (32). Landlords tended to oust their middlemen who had long leases and take direct control of their properties and tenants. The middlemen who held long leases gained considerably with the increases in prices since they sublet on shorter leases and increased the rent with each renewal. Landlords sought to exclude the middlemen and shorten all leases. But after the closure of the colonial markets this inflation slowed down.

As prices plumetted during the post-Napoleonic War depression, landlords struggled to maintain rents at the same level. (They had to pay back debts incurred during the boom period.) Rents may even have increased slightly between 1811 and 1843 (33). After the war, therefore, it was the tenants who preferred short leases since prices fell drastically. On the other hand, middlemen were squeezed out at this time. The new relationship between high rents and low prices meant they could not renew long leases to their own advantage (34).

It was therefore the rents established during the boom period and the war years that remained relatively stable throughout the century.

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Combined with the decline in prices, tenant farmers could only survive by means of real improvements in productivity. When rents finally changed, it was downwards. During the depression of the 1770s the land wars forced a political settlement. It was not prices that were to be either subsidized or artificially maintained by means of protections, but the landlord's share in agriculture that was reduced. The Land Act of 1881 established courts which determined a statutory rent for individual cases that was obligatory for both landlord and tenant. This political agreement reduced rents by some 20 per cent (35).

This review of the economic factors governing the agricultural market shows therefore the following tension.

High mortgage payments, the need for capital to increase production and develop greater efficiency, buy machinery, improve lands, buy livestock, confront high costs (36), in the face of shrinking revenues, changed the relations between landlord and tenant. Whereas in the past the landlords had provided services and amenities to tenants (37) in a rural community, the rent relation now took priority. Whereas in the past tenants tended to be relatively stable, the legal reality hitherto dormant which meant that even long-term lease holders could be deprived of their lands when time for the renewal of the leases came around (38) now meant that they too, as well as the majority who held land on a seasonal basis as tenants at will or on a yearly basis, found themselves in a very precarious situation.

The situation of land holdings made this necessary increase in output very difficult for the vast majority of the tenant population. There had been a staggering growth in population since the last quarter of the 18th century. The population experienced real improvement in living standards

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despite the fact that most of the wealth generated by the export boom went to the landlords in increased rent. Their point of comparison was not their English counterpart who had a higher standard, but conditions prior to 1750. Demographic growth continued through the 1840s when the population reached a high of over 8 million before the Great Famine compared with some 4 million in the 1790s (39).

This increase in the rural population and increased competition for land among tenants who had no security of tenure within market conditions of falling prices created a condition in which rents did not fall. In this circumstance the less efficient within the tenant class as a whole were forced out by landlords who sought to weed out "bad" tenants, dislodge squatters, introduce machinery and maintain revenues more stable (40).

The landlords after 1815 experienced a deterioration in their condition. Tenants were often unable to pay the rents when prices fell and landlords did not reduce the rents. Hence their income became precarious as tenants mounted arrears, precisely when the landlords needed cash most. The value of their own production on the demesne lands was reduced. Many had borrowed in order to improve production during the boom period, but the interest rates did not fall with prices. They also had fixed debts for widows and family members that were legally binding. Finally, in order to compensate for the fall in prices they needed money to finance improvements on their own demesne lands and increase output. But many did not succeed in doing just that. "The volume of investments in estate improvement and in local industrial activity and in transport infrastructure fell off sharply" (41). Landlord leadership weakened. The community life began to break up as the paternal role of the landlord and

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traditional agreements established with the community became difficult to fulfill.

It was in the interest of the landlord to create a stronger and more efficient tenant, not so much to generate higher rents but to guarantee a stable rent income (42). This consolidation process would also divide the tenantry at a time when a united tenantry alone could enforce arrears in rent. Landlords who understood the danger of population density and the demand for increased productivity--often the more progressive and well-meaning--met with great opposition in their efforts to change the land structure (43).

Evictions were a dangerous and difficult solution to rent in arrears, but more importantly, the large mass of medium-sized land holders buffered the landlords' relations with the small landholders. The opposition between price decline and high rents did not provoke a class response in the decades after 1815, though the class situation determined grievances at a local level. Thus the Commission on the Poor in Ireland in 1836 reported that "throughout the greater part of Ireland, there is a species of tenant-right" (44). When agreements came up for renewal there was usually no problem except when this renewal took place during a particularly low year for prices. This disagreement over the renewal price in particular cases was the main source of unrest and agrarian agitation at this time (45). Local disturbances were sometimes severe, but there was no general condition of upheaval. This is proved by the fact that O'Connell, himself a landlord, focused the national political attention in the twenties on Catholic emancipation. O'Connell's agitation effected a real resolution of a legal and political contradiction gaining civil rights for the majority of the population. But his nationwide

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organization of priests and the parishioners did not agitate for lower rents. When a nationwide land question was raised in the '30s it took the form of an attack on the tithes paid to the established church. In this struggle, not only landlord and tenant were in agreement but even the Orange Dissenters could line up with "papists." The Ascendancy Church lost its major source of income to the price squeeze, but the landlords' high rents were not yet the basis of an opposition movement nationwide (46).

If part of the reason for this lack of nationwide agitation for a decrease in rents was that landlords allowed arrears to mount up and failed to increase outpout per worker on his demesne lands, those who did so were unable to survive the famine years just as the smallholders. With the new wave of arrears of unpaid rent during the forties and the sharp rise in the Poor Rates because of the number of indigent, many were forced to sell their lands. "Under the Encumbered Estates Acts of 1848 and 1849 some quarter of the land acreage in Ireland was transferred in subsequent decades to new ownership" (47). (Catholics, of course, at this stage could buy land with security.) The prolongation of this problem, especially after the statutory reduction of rents (1881) was to affect many of the Ascendancy families. The Yeatses, Joyces, Moores, O'Gradys and the Synges—all leading figures of the urban intellectual world in the late 19th and early 20th centuries—were of such gentry stock (49).

The more efficient tenantry experienced a change in fortunes after 1850 when prices relative to recent years improved. They had survived the worst years after the war ended and they survived the Great Famine since thier lands secured them against starvation and corn exports guaranteed them rent money. After 1850 they changed to the production of animals

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rather than tillage crops, improved their stock herds and bult new housing. It was their surplus cash that swelled the local bank accounts and attracted the commodities of the industrial revolution that could now be transported by train. The expansion in the retail business throughout the towns of Ireland at this time reflects this new tenant prosperity (50). During this expansionary period, in the dairying regions the tenants took over the herds from middlemen who had hitherto rented them cows (51). Emerging therefore from the center between the lower strata and the landlords were those tenants who succeeded in improving their output and expanding the size of their holdings at the expense of the smallholders. They confronted the landlords from a position of strength later in the century (52). For the more efficient among them the Land Act of 1881 that effected a reduction of some 20 per cent in rents was a real increase in income; for the less efficient, it certainly allowed greater funds for real improvements in their output. It was the upheaval of these commercial farmers, this "rough beast its hour come round at last," that provoked Yeats' nightmare image out of Spiritus Mundi in "The Second Coming" (1920):

> Turning and turning in the widening gyre,
> The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
> Things fall apart; the center cannot hold;
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world.
> The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
> The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
> The best lack all conviction, while the worst
> Are full of passionate intensity. (53)

In the early twentieth century they were made a farmer owner class through a financial agreement between landlords, tenants and the British government (54).

Thus, in the years following the Union, transformations in the

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international markets meant that Dublin declined not only as a political center but also as the economic center of Ireland. Northern Ireland, on the other hand, the only regional economy to do well in these conditions, became economically independent of Dublin and more directly tied to England. Agriculture re-established its absolute pre-eminence and was more and more rationalized to meet the new conditions. Meanwhile, despite these conomic transformations, the population growth initiated in the boom years of the 18th century continued.

The Rural Social Structure in Pre-Famine Ireland

The major landed proprietors of Ireland prior to the famine amounted to less than 10,000 persons, even if we include relatively small estates by counting all those over a hundred acres. The large estates were owned by persons with aristocratic titles who monopolized parliamentary representation, the political support of their tenantry and dominated local government up to Catholic emancipation (1829) (55). The landlords owned large estates which were divided into demesne lands and rented lands. They managed the demesne lands themselves and employed laborers. But the tenants and laborers of rural Ireland were not all alike, as has often been assumed (56). Clark divides farmers into large farmers who held 50 to 100 acres and small farmers with 5-10 acres. Those with no holding represented a quarter of the adult male agricultural labor force by the 1840s (57). Regional differentiation resulted mainly from the different distribution of this large farmer class. They were more numerous in the northeast, east and south (58). The precise configuration of the categories varied. L.M. Cullen (59) distinguishes three broad areas, dividing the country horizontally into eastern, central and western regions. The east coast, nearest England, was the most prosperous in

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general. The west coast was the most impoverished. In Mayo, for example, a county that had had a prosperous cotton industry in better days, some 85 per cent of the population fell into the third (1841) census category--artisans, agricutlural laborers and smallholders with less than 5 acres.

Most of the landlords in pre-famine Ireland were not landowners but tenants with large holdings. Consequently, many people were both landlord and tenant. Such a farmer in times of tension might oppose both his own landlord and his tenants (60).

Moreover, many tenants also labored for a wage for other cultivators. The 1841 census shows 70 per cent of the adult male labor force as having no land. But if one excludes farmers' sons working on the father's land, this figure of 70 per cent can be estimated at 56 per cent. More than half the adult male labor force therefore had by the 1840s no land at all (61).

Nevertheless, many of the laborers were also landholders. If many had no land, "most were laborer-landholders" (62). They had cabins and a small potato garden and were known as "cottiers." In addition, many of the laborers got land on a seasonal basis, taking land in "conacre." Rents for these cabins were high and wages were low, sometimes they were never paid but merely deducted as rent. Consequently the relations between the farmers and the laborers were often bitter (63).

Violence was normal in pre-famine Ireland and was used to regulate the distribution of land, to protect tenants threatened with eviction and to keep others from renting such land to control the price of conacre and wages. This violence was not nationally directed or organized but, local in nature. The Catholic clergy opposed it vigorously. The farmers were

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the main victims of this pre-famine violence on the part of tenant and laboring classes (64).

There was a lively trade between the small towns and villages and this rural population, and almost no part of Ireland was divorced from the market economy in the first half of the 19th century. Money was needed everywhere to pay rents. However, there was substantial regional variation. Transportation services varied. The east and south were far more developed (65).

The social classes of Ireland were not equally integrated in the market economy. As the population in the countryside grew the proportion of the rural population capable of doing any trade with the towns diminished. The subdivision of the land to meet the increase in the population meant that "by the 1840's over half of the agricultural holdings in Ireland were too small to provide their occupiers with more than subsistence livelihood" (66). If the farmers were highly commercialized, the laborers-landholders were producing mainly for home consumption and rent.

The dual economy, as Clark (67) argues concerning this division within the population (largely Catholic in the south) of tenants and laborers, consisting of highly modernized cultivators producing for a market and an underdeveloped subsistence sector, was not a survival of the pre-modern society. The impoverished laboring population was largely a product of social changes initiated in the late 18th century. Even if their culture was traditional their situation was truly modern. In effect we are looking at a class cleavage of the "respectable" farmers and the mass at the bottom of "the social ladder" present throughout Ireland. Consequently, the Catholic population in southern Ireland was far from

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being a harmonious unity, but in fact was deeply divided within itself. In Cullen (68) we find a more detailed statistical description of the class structure.

It was the lower strata of the population that could not handle the combination of high rent and low wages and prices. The level of technology was so low that the smallholder could not hope to increase output per acre. Hence, he increased "the amount of area land devoted to producing the crop that paid the rent at the expense of the land devoted to growing food for himself adn his family" (69). Potatoes then became their only food. Those areas where population density was high due to early marriages and a high birth rate and the landholdings were small due to continuous subdivision (70) experienced the greatest difficulty in meeting the market requirement of increased output per worker. Wherever this condition was combined with an early phase-out of domestic employment in the post-war depression, this population was destitute as well as the laborers. However, the most serious condition was at this stage localized or regional. In those areas emigration and famine were already seen to operate as the concrete solution to the problem of increasing output per worker. Famines struck in the southwest in 1822, Mayo in 1831, and Donegal in 1836 (71). In other regions domestic employment was not phased out so rapidly. Spinning continued to supplement family income up to the 1840s in some areas (72). Consequently, in most regions the initial difficulty was resolved by a combination of reducing living standards to subsistence levels among the smallholders and mounting arrears in rent whenever possible.

Laborers, when they were lucky enough to find employment, received very low wages in pre-famine Ireland. Often it was as little as 6 to 8

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pence per day. Others were employed as male servants even in relatively small holdings of 8-15 acres. The Drummond Commission in the late 1830s mentioned how these small farmers engaged "as farm servants, young men from between 16 and 25 years of age who reside in the family of their employer and hire themselves out at remarkably low wages, seldom exceeding one pound per quarter and in numerous instances, scarcely more than half that sum" (73).

It was the cottiers, smallholders, laborers and servants who were most affected by the Great Famine in the 1840s. The population fell by about 2 million between 1845 and 1851. Half of that number died of starvation while the remainder emigrated. Cottiers all but disappeared and surviving cottiers became laborers dependent on a money wage (74). During the Famine and in the early decades afterwards, emigration was heavier from the eastern regions than the really poor areas. The very poor in the west continued to marry early and have large families, but the death rate was extremely high. In some such regions the population actually grew after the Famine as the rate of natural increase was greater than the death rate and rate of emigration combined (75).

The laborers that survived the Great Famine actually experienced an improvement in their condition in the 1850s when, with the revival of agricultural production and the scarcity of laborers due to the Famine, their wages actually increased to 16-18 pence per day (76). However, they were destined to extinction as a major class in agricultural production. Except for the larger holdings, the labor of family members and relatives using better technology took their place. By the early seventies the scythe had been substituted for the sickle and during the seventies farm machinery and its manufacture in Ireland became the focus of attention.

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Laborers (and Servants) (77)			
1841	1861	1871	1881
1,320,239	808,691	749,541	473,070

Many of the emigrants from the eastern regions during and immediately after the Famine years were smallholders. It was this exodus and its continuation to this day that initiated the consolidation of land holdings. Between 1845-1851 the total number of holdings not exceeding 15 acres fell from 628,397 to 317,665. Farmers with more than 15 acres were not affected negatively by the Famine. In fact the number of farms above 15 acres actually rose in that same period from 276,618 to 290,401 (78).

It was the more efficient tenantry that took over the abandoned lands of the smallholders. The "enclosure" movements in England had seen the peasant lands consolidated in large holdings and turned into grazing lands. In Ireland, however, the demesne lands were already in existence since the plantations and were already dedicated to the production of fat cattle and sheep. What needed to be rationalized and modernized were the medium- and small-sized tenant-farmers.

In the case of Ireland, the productivity squeeze determined certain limits or possibilities. It ousted, necessarily, manufacture, the small farms, the cottiers. But it was not this productivty mechanism that determined the "flight of the peasants" to foreign shores. In fact, it could have been averted in large part had Irish investors put their money into the renewal of an Irish industrial base rather than export their capital for the sake of a "safe" interest. The decline of the major cities especially would have been averted and the rural population

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absorbed into the city.

Structurally, therefore, Ireland did not see the great 19th century breakthrough development of England, France and the U.S. On the other hand, it did not have a hopelessly underdeveloped economic past as in the case of Russia, Italy and Brazil. From an economic standpoint Ireland was highly developed in the second half of the 18th century. The industrial revolution therefore brought to Ireland as a whole, and especially the major urban and political and cultural center of Dublin, the experience of economic decline. The more southern Ireland, unlike the northeastern region surrounding Belfast, was integrated in the industrial revolution of Great Britain, the more its social world disintegrated throughout the 19th century. In the cities, its crafts and manufactures were not transformed into industry.

But the urban social disintegration, paradoxically, did not mean that wealth in the money form was not accumulated. The careful person benefited through participation in Great Britain's imperial century. They invested, but not in Ireland. Dublin had lost its parliamentary and financial control of the island's economy in the Act of Union in 1800. But the economic decline of urban Ireland in the south was not, of course, caused by this political development. Indeed, what was most significant about this development was that unlike the era of Enlightenment and progress, the Ascendancy had no control over the market forces unleashed in their midst. The loss of their center and parliament left them even more powerless from the standpoint of controlling the national—i.e., regional—social economy. Each individual could and did respond more effecitively in the management of his own capital investments. Many experienced real individual progress. But as a class they were unable to

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stem the "filthy modern tide" that swept away their social world.

Agricultural production in a sense remained its superamcy despite the dynamic progress of manufactures in the late 18th century. Socially this meant that the rural social classes were restored as the primary social forces and the primary social relation. It was in the social relationships of rural society that major economic transformations took place. The systems of peasant labor and tenantry were completely transformed.

In the countryside, the more economically progressive the landlord and tenant, the more "lord" and "folk" ceased to exist. The new market conditions meant that large estate populations could not be maintained on the land. The Gaelic community of Catholic tenants broke up within itself, not, however, to become weaker, as did the Ascendancy, relative to its past, but to ever increasing strength and power on the part of those who survived the competitive struggle. After the Wyndham Act of 1903, landlord and tenant classes too ceased to be, and landed capital—farmer and land—was finally emancipated from its outmoded social form.

As for the remainder of the Catholic laborers and tenants, those who failed to catch the train of progress, they either died in the Great Famine or were forced in the second half of the century to emigrate. Unlike the rural peasantry of England and Northern Ireland, the urban south did not see the industrial revolution absorb the market- determined exodus from the countryside.

The Reform Bill and Catholic Emancipation

The period 1829 to the Great Famine in the 1840s was an era of political transformation in Great Britain. In a peaceful parliamentary

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revolution the new industrialists, the new urban working class and the dissenters of England combined to overthrow the landed gentry and the Ascendancy Church as the hegemonic power. It was the era of the Reform Bill—"A Whig Frankenstein" to Irish Tories (79).

During the '20s Daniel O'Connell's Catholic Association of Ireland had organized to achieve the Catholic emancipation promised in the Act of Union. But their success was also due to divisions within the Tory faction at Westminster. Given the general depression in agriculture and the reorganization of industrial production following the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, great factional disputes were normal among the Tory Ascendancy, not only on the question of Catholic emancipation in Ireland but many other issues. In 1827, Lord Canning pledged himself to a stance of "no surrender" when confronted with the repeal of the Test Act and Catholic emancipation. But it was this utlra-Tory ministry that passed both these important bills within the decade. This legal political change initiated the key urban social transformation allowing political and status mobility to the Catholic middle class (80).

Up to the 1820s a small but powerless Catholic landed gentry were the "leaders" of the Catholic population. However, by this time Catholics were the principal traders in Ireland even though they had to pay "quarterage" (fees) to the guilds controlled by Protestants. Catholics had been deprived of the right to membership and received limited benefits even though some of the restrictions were repealed in 1793. For these, "Catholic emancipation" meant the repeal of the remaining restrictions. It is not surprising, therefore, that when Daniel O'Connell founded the Catholic Association in 1823 to represent the Catholic interests, it was the men of the professions and trade who became most influential. The

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leading personalities were laywers, journalists, merchants and shopkeepers, while rural Ireland was represented by the comparatively large farmers and Catholic landowners (81).

A relatively small proportion of the rural population was actively involved in this campaign for Catholic emancipation. But even if the campaign was supported by all Catholics, it was strongest in the most urbanized regions and areas where social communication was somewhat developed. Electoral support could only come from a small segment of the rural population—the forty shilling freeholders would not have amounted to 10 per cent of the voters (82). Hitherto the landlords had controlled the freehold votes. But in the case of the Beresfords and County Waterford, the 1826 election showed how the Catholic clergy could organize this vote to overthrow this traditional political form. This practice was extended throughout the countryside until the religious qualification for office was abolished (83). But even if the freeholders contributed heavily to the campaign for Catholic emancipation (the clergy collected a "Catholic rent"), they were not a dominant force. When emancipation was decreed, the property qualification was raised to ten pounds sterling, thereby disenfranchising most of those who had defied their landlords to win a parliamentary victory (84). The electorate was reduced from over 100,000 to about 16,000 by this measure designed to secure the crown against "the possession of undue power and influence by the Roman Catholics" (85). But in fact the Catholic population was not quite so united. The Catholic Association led by an urban interest at a time of great economic depression was keen to reduce the pressures on wages due to foodstuffs. It did not object to this reduction in Catholic parliamentary particpation. For them, the key issue also was the right to hold official

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positions, a right especially dear to the "briefless barristers" of Dublin (86).

Peel and Wellington granted the "Agitator" his demands for Catholic emancipation in 1829. The High Tories were furious and the party split into "three mutually enraged sections--Canningites, High Tories and embarrassed supporters of government" (87). Wellington's Ministry tottered and Lord Grey and the Whigs were called on to form the new Ministry.

It was Charles, Lord Grey, the nominal chief of the Whig Party, along with Lord John Russell and Lord Durham, who led the Parliamentary reform. In the crisis situation comprised of bad times, working class despair and a middle class fear of social uprising, it was believed that repression would not suffice. The Whig leaders of Parliament placed themselves at the head of middle class opinion in the country. Because of the industrial revolution, the middle class was now the key social class. Led by a Whig aristocracy in a reform electoral system, the middle classes were the basis of the most stable element in the government in Great Britain. It was the plebian, Henry Brougham, agitator and leader of the "intelligent middle classes," who represented the alliance (88).

After fifteen months of political agitation, unparallelled in the history of Great Britain, the Reform Bill was carried. The general election of 1831 produced a sure majority of 136 for the measure. The Peers and the Bench of Bishops threw out the Bill in the House of Lords. However, economic distress that winter combined with popular anger against this action in the Lords to provoke fear of chaos. Finally, in 1832 the Reform Act was pased. Even though it would take many generations to extend the franchise, the people of Great Britain "had wrenched the modern

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Magna Carta from the governing class" (89).

Framed by Lord Durham and Lord John Russell, the Reform Bill was seen by many in the Whig alliance as insufficient. But to the Tories it was a "new Constitution" in that it extended political power to new social classes and to new districts of the islands (90). It was this overthrow of the Constitution that the Irish Tories most feared. O'Connell and Catholic emancipation were a regional event of great significance no doubt, but the transformation of Great Britain was of much greater importance. What brought the two events together for the Irish Tories was the alliance between the new Liberal Commons, the Ministry and the "Irish Brigade" in a reform government. The contingency threatened both Westminster and the Irish Protestant community in general with their demand for the repeal of the Union and the re-establishment of an Irish parliament in which a new Catholic middle class could play a leading role in an area of life hitherto reserved for Protestant gentry and the Ascendancy landlords.

The Union of 1800 was directly related to the political question of the French Revolution and the British-French war, as we saw above. But after 1815, the problem of an Irish French Revolution no longer existed (as the depression had taken the wind out of the Protestant middle classes, and the insurrectionist Catholics were completely suppressed). Moreover, France itself, with Napoleon defeated, represented no threat to Great Britain. Hence the Union no longer had its original meaning as a political phenomenon. Moreover, at the time of the Union, Irish manufactures and agriculture were still flourishing within the market conditions of the day. But in the 1830s and '40s, the period we are going to examine in greater detail, the Union had a new political and economic

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significance. First, there was the new upwardly mobile and now politically active Catholic middle class. Second, there was the economic regional decline of southern Ireland and more especially the decline of Dublin city. Both these questions, however, would have to be confronted, not in a regional political structure nor in relation to a colonial power located at some great distance, but within the political context of a reform government at Westminster. Because of the Act of Union, Ireland was now a part of Great Britain. She participated fully in the political revolution—the transformation of the state from an aristocratic monopoly to a parliamentary democracy after 1829. It was no longer a mere colony.

Because of the colonial connection and the Union with Great Britain, all classes in Ireland were tied to a society that in the early 19th century experienced a complete economic, social and political and cultural transformation into a bourgeois society. There, unlike Ireland, agricultural production and the aristocracy and the Ascendancy Church were relegated not exactly to the historical graveyard, but certainly to second place. Any group seeking the transformation of Irish society would have to relate to this new Great Britain.

Unlike most modernization and industrialization processes of that era, therefore, Ireland experienced a decentralization in both the political and economic spheres. Its political life was diffused since Irish parliamentarians were now reduced to playing coalition politics at Westminster. They could side with Whigs or Tories to achieve specific goals, but they themselves were incapable of exerting a direct influence on the course of affairs.

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Footnotes: Chapter 1

1. Samuel Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 22-24.

2. Lawrence J. McCaffrey, Ireland from Colony to Nation State (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1979), pp. 23f.

3. L.M. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland since 1660 (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1972) pp. 100ff.

4. W.B. Yeats, ed., Irish Folk Stories and Fairy Tales (New York: Grosset's Universal Library, 1974), pp. 76f.

5. T.A. Jackson, Ireland Her Own (New York: International Publishers, 1970), p. 117.

6. Ibid., p. 116.

7. Richard Rose, Governing Without Consensus (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), p. 81.

8. Conor Cruise O'Brien, States of Ireland (London: Panther, Granada Publishing Limited, 1974), p. 40.

9. Ibid.

10. T.B. Bottomore, Elites and Society (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1974), pp. 14f, uses the term "political class" to refer to all "those groups which exercise political power or influence, and are directly engaged in struggles for political leadership . . . The political class is composed of a number of groups which may be engaged in varying degrees of cooperation, competition, or conflict with each other."

11. Malcolm Brown, The Politics of Irish Literature (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972), p. 22.

12. See Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, p. 87.

13. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland, p. 103..

14. Ibid., pp. 105ff.

15. Ibid., p. 108.

16. Ibid., p. 127.

17. Ibid., p. 121.

18. Ibid., p. 127ff.

19. Ibid., p. 129.

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20. Joseph Lee, "Capital in the Irish Economy," in The Formation of the Irish Economy, ed. L.M. Cullen (Cork: Mercier Press, 1969), pp. 53f.

21. Ibid., pp. 56ff.

22. See John E. Pomfret, The Struggle for Land in Ireland 1800-1923 (New York: Russell and Russell, 1969), ch. 1.

Pomfret formulates the problem in terms of the question, How come an agricultural Ireland was not effectively tied to the new industrial economy which ruled throughout the century? He argues that the land could not have been properly cultivated given the land system that prevailed. The main factors were high rents due to competition for land and the public auction system of renting; landholders received the land without buildings, etc., and all improvements were the property of the landlord when he resumed possession; tenants at will on yearly renewed leases could not risk improving the land and outhouses. These and not the subdivision of the land were the key factors. However, Pomfret does not distinguish between the development of an efficient class of producers, which was the overall effect of the market forces at work, and the decline of the rural community with its massive population. The mass at the bottom of the rural economy were indeed not integrated into the British industrial economy as rural producers, but Irish agriculture was progressively developed in accordance with the market formation of capital, a development which itself required the exclusion of the "community" from all consideration.

23. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland, pp. 103ff.

24. Ibid., p. 100. See also Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, p. 28. See also Raymond D. Crotty, Irish Agricultural Production (Cork: Mercier Press, 1966), pp. 276-277; 282-285.

25. See The Rousseaux Price Indices - 1800-1913, in B.R. Mitchell, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), pp. 471-473.

26. See Average Prices of Corn, United Kingdom 1771-1938, in Mitchell, Abstract of British Historical Statistics, pp. 488-489.

27. See, for example, the dramatic rise in wheat imports from the U.S., 1873, Principal Sources of Imports of Wheat - United Kingdom, 1828-1938, in Mitchell, Absstract of British Historical Statistics, pp. 100-101.

28. See Saorstat Eireann, Agricultural Statistics 1847-1926, compiled by Department of Industry and Commerce (Dublin: Stationary Office, 1928), p. XLIII; Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, pp. 107-112, 344ff; Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland, pp. 139ff.

29. See Annual Average Prices of All Ireland of Irish Agricultural Products and Live Stock at Irish Markets and Fairs in each Year from 1881 to 1932 inclusive, in Saorstat Eireann, Agricultural Statistics 1927-1933, compiled by the Department of Industry and Commerce, Statistics Branch (Dublin: Stationary Office, 1935), p. 131.

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30. See Number of Persons Engaged in Agriculture, Saorstat Eireann, 1st June 1912, in Saorstat Eireann: Agricultural Statistics 1847 to 1926 (Dublin: Stationary Office, 1928), p. 1.

31. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland, pp. 113, 138.

32. See Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, pp. 27f.

33. Ibid., p. 33.

34. See Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland, pp. 114f. See also Brown, The Politics of Irish Literature, p. 28.

35. See Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, p. 44; Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland, pp. 114f.

36. Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, p. 36.

37. Ibid., p. 37.

38. Ibid., p. 32.

39. Ibid., p. 39.

40. Ibid., p. 40.

41. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland, p. 115.

42. Ibid., p. 139.

43. See ibid., p. 139, for an example.

44. Commission on the Poor in Ireland in 1836, Cullen, ibid., p. 114.

45. Ibid., p. 114.

46. See Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, pp. 65ff.

47. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland, p. 138.

48. Ibid., p. 139.

49. Brown, The Politics of Irish Literature, p. 28.

50. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland, p. 140.

51. Ibid., p. 139.

52. Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, p. 245.

53. M.L. Rosenthal, ed., Selected Poems and Two Plays of William Butler Yeats (New York: Collier Books, Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1974), p. 91.

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54. Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, pp. 349f.

55. Ibid., pp. 33f.

56. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland, p. 111.

57. See Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, p. 34, and Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland, p. 110.

58. Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, p. 56.

59. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland, pp. 111f.

60. Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, p. 36.

61. Ibid., p. 36. See also Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland, p. 110.

62. Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, p. 36.

63. Ibid., pp. 36-38.

64. Ibid., pp. 66-84.

65. See ibid., pp. 52f.

66. Ibid., p. 53.

67. Ibid., pp. 55.

68. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland, pp. 110ff.

69. Michael Drake, "Population Growth and the Irish Economy", in Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland, p. 70.

70. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland, p. 147.

71. Ibid., p. 130.

72. Ibid., pp. 119ff.

73. The Drummond Commission, quoted in Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland, p. 110.

74. Ibid., p. 135.

75. Ibid., pp. 135ff.

76. Ibid., p. 137.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid., p. 136.

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79. Dublin University Magazine (hereafter referred to as DUM) 3 (March 1833):223.

80. The Test Act prevented Catholic and Protestant non-conformists from holding state or municipal office. The Act was regarded as the mainstay of the Church of England since the reign of Charles II. Lord John Russell's motion of repeal opened the door to wider participation in political life. It was not, however, until the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 and the Second Reform Bill of 1867 that the full political emancipation of the non-conformists was achieved. See G.M. Trevelyan, A Shortened History of England (Middlesex: Pelican Books, 1978), pp. 471f.

81. See Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, p. 87.

82. Ibid., p. 90.

83. Ibid., p. 89.

84. Ibid., pp. 90f.

85. Patrick O'Farrell, Ireland's English Question (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), p. 87.

86. Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, pp. 90f.

87. G.M. Trevelyan, A Shortened History of England (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Pelican Books, 1978),p. 472.

88. Ibid., p. 473f.

89. Ibid., p. 475.

90. Ibid., p. 476.

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CHAPTER 2

THE PROTESTANT REVIVAL: IRISH TORIES REJECT DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND THE PRINCIPLES OF BRITISH POLITICAL ECONOMY

In this chapter I develop the political economy of a Christian ascendancy. It is divided into five parts: a) How did the Irish Tories respond to political economy which became at this time the vogue in England? Secondly, I examine how they applied these principles of a Christian political economy to the Irish situation in four sections: b) the rural labor market; c) the rural tenantry market; c) the wretched of the earth; d) the protection of Irish industry and agriculture.

Irish Tories Respond to the General Situation of Reform in Great Britain

The radical changes in their situation were immediately recognized by a small band of Irish Tory intellectuals who would also be leading figures in our story of the revitalization of national identity. For them, the reform of the Constitution and Catholic emancipation represented paradise lost. Moreover, the era of radical change would continue. "We feel as if we were yet upon the threshold of change. A spirit seems to have gone abroad of restless, and ceaseless innovation. Age cannot command respect or utility ensure protection, while the time honoured buttresses of our social system are to be given up to the rude assaults of the Goths and Vandals of modern days that our vain and self confident speculators in the novelties, may erect an edifice of their own, upon its ruins." (1) As they experienced it,. "the storm is shaking the social fabric to its base," "the yawning chasm of democracy be like the gulf in the Roman Forum, which it was predicated would close only upon that which Rome held most

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precious." Their own world was at an end.

It is true, they argued, that the Tory Party has long been neglected and hence it is logical that "the thinking mass" should be disaffected. While they had official power they did nothing to make themselves popular. They had no men of ability, but were merely "a reserved, harsh, cold, unbending aristocracy" (2). The people were correct in seeing "that Toryism and the machinery of its power as it existed previously to November 1830 are no more and cannot exist again within our time" (3). However, Reform was a "revolution . . . the legislating and guiding power of the nation has been thrown into completely new channels . . . A counter-revolution or years of political strife and agitation are the alternatives that lie before us" (4).

In France too the grievances were real. Reforms were needed since the intelligence of the people resisted the rulers. But while many good men may revolt in such a situation, they unleash a violence that they cannot control. The "undisciplined multitude" become "terrible masters" who unleash a "reign of terror," and this "fury of plebian revenge" among the lower orders puts off even the shopkeepers who had supported that revolution (5). These facts "must now impress all with the horrors of the revolution" (6) and all must see that "the present democratical mania can only mean the destruction of the aristocracy" (7) and the "despotism of the multitude" (8).

This democratical mania of the "rude and rascal Commons" (House of Commons) will continue to make ever greater demands. "Radical reformers are insatiable people. Like the daughters of the horse leech their cry is ever, 'Give, give,' and their joy is not full 'till they are gorged with blood" (9).

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This democracy only means "subjugation to the caprice of the mob," a "galling, and ignominious bondage to popular tyranny." Today, the politician must not only be adequate in terms of "moral and intellectual fitness," but he must also "possess popularity to outstrip all competitors who may contend with him for the 'most sweet' voices of the rabble" (10). Major offices therefore should be appointed, not elected.

There is no such thing as the "natural equality of men," and it is not true that "all members of the community are invested with equal rights" (11). Society shows that this is not so; in society people are unequal. Reformers may speak of the "natural equality of men" and that "all members of the community are invested with equal rights," but this is plainly not applicable in a "civilized nation." The reformers err in trying "to apply principles which hold good only in simple and original rudiments of society to that complex, artificial and heterogeneous composition, a modern state" (12). Moreover, in England there were many extraordinary schemes for what is called "social revolution" working away in secret. "The trades unions, with their unstamped gazettes, have arrived at a wonderful perfection of organization, and they threaten great things; but who can prophesy concerning that which if it works at all, must work through the agency of that irrational, changeful, headstrong thing, a mob" (13).

Government was not like this in the past.

> The great permanent interests in the country exercised considerable influence in determining the character of national council; and care was accordingly taken that nothing should be done by which these interests might be endangered. The landed aristocracy not only had their own house of assemby, but also numbered many steadfast friends among the representatives of the people, by whose presence the violence of democracy was mitigated, and all abrupt collision between the two orders of the state prevented . . . It enabled the government to meet the popular

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> movements . . . not direclty, but indirectly, and thus to modify or avert or mitigate what might not be successfully resisted. But now, instead of this salutary action of the upper orders upon the lower, by which ignorance was instructed, prejudice was disarmed and the spirit of jacobinical revolution neutralized, we must prepare for the action of the lower classes upon the upper from which effects very different may be expected. (14)

The idea of equality threatened their most cherished belief in a natural aristocracy and elite leadership. "A state of perfect and permanent equality, if such were possible, must completely paralyse and destroy the faculties and powers of the human mind" (15). "The elevation of individuals by the mere force of merit" causes "constant restlessness. Each feels that it must be in a constant struggle to improve so as to retain his situation and everyone consequently looks on his superiors as tyrants, his inferiors as enemies, and his equals as rivals" (16). On the other hand, a hereditary artistocracy offers stability and security. Now the radical reformers seek "to unmake the whole frame of society from its very roots. Their favorite bond of union is the chimerical principle of the 'natural equality of mankind.'" However, since there will always be inequality, "there is no state in which the radical can voluntarily relinquish agitation" (17). Consequently, this equality can only mean endless agitation and usurpation.

The Commons now dominates the legislature, and this means a "democracy." But we must "banish the delusion of three estates, balancing and controlling each other in the discharge of their distinct and independent functions" (18). The King and the House of Lords exist "in name" only. Their powers have "form," but they have no real influence to resist any reforms which Commons might resolve. Neither can they resist the curtailment of their rights.

They attacked the "huckstering political economists" (19) as men of

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religion. We will see their arguments regarding political economy in greater detail later. The point here is to emphasize their distance from the new England in terms of politics and culture. The Church would be the first to be assailed by those who feel nothing for the Church.

> The narrow- minded, cold, worldly calculators who talk much about the progress of intellect, and the march of mind, because they themselves have made progress . . . would fain destroy as ridiculous conceits, or mere impositions of antiquity, the aids which political institutions have supplied to the growth and maintenance of those things which have a higher aim and wider scope, than mere national utility or social convenience . . . "All the pleasing illusions which made power gentle, and obedience liberal, which harmonized the different shades of life and which by a bland assimilation, incorporated into politics, the sentiments which beautify and soften private society, are to be dissolved by this new conquering empire of light and reason. All the decent drapery of life is to be torn off" (20).
>
> In the midst of all this our economists are for breaking through all influences but those of capital and labor; they will have no more charity, no more benevolence, everyone must take care of himself, and no one must give way to the weakness of feeling for his neighbour. This is all very fine, but those philosophers had better think a little upon what the security of capital depends. They may prove too much for able logicians as they are and drive some of us to
>
> The good old rule—the simple plan
> That he should take who hath the power,
> And he should keep who can;
>
> which the Lord forbid; but oppression maketh a wise man mad, and so what can be expected of the foolish. These emperors of capital are to my thinking the most abominable despots that ever existed, and what is worst of all, while they prove to us the hard-heartedness of their practise they deafen us with prate concerning liberality of their principles. (21)

As for free trade, it represented the abandonment of "the principles of protection to encourage manufacture—OUR principles that made England great—were overthrown" (22).

But if they lashed out at the new "crooked and perverse generation" in which they found themselves, they also found themselves in opposition to their British government because of the question of the Ascendancy Church. The Whig government of "ungodly rulers" would merely see the

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church as part of "the ways and means of the statesman which have been put at his disposal for the purpose of enabling him the better to accomplish his merely temporal objects" (23). The temporal realm would thus use the heavenly realm in its narrow interests. The church cannot count on the support of this government. When we looked to it for it for support against "the sacrilegious spoliators who have robbed" the clergy "of their property . . . we leaned upon a broken reed" (26).

The Reformers have no "comprehensive view of the various interests and numberless relations which exist in the complicated machinery of our political system, the various parts and members which constitute our great whole, appear to them isoated and independent" (25). They perceive a "mighty maze" but are unable to discover its organization, that it is "not without a plan." Consequently they do not see that in removing one piece such as the Church, it might be vital to the sections remaining. They don't see that the removal of a "decayed buttress" can cause the "entire structure" to fall. Moreover, they do not see that in attacking the Church of England tithes, these "unprincipled spoliators" are attacking all property. They cannot regard "the property of the Church less sacred than the property of the laity" (26).

The Church of England is a necessary buttress to the state since through the ministers, the state can secure "the affections of the largest proportion of the people" (27). The Church of England, unlike the Catholic Church, does not seek to control the state. Thus the Church brings about "peace of the nation and the security of the throne" in a time of revolutionary ferment (28).

The control exercised over the culture of the lower orders through the Church has been set aside.

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> Thus it is that the glory of our Church establishment has pased away; and we see but little ground for the hope of any such speedy return of good principles as might ensure its restoration. Not the less, however, shall we persevere . . . in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, who are so blind as to mistake destruction for improvement, and so infatuated as not to know that in subverting the Church they are bringing countless calamities upon themselves and their children. (29)

To suit political economists the Church of England is reduced in stature. The House of Lords and aristocratic principles and protection of home industry are abandoned. Slavery and child labor have been established. What we now need is a return of Tory influence over the popular mind. The conservative seeks to fan "enthusiasm of virtue, the devotedness of honour, the steadfast firmness of integrity and by their excellent lights, we would show the populace the error and folly of their mad career. The Conservative cause is the cause of religion, of humanity, of peace and security in society, of social order, and of regulated liberty" (30).

Modern ideas and the new science claim that the ignorance of the past can be set aside. But these so-called "new" rights are those of 1688. At that time the "ancient liberties of Englishmen" were substantially those we have today. All the changes in more recent history have but softened the harshest features of feudalism (31).

In all the European states, the principles of permanency are at work today. Each tendency has its advocates.

> In a sound and wholesome and not unduly excited state of society, the principle of permanency is embodied, and as it were personified, in the aristocratic classes generally, the noblesse, the clergy and the gentry, resident upon and drawing their resources from landed property . . . Progression on the other hand, animates and impels the mercantile, and manufacturing and the merely literary classes. In some of these the pride of wealth acquired by the individual's own exertion, the levelling of barter . . . consciousness of inferiority in position in the social scale

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> . . . ardent imagination of youth or theoretical reasonings of learning, operate still more actively . . . toward innovation and change." (32)

So when these principles enter into a struggle, good men will be found on both sides, such as in the civil wars of 1644 and the first French Revolution.

We must now act quickly to educate the people. "In separating power from property (landed) it has been separated from principle" (33) and the Constitution is at the mercy of all who have no property and think they have an interest in the subversion of the Constitution. The solution, therefore, is to remove the people's "half knowledge. A bull in a china shop is no extravagant emblem of this mischievous modification of ignorance energized which has been like an edged tool in the hand of a mad man, alike dangerous to himself and his neighbours" (34). To enlighten people, there must be an educational program at the university level. The elite needs a proper education or else the blind will lead the blind at the local level.

We must also act quickly to disabuse those who have been "deceived into thinking that they have an interest in its (the Constitution's) subversion" (35). Now, soon they will all join together against all who have property unless we educate them to think otherwise, "teaching our people to value liberty, chiefly as it is a means of preserving order; and a restraining principle will then be imparted to them, by which countless calamities may be averted" (36). There is still time. "Old habits and associations still maintain much of their former influence, and the character, which was imprinted on the community, by the prevalence of the aristocral interest, will still, for some time, retain some of its distinctiveness, not withstanding the degree in which our whole social

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system has been democratized" (37).

When the Roman Catholics were given their first opportunity to participate in politics (presumably this reference is to the elective franchises of the late 18th century), it was a long time before this new power was used to oppose those of us who were against Catholic emancipation. Indeed, for a considerable period nothing was more common than for a Roman Catholic priest to give his vote at an election in favor of the candidate who was decidedly averse to any further concessions to the lower orders. It was only much later that they turned the franchise on their opponents in the Ascendancy.

So it will be also with the new Constitution. The "popular principle" will not go into effect for a while. Consequently, the gentry must do their improvements now and teach theirpeople "while yet they have some lingering reverence for their betters" (38). "We believe that public opinion is decidedly conservative—we are persuaded that could the honest and unbiased sentiments of each member of the community be ascertained, there would be found an immense majority in the cause of order" (39). So we must rouse this public opinion.

The Irish Tories Confront a New Political Situation in Ireland

In Ireland itself the High Tories found themselves confronting not only the reformed parliamentary structure which guaranteed the supremacy of the House of Commons and Dissenter freedoms, but they also faced the horrible prospect of an unleased Catholic Frankenstein. A citizen Tory made his appearance in Dublin. Dublin University Magazine: A Literary and Political Journal (40) was founded by a little band of Tory clergy and gentlemen in 1833. They saw themselves living the ideal of Sir Richard

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Steele: "Zeal for the public good is the characteristic of a man of honour and a gentleman" (41). These noble aspirations stand opposed to "the shallow conceited and turbulent parasites of a headstrong populace, drunk with religious and political bigotry" (42).

Hence the university (Trinity College) must produce men "who will have the moral energy to rebuke the nation's madness and the intellectual power to overrule a nation's perverse will. How will she create a second Burke, to send back to its hell the spirit of Revolution when it manifests itself at home?" (43) Quoting Blackwood's Magazine, they assert that "politics and religion are the great concerns of the present world and the future" (44). They then go on to argue that the value of the exact sciences is indisputable, but "the primary object of all institutions for public education should be public duty" (45). The mind of the gentry—"that class on whose conduct and whose principles so much of the well being of society depends" (46)—must be developed. This elite, weakened and lost to the Tory Party, must be re-educated.

Given the drastic nature of the situation, the clergy must get into politics directly. The clergy must become politicians. "They constitute a class, who from their leisure and education may be supposed to possess the most ample knowledge of the abstract principles of legislation" (47).

They argued that the "ministers of religion" alone were capable of transcending the pursuit of self-interest. A selfish interest and subjective point of view are normal among rulers: ". . . if public men were all philosophers, and if private views and objects did not cast a mist before the eyes through which public measures were indistinctly inspected, the march of perfection, so far as here it is attainable, would be more rapid" (48). However, if it is possible to transcened this

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natural tendency, it is among men of the cloth that such truly public servants are to be found. "If a few only, in contemplating our present affairs, are moved by a singleness of purpose, to unravel the complex difficulties which surround their discussion, we may expect to find those persons among the ministers of religion, from whose minds, speculations of a character too mundane ought to be removed" (49).

Such a religious citizenry and such unselfish objectivity is necessary because "Public opinion, unless directed and judiciously restrained, becomes public clamour and headstrong fanaticism" (50). If we show how the Church of England is suited to the present and represents the solution to present problems and refute all the condemnations of our detractors, then Dissenter and Catholic will be seen by all as expressing merely selfish interests. Let us therefore circulate the truth; we have nothing to fear from open discussion.

These Irish Tories argued for a democratic reversal in English politics and for a repression of democratic development in Ireland. Thus it was that the Dublin Tories saw their new situation in Great Britain. Their main aim was counterrevolutionary. However, as they argued with their readers in Great Britain, they did not think of a repressive reversal of historical trends. On the contrary, they hoped to turn the very mechanism of democracy on their opposition among the commoners. They recognized certain contradictions and oppositions within the Whig alliance. As we shall see later in detail, they paid special attention to the opposition between labor and capital. They assumed that as the people perceived the true meaning of the "liberality" of the principles of political economy, they could be won over again by the newly educated Tory leadership.

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But the task facing the Irish Tories was much more complex than that of their English counterparts. They initially considered repression as the only means of maintaining their influence and power in Ireland where they were confronted by an Irish and a Catholic commoner, and where their own mass Protestant base was either emigrating or, as in the case of northern Ireland especially, primarily low church and historically of Dissenter stock.

The only Reform government legislation they supported was the very harsh Coercion Bill of 1833, which was re-enacted in 1834. They argued that it should be "vigorously exerted for the purpose of crushing the most appalling system of oppression under which any nation on earth has suffered" (51)--i.e., the bourgeois revolution in France. If by this support for repressive measures they hoped to promote a split between the British Reform Government and "liberal" Ireland, they were wrong. O'Connell and the Catholic clergy had no reason to oppose the bill in an Ireland heavily characterized by violent behavior perpetrated at the local level (52). This violence in Irish society was not related to nationwide political activism except in the eyes of the Irish Tories.

But this successively democratic and repressive Tory foundation (?) saw the contradiction of this dual policy within Great Britain. The Protestant Ascendancy clergy are given a false image since the Coercion Bill, coming down from the upper house, is seen as emerging from "an unfeeling aristocracy and a bloated clergy, who have ever proved themselves the defenders of existing abuses." Hence, "whatever modification it may receive in the lower house will be represented as a triumph gained by the free spirit of a reformed House of Commons over the antiquated and

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arbitrary principle of an hereditary peerage and an intolerant hierarchy" (53).

If repression and not education was the primary governmental policy of containment vis-a-vis the Catholic majority, they did have a number of educational tasks. They would have to disabuse the British government, especially the Ministry in office, of their policy of conciliation towards the Catholic Church. They would argue the importance of the Protestant community to the British public and change their image of the Ascendancy class and the landlord Protestants of Ireland. Second, within Ireland itself, they would have to rally all Protestants to the Ascendancy and Conservative cause.

In an essay on "English Theories and Irish Facts," they confront those who accuse the Protestant colonists of Ireland of mismanagement which has resulted in the agitated situation of the '30s. British mismanagement is to blame. The error consisted "in a mistaken attempt to apply to Ireland the principles of English government before she had by any preparatory process, been qualified to receive them" (54). The Whigs keep on "persisting in treating the savage, superstitious papistry of Ireland as if they were educated, loyal, civilized yeomanry" (55).

Because Ireland was separated by sea from England, and because of "the circumstances of her original function with Great Britain," (56) it was necessary to apply the colonial policy to Ireland as to Canada and Australia. Yet Ireland had no standing colonial army, no colonial laws, and the government did not insist on rooting out the superstitions of the natives insofar as these could be redeemed. In the beginning, the Plantation of Ulster envisaged "that Ireland should be reduced to a conformity with England in religion, manners, and laws in order to prevent

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its being rendered an instrument in the hands of the enemies of England, by which to divide her strength and waste her resources" (57). If this policy had been followed through, then "the power of the Empire would be at this moment doubled and its tranquility secured" (58).

But Ireland, on the other hand, was very near to Great Britain, and hence the first mismanagement resulted from assuming "that its mere proximity to Great Britain is in itself sufficient to render its natives qualified to enjoy British privileges and to be trusted with legislative powers" (59). Consequently, those who pursued a policy based on this principle "have been alternately labouring to raise a noble superstructure without a foundation, or viewing with despair that failure of their most philanthropic theories" (60).

The result of these different policies was that the acts of England were seen by the natives as those of an external power, the power that planted the colony. While on the other hand, the fact that the natives were "encouraged" by experiments in conciliation meant that the colonists were "disputed and alienated" (61). Then when fighting breaks out, it is said in England that "You Irish are most unreasonable. You are always fighting among yourselves" (62).

The fact that they use the term "You Irish" is indicative of the whole policy. "They planted us here as a colony for the purpose of supporting their power, not with the help of, but directly in opposition to, the desperate, treacherous, and restless hatred of those natives whose national feelings and political creed alike forbid the possibility of any reconciliation to or toleration of British connection" (63). This planted colony was to not merely control, but also to reform these natives. In today's England, these colonists are convicted not of murdering the

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natives, but "of differing from them, of not having assimilated to those very superstitious manners, feelings, and principles, the extirpation of which was the very object of our mission" (64). We are accused of "tyrannical exclusiveness and we hear ourselves confounded with the native savages in the reproachful exclamation, 'You Irish are always differing among yourselves,' which words spoken, then, are followed by concessions to the 'recusant natives' and then you ask why the Reformation failed!" (65)

Consequently, the leading theory of the present Whig government "that Ireland being an integral part of the Empire, the native Irish were qualified to be treated as citizens of that Empire," stands in contrast with Irish fact. What occurred is as follows: "The number of colonists produced a similarity of feeling and action between the ostensible portion of the people and the mother country, which induced the latter to forget that every particle of British character for which they gave credit to the whole nation was in fact confined to the British colonists" (66). They have "confounded natives with colonists" who are as "distinct or nearly so as at the period of their first colonization" (67).

In a defense against their British critics, they argued that the Ascendancy Church and the Protestants of Ireland were not the reason for the failure of the Reformation in an article on "The Causes of the Failure of the Reformation in Ireland." DUM posed the question, How come the religion of the conqueror did not prevail? England has ruled in every way but "failed in uprooting popery and establishing Protestantism in its stead" (68). Conquerors normally succeed in doing this. So on the one hand, they might have expected that "the march of the intellect" should have generated a change in the culture of the natives, while on the other

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hand, the domination by a ruling population and government should have led them to assimilate the culture of those ruling people. But even though England "has treated the people of this island as conquered people--she has ruled them for centuries with a ruthless power that has broken their spirit" (69), Catholicism remains deeply embedded in the peasantry.

Under Queen Elizabeth, all Catholics in England frequented the established church until such time as Pope Pius V "excommunicated her and absolved her subjects from their allegiance" (70). This was also the case in Ireland. But the effect of this Papal writ and the Jesuit agitation was to create a "number of recusants." The basic reason that there was this sudden withdrawal of all the people and such vehement opposition was because they were unable to "form a judgment of their own upon the distinctive marks of the two churches" since they were "sunk in the most abject and brutish ignorance" (71).

But this was not fundamentally a religious issue. It involved a secular question of "whether they should submit to the government of Elizabeth or, on the other hand, hold to the supremacy of the Pope--whether they should yield up their native land to the yoke of the English power, to the sword of the conqueror, to the crown of England, or, enrolling themsleves under the banners of their native chiefs, struggle as subjects of the Pope for the freedom of their country from English arms" (72).

Now this option on their part led to repeated insurrections and generated hatred of "both the power and the religion of England." While it appeared as though religious differences determined this relationships, in fact the "real motives" lie elsewhere. "They greatly err who think that religion was anything but a tool and pretence, employed by the chiefs

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of that day for the promotion of their purely secular objects" (73). The real motive was "of a secular and national character" as can be seen in the Papal documents of the time which speak of fighting for "liberty," "love of country," "the Inheritance of Their Fathers," "the preservation of their faith." The Pope appealed not only to their rligious selves, but mainly to national and political sentiments and motives. The aim of the Pope and the chiefs (such as O'Neill) was to "compass a revolt of the natives of Ireland against England, to repeal the union in their ancient fashion, to expell the English from all power in this island." Hence, religion was not the motive but "merely the pretext, the tool, the stalking horse by which the leaders could allure the ignorant and superstitious multitude to their banners and yoke them to their chariot wheels" (74).

Hence the Reformation failed because "it was made a question of national policy and not of religious faith," thereby "alienating the minds and affections of the Irish . . . The religion of Ireland is now, as it was then, only a tool, a handle employed by the priests and agitators for the furtherance of their own political designs" (75). Hence, the people never got around to considering the "truth or falsehood" or the "tendencies for good or for evil" (76) of the two churches.

In other words, nationalism, when used by the clergy, obscured reason. Even today it is an agitation of a political character that impedes the "march of Protestantism." The population is not permitted "to think" about the issue, "but are kept in a state of continued excitement of a different and secularizing nature" (77). Hence, we do not hesitate in proposing that "if the political horizon of this country were happily cleared up of the dark clouds that traverse it and which are kept in

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continual motion and agitation by the self-serving of designing politicians, the expansiveness of Protestantism would rapidly and amply display itself" (78).

Religious distinctions are being "carefully nursed" by the agitators. This means that the failure of the "march of Protestantism" is not because the Church of Rome is "more suited to the national character" of the Irish. Nor is it because of "any want of expansiveness in the spirit of Protestantism or want of suitableness to the circumstances of the people," but because of "the state of the country" (79).

The Catholic Church is "identified on the minds of the people falsely but effectually with visions of ancient glory, as an independent nation, and is associated with national hate and vengeance against the ivaders of their country, who grasped her possessions and despoiled her independence." The clergy then "impute the crimes of that dark age to the spirit of Protestantism and the genius of England" (80).

But in fact England was a Catholic country at the time of the conquest of Ireland and hence wars sprang from "national hostility" rather than religion. "In the centuries alluded to, the spirit of party and of hate was burning between England and Ireland, it was between Englishmen and Irishmen, it was between the English interest and the Irish interest, it was a national and not a religious animosity, [it was] native against the sassenach" (81).

The natives were not alone in this opposition to England. The Grattan spirit of regional independence identified with the Irish people's struggles against their invader. But this understandable response has been distorted. The priests, in order to maintain a policy of separation from England, "availed themselves of the torches of religious discord"

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(82) when England became a Protestant country. "They have substituted the name Protestant for that of English, and the name of Catholic for that of Irish; or rather they have so identified each, by using them as synonymous, that they have effectively succeeded in adding all the bitter ingredients of religious animosity to the national hate that had previously existed" (83). This brought about an identity "in the minds of the people of national and religious feelings." To be "Irish is to be Popish" as far as the "ignorant and superstitious peasantry" are concerned, and to be English is to be Protestant. "They express the idea of an Englishman, and a Protestant and a stranger, by one and the same term—the SASSENACH" (84). This strategy generates mass emotions in order to achieve the priestly goal of separation.

In fact, neither the British government nor Irish liberals should trust the Catholic Church.

It is true that among the Irish hierarchy there are "two parties: one termed the 'American' which agreed with Mr. O'Connell in his views of the Repeal, the other we believe denominated the 'British' party, but which whatever its name may have been, was favorable to the 'British connection.' The members of this latter party have won upon the confidence of successive Irish governments" (85). It is these that lead Westminster to believe they have an ally in the Church and therefore proceed with this policy of reconciliation. But they are mistaken. For the "commanders and companions" of the "American" faction among "the Romish priesthood and hierarchy" have been most successful in their intercourse with the "'Irish people'" (86).

The distinction between Church and State as formulated by the Abbe de la Mennais allows us to see how the Pope can support the liberal political

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cause in Ireland. He theorized that a total separation of Church and State would permit a monarchy oriented Church to head "a great confederacy, formed by the people of all nations" (87). Dividing the Church by provinces and regions he condemned whatever seemed to form a bond of allegiance between ecclesiastical and civil authority. Positing a supra-national power, he argued that this ecclesiastical system would be acceptable to Pope and People—"the one was to be held infallible, the other should be free" (88). The Sovereign Pontiff "was entitled to submission of the spirit, when he defined articles of faith, submission of conduct, when he promulgated laws of discipline; but the people were also entitled to exercise and to allow freedom of thought and action, not only in asserting their political rights, but even in religious faith and worship" (89).

Now elsewhere "Romanism was set in defence of thrones," whereas in Ireland, liberal politics will only affect a "protestant kingdom" (90). Kings may be set upon their thrones or expelled from them, and

> . . . the Father of the Faithful will not feel himself called upon to take a part or to pronounce an opinion in the conflict or controversy. Absolutism may strengthen itself, democracy may triumphs, and Rome may regard the issue in either case with the same indifference; but if, in the progress of the contest, principles become developed which affirm the right and duty of a moral being to think and act agreeably to the dictates of conscience and reason, of a Christian to adopt as his rule the written revelation of God, the struggle assumes a new character, the imperative interference of the Pontiff is immediately felt, and the enthusiasts for freedom or for power, who were permitted to enjoy for a season a delusive sense of liberty and independence, are taught to understand by checks which they cannot resist that, in everything which concerns thought and will and conscience (that is to say, in everything which belongs especially to man) they must acknowledge themselves slaves. (91)

But if the Pope and the Catholic hierarchy support this liberal political development in opposition to Protestant kingdom, does this mean

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that Irish liberals can trust the Catholic Church? It is important to note that the "law of opinion" so dear to liberals does not function the same way in Ireland as elsewhere. Here the "law of opinion" is not "changeable or capricious. Its enactments are as definite and fixed as those of civil law . . . It is in truth the law by which the great majority of the people are governed" (92). It has two faces: one is called "popular opinion" and is turned towards England, the other, "despotism," and is turned on the Irish masses. If on the one hand Irish Catholicism dethrones kings, its principles are not acceptable to the liberal "middle orders," since in whatsoever respects political liberty, it is revolutionary, or perhaps we may say Whig; [but] as regards personal and mental freedom, it is an unaccommodating and merciless despotism" (93).

"The revolutionary section of Irish Romanism is more undisguisedly intolerant than that which borders closely on the party which supports government" (94). It is this intolerance of England and the Protestants of Ireland which allows the Pope to support the revolutionary church in Ireland. But this liberal Church does not follow the Abbe in demanding "liberty of conscience" (95) for the Irish people. Therefore, in its relations with the Catholic people of Ireland, the Pope has reason to support this revolutionary Church, the "party of the people." Irish liberals, be they Protestant or Catholic, should not trust this church "liberalism," for within Ireland itself and in its relations with the Irish people it is a despotic church.

Hence, neither the British government nor Irish liberalism should trust the Catholic Church. "It may be said that there are now recognized in Ireland (as there has been long in existence) two distinct systems of

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government" (96). One system of government is loyal to Rome, this has spiritual authority. The other, the "law of opinion," merely strengthens the authority of these "spiritual terrors" (97). Neither a British state nor an Irish state could ever be free of church domination.

The second article on the question shows how the march of progress failed because of this. The plantations of Ulster were not motivated by religion but "were purely political and philanthropic and partook in no degree of the sectarian bigotry or prejudice" (98). In fact, the natives were transformed. Instead of wandering from place to place herding cattle, the plantation succeeded in "reducing them from their wild habits to a state of settled civilization" (99).

This scheme actually worked. Look at Ulster. "It has weaned the natives from their primitive barbarism of life." Yet is "has not won them from their religious prejudices" (100). Thus, while the plantation "has led them to habits of civilization, it has never induced them to embrace the principles of the Reformation" (101). The natives could easily see the advantages of the "civilization" of England, in the housing, farming, etc., of the industrious Protestants. Yet they saw no such advantage in the "religious principles" of a religion divested of "external trappings and sensible displays" (102) which ignorance could appreciate.

In fact a stand-off or segregation of communities prevailed. Neither sect has made any inroads on the other's population, maintaining the relative proportion of the two classes. The oldest estimate we have is "Roman Catholics to Protestants as two and two thirds to one" (103).

Thus, the Reformation was impeded neither because of the natives' attachment to the Church of Rome nor because of any neglect on the part of the Church of England, but because of "the political state of the country"

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(104). The obstacle to the Reformation is of a "political and not a religious nature" (105).

Given this situation, "the peculiar position in which both parties were placed naturally created materials for mutual estrangement" (106). On the other hand, there was the "troublous bearing of the natives" and on the other, the planters' conduct "required more cautious sagacity and more political wisdom" (107). The "strong suspicious jealousy" (103) that arose in both communities was no soil for the true religion to flourish.

Clearly, therefore, they argued, it is the Catholic clerical manipulation of this whole question of nationalism and the British policies which have been historically and are currently the source of the problematical community relations in Ireland. Secular questions were and are transformed into religious questions. The people's nationality is identified with Catholicism and Protestantism. This political question has meant that the Reformation and the march of the intellect have been impeded in Ireland.

Thus, at the present time the Catholic clergy are the real source of the problem. "We denounce the Roman Catholic priesthood as the colossal curse of Ireland. They are the promoters either immediately or remotely of all crimes and the misery, and the heart burnings and animosities and bloodshed and treasons that darken the face of the land" (109). Their power and influence must be crushed by England, the British government and the British public "in order to save us from civil war," to save "property," and "to redeem and snatch the Popish population from the burning volcano" (110).

Catholic apologists like Tom Moore in his Travels of an Irish Gentlemen in Search of a Religion seek to blame Protestants for today's

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agitated situation. In the fictitious garb of Captain Rock, Moore allowed himself to find all Protestants wanting. For him, the true fathers of Ireland were papists; the Protestants are heretics. Consequently, all misdemeanors committed by Rock are seen as the "just revengeance of Popery" (111). The following verse, they argued, illustrates the character of this volume:

> So long as Popish spade and scythe
> Shall dig and cut the Sassenach's tythe,
> And Popish purses pay the tolls,
> On Heaven's road for Sassenach's souls,
> So long the merry reign shall be,
> Of Captain Rock and his family. (112)

Moore therefore assumes that Popish treachery could be expected while the Established Church existed. But, DUM argued, this is not the case. It is the agitation of the clergy and their identification of Catholicism with Ireland and Protestantism with England that is the source of the problem.

It is this leadership strata that must be singled out for repression. In the past, Westminster insisted on "repressing disturbances" and supported the "commanding position" of the "propertied class" (113). But now the British government has weakened the legislative power of the "propertied class" and seeks to avert the crisis by paying off the Catholic Church. However, the "priesthood can never be purchased" (114). When Maynooth was established (1790s) with government assistance, it was thought that this measure would succeed in "weaning them gradually from the peasantry" and "convert treason into loyalty." But the Church did not become loyal to its new source of income and support. The Maynooth grant worked in the opposite direction. The priests do not pacify but agitate Ireland. Hence, giving them grants is the same as giving grants to the

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repealers (115).

The priests, however, have too much power already. They are a "hierarchy of command, a priestly imperium in imperio" (116) pitted against landlord and England. The clergy are using "the great mass of ignorance and superstition yoked to their car" (117) in order to drive landlords into absenteeism. They can then reign unrestrained "in the absence of their natural rulers" (118). In this sense "in almost every village" we see "little clubs or cabals of persons" (119) being formed (a reference to O'Connell's clubs). Now the danger of revolution is apparent "when we consider, on the one hand, the want and misery and extreme wretchedness of the peasantry, and consider on the other hand, their tendency to adopt the opinions and sentiments of every crafty and designing person who might be disposed to lead them" (120). In politics the peasantry "never think for themselves, but as in religion they subject their judgments, so in politics whether local or general, they surrender their opinions to the decisions of others" (121). This explains the "evil and disaffected tone that pervades the character of our peasantry" (122). It is, therefore, their "mental slavery" or the peculiar structure of their minds that explains why "hatred to England, opposition to authorities, hostility to the landlords are deemed the highest VIRTUES among them" (123).

All can see therefore that in the Catholic Church we have "Papists against England, against Government, against the Landlord, against Protestantism" (124).

The Protestant lower orders have advanced so much whereas the Catholics are "the mere Irish" they were at the time of the conquest of the country. The Protestants as a "result of free and unrestrained

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Protestant principles . . . display the superior tone of feeling, and nobler modes of thinking" (125). A simple comparison of the Protestant north and the Catholic south will bear this out. Good government would bring all regions "to a state similar to that of the province of Ulster" (126).

As for the mass of the population, Popery degrades them "below the common level of humanity" (127). People have no right to think as individuals, but are kept in "a state of mental slavery or inaction" and they receive passively the decisions of others. This places the people in the hands of the priests and the agitators. Popery has "chained down all the faculties of the mind, it has forced and moulded the mind so as to expose it passively to receive every impression, and then the priests, at the head of their little band of village politicians, wield them, as an inert and mindless mass to whatever purpose they design" (128).

Our peasantry is in this state of "mental slavery" because they "are carefully taught from infancy that the greatest virtue is an act of implicit faith, and that the essence of all religion consists in laying aside the exercise of their own judgment and submitting all things to the judgment of others" (129). This represents a great obstacle to the conversion of the natives. "This mental subjection which the Popery of Ireland has stamped upon the character of the people is an evil of great magnitude, by reason of the peculiar state of society among the lower orders of the rural population" (130). The problem of overpopulation meant that the lower orders of the Catholic population were "debased in morals as a super-abundant population must ever be" (131). In Ireland, however, there is an additional problem, that of "all the ignorance, idleness, and fanaticism, political and religous, which a bigoted and

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exclusive, a superstitious, encroaching and demoralizing creed, ministered by a vigilant and ambitious priesthood, can produce" (132).

As a consequence "papal ambition" has torn asunder "those links of affectionate and reciprocal attachment which should subsist between landlord and tenant" (133).

The policy of conciliation was clearly in error. The 1793 franchise of the Catholic freeholders did not emancipate the tenantry from the clergy. On the contrary, they are so much under the influence of the "priests and agitators" that these "have completely succeeded in neutralizing all the influence and natural power of the landlords" (134). Recognizing this danger, the franchise was restricted in the Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1829. Moreover, insofar as these still represented a majority, the oath of allegiance was supposed to further control even these, but "no peasant is bound by any oath." The result is that "the power of the landlords, once deemed a tower of strength, has melted like wax before the influence of the priesthood" (135).

But the question of the land has indeed been a source of real opposition within Ireland. Historically, it is that the settlers violated the rule prohibiting the sale of land or the granting of tenancies to the natives. This meant that there was great competition for the land. Since the natives had "barbarous habits and fewer wants" (136), they could pay higher rents. This provoked "burning indignation" (137) and led to the exodus of the Protestants. This is "the true secret of the fewness of the Protestants in Ireland. They could not pay so great a rental as the natives; they were accordingly removed from the land by these selfish proprietors and the natives were substituted in their place" (138). The Protestants were "sacrificed to that golden calf, an extended rent-roll"

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(139). It was "this system" that meant that "among the lower orders there was an end to every kindly feeling" (140). The plantation "separated the Protestants, English, Scottish from the Roman Catholic Irish" (141).

But the Protestant tenantry and Protestant laborers have also become disaffected from the landlords. Their situation is hopeless. "A spirit of mawkish liberalism has been long affected by many of their landlords, to excuse their conduct toward the Protestant tenantry, and whenever we hear of a landlord professing liberalism, we at once proclaim him to be some necessitous and grinding proprietor" (142). They profess that they have no preference for Catholics or Protestants, but behind their masks we find "avidity for an increased rental which is the true motive of their conduct" (143). Since there is far greater competition among the Catholics for the "bit of land," they pay a much higher price and the landlords prefer the "Popish price" to the "Protestant price." They then "unblushingly talk about the liberalism of their sentiments" (144).

Indeed, what "naturally flings a gloomy shadow of despair over the state of the Protestants of the lower orders is the fact, plainly, yet certain as the creation, that the nature and extent of the evil is such as to admit now of no remedy" (145). They understand that their situation is hopeless because of the "pecuniary difficulties of the landlords . . . The vast majority of our Irish estates are so deeply involved with annuities, mortgages and other incumbrances, arising out of the extravagance of the past or present generation, that at least half the entire rental goes annually to liquidate them" (146). Moreover, the depression since the war, with the decline in prices and sales, has combined with the fact that the landlords have to pay off in gold the mortgates "which they had raised on inferior currency" (147). It is clear

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that "Our landlords are too much embarrassed to retain a Protestant tenantry" (148). This reality has been so divisive that "an estrangement growing wider and wider every day is walking with the step of a giant among them" (149). In a short while "there will be no two classes of the population of this island so separated, so alien, so little identified in interest and feeling, as the Protestant gentry and the Protestant peasantry" (150).

Consequently, in recent years "a spirit has walked among them (the Protestant lower orders) and it muttered, as it passed, a word that whispers of neglect and ingratitude, of unkindness and wrong" (151). This new situation awakes the memory of "their former state" and "it points to the change—alas how changed—when we see them removing one by one, day by day, from the green hills of their fathers and sunny fields of their youth, constrained to witness their homes transferred sometimes to the very individuals with whom they had struggled, foot to foot and hand to hand" (152).

On the other hand, the Protestant lower orders were identified by the "mere Irish" as "friends and supporters and to a certain extent as armed retainers of that forcing government and that stranger proprietary" (153). They were identified with an "English government of conquest" and a "proprietary of the soil viewed as a legion of strangers" (154). Now this identity has been "fanned into a flame by the priests and agitators" (155). Hence the "mere Irish" see all evils as caused by the English and Protestants. Whereas the English government only notices this feeling of antagonism in times of uprising, the Protestant lower orders live in a constant state of alarm. Hence they leave because "there is no peace, no security, no happiness for the Protestants of the lower orders in the very

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center of a savage and hostile people, whom civilization has never tamed, and whose ferocious habits and turbulent tempers have never been chained down with effect by the government of the country" (156).

The penal laws enacted did not tame and civilize Popery. They applied only to "the educated and higher classes of society and they totally passed by the wild and unshapen mass of the population" (157). Moreover, these laws worked to secure the advantage of the "Protestants of the higher classes . . . The Protestants of the lower orders derived no advantage or privilege whatsoever but on the other hand, were exposed to all the jealousy and hatred of the Roman Catholics" (158). The laws therefore merely functioned to suppress Romanism in the higher classes and did not promote Protestantism in the lower clases. Consequently, Popery remained firm in the lower orders, a constant source of turbulence.

At present, the policy of conciliation to the Catholics—emancipation, the Reform Bill, the Church Bill—is seen by the Protestant lower orders as a "concession to clamour and turbulence and threats" (159). Emancipation was seen as "opening the door to all aggression" (160). Through the Reform Bill "Protestant boroughs were opened to a Catholic constituency" (161). And the Church Bill gave the right to "Catholics to legislate for the Protestant Church" (162).

The Protestants are the best citizens and best producers. "Truly they were a class of men, orderly, steady, industrious, loyal and religious, who as a body had no superiors in their class in any nation in the world, and yet those are the very individuals who are emigrating in such numbers, leaving the interests of England and of property at the mercy of a populace untamed and uneducated, bigoted and inflammable, and fitted to be the willing tools and slaves of every knavish priest and

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every factious agitator" (163).

The Protestants are morally superior to the Catholics. Look at the statistics of crime in both north and south. While the half year ending March 31, 1832, showed 819 different crimes and assaults in Queens County, the high sheriff in his address to the chief baron at the close of the Assizes in Carrickfergus said, "'My Lord, the Assizes for the county of the town of Carrickfergus, having closed without any criminal persecution . . . this is the second time that I have had the honour of presenting a blank calendar to a presiding judge.'" This was the case even in such a bad year. "Under the very serious pressure of the times not a single individual has been found who sought to relieve his necessities by the hand of aggression'" (164).

But the landlords rent to Catholics for higher rent. Consequently, emigration is the worst evil overshadowing the Protestant interests. What use will it be to have a Protestant Tory press when there are no Protestants to protect, if those "who are bone and sinew of that body (Protestants) shall have abandoned the country forever" (165)? In the four years 1829-1832, some 94,000 have been lost according to a count by seaport numbers of out and in migration. Yet these Protestants invariably supported the interests of the landlords; they are "the most conducive by their industry, to tranquility" (166).

They have been seen to be close to the English interests also. "The Protestant population are an English garrison which is holding this island in its allegiance to England . . . It is a garrison of a half-conquered and half-resisting country, and if it were to be once withdrawn . . . there will be neither safety for the property, nor security for the allegiance of this island and this Ascendancy of England is shivered to

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atoms" (167).

Let the landlords remember that they are "strangers, invaders, heretics, emphatically, the Sassenach in the eyes of the great body of the population" (168). Yet instead of maintaining and supporting a Protestant community and maintaining a Protestant base, "they throw themselves on the protection of England" (169). They assume that "England must hold this island and repress with a strong hand everything that would subvert the present settlement of property" (170). Hence they feel the need to do nothing, and see no need to save the Protestant base, the real source of their security. Let the Protestant gentry take a stand for Protestantism. They are "a colony in a hostile country and if not closely and effectively united, they are lost" (171).

The Protestant community was torn asunder. The British government undermined the Ascendancy Church as did many landlords and the Dissenters. The policies of conciliation on the part of the British government alienated many Protestants from England. The landlords and their Protestant tenants are estranged because of the rent roles. The lower orders of Protestant and Catholic heritage are torn apart. The Catholic clergy and O'Connell sow the seeds of insurrection continuously.

In the early thirties, then, DUM emphasized the hated identity of colonial settler in order to shore up the Protestant Ascendancy community, unite England and its garrison population in Ireland and separate the British government and that segment of the landlords that tended to enter into a dialogue with the Catholic clergy and secular leadership. DUM and the Irish Tories did not despair of putting Humpty Dumpty together again and re-establishing the harmonious unity of 1800. In this regard they often reminded the landlords of their absolute dependency on the British

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government for military support in the face of insurrection and a French Revolution in Ireland. This they hoped would resurrect landlord fears of being abandoned to their plight because of one or other British interest. As history had shown, it was the British interest that always prevailed in the past and the Irish Protestant landlords had to function in terms of that interest. Now in the 1830s the British government may abandon them also by repealing the Corn Laws. But more importantly, even Lord Mulgrave, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, admitted in 1938 that the British government identified with O'Connell's "Popular Party" (172).

Thus it was at a very early stage in the Reform era of the 1830s that the Irish Tories formulated this relation with Great Britain, the Irish landlords and their Protestant community. They singled out for attack the leadership strata of the Catholic population,. Daniel O'Connell's "agitation" and the "rebellious" clergy who worked with him. This Orangeism was only one line of policy, as we shall see, found among the Tory elite of Dublin, and for that matter found in the pages of Dublin University Magazine. But to complete our story, it is important to point out that this line, Protestant unity and violent repression, remained central in their political attitudes throughout the period and became even more pronounced in the forties, when the Repeal movement gained ground among the Protestant gentry while at the same time the English Tories were returned to power at Westminster.

After the Tories had been returned to power in the '40s, they argued for more repressive measures. The reason there is currently so much agitation for repeal is not because Sir Robert Peel has misgoverned Ireland, but because when the Whigs were in power the Repealers were in control of the patronage, but now that they are deprived of office, they

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have no patronage and agitation is the result. Peel should use coercive measures. Lord Grey and the Whigs did so when bribery failed. No matter what they offered, it would be to no avail. So prohibit these Repeal assemblies that

> . . . give tenfold effects to the efforts insidiously made for the detaching of Protestants from theirold principles of loyalty and love of British connection and alluring them into engagements in which old principles are to be bartered for some present advantage, or for a promise of future safety. Let no man think that the apprehension of Protestants becoming influenced to embrace the side of Repeal is a chimera; nor let the loyal men who may be thus allured sink low in the judgments of those who are more prosperous than themselves or who are set in circumstances of less peril. (173)

Remember the connection is not a point of "principle" but a "matter of interest and expediency . . . It is clearly the interest of Irish Protestants—of all, indeed, who are of English race—to guard legislative union" (174).

British policy towards Ireland, based on "ignorance and empiricism," has always been designed to induce tranquility but always falls short of this or else it provokes an even greater crisis than the first. Thus, for example, the Whigs supported the use of "coercion" in Ireland. But O'Connell defined it as "base, brutal and bloody," (175), and the Whigs "basely" followed his lead. The government mistakes the "noise of the agitator for the expression of the wants or the wishes of the people . . . The truth is, that the social, not the political condition of the people was that which demanded legislative attention; and the clamour of a faction for barren or mischievous privileges has engrossed the minds of the ministers and parliaments" (176). This focus precluded the simple remedies required to solve the problems of the poor masses, the real problems in Ireland.

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In the face of the fact that the Conservative cabinet of ministers were likely to pass the Maynooth Endowment Bill, DUM called for the formation of a Protestant Confederation. "Wherever they (the Irish Tories and Protestants) were to seek protection and support, it was not in the direction of the Conservative Cabinet they were to look for it" (177). This act on the part of the Ministers can only mean that without intending it, they have designed the separation of Ireland and England. So if the Protestants want protection, they must organize to win the battle against Repeal in the British Parliament. While there are many more British in Parliament than the Irish faction, the fact is that a few years ago the Irish faction turned the scale. "If eighty Irish members, forming a compact body, could exercise such influence in the days of Grattan and Old Sarum, what would their power be now?" (178)

But the Protestant aristocracy is divided and not very determined in maintaining the cause of religious principle.

> The Irish members of Parliament are so divided, that nearly a third are attached to a party which styles itself liberal; and it is to be lamented, that party interests divide, perhaps, in a similar proportion, the Protestant aristocracy of the country. On the one side would be arranged, were parties divided, according to their professions, two thirds of the Protestant aristocracy and gentry, and with very few exceptions, the great body of the people. On the other side, a third part of the upper classes, and a very thick sprinkling from the masses. (179)

Thus they analyzed the social disorganization of the Protestants of Ireland. The first group, they argued, must identify themselves with an English party if they are to prevail, i.e., identify with the Tory Party.

The Protestants of Ireland must unite. "The heart should be formed by the Protestant aristocracy and gentry . . . the natural leaders" (180). This committee should organize through the parishes to mobilize the

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Protestant people. All this can be done without any public meetings and thereby effect the unification of England and Irish Protestants. "Will the Irish gentry be true to themselves?" (181). At this point the dictates of duty and personal interest coincide. We cannot trust the Conservative Administration "which has twice, under circumstances so painfully suspicious, betrayed and broken up the great Conservative Party" (182). "Are the Irish gentry wise if they continue to repose in the unsuspecting and inactive confidence of the statesmanship of men who, after having exposed themselves to the surprise by which Reform was carried, have had recourse, a second time, to a similar tactique, and so far as has hitherto been seen, with the same disastrous results?" (183).

Consequently, we must meet the Irish Roman Catholics and the Repeal Association with a Protestant Confederation. "Ernestly we entreat the Protestant aristocracy to unite" (184). As for "the Protestant body at large, they are not to consider their estate hopeless, because a British Cabinet is ignorant of theirmerits, and an Irish Aristocracy (which we sincerely hope it will not) declines to occupy the post of honor and power among them, or at least their head" (185).

> We feel that Irish Protesants cannot look for aid beyond themselves, until they are, themselves, in a state to prove that they are little, if at all, dependent on others for assistance; and therefore we urgently recommend a Protestant union—a union of the best, most desirable description, if the natural leaders of the people take their proper part in promoting and cementing it, but in any case, UNION, and if the nobility and higher orders of the gentry refuse or withhold their aid, a union of the Protestant democracy. (186)

We hope that all the Protestants of Ireland will now follow the example of the "nobility and gentry of Ulster" (187). The British connection will depend on it. "A ministry like ours, which has added to its demerits in 1829, the measures of the last session of Parliament,

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cannot be relied on for the maintenance of any principle which it may find a brief convenience in abandoning" (188). Some Protestants argue that Peel's policies are good since we are currently experiencing some progress. They assume that all will therefore "foresake their contending priests, and all worship and in amity and amicable competition, before the only altar at which hearts really bow--the altar of wealth" (189). These Protestants find the Protestant Church to be an obstacle to their goals. Others argue that we should appease O'Connell now since in a few years he will be dead. But these overlook the fact that he may have an efficient successor.

But all these are false basis for hope and confidence. Join the Protestant Confederation, otherwise you will face a disastrous situation.

> We will, for a moment, suppose the appeal made to Irish Protestantism unsuccessful. We will suppose Ulster left alone, and that the Protestants of the north, having vainly invited their brethren in other parts of the island to unite with them, strong in the confidence of numbers and high spirit, renounce the idea of a formal union, or merely adopt that form which is already in existence. Is such a state of things that in which any wise man would desire to meet the perils of a Whig or Radical Administration? (190)

The union has brought us good. Look at Ulster since 1795 when the Orange Institution was formed.

But from the very beginning the entire project of mobilizing the Protestants was impossible. The gentry-led revival of the Protestant community, emanating from Dublin, confronted the very real problem that their mass base was located in northern Ireland. Even if at this point they had recovered, as we shall see, some ground among the Protestant gentry who had disaffected to the more liberal and Whig line, they had no mass Protestant base in the south. But as we have seen, the north of Ireland was by the 1840s economically independent and separated from

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Dublin and the Ascendancy dominated agricultural south. Moreover, the Protestant landlords in the north had continued to maintain a Protestant tenantry with fixity of tenure. The tenants also had banded together to successfully resist the competition from a Catholic tenantry. In the south, however, the landlords had sold out their Protestant tenants for higher rents and cheaper wages, and they had no wish to grant fixity of tenure to Catholic tenants. Hence a nationwide policy on this class relation would have been impossible for the Tory gentry, since it would have provoked either the estrangement of the Protestant tenatns in the north or the Protestant landlords in the s

The Political Economy of a Christian Ascendancy

Even if DUM was founded by Ultra-Tories who were enraged at the Reform Bill in Great Britain and Ireland, they were, nevertheless, men of the Enlightenment.

> The men who founded the Dublin University Magazine considered reason to be an integral part of their faith. Anglicanism was for them the rational religion, grounded alike in a reason and revelation, and their dislike of Catholicism, whatever may have been its real roots, was always couched in language which emphasized the refusal of the Catholics to enter theological debate or admit the possibility of change. This belief of its founders manifested itself in their acceptance of that most Victorian of ideas, "the march of the intellect," and in a policy of consistently supporting the new science of 'political economy." (191)

Whereas English Conservatives rejected political economic theory, Smith's free trade, Malthusian ideas on population, and Ricardo's theory of rent, the Irish Tories took a different point of view. Mr. Longfield and Isaac Butt were the first and second political economists at Trinity College as well as staunch Tories in this period. The idea of a Tory political economist in the 1830s would seem in itself to be a

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contradiction in terms, but in the pages of DUM we find that it was possible to be both—to be a modern Tory in the specific conditions of southern Ireland. Even if they were all part of the Orangeism of the day, they were also political economists. Revitalization and modernization functioned side by side. That Protestantism which had been subdued in the nationalist arguments of Swift and Grattan was reasserted in a different form and combined with the most enlightened of rational scientific economic thought.

Nevertheless, their political economy is quite different from that of their English counterparts. It takes a rather contradictory attitude. On the one hand, they condemn the functioning of the free market, and call for a managed economic and social world. On the other hand, they enthusiastically embrace the modern principles of technological innovation and productivity and rational administration in agriculture. They attack the impersonal market mechanisms that destroy their old world. Yet they embrace the scientific principles that make it possible to survive within this same market-determined economic development, through personal programmed use of property and resources by an enlightened gentry.

In a main article, "Perils of the Nation," of 1844, DUM criticizes the narrow focus of political economy as argued in England. We must distinguish, they argue, between our welfare and our wealth. National prosperity or "the riches of the country are a most important means towards the greatest end of national welfare" (192). But political economy only sees wealth as important. As Gladstone said in 1843, "It was one of the most melancholy features of the social state of the country, that while there was a decrease in the consuming powers of the people and an increase in the privations and distress of the laboring and operative

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classes, there was at the same time a constant accumulation of wealth in the upper classes and a constant increase of capital" (193). All now agree that both destitution and wealth have made progress.

Again in July, 1844, DUM identifies private accumulation and popular immiseration as the real source of discontent. It is this idolatry of money that is our "great national sin," the principle that "whatever increases the capital of the country must be advantageous to the nation" (194). The evils of our society, the misery of the people, are not "unavoidable fruit of a redundant population" (195), and many followers of Malthus argue that population does not necessarily lead to misery and crime and so on. A heavily populated countryside could be prosperous and crime-free. Hence, we are not condemnded to inaction; a remedy is possible if overpopulation is not the cause. There is no need for this "vile support . . . of preventive checks, too abominable to be named" (196).

Now this increase in wealth and increase in distress "has happened because we have been laboring that it should happen. The wealth of the wealthy has accumulated because all legislation has made it its chi;ef object. Capital has increased because statesmen and legislators and public writers, have all imagined that the increase of capital was the summum bonum of human existence. The poor have not advanced along with the rich because no one has thought it desirable that they should" (197).

Though conditions have improved somewhat in more recent years, those improvements cannot be used to justify "the pereptuation of a false system which has brought about our past and present calamities; while it threatens for the future an entire disruption of the social state" (198). The real cause of unrest is clear: "The tide of misery has set in, so

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wide and deep, that if it rolls on unchecked and unimpeded we must be dashed upon the quicksands of bloody revolution" (199).

We can all see this "unnatural contrast of the greatest luxury and the greatest suffering side by side" (200). It must be remedied since there can be no peace if the lower orders are left in misery, in this "volcanic soil." Only a military despotism can control a situation where most realize that "any change in the established order must issue in their benefit" (201). Such is the miserable state of our manufacturing districts. "What a terrific exemplification of a gigantic error--the confounding of the nation's welfare with the nation's wealth; the making money the standard of all utility" (202). The manufacturing districts are a "new element in our social economy" (203). But since there are no laws and regulations, "it is politically powerul without being constitutionally sound . . . an impending peril rather than an enduring strength to the nation" (204).

These manufacturing districts are dangerous

> . . . when instead of the homely and peaceable weaver, we behold marauding mobs of factory workers holding whole districts in thraldom, destroying property, shedding blood, and threatening to take away life, because the established form of government is not to be re-cast in their hideous mould; when we see these things, we say we are irresistibly drawn to the convlusion that the new factory regime is essentially rotten; that it is fast tainting the whole framework of society, and that if it be not subject to prompt and vigourous treatment, the time is not far distant when all will fall in one fearful crash. (205)

However, the people are not to blame for this rebelliousness, but they have been "made the tools of designing men" (206). They must be educated. We must uplift the soul. There is no point in shortening hours since they will only have more time for the "haunts of pleasure or debauchery" (207). The time taken from Mammon "must be consecrated to Heaven." More

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money will not give self-respect but "moral and religious feelings" (208).

The relations between employer and laborer have been changed completely. The master-servant relations of "personal care" where the master is "personally acquainted with every workman in his employ" (209) has been set aside for a relation of utter estrangement. There is neither secular nor religious instruction for the people. Moreover, the exclusive employment of females in factories "strikes at the roots and utterly destroys the domestic comforts of the working people . . . The domestic hearth is cold and forbidding" (210). The houses of the working people are badly constructed, there is no ventilation, no drainage. Wages are paid in public houses.

In opposition to this system of work that destroys all personality, DUM advises that

> . . . when master and man are placed on a different footing, when they are made to know each other, then personal characteristics will become as essential a quality in the workman as manual dexterity. From that moment he will become something more than a living machine; he will have a right to sympathies, not a mere claim upon the purse of his master, and in discovering that he is an object of regard to those above him, he will become sensible to the cheering dawn of self-respect, and feel that his social position has been elevated and that he is of some consequence to society. (211)

Women must be exempted from manufactures since this "strikes at the root and utterly destroys the domestic comforts of the working people" (212) and the comforts of the home re-established.

Adam Smith was the source of this policy error whereby capital progresses and the population regresses. Now this destructive principle can be seen in our countryside. "Time was when rural life in merry England was the liveliest picture of paradise on earth, which even poetry's fairy colourings could paint . . . wooded glades, the laughing

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fields, the woodbine covered cottages, the happy peasantry of highly favored England" (213). There "the ladies joined in festive circle" while religion "exercised an unbounded sway over these simple people" (214). In such a world, the proprietor was resident, conversed and rejoiced and wept with his people. Then unity prevailed. See the "chivalric devotion of the Vendeans" who were "bound to their landlord by ties which all the infernal machinery of the reign of terror could not burst" (215) in revolutionary France.

In England the rural life of yore has been destroyed. If one were to enter the country cottage of the "yet untainted rural laborer, you will see a frugal, industrious and contented family, with few luxuries, but fewer wants; bound together by the strongest bonds of social affection; fearing God, and scrupulous in the discharge of every moral religious duty" (216). But this account of cottage life in Scotland, by Mr. Alison, is, alas, not a true draught "of the actual conditions of our agricultural districts. The same fatal and all-pervading error—the supposing that the increase of capital and the welfare of man must progress, pari passu—has brought wasting penury into England's once happy cottages" (217).

No. An increase in the "present auspicious gale of commercial prosperity" (218) will not correct the evils of the manufacturing system or the distressful conditions of the English countryside. Political economy caused the world of small farms to be destroyed. It was said that the wealth of nations required big farms and this meant that this world of small farms was substituted and one big farmer with a few laborers was established compared with the many people bound to the land formerly. This produced a larger surplus of food and the rest of the population was driven to the cities. Hence an increase in capital "should not be

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confounded with the well being of the people" (219).

A factory system was introduced to the English countryside where once the peasantry were "their country's pride and boast. The little farms which formerly were tenanted by independent happy families, are by degrees absorbed into enormous farming manufactures directed by the same capitalist whose only idea is to make money and worked by the hireling hands of a brokenhearted and hopeless race of serfs" (220).

Thus this false identification of principles has "inundated our crowded marts with fresh streams of woe and wafts daily supplies of victims to the altar of Mammon" (221). It is this "same deadly poison" (222) that is at work in all classes dividing the nation. Now some people argue that this distribution of wealth and division of the population is the necessary consequence of freedom. However, this is nonsense. "Talk of freedom to the wan, pale, broken-hearted manufacturer . . . or the faded seamstress. . . What in the name of common sense or common humanity is the meaning of mocking by the taunt of freedoms the millions of our countrymen who must labor through a life of misery or die by starvation . . . The tyranny of capital, fostered instead of checked, by legislation, does subject England's freeborn children to a slavery as degrading and as real as if the chain clanked after them and the cash compelled them to their daily tasks" (223).

These well-developed arguments reflect the attitude of a Tory radical in the face of a bourgeois society. The general response is one of rejection; the concrete form of capitalism in the factory system and the concrete idealogy of the political economy that justified what had been occurring in England are opposed as a whole as a social form. We will see a different attitude when we come to look at some particulars.

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Their critique is presented by means of a comparison of their peasantry and the bourgeois-led workforce. Apart from the sense of their own worth as leaders of a "wholesome" community life in the era of the Enlightenment which this afforded the gentry, it was also a political formulation whereby they hoped to emphasize the source of a cleavage within the social alliance backing the Reform government. As a literary form, we see the real experiential anger of the peasantry and small farmers driven from their land, and that of the working class in the factory system of industrial England is displaced and used here to express the gentry anger and sense of rejection in the new bourgeois world. In a kind of ex-nomination of feelings, the peasants and workers are allowed to speak in the expression by analogy of the feelings of the gentry, who are moreover "concerned" and paternal in their care of the general population.

But if they attacked the political economic principles of the British liberals, they saw in religion a way to resolve the contradiction between economic thought and the public good, or the restoration of community.

The bare secular principles of political economy must be married to those of Christianity. "If the materialist doctrine prevail in the science of government, and wealth be regarded as the end of social existence, it is clear that the selfish and engrossing passion, which is characteristic of humanity wherever it is spiritually unenlightened, must prevail, and that sordid accumulation will be the rule, wise and equitable distribution the exception" (224). The religious principles would exercise a purifying function even if not a transforming revolutionary function. They would guarantee better management, in politics and production.

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> Supposing a government to act systematically from motives and on principles in accordance with the Christian rule, what an impulse would not be given to the sense of those duties responsibilities, on the due discharge of which simultaneously with the exercise of their rights depends the welfare of society . . . The factory, instead of considering the laborer and the artisan as mere instruments for raising corn or spinning cotton at the last possible charge, instead of doling them out their daily wages only as oil to make the machinery work, would take an interest in their welfare, provide for their comforts and recreation, and above all, would bestow on them the most precious of all gifts, occasional leisure to attend to those higher and more enduring interests, which are equally the patrimony of the poor and the rich, and of which the abriddgement of manual labor resulting from the progress of mechanical inventions would appear providentially designed to promote the cultivation. (225)

God's word must be exalted above political economy. This is the remedy for this "love of money" and "the idolatry of Mammon" (226). The principle of political economy contradicts this word of God, "it has falsehood and ruin branded on its brow" (227). Whatever is atheistic and irreligious is "senseless and irrational" (228).

In an 1833 article discussing the boom and bust vagaries of the labor market that cause "famine, disease, and misery" of a people who "are now compelled by intolerable extremity, to quit their hovels and stalking abroad in squalid and offensive nakedness, to obtrude themselves upon the eye and ear" (229). DUM argues that "In seasons of famine, the rich must feed the poor" (230). According to this principle, food is not a mere commodity as the British political economists see it, but is a communal product. Hence community rights supersede the normal market relations that function in times that are not conducive to famine. The owner of the estate is not merely the manager of a business, but also the father of a community, having obligations to his tenants and peasants and is not merely bound to a contractual monetary and utilitarian relationship. Too many of the gentry live in accordance with the epicurean spirit of the

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heathen poet, "carpe diem." Such gentry are "unwilling to sacrifice present ease in order to guard against the future and contingent inconvenience" (231). Consequently, they "play backgammon" (232) rather than provide for the rainy day and are unable to feed their poor in times of famine.

Again in opposition to the political economy of England, Isaac Butt, in his lectures of 1840 concerning the "Protection of Home Industry," argues for the rights of the laboring classes. In an 1846 review, DUM said political economy should not analyze "wealth alone." "The line is but feebly marked between the natural rights of the laborer and his political rights, and too many would be ready to overstep it; even if it were more plainly defined" (233).

Butt went on to argue for the priority of the community's claim over private property.

> I do not hesitate to say that to the contemplation of the Christian moralists or economist, there can be no such thing as a surplus produce until the wants of all the classes in the country are supplied. The surplus produce, I will add the disposable labor of a country, is that which after providing for the wants, and I include in the wants the reasonable comforts of all who are willing to give to society their labor, society may permit to be directed to the luxuries and vanities of the rich. . . But the first care in the direction of resources of the country should be that all may be fed. The poor have their rights as well as the rich. . . He has a right in the sweat of his brow to eat bread. (234)

Hence all government policies must be analyzed in terms of their effects on distribution as well as in terms of their effects on production, which is the main focus of political economy.

Christian Principles, the Irish Agricultural Labor Market and the Tenant Market for Land

We will now examine how they applied this contradictory combination

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of Christian principles and political economy to the Irish situation.

If Christian principles demanded that the primacy of the community be asserted over the rights of private property in times of depression, the Tory solution to the problem of a high demand for jobs and land among the laborers and tenants, while antagoninstic to the system of free market, could not be regarded as humanistic.

In one of their first articles, DUM criticized the functioning of the agricultural labor market in Ireland. The labor market in agriculture and manufactures with "their frequent paroxysms of activity and stagnation" have effected the "widespread wretchedness of the laboring classes" (235). There is a chasm between the landlords and their tenantry. This is due first of all to "a radical defect in the present system of agricultural labor. And that is the practice of hiring laborers by the day with scarcely any advantage over the old system of farm servants with its many grievous ills" (236). It reduces "the connection between the landlord and this portion of his dependents . . . to the simple transaction of labor given and cash received" (237). In the market any kind of person may be employed and hence crime is increased. Moreover, uncertainty of employment leads to misery, which generates the necessity of crime to get the necessities of life. This in turn leads to "recklessness of character" and early marriages with their "dacent"—that is, drunken—weddings, and consequently to an increase in the population (238).

The article goes on to describe the Catholic peasantry. The laborers only have "brute force to apply to their work" (239) since they are without skills. The peasant is characterized by a "stupid ignorance of

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the very simplest processes of the business from which he looks to derive subsistence throughout his life" (240). But there are two kinds of laborers. There is a minority which "consists in the ancient settlers on the estate, they rent a cottage, graze a cow, are under the immediate patronage of the landlord and have constant employment." These have "attained the maximum of a laborer's prosperity" (241). The "far more numerous portion" of laborers is "wholly dependent upon the fluctuating demand for labor of the public market and which is still worse, upon its fluctuating prices" (242). This means that they have mere seasonal employment. They are given to riot, beggary or thievary. The great mass of agricultural laborers are wretched. They eat potatoes and maintain a "pig that eats, drinks and sleeps with the family" (243) to pay the rent on their miserable abode. "This consists of four narrow, damp, unplastered and undivided mud walls within which the inmates, males, females and pig, eat, drink and sleep together with little of furniture, and in scarce seasons without even a bed of straw, and of a quarter or a half acre of ground, on which the dunghill is manufactured into potatoes" (244).

Their annual income is five to six pounds "exclusive of what he does in the potato garden which he rents at nearly this sum and which is scarcely even sufficient to supply him with this essential article of his food throughout the year" (245).

Now the market mechanisms cannot solve this problem. In this article concerning the labor market and again later concerning manufactures, DUM used the same model to show how the market functioned to increase the wealth of some and the impoverishment of the many. They focus on the problem of excessive competition among laborers or investors.

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Overpopulation leads to excessive demand, but this excessive demand means that more and more suppliers appear on the scene. This means that there is an ever greater supply of commodities, which in turn increases the competition between suppliers. This in turn generates a high rate of bankruptcy and unemployment follows. "And thus, this swelling wave of commerce which gently wafted from our shores, on its smooth and sunny bosom, a gay vessel, rich in merchandise and buoyant in hopes, returns a breaker, bearing upon its treacherous surface a shattered wreck, carries desolation and bankruptcy into our manufactures, and wretchedness and discontent throughout the land" (246). A few then get to be extremely wealthy while the rest of the investors go bankrupt and even greater numbers of the population are left unemployed. This model does not, of course, distinguish between the capital markets and the labor markets in its analysis of the consequences of a highly fluctuating market. One clear difference in Ireland was that a few laborers did not become extremely well paid due to the high degree of "bankruptcy" or unemployment suffered by their many competitors.

They go on to point out that in the case of the labor market, Ireland suffers from overpopulation and hence will always inevitably suffer from this cycle of excessive demand. The solution, therefore, is to reduce this overpopulation through emigration. "We are convinced that no system will keep down an overpopulation, promote moral and prudent habits" unless it affords "certainty and steadyness to the labor market" (247).

The Tory model for rural Ireland envisaged the forced emigration of the Catholics, in the "amputation by colonization" (248) of the rebellious Catholics and the re-establishment of a loyal and efficient Protestant tenantry and laborer. It is true that if British capital were to come to

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Ireland, then the population might be employed here, but the demagogues and agitators do not want a peaceful and prosperous Ireland. British capital will not come to a land full of such agitators.

This smaller population of Protestant tenants and laborers would then be organized as follows. (This same model for the overpopulated countryside is repeated in July, 1844.) (249) On most small farms of 6 to 8 acres, one family resides without sons or brothers. They have a farm servant who receives some three to five pounds sterling a year. He labors in the farmyard and seasonally in the fields. Now this is the lowest grade of agricultural laborer who has some stability. "Might not this plan be new modelled, and thus adopted by the gentry, the station, and the liberality of the employer" would impart "proportionate respectability and comfort to the situation of the servant" (250).

Let each proprietor estimate the number of laborers required for the ordinary business of the farm. The estimate should be generous and the surplus labor used for the improvement of the farm. These laborers should be selected from the mass, on the basis of their "moral character and habits" (251). Then divided the laborers into groups of six, five unmarried and one married, the sub-steward who has authority over the young men. This group is to be given a "comfortable farm house" (252). The wife will cook for all. The laborers can be paid some five to six pounds a year.

This scheme would produce "a decided preference for Protestants. Because were you were purchasing a man's whole disposable labor, you would certainly prefer him who had less fear of working than of drinking on the many Roman Catholic holidays" (253). This would discourage early marriages among the laborers since the sub-steward would normally be 30

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years of age. This regular labor force would be supplemented at harvest time by "unhurried laborers of other trades" (254) and good neighborliness among landlords.

Should this plan be carried out, the labor market would be eliminated. This would "diminish the awful number of unsuccessful speculators in the lottery for employment and food" (255). At present "except in seasons of hurry . . . are the prizes of at least three to one. Not one out of every four professed laborers is employed" (256).

Again that same year, 1833 (257), they pointed out that what we have is good land but a population that lives with the pigs. A good resident landlord could do a great deal to improve this. Each landlord should plan every hamlet, giving it streets and drainage. Then the land of an acre or less could be rented out to the poor tenantry at five pounds per year. The total outlay of capital to the landlord would be some 40 pounds and at five pounds a year for 20 years this "would yield within a minute fraction of 8% on property and outlay of the landlord or proprietor and secure him the measureless pleasure and advantage of a happy comfortable tenantry under his own immediate control, instead of a horde of starving, diseased and filthy paupers, promising perhaps to pay even more for miserable hovels, and patches of potato ground but incapable of procuring the means of manuring and cultivating this strip of land" (258).

A labor rate should be introduced. This would bring down wages and utilize the abundant labor supply. This would grant the wandering beggars found on every road the option of work or the poor house. There would be more employment for them if the wage were lower, since the demand for wheat is up somewhat. However, wheat is being imported to Great Britain from other sources. We must improve the port of Dublin in order to handle

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an increased supply of wheat.

Later in the decade they argued that the cottier system would have to be rooted out. "By the cottier system we mean that whereby the farmer receives as much rent for an acre of ground from the wretched labourer as he himself pays for the whole of his farm" (259). But in this model of the hamlet which would supply a steady flow of labor the present system of barter and wages in kind should be abolished. What we need is a "fixed and fair rate of wages." This will "enable the laborers to be a consumer" (260). This in turn will restore "the sinking tone of the market and thus in the end, improve the condition of the producer" (261). Thus the laborers will be relieved "from the ruinous competition for small patches of land, which enables the farmer to ask what rent he pleases" (262). On the other hand, any other mode of destroying the cottier system "must destroy also the cottier and thus leave the land without a labourer" (263). If labor were paid in full, they could "purchase everything," and would then become "like the manufacturer, unconnected with the country, a rolling stone, ripe for sedition and crime" (264). This system then would provide for the peasantry, improve the style of farming, and the market is supplied with consumers" (265).

This model of a rationally administered community of laborers and small farmers organized in villages and hamlets which would guarantee a fixed and stable labor force and consumer market (of Protestants) was presented in opposition to Mr. M'Culloch (a liberal) who argued for "the consolidation of small farms into units of 500 to 600 acres" (266). (It is important to note that this article was written at the height of the Great Famine.)

It is not true, they pointed out, that the big farmers will

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contribute more to the improvement of production. Each ten acres must receive a specific amount of investment geared to an improvement of the productive system whether the farms be big or small. Moreover, "pauperism is uniformly greater in those countries in which he (M'Culloch) tells us farms are large and vice versa" (267). It is not the existence of small farms but the subdivision of the land which has led to crowding, overpopulation and reduced productivity.

Improvement will unfortunately come about through the present emigration that is forced upon us. "The very last resource that a country should ever adopt is that of emigration, the very last mode of providing for a people by getting rid of them . . . We have no alternative. The remedy is a desperate one, but it must be endured" (268). There is no point in mulling over the neglect that forced this situation upon us, but let us maintain the small farmers and many large holdings. "It is eminently for the interests of agriculture that there should be such, but let them not be to the exclusion of small holdings" (269). Holdings of 6, 8, 10 and 12 acres of land "will add might to the Empire politically, socially and economically" (270).

Just as in the case of the labor market, the rent markets have had an adverse effect on the tenantry of Ireland. We saw above how the market mechanism (renting to the highest bidder—i.e., Catholics) had an adverse effect on the internal relations of the Protestant community. Now the Tory Christian argues that the market mechanism must be interfered with in order to establish a monopoly of Protestant tenants as well as laborers.

Let the landlords remember that just as the tenantry flung aside the tithes, so now the "same machinery" will be

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> . . . effectively employed, in flinging from them the comparatively heavy burden of rent also. We would exhort the landlords of Ireland to anticipate the rough hand of the radical reformer by lopping off every withered branch upon which his heavy ax might reasonably fall. We would exhort them not to increase our agricultural paupers by rack-rents, but to relet their lands to those alone upon whom they can depend—that is, to Protestants—and to them on fair and equitable terms. (271)

This model for the tenantry was based on the prosperous era between 1740 and the Act of Union in 1800, "the golden age of the Protestant in Ireland" (272).

The Irish landlords are upbraided for renting to Catholics rather than Protestants for the sake of higher rent rolls. The Protestant community is as a result losing its mass base through emigration. They are driven off by "the cupidity of many of the landlords whose luxurious and profligate habits have burdened the soil and taxed the industry of the occupant, 'til he who enduces the sources of nature is the only one to whom its bounties are denied" (273)—i.e., the hard-working Protestant tenant farmers and laborers on the estates.

Between 1825 and 1834, inclusive, "the total amount (of emigration) has been ascertained with tolerable accuracy at 175,000 Protestants" (274). Between 1829-1832, some 94,000 have been lost to Ireland based on a count of sea-port arrivals and departures (275). Many more are preparing to depart. "It is a fact with which everyone is acquainted, that the emigrants are almost universally the most monied portion of the population" (276). Their farm capital is going with them and at 10 pounds per head, this "will amount to nearly 2 millions of money" (277). Old leases of the 18th century began to come up for renewal since 1820. Protestants were given no preference to renewal for a number of reasons. First, their vote is no longer significant to the landlord. In the past they wanted Protestants in order to extend the "electioneering influence" (278), but this reason for renting to Protestants has been removed.

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Secondly, the Protestant tenant wants a higher standard of living, good clothing and a house for his family, and hence less is willing to pay the high rents than a Catholic. On the other hand, the Popish price for the land is higher since there is great competition for the "bit of land" among them (279).

Given the demand for land, landlords had begun to let their lands by auction. "The highest bidder, with little if any discount for character, capital and other resources, is almost uniformly declared the tenant" (280). But this tenant who offers the highest rent at the auction sublets to others at high rates and these must, in order to pay the rents, exhaust the soil (by switching crops) in a few years. Then he has neither the skill nor the capital to restore the land. Since land jobbers use Catholic laborers and burn up the land to get the largest crop for the higher prices, the well-husbanded Protestant tenant lands have been given away to potato cropper and cottagers. These cottagers bind themselves to the land jobbers for exorbitant rents. They can outbid the unhappy Protestant while the landlord likes the "advances in money." Thus, Sir L. Parsons observed in 1831 that where one Protestant farmer had been there were now seven or eight Catholics (281). The competitive system in the renting of land through auction means that the "Romanist takes possession of the land and the Protestant takes his passage to America" (282). The landlords value a tenant by the size of his rent and not because of loyalty or husbandry. The end result is a patchwork of lands, lanes, and hovels as our landscape. The land exhausted, the landlord dare not eject these tenants, since he could not rent such ruined land anew. Thus, we are left with idle tenants who are open to agitation by "Jesuits" and "revolutionary demagogues" (283).

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The gentry should therefore hire Protestant laborers and rent to Protestant tenants for a mercantile reason. The effect will be to reduce Protestant emigration and reduce competition thereby stabilizing the economic situation and preserving the land.

The Tory plan therefore for rural Ireland was to establish a Protestant laboring class and tenantry. This would guarantee a stable economic situation and the best possible use of land resources and the human potential in Ireland. This could take place, however, only through the management of the labor market on two levels. First, they would have to force the emigration of the Catholic peasantry and tenantry. Then the economically minded "citizen" (dedicated to the public interest) would create a rational hamlet community of Protestants while being guaranteed a steady labor force for his demesne lands and the larger tenant farmers. This then would be the nucleus of a Protestant community and a return to the way things were in the second half of the 18th century. "Where," they asked, were "the Protestants to be got?" From Scotland and northern Ireland. All should communicate this plan to the Protestant clergy and thereby make out a list of names (284). Let the landlord embrace this plan for the moral regeneration of rural Ireland and put an end to "the ungodliness of nominal Protestantism" (285).

But this economic plan would also have a political fallout. First, it would mend the split between the Protestant community provoked by the class relation of landlord-tenant in crisis conditions. Of course, DUM is asking the landlords to cease to be landlords—i.e., primarily dedicated to the accumulation of capital and their survival as landlords—and to take into consideration an equally serious social aspect of their existence as landlords, the question of their political base. Emigration

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would defuse the "revolutionary" situation and weaken the "agitators." This view of O'Connell and the clergy as plotting a French revolutionary overthrow of the aristocracy and landed gentry was, of course, completely incorrect, as most of the Irish landlords knew, and as the British government knew only too well (286).

Their political economy therefore was truly political. While the landlords mainly trusted in the British army to resolve any ultimate problems, and the British government relied on "conciliation," or an alliance with the Catholic middle class and clergy or church, the middle class Dublin Tory gave primacy to the political question of his social world, the Protestant community. From within this perspective, some argued for the management of the population problem by establishing a Protestant monopoly in labor and tenant markets. At the local level they called for a rational administration of the productive system, including the welfare and family life of the laborer by an enlightened citizen gentry.

Of course any such plan for rural Ireland was out of the question. Neither the British government nor the landlords of southern Ireland had any such intention. The British government was cementing an alliance with the Catholic Church while the landlords were busy marketing their. tenantries to the highest bidder.

Christian Principles: The Poor Laws and the Wretched

Writing on the "State and Prospects of the Country," they argue against the Whig proposal to introduce the English system of Poor Laws into Ireland. This Liberal proposal (in alliance with O'Connell's Repealers) is, they argued, recommended "much more with a view to the protection of the English landholders, than the relief of the Irish poor"

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(287). They want to keep down their parish rates in the winter when the Irish migrant workers need assistance. If during the summer the Irish paupers cheapen the English wage when the English laborer receives his highest wage, and hence England benefits by the migrations, then should they not pay higher poor rates and "bear a portion of the burden of our poverty"? (288) The English merely want to dam up Irish emigration. It is creating poor laborers and hence expensive poor rates in England. So the very same people who want to remove the Poor Law system in England want it imposed in Ireland. "They look invidiously at us" (289). Even though it was the Liberals that proposed the Poor Law system for Ireland, the issue also divided English and Irish Tories, since the latter wanted the wretched to remain in England during the winter season. As for the English laborer, DUM recognized that they were suffering from the competition of Irish agricultural laborers. But they pointed out that if these same people wanted our Irish rich to travel to England and spend, then they cannot prevent the poor from migrating to get work.

We are not insensitive to the poor. We deplore their condition and seek to ameliorate their condition. We support medical assistance of the poor and let this program be extended to food and clothing. "Lazy mendicants would be disocuraged while real misery would be relieved and that in such a way that it would not be perpetuated" (290). But the Poor Laws do not regenerate the poor and reform them. The error of the English Poor Law system is that "the poor man has a right to demand relief merely in virtue of his poverty; that the aid which is given him is not a boon but a debt, and that he is entitled to demand a share of the possessions of the most prosperous" (291). But no such natural right exists. Yet it is the "moral duty" of the opulent to give relief. And this feeling must

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be fostered. This is our plan for the relief of our poor.

How it is said that if the poor individuals are wholly dependent on charity, "want will be insufficiently provided for and the benevolent will be overtaxed, while the hard-hearted are exempted from taxation. But we would not leave the poor wholly dependent upon individual charity. We would give parishes a discretionary power of assessing themselves for the relief of the indigent" (292). All persons would then contribute to this fund determined by majority vote of the landlords and "the cheerul giver would not be unduly burdened" (293). "The good feeling, the sense of duty, the Christian charity of the assembly will always be more than a match for the cold, the calculating, or the malignant" (294). There is no need to bring in lawyers and complicated legislation and endless legal disputes. The "overseers of a parish" (295) can decide on the amount needed to relieve the present stress.

Discussing the Scottish system of Poor Laws, they argue that the Poor Laws which are "deprecated as the curse of society and subversive of the best interests of the nation" (296) in England are in Scotland a great boon. In England's we find incessant complaints "that her capital is consumed, the earnings of her industrious citizens wrested from their hands to pamper indolence and profligacy, the energies of her farmers paralyzed, the profits of her manufactures swallowed up" (297). But in Scotland, "the poor are not taught in need to be philosphers and atheists, but where they learn what is much better fitted to make them useful members of society—patience, frugality, industry and religion" (298).

Mr. Paulet Scrope wants "English agriculturalists to unite for the poor rate imposed upon this country, for the purpose, he says, of protecting them from the effects of injurious competition." That is, "our

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burden should be increased in order to diminish our ability to export grain for the English market" (299). But there should be no restraints imposed on the "free circulation of labor . . . In fact, labor is in Ireland a species of raw material, which we are obligated to export, as we formerly exported our hides and tallow" (300).

In England, we find more and more legislation, more and more committees of enquiry and yet "the land is taxed to the last farthing" (301). In Scotland, there has been no new legislation in 150 years, and the number of poor has been diminishing while the people are industrious. In this original legislation for both England and Scotland (in 1424), no mention was made of "the regular poor" (302). The idea was to suppress "thieves and idle vagrants" (303). According to the law of 1450, beggars were to be hounded and "their ears nailed to the trone or any utter tree and then cuttit off" (304). The sheriffs and magistrates of James IV in Scotland were to allow no one to beg "except cruiked folk, seik folk, impotent folk, and weak folk" (305) and the same was true for Henry VIII of England. No mention was made of a "legal provision" for the poor. In both Scotland and England in the 1570s, a clear distinction is drawn between able-bodied and infirm poor. Vagabonds are to be "grievously whipped and burnt through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch, unless some credible person will take the offender into his service for a year" (306). The infirm poor, however, are to be given provisions by the sheriff and the magistrate (307).

After the triumph of Reformed religion in Scotland, Kirk-Sessions were put in charge of the laws concerning the poor and not the magistrates. But an Elizabethan statute loses sight of the distinction mentioned above and the English parishes are obliged to look after the

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able-bodied poor also. "The practise of giving money instead of work was therefore of necessity adopted" (308). The consequence is that England is paying "a sum equal to one fifth of the whole British revenue" (309). Scotland, however, continued with the old plan, and Kirk-Sessions decided which poor should get relief and who should be punished. This activity was supported "from contributions made at the parish kirks" (310). If this were not enough money, then the poor were allowed to beg. Thus they had a concept of deserving and undeserving poor, and "help was received as a bounty and not as a right" (311). This method is much better than a system of "compulsory assessment" which assumes "that benevolence and charity have no longer any existence" (312).

We hear people today speak of "unmerited sufferings and wrongs" (313). But Burke has put his sentiments on the subject as follows: "'Nothing can be so base and so wicked as the political canting language, The labouring Poor! Let compassion toward them be shown in action, the more the better, every man according to his ability. But let there be no lamentation of the condition . . . Let patience, labour, sobriety, frugality and religion be recommended to them; all the rest is downright FRAUD. It is horrible to them, 'the once-happy labourers'" (314).

"But for Ireland! Unhappy Ireland! What course ought to be adopted? . . . gaunt poverty stalks the round of our lovely and fertile island. We look in vain for the hardy and vigourous sons of the soil who once trod the emerald turf in peace and in happiness. Emaciated and in rags, the spectred images of what they once were, we see them skulking about in dogged despair, or flying into crime, urged by the desperation of hunger" (315). Poor Laws could not have averted this situation. We can only recommend poor laws to assist the aged and infirm. These, however, are

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but a small portion of the poor. "Young men, men who are able and willing to work" have gone to England only to earn a "scanty pittance" and "sojourned with a stranger . . . endured his taunts, borne his upbraidings, until harshness and ill treatment, have once more driven them back to seek a refuge in their native poverty" (316). Consequently, Poor Laws will not help. We want those men "restored to that place which they ought to occupy in society" (317). It is true that the "fairy form of CHARITY" has, however, suffered because of the absenteeism of many landlords living in England.

The Commission of Irish Poor Inquiry will more than likely recommend that "the legislature is bound to provide against the possibility of any citizen's perishing from want" (318) and will oppose a voluntary system. Moreover, the legislature "is bound to provide that no permanent obstacle shall stand in the way of the industrious citizen battering his condition" (319). The problem with this, however, is how to avoid "interfering with the rights of private property" (320).

Now given the fact that labour is over-abundant in Ireland, wages, through competition, are driven so low that it is a good idea to have the state create employment. This will increase the demand for labor, and hence promote "reasonable remuneration . . . [which] given for the full work of an able-bodied man, will enable him to support himself and his family, and to lay by something to provide for the wants of old age" (321). This would mean that only "the indigent who are unable to work" (322) would have to be supported with public asylums and an annuity system. Consequently, only moderate spending is required. The funds for this can be raised by making each "contribute according to his ability" (323). Divide the country into two classes—"the manufacturing or monied

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and the agricultural or landed interests" (324). The first would pay a poll tax through their employers. The land tax will be more difficult to collect. Should the occupier of the land pay it or the landlord who may hold heavy mortgages? We think that a percentage scheme is the best way to resolve this question.

Some argue that if the government employs people and thus reduces the labor surplus and drives wages upward, then the laborers will only increase and multiply. However, we argue that poverty is not the only check on population growth. The real way to check population growth is to "better the condition of the inferior classes" (325). Where the landlord will do this, then that is good. But if he does not do it, then "the government cannot make him do so. They cannot interfere with his rights in property, but they can set him an example" (326). The government should not contract our public works to private contractors who have been using the competition for employment to bring wages even below the rates in this country, but they should be managed by the state itself which would pay a proper wage.

The following year, when Her Majesty's Commissioners for Enquiry into the Condition of the Poor Classes of Ireland made their final report, DUM agreed that the situation was intolerable. Nearly all admit today "that there exists in Ireland a mass of the most appalling misery and destitution, of the removal of which the natural progress of circumstances presents no reasonable prospect, and which therefore, imperatively demands the special attention of the governing powers of the state . . . This condition is such as CANNOT ANY LONGER LAST. By whatever means of subsistence is provided for our pauper population, IT MUST BE PROVIDED" (327). The report is correct in recognizing that these people have no

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food and are "unable by any exertion of industry to procure it" (328).

"It is, we repeat, evident to anyone who studies the evidence before us, that Ireland is in a state which cannot continue, and which is growing so rapidly worse, as to render a thorough change of the system imperative. To render that change a blessing, instead of a scourge, it must be, as it ought to be, guided and produced by a calm, steady and wise—and that is by a conservative—hand" (329).

The report is also correct in pointing out that despite the privations of the peasantry, their destitution "has not succeeded in destroying that native independence, self-respect and family affection, which, under all the superstition with which it is smothered, is still the basis of the Irish character" (330). In this they compare favorably with the English peasant who have no morals, a fact that some might blame on the Poor Laws. "There is unquestionably, however, an inherent aristocracy of feeling in the lower orders of the native Irish, a jealous attention to untainted family descent, which is not probably to be found to the same extent in any nation in Europe and which produces a characater containing elements which when relieved from the oppression of ignorance and superstition, may render them one of the noblest in the world" (331).

The report's findings regarding vagrancy are most interesting. It shows its "demoralizing effects upon the country generally; and also, that the support of the beggars, indeed of the destitute of every class, falls almost altogether on the poor" (332). Thus, in demanding change, the Whig commission is correct—"the present times demand, and they demand it justly" (333).

However, when the Poor Law Bill for Ireland was to be legislated, DUM reviewed Isaac Butt's tract which criticized the shallowness of the Bill.

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There are, indeed, many poor in Ireland and absenteeism is a great drain on the economy. But the evil "has its roots in the habits of the people" and "no merely external mesures can ever lead to an improved state of society in Ireland" (334). The state should employ the idle and not merely feed the hungry. This can only set up "one mighty mendicity institution" (335), and rents and profits will be absorbed in a relief fund. Butt argues that "destitution in Ireland" must not be seen as "the accident of individuals" but as "the essential and general condition of a class" (336). What we need, therefore, is a general solution for the condition and not merely work houses for individuals. The Inquiry Commission showed that "penury, and almost starvation, are the general condition of those classes who are called, by a mockery of their misery, the labouring classes, which means the classes that are willing to labour and can get no employment" (337). They simply cannot get any work. This is, therefore, what must be relieved. The causes of misery "exist not only in the circumstances of the people, but in the people themselves." To give them luxury when they will merely lapse into filth and misery would be no good.

> If we were able to subtract from the amount of Irish wretchedness all that arises from vice, all that arises from idleness, all that arises from an indolent state of acquiescence in the state of things, which in more civilized England would not for one moment be patiently endured, we are persuaded that the mountain would be so sensibly reduced that if it were not diminished to a mere molehill, it would appear not to be that enormous and unmanageable thing that nothing short of a miracle could remove (338).
>
> We now conclude, No one but a rash man would counsel any legislative tampering with the present state of Ireland, merely upon the requisition and under the direction of such advisers. Her condition is that of a man, the surface of whose body is covered with unsightly ulcers, more offensive than dangerous, and which nothing more than a wholesome constitutional regimen is necessary to remove. Most of the state quacks with whom it has been our misfortune to be acquainted, would fain adopt a different plan, by which indeed they might succeed in removing the sores

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> from the surface, but only by causing them to concentrate into a cancer. May God protect us from such advisers. Amen. Amen. (339)

The workhouse system was finally established in Ireland in 1838. It was primarily the proposal of the British public to relieve the burden on the poor law unions and the competition for jobs (340). The law was introduced despite the recommendation of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners. They had estimated that "for 30 weeks during the year there would be over 2 million persons in distress" (341). Since the gross annual rental of Ireland did not exceed ten million pounds sterling, they did not think they could recommend the workhouses which would cost five million pounds. Instead, they recommended a scheme of compulsory improvement in properties which would have created some employment opportunities (342).

Since the government went ahead with the Nicholls Poor Law plan, they did not improve the conditions of the wretched but aided the landlord clearings. As rates on land increased, the landlords have had yet another motivation to expel the mass of the lower tenantry.

But the government also declined the Irish Tory recommendation that Catholics be forced to emigrate. Consequently, the emigration at this time was confined to the more prosperous elements of the population (344).

The Irish Tories then were in a situation fraught with contradictions and oppositions. They argued against their own landlords when discussing the state of the divisiveness of the Protestant community, and denied these same arguments when presented by Lord Musgrave, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in 1838. He accused the "conservative gentry," saying the blame for the sorry condition of life in Ireland was "to be laid at the door of the landed proprietary of Ireland" (345). They attacked the King and the High Tories of England because of the Irish Church Commission they

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convened, but look to them as their only support on the tithe question (346). They opposed the new ideology of political economy and the political liberalism of the Whigs, yet they desperately wanted to be supported by these as the government of Westminster. They sought to maintain the Protestant lower orders in southern Ireland, yet they supported the landlords who were ejecting that community. They supported the Protestant lower orders in their struggle with the Catholic peasantry and tenantry, yet they also sought to win the Catholic lower orders in a drive to prosletyse them and as we shall see, by formulating an Irish identity which definitely included their traditions.

Above all else, they sought to retain the hegemony of the Irish gentry. While they confronted a basic economic crisis, due to a shift in the market conditions of Ireland or the relative value of agricultural production and manufactures, they focused on the political "crisis." They experienced primarily the challenge to the institutional arrangements within which the established Ascendancy prevailed. This attack came from the Reformers in Great Britain, and the Catholic Irish middle class and clergy. It was not their income that was attacked by this element, but their hegemony. This meant that the new relations of the society of Great Britain and Ireland had to be re-interpreted, the superstructural forms of society had to be transformed. But how could the gentry retain that position of supremacy? One solution we have seen suggested--mass migration of the Catholic opposition in the countryside and the establishment of a Protestant mass base in southern Ireland.

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For a Depressed Economy: The Protection of Irish Industry and Agriculture

But this overriding political concern with the Union and Catholics did not inhibit the Dublin Tories from perceiving some concrete aspects of the Irish economy. Indeed, their analysis of the Irish situation was fairly accurate, but their political situation did not allow them to draw the logical conclusions of their perspective.

> One word more as to what is the state of Ireland. It is the state of a country exporting 9 million worth of the necessaries of life, which have given employment to the smallest possible portion of her population, and importing 8 millions worth of manufactures, which have given employment to the greatest possible number of the population of other countries, and can give none to hers; and one million worth of money, which as it proved not to remain in the country, as money is visibly not increasing, must be exported again in the form of the rent rolls of the absentees. It is worse than the state of a man who was given 90 pounds worth of goods and received for them 80 pounds worth of other goods, and 10 pounds in money, and is afterwards deprived of that money be a pickpocket. (347)

But political economists attend "to the production of wealth solely" and do not regard "its distribution . . . It would almost apear as if it were tacitly assumed that distribution went hand in hand with production or followed in its train, and that if a nation but produced wealth it must necesssarily be distributed among her people in certain regulated proportions" (348). In fact exports are a loss of national revenue and if most of the produce is exported, this does not necessarily mean that a country is prosperous. For example, the rent is exported to the absentee landlords, but this is not to our advantage. The true test of prosperity is not what is sent out, but what is used in a country. We should see the value of imports and their nature and the classes that get to use them. Absenteeism, therefore, is a double evil, since both the rent money leaves the country and the agricultural produce of Ireland is also exported.

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In his lectures of 1840, reviewd in DUM, Isaac Butt had argued for the protection of Irish industry. "A certain class of Irishmen," he had said, "have the disposal of a revenue, consisting of the produce of our country which is good for man. In return for this we want manufactured goods. We have a choice—we can exercise the choice—whether we will apply that revenue in paying the starving, because unemployed, artisans of our own country, or send it abroad to pay those of another" (349). Even if the price we have to pay for the manufactured goods in Ireland is a bit higher or the article somewhat defective, this does not reduce our capacity to buy it. We will still produce as much food as ever. Thus, instead of our money going overseas, it will stay at home to feed our own people.

Secondly, Butt argued, since every export of our food in rents, taxes and excessive tastes for foreign goods (a demand that is greater than the foreigners' demand for our goods) depreciates the value of our goods estimated in the goods of those countries, then this exportation forced upon us is to our disadvantage.

However, Butt's arguments are deflected from his primary interest in a revitalization of urban Ireland and pointed in the direction of the landed interest of Ireland and the question of the Corn Laws. The greatest natural resource of Ireland is the land. To promote it, they had argued in 1833, would diminish "the mass of vice and misery" (350). Again in January, 1837, they followed up a sequel of 1836 on the "Attractions of Ireland" with an article addressed "to the capitalist and the man of mercantile enterprise" (351). Ireland, they argued, was a safer place to invest than England. Moreover, "the productive powers of the soil of Ireland as compared with the soil of Great Britain are as yet scarcely

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more than half developed and that the profits of an increased produce of the yearly value of 28 millions of money are still to be realized in this country" (352). There are five agricultural laborers to every two in England for the same quantity of land. They cite statistics to demonstrate that the agricultural produce of Ireland ought to exceed that of Great Britain by ten millions a year. What we need are resident investors who will use up the waste land.

The basic reality, however, is that Ireland needs England far more than England needs Ireland. Consequently, there can be no talk of repeal. The agitators forget that corn and cattle could only be consumed in Ireland "provided they were also paid for, but not otherwise. Production will always have a reference to profitable consumption. No one produces an article except with a view to disposing of it to advantage" (353). Consequently, the export trade stimulates our farmers and if it were cut off, there would be no stimulus. As a result, there would be not more, but less to consume in Ireland. From this point of view, absenteeism is not so bad because "our laborers find in England a market for their industry. If our wealthy go to England to spend, our poor go to England to earn" (354). Ireland needs England to buy Irish products, and hence a separation from England would be disastrous.

The key product they are thinking about, however, is agricultural goods, the very concrete market problem of the day as far as the landlords were concerned.

But, they ask in 1846 (355), what industry needs protection in Ireland today? Butt merely spoke in 1840 of encouraging Irish manufactures. But he made no reference to Ireland's agriculture, which is now threatened by the repeal of the Corn Laws. The revenue of Ireland

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coming from agriculture is the revenue of all classes, and it is the export of agricultural goods that must be used to purchase imported goods. Hence to encourage Irish manufactures—assuming that they cannot compete and therefore need to be protected—would not diminish agricultural production in any way. Indeed, it would increase it.

But what of the Corn Laws? Let us assume that our competitors abroad are more efficient producers and that we need protection as an industry. What will happen if those protections are taken away? All our inferior soil will be thrown out of cultivation. The rents on those soils will no longer be paid. But what then will happen to the employees in such lands or where the rents fall? In England, they will go to manufactures. But what misery will they not suffer in accommodating to the change? What will happen in Ireland where they have no such outlet? They will starve.

Will anyone argue that the excess of labor and hence of cheap labor will induce industry to spring up? We have had low wages, but manufactures have not sprung up. Will increase in "want" make people respect property, etc.? No. Hence, the repeal of the Corn Laws can only mean that land will be abandoned and many unemployed beggars will roam the land. Let it be known that the "repeal of the Corn Laws is revolution" (356).

The relation that determined the Constitution of Great Britain was that of landlord and tenant. "It was this relation, by the habits of life which sprang from it, by the associations with which it was surrounded, gave to the public opinion of that day its peculiar features. Such a state of things could not now exist . . . All the tendencies of society are in the opposite direction" (357). Now we will still find those lofty public sentiments in the modern relation of landlord and tenant.

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> The transmission of landed property in regular succession in great families kept the old feelings alive, and prevented their being dispelled by the change in the nature of the tenure—the very soil itself suggested, kept fresh in the breasts of its cultivators, the feelings which they inherited from their forefathers; and which they diffused far and wide throughout the land. Destroy now this connection of the people with their landlords and with the soil. Dissipate that tone of public feeling, the existence of which we have traced, and how long will the British Constitution survive? . . . If England shall become a nation of manufactures, a people self-relying, self-exaggerating, without a single object of veneration, a single development of faith, a single spark of imagination, perpetually involved amongst the material, mechanical appliances of wealth, of which they tehmselves become but a somewhat more elaborate element, knowing nothing fixed, nothing established, but seeing all things fluctuating in the busy whirl and revulsions of commerce, one day affluent, the next day paupers; is it conceivable that such a people could appreciate or could understand the English Church, an hereditary legislature, the respect of rank, the deference to authority as distingusihed from mere power, or any feature whatsoever of our time honored Constitution? (358)

Thus DUM opposes Butt's focus on manufactures and seeks to retain the pre-eminence of landed property and agricultural production as the real source of employment for the people in Ireland. It takes the argument of an Irish political economist discussing the problem of Irish industry and the need to protect it and support it rather than allow its decline totally, and chides him for not speaking of the protection of Irish agriculture since he was breaking with his political economic theories on the question of free trade. (It is at this point that they also upbraid him for defending the rights of workers.)

DUM had consistently supported the Corn Laws. The Corn Laws "keep the price of corn steady," encourage and protect agriculture, and "keep England independent of foreign countries for its ordinary supply of food" (359). Corn prices are very unstable and this is bad for the supply of corn.

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> The success of a merchant in a speculative trade will depend chiefly on the skill and precision with which he is able to foresee the changes about to take place in the value of the commodity in which he deals. This is what distinguishes speculation from ordinary commerce. The latter depends for its profits upon ordinary prices, and the ordinary profits. The former depends for its profits upon a change of prices which all men were not able to foresee. (359)

It is the activity of these speculators when prices are high that make the public indignant. Thus the repeal of the Corn Laws would ruin "farmers, landlords and ultimately every class of persons . . . A free trade in corn would materially serve those who would desire a present advantage from the consequent low prices of corn, and low wages of labor, and now wealth is in such a nature that it could easily be removed to more happy countries, when the day of retribution should arrive" (360). Cash can be carried into exile by those absentee landlords.

The Corn Laws were important for a number of other reasons. Leaving aside "the importance of maintaining a peasant population," we must stress the important of "maintaining a race of gentlemen whose influence is most valuable to the well being of the state and who contribute to diffuse and to perpetuate civilization" (361). On the other hand, while the economists who are currently arguing against the Corn Laws have been defeated by the Tory arguments, it is important for all to remember that "the compactness of the manufacturing population, the facility with which they can combine and their superior aptness, dexterity in population movements, must give them a prodigious superiority, to the inhabitants of the rural districts" (362). But while these "manufacturers are united like one man" around "the pretext of cheap bread" (362), the agriculturalists are divided. We still, therefore, have much to fear. "We cannot, therefore, speak with any degree of certainty respecting our

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future prospects" (364).

The Corn Laws of 1828 did not increase prices. Not only did prices in 1832, 1833 and 1834 gradually fall, but also the price of imports fell in that same period. Consequently, the Tories favored the prevailing system (a sliding scale of duties) in opposition to the Whigs who argued for a fixed duty, and the radicals who wanted "no duty" (365).

In this chapter we see how the complex web of class and social class or community relations determine the economic proposals of the Irish Tories. In the case of rural Ireland, their primary focus, they seek to eject the Catholic population and mass base of their opposition by introducing a Protestant mass base as both workers and tenants. On the other hand, in terms of their own middle class world in Dublin, they tend to subject it to the interests of a landlord class that wants the protection of the Corn Laws. This is done in opposition to the Dublin need to focus on industrial development in general, which would both confront the decline of the city and absorb the surplus population of cheap labor in the countryside (at least to some extent). But this self-effacement as urban middle class invovles an alliance with a Protestant landlord who had no intention of re-establishing the Protestant rural community life of the 18th century, something that the religiously minded Dublin Tory considered most dear to his status concerns and self-iamge.

Finally, as a general economic program articulated to a British audience, it fails absolutely to appeal to the British government, then a reform ministry, which desired more realistically the re-establishment of the Catholic Church in rural Ireland and which was fundamentally opposed to Corn Laws that increased pressures on the wage in industrial England.

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Footnotes - Chapter 2

1. Dublin University Magazine 1 (January 1833):70 (hereafter cited as DUM).

2. DUM 1 (February 1833):112.

3. Ibid., p. 113.

4. Ibid.

5. DUM 2 (July 1833):65.

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7. Ibid., p. 82.

8. Ibid., p. 65.

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10. DUM 3 (January 1834):17.

11. DUM 2 (February 1833):211.

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14. DUM 3 (January 1834):14.

15. DUM 6 (July 1835):86.

16. Ibid.

17. DUM 8 (September 1836):292.

18. DUM 3 (January 1834):14.

19. DUM 1 (February 1833:116.

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21. DUM 3 (January 1834):482.

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23. DUM 3 (April 1834):366.

24. DUM 1 (February 1833):214.

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26. Ibid., p. 212.

27. DUM 3 (February 1834):225.

28. Ibid., p. 226.

29. DUM 3 (April 1834):365f.

30. DUM 1 (January 1833):116f.

31. DUM 2 (July 1833):2.

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33. DUM 3 (April 1834):368.

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35. Ibid., p. 368.

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37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. DUM 4 (September 1834):335.

40. See Appendix 1.

41. DUM 1 (February 1833):111.

42. Ibid.

43. DUM 3 (January 1834):83.

44. Ibid., p. 84.

45. Ibid.

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47. DUM 1 (January 1833):11.

48. DUM 3 (February 1834):208.

49. Ibid., p. 208.

50. Ibid., p. 209.

51. DUM 1 (April 1833):450.

52. See S. Clark, pp. 66ff.

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54. DUM 6 (December 1835):683.

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60. Ibid., p. 685.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

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66. Ibid., p.686.

67. Ibid.

68. DUM 5 (May 1835):594.

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71. Ibid., p. 596.

72. Ibid.

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82. Ibid.

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91. Ibid., p. 527.

92. Ibid., p. 510.

93. Ibid., p. 526.

94. Ibid., p. 528.

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96. Ibid., p. 510.

97. Ibid.

98. DUM 6 (July 1835):45.

99. Ibid., p. 43.

100. Ibid., p. 46.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid., p. 47.

103. Ibid., p. 46.

104. Ibid.

105. Ibid.

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120. Ibid.

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124. DUM 1 (May 1833):48.

125. DUM 4 (September 1834):320.

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130. Ibid., p. 318.

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135. Ibid., p. 373.

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175. DUM 26 (July 1845):61.

176. Ibid.

177. Ibid., p. 114.

178. Ibid., p. 116.

179. DUM 27 (January 1846):123.

180. DUM 26 (July 1845):123.

181. Ibid., p. 125.

182. Ibid.

183. Ibid.

184. Ibid.

185. Ibid.

186. Ibid., p. 126.

187. DUM 26 (December 1845):731.

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188. Ibid.

189. Ibid., p. 732.

190. Ibid., p. 733.

191. S. Rashid, "Political Economy in Dublin University Magazine, 1833-40," in Long Room, The Friends of the Library, Trinity College, nos. 14-15 (1976-1977), p. 16.

192. DUM 23 (April 1844):430.

193. Ibid., pp. 431f.

194. DUM 24 (July 1844):36.

195. Ibid., p. 33.

196. Ibid., p. 34.

197. DUM 23 (April 1844):432.

198. DUM 24 (July 1844):28.

199. Ibid., pp. 28f.

200. Ibid., p. 29.

201. Ibid.

202. Ibid.

203. DUM 22 (October 1843):435.

204. Ibid.

205. Ibid.

206. Ibid.

207. Ibid.

208. Ibid.

209. Ibid., p. 436.

210. Ibid., p. 437.

211. Ibid., p. 439.

212. Ibid., p. 440.

213. Ibid., p. 432.

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214. Ibid., p. 434.

215. Ibid., p. 433.

216. DUM 24 (July 1844):29.

217. Ibid., p. 31.

218. Ibid.

219. DUM 23 (April 1844):435.

220. Ibid.

221. Ibid., p. 436.

222. Ibid.

223. Ibid.

224. DUM 32 (August 1848):185.

225. Ibid., pp. 185f.

226. DUM 24 (July 1844):35.

227. Ibid.

228. Ibid., p. 36.

229. DUM 1 (March 1833):252.

230. Ibid., p. 253.

231. Ibid., p. 253.

232. Ibid.

233. DUM 27 (April 1846):513.

234. Ibid.

235. DUM 1 (March 1833):252.

236. Ibid., p. 256.

237. Ibid.

238. Ibid.

239. Ibid., p. 257.

240. Ibid., p. 258.

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241. Ibid.

242. Ibid.

243. Ibid., p. 259.

244. Ibid.

245. Ibid.

246. Ibid., p. 262.

247. Ibid.

248. Ibid., p. 253.

249. DUM 134 (July 1844):38.

250. DUM 1 (March 1833):259.

251. Ibid.

252. Ibid., p. 260.

253. Ibid., p. 261.

254. Ibid.

255. Ibid.

256. Ibid.

257. DUM 2 (December 1833):665.

258. Ibid., p. 667.

259. DUM 7 (April 1836):362.

260. Ibid., p. 363.

261. Ibid.

262. Ibid.

263. Ibid.

264. Ibid.

265. This idea of paying in cash for labor is perfectly consistent with their basic plan for the revival of Irish manufactures and trade—to open up the country with a new communications network (trains, roads, etc.), developing internal markets for agricultural goods and promoting public works that would put money in the hands of consumers. The plan

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repeats what DUM regarded as the successful model applied in Scotland, 1802-1817. See DUM 1 (October 1833):433-442.

266. DUM 30 (July 1847):105ff.

267. Ibid., p. 125.

268. Ibid.

269. Ibid., p. 126.

270. Ibid.

271. DUM 1 (March 1833):263.

272. DUM 1 (May 1833):475.

273. DUM 1 (March 1833):303.

274. DUM 4 (July 1834):2.

275. DUM 1 (May 1833):471.

276. DUM 4 (July 1834):2.

277. Ibid., p. 3.

278. Ibid.

279. Ibid., pp. 4f.

280. DUM 1 (March 1833):263.

281. DUM 1 (May 1833):475-477.

282. Ibid., p. 480.

283. DUM 1 (March 1833):264.

284. Ibid., p. 265.

285. Ibid., p. 267.

286. See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Ireland and the Irish Question (New York: International Publishers, 1972), pp. 33ff, on this issue.

287. DUM 3 (January 1834):20.

288. Ibid., p. 21.

289. Ibid.

290. Ibid., p. 22.

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291. Ibid.

292. Ibid.

293. Ibid.

294. Ibid., p. 23.

295. Ibid.

296. DUM 3 (May 1834):508.

297. Ibid.

298. Ibid.

299. DUM 3 (January 1834):24.

300. Ibid.

301. DUM 3 (May 1834):509.

302. Ibid., p. 510.

303. Ibid.

304. Ibid.

305. Ibid., p. 511.

306. Ibid., p. 511.

307. Ibid., p. 512.

308. Ibid., p. 513.

309. Ibid.

310. Ibid.

311. Ibid.

312. Ibid., p. 518.

313. Ibid., p. 520.

314. Ibid.

315. Ibid., p. 521.

316. Ibid.

317. Ibid., p. 522.

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318. DUM 6 (July 1835):25.

319. Ibid., p. 26.

320. Ibid.

321. Ibid.

322. Ibid.

323. Ibid., p. 28.

324. Ibid.

325. Ibid., p. 30.

326. Ibid.

327. DUM 7 (April 1836):349.

328. Ibid., p. 350.

329. Ibid., p. 351.

330. Ibid., p. 352.

331. Ibid., p. 353.

332. Ibid., p. 361.

333. Ibid., p. 362.

334. DUM 10 (July 1837): 70.

335. Ibid.

336. Ibid., p. 73.

337. Ibid.

338. Ibid., p. 77.

339. Ibid., p. 78.

340. John E. Pomfret, The Struggle for Land in Ireland 1800-1923 (New York: Russell & Russell, 1969), p. 31.

341. Ibid., p. 32.

342. Ibid.

343. Ibid.

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344. Ibid., p. 33.

345. DUM 11 (February 1838):240.

346. DUM 4 (August 1834):127; DUM 4 (November 1834):473ff.

347. DUM 8 (July 1836):53.

348. DUM 27 (April 1846):508.

349. Ibid.

350. DUM 2 (October 1833):433.

351. DUM 9 (January 1837):46.

352. Ibid., p. 47.

353. DUM 3 (June 1834):717.

354. Ibid.

355. DUM 27 (April 1846):508.

356. Ibid., p. 512.

357. Ibid.

358. Ibid., pp. 512f.

359. DUM 13 (March 1839):343.

360. Ibid., p. 355.

361. DUM 3 (April 1834):371.

362. Ibid., p. 370.

363. Ibid.

364. Ibid.

365. DUM 19 (February 1842):158ff. The Corn Laws were, of course, repealed shortly afterwards (1846). The Liberals and many of the Ascendancy itself forced down the price of foodstuffs to reduce pressures on the urban wage and to defuse the rebellious situation in England.

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CHAPTER 3

IRISH WHIGS: THE REPEAL MOVEMENT AND THE YOUNG IRELANDERS

In this chapter I describe how O'Connell opposed the Union with Britain as it caused the deterioration of the Irish manufactures and Dublin. Hence, he did not formulate any national or regional plans for the renewal of Irish industry, but gave the regional economic questions a wholly political form—the Repeal Movement.

The basic economic stances taken by O'Connell, apart from the opposition to the Corn Laws, were not a problem for the Tories. What worried them was the potential threat to their status hegemony provoked by the social development of an upwardly mobile Catholic middle class. However, a "left wing," the Young Irelanders led by Thomas Davis, appears in the Repeal Movement, making some radical social demands. But they, too, suppress the social questions and formulate their desires in political terms—the combination of all classes as Irishmen cemented by a cultural nationalism.

Davis' ideas differed from O'Connell's on another question. The latter supported the Industrial Revolution, whereas Davis wanted a return to the 18th century system of "home manufactures." However, O'Connell was not a cultural liberal, but accepted Catholicism as the culture of the Irish. He did not bring modern liberalism to Ireland, while on the other hand, the national ideology tended to be anti-modern.

The Irish Tories had a longer tradition of promoting an Irish interest at Westminster than the O'Connellites. However, they argued that the idea of an Irish parliament was a contradictory and mistaken notion. Despite this ardent support for the Union, they realize that Westminster

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represents a new England, one that does not give exclusive support to the Protestants of Ireland and that supports the resurgence of the Catholic Church. Hence, they argue that what is required is the mobilization of all the native Irish by the landlords to support the Union with Britain as being in their interest.

I then go on to show how the contradictions in the colonial situation make the unification of a middle class in Dublin and the combination of all classes in Ireland, under any banner, virtually impossible.

O'Connell's Critique of the Union with Westminster

The rationalization of Irish agriculture, whether it followed a pure market determined pattern of increased output per worker, or whether it followed the more politically determined reduction in the size of the labor market, would necessarily have functioned in the oposite direction to what was occurring due to population growth and declining manufactures. As part of Great Britain, however, Ireland, too, participated in the Industrial Revolution. The northern province did quite well once the "bust" of 1815 was over, as did a number of different industries in the south. There was, as we saw, no shortage of capital, which flowed in the direction of growth industries whether they were located in Ireland or in England, etc. Ireland, of course, had very little coal, and this concrete limitation has often been invoked to explain the downfall. Yet industries could have flourished despite this handicap. This was the only major environmental difference, one which probably could have been offset by importing coal to Dublin and Cork and the east coast, at least. This cost might have been offset by the oversupply of labor and hence the possibility of even cheaper labor in Ireland than in the factory system of England. What, then, was the response within Ireland to this decline in

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manufactures and the possibility of an urban resurgence in the south? Only a massive industrialization scheme could have relieved the countryside of its surplus population and unemployment, while at the same time not forcing great numbers to emigrate or, as the case turned out, to die of starvation in the famines.

Now, as we have seen, the Dublin Tories argued that the major problem in Ireland was the agitated political situation and the solution to this problem was the solution to the economic problems of Ireland. Hence, they supported the maintenance of the Union with Great Britain and a policy of repression and forced emigration for Catholic agitators. Any attempt to dismantle the Union by establishing a regional government in Dublin to intervene in the Irish economy could only aggravate the situation of Irish manufactures already troubled by "mob violence."

It is clear, DUM argued, that either state intervention to support the able-bodied unemployed or a system of "combination and mob-legislation" (1), which threatened the security and profitability of investment, only had the effect of driving up costs and driving away the investor. We know that the demagogue (O'Connell) will come along and say that it is not where intervention in the labor market is effective that we find an increase in unemployment in certain regions. They will say that their ruin was caused "by the union, or by tithes, or by a number of bishops, or free trade, or the grand jury laws, or by anything abstruse and flattering to their feelings, rather than by such obvious and natural causes as their own idleness, turbulence and improvidence" (2).

Two principles follow from this. First, mob violence cannot compel capital to embark or to remain in a losing business. Second, it cannot deter capital from pursuing a profitable manufacture. However, "it can

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make it depart and remove to exercise it in a more quiet spot" (3).

But the Union with Britain: Was it not the source of urban decay in southern Ireland?

It will be important at this point to review the position of their most forceful opponent, Daniel O'Connell, on some central questions concerning the economy, since his basic position was that the Union had ruined Irish manufactures. It was on the question of the Repeal of the Union and the relation of this form of connection with Great Britain, or direct rule, that O'Connell and the Irish Tories differed most vehemently within Ireland itself.

In 1834, O'Connell moved in Parliamentary session for a select committee "to inquire and report on the means by which the dissolution of the Parliament of Ireland was effected, on the effects of that measure upon Ireland, and on the probable consequences of continuing the legislative union between both countries" (4). He gave a six hour speech in which he reviewed the economic prosperity of Ireland from 1782 to 1800, even under a corrupt Parliament. He reminded all of the trickery involved in the passing of the Act of Union. But after the Union, Ireland was not given equal laws with England: taxation, absenteeism, had increased since the Union. Ireland was, in fact, poorer for the Union and England was none the richer. Many, he argued, had become so discontent that they emigrated from Ireland. The motion, however, was resisted by both Whigs and Tories, 523 to 38.

O'Connell had founded the Society for the Repeal of the Union in 1830. Throughout the thirties he tried to get reforms through Westminster by an alliance with the Liberals. It was only in 1841 that he desisted from this tactic after his party had suffered a severe defeat at the

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polls. He then founded the Repeal Association, and the political battle concerning the repeal of the Union really heated up. Support for the repeal movement came mainly from the professionals, merchants, traders and artisans, while the landholders and farmers were clearly under-represented. The Nation said in 1846 that "the very bone and muscle of the movement" consisted of "gentlemen of education and rank, professional persons of ever kind . . . (and) intelligent tradesmen" (6). The Nation pointed out that the farmers of Ireland had eschewed politics since the tithe war, even though the mass meetings in the countryside did find many sympathizers among landowners in Leinster and Munster especially. Despite his negative attitude toward unions, he had the full support of the skilled workers in Dublin. The Dublin Trades Political Union, founded in 1831, was dedicated to the cause of the repeal. They hoped, as Mitchell (8) points out, to defend the Irish economy against further deterioration and attempted to maintain outdated restrictions and regulations.

O'Connell "saw the craft unions of his day as restrictive combinations which were responsible, second ony to the Act of Union itself, for the economic decline of Dublin" (9). In this respect, therefore, O'Connell was in agreement with the tory thesis above. Howver, O'Connell and the Tories differed from the start in the Westminster debate on the question of the Corn Laws. O'Connell was consistent in his support for Irish manufactures and sought to keep down costs and make them competitive. Hence, he opposed both the unions and the Corn Laws.

He had opposed the Corn Laws as early as 1814. They would destroy the very market they sought to control exclusively. Some want the Corn Laws, he pointed out,

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> . . . to have the exclusive feeding of the manufactures; but at present our manufactures, loaded as they are with taxation, are scarcely able to meet the goods of foreigners in the markets of the world. The English are already undersold in foreign markets, but if to this dearness produced by taxation there shall be added the dearness produced by dear food, is it not plain that it will be impossible to enter into a competition with foreign manufactures who have no taxes and cheap bread? (10)

While he admitted that his personal interest was to "keep up the price of lands" (11), the Corn Laws, he said, would destroy Irish manufactures. "The clamour respecting the Corn Laws has been fomented by persons who were afraid that they would not get money enough for their tithes, and absentee landlords who apprehended a diminution of their rack rents . . . the great majority are of the class of oppressors" (12). The people of Dublin, on the other hand, facing the present enormous rise in the price of meat due to an association led by Mr. Luke White, are not about to allow this type of practice to be extended to all foodstuffs and all of Ireland.

As the editor of his speeches stated, here in this one "brief but clear and unmistakeable denunciation of the Corn Laws," the whole case is so well formualted that at the height of the debates in 1846, "not one argument will there be found that could add anything to the force of Mr. O'Connell's declaration, made against those laws in the very hour of their projection" (13).

But apart from these attempts to negate his opposition forces (unionized labor and the Protestant landed interest), O'Connell had no serious plan to confront the decline of Dublin and the Irish economy. In terms of the rural economy of Ireland, O'Connell, himself a landlord, did not focus on the existing wrongs, the problem of cultivation, the land system, and so on, but he looked primarily to the disestablishment of the

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Ascendancy Protestant control of agriculture (14). In terms of the manufactures and the potential industrialization of Ireland, he emphasized the Union with Britain as the source of the problem rather than analyze the factors of the internal situation of Ireland—e.g., the flight of resident Irish capital, the tendency for the Irish Catholics to shift out of their urban manufactuares and invest their 18th century profits in land, and so on. Thus, he formualted the land question in terms of the relation to the Protestant Ascendancy and the industrial question in terms of the political relation with England. Moreover, the Irish Brigade had no Poor Relief Bill since the urban middle class did not want any such increase laid on the back of foodstuffs where manufactuares were already overtaxed and not competitive. As Marx wrote in 1855, O'Connell always refused "to explore the real cause of the Irish malady and to make the relations of landed property and their reform the election slogan, in other words a sogan that would help them get into the House of Commons. But having taken their seats in the House, they used the rights of the tenants, etc., just as formerly the Repeal, as a means to conclude a new Lichfield-House Contract" (15).

Earlier Marx had argued a similar point of view concerning O'Connell.

> "If O'Connell really wanted to further the welfare of the people, if he were really concerned with the elimination of misery—and not with his miserable, petty middle-class objectives which are at the bottom of all the shouting and the agitation for the Repeal—I should like to know what demand advanced by O'Connell representing the power that is at present at his disposal could be refused by Sir Robert Peel. But what does O'Connell do with all his power and with his millions of militant and desperate Irishmen? He is unable to attain even the wretched Repeal of the Union. Of course, solely because he does not really mean to achieve it, since he uses the impoverished, oppressed Irish people to embarrass the Tory ministers and to help his middle-class friends to get back into office. Sir Robert Peel knows this very well and that is why 25,000 soldiers are quite sufficient to keep Ireland in check. If O'Connell were really the man of the people, if he

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> had sufficient courage and were not himself frightened of the people, i.e., if he were not a two-faced Whig but an upright, consistent democrat, the 1st English soldier would have left Ireland long since and there would no longer be any idle Protestant pastor in purely Catholic areas or any Norman baron in an Irish castle. But there's the rub. If the people were set free even for a moment, Daniel O'Connell and his moneyed aristocrats would soon find themselves in the wilderness, where O'Connell himself would like to drive the Tories. . . . the only thing he will achieve is the political education of the Irish people, and this is ultimately for no one more dangerous than for himself." (16)

But Marx is not entirely correct in this. As we have seen, O'Connell's base was not the tenants of Ireland or the peasantry, but the middle class and the larger farmers insofar as he had support in rural Ireland. Even if he could get massive numbers of peasants and laborers to a few rallies, these had no voting power and one could certainly argue with O'Connell the futility of armed (cudgels?) insurrection.

Marx was correct on two major points. O'Connell, as Marx argues, was indeed not the Frankenstein that had terrorized the Tories throughout the previous twenty years, but a paper tiger at Westminster. However, he did achieve the political education of the Irish people (17). And it was precisely this that most bothered the Tories. In a sense, they were fully aware that eocnomically they had nothing to fear from Dan except that he led the Irish Brigade into an alliance with the Whigs at Westminster where Whigs and Tories were more or less evenly balanced (18). It was, therefore, this political influence over the masses and the fact that he was arousing the Catholic Irish giant to a political consciousness that the Tories feared. The economic questions were issues of Great Britain and Ireland, such as the Corn Laws and the Poor Laws. In these they had to fight for the ear of a Westminster ministry and the parties of both houses. But in Ireland they would have to organize the various social classes in their own support. What the Irish Tories feared and what the

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English Whigs supported was the potential political mobilization of a Catholic native Irish population. This would mean the formation of a national rival within Ireland.

The Economic Stances of Thomas Davis and the Young Irelanders

In the early forties, a "left wing" of the Repeal Movement known as the Young Irelanders emerged. The leading figure in terms of its economic and political radicalism was Thomas Davis, who in the thirties was a student at Trinity College.

Davis' first reflection on the Irish situation, Udalism and Feudalism, published in 1841, went to the heart of the matter and advocated peasant proprietorship. He attacked the "scientific" English analysis of the Irish peasant economy. Laissez faire dogmatists argued that Irish lands must be cleared by eviction. They promoted the amalgamation of tenancies and emigration in order to relieve Irish overpopulation. Davis suggested Udalism, an ideal of agrarian society based on the "cold and rocky" but prosperous Norway dominated by a thoughtful and busy middle class and resting on a sturdy land-owning peasantry. He cited France and Holland as successful examples. He did not, of course, recommend that the peasants rise up and seize the land, the only possible way his program could have been put into effect at that time, but "he quoted Gustave de Beaumont's opinion that the Irish aristocracy 'is nothing but an obstacle which men should hasten to remove'" (19).

"The social order in Ireland," Davis pointed out in Udalism and Feudalism, "is essentially bad and must be changed from top to bottom."

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> Everyone of every party confesses that something must be done. Everything that benevolence, everything that atrocity could suggest has been recommended. But away with this probing, and irritating and fiddling with Irish grievances. We must deal with the master grievance. Ireland exists, and her millions toil for an alien aristocracy, her soil sends forth its abundance to give palaces, equipages, wines, women, and dainties to a few thousands; while the people rot upon their native land. What trifling, what madness, what crime, to talk of prosperity from railroads, and poor-laws, from manufacturing experiments, and agricultural societies, while the very land, ay, Ireland itself, belongs not to the people, is not tilled for the people. Redress this and your palliatives will be needless; your projects will be realized. Leave this unredressed and your 'prosperity' plans may amuse and annoy the public, may impede or assist one or other of the foreign parties who alternately affect us, but cannot make a sick nation well. But we pay attention to this, that all the plans, legislative and private, whereby it has been sought of late years to serve Ireland, proceed on this common falsehood, that it is desirable and possible to assimilate Ireland to England. (20)

All proposals "which drive at assimilating us to England are worthless" (21). The "Irish improvement" they speak of, their ideas of emigration and poor laws, are only "so many precursors of Anglicanism. For the present we deal only with the economic condition of England; though we are even more ready to reject with scorn the notion of assimilating our morals, manners or passion to those of any other people on the face of the earth; least of all would we wish to change the faithful, pure, natural, affectionate Irishman into that animal John Bull" (22).

We don't need emigration, we produce a large surplus of food and the land "could support four or five times its present population" (23). Some say, let the absentees return and they will be above the temptations of luxury and power. But even if this were to happen, "It is not possible to change his religion or that of the people. If not, how can that thorough sympathy arise without which a good aristocracy is impossible . . . without common religious sympathy, the tie of vassal and lord is fragile

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and uneasy" (24). Udalism or peasant proprietorship "would cashier those lords that cannot be reclaimed" (25).

In Ireland, he argued, unlike England, the aristocracy are alien and impose "torture rents" (26). They are unconnected by blood, hostile to the creed of the people, and contemptuous towards their manners and customs. The rack rent system of Ireland is even worse than the wage system in England. But since a system of tenancy is better than a system of wages, imagine what Ireland would be like if a system of wages were to prevail given the alien character of the aristocracy.

In a Nation article in June of 1844 he also argued that the factory system was not to be introduced into Ireland.

> The first difference between manufactures now and in any former time, is the substitution of machines for the hands of man. It may indeed, be questioned whether the increased strength over matters thus given to man compensates for the ill effects of forcing people to work in crowds; of destroying small and pampering large capitalists, of lessening the distribution of wealth even by the very means which increase its production. We sincerely lament, with Lord Wharcliffe, the loss of domestic manufactuares; we would prefer one housewife skilled in the distaff and the dairy—home-bred, and home-taught, and home faithful—to a factory full of creatures who live amid the eternal role, and clash, and glimmer of spindles and rollers, watching with aching eyes the thousand twirls and capable of but one act—tying the broken threads. We abhor that state, we prefer the life of the old times, or of modern Norway. (27)

Laissez faire, he went on, had nothing to offer town and country in Ireland. He deplored

> . . . the blighted factory landscape, the reformed English poor that 'prison of poverty'; the shoddy and poisonous merchandise poured out from the factories, the 'sickly faces, the vicious and despairing looks' seen in the black Lancashire cities; the millhands, exiled from 'the fields, the hill, the corn, the lowing herd, the bleating lamb, the whistling plowboy, the village church.' He cried, 'Oh, no! Oh, no! Ask us not to copy English vice and darkness and misery and impiety; give us the worst wigwam in Ireland and a dry potato rather than Anglicize us. (28)

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He goes on to ask, however, whether or not we in Ireland can retain such a simple life given our proximity to England. He answers in the affirmative, if the peasant proprietorship be introduced as in the case of the Prussian Tenure Code. Wage labor, Davis argued, will produce less than proprietorship and the latter more than tenancy, since the latter will not provide for the future productiveness of the land. "In proportion then," he concluded, "to the permanence of his holding will be the caution, with which the occupier will use the land, and the energy and care with which he will improve it . . . Make a man's interest in his labor perfect and permanent and you do the best to insure his industry and wisdom as a laborer. That is, make him a proprietor of the land he tills" (29). This is the condition in which family affections, hardihood, morality and patriotism will flourish.

So how about setting up a manufacturing system, you say? This will "clear" the countryside. But "as fast as you empty the cabins they will fill again, so long as you leave independent poverty to a people with the morals and religion of the Irish, they will multiply beyond calculation" (30> You must first relieve the problem of poverty in the countryside. Moreover, what can we produce in Ireland? Soft goods? "Manchester is ready to sell them to all the world at 3% profit on her capital, and cannot" (31). He goes on to point out that we have no coal, no capital to pay wages, no hereditary skill, no capital machinery. All we have is "cheap labor, water-power, harbours, and position for trade" (32). In this we are like Germany. But Germany had a national government and this is what made it possible for them to compete with England. She imposed duties on national goods, was willing to pay a little dearer to her own manufacturers than to foreigners. If the German farmer paid a little more

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for manufactured goods, he saved twice as much on the poor tax which had been diminished. The reward, Germany can undersell England now that she had developed trained artisans, great factories, and a home market monopoly. A national government should therefore be formed.

Instead of the industrial system, Davis advocated a return to the 18th century form of Irish manufacturing.

> Home manufactures, we ask. Ay, home manufactures, manufactures made at home. Remember that ere the factory system existed, manufactures were carried on in the farm house . . . [There one found a] whole industry during those seasons when nature interrupts tillage [rather than this] unwholesome debasing and unhappy life in factories . . . Is it or is it not for the good and happiness of the people that provident yeomen, fed by their own labor, and clothed by that of the women of the farm house, should be changed partly into country laborers for daily wages, without the education, independence or virtue of yeomen, and partly into the poor broken-bodied, broken-hearted denizens of a manufacturing town. (33)

But Davis, unlike later patriots who saw "the superiority of the Irish spirit over the disgusting materialism of the Saxon," was not condemning the materialism of English political economists, but because they impoverished and degraded the English people. If they did such evil to their own, what would happen if they brought their factories to Ireland, to a people whom they despised? Ireland, therefore, must not assimilate to England, but Ireland must assimilate to Ireland, it must be industrialized by Irish entrepreneurs. Thus, should Ireland benefit from the "good side" of industrialization, i.e., "bring the might of machinery in a wholesome and cheap form to the cabin (34).

This very radical proposal in effect envisaged a bourgeois development in Ireland but on a "human scale" unlike the Behemoth of England (35). It depended on the unification of two main classes, the Irish bourgeoisie and the Irish peasant who would labor in the new

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factories. Neither class paid much attention to Davis' Udalism and Feudalism. The former were busy participating in an altogether private accumulation. In the countryside, the tenants of some means and the petit bourgeois shopkeepers were not anxious to pay higher prices for commodities made in Ireland. The real smallholders living in their "cabins" were busy growing potatoes, to survive on their little patches of land in an overcrowded countryside.

Davis' argument, therefore, in Udalism and Feudalism is based on the assumption that Ireland suffers from the problem of an "alien aristocracy"--they are British and anti-Irish Protestants. These must be undermined first by separating Ireland from England and hence breaking their ties to a military force which can suppress us. Within this new framework, the land should become the property of those who till it. His rural scheme was not unlike that of his fellow Trinitarians of the Tory Party. He, however, embraced the Catholic peasantry. With them he also favored a resident and rational landlordism and estate management. With Isaac Butt he sought not the protection of food prices through corn laws, but the protection of an Irish manufacturing system. This scheme was no different from that of the Irish Tories who recommended that the rational form of manufacturing and industry which had been successfully developed in Belfast without the extravagances of the British horror story be extended to the rest of Ireland (36). Given their assumption of a "rational" man of the enlightenment, there was nothing necessary about the terrible conditions and inhumanity which prevailed in urban England. For them, the rationality and political order of northern Ireland contrasted with the remainder of Great Britain and Ireland.

He and the Tories, who were more conservative than Isaac Butt,

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favored the re-establishment of late 18th century Ireland even if the social content were to be transformed. In terms of their identity, the artistocracy should be Irish, if not Catholic, and in the place of the alien elite, a peasant proprietorship. Davis also took a very strong stance against industrial capitalism. In terms of urban development, here, too, Davis is clearly not advocating the same kind of development as O'Connell, but wants to see Dublin re-established and home industries maintained in a protected national economy.

This economic conservatism he combined with a political radicalism, an absolute demand for a separate Irish nation state and the formation of a cultural distinctiveness which would guarantee both his conservative economic formation and his radical political separatism.

The one problem Davis himself foresaw in Udalism and Feudalism was whether to articulate the social question of land tenures and proprietorship of the national question first. If one were to push the land question now, he pointed out, the landlords could call in the British army. Hence, it "may not be unwise to regard this political change as a good means to that social end" (37). Davis here follows his Tory counterparts in their arguments presented to the landlord, that the separation from Britain necessarily meant the expulsion of the Ascendancy.

But if the Tories and Davis were so confident of this social content of the repeal movement, Daniel O'Connell, who led it, did not pursue any such interests, and indeed worked to contain all the social content of his political base. He insisted that in the internal Irish debate the social content of urban and rural Ireland was to be subdued.

The following year, owing to a combination of these real pressures, fear of a military intervention, and O'Connell's social conservatism,

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Davis' radical stance was already modified. His colleagues in Young Ireland thought that Ireland could win independence only if England were in trouble or if all classes combined together. England was not about to collapse. Hence, they needed an alliance of all classes in a national front, and the landlords, the most powerful class, would have to be part of that alliance, not expropriated. For Daniel Maddyn, a civil war would mean that "the fanatical and illiterate would at once swamp the party" (38). O'Connell's son, John, warned the radicals that they should divorce themselves from any affections for French ideas—atheism, bloodshed, and confiscation of property. The "combination of all classes" and not the division of classes and civil war should be achieved by means of a cultural nationalism within the political context of an opposition to England.

The Nation, according to its owner and co-founder, Gavan Duffy, as an organ of the Young Islanders, had wished to vigorously attack the problems of Ireland. But they lived in fear of "denunciation by O'Connell for rashness and audacity" (39). Till then, that is, the forties, the popular press had followed O'Connell "criticising nothing and initiating nothing" (40). Indeed, O'Connell had "ruined journal after journal which had crossed his path" (41).

Thus the fear of a British military intervention in Ireland due to the influence of the landlord class forced the Young Irelanders to submit to O'Connell's point of view and merely and to merely speak of single issues like O'Connell himself. They were forced to set aside the social issues and restrict their radicalism to the cultural sphere (cultural nationalism, which we will see later) and the articulation of a political goal, the formation of a separate state of Ireland.

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O'Connell's agragrianism was, as Brown puts it, "a niggardly half-mesure, stopping short with an apologetic plea to extend the Ulster tenant right" (42) which would have given some degree of security to tenants. The most significant "lower order" of Ireland was the rural peasantry and these were not concentrated in the cities, the domain of O'Connell's movement, nor had they a vote, the only form of politics he supported.

Insofar as O'Connell mobilized it, he did so only in the form of mass rallies; he simply brought together a mass demonstration which functioned as a threat, but which did not develop as a political force independent of such rallies. They had no vote, nor were they the interest O'Connell served. In his public articulations within Ireland, O'Connell focused on Protestant landlordism when speaking to the rural population (in this he and Davis were alike) and on the Union with Britain when speaking to the middle class in the cities and demanding a reorganization of the urban Irish economy. Here, too, he eschewed the "interests" of the lower orders—he was, as we mentioned above, even antagonistic to trade unions, since they raised the "costs" of production.

The lower orders of England in this century, led as they were by liberals and bourgeois Whigs in their class struggles with the aristocracy, had focused on social questions from the outset. In Ireland, however, all leadership strata formulated their issues in terms of the "interests" of upper strata alone, even if these strata were drastically divided among themselves, thereby giving social questions a political meaning only.

It was, of course, the interests of the upwardly mobile that O'Connell represented. He was the advocate of the Industrial Revolution.

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A Tory class analysis of voter support in the 1837 election shows O'Connell's social base in Dublin. His victory depended, they said, on the "hucksters, dairymen, butchers and publicans" (43). From these he got 692 votes compared with 37 for the Tory candidates. The Tories had a majority vote among the 20 pound freeholders, lease-holders and rent-chargers of 461 to 403; among the 50 pound freeholders of 266 to 189, and among the barristers, attorneys and proctors, doctors, surgeons and apothecaries of 522 to 211. Among the upper classes, as they saw it, O'Connell only had the support of "expectant lawyers" (44).

This statistic is confirmed in a later 1849 assessment of the situation found in the rival journal, the Nation. They show the occupations of persons who signed the requisition of the Irish Alliance conference held in Dublin, November 20, 1849, to have been 42.2% "merchants, traders and artisans" and 32% "landholders and farmers" (45).

While O'Connell could rouse large numbers for his mass rallies (46), his real base and political organization was limited. Indeed, when the British called his bluff at Clontarf in 1843, it was not merely O'Connell's personal antagonism towards violent insurrection which made him step down from confrontation, but also the narrowness of his "interest" or political base. The people at the Nation, as Duffy points out, "knew that sheep received nothing and that Emancipation had been granted because of the threat of insurrection" (47).

Leading the middle class, O'Connell argued the necessity of an Irish parliament to achieve the renewal of urban Ireland. This was his main economic goal formulated in a political manner. In the meantime, he supported the British Whigs on all individual economic questions. but if he did not follow the British liberals in articulating the interests of

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the "lower orders" of Ireland, neither did he lead the introduction of a cultural secularism to Ireland. He recognized and accepted the fact that Ireland was Catholic. He successfully brought the clergy into the political battle on his side. So the "lower orders" of Ireland were not given a liberal modern ideology. On the other hand, O'Connell never insisted on a Catholic ideology either. It was a non-question in his politics since, of course, he sought the alliance of as many Protestants as he could get.

Thus Davis and O'Connell disagreed on the social questions. The re-establishment of small farms and peasant proprietorship was a problem for O'Connell, while the Industrial Revolution was a problem for Davis. On the other hand, they disagreed on the political questions not so much because they did not have the same ultimate goal, an Irish government, but because of the way to approach this question. O'Connell was politically quite content to gain ground on single issues by means of his alliance with the Whigs. The Young Irelanders were impatient; they wanted an Irish nation-state immediately. But in both cases the regional economic question gets to be translated into a wholly political formulation, the need to set up a government in Ireland before any concrete economic plan might be feasible.

This difference in economic and political "radicalism" in O'Connell and Davis is also seen in their language. "O'Connell's subversive horseplay did set him apart from Irishmen who wore the long face, from Davis, Smith O'Brien, Parnell, Devoy, Arthur Griffith, de Valera, and, surprisingly, from James Joyce, whose depiction of this special flavor in Irish history is uniformly sour and unimaginative" (48). The reports of O'Connell's speeches showed how often he was interrupted by "prolonged

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laughter" and "hear, hear". "His oratorical rhetoric was not florid, but blunt, lucid, sarcastic, and devoid of gentell ornament" (49). "The Irish word game was his special pleasure. He invented the nickname 'Orange Peel' to deflate the redoubtable Sir Robert " (50), and he spoke to his Irishmen in "the secret language of fellowship in helotry" (51). There is no need here to enter into any long analysis of O'Connell's speeches and language except to point out the fact that his hearty bourgeois urbanism and truly progressive spirit was representative of an upwardly mobile urban Catholic middle class. It stands in stark contrast with the somber language and tone of the cultural nationalists suffocated in a morbid secular moralism and narrow-minded antagonism to the modern world.

But the two politicans could agree absolutely on one question--the need to form an alliance with the Protestant middle class of Dublin. As a member of the gentry and a Trinity scholar himself, Davis was seen by O'Connell as a key figure in his efforts to bridge the gap between the status communities of the middle class (52). One indicator of the failure of such efforts to make any serious inroads int the class unification may be seen in the tragicomic '82 Club.

The '82 Club

The idea of such a club was originated with Matthew Moriarty, barrister at law, in 1844. He, Sir John Gray, Daniel O'Connell and Smith O'Brien discussed it at Richmond Jail where O'Connell was in prison. The "1792 Club" was approved at a meeting, July 4, 1844, chaired by Smith O'Brien. It was founded "for the purpose of commemorating that glorious epoch, of doing honour to the memory of illustrious Irishmen and promoting the cause of Nationality" (53). The first official meeting, however, was not held until January 2, 1845, when O'Connell was already out of jail.

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O'Connell was elected President and its Vice-Presidents were Lord French, Smith O'Brien M.P., Henry Grattan M.P., Edmund B. Roche M.P., and Cornelius MacLoghlen T.C. The founders of the Nation were on the committee.

According to Gavan Duffy, one of the original members and owner of the Nation, the Club was to "bring intelligence, rank and wealth to the National Party into one centre and to open a door to adherents who, on various grounds, held aloof from the Association (the Repeal Association). The express object was to encourage Irish art and literature and to diffuse a national feeling through society, and its chief means to accustom Catholics and Protestants to act together" (54). It would also encourage the consumption of Irish manufactures (55).

It was primarily a dinner club for gentlemen dressed in costly uniforms of green and gold. The minutes specified that all members would have to wear a special uniform at the Club dinners and as required by the committee. The uniform was to be a "green coat, doublebreasted, with two rows of '82 buttons, standing velvet collar, and velvet cuffs embroidered with shamrocks (according to pattern), cloth flaps to hind pockets, also embroidered with shamrocks. Green trousers, same colour as coat, with gold shamrock lace, one-and-one-half inch wide down the sides. Green caps" (56).

At the grand banquet with 100 gentlemen and 300 ladies in April, 1845, the toasts were as follows:

> "The Queen" having been duly honoured, O'Connell proposed "The Legislative Independence of Ireland." Then followed "The Volunteers of 1792," "The Memory of Grattan and Flood" (drunk in silence), "Prosperity to Agriculture of Ireland," "The Revival of Irish Trade and Manufacture," "The Men who Made Science Illustrious in Ireland," "Thomas Moore," "The Dramatists of Ireland," "The Memory of Griffin and Banim and the Fame of the

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> Living Novelists of Ireland," "Carolan and the Music of Ireland." Davis gave a speech on "The Advancement of Fine Arts in Ireland." (57)

The advent of the Famine, the radicalization of the Young Irelanders who broke away from the non-violent politics O'Connell advocated, all contributed to a divisive atmosphere that these ceremonious occasions could not transcend (58). Not only was it difficult to unite Protestant gentry and O'Connellite supporters, as might be expected, but the "left" also broke with O'Connell.

In a well-known acrimonious debate of 1845, O'Connell dismissed the Young Irelanders, saying that if they were representative of young Ireland, he was of "Old Ireland" (59). The Irish Tories revelled in the situation and they commented in Dublin University Magazine:

> And now, one word to Young Ireland, who are, we perceive, smarting under the castigation of the agitator, whom they would fain anticipate and supplant, in his measures for the Repeal of the Union. Truly, the young gentlemen are a piteous case. They were encouraged to act the subline in patriotism; but all their enthusiasm has been put to flight by the sardonic "Pshaw" of the Liberator, who has again taken a mighty fancy to making a cat's paw of the Whigs, for the better accomplishment of his favorite object . . . We shall soon see, whether for good or for evil, an Irish Parliament assembled in College-green. (60)

The '82 Club, even if somewhat absurd, reflected, however, a deepseated discontent with the Union among the Dublin aristocracy. Since the Tories of Dublin were also convinced of the need to articulate an Irish interest in accordance with the tradition of Swift and Grattan despite theirlove for Burke's political philosophy. Ascendancy dissidents represented a permanent knot of urban nationalists even if very divided on many questions. They also came to realize, with Davis and the Young Irelanders more than O'Connell, that the status question was fundamentally related to the question of different cultures within Irish society. The

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presence of these cultures meant that within each community, a leadership emerged to struggle with the other community. This disunity within the leadership strata of Ireland made it impossible to go forward and to confront the economic questions of Irish society. A new identity was necessary.

The Protestant Tradition of Irish Independence

The Irish Tories in response sought to establish their image as a national leadership in a number of different revitalizations. One such is found in their series entitled "Gallery of Illustrious Irishment." Introducing the series, DUM outlined the purpose of the gallery. It was to be "a series dvoted to a national object and which can hardly fail to possess a national interest, a series in which we would endeavor to bring successively before our readers the characters of those illustrious among our countrymen" (61).

It is said "that Ireland has no history. We look back in vain along her anals to discover a dreary and desolate black, only stained by the stories of petty oppression and of miserable dissention" (62). In Ireland we have always been "the prey of faction . . . Wearied and sickened by the humiliating prospect of 'Ireland as she is,' the eye of patriotism turns back with the fondness that the patriot can only feel to 'Ireland as she was' and longs to console its sorrow for her present degredation by contempalting the glories that are gone. But alas! it can discover nothing that the fondest partiality can dignify with the name of history" (63). In that history we find only

> the same miserable tale of fanatical insurrections, then their perhaps too cruel suppression . . . The page of her anals is stained with blood . . .In these recollections the lover of his country can find but little to reflect on which delight. In vain

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> he looks to the records of the past until unwilling to believe that his cherished national pride is but a dream, he finds a refuge in the dim tradition of an antediluvian glory, or indulges in equally fond, God grant that they may not be equally visionary, speculations of "Ireland as she will be" . . . Acutely as we feel, and deeply as we mourne the degradation of Ireland, we too have our national pride . . . We are proud of our countrymen. Superstition may keep them in ignorance . . . but there is, amid all this, a nobleness of impulse, a generosity of character, that tells you that guilt is not natural to an Irishman. And even when we retrace the past, let us forget the nation and think of whom she may be proud.
> . . . No matter how stigmatized she may be, "no calumny has ever yet refused her the title of The Land of Genius." (64) [This is evident in the oratory and poetry of Ireland.] If it were not for the genius of her children, Ireland would be undistinguished and unknown (65) . . . To Ireland we consecrate this portion of our work. There are those who stigmatize our politics as antinational, and would fain have it believed that we do not care for our country. Our politics may be wrong—no human judgment is infallible; but God is our witness that we have no desire but to see Ireland as she ought to be. Bitterly do we mourn the miseries and follies of her people and ardently do we long for the time when that people shall be peaceable and happy . . . It has been said, but perhaps with too much bitterness, that like Tony Lumkin's correspondence, the nationality of the Irish is all "buzz." Patriotism will do for sentiment in a ballad, a toast after dinner, or an apostrophy in a speech—for anything but action. An allusion to the emerald isle at a public meeting will draw thunders of applause. The mention of "loved Erin" in the last new song is sufficient to ensure it admirers in every drawing room where it finds its way; but in this cheap tribute to sentiment, our nationality too often effervesces. The Irishman will praise his country bu the Scotsman will labour that she may deserve the praise of the world. The one finds its expression in the pathetic poetry of pining sentiment, or in the noisy ebullition of convivial mirth; the other is exhibited in persevering, sober, and businesslike exertion. The Scotsman cultivates his thistle in his garden, the Irishman wears his shamrock till it withers on his bosom, or he drowns it in his bowl. (66) [As for this series, one lesson will be made evident.] The history of genius will teach us this solemn truth, that no man was ever truly great without integrity of purpose, and no man happy without religion (67).

Thus the series is written in opposition to the "nationalism" of their Whig opponents. But in this series, rather than concentrate on the struggles and repressions that characterized the real history of Ireland and the conquest, they will focus on individual persons. This will allow their readers to focus on greatness rather than contention and conflict.

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The series was very varied in terms of content: Goldsmith the poet, Berkely the philosopher, Hon. Robert Boyle, the scientist, Archbishop Ucsher. But it also focused on some political figures of a more controversial nature such as Swift, Grattan, Robert Emmet and Thomas Davis. Almost all of their illustrious Irishmen were of Ascendancy stock.

Dean Swift was, of course, the most dramatic figure in the history of the Irish Ascendancy Church.

> There is not a man who says Irish independence, Irish trade, Irish Pism, Irish agitation, who does not breathe the breath and speak the Spirit of Swift . . . It is true there are the phrases of conflicting parties, of conflicting Irish parties, but all these parties have drank at the same fountain, all are unconsciously adorers at the same altar, all are worshippers of the same divinity, followers of the beckoning shadow of Swift. We have seen but the first rude savage act of the mystic drama, but how much is yet to come! How and when the dark and bloody complexities of the plot be unravelled? When shall the great spirit of nationality, which the patriot called from the grave, assert its dignity, and be no more seen discoloured and distorted, through the murky medium of dary, stormy faction. But strangely as this national principle has been perverted too ill--and long as it has been made the slave of cruelty and faction--it is, nevertheless, the germ from which must grow whatever prosperity, greatness or dignity our country is hereafter to accomplish, it is through fiery convulsions working out its mysterious task; and when perhaps centuries hence, it has ended our mission, and that is its struggles and vicissitudes and early degradation are passed away and finished in victory, its glorious nature having conquered all the vile agencies which have so long borne it down, will be seen by the world to have slowly, but steadily, through changed tumults and many sorrows, brought the country safe to grandeur and happiness. This spirit was evoked by Swift . . . Self-reliance in nations as in individual men is the secret of power and the guide to greatness. (68)

But if Swift is the spirit of "Independence, Freedom, Nationality" (69), so too is Grattan, the "orator and patriot" of "those palmy days of Ireland's independence . . . He found his country a province and he made it a nation" (70). Grattan fulfilled his destiny when "acting upon the

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susceptibilities of a high spirited and imaginative people, (he) introduced them to throw off a foreign yoke, and stand forth as the asserters of national independence" (71). His particular powers were suited to the attainment of this precise end.

But "powers altogether different would be necessary to prevent the nation running into excess and squandering upon projects of political libertinism, the acquisition of liberty" (72). Grattan removed "restrictions which fettered our trade" and asserted "the independence of Parliament" (73). If Grattan by his genius and energy erected "the fabric of Irish independence" (74), it declined as rapidly as it grew. As Grattan himself later said, "'He sat by its cradle, and he followed its hearse'" (75). It was "not in the nature of things that the rising spirit of Ireland could be restrained within the bounds of wise moderation" (76). For if the Irish Parliament was for the first time independent after 1782, "the connection between the countries became in a high degree precarious; so that the only period of history during which we have a parliament of our own is that very period which threatened the dismemberment of the Empire" (77).

While Grattan opposed the Union, we cannot know for certain if he was part of the United Irishmen (78). But this combination of independence within the Union is not possible because of the inevitable consequence—the separation of Ireland from Great Britain.

DUM argued that Grattan's theory of government in Ireland had proved abortive. "We do not want," Grattan said, "an army as Great Britain does, for an army is not our protection. You want it not for defence, you want it not for ambition, you want it not for foreign dominion. Our duties are of a different nature, to watch with incessant vigilance the cradle of the

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Constitution, the rear of an infant state, to protect a rising trade, to foster a growing people" (79). This independence was to be asserted at the expense of Great Britain. However, once it was "demonstrated by the experiment, that the attempt to reconcile political contradictions was dangerous as well as absurd, expensive as well as impracticable, the men who were convinced that liberty could never be developed under the pressure of external power, and they who despaired of their own fortunes whilst Ireland was united to Great Britain, formed political associations, which subsequently, without alteration of name or change or organization, became military combinations, for the purpose of dissolving the connection" (80). That is, what began as the most legitimate of aspirations and the most legal of political movements, ended in a disastrous militarism and insurrection of the United Irishmen—those "dwellers of every garret of grub street, the penny-a-liners of every press in Europe" (81).

Moreover, what Grattan sought was contradictory and impossible. "To be a sovereign state, yet to depend for national existence upon the physical power of another country; to be protected by the fleets and armies of England, yet decline to contribute to their expense; to partake in the advantages of colonial dominion, yet refuse to submit to the taxation they induce; to be independent of, yet connected with Great Britain were the impossible conditions of the problem which the state of 1782 undertook to solve" (82). An independent Irish Parliament within Great Britain and without obligation to Great Britain was an impossible and contradictory dream, as is also the demand for a repeal of the Union and a Dublin Parliament.

Similarly, when discussing the Earl of Charlemont, they point out the

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error of the Volunteers and the great convention of Dungannon prior to 1782. "Ireland underwent a sort of magical transformation and passed, as it were, per slatum, from an extreme of servitude incompatible with Irish prosperity, to an extreme of independence, incompatible with the British connection. The patriots deluded themselves into the belief that these two things were perfectly reconcilable, but events speedily demonstrated the baseless and visionary nature of their expectations" (83).

In a footnote, DUM gives us a ballad drawn from the memory of the author which reflects the national sentiment of the Volunteers:

By your leave, gossip john
By my faith 'tis too long,
Since yo've played us a lilt
    The same key on, the same key on.
. . .
Nay, some folks go further,
We hope 'tis no murder,
To say it will make
    The king dance, Sir, king dance, Sir.

Sixty thousand brave boys
Have contrived such a noise
As now charm the ears
    Of gay France, Sir, gay France, Sir.

Were you not very dully
When you took off our wool,
To leave us so much
    Of leather, the leather.
. . .
All join the parade
And shout out, a free trade,
Or else you may let it
    Alone, Sir, alone, Sir. (84)

Hence, it was not O'Connell and the Irish Brigade that had the strongest tradition of asserting and recognizing the political independence of Ireland. The Irish Tories saw themselves as descendents of Swift and Grattan no less than the counter-revolutionary Burke. But now they bitterly opposed any form of political institutional separation

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from Westminster. Precisely when a government of reconstruction was so necessary to coordinate regional developments, something they understood to be of the highest economic importance; precisely when the British govenment in office favored the Catholic population and the establishment of the Catholic Church in Ireland, the Irish Tory becomes more "loyal" than ever before. Yet this "loyalty" was forced to live with a contradictory Westminster.

The Dublin Tory: Protestant and Irish

Seen from a European standpoint, the Catholic Church, deeply committed to the suppression of modern revolution in all its forms, should have been the natural ally of the Irish Tories. But the local political conditions made this impossible. Indeed, these conditions made the contradictory alliance of a conservative Catholic Irish Church and liberal English Whigs. On the other hand, this very circumstance determined the contradictory and unexpected opposition between the unionist Protestant Tory and his Westminster government.

This alliance of the Catholic Church and Westminster meant that the Tories were threatened both as Protestants and as Loyalists. First, they feared losing control of the education system in Ireland given this recent increase in Catholic influence over Westminster (85). On the other hand, they feared the Repeal Movement, which united both the Catholic middle classes and many of the clergy.

The Repeal Movement was a real threat because of the possible alliance between the Whigs and O'Connell on the question of the Corn Laws. They saw the possibility of a package deal in which the Whigs would get the Corn Laws repealed while O'Connell would have the Union repealed.

They therefore sought to ensure that the Repeal of the Union would be

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removed from "being a question" (86) at Westminster. The acerbity of religious antagonism, the agrarian outrage, and malignant agitation were, they said, merely the "surface apperance of Irish politics" (87). What gave the situation of conflict permanence was the question of repeal. "Until the hearts of the Irish people are weaned from this perilous project, and the disposition which fosters it corrected in them, the country will know no lasting repose" (88). Repeal means no less than a "total separation from Great Britain" (80). "For the masses, who constitute its physical strength, it has the powerful charm of revolution" (90).

If in this way they tried to brand O'Connel's movement as an Irish repetition of the French Revolution and hence rouse landlord fears, they also sought to drive a wedge between the Chruch and Westminster, arguing that an established Catholic Church would necessarily lead to a complete break with England. "The whole Roman Catholic hierarchy in Ireland are, at heart, earnestly desirous to effect a repeal of the legislative union" (91).

> In Irish Romanism the national cannot be separate from the religious, and this is, perhaps, the great peculiarity of the Church of rome in Ireland . . . Elsewhere obedience to the Church and love of country are two distinct principles of action or endurance which correct and limit and modify each other. In Ireland alone, they combine . . . Here alone, Roman bigotry can be found arrayed in a dazzling eclat of patriotism. In truth, the two principles are now taken into one system, in which Romanism supplies the purpose, the patriotism or nationality, the passion; the one directs, the other constitutes the moving force. It is a formidable combination. (92)

However, while these arguments are familiar, the Tories recognized the existence of two new elements in their situation. First, the British government was not giving total and exclusive support to the Protestant community. Secondly, some Protestants of all classes, including the

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landlords and Dublin gentry, were beginning to take an itnerest in the Repeal of the Union. They were surrounded by betrayal.

The policy of "conciliation" emanating from the reform ministry of Westminster was indicative of their abandonment of the Protestant community. They pointed out that if it be written that "Protestant fortresses are to be broken down and the Protestant people betrayed by their ancient protectors, the men of England, then as sure as the spring is followed by the summer . . . so surely will it come that before many years, the two countries will be separated" (93).

Great Britain has weakened the Protestants of Ireland.

> Great Britain has put their adversaries in possession of their strongholds, the corporations, which were originally erected for theirprotection. She has desired of them to dissolve confederations by which they rendered her signal services and were strong to defend themselves. Great Britain has disembodied the yeomanry . . . Great Britain has withdrawn from the Protestants of Ireland her support and countenance in maintining a system of scriptural education and taxes them to endow a system of secular education, conducted on, or rather actualized by the Roman Catholic principle, that Scripture must be excluded. Such are among the concessions of which Protestants complain . . . (As a result) the hostility to England has become more malignant. (94).

It was clear to many that Irish Protestants should not confide absolutely in the British government as the champion of thei;r cause. In June 1843, Isaac Butt condemned England for its disregard of Irish Tory opinion on the question of repeal. "Either madness ruled the houre, or 'motley was all the wear'" (95). Again, DUM wrote, the years of reform in England have shown us that "in an unreflecting impatience of a temporary evil, we may be sacrificed . . . We are fallen upon days in which no portion of the people can safely rely upon any party or principle for the defence of their interests or themselves" (96). "For many years British Conservatism and Protestantism seemed one . . . This state of things

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endured until 1829. IN that year Pism ceased to be the principle of cohesion in the eading party of the State" (97). We cannot trust, therefore, in "divisions," "the prudence of the legislature," nor "the Protestantism of the Constituencies" to safeguard our Union with Great Britain. "That great office has been assigned to the landed aristocracy of Ireland. The legislative Union will never be secure until it can draw strength from the feelings of the general people; and Irish landlords can procure that support for it by changing public sentiment in its favor" (98). Consequently, what we need is "a preponderance of Irish votes in the Senate and a strong upport from public opinion in Ireland" (99).

Moreover, this threat of a Catholic middle class Irish interest democratically organized, also had the contradictory effect within the Protestant community. It forced the Dublin middle class Tories into complete poltical dependency on the Ascendancy landlords, a position which mitigated against their articulation of a Dublin revival, and simultaneously obliged them to reach out to a "mass" political base in a Gaelic southern Irish population.

The Tories tried to identify for the landlords the Repeal movement and "American malcontents" (100) who plot to take the land and redistribute property. "In rural districts the peasantry have no reserve in expressing themselves, oir in pointing out among their neighbours, the rightful expectant to such doomed property. They are encouraging too, the poorer Protestants with whom they communicate, assuring them that their condition shall not be disimproved . . . Every Irish gentlemen is aware of these insidious attempts upon the humbler Protestants" (101). What are we to do? Suppression may not be possible. If so, then get ready "to meet the horrors of repeal" (102). However, we think it can be suppressed.

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The gentry must do something about the real grievances of their tenants since the repealers offer "low rents and fixity of tenure" (103). By allowing the "amplest latitude to this peaceful agitation" (i.e., the assemblies), Peel has estranged "the dissentient Conservatives" in Ireland, even though the "real Conservatives" (104) remain loyal.

The greatest threat of all, therefore, consists in the potential for disunity within the Protestant community. Unfortunately, there is some support for Repeal among Irish Protestants, landlords and Dublin middle class. "We think the artifices of the Repealers have gained adherents in parts of Ireland, of which we have no knoweldge except from report; and where we have opportunities of personal knowledge we know that the increase of their numbers and of their confidence has been formidable" (105). "The danger of division among Protestants ought not to be regarded as a chimera . . . We must counteract a "system of propaganda" organized by "paid emissaries" (106). The Presbyterians are "exasperated with the Established Church; the poor are dazzled by promises and many are intimidated" (107).

Thus some Ascendancy Protestant landlords and commoners disaffected from Westminster joined with Catholic tenants and laborers in the urban middle class movement of O'Connell's Repealers. Others, assuming the inability of the lower classes in general to come together in any kind of national unity front, merely abused both Protestants and Catholics in their pursuit of economic goals. In a sense, a ruling class sees an opportunity to opt out of the political game precisely because they consider any real opposition impossible.

Hence the Tories pointed out that many people argue incorrectly today that "the people of Ireland are divided" into Catholics and Protestants

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and hence the Repeal movement cannot be successful. But "if this were true, the good, great as it is, is not worth the price at which it is purchased. To preserve the integrity of the Empire at the cost of perpetual disunion between those who sould be brethren would be an evil for which the expected result, were it certain, could not make adequate compensation. But the result is not certain. There is nothing certain but the evil which division inflicts" (108).

Let us set aside this vain hope placed on the fact that religious discord exists. It is not enough on its own to guarantee the Union. "The spirit of the religious discord will prove itself too capricious to be trusted" (109). We must look for "a better dependence" (110). We must rely "not merely upon religious dissension in the abstract, not upon a persuasion that bigotry will preoccupy the Irish people against dangerous political enterprises, but upon the trust that the Protestants of Ireland will hold themselves estranged from Roman Catholics and their devices" (111). We must instead organize the Protestants. "The agencies which cause division are not invincible. Some powerful excitement may supercede them, has superceded them" (112). The power of divisiveness was superceded at the time of Swift, in the days of the Volunteers and at the time of French politics (1798). "It is now clear that the great mass of the roman Catholics in Ireland contemplate with desire . . . the prospect of repealing the legislative union. If they could secure, even for a time, a strong, Protestant cooperation, their hope would not be irrational" (113).

O'Connell is merely scheming for Protestant support when he speaks with "honied words" saying that a union of Protestant and Catholic can be good "awakening in all a cheering glow of brotherly affection" (114). But

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any such union could only mean that "intolerance triumphed on the one side and loyalty expired on the other" (115).

Moreover, the Protestant Catholic antagonism will not be resolved in a separated independent Ireland as some Catholics and Protestans have been saying. The only thing that is certain is the fact of this division. We cannot be certain that the divisiveness will cease in an independent Ireland. Had Ireland been exclusively Protestant at the time of the Volunteers (the Protestant drive for independence during the Grattan Parliament) or had it not been partially Protestant in 1798 (at the time of the Catholic rebellion), Ireland would now be separate. In a sense, "the connection between Great Britain and Ireland has been preserved by division" (116). As the English Whig Martin argues, Ireland would experience chaos should the Union be repealed. "Ireland is divided into two great parties," Martin writes, "peasantry and gentry, Protestant and Catholic; a war of separation from England would be a war between these two parties" (117).

Most of the landlords, of course, did not take this course, but followed the political if not the economic orientation of the Dublin Tories. The landlords acted as J.S. Mill observed: "It is never safe to expect that a class or a body of men will act contrary to their immediate pecuniary interest" (118). Consequently, through this period they tended as a whole to demand the legislation required to strengthen their rights in relation to their tenants—i.e., repression of the tenant and laboring classes (119).

Even though there can be no doubt that the great Ascendancy landlords of Ireland were the ruling class of the 19th century, and even though the large farmers and larger tenant farmers were the primary active class

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among the Catholic population, it was neither the landlords nor the farmers and larger tenants (120) that were politically active in a positive sense during the pre-famine years of decline.

The landlords themselves were quite removed from the literati at Trinity College, an intellectual and political environment that has had a great history in Great Britain and Ireland. The landlords as a whole did not seek to confront the decline of their social world as a "ruling class," nor did they seek to bridge the "gap" culturally and politically with their tenants, laborers and the petit bourgeois merchants of the towns and villages. But for a few they sought no national front of any kind; they did not seek to unite all classes within a political party or state. They were, however, united in tehir desire to suppress the upwardly mobile Catholic middle class. Those who saw the potential for a different course in Irish society and history even within their own class were stymied.

The thrust of the Ascendancy landlords of Ireland throughout the 19th century was to demand the protection of the police and the courts in their efforts to claim arrears in rent and evict the defaulters, and to clamor to Westminster for military assistance in suppression of rebellions of all kinds. This was the prèvailing class reponse to the political situation. As the "party" of order, motivated by ground rent and the problem of productivity, they complained noisily and bitterly of the poor quality of the repressive measures employed by Her Majesty's agencies. As Standish O'Grady (121) pointed out, the landlords of Ireland, given the contradictory nature of their situation, could never come together to formulate a national program.

Their main activities, apart from horse riding and courting ladies,

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consisted in managing and modernizing their estates—i.e., increasing output per worker and suppressing every movement that threatened that interest. They focused their attention on the immediate issues of their estate, and had little interest in the affairs of Irish society except insofar as the major events in Great Britain threatened their economic development; this threat was, of course, constant. Thus, while their economic activity was progressive and developed rural Ireland, their political activity was reactionary. The privatization of capital and the formulation of social and national concern in terms of that privatization had this twofold contradictory effect. Their participation in politics and culture throughout the century, as a class, was, on the whole, a negative one.

While the rural class relation was by far the most significant economic relation, it was not the primary determinant of the political phenomena of national identity under discussion. Agricultural producers in general were necessarily tied to English markets and hence to England. These classes did not lead the political behavior of the century. Even the tenant wars in the late 19th century were subsumed under a wider political front, the Home Rule movement. The more positive forms of political activity and culture tended to emanate from Dublin as it had in the past, and the urbanites who articulated the national identity confronted this agricultural reality as a problem. It is in this sense that the primary economic reality was a determinant of political life in conjunction with other factors. But the economic regional problem also involved the political question of the Union with Great Britian, or even more importantly, the lack of a central government in Dublin.

The Protestant Tories sought to identify with the landlords of

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Ireland and hence with Westminster's repressive capacity. But this political option meant that they had no possibility of articulating an economic solution for rural Ireland and the population problem. On the other hand, this also meant that they could not articulate a serious plan for Irish manufactures since this required the decline in the power of the landlords. Insofar as it required an Irish parliament to administer a specific Irish interest, it also met with te knotty problem of a new Catholic middle class which would have been the primary beneficiaries of an industrial revolution in southern Ireland. While undoubtedly some Ascendancy and gentry would also accumulate and possibly the most powerful and wealthy might have been Protestant, the fact of the matter is that the social class that would have truly advanced in any such development would be the Catholic middle class. This necessarily meant the formation of a powerful political force should the new parliamentary government be formed through elections. (Of course, no one debated this question, but by supporting the Union, the Tories made sure that parliamentary elections had no serious effect on their basic supremacy.)

The Irish Tories wanted a union with Britain to suppress rising Catholic political influence while at the same time they wanted a union within Ireland to formulate an "Irish interest" in opposition to the "British interest." Their problems emerge within these contradictory demands. Within this political framework, they could not articulate a national policy of reconstruction.

The Westminster government had a real desire to tackle some of the problems of Ireland (in the British interest), but they were politically incapable of rounding this landlord lobby. Some 114 commissions and 60 select committees investigated Ireland between 1800 and 1833; their

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concrete proposals and most of those formulated during the following years were blocked. Instead of an economic plan for Ireland, Westminster merely enacted Insurrection Acts, Peace Preservation Acts, Acts for the Suspension of Habeus Corpus, and tried to rule Ireland through these extraordinary laws (122). Thus the narrow landlord interest worked against the formulation of a broader Tory interest in articulating an Irish urban interest as opposed to that of their English counterparts.

Conversely, the combination of the Dublin Protestant middle class status interest and the landlord economic interest functioned to stymy any middle class interest that might have achieved a prevailing position in political life during the era of the Reform government, England's political revolution. The landed interest had, of course, supported the Union and hence the suppression of a mainly Protestant urban movement for an independent Ireland in the late 18th century. It now inhibited O'Connell and the Catholic middle class that took up this banner in the 19th century repeal movement.

So the status relations of Catholic and Protestant within the Dublin middle class, forging as they did an alliance between the Protestant gentry of Dublin and the landed interest, guaranteed the landlords against this new middle clas movement led by O'Connell and divided the urban middle class against itself. O'Connell and the Young Irelanders recognized this problem.

If one policy within the Tory contingent to confront this question was the formation of a Protestant Ireland (the other, a cultural nationalism which we will see later), O'Connell's policy was the formulation of a national interest and a political movement that would emphasize that interest giving emphasis to urban renewal. He therefore

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sought to play down all class differentiation in the interest of a national government of Ireland (suppressing the agricultural revolutionary ideologies of Davis) and the social class differentiation within the Dublin urbanites, especially among the middle class Dubliners. As we have seen, the status question made it impossible to unite the Dublin middle class under his leadership. On the other hand, his antagonism to the Corn Laws alienated landlords.

Thus the Irish Whigs led by O'Connell were equally stymied as middle class revolutionaries. They could not promote a bloody revolution in rural Ireland. Even if O'Connell did not want it, others in his Repeal Movement such as Davis and Duffy had to recognize the fact of the British military support for the landlords. On the other hand, their inability to organize the urban middle class due to the status question of Protestant and Catholic competition meant that they could not confront the urban economic questions of Ireland. It was in this situation that the primary question confronting all who sought a holistic and totalizing development of the Irish social formation was the political problem of national identity within the political class itself.

Both the Tories and O'Connell's Irish Whigs agreed that there was a regional Irish interest as opposed to a Westminster interest. Moreover, both realized that there was an opposition between the Dublin middle class interest and that of the landlord agricultural interest. But neither could transcend their situation as a class and lead a unified middle class. O'Connell's narrow social base, composed as it was of an upwardly mobile Catholic middle class with a narrowly defined economic interest could not assume the role of general representaive in Irish society (123).

The Tories, on the other hand, did have a broad social base. The

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Protestant community was composed of all modern classes, even if they were regionally located (a mass of commoners in the northeast and an Ascendancy aristocracy in the south). Their problem, however, stemmed from the narrowness of their status community interest. We saw how this affected their political economy—they wanted a Protestant laborer and tenantry; they tied themselves to the Union in order to have military capacity since they lacked a mass base in the south; they tied themselves to the landlords and therefore stymied their own development as Dublin middle class.

As Marx points out concerning a non-revolutionary society, "Each sphere of civil society suffers a defeat before gaining the victory; it erects its own barrier before having destroyed the barrier which opposes it; it displays the narrowness of its views before having displayed their generosity, and thus every opportunity of playing an important role has passed before it properly existed, and each class, at the very moment when it begins its struggle against the class above it, remains involved in a struggle against the class beneath" (124).

This last statement was especially apt in the case of the middle class Tories of Dublin vis-a-vis the upwardly mobile members of their own class who were not of their own social class. O'Connell, on the other hand, showed this same kind of opposition to those coming up from below in his exclusion of the mass of Catholic tenant farmers from the political emancipation of the native Catholic Irish in 1829 and in his opposition to the formation of trades unions among the urban workers of Dublin.

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Footnotes - Chapter 3

1. DUM 1 (April 1833):469.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Madden's Ireland and Its Rulers 1:210-211 (no date given), quoted in The Rev. E.A. D'Alton, History of Ireland, half-vol. v, 1782 to 1879 (London: The Gresham Publishing Co. [no date given]), p. 168.

5. Ibid., p. 169.

6. Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, pp. 97f.

7. Ibid., p. 99.

8. Arthur Mitchell, Labour in Irish Politics 1890-1930 (New York: Barnes and Noble, Harper and Row, 1974), p. 12.

9. Ibid.

10. John O'Connell, ed., The Select Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, M.P. , vol. 1-11 (Dublin: James Duffy and Co., Ltd. [no year given]), p. 10.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., p. 6.

14. See John E. Pomfret, The Struggle for Land in Ireland 1800-1923 (New York: Russell and Russell, 1969), p. 24.

15. Marx, Ireland and the Irish Question (New York: International Publishers, 1972), p. 73.

16. Ibid., pp. 35f.

17. See Sean O'Faolain, King of Beggars (New York: Viking Press, 1938).

18. Marx, Ireland and the Irish Question, p. 73.

19. Brown, The Politics of Irish Literature, From Thomas Davis to W.B. Yeats (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972), pp. 47f.

20. Thomas Davis, Essays: Literary and Historical (Dundalk: W. Tempest-Dunglalgan Press, 1914), pp. 65f.

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21. Ibid., p. 68.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., p. 71.

24. Ibid., p. 67.

25. Ibid., p. 68.

26. Ibid., p. 79.

27. Ibid., p. 154.

28. Brown, The Politics of Irish Literature, pp. 48f, gives us an excellent summary statement of Davis' argument.

29. Davis, Essays, pp. 85f.

30. Ibid., pp. 72f.

31. Ibid., p. 73.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., p. 76.

34. See Brown, The Politics of Irish Literature, pp. 49f, and Davis, Essays, p. 73.

35. Davis, Essays, p. 68.

36. See DUM 24 (August 1844):190; see also DUM 24 (July 1844) on how the Irish Tories believed that God's word and legislation might humanize the capitalist system.

37. Davis, Essays, p. 89.

38. See Brown, The Politics of Irish Literature, p. 53.

39. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, My Life in Two Hemispheres, vol. 1 (London: R. Fisher, Unwin, 1898), p. 68.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid. See also T.A. Jackson, Ireland Her Own (New York: International Publishers, 1970), p. 228.

42. Brown, The Politics of Irish Literature, p. 48.

43. DUM 13 (June 1839):740f.

44. Ibid., p. 741.

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45. See Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, p. 98. This statistic, which exaggerates his rural power, refers to "a sample of those regarded as instrumental for the organization of a political movement" rather than a breakdown of class loyalty to a nationalist cause.

46. Ibid., pp. 101f.

47. Duffy, My Life in Two Hemispheres, p. 68.

48. Brown, The Politics of Irish Literature, p. 42.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

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52. Brown, The Politics of Irish Literature, p. 51.

53. Resolution at a meeting in Malahide Hotel, quoted by Charlotte M. Kelly, "The 82 Club," in Studies 33 (June 1944):257.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid., p. 258.

56. Ibid.

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59. Brown, The Politics of Irish Literature, pp. 82f.

60. DUM 28 (August 1846):252

61. DUM 7 (January 1836):26.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid., p. 27.

66. Ibid., p. 29.

67. Ibid., p. 30.

68. DUM 15 (May 1840):540.

69. DUM 15 (June 1840):661.

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70. DUM 7 (March 1836):230.

71. Ibid., p. 231.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid., p. 235.

74. Ibid., p. 238.

75. Ibid., p. 238.

76. Ibid., p. 242.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid., p. 247.

79. Parliamentary Register, vol. 1, p. 51, quoted in DUM 24 (October 1844):431.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid.

83. DUM 8 (December 1836):686.

84. Ibid., pp. 686f.

85. DUM 22 (July 1843):116f.

86. DUM 3 (June 1834):719.

87. DUM 21 (February 1843):156.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid., p. 157.

91. DUM 22 (July 1843):111.

92. Ibid., p. 114.

93. DUM 15 (May 1840):540f.

94. DUM 22 (July 1843):109.

95. DUM 21 (June 1843):770.

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97. Ibid., p. 163.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid.

100. DUM 22 (August 1843):249.

101. Ibid., p. 250.

102. Ibid., p. 252.

103. DUM 22 (September 1843):377.

104. DUM 22 (August 1843):256.

105. DUM 21 (February 1843):166.

106. DUM 22 (July 1843):118.

107. Ibid.

108. DUM 21 (February 1843):157.

109. Ibid., p. 158.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid., p. 157.

112. Ibid.

113. Ibid., p. 158.

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid.

116. Ibid., p. 157.

117. DUM 3 (May 1834):589.

118. Pomfret, The Struggle for Land in Ireland, p. 26.

119. Ibid., p. 27.

120. Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, p. 100.

121. Brown, The Politics of Irish Literature, p. 296.

122. Pomfret, The Struggle for Land in Ireland, p. 26.

123. For these concepts, see "Contribution to the Critique of

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Hegel's Philosophy of Right,"in Karl Marx: Early Writings, trans. and ed. by T.B. Bottomore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), pp. 55f.

124. Ibid., p. 57.

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CHAPTER 4

THE ORIENTATION OF NATIONAL CULTURE: TORY GREEN AND GREEN TORY

In this chapter I show how the Tories, at the same time they promoted the formation of a Protestant Ireland, also acted on the assumption that the commoners of southern Ireland would continue to be native Irish. They took a number of approaches to this question. All failed.

They tried to prosletyse the Catholics. They sought their secularization through non-denominational education. They sought to retain the aristocratic identity as the exclusive claim of the Protestant gentry.

To establish their case as the leaders of Ireland, they argued that a natural aristocracy was indeed a part of Irish history. But they looked at a specific period—the era of the great feudal manor estates following the Norman invasion from British shores. It is this harmonious community that must be preserved. Hence, they analyze the "natural" character of the native Irish commoners and peasants and discover the redeeming features of the native population: loyalty to their masters and a natural piety. These can be the basis of a new state in Ireland. They showed how this peasantry and its community life contrast favorably with the horrors of modern British commoners in the factories and towns.

They attacked the shallowness of their rival Irish patriots and tried to gain control of the newly emerging national literature. Nevertheless, during the years of the Great Famine, we see the literary and political orientation in DUM gravitate towards that of the more pacifist members of the Young Ireland movement.

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The Tory Orangeism we have described above was but one approach in the pages of Dublin University Magazine during this period. This policy envisaged the re-establishment of the Protestant community in southern Ireland. It implied the suppression and forced emigration of the Catholic clergy, urban middle class, large farmers and tenantry. This, as we have seen, was not a very realistic proposal. It had no support among the landlords, nor did it have any advocates in the seat of military power, Westminster.

But another approach was possible. They might try to wrest the middle class, upwardly mobile Irish from its present leadership. However, there were, as we have seen, very concrete practical reasons why it was not possible to organize a united Irish political front. Nor for that matter could any single class, social class or political faction achieve supremacy over all the others within the context of Great Britain. The landed interest and the status community interest of the Protestant Tories functioned in a negative manner even in terms of their own development. Consequently, the political emancipation (1) of the secular state was not possible in Ireland.

But all these facts did not inhibit the idea that a nation might be possible and desirable. In the development of thought and aesthetics, these concrete social limitations are absent. National unity can become a linguistic and aesthetic fact.

As we have seen, the Tories and O'Connell agreed on one issue. There was such a thing as an "Irish interest" that had to be promoted both at Westminster and in Ireland itself. What they could not agree on was how this should be done, and what the social content of this interest might be. The Tories did not want an Irish parliament re-established since this

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would deprive the landlords of the military might of Great Britain and the Dublin Protestant gentry of their Ascendancy supremacy over the Catholics. For them, a parliamentary Irish unity within Westminster, the Protestant government of Great Britain and Ireland, was the most they could support. This more progressive attitude of the Tory urbanites also had the support of many landlords dedicated to capital accumulation and the improvement of their productivity (2).

The Tories had a much broader vision of the Irish interest tied, as they were, to the Ascendancy or ruling elite of Ireland. They, unlike O'Connell, did not suffer from the narrowness of their "interest"—they were supportive of a progressive development in both urban and rural Ireland even if it was a specific type of Ascendancy progress. They had a broad political base among all classes, in urban and rural Ireland, north and south. Their problem stemmed primarily from their narrow community interest: they sought to preserve the Ascendancy Protestantism of the past. Assuming a native population, they would have to lay hold of the Irish identity. They would have to transcend these community relations of antagonism.

They took two approaches to the question. The first, a complete failure, is of little importance. They tried to prosletyse the Catholic population and therefore make all Irish Protestant. The second tactic was the revitalization of an Irish culture, an Irish nationality that would transcend Catholic and Protestant, native and settler identities. This cultural nationalism envisaged the articulation of a distinct Irish interest of the independent region of Ireland within Westminster while at the same time it would guarantee the retention of an Ascendancy hegemony among the elites of Ireland. By redefining the idea of being Gaelic,

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their cultural nationalism would include all the people of Ireland in an Irish Orangeism.

Control of the Direction of Cultural Change in Ireland

When, in 1834, Lord Grey resigned as Prime Minister and a more radical cabinet was appointed, DUM clarified its reactionary position. They would have to crush the leadership of the Catholic middle class, re-educate a middle class leadership and the landlords of Ireland, and finally, they would have to preserve the good side of the Irish peasantry. Mass education was what was needed if Great Britain and Ireland were to be wrested from the twin threats of Jacobinism and the Catholic clergy in Ireland (3).

They saw that the control of the new electorate was the key political strategy of the day. Given the emigration of the Protestant lower orders, they could try to get the landlords to retain the Protestant tenantry and the Protestant peasantry and laborers in the countryside—a vain hope. On the other hand, they would have to wrest the Catholic tenantry and peasantry from the control of the Catholic Church and the Catholic leadership, especially that of Daniel O'Connell. The lower orders were fine of themselves. The problem was that "the influence of rank and property has been overthrown and the populace have become predominant over the people" (4).

The "demos" must be led by the educated so that every individual may "disabuse himself of the pestilent errors respecting both religion and government with which the democratic press at present teems" (5). The Protestants must "awake, arise or be forever fallen" (6). The influence of rank and property must be brought back, clergymen must break with

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tradition and enter politics and arouse the "good sense" of the nation. The Jacobins are a minority. So it must be also with the Conservatives. But we need men "imbued with a sacred regard for what is valuable in our social system" (7).

This education program can only be successful.

> There is a substratum of sound sense in the people of these countries, which only requires to be properly wrought upon to produce the most beneficial results . . . The demagogues at present avail themselves of the physical strength of the people even as the Philistines availed themselves of the physical strength of Samson, when they put him blinded to grind the mill. But if we only take care that the intelligence of our population bears a due proportion to their power, we, in so doing, take them out of the hands of those who, for their own vile purposes, are employing them in the work of disorder and ruin, and the time cannot be distant when we may hope to see them ranged on the side of the Constitution. (8)

We must not think that that situation is hopeless. There is a spirit of reaction in the air. Some people are beginning to look at the true evils of the country—the Catholic clergy. Their power and influence must be crushed by "England, the British government and the British public" (9).

Hence a "national policy" for Ireland, setting aside all considerations of religion, must be to prosletyse and emancipate the peasantry from the priests (10). Prosletysm on a grand scale is the solution. This alone can save us from civil war, can save property. We must "redeem and snatch the Popish population from the burning volcano" (11).

Of course, this attempt to lead the Catholic population out of "darkness" was doomed to failure. But there was a second source of hope for the Protestants of Ireland, one that would sever the connection between the Catholic clergy and their mass base in the lower orders. The progress of history was on the Protestant side. Progressive development

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would eliminate the Catholic Church. The landlords were admonished to be ready to step into the vacuum of power as "that rampant and vigorous as Popery in Ireland, now seems, it is pregnant with disease and death, and that the time is near at hand when this obstacle will be removed" (12).

Thus it would be that the "increased though bad (i.e., liberal) intelligence of the lower orders," their "concentration and self-dependence" (as urban wage labor), and "the radical and infidel spirit and tendency of the age" (13) is changing the mass base of the clergy. Moreover, the Whig government itself "has taught brute force its power" and "that authority, if perseveringly resisted, is overcome" (14). Thus, the peasants are learning at long last to resist this authoritarian church. Also, the very entry of the priests into the realm of politics, and hence their unfaithfulness to their religious vocation, this infidelity has "neutralized superstition" and left but "the residue of politics" (15). Hence, "demagoguery" has contributed to secularization (16).

Thus, while the Protestant world has become more moral, "Popery seems to have reached the lowest point of moral deterioration" (17). They are so involved in politics that "as to religion, it is literally unthought of by the priest or people, whether at mass, or club-house" (18). Hence, "Popery is tottering to its ruin and Protestantism, in some approved form, and to which its daily advances are pointing, will retain the field" (19).

The very "mobocracy" and "anarchy" of the lower orders, as well as the progress of civilization, radicalism and "the march of the intellect" all function to overcome the Catholic Church in the long run. Consequently, many Catholics are "rather bound by authority, than attached by sympathy" (20) to the Catholic Church. But the present clerical

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agitation will break this bond--"the cord of priestly domination has been drawn so tight in compelling the people to subserve their political purposes, that the re-action will snap it" (21).

In the short run, however, we must confront this nightmare because the actions of the government, "the infatuated blindness of our rulers," have subserved rather than checked the "stream of popular feeling" (22). By calling on them to "agitate, agitate, agitate," they made what was previously "quiescent or resistant" into a "torrent of revolution" (23). How can this government justify "the establishment of Popish education in Ireland . . . the fatal coalition with France to support a nation of Popish rebels against the lawful authority of our old and ancient Protestant ally, the reduction to beggary of our much venerated church" (24)? We must hold firm to "Conservative principles" against the Whigs and against "the bold depravity of the more open revolutionists" (25).

As the Tories saw it, the university education system would have to be harnessed against the advance of modernism among the elite. The university, they argued, was found "to furnish to the community, useful and respectable members of society" (26). But a liberal education should not be confined to the study of mathematics--"their utility is at best circumscribed by the narrowness of the application of their principles" (27). While math affords great precision, we deal with probabilities in life. Hence we need "a large and liberal view of things" (28).

Now "politics and religion are the great concern of the present world and the future" (29). Quoting Blackwood's Magazine, they state, "The value of the exact sciences is indisputable. But the primary object of all institutions for public education, should be public duty" (30). A general education will develop impartial judgment.

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Since the lower classes have begun to be educated, the university must double its energies to "compete with the march of the intellect and to sway the wills of the multitude by the more moral power of superiority of attainments--by the virtue of that unalterable law by which matter is subjected to the mind and force is made subservient to reason" (31). Our task then is to "train the men who will have the moral energy to rebuke the nation's madness and the intellectual power to overrule a nation's perverse will . . . to create a second Burke, to send back to its hell the spirit of revolution, when it manifests itself at home" (32). For this we need men who are versed in law and the Constitution, the events of modern history, the principles of political economy.

Hence they supported the formation of Queen's Colleges. Such education "would create a secular commonality" (33) and draw the Catholic middle class "towards a closer understanding with Protestants and Englishmen of the same class" (34). But the Catholic Church and O'Connell resisted this program as well as the National System of Primary Education. For them, the idea of interdenominational instruction embodied was "conducive to proselytism and indifference" (35). The Catholic hierarchy demanded a denominational system.

A Tory Green

All these more concrete cultural proposals aimed at channeling the culture of the upwardly mobile Irish could not succeed. But in the early 19th century two important authors began to make a claim for a Catholic aristocracy in Ireland: Thomas Moore and James Hardiman. We will examine their works in the section on the literature of national identity. For the moment it is enough to point out that by the early thirties, when

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Dublin University Magazine was launched, Moore especially had already created in the musical world of Europe a clear idea of a wronged Catholic nobility in Ireland. He undermined the notion that the Protestant gentry and upper classes were the natural leaders in Ireland, and tended to give cultural substance to the existence of a native leadership strata.

On the other hand, Hardiman's poetry, unlike Moore's drawing-room sentimentality, was a revitalization of traditional Gaelic ballads translated into English for his modern middle class readers. These works were, for Dublin University Magazine, an original source, along with the revitalized music of Ireland, for the study of the Irish soul, a pre-condition for controlling the cultural direction it might take.

From the outset DUM revealed itself preoccupied with the political problem posed by writers such as Thomas Moore and later Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy. It was not so much that either of these writers was directly political. Thomas Moore, while an advocate of Catholic emancipation, was in no way a supporter of a repeal of the union or of Irish separatism. He could be defined as an apologist of the union who nevertheless wanted that agreement to reach its full complete development—that is, the inclusion of the Catholic population in Great Britain as full citizens. In this way the union would right the wrong of historical struggles and conquest and the inhumanities of that domination.

But DUM saw in these writings not so much the embrace of the union but more importantly the assertion of a second community of interest in Ireland. They saw therein the formation of a social identity, a communion of spirit which ultimately threatened their supremacy and even existence. It threatened their supremacy from a number of different points of view.

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First, this new community of Ireland seemed to have the ear and support of the new political power, the Commons at Westminster. Secondly, ask members of the Ascendancy, the re-establishment of the Catholic Church on an island where the majority of persons were of that church could only mean that the Church of Ireland would be dethroned in the long run. This combined with another real threat in Great Britain: the Industrial Revolution, with its secular modernism in the cultural sphere. Third, as intellectual representatives of what they deemed to be the landed interest in Ireland, they stood in opposition not only to the Catholic population as tenants and laborers, but also to the new Catholic business interest in alliance with the British Whigs. In a country which at that time was almost exclusively an agricultural producer, these Irish and British pressures could only necessarily lead to their suppression and the domination of other interests both within Ireland as well as a reformed Westminster in Great Britain, where they had already lost the battle.

Thus, the question of a distinct Irish identity and interest which did not include either their interest or their community threatened their very presence on the island. However, instead of merely assuming that they could suppress this development, they sought also to preempt it and establish their own version of an Irish and Gaelic identity. The fact that they were indeed pitted in opposition to the ruling party in England, and that they had themselves a tradition of opposition to Westminster arising out of their independent interest which was always subjected to that of the British interest, made this identity of Irish interest possible and perfectly logical.

In the first article on the subject they argued against Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy in a book review. They called for the unity of all

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Irishmen and pointed out their love of Ireland. "Oh, ye fair hills oif Holy Ireland, who dares sustain the strangled calumny that you are not the land of our love? . . . Who is he who ventures to stand between us and your Catholic sons of good will?" (36) The fact that we have fought these past three centuries has been overlooked. "It was for love of you that we contended, for possession and enjoyment of you that we trampled down our rivals on your bosom; and now that the nuptial knot is tied and consecrated between us, nothing save the sword of an Alexander shall dissolve the Gordian consummation!" (37)

But who would play the role of "the Turk" and say that amorous Irishmen who have loved Ireland so much "should not be admitted to all the privileges of a national panogamy? . . . The only emulation between us shall be in the honest endeavour of each to benefit and protect the common object of our affection" (38).

It is the land of Ireland that is the basis of this attraction:

> Sweet land of the bee-abounding hills,'
> Island of the year old young horses,
> Soil of the heaviest fruit of trees,
> Soil of the greenest grassed pastures,
> Old plain of Eber, harvestful,
> Land of the ears of corn and wheat,
> Land of heroes and clergy,
> Banba of the golden-haired damsels,
> Land of blue running pure streams,
> And of the gold rich fortunate men! (39)

We too have loved this country, its land and natural endowments.

The author goes on to claim for himself and his readers (those who are not Gaels) an equal right to that which Hardiman claims, namely,

> . . . to declare that we are not ashamed to extend our indignant commiseration and are not yet hopeless of obtaining the grateful confidence of an undeceived and rescued people in return. We will not suffer two of the finest races of men in the world, the Catholic and Protestant, or the Milesian and Anglo-Irish, to be

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> duped into mutual hatred by the tale bearing go-betweeners who may struggle in impotent malice against our honest efforts . . . But let it first be our task to make the people of Ireland better acquainted with one another. We address in these pages the Protestant wealth and intelligence of the country, an interest acknowledged in all hands to be the depositary of Ireland's fate, for good or evil. But their wealth has hitherto been insecure, because their intelligence has not embraced a thorough knoweldge of the genius and disposition of their Catholic fellow citizens. (40)

Here, then, is presented the reason for the Tory antiquarianism. The aim is to bring about the unity of the people of Ireland under the leadership of the Protestant landed aristocracy and the gentry. But if this is to happen, they must now begin to understand and know their Catholic subjects. Consequently, DUM gives itself the task of trying to explain to its readers this heritage of the Catholics--that of their Gaelic aristocracy and peasantry.

Consequently, DUM supports the studies taking place "in all branches of our national literature, but chiefly in our earlier history and antiquities--subjects of paramount importance to every people who respect or even desire to respect themselves" (41). By looking to the pre-Christian and pre-Catholic history and the more secular aspects of Ireland before colonization, they could, of course, overlook the embarrassing years of conquest and also the study of the Catholic Irish heritage.

Let us "introduce the Saxon and Scottish Protestant to an acquaintance with the poetical genius of a people hitherto unknown to them" (42). If we want to understand the Irish we cannot look to present conditions.

> We will look nearer to times when they who had high treason in their hearts had arms in their hands, and honest defiance in their faces . . . We will leave the idiotic brawler, the bankrupt and fraudulent demagogue, the crawling incendiary, the scheming,

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> jesuitical, ambitious priest that perverse rabble, on whom the mire in which they have wallowed for the last quarter of a centry, has caked into a crust like the armour of the Egyptian beast, till they are case hardened, invulnerably in the filth of habitual impudence, ingratitude, hypocrisy, envy and malice . . . we will leave them to their employment of reproach and agitation, and sing the songs of men who might well rise from honorable graves and affright the midnight echoes of Aughrim or Benburb, with their lamentations if they could know their descendants were fools enough to be led by such a directory of knaves and cowards. (43)

In other words, let us not deal with the living opposition of today and analyze their relationships with us, but let us contemplate the dead opposition of the past. Their revitalization of a Gaelic identity in this article focused on a Gaelic Norman nobility. These were the first settlers in Ireland emanating from Britain. However, they were not fully British in the sense of later coloninal populations, since in the late 16th and early 17th century struggles many of them sided with the Gaelic chieftains and resisted the new British presence. It is with these conquered and tragic chieftains and nobility that the readers of Dublin University Magazine in Great Britain and Ireland could identify, i.e., the dethroned gentry of a revolutionary 19th century.

The article goes on to point out that the Protestants of the 16th century only saw the marauding Irish. Had they followed them into the woods and mountains "and seen him (the Irishman) among his own people, listening to the music of harp and voices feasting and quaffing and making merry; all his indignant anger and revengeful malice forgotten," then we would see ourselves as having vanquished a foe "not so unworthy as now many too generally believe him to have been" (44). Could we be transported to the "dwellings of their superior lords . . . we would witness, we doubt not, a degree of barbaric grandeur as gratifying as unexpected." Their cellars full of wine would be clear proof of their "noble scale of living" (45).

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Indeed, many of the early lordly settlers found the Irish customs so pleasing that "unable to resist the vicious influence of Irish example, [they] have ever become Hibernis Hiberniores" (46). Men such as Maurice Fitzgerald, Thomas, First Earl of Desmond forgot the English language and "grew to be ashamed of their very English names, though they were noble and of great antiquity and took Irish surnames and nicknames" (47) and set up great Irish halls. One of these is "now, alas, a green-gabled ruin" (48).

At another level of analysis, we can see how the revitalization of these names and their great households which exemplified the true image of a nobility and gentry estate did not take the form of a historical analysis of their behavior and relations with the people in that period. Instead, these noble gentlemen and elite leadership figures are seen through the eyes of their bards, who praised them in song and poetry. Like the studies of "Illustrious Irishmen," however, the bardic remains which might have cursed the house of an evil master are given no attention. More importantly, by this method no attention is focused on the nobility as a class or as a social class. Individual illustrious figures of that history are put into sharp relief, and then through the eyes of their bardic vassals.

In such great households of "an Irish or Anglo-Irish gentleman at the end of the 16th century," sport and fun and poetry were the order of the day. Moreover, the social relations between bards and the lord were admirable. There once was a bard who so pleased Lord Mayo with his song of praise that "the doors of Castle Burke were never after closed on his familiar footsteps. This is a pleasing and amiable trait of the old romantic life of the Irish nobleman" (49).

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However, when these great lords died, the house bards no longer had "security of celebration." It is easy to see this in the works of Carolan. "There is scarce a song of Carolan, which we have read, that does not somewhere exhibit hearty good will and earnestness of sincerity" (50).

This model social relationship represents the kind of loyalty that must be generated now and the songs of Carolan should be kept alive among us. For he "was a man not unworthy to be the last bard of Ireland. Since his day the character has been extinct. The office of the bard had undergone a sad decline in the two generations preceeding his. He was the last flicker of the expiring light, and all has been darkness since. A new order of things has arisen:

> 'The harp that once through Tara's hall,
> The soul of music shed,
> Now hangs as mute on Tara's wall
> As if that soul were fled.'" (51)

It is no wonder then that when Carolan was buried, he had a four-day wake and the biggest funeral in Connaught. More than "sixty clergymen, of different denominations, a number of gentlemen from the surrounding counties, and a vast concourse of country people assembled to pay their last mark of respect to their favorite bard" (52).

Carolan was, like his masters, very fond of drink. He wrote, "If you wish to be long lived, be always drinking" (53). However, we should not wonder at this since as a "perambulating adulator" he was never very happy nor was he independent. Hence, he wrote:

> By the blessed light that shines above,
> To this one rule I'll hold through good and ill;
> True to my host and to his cheer I'll prove—
> And as I find them I must praise them still . . . (54)

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Most of his ballads and songs are a type of ballad known as Planxty that saluted the great and noble families on whom the bard depended for his livelihood. But we notice, DUM pointed out, a difference in the kind of loyalty found in these Planxtys. When Carolan gives enthusiastic praise to the Gaelic chieftain O'Hara, we see there a sense of loyalty and not merely the song of one who praises in order to pay off a debt of board and lodging. On the other hand, in Carolan's praises of thse lords "of English extraction" we find that "there is something wanting—something there is too much also of forced glee and reiterated protestations" (55).

However, we can identify with the sentiment of loyalty involved when Carolan distinguishes between chieftain and English lord. We won Ireland by force and we do not have the loyalty of the old aristocracy. Indeed, quite the contrary. "Sordid abuse is now-a-days the mead of anything recalling the people's old affections among ourselves; still the patriarchal spirit is dear to us, even in those whose attachment to that unphilosophic allegiance has been a great obstacle to the thorough conquest of Ireland" (56). So the revival of this music and poetry will help recreate this sentiment of loyalty and respect for a natural aristocracy.

The Natural Sentiment of the Irish Nation

The main issue which interests the reviewer is the analysis of Irish sentiment. First of all, in both Hardiman and Moore, it is the same sentiment that prevails. The "one imprescribable property of the common blood of all Irishmen" (57) is the same.

But what then do we mean by an Irish sentiment? We have already seen the characteristics of Irish adulation, Irish whimsicality, and Irish fun

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and jollity when we discussed the songs of Carolan. But there is another kind of sentiment common to the Irish due to famine and want: "Desire, despair and the horrible reality of actual famine—these are the three dread prompters of song" (58). In their poetry we find the "fervid frenzy of undisguished desire," the "savage sincerity . . . in its association with the despondency of conscious degradation, and the recklessness of desperate content" (59). This combination is the source of "that wild, mournful, incondite, yet not uncouth, sentiment which distinguishes the national songs of Ireland from those of perhaps any other nation in the world" (60).

But this historical circumstance is only "partly" the source of this sentiment. For "we believe that the great proportion of the characteristics of the people are inherent, not fictitious, and there are essential differences between the geniuses as between the physical appearances of nations" (61). No amount of defeat and famine, etc., could cause such sentiment to exist "without the absolute infusion of Milesian blood" (62). One could not "hibernicize the English peasant" nor could one "reduce the native Irishman to the stolid standards of the sober Saxon" (63). Consequently, we need not analyze the why or how of Irish sentiment. We need only ask, "What is Irish sentiment?" in our analysis.

This theory conveniently dissociated history and sentiment. The latter is natural. There is no need to analyze history to come to grips with Irish sentiment. Nor need we assume that their sentiment today is any different from what it was then, since their character is inborn and eternal.

It is sentiment and not observation and intellect which prevails among them. It was "that rush of hot blood to the head which smothered

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the apoplectic intellect and left the Irish lover blind, deaf and swooning at the feet of one idea" (64). In other words, in the case of th Irish we find the "supremacy of feeling" (65) rather than intellect. "But passion is incoherent, not injudicious" (66), and consequently a song will pick its way through the maze of emotion accurately using word and music to accompany the sentiment. Thus we find a "subordinate arrangement in the midst of general incoherency . . . A maudlin jumble of incoherent parts" is "arranged with a perfect minuteness of verbal propriety" (67). For example, we see how in Pastheen Finn's concluding stanza the basic details are perfect despite the presence of large quantities of love and drink:

> I shall forsake my friends and my friendly relations
> And I shall not forsake during my existence, you,
> Love of my heart,
> Till I be laid in the coffin under the clay! (68)

In yet another poem we see "the simple sincerity of the rustic lover" which compares favorably with the "artificial pedantries of the professional poet":

> Oh Nora of the amber hair,
> 'Tis my sorrow I cannot
> Put my hand under your head. (69)

In these poems we see "the freshness of honest affection" and the "simplicity of feeling" (70) which is characteristic of the Irish.

The defining quality of Irish sentiment, a natural characteristic of the nation, may be described as "hopeless desire" (71). The Irish do not focus on the historical issues or causes of sorrow, but on the "Gael." "There is no reproach against the treachery or cowardice of his people, no complaint of the misery and insecurity of his country" (72) to be found in this poetry. In other words, DUM says that because they do not take an

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analytical approach, they do not attack their countrymen for their many acts of betrayal. Instead, we find in this poetry but one wish, "the enjoyment of his love; one grief, the hopelessness of having his desire" (73). In their songs of sorrow we find "desire turned to languishment; hope to despair" (74). Consequently, we can sum up the essence of Irish sentiment as "hopeless desire" (75).

Humor in turn is not the characteristic of the Irish song, but "their sentiment is pathetic. Desire is the essence of that pathos—desire either for the possession of love unenjoyed, or for the continuance of love being enjoyed or for the restoration of enjoyed love lost" (76). It is this pathos which is "the great ingredient of lyric excellence" (77), even if "poetic art" is not largely available in Irish songs, especially when it comes to the arrangement of the lyric.

Now all the songs are more or less from the same social stratum, the peasantry. This is so since "there was little or no distinction in manners among the great majority of the Irish. A few chiefs and ecclesiastics may have had a higher caste of sentiment, and perhaps a purer style of expression" (78), but in this collection almost all the writers were of "humble rank." Hence, this is the sentiment of the Irish "nation." Identifying the songs as the productions of bards, or commoners, rather than as the Planxtys sung in honor of the noblemen and chieftains of Ireland, they could then successfully mediate a number of problems.

First, this prevalence of sentiment over intellect is not to be identified with a natural aristocracy. Hence, they could dissociate the present Catholic leadership stratum of Ireland from any right to the status of a higher and natural order. Moreover, the "nation" is defined

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without class differences being analyzed. Secondly, they could find in this sincerity of sentiment in the Irish peasant at harmony with his lord and master a basis for a critique of the lower orders of bourgeois society.

The Peasant Lower Orders: An Image of Aristocratic Rule and a Critique of Bourgeois Society

The superiority of the simple folk in former times demonstrates the higher wisdom of aristocratic society when compared with the squalor and turbulence of present-day England and Ireland. "But the humble rank among the old Irish, was essentially different from the vulgar debasement of the lower orders of society at present" (79). While they did not have the comforts of even "the lowest classes of a modern state," their healthy open air leisurely existence developed "whatever natural genius they might possess" (80).

In another article on Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy, they ask, What is it that gives the Irish citizen great pleasure and pride? "Let the hum of crowded factories, the whirring of spindles, and the click of slays and shuttles ring their elaborate discord in the ears of others, give us the merry music of flait and hopper, the honest voices of bullocks on the holm, and swine among the feeding troughs, the whistle of Thady Oge between the plough stills, and the evening song of Nora Bawn over the milking-pail—coleen das cruha na mo" (81). These are the sights and sounds of legitimate prosperity in Ireland that evoke national pride. Let us also honor our art and manufactures, which are quite different from what is to be found in the factory system of England (82).

It is in and through the Irish peasantry seen as loyal, faithful, and

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beautiful people, tragic figures in times of great suffering, that the Tories find a true reflection of themselves, the natural aristocracy of Ireland. Any of the problematical aspects of the Irish peasant character are attributable to the faulty leadership they have had (83). A truly aristocratic leadership can correct this. As William Carleton worte in a poem, "A Song of Sorrow":

> Why, will ye crowd upon me thus, ye visions of the past?
> Or, why is this lonesome heart of mine so mournefully o'ercast?
> Why by your mocking beauty is my bruised spirit crossed?
> Your fleeting light of happiness but shows me what I've lost! (84)

Their general characterization was in agreement with Sir Jonah Barrington's Character of the Irish Peasantry, reviewed in November, 1833:

> "The Irish peasantry . . . Laborious, yet lazy; domestic, but dissipated; accustomed to wants in the midst of plenty; they submit to hardships without repining and bear the greatest privations with stoic fortitude. The sharpest wit and the shrewdest subtility . . . generally lie concealed under the semblance of dullness or the appearance of simplicity . . . They evade a direct answer to an unwelcome question . . .
>
> "Inquisitive, artful and penetrating . . . Too hasty, too dilatory in the execution of their projects, they are sometimes frustrated by their impatience and impetuosity; at other times they fail through their indolence and procrastination . . .
>
> "In his anger, furious without revenge and violent without animosity . . . turbulent and fantastic in his dissipation; ebriety discloses the inmost recesses of the Irish peasant character . . . he yields too suddenly to paroxysms of momentary impulses or the seduction of pernicious example . . . unbounded but indiscriminate hospitality . . . the deeper the distress the more welcome is the sufferer to the peasant's cottage . . .
>
> "A martial spirit and a love of desultory warfare is indigenous to the Irish people. Battle is their pastime . . . too easily imposed upon the fallacious reasoning of insinuating agitators; but their natural disposition is evidently aristocratic. From the traditionary history of ancient kings their minds entirely imbibe a warm love of monarchy while their courteous, civil and humble demeanor to the higher orders of society proves their ready deference to rank and their voluntary submission to superiority . . .
>
> "An inate spirit of insubordination to the laws has been strongly charged upon the Irish peasantry . . . but to make him respect the laws, he must be satisfied that they are impartial . . ." (85)

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Their better characteristics, therefore, and more noble habits, reflect the spirit of the community of natural lord and native peasantry.

Reviewing a new edition of Carleton's Traits and Stories, they point out how many have followed in his footsteps in recent years looking for the characteristics of the Irish and investigating Irish subject matters. Now,

> . . . it is in the romance of humble life that Carleton's strength lies . . . [He introduces] us to those affectionate, pious, humourous children of nature, with their passions and prejudices, their notions and whims, so rude, and yet so tender, so droll ad yet so sentimental, so heroic in their sufferings and friendship, and withal so poetic, in their freshness of feeling and in the simplicity of their accessories . . . we move in an atmosphere made fresh with genial influences, as pure as that of the variegated summer meadows and desire no further variety, either of a descent into the murky caves of horror or a return to the most brilliant gallery of the graces. (89)

These people are so wonderful in comparison with the petty individuals who seek a seat in the House of Commons and those who vote for them, as portrayed in another story of Carleton, "An Irish Election in the Time of the 40's." Democracy in the age of the forty shilling franchise is no more than "systematic corruption, equally gross and ingenious and gregarious and brutal degradation." The voters are . . .

> . . . seized upon by a spirit of licentiousness and tumult, that was agreeable to their reckless habits, their utter ignorance, the low standard by which they were regulated, as well as by the unparalleled political corruption which animated and characterized their superiors. If, however, the morals of the poorer classes were in those days at a low ebb those of too many of the gentry, and of almost the whole class of vulgar and upstart squireens, in particular, were still worse and more objectionable. (87)

In a review of Edmund Spenser, they point out that while not Irish, his lovely Land of Faery was created in Ireland. As regards the "Faerie Queene," they point out, "Perhaps there is no poetry which so entirely

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removes us from the actual material world; and instead of its noisy clamour and mournful realities presents us with visions of peaceful and tranquil beauty, and the lavish treasures of an imagination that appears inexhaustible" (88). In this poem, "Irena is Ireland and she sends her suppliation across the main to Gloriana, the Queen of Faery, the great and good Elizabeth of England, beseeching her to come over and help her" (89). They too needed the good government of England in Ireland.

The unity and harmonious relations between a natural aristocracy and their loyal peasants is captured in the following poem describing the functions of the "man of earth" and the fairies who toil for their nobles:

> The men of earth are born to toil,
> In the world of day, and its dull turmoil
> Work mortal! Work, nor question ask,
> If there be hardship in thy task
> Though light and careless we seem to be,
> we have our work as well as thee!
>
> 'Tis ours to watch where the moonbeams rest
> That float down the silver rivulet's breast;
> And catch them and weave them radiance sheen,
> For the Royal robes of the Fairy Queen;
> 'Tis ours to tinge the clouds of even,
> And build up her palace bowers in Heaven! (90)

Another custom of a bygone era, that of keening and bewailing the death of a lord or master, also acquired a new life. The cry of the "Banshee" is known to be a sign that someone of the great house will die that night. The following poem, "Keen on the Death of O'Sullivan Bear," belongs more to the tradition of the bards than the folklore that sustained the story of the Banshee fairy:

> In Ivera there is darkness,
>   Darkness, darkness;
> In Ivera there is darkness
> and the laughing dancers thread
> And joyous music and the voice of song
> Are heard no more; the day it weareth long,

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For O'Sullivan lies dead,
Dead in stiffest darkness,
Stiffest darkness! (91)

Again in the case of Irish music, DUM argued that it should be revitalized. In their eyes, "our national music, though as yet insufficiently appreciated, is a treasure in the possession of which we should be justly proud" (92). Now we must gather up the traditional peasant music for two reasons. First, "the ancient melodies of a country afford us one of the most unerring criterions by which we can judge of the natural temperament and characteristic feelings of its people." Secondly, it must be collected rapidly because "the rapid spread of modern music over the civilized world, and the increasing approximation to a general similarity in manners and customs, will, ere long, obliterate all traces of the old traditional melody of the various nations of Europe" (93).

This collecting should be done not by "the professors of art," but by the "unprofessional musician," since the former would be tempted to "suit conventional bias" and alter the original. This kind of collection has already taken place in Scotland and Wales and an Irishmen, Augustin Wade, has gathered the melodies of "Old England" (96).

> [This] national treasure . . . touches a cord of nationality in our affections when they become out of tune with passing events. Wearied by the intemperate and often disgraceful contentions of sects and parties amongst our countrymen, and the want of a philosophical national spirit that would lead them to set aside their foolish jars, and be great and happy, we often sicken with disgust and feel ashamed of the land which gave us birth. But thanks to our music, such feelings are never lasting; a strain of that delightful melody that has soothed us in childhood, and still soothes our maturer years, enobling us "to hear the burden of mortality," crosses our memory, awakening by its magic power of association, a thousand recollections of what might have been "unremembered acts of kindness and love" and we are again not only Irish, but Irish to the heart's core--glorying in the national mind of our country with all its faults, and indulging in the happiest vision of its future happiness, in despite of all its present distractions . . .

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> Erin, oh, Erin, though long in the shade,
> They star will shine out when the proudest shall fade.
>
> Yes, the time will come when we shall be a great, because a united nation. (95)

But the particular work under review by Mr. Bunting had a special value. It reflected his experience of Irish music since 1792 when he first began collecting music at the Harpers festival. The "true original vocal character" is preserved in many of the melodies even if, unfortunately, some are "harmonized with a greater attention to modern instrumental effect" (96). This is not a good thing. "We are beginning to tire of unmeaning noises" and "the difficult and noisy things called music of modern times" (97). As a pre-modern music, it did not reflect the bourgeois world of industrial England. It also, however, had a value in terms of community relations in Ireland. It would help promote unity since the great majority of the tunes were new to the public and hence there were "no old associations of idea connected with them" (98).

The Natural Sentiment of the Irish
Must Be Given a Rational Direction

In October 1834, the Tories try to define the nature of a rational society. What, they ask, constitutes a state? "Bold men and chaste women [are] the elements of a nation" (99). Now despite her tragic history, "virtue is our people's heritage. Eight millions of people cannot forever remain in obscurity" (100). But they must rise or develop in importance relative to the other members "of our imperial confederacy" (101).

This then is our aim.

> We would rather see her chained forever to the level of her present civil degradation than emulating France in military renown, while she imitated her in heartless sensuality; or rivalling England herself in political and commercial influence, while a like indifference to humble honor made the Church warden's liability her peasant girl's best portion. As this has never been

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> so, so we trust, it never can be in Ireland: the Irish heart must first be stripped of all their characteristics which most enoble its peculiar constitution, and to effect that revolution, which neither ignorance, nor superstition, nor brutalizing exclusion from human society has been able to bring about through seven hundred years of outrage and outlawry, will with God's help, be equally impracticable, by whatever knowledge or power, or lawful luxury may come in the train of those long centuries of improvement that are yet in store for her. (102)

Thus, DUM reassured its readers. They could be comforted by the notion that the Irish were so far behind the developed world that they were people in whom feelings were dominant and not intellect—i.e., self-interest, and hence, they would never become like the French and English moderns. On the other hand, they argued for their Westminster audience that the Irish were still too undeveloped, given the supremacy of feeling and superstition, for the reforms that Westminster was giving them, for the equality of citizenship in the Empire that Westminster sought to extend to them. Revitalization means then that they will remain as is.

But DUM goes on to argue the best qualities of the Irish have up to now worked against their progressive formation. The reason the Irish are so retarded in development is an

> . . . an excess of natural piety, developing itself in over loyal attachments to principles subversive of reason and independence . . . Natural piety we would define as the religion of humanity, the faith of the affections; the susceptibility of involuntary attachments to arbitrary relations in society, that constitution of character most favorable to legitimate religious impressions, were it not that its
> superabundance of devotion too often runs to waste on sublunary or superstitious and dissipating objects . . . Being by nature preeminantly pious, the Irish show a high degree of development of attachment or reverence as exhibited in Mr. Hardiman's collections. (103)

Now there are two classes of motives. On the one hand there is veneration for our superiors, that "loyalty . . . [which] is the extreme extension of the patriarchal principle" (104). On the other hand there is

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the mo/tive of reason and interest. The latter leaves little room for natural piety whereas the former is the source of "disloyalty to reason and treason against the common interest which have so long deformed our national annals" (105).

Ireland has continued "under the operation of the patriarchal principle inseparable from the shepherd state" (105) in which the Dane and Norman found her. Had these principles seen a normal development, then the nation might have been integrated. But the very vigor of loyalty and veneration impeded the whole process. As a result, we see the "wild and thorny entanglement of factious clanship, instead of shaping themselves into the simple strength of individual monarchy. We find the briary lover of a thicket, instead of the broad protection of a royal oak" (107).

In other words, there was an overgrowth of patriarchal veneration for the great arch-monarchs. These, however, never established a sovereign monarch. They were overly loyal to their own chiefs. Their "savage loyalty impeded, confounded, destroyed itself" (108) and allowed English civilization to enter by conquest. That very loyalty to their individual chieftains, the source of admiration and strength, finally proved their undoing as it made it impossible for the Irish to unite against their common invader, the English. The shepherd state is favorable to the establishment of an "arbitrary monarchy," but feudal institutions are more conducive to "the ultimate triumph of reason and justice in a free constitution" (109). A superior civilization overwhelmed them, given the poor leadership of their chieftains.

When we look at the vassal system as compared to the shepherd system in relation to their ability to mold a modern state, we see great differences. "The vassal knows himself to be the slave of violence, the

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clansman feels himself the subject of a point of honour" (110). Consequently, no length of time in servitude can make the vassal loyal while on the other hand no amount of tyranny will make the clansman disloyal. "The vassal is indignant, the fosterer or clansman, awed" (111). Indignation breeds resistance, whereas affectionate veneration sets no limit on service. Thus, DUM argues that while vassaldom was the basis of the assertion of independence from tyranny and the pursuit of a rational self-interest, the Irish shepherds no matter how badly they were treated by the chieftains, felt themselves honored by their servitude, were awed by their superiors, and gave service without setting any limits.

Feudal institutions did not advance in patriarchal Ireland and so "British settlers here found themselves amidst a state of things utterly incompatible with their advanced ideas of civil policy" (112). Thus, there was no "middle state of society to conduct the people by just degrees through the natural progress of spontaneous civilization" (113). This meant that Ireland was left with two levels of society, "representatives of two different stages of society, whose antagonistic principles have hitherto found no natural means of reconcilement" (114).

Would Ireland have reached our state of civilization had it been left alone? We simply do not know, but most people say that it would not have developed. The "excess of constitutional loyalty" impeded the "institution of virtual sovereignty and resisted that of military feudalism"—two necessary steps for a society en route to "a complex government like ours, combining the free legislation of a Republic with the cautious conservatism of an aristocracy and the vigorous executive of an hereditary sceptre" (115).

As a result, then, of this retarded history of the Irish people

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within the advanced history of Great Britain, they are "unable to amalgamate from the want of those intermediate steps upon the civil scale--steps forgotten by one side, never taken by the other" (116). Our educational and political task in Ireland is therefore to bridge this gap, while at the same time making sure the Irish do not become like the commoners of industrial England.

> To supply the lost links, to carry forward the untutored loyalty of the clansman, till the whole country becomes his faction and the King his chief, and to withdraw the utilitarian aspirations of the economist from severe and sometimes sordid speculation, and carry back his kindlier sentiments in charitable appreciation of human nature, till he can revert to common ground of sympathy with his less intellectual but more enthusiastic and devoted countrymen, in one word, to make Irishmen know themselves and one another, this is the want, this is the worthiest labor of the age. By education in its fullest sense, we mean not only the supply of useful and wholesome knowledge to the lower classes but fearless exposure to the true temper, wants and capabilities, of their tenantry and labourers to the proprietors themselves of the land. (117).

They conclude their discussion of the character of the "mere Irish" by discovering in this sacred loyalty the common ground on which they can build a new Ireland.

> Alas that a nation glowing with the most enthusiastic courage, moved by the tenderest sympathies, and penetrated by a constitutional piety as devoted as profound, should so long have misapplied these noblest attributes of a high destined people! What material for an almost perfect society does the national genius not present? Instinctive piety, to lay the only sure foundation of human morals and immortal hopes; constitutional loyalty, to preserve the civil compact inviolate; legitimate affection, to ensure public virtue and private happiness, endless humour to quicken social intercourse; and last and save one attribute, best, indomitable love of country to consolidate the whole.
>
> This sacred loyalty we have reserved for our conclusion, as a green spot of neutral ground, where all parties may meet in kindness and part in peace . . . on the firm ground of love for our country, we call for a chorus from Irishmen of all denominations to THE FAIR HILLS OF HOLY IRELAND. (118)

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What must be done therefore is to channel this perfect national sentiment of loyalty and the natural piety of the Irish in the proper direction. This means steering them away from their loyalty to the ancient chieftains of Ireland while attaching them to the present aristocracy of Ireland rather than modern bourgeois society in England. In this manner a perfect state can be created on the basis of the native Irish. While the Irish have an overdose of that natural piety which is so important for the development of a religious feeling, if it is not checked it can only function in the direction of superstition and dissipation as can be seen in Hardiman's collection. Now such a people, who have not developed beyond the shepherd stage of human evolution, and are not guided by rational principles can only experience continuous rivalry and faction, and cannot become part of a single government. They are not therefore ready for full participation in the Empire which is founded on the "ultimate triumph of reason and justice in a free constitution" (119).

But if this loyalty is to be properly cultivated, the native Irish must also be steered away from the kind of leadership they have been getting from the Catholic middle class.

People such as Moore have set aside the natural emotion of the native Irish for the false poetic forms of the present age. On the other hand, people such as Hardiman are given to poor scholarship. First of all, he has improperly translated the Irish ballads and poetry into modern verse and thereby destroys the natural power of the Irish sentiment in the translated verses found in Irish Minstrelsy. On the other hand, the native Irish population was always given to a dissipated drunken way of life and this is not at all the product of their more recent history. The Irish are therefore in dire need of leadership. Our purpose in

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revitalizing this poetry is very different from that of Hardiman and his ilk. This man is merely given to "petty anti-Anglicanism" (120). Such people

> . . . affect the monopoly of native Irish sympathies, and standing between the Aristocracy and the people intercept the best clarities of society . . . Their scheme of dissension has thus far succeeded, that, but for the reconciling strength of an honest literature, at length in some degree extending its influence to our country, all Ireland would at this day exhibit one monstrous spectacle of a disgusted proprietary and a revolted population . . .
>
> Mr. Hardiman has interposed himself between us and our countrymen at large in the various characters of antiquary, herald, historian, patriot, scholar, and pacificator . . . [and now we will] quote quotation on quotation . . . [and beat him at his own game.] (121)

The bardic remains in Hardiman's collection are "a combination of the most delightful attributes of music and poetry, unattainable otherwise than by uniting the music of a rude age, to the poetry of a refined one" (122). They express the painful pathos of an Irish melody with the native song. There are three main themes. In the first, "the thrushes are singing, the dews glistening, the cuckoo is calling from the grave, the rail replying from the meadows, and a crop which by the blessing of God, will, ere long, fill the granaries of Ireland with food for many millions, is gushing from the moist earth, like an exhalation" (123).

The second theme recalls the warrior days of three and a half centuries ago: "See the wild Irishmen—how the chain mail still glances on their breasts; how the long glibs are still tossed on their mantled shoulders; mark that stirrupless lancer, how he dashes at the ponderous men-at-arms . . . 'Hark the war-cries of Claneboy, Iveagh, and Clanbrasil. Farrah! Farrah! Lamh dearg aboo! Hengusmore aboo!' . . . 'Huzza! Huzza!' replies the British line" (124).

But nevertheless, despite these wars there is still time for a third

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theme—lovemaking.

> Seven hundred years of disaster, as destructive as ever consumed the vitals of any country, have each in succession seen our people perishing by famine or by sword in almost every quarter of the land; yet at this day there is neither mountain, plain nor valley that is not rife with generations of the unextinguishable nation; long may they walk upon our hills with the steps of freemen! Long may they make our valleys ring with the songs of that love which has made them indomitable in defeat and ineradicable in a struggle of extermination! (125)

If Irish love songs are wonderful, so are the Irish women: "The Irish girls did take a leetle drop with theer sweethearts. So did the English before the times of tea" (126) and the modern era.

However, this praise of Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy did not mean that the Tories were joining hands with this "Catholic bigot," as Ferguson called him (127). They hoped, however, to give his work a different interpretation and use it for a different political aim. They sought to characterize the poetic form of the bardic works as primitive and Gaelic, while at te same time they used these remains to criticize their contemporary Irish rival, Moore, who lacked a depth of emotion. In Moore's Melodies, we find the politeness, "chasteness, appositeness, the antithetical and epigrammatic point, and the measured propriety of prosody" of an Irish gentleman compared with the "uncouthness" of the "rude rhymes" (128) in Hardiman's revitalizations.

On the other hand, Hardiman is wrong to combine Gaelic sentiment with modern verse. Focusing attention on the translations of the original Gaelic songs found in Hardiman's work, they demonstrated how they destroyed "the originality and the interest of Irish minstrelsy" (129). Hardiman's translations tried to elevate the tone of the original Irish versions "to a refined poetic art altogether foreign from the whole geniuis and rationale of its composition" (130). All these poems are

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valuable "keys to Irish sentiment" and not "elegant additions to polite literature" (131). The translations attempt to give the poems a classical tone, to make them a "soaring and magnificent olympic" or, on the other hand, they are an attempt at the "Saxonization" (132) of the poetry.

They must, however, be preserved in their original form in translation. The Tories will be more Gaelic and more true to the original Irish in their translations than these efforts on the part of Hardiman. This, of course, was to be the life-long aim of Samuel Ferguson who "successfully transfered the distinctive features of Irish poetry to English poetry" (133).

To demonstrate their superior scholarship, they give a better translation of the poems "Timoleague" and "Agnew's Lamentation" wrought by S.F. (presumably Samuel Ferguson). In both, the spirit of an old person weary of life is given to the Irish people. Thus, for example:

Timoleague

Lone and weary as I wandered
By the bleak shore of the sea,
Meditating and reflecting
On the world's hard destiny.

Wo is written on my visage,
In a nut my heart would lie—
Death's deliverance were welcome
Father, let the old man die.
(S.F.) (134)

If Hardiman's translations are poor scholarship, his historical knowledge is also weak. Hardiman claims that "Ireland was distinguished for temperance and sobriety" (135) and that the "drink" only came to dominate after the Protestant domination. But in fact the "moral intemperance, the mental dissipation and habitual idleness which characterize the Irish" were all caused by the fact that, to quote Sir John Davis,

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> "Irish customs had no longer estate than for life in their chieferies, the inheritance whereof did rest in no man . . . And by the Irish custom of gavelkind, the inferior tenantries were partible among all the males of the sept, both bastards and legitimate . . . thereby, every man being born to land they all held themselves to be gentlemen . . . But the most wicked and mischievous custom of all others, was that of Coigne and Livery, which consisted in taking of man's meat, horsemeat and money of all the inhabitants of the country, at the will and pleasure of the soldier, who as the phrase of Scripture is, 'did eat up the people as it were bread.'" (136)

This meant that Ireland had an abundance of "pauper idle men which overplowed the only two peaceable professions open to the early Irish—Minstrelsy and Divinity" (137). The common state of poverty meant that many were glad "to embrace the severities of monarchism" (138). In turn this led to their "clannish unanimity in the midst of national dissension and of the general impotence of the nation" (139) at the time of invasion in 1180. The following century, as we all know, "vagabonds and profligates . . . swarmed over the land" (140).

Hardiman is therefore wrong. From the earliest times and not merely as a result of the plantation, they wandered penniless and "there existed in Irish society the elements of idleness, and consequently of rapacity, vagabondism and all kinds of intemperance" (141).

They did not flinch from recognizing the degradation and underdeveloped nature of the Irish peasants. They were, after all, immersed in unsophisticated Irish Popery. Among them "all is circuitous, and mysterious, inaccurate and false" (142). Their condition of poverty led them into crime in order to acquire the necessities of life, and this caused a "recklessness of character" (143). "In a society, too, where, as to daily habits and delicacies of life, there is no discrimination of sex; but male and female, eat and drink too, labour and sleep, together" (144), we can expect early and thoughtless marriages and an increased population.

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Given this degraded population, "moralize or legislate as we may, the hopelessly wretched, by an instinct of nature, must be rebels" (145).

Here the habits of drinking and wandering are no longer those of the great house and the spirited bards. These characteristics are identified with those "criminal" and "upstart" Irish that all their readers knew in their contemporary Ireland.

Thus the revitalization which DUM seeks consists in the analysis of the natural Irish sentiment. This will help their readers to identify with the native Irish as a peasantry. On the other hand, it will be good for the Irish masses since it will immerse them in their better natural qualities and so help to develop them in the direction of the enlightenment. It will break the fetters that tie them to their Catholic leaders while protecting them from the degrading aspects of modern English culture.

For completely reactionary purposes, the Irish gentry advocate the revival of a native Ireland in opposition to two modern trends: the revitalization of the Catholic Church and middle class Catholics in alliance with Great Britain and the emergence of a new culture among the lower orders of bourgeois society.

The Whigs of England had argued that Protestant domination and landlord exploitation were the cause of unrest in Ireland. But here we are looking at a counter-argument. The Gaels are a different race of people and at a lower stage of development. Not only must they be wrested from the hands of their clergy and their present culture, but they must also be protected from the evils of modern liberal culture found in present-day England. This race of people is characterized by a specific psychological quality, an inner prevalence of sentiment over intellect.

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This is the nature of the Irish.

At this point they do not advocate the prosletysation of Catholics. We see the formulation of another type of educational model. If they were given control of the education of these people, they would bring out this noble inner sentiment in opposition to the mischievous clergy who manipualte this sentiment for their own Machiavellian purposes. On the one hand, they argue that given the right leadership this population has the highest qualities and is capable of full development. On the other hand, they condemn them for their laziness and drunkenness. So they identify their natural tendencies as the former, while the latter are artificial, historically produced and affected, and consequently education can bring out the best in this population if Tories are given command.

A National Literature for Ireland

Among the political class of Ireland, DUM and the Tories would not be bettered. They too sought to dress up in green, even if in a manner different from the members of the '82 Club. They not only sought to promote an Irish literature, but also a non-bourgeois literature of Ireland.

Discussing the "Past and Present State of Literature in Ireland," DUM states that "the literature of a nation and of this nation in particular is affected by its political state and influential upon it. And this double dependence becomes more important either as effect or cause, in proportion as the stage of civilization is lower, and the operation of conservative principles of society less developed . . . In this tempestuous crisis when the elements of the social state appear to be involved in a preternatural rapidity of progression, either for good or evil" (146), we should not waste our time commenting on tenth-rate poetry

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in penny magazines.

English literature began many centuries ago "when morasses and forests of Ireland were yet under the domination of the 'ragged Royal race of Tara' as they were not inaptly described by our national lyricist Moore" (147). But this new literature found in England appeared as a star "in the forehead of the morning sky, from the twilight of the cloistered superstitions of the middle ages" (148). On the contrary, literature in Ireland has been

> . . . recently engrafted . . . There was here nothing of that expanding downward of mind, that slow communication of opinion, that incorporation of knowledge with the mind, that subduing and correcting or altering of old manners, prejudices and associations, which is the actual progress of civilization. . . . The civilization of our higher orders was but a light across the waters from another shore, too feeble in its expansion to shed influence on the crowd . . . The line between the educated and uneducated classes was too broad, a dark impassable gulf, from the depths of which national animosities, barbaric prejudices and superstitions, and the resisting powers of a domineering hierarchy, exhaled their anti-civilizing influences. (149)

Consequently, no literature has taken root here. Colonization did not favor any beginning. Public speakers are forced to appeal to the uncultivated ear. This is why there is so much of "the miserable cant of a barbaric patriotism" (150) to be found in those (O'Connell) who speak of "Ireland." What we find therefore is "a singular combination of barbarism and civilization, affecting the same class, involving the same intellects, in the strong glare of contrasted light and darkness" (151).

But in England there has recently been a regression in the development of civilization due to the "political excitement" (152) of the day. The new politics lacks all profundity, grace and wit. Mere "discovery and invention" have seen enormous growth, and hence a new language and method of composition has been formed, which substituted for

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that "old harmony and terse idiom of style that had gradually arisen from the study of classical models" (153). In its place the object was "to obtain facility, abundance, and simplicity, and facility became slipshod laxity, the abundance, indiscriminate and torrent verbosity, and the simplicity, incomposite vulgarity" (154).

"The exigencies of business or the love of artificial excitement . . . supply the whole of the demand for the multifarious, but corrupt surface literature of the day" (155). We find ourselves in an era of "literary license . . . But the truth must be told; literature is [at present] like many better things, broken up, and deprived of its higher influences" (156). The general state of society has meant that "there is no public feeling in favor of literature and there is nothing in literature to favor such feeling" (157). These effects are also to be found in Ireland. This present "undigested mass of new thoughts" will have to be sifted and "assimilated by skill and labor and other Popes and Addisons will arise to chasten, harmonize and simplify, to clear and purify, the well of English undefiled" (158).

Our present literary endeavors therefore should not be developed or follow in the path of these "unprincipled reasonings" (159). Nevertheless, our literature should not be too local (i.e., Irish). Our literature "is that of England" (160). But our "actual capabilities are . . . much undervalued . . . are concealed by the overpowering demand of the English market. Whatever is produced here is consumed there" (161).

Dublin publishers are losing out, since "Ireland has advanced and is advancing" (162). We must get our mart in order by "calling·home our scattered forces . . . There is no reason why Dublin should not now be the center of Irish civilization, in all that improves and humanizes" (163).

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So far the contributors to this magazine have been doing wonders for our literary development.

It has been fashionable until recently "for the Irish (meaning Protestant Irish) to make little of their own country" (164). Normally a conquering people would tend to exaggerate the greatness of their vanquished enemy so as to appear great themselves. This indeed did occur in Ireland. There are many rosy pictures of the great Gaels in the settler accounts of those early days. Had those early settlers completed the conquest of Ireland, then "Merus Hibernicus" or the term "mere Irish" (165) would be unknown today after three generations of assimilation.

The problem, however, was that Ireland was only half conquered. "It was the misfortune of the Irish to be half-conquered, to lose on the point of honour, without participating in the strength and policy of their superiors . . . To an incomplete conquest, in the first place, most of the misfortunes of the country can be traced" (166). The result has been that the odium of conquest has remained in Ireland giving rise to "the insolence of the Gael and the soreness of the settler" (167).

Future policies should be directed at resolving this problem. At the time of conquest, England was engaged in too many wars to pursue the conquest with vigor. "And the alteration of the institutions of the people can only be effected by a power able, if necessary, to enforce the change. Men do not part with native laws and manners on the mere solicitation of suspected friends; there must be force at hand to compel their acquiescence, or vain will be the most lucid exposition of the superiority of the system proposed" (168).

As a consequence, we had four centuries in which to be a "mere Irishman" outside the pale was not considered "a cause for contempt" (169)

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among early settlers. Indeed, the charms of that loose life attracted even some of the English nobility. However, within the pale, the "mere Irish" could not remove "the odious distinction" (170) unless they were given rights by the English authorities. "And here indeed the policy of the English is justly blameable . . . This government of our people by two laws, within the same territory, was what first made the Merus Hibernicus a term of real reproach" (171). This failure of law then allowed the existence of Pale and free Gaels for some two hundred years.

"At length came the Reformation—a change demanded by the intelligence of England. But in Ireland there was no intelligence. The preaching of ten thousand reformers would have been scarce sufficient to have prepared the Irish for the exercise of mental liberty" (172). Those among the "mere Irish" who had learning wanted no change. On the other hand, "the people were incapable of forming opinions for themselves; those who formed their opinions for them, abhorred the thought of change" (173).

As a result there was a terrible miscarriage of the Reformation, and with this ended all chances of removing the "idious distinction of mere Irishism" and all hope of forging a "union among themselves and with their neighbours in identity of faith and religious discipline" (174).

This failure provoked the vexation of the English whose efforts were found to be in vain. "They loaded them (the mere Irish) with reproaches; they exaggerated all their follies and vices; they denied them the possession of the ordinary virtues even of savage life; nay, of the ordinary forms of humanity" (175). We can see how foul a status legend was created for them in Derrick's IMAGE OF IRELAND (1581). The revolt of 1641 provoked a savage repression by the English. So mere Irishism that "had been successively exposed to modified contempt and angry ridicule is

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now become the object of horror and execration" (176).

In October of 1837, DUM developed a more extensive argument on this topic: "It is a source of regret that the spread of matter-of-fact opinions (modernization) should be so rapidly destroying every remnant of the peculiar customs and usages that once afforded such ample fund both of study and amusement . . . This is not a consequence merely of the spread of improvement" (177).

Many of those caught up in the spirit of reformation or the enlightenment have been known to seriously object "to wearing our national emblem on the 17th of March," saying "that it was a Popish custom to honor saints" (178). For these anything to do with "antiquity" is rejected and looked down upon. These people claim that they will "never burden their memory with such foolish trifles as the traditions of their own country, while they regard as great literary curiosities things of precisely the same kind, when written in Latin or Greek" (179). But if these reformers have rejected the traditional habits, many of the ancient customs have fallen into neglect simply because they were not useful. But many of these "pishogues" (folk beliefs) are quite similar to those found in "ancient authors" (180). This will show that "our national usages are far from being so unclassical as is commonly supposed" (181).

The article goes on to describe the usages of the peasantry such as carrying the corpse feet foremost, lighting funeral candles, putting money in the coffin, keening the dead, blessing the person who sneezes, exchanging wedding rings, crossing oneself with the back of the thumb, charms and antidotes. All these customs and many more are part of Ireland, but are to be found also in classical literature and hence the "reformers" and participants of the enlightenment tradition among us

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should not reject out of hand all of the traditions to be found in Ireland as mere affects of "religious darkness and superstition" (182). This argument is, of course, to be used often in the study of the "peasant," or those aspects of the peasantry that suited the gentry, to define the aristocracy in and through the greatness and beauty of their peasantry as opposed to the bourgeois proletariat to be found in the manufacturing districts. This selected peasantry is a reflection of the aristocratic community and an enlightened natural aristocratic elite which is found in all societies.

There is no natural reason why Ireland might not produce a distinctive literature. After all, "the Scotch have a national literature; a Scottish school of sciences, and a purely Scottish school of poetry and romance. The men who have achieved this honourable distinction for Scotland are not of British, but mainly of Irish stock . . . the Scottish race is the same in both countries." They are "all men of Gaelic family." In the past we in Ireland have been slow to develop scientific genius but we are now "in intercourse and competition" and "if there be any originality or power in the Irish mind, it is now or shortly that it must begin to show itself forth . . . Curren and Moore have given us a foretaste of what the national genius can effect in oratory and poetry" (183).

It is true that there is great desolation in Ireland and there are many poor. But as for

> . . . the present nobility and gentry of the country . . . in the pursuits of science, in cultivation of solid literature, in serious attention to the important duties of life, there never was a time when that all important body were so deeply, so devotedly engaged. The necessities of the times have taken away considerably from the hearty show of enjoyment and perhaps from

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> that elegant taste for the drama and fine arts, which once distinguished them. But with the dashing manner of the former generation they have parted with its dissipation and in place of the pursuit of intellectual luxury, they have contracted that of scientific labour. (184)

So this abundance of national spirit must be harnessed and given a proper direction. The gentry of Ireland, like those of Great Britain and Scotland, are also "Whigs and Tories. And while the civilization of the 19th century sits in the twilight of the darker ages, a fierce conflict, fiercely carried on, suppresses, obstructs and confines the diffusion of the mental element of civilzation" (185). As a result, thought is "moulded to the blind expediencies of either party" and the "humanizing principles of knowledge and education" (186) remain undeveloped. While in the past Ireland was affected by a maturer England, the England of today has had its debilitating revolution. But this present state of affairs is not an "abiding condition" and we see "a powerful reaction is preparing in favor of an advance more exclusively moral and intellectual" (187).

As they saw it, Ireland was in a "transition state" (188).

> The Irish mind seems daily approaching more nearly to maturity . . . We now speak of the Irish race, of the bulk of the population, the men who will hereafter most probably give the bias to the national mind. We would gladly if we could, claim for that race the honours of a Goldsmith, a Berkeley or a Grattan. But the men whose names have most adorned our Gallery of Illustrious Irishmen are British all by blood . . . But we cannot all be Britains, and although we would gladly be even West Britains in wealth and tranquility, we must be Irish in mental achievements or we are nothing. (189)

The Tory Green: Thomas Davis

It was in this school that the Green Tory Thomas Davis, the founder of cultural nationalism in Ireland, formulated his ideas at Trinity College during the thirties. It was with these Tories that he argued his early theses and opted for a cultural nationalism which would be wholly

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Irish and transcend the identities of Protestant and Catholic. Most of all, however, he tried to re-animate a separatist political movement within all social classes in Ireland, in the Protestant tradition of the United Irishmen of the 1790s.

In the 1840s, Davis, as a Trinitarian and member of that social class, was able to establish a bridge of unity and wean some Protesants from the Unionist cause. However, since the Catholic clergy were so heavily involved in all three nationwide political movements led by O'Connell, Catholic emancipation (in the '20s), the Tithe War (in the '30s) and the Repeal Movement (in the '30s and '40s), Davis was careful to define for his fellow Protestants a nationality above those concrete distinctions.

For Davis, "anti-sensualist" cultural nationalism could resolve the narrow-mindedness of Dillon's "Connaught Landlord" who "sees but one object in creation, and this is himself" (190). It could resolve the impossible problem of combining all classes. It would resolve the problem of those who were unwilling to pay higher prices for Irish made commodities. It would resolve the problem of sectarian bigotry and Orangeism. He hoped that "great utilitarian victories could be won if rational principles could be coupled to the force of passionate drives" (191). But the "rational principles" were concentrated more in landlords seeking a new coercion act and the Ribbonmen terrorizing "land grabbers." It was hard to see how they could have been fused into a fraternity of fellow patriots. "Nebulosity was the first virtue of the [nationalist] symbology" (192).

As Davis turned to cultural nationalism and the idea of bringing a soul to Ireland, he sought professional advice on how to nationalize the

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aesthetic vision. He was told to "give Ireland first a decided national school of poetry--that is, song--and the other phases of national art will soon show themselves" (193). He would give Ireland "some great passion, some earnest and unworldly feeling . . . some profound state of thought, something that while making this material universe the source and its material offspring the actors, shall yet reach at what is far above and beyond it all" (198). But Davis's cultural nationalism, and his poetics were his own creation and not the culture of the Irish peasantry. "To bring a soul to Ireland was not the subconscious mission of the peasants but the self assigned task" (195) of middle class Young Ireland who created the national mystique. Since his audience in The Nation was primarily Catholic, Davis was more successful in formulating a national identity for the Catholic Irish.

But a cultural nationalism was not the first political solution which Davis had devised for Ireland. As we saw above, Davis in his Udalism and Feudalism especially had started out with a concrete proposal for the formation of a new Irish totality. He argued for peasant proprietorship of land currently held by an alien aristocracy and industrialization on a "human scale," home manufactures.

But this project was immediately shelved. Like the Ascendancy Tory solution which envisaged a Protestant labor force and a Protestant tenantry, Davis confronted reality with a project that envisaged a real solution to its contradictions. But again the very concrete oppositions within society and more especially within the Repeal Movement and even the Young Irelanders themselves set aside this kind of discussion among the political elite.

In its place "came 'pure' obscurantism, a mysticism that struck Yeats

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as having 'never been entangled by reality' and that persuaded George Russell it was the true substance of Ireland, requiring a body made up of lakes, hills, people, and so forth only because (like John MacCormack's "Little Bit of Heaven") it had to have some place to alight" (196). Hence the practical side of the middle class drifted back to "grubby inglorious opportunism" while the idealist half, "freed from all pull of gravity," entered "the rarified mists that became the trademark of the Irish literary movement" (197).

But in the early forties the Dublin Tories saw the Nation and the Young Irelanders and Catholic antiquarianism, not as the noble efforts on the part of the Irish spirit, but as a much more dangerous nationalism than that which they had opposed during the thirties. The Catholic Church at this stage did not seem to be the primary focus, but only linked secondarily first through O'Connell and then through the education system to the question of political and cultural control of Ireland. But while O'Connell allowed the church complete control of culture among the Catholics, the Young Irelanders hoped to wrest control from the church in a secular Ireland. Thus, their struggle in the cultural sphere was much more directly related to the Protestant hegemony in cultural affairs. As men of the Enlightenment, they too in the Young Ireland movement supported the Queen's Colleges Bill along with the Tories of Dublin University Magazine.

The Tories attacked the Irish nationalists as shallow. Real "patriot passion" can lead men to perform great deeds. It animates and sustains itself "in the circle of some defined duty. . . But the profession of patriotism is a hollow echo of a dishonest heart or an implied insult to those who are shocked at beholding such profession made part of an

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ambitious man's stock in trade" (198). This is what we think of "a class of politicians who in Ireland advocate the question of Repeal or rather a section of them" (199).

Much attention has been given recently "to the preservation of such remains of ancient Irish literature as still exist" (200). This excited a feeling of nationality, a feeling we all have when reading how Europe is indebted to the schools and monasteries of Ireland for its civilization. This feeling caught on, and

> . . .was most likely to seize the imagination of young men who by the accident of birth or education were connected with the extreme party in liberal politics. We can easily imagine that the taste for antiquarianism--cultivated and most fittingly, encouraged by the Irish Academy--may have had the pernicious effect of leading many persons to indulge a mild and vain wish for the restoration, not alone, of the pious feelings with which the ancient crosses and reliquaries exhibited--together with the swords, torques, thumb screws, and other memorials of our ancestors--were regarded, but [also] for the restoration of the feelings by the use of the means adopted in these early times. The tastes thus created may seem to find more natural expression and development in Puseyism and ultra-Puseyism, than in the sober forms of worship that give direct utterance to the religious belief of a more educated age. (201)

The holy men of old longed for the liberty we now have. But "the effort to restore the devotional feelings of a past age, by endeavoring to restore its manners and customs and outward seeming, is plainly a thing impossible . . . The state of mind which this antiquarian spirit has led to in England and Ireland, expressing itself in both countries in fantastic follies of one kind or another, or what our author considers as such, is not an unfair subject for pleasantry" (202). The activity referred to here would seem to be that of the '82 Club in which the Protestant gentry regaled themselves as we saw in green and wore the shamrock at their Dublin dinner parties and which envisaged an alliance of

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Protestant businessmen with Daniel O'Connell.

The book being reviewed here, The Falcon Family, or Young Ireland, tells of one "Mrs. Falcon, who . . . contrives to dispose of her young brood among Celts and Saxons, conquering all the prejudices of blood and race in one instance, and in the other, winning, in the very fastness of the monastery, to which he has retired, an unhappy Puseyite, who there loses his vocation" (203). However, this breed of bird does not construct a nest for itself, but is known to "take possession of the old nests of magpies and squirrels" (204). Thus these shallow nationalists seek to lay claim to our rightful place in Irish society.

The Irish upstart Whigs and liberals, DUM argued, unlike their counterparts in England, found themselves in a society where they were economically weaker thantheir "natural" superiors. In their struggle, they needed to "whiten" their own image and background, claim the "mass" vote from the landlords or, like the Falcon, rather than create a whole new nest of their own, they could only steal the subjects of others.

Discussing "The National Library for Ireland," they point out that there is "an undercurrent of seditious literature at present making its way amongst the masses in Ireland" (205). The political wisdom of the day could be summed up in the phrase "Give me the ballad writing of a nation and I do not care who makes their laws" (206). Now when those influences that mold the passions of the masses are combined with the power of government, then the very laws of the land conspire to overthrow the Constitution. "The new-light apostles of sedition" (207) know how to use the democratic reforms to this purpose.

What then shapes popular judgment and will today?

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> The power of masses is no longer a blind impulse, "vis expers consillii," which its own impetus must destroy. It is a recognized element in the new edition of the Constitution. It has its representatives in the legislature who are sent there only to do its bidding . . . It is a deep sense of the imminence of this danger, and a conviction of the utter impossibility of proceeding adequately against it when it does arise, that has drawn our attention to a series of publications . . . (208)

regarding the Irish rebellion and aimed at the separation of Ireland from Great Britain.

"The object of the publications before us is to represent the rebellion of '98 as a justifiable resistance to British oppression" (209). The English are seen as "invaders" and the volumes call for the emergence of great men at the present time. They show how the United Irishmen were Protestant and sought to "abolish sectarian distinctions and quarrels be equalizing all religions and procuring Catholic emancipation for the Irish Catholics" (210). In this manner they build a negative image of Irish "traitors" who sold us out in 1800. This unity of Protestants and Catholics was expressed by the Protestants in ballad:

> "Let each man choose his favorite way his Maker
> to adore,
> And we'll tell the world we're Irishmen, we're Paddy's
> and no more." (211)

But it is only the Romish schools that carry this "library" (212).

Cultural Approximation in an Irish Ireland

The politics of Irish separatism grew more intense as the Whig leadership split from O'Connell to Davis, and then found itself without a pacifist leader when Davis died in 1846. The outbreak of famine made this insurrectionist leadership (they did not attempt the uprising until 1848) seem more threatening. We therefore see a tendency in DUM to identify with the more pacifist Young Irelanders. The famine, of course, made the

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Irish interest all the more intensely aware of itself in relation to England. They begin to recognize the Catholic cultural heritage of Ireland. This, while representing a change of attitude, did not mean that the Tories were about to trust a Catholic Ireland. Yet they seemed more and more intent upon embracing an Irish Ireland.

Since the Great Famine had already developed they point out in Dublin University Magazine that despite the present dreariness and sorrow there is also hope.

> The mind of Ireland is becoming educated; a taste for the cultivation of her literature and history is daily on the increase; people are no longer quite absorbed in the stormy pursuit of politics. Men of elegant and refined taste--men of an ability and intelligence of which any country might be justly proud--have been for years devoting their talents and their energies to the task of fashioning the public mind to the noble and inspiring pursuit of making a literature for Ireland. (213)

Like Hardiman, their rival, the Milesians who originally came from Spain and overcame the Tuatha de Danans some 1015 years before Christ founded the Irish Bards. While these were distinguished and honored for many centuries, St. Patrick "in his zeal for the religion he was about to establish burned nearly 800 volumes of the most ancient of these Pagan songs" (214). Carolan, who died in 1732, was the last of these great bards (215). But Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Charles Gavan Duffy (Ballad Poetry of Ireland) and Mr. McCarthy (Book of Irish Ballads) are also great bards.

> We are bound to say that the palm if given to any must be accorded to Mr. Duffy (Duffy was a Young Irelander) . . . in the selection and arrangement of the pieces contained in his volume he has evinced the very highest degree of poetic taste . . . a national school of poetry is about to spring up amongst us . . . And we quite agree with him that such ballads as are contained in his book ought--nay, must--exercise a powerful influence upon the public mind. A people, confessedly of passion and of impulse, easily swayed by the tones that speak to its feelings, will learn to love ballads racy of their native soil, which people the green hills of their country with beings of a by-gone day, treasures her

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> legends, give to each mountain and old thorn tree some nameless and imperishable charm; and link the heart of the reader to the indissoluble associations, which the love of home and country produces. (216)

Duffy's volume of ballads does not deal with the "old bardic songs of Ireland" like Hardiman's, but

> "Another class," says Mr. Duffy, "remained our Ango-Irish ballads; the production of education man, with English tongues but Irish hearts. From this the greater part of our materials have been drawn; and we trust it will appear that in them, in the few street ballads, not written to sell, but from the fullness of the heart, and in our adequate translations from the Irish, we possess a popular poetry, less ancient and precious but not less instinct with the Spirit of the country, than the venerable minstrelsy of England and Scotland." (217)

We are all Milesians and of the same race. Moreover, our present-day bards establish a connection with our ancestry.

This literary support for Charles Gavan Duffy, founder of the Nation with Thomas Davis, et al., was possible since he had chosen as representative of Irish, ballads and songs from that period mentioned above, the era of the first English settlers following the Norman invasion. These are non-commercial and hence have an anti-modern spirit. The ballads are produced in a system of feudal patronage and not for money. This poetry, as well as that of some poets in the forties, is then identified with the Milesian race. The Milesians were a nebulous pagan (and therefore not Catholic) invader said to be also the ancestral fathers of the Scottish people. In a sense through these ancient settlers long forgotten, the union of the peoples of Great Britain and Ireland can be asserted (whatever Duffy's personal political intention might have been) and the basic identity of all the natural peoples on the island affirmed (whatever their religion).

In a poem "To Clarence Mangan," we catch a glimpse of their struggle

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to claim the more ancient heritage of pagan Gaelic culture unified through the ruling elites right down to the present. In this revitalization the contemporary elites become the "natural" descendants and legitimate heirs to the highest status:

> . . .
> Go wander in thy strength thro the scenes of Erin's history,
> Let the fields of old trumps be green again with verdure,
>   And awake the echoes of the prince's halls,
> I sometimes doubt if I have Irish blood in me,
>   So often in these mazes do I lose my clue,
> Mixing Danes with Milesians, and the clear-faced Saxon
>   With the hairy dirty children of Boru.
> I have small faith in PUNIC etymologies:
>   I sometimes fancy Petrie and St. Patrick are the same:
> I doubt that Bentham knows all the tongues of Babel,
>   Or that William Smith O'Brien is a Hebrew name.
> I do not care a button for Young Ireland, or old Ireland;
>   But as between the two, I rather like old Dan ,
> And I wish the Nation would let the agitation
>   Die a humbug as it first began! (218)

The bards are a social class which can mediate this fusion of their contemporary and differentiated populations. Like Carolan, DUM also lamented their disappearance. Despite those moments of ardent Orangeism seen above, it is through these bards that the modern Ascendancy writer as a true Gael in spirit, achieves historical status. In terms of the content of their ideas and poetic forms they produced, the bards were a significant social class of a lordly era. They belonged to the feudal and pre-feudal civilizations and hence sing the praises of an elite and were a reflection on the superiority of that elite. Now that the bards are an extinct social class, they are brought to life and made to speak again, but this time a different language:

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Pulse of the Bards
Pulse of the bards! ...and throbbest thou no more?
Pulse of the bards! ...oh, whither hast thou fled?
Pulse of the bards! ...dost thou sleep? Art thou dead
That thou burnest not now as of yore?
Oh! for Erin, for Erin, my spirit is in bondage long. (219)

In an article entitled "Anthologia Hibernica," the preface states that under the influence of "the general impulse given to the Irish mind of late" (220), they (DUM) dedicate their talents in the service of their country. "For that country, and we now express ourselves merely in reference to its literature—we see a new era approaching" (221). Ireland has been "for a certain time doomed to walk at night" in tribulation and ignorance.

> [But that] night is far spent [and] the day is at hand . . . The better time is coming, approaching with chariot-like speed. The dawning of a new era is heralded by many a rising star and gilded cloud. And hereafter, courteous reader, when Ireland shall have reassumed her place among the nations, it surely cannot fail to be a peace offering both to thy names and ours, that we, both of us in our day, in some sort contributed towards the glorious event of her regeneration. (222)

This approximation of all the revivalists of Irishry is even more apparent in DUM's posthumous review of Thomas Davis, the most public figure of Irish nationalism and sepratism in the forties. They can be seen to be much more interested in the articulation of a common Irish interest. They want a common Irish parliamentary platform at Westminster composed of themselves and their former rivals who, like Davis, eschewed a violent form of political action.

In February 1847, Thomas Davis was given a place in DUM's "Portrait Gallery of Illustrious Irishmen." They sought to make a distinction between Davis and the O'Connellite Repealers. Davis saw in 1843 how the repeal agitation was petered out and how a poor quality leadership had

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transformed the repeal movement and used it merely for their own narrow ends. Davis, on the other hand, had sought the repeal for its own sake, and "the first fruits of sincerity were respect and attention" (223) given his activity. But Davis also sought to lead the people of Ireland beyond the insincerity and hypocrisy of the previous leaders of the repeal movement.

He tried to bring them "generosity and justice . . . self respect and self-reliance" and to stir up "intellectual vigour in almost all departments of literature" (224).

The people of Ireland, like ourselves at DUM, saw that

> . . .the leader of these brave and sincere spirits was Mr. Thomas Davis, a Protestant, a man of spirit, and an ardent lover of Ireland, like themselves, and who differed from them mainly in believing that it would be for the advantage of Ireland to separate from the Imperial Union while they believed that it would be inestimably more for her advantage to remain with, and participate in the power and freedom of our great and free united Empire. And when in addition to these grounds of sympathy, they found Mr. Davis himself a gentleman of most unaffected, charming deportment, a poet, a judge and lover of art and elegant literature, exceedingly well read, and of a character and temper the most genial and humane, it is not surprising that affection for the individual supervened a respect for the politician and admiration for the man of genius, and that he speedily became the friend and favorite of the elite of the intellectual world of Dublin. They embraced him indeed with true fraternal feeling; they made him free of their most unreserved society. (225)

Davis loved all the literature of Ireland and her traditions.

> The young mind of the country starting as from a trance—or from that fabulous spell which our legends tell us keeps Finn's mighty youths asleep under the green hills waiting the advent of an Irish Arthur—came out of its forgotten recesses, strong and eager for any achievement to which he might desire to guide it. Song, the instinctive expression of generous emotion, gave the first indication of reviving power. He had sounded the intellectual reveille of a whole people; and if they had slept long, they awoke refreshed. (226)

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In the past, "ill will, deceit, and servility had long deformed them" (227). But Davis came along to bring out the great soul and the virtues of the Irish. "It was not possible that anyone could be engaged in such services and not have the sympathy of many of the manly and generous conservative gentry of Dublin" (228). Unfortunately, he died suddenly in 1845. "It was as if a public calamity had befallen the city; all parties joined in testifying their respect and sorrow" (229).

What then is the reason for including Davis in our Gallery? He was, of course, Protestant. But his appeal to the Conservative gentry is not based on this fact. In any question of national independence, the Protestant and "the true Irish Catholic, stands on a very different footing from those whom, with every respect for their convictions, we must designate as Italians" (230). Ireland is "politically speaking a free country--a portion of one of the freest and mightiest nationalities in the world, self-contained and absolutely independent of all external authority" (231). Now this independence must be preserved at all costs. The Protestant advocates of Irish independence stand on higher ground than the Catholics, "clear of all external claim and control . . . We speak of national rights and the affairs of society. Between spiritual and temporal jurisdiction over these, we see no distinction" (232).

Davis too shared our concern.

> He felt humiliated, as we did, that a nominally free people, whose mouths at the time were full of the conventional watch-word of National Independence, should have sought to submit a matter so purely social, as the education of their youths, to the decrees of a foreign corporation; manfully opposing the reference of the Irish College's Bill to any other tribunal than a national one, he petitioned the legislature in favour of the measure introduced by the minister. (233)

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In this regard he had many supporters among the intelligent Catholics who object to the subjection of their opinion to the Catholic clergy. We find today as then a growing disposition "amonst the intelligent Roman Catholics of Ireland to take a wide distinction between the dogmas of abstract faith, and the precepts of morality and social duty, and in judging these latter, to claim, indeed, a very Protestant freedom of private judgment; and we do not say, that these honest men are not, in all that we have a right to regard in social intercourse, virtual Protestants" (234). These independent men are then charged with "infidelity," as Davis was also, merely because they exercise their rights as free citizens.

Another reason why Davis won the respect of many Conservatives was "that he had all along abjured his party's pretended abhorrence of a recourse to arms" (235). It is undoubtedly true that if all the charges made by the Repealers against England were true, then they would be perfectly correct in taking up arms. Indeed, "the Irish Protestants, who created, at the cannon's mouth, the only real Parliament this country ever possessed," would be the first to call for the return of their parliament. But they are satisfied with the Union. Now,

> Mr. Davis' Conservative friends saw with regret and condemnation, that he permitted himself to believe badly enough of England, to have all the justification that mistake in facts can give to the contemplation of armed adventure; but they saw at the same time that he was perfectlly sensible of the criminality of any such attempt, while the Unionist party of this country maintained opinions and a position, which would render everything of the kind futile. (236)

If there were no such guarantee of peace, his friends would not have endured his opinions.

In this way DUM tried to split the Nationalists and the Church: the Nationalists who favored armed insurrection and the more pacifist

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parliamentarian approach to the break with England. It could also be seen to provoke the very insurrection which was to take place a year later, and leave the Nationalists minority support among the elite strata of Ireland. This insurrectionist behavior among a minority of dissidents would guarantee the Tories the repressive Westminster government they had longed for since the beginnings of a conciliation policy in the Act of Union and Catholic emancipation.

Now Davis' anti-English hostilities

> . . .were a prejudice which they (his Dublin Ascendancy friends) lamented, and believed would wear away; the warlike principles were their own; and they greatly preferred their inculcation in a soldierly spirit of the people, to the covert sanction long afforded by former instructors to dastardly actions of assassination, and foul, unmanly attacks on unarmed individuals. In denouncing these horrid and humiliating atrocities, they could not have expressed a more scornful abhorrence; or in notifying their occurrence, a more sincere anguish than he did. He felt the full bitterness of the national degradation, and, we are persuaded, composed many of the most exciting of his military songs and ballads more in the hope of supplanting those cowardly ferocities by soldierly feeling, than in any other spirit. (237)

Guerrilla warfare and local attacks on landlords are not the proper way to express the truly warlike spirit of Irishry. (This is a reference to the localism of rural violence in pre-famine Ireland which is here transformed into the political critique of nationalist politics.)

Yet another reason for the Conservative friendship extended to Thomas Davis was the fact that he adopted

> . . . a much loftier tone of Irishism than had hitherto marked the advocacy of writers on the popular side of the question. The cultivated and well-bred gentry of this country had long witnessed with indignation the self-abasing propensities of literary droles, and other jesters, who made our national character contemptible by representing it as continually ridiculous. Mr. Davis set his face sternly and perseveringly against every such display, and while he repelled with dignified vigour the insolence which long familiarity with spurious Irish characteristics had engendered among our English fellow-subjects, he punished with relentless

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> severity the weak and thoughtless, as well as the sordid and profligate instruments of misrepresentations. The unlearned prejudice which would impute the faults arising from social circumstances to ethnological distinctions, and which the friends of union regard as one of the most mischievous delusions propagated by the press of the metropolis, met, in like manner, with a constant and well evidenced refutation at his hands. Irishism ceased to consist in the characteristics of Donnybrook; accuracy of language, and consistency of ideas were no longer irreconcilable with an Irish style; and vulgar drollery lost the pretension even to claim kindred with it. (238)

DUM's own thinking then had progressed. A few years previously they had argued a theory of an Irish race naturally characterized by a predominance of sentiment over intellect, the sentiment itself best described as "hopeless desire." But their reference is more specifically directed at the "stage Irishman."

Davis worked hard to change the ruinous image of the Irish which prevailed in the press and literature. The many "well-bred and worthy Irish people," and the "self-respecting gentry of this part of the Empire" were happy to see an end to the "old prerogative contempts against the country, on the stage, in the press, and even in the thoughtless conventionalism of society" (239). But it is very difficult to root out those prejudices, especially when it "flatters the self love of those who entertain it" (240). But we would remind them that

> . . . every petulance which they indulge in against the Irish generally, is resented by those on whose continual good temper and forebearance the maintenance of the integrity of the Empire depends. For if the Conservative gentry of Ireland thought fit to invite their friends and tenants to meet them at a new Dungannon, there is no power in Britain which could prevent the severance of the two islands. And there can be no more fatal delusion than to suppose that Irish gentlemen, because they do not profess the Roman Catholic religion, are insensible to contemptuous language against their country; or that they are disposed to rest satisfied under any social inferiority whatever to the rest of the United Kingdom. (241)

Now Mr. Davis

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> . . .was by birth a gentleman, and both in feeling and in judgment opposed to all designs for destroying the legitimate power of the gentry. He would, if he could, have won them to his opinion, and through their agency have sought "to mould, to multiply, and to consolidate" the brute mass beneath; but he never lent himself to the anarchical project of exterminating, because he could not influence them, and of reducing all society to one base level of peasants. Had he lived to witness the servile war made on the Irish gentry since his death, none who knew him can doubt that he would now be found a generous volunteer in their camp. (242)

In all this then we see that in terms of his political principles Davis was one of us and is worthy of "the commendation of Conservative pages" (243).

What then of Davis as a writer?

In terms of "their effects" on the people of Ireland, the poems are excellent. But these effects are due to his political position. He had a place from which to address large numbers of people "who had long been taught to close their ears against anything proceeding from any other quarter" (244). So any man of intelligence given his political support for the Repeal could have captured these people and all "the teachers" before him

> . . .had in fact, been as ignorant in all matters of taste and learning, as the untaught multitude, to whose passions they ministered the easily procured food of conventional declamation . . . But given the hereditary craving for intellectual aliment which existed in the people's souls . . .[and the previous lack of leadership,] under such circumstances, the mind of the country could not but thrive, and it did thrive with a rapidity and growth almost preternatural . . . [We have no longer] any hesitation in saying that, by his writings and his influence in personal intercourse, he did more good during the time, than any other man in Ireland. (245)

Thus among the people of Ireland he was successful in

> . . . imparting a spirit of independence and manliness to the people; in calling forth their genius, and enlarging their intelligence. But his influence, on the other hand, among the upper classes was even more remarkable, and perhaps not less useful. Their great fault had been a want of just national

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> sentiment. Habituated to the spurious Irishism of self-abasing detractors on the one hand, and of ignorant exaggerators on the other, they saw nothing but danger in any identification of themselves with a nationality which had been accustomed to exhibit itself only to provocations to ridicule or to contempt . . . [Mr. Davis showed them how to] stand erect [in the face of both] . . . A desire to advance and to elevate society, has begun to be felt in proportion as men have become satisfied that a social foundation is attainable, which will bear a loftier superstructure. We hear now, in all directions a better and more hopeful tone among those to whom society must be indebted for its improvements; and in their unceasing attachment to pursuits connected with the past and present conditions of their country, see new, and Heaven knows at the present time, most needful, guarantees for the stability of the whole social edifice. (246)

Davis also labored in the promotion of art and especially helped in making our Irish Art Union a success.

> This perception of true poetic feeling in a man capable of propagating opinion, is a real blessing. The appreciation of even a single mind is a great reward to anyone who has, either in words or in the creations of the pencil, produced something good or beautiful; but when that mind possesses the power of qualifying other minds to perceive the same excellencies, although before that cultivation they have been insensible to the emotions of taste, it is difficult to imagine any limit to the services it may perform in the very highest labours of civilization. (247)

Davis did the greatest service in making our national history and antiquities known among the people. "No one could be more aware of the value of the materials which those worthy men and great scholars had accumulated; for in their stores he had himself found much of the information which he communicated with so happy an effect to the people: for he ever used his information with a view to availing himself of the tastes which it excited, to promote further accumulation" (248). He was therefore active in our Archaeological Society.

However, the greatest achievement "which Davis personally effected among the better classes of his countrymen, was, the diffusion of amicable feelings among those who differed in politics and religion" (249). All today respect the man "who so largely extended the common ground they met

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upon, of 'mutual respect and equal love of country'" (250). But if today his friends want to erect a monument in his name, the best monument, one "not to him alone, but to all who have toiled in the same honourable task of exciting the sentiment of self-reliance among our gentry, is already commenced, if not actually constructed, in an Irish Party, comprising the natural and legitimate leaders of the people associated for the common prosperity and the vindincation of their country's rights" (251).

> Mr. Davis had little other claim than that of free love and generosity to the name of "Celt," under which he gave many of his first pieces to the world. Although born (24th October 1814) at Mallow, he was by his father's side exclusively an Englishman, and allied with some good families in Dorsetshire; his mother, whose maiden name was Atkins, is also a good County Cork family, of English descent, and through her, our Irish-hearted friend inherited, we believe, a slight admixture of Milesian blood, drawn remotely enough from the O'Sullivans. But if the possession of what is called Milesian blood were a requisite to the performance of filial duties in Ireland, the number of her sons, of whom she can with justice be proud, would, we fear, be sadly diminished. (252)

They ended their homage to Davis with a poem. This is the final verse:

> Oh, brave young man, my love, my pride, and promise,
> 'Tis on you my hopes are set,
> In manliness, in kindliness, in justice
> To make Erin a nation yet:
> Self-respecting, self-relying, self-advancing,
> In union or in severance, free and strong--
> And if God grant this, then under God, to Thomas Davis
> Let the greater praise belong! (253)

By 1849, the ravages of potato failures, which increase the poor rate and provoked even more "landlord distress" (254), had not diminished their commitment to revitalization and the romance of things past. The insurrectionist Young Irelanders were crushed in '48. The road was cleared of all real obstacles; the imagination was now free to achieve a heavenly composure and immerse our Tory nationalist in Irish "natural piety" and "hopeless desire." Thus, they wrote in May, 1849:

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> The great convulsion which society of all grades here has lately experienced; the failure of the potato crop, pestilence, famine, the most extensive immigration, together with bankrupt landlords, pauperizing poor laws, with their grinding officials and demoralising work-houses, have broken up the very foundations of social intercourse, have swept away the established theories of political economy and uprooted many of our long cherished opinions. In places all the domestic usages of life have been outraged; the finest bonds of kindred have been severed; some of the noblest and holiest feelings of human nature have been blotted from the heart, and many of the firmest links, which united the various classes of the community, have been rudely burst asunder. Even the ceremonial of religion has been neglected. (There are not rites for the thousands dead from the famine.) . . . The hum of the spinning wheel has long ceased to form an accompaniment to the colleen's song . . . the Shannaghie and the Callegh in the Chimney Corner tell no more the tales and legends of othefr days . . . In this state of things, with depopulation the most terrific, on the one hand, and the spread of education, and the introduction of railroads and science, etc. on the other, together with the rapid decay of the Irish vernacular, in which most of our legends, romantic tales, ballads, and bardic annals, the vestiges of pagan rites, and the relics of fairy charms were preserved, can superstition, or if superstitious belief, can superstitious practices continue to exist?
>
> But these matters of popular belief and folklore--these rites and legends and superstitions--were, after all, the poetry of the people; the bond that knit the peasant to the soil and cheered and solaced many a cottier's fireside, without these, on the one side, and without proper education and well directed means of partaking of and engaging its blessings, on the other, and without rational amusement besides, he will and must, and has in many instances already, become a perfect brute. The rath which he revered, has been, to our knowledge, ploughed up; the ancient thorn which he reverenced, has been cut down and the sacred well polluted, merely in order to uproot his prejudices, and efface his superstition. Has he been improved by such desecration of the landmarks of the past--objects which independent of their natural beauty are often the surest footprints of history? We fear not. (255)

They go on to point out that the "good people" are leaving us fast and the present generation of children does not know about the "pooca" (256). Moreover, "the warning voice of the banshee is mute" (257).

> The old forms and customs too are becoming obliterated; the festivals are unobserved and the rustic festivities neglected or forgotten . . . The native humor of the people is not so rich and racy as in the days of yore; the full round laugh does not now bubble up from the heart of the Irish girl, nor the joke pass from the peddlar or bagman to the pigdriver, as they trudge alongside

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> one another to fair or market. Well, honoured be the name of Theobald Mathew--but after all a power of fun went away with the whiskey. [Father Mathew led a successful temperance drive in the early part of the century.] The spirits of the people isn't what they were, when a man could get drunk for three half pence and find a kipeen (a sod stuck on a sally switch or kipeen and placed in the thatch was a sign of good liquor within) over the door of every second cabin in the parish. (258)

This spiritual communion of all Irishry continued throughout the century, to be combined with very concrete policies based on the recognition of social class differentiations of Ascendancy and commoner, Protestant and Catholic, Unionist and Nationalist, and so on. Nevertheless, many of the individuals invoved in the Tory revitalization were to discover that the articulation of an Irish interest required more than the mere presence of an Irish Brigade at Westminster, even if it combined all such classes.

Charles Gavan Duffy, the proprietor of the Nation, could later express great pride in the success of his efforts to convert the Irish Tory. Before the Nation he pointed out "whatever could be called literature in Ireland belonged exclusively to the Tories" (259). DUM, which was read throughout Great Britain and Ireland, was "vehemently anti-Irish" (260). But the Nation was to influence all its opponents:

> Isaac Butt, who had been recently editor of the University Magazine and of the Ulster Times in Belfast, was still leader of the most extreme Orange Party in the Dublin Corporation. His successor in the editorship of the magazine, Charles Lever, nursed a rage against O'Connell so preternatural that it overflowed into his novels. William Carleton, Joseph Lefanu, William Wilde, and above all, Samuel Ferguson, were among the chief contributors; and even Ferguson, who loved his country from the beginning, and revelled in Celtic poetry and Celtic art, sent to one of his friends (who showed it to me) the first collection of the poetry of the Nation with the prodigiously false verdict endorsed upon it--"Some of these fellows long to stick their skeans in the bowels of the Saxon." (261)

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But in ten years Ferguson was "chairman of a Protestant Repeal association declaring in prose and verse that he shared the principles of the Young Irelanders. Before a dozen more years, Isaac Butt was leader of a national movement to establish a parliament in Ireland" (262) along with many of the Tory opposition in the Dublin Corporation. Charles Lever too now advocated a federal Parliament in Ireland and Carleton had previously "declared himself a nationalist and became a contributor to the Nation" (263). Lefanu, who insisted on remaining within "the tranquil field of literature," was read by "the Irish Nationalists with affection and enthusiasm" (264).

In these few years since 1830, an Irish identity sufficiently abstract to envelop all the contradictions in Irish society had been formulated. A psychological unity became possible for individuals of all classes and social classes. Nevertheless, throughout the century's historical development, it was the concrete struggles which ironed out real oppositions that characterized Irish society within Great Britain.

Every attempt to bring about the unity of classes, social classes and political associations failed. But their literary activity in relation to the historically created conditions was not without its productive consequences. Between them they formulated an aesthetic of Irish identity that lived alongside this real social formation and like the fairies moved in and out of the many moments and conjunctures of the Irish history that followed in succeeding years.

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83. For an interesting and full analysis of this form of national identity, see Sally E. Foster, "Irish Wrong: Samuel Lover and the Stage-Irishman," in Eire-Ireland 4 (1978), an analysis of the novel Rory O'More (1832) by Samuel Lover. In this work, Lover asks: "What can an honorable peasant and an aristocrat, who love Ireland, do in the wake of 1798? They can join a nationalist organization, but it is tainted with debauched criminals. They can shoose to live a quiet rural life but because they love Ireland they are marked by the government and their lives are endangered. So unable to change the situation, they leave Ireland" (p. 40). For an analysis of the novel Handy Andy, also by Samuel Lover, see Maureen Waters, "'No Divarshin': Samuel Lover's Handy Andy' in Eire-Ireland 4 (1979):53ff. Irish writers were inordinately sensitive to English opinion and tried to reverse the low opinion held of the Irish character in terms of civilized development.

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CHAPTER 5

THE REMEMBRANCE OF THINGS PAST: THE LITERATURE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN 19TH CENTURY IRELAND

The imagery of national identity did not immediately become the language of the Irish people. Indeed, the literature was constructed by and effective among the elite (1) of Irish society. Naturally few could read in Ireland and fewer still had any interest in reading high quality poetry, drama, and novels.

Before the Famine (1845-) Irish was spoken by about half of the population. Many of those Irish speakers could also speak English. The Catholic population was in general educated in "hedge schools" run by self-employed and usually untrained schoolmasters. As the 1841 census shows, some 53 per cent of persons five yeras or older admitted they could neither read nor write, and in Connaught, it was as high as 72 per cent (2).

Moreover, papers were expensive, "beyond the reach of all but the well-to-do" (3). Samuel Clark estimates that in 1841 there were not more than 100,000 regular purchasers of one paper per week out of a total population of eight million and an adult labor force of two million. "This market was heavily concentrated in eastern districts, especially in Dublin. In 1849 there were 101 newspapers being published in Ireland, 28 of Which were located in Dublin, and only 14 in the entire province of Connaught" (4).

The magazine often referred to above, Dublin University Magazine, was dedicated to the Tory Ascendancy class of Ireland, England and the colonies. A rival publication, the Nation, was also involved in a

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revitalization of national identity, though it sought a wider audience and did not have the same literary excellence. For further information regarding these journals, I refer the reader to Appendix 1. The remainder of the literature cited in this chapter is well known and new editions are available in every library.

The methodological problem confronting us here is how to arrange the diversity of material which was constructed in very different epochs in a logical order. The concrete forms must not be reduced to a rarified essence called national identity. On the other hand, each piece of literature cannot be viewed as a unique work of art. Such an approach would merely allow us to probe for differences between one text and another. The idea of a characteristic typicality will be helpful in steering a course between revitalizations in general and unique revitalizations.

Galvano Della Volpe argues that poetry is "concrete intellectuality"; it is a "logical-intuitive complex" and in this sense it is "discourse" (5). We can derive from this fact an "artistic typicality" as well as a "scientific typicality . . . It can be defined as an ensemble of common specific features or an historical and social essentiality" (6). This typicality has nothing to do with a statistical average. If the typical is

> . . . the essence of a given historical phenomenon, it cannot be identified simply with the most wide-spread, the most frequent (or quantifiable) or the most ordinary. In other words, typicality, precisely because it is not an average, must be apprehended as something sensuous or concrete or characteristic. It is therefore expressible or valid through a combination of common and specific, rather than simply common and generic features. It is, in short, a characteristic typicality. (7)

It is not of interest to us here to enter into a discussion of the

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nature of poetry. Nor are we interested in the nature of Irish poets, poetry and literature. It is rather a study of a very specific and limited domain of Irish literature that commands our attention. Moreover, the aim is not to connect this domain to a discourse concerning poetry per se or literature in general, but with the socio-economic formation in which it has a specific kind of meaning. Yet Della Volpe's concept of an artistic typicality will be helpful. We must highlight the most common and specific features of revitalization in the literature of national identity.

In the analysis of the literature of national identity, I will apply the significant distinctions of signifier, signified, sign and myth as well as the relations between these terms which are suggested by Roland Barthes (8). In Appendix 2 the reader will find an elaboration of his ideas. These concepts and relations are worked into the text of this chapter. However, in the construction of the artistic typicality found in the literature as a whole, I will use two broad categories taken from Max Weber's sociology of religion to organize the material.

Max Weber distinguished two ways in which social strata construct a status legend. Social strata which are economically disadvantaged or strata which are negatively valued tend to formulate their status legend and guarantee their worth in terms of a "special mission" (9). (Weber also suggests they might do this in terms of their "functional achievement," but this hypothesis is not relevant here.) The mission becomes an "ethical imperative" which moves their value beyond themselves into "a task" (10). On the other hand, strata which are in "solid possession of social honor" tend to construct their status legend in terms of some "special intrinsic quality" (11).

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The revitalizations of national identity throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries can be conceived as a construction of a "status legend" (12). This project took two different directions. One the one hand some revitalizations represented an effort to rouse a citizenry of dedicated public servants among a population wholly immersed in the pursuit of private interests and values. In this sense they related to an internal community struggle and self-organization. On the other hand, the revitalizations of identity were formulated in a status struggle with existing images of the "collective consciousness of forms," the "recognizable visable shapes" (13), the outward appearances of the "Irish" for different publics, e.g., middle class and larger tenants and farmers who could read and were aware of their negative evaluation. Here the emphasis is on trying to formulate a new set of characteristics, a new outward appearance for the "Irish." The former articulated an ethical imperative and a special mission for an Irish elite political class and a political elite. The latter formulated the special intrinsic quality of the Irish. The one functioned to motivate, the other to characterize the Irish.

Consequently, the material is arranged as follows. When national identity is formulated as an ethical imperative it took two forms. First, it was intended to motivate a political elite; second, it consisted in an effort to baptize the middle class as a whole in the culture of the "people" of Ireland. When the national identity was formulated in terms of some special intrinsic quality of the "Irish," we find that this is done using the imagery of the "lower orders" and secondly of the "higher orders." The chapter concludes with a brief theoretical discussion of aesthetic nationhood.

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National Identity: An Ethical Imperative for a Political Elite

As secretary to the landlords convention in 1879, Standish O'Grady, a Trinity educated Anglican and nephew of an English peer, saw his own class as greedy, given to trivialities, and unable to act in the face of the economic crisis and land war. In a pamphlet of 1882, he could only see the Ascendancy "turned adrift upon the world, ruined, hopeless and homeless, many of them middle-aged and old" (14). However, if O'Grady was disappointed with the Ascendancy landlords of Ireland, he was no Lafayette. In Toryism and the Tory Democracy (1886) he argued that the greatest danger

> . . . was their willingness to parley with the "anarchic canaille," the "scum." Woe to those landlords who bowed to "the people at large"; they were traitors to their class . . . They would brainlessly loose "the unchained, masterless democracy," surrendering Ireland to "this waste, dark, howling mass of colliding interests, mad about the main chance . . . the pence-counting shopkeeper; the publican; the isolated, crafty farmer; the laborer tied to his toil, or tramping perhaps to a polling booth, as an enfranchised citizen, a member of the sovereign people, a ruler in the land, with the wolf on his right hand, and the poor house on the left, and in front, at his disposal, the whole property of the island." (15)

The common people of Ireland did have some "noble qualities." Their "poverty" was augmented by

> . . . "simplicity, religion, including respect for priests and bishops, and perhaps, above all, the pursuit of an ideal, which is not material interest—national independence." But their good impulses were never obedient to "moral persuasion." They answered only to the summons of pitiless discipline. "For as sure as the earth under law rolls so surely do all men need control, and most of all the poor laborer. It is a tameless people, this, none of the earth's surface in such need of the whip and reign, having, indeed, much of the wild ass in its composition." (16)

But if the common laborers could not lead themselves, who then was adequate to this task of mastery? The new upstart leaderships, the

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Cat-Heads, Parnell and Davitt, were unequal to the task. He criticizes them in the form of a story in his History of Ireland, in the chapter entitled "A Pioneer." There he tells the story of how Cuchulain's charioteer, Laeg, rushing to rejoin his master, seeks lodging for the night at the house of a former slave who had attained his freedom and purchased land of his own. But his base-minded owner refuses to offer any hospitality without recompense. This meanness contrasts with the heroic magnaminity of the great warriors depicted in the history (17).

On the other hand, most of the landlords, given as they were to horse rising and womanizing were also incapable. Yet the master elite of Ireland would have to be found among the scattered heroic fragments of the landlord class itself. "Who else could sense the measureless superiority of nobility over equality?" (18) This remnant would have to take a stand. "Either you will re-fashion her (Ireland), moulding us anew after some human and heroic pattern, or we plunge downwards in roaring revolutionary anarchies, where no road or path is any longer visible at all" (19).

In order to bring a soul to this remnant that would restore the natural aristocracy and rouse them to action, Standish O'Grady tried to instill a pride in the heroic age of Ireland and its culture. He stressed its nobility and the excitement of the armies of her demigods and champions (20). In his History of Ireland: Critical and Philosophical, the world of Cuchulain and his great deeds are presented to his readers as models of what a gentry elite should be. "O'Grady's great fighting man was an important imaginary figure in the developing sense of Irish self-identity. A nation which had seen itself as oppressed and politically impotent found in him a figure of heroic strength and virtue" (21). In this work O'Grady "attempted, so he said, 'the reconstruction by

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imaginative processes of the life led by our ancestors in this country hoping to make this heroic period once again a portion of the imagination of the country and its chief characters as familiar in the minds of the people as they once were'" (22).

In this form of revitalization the real concrete leadership classes and elite in society are rejected. However, the ideal of those classes is embraced and articulated in the form of an abstract essence of a dead ancestry which had no direct relation to the 19th century Ascendancy of Ireland.

O'Grady's political elite did not surface among the landlord Ascendancy class. However, this work "provided a model for a way to deal with the Gaelic inheritance of heroic legend, the way of imaginative re-creation" (23). He combined the research of the scholarly texts with a popular style, Victorian prose, proper to his purpose. Naturally, this style itself restricted the range of his discourse, but his conscious re-creation of the "natural" imaginative materials or the original symbols and heroic legends to suit the purposes of a given era was to be the hallmark of the cultural renaissance at the turn of the century.

O'Grady was W.B. Yeats' mentor and elder friend, despite the fact that Yeats once said to him, "You read nothing, know nothing" (24). According to Malcolm Brown, they shared an "attachment to oligarchy, belief that the end of the Irish gentry foretold the end of the world, yearning for the solitary redeemer, condescension to the Irish populace when its mood was obsequious, and hysteria against its more up-to-date moods" (25). Unlike O'Grady, however, Yeats did not attack the greedy landlords but the selfish bourgeois that prevailed in Ireland.

The Irish Protestant gentry, "lovers of horses and women" (26), were

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his favorite social class. But if the real Irish gentry Yeats could observe in his contemporary Ireland were never generous though "free to refuse," were not given to "tragic gaity" and did not "plant lawns," Yeats did not attack the Ascendancy as did O'Grady with a view to revitalizing a leadership elite among them. They were already by the 1880s an obsolete leadership class, a dying ember of their former self in southern Ireland. But Yeats did embrace the ideal self-image of the gentry class of Ireland. Selecting out the most illustrious models, such as Isaac Butt, who was a founding member of Dublin University Magazine, from its political history he formulated an abstract essence, a citizen aristocrat for modern Ireland. Such people, he wrote in "The Tower," were:

> Bounded neither to cause nor to state,
> Neither to slaves that were spat on,
> Nor to tyrants that spat,
> The people of Burke and of Grattan
> That gave, though free to refuse . . . (27)

The aristocratic tradition of the public servant educated in the liberal arts and dedicated to society was disembodied of the actual history of the landlords and Ascendancy Irish, but at the same time fashioned into a concrete image by means of real historical figures. The aristocratic traditions are disembodied from the actual concrete landlord class in Ireland both past and present. But their ideal is re-created by means of these few concrete figures. Out of this aristocratic memory bank and the accumulated idea of itself, Yeats fashioned his abstract Irishman, a master class of relaxed humanity and free-handed generosity. From particular images of concrete Irish history he formulated an idea of a natural if abstract Irish elite. The universalism of Greek nobility is transformed into a particular universalism of "indomitable Irishry" (28).

By the end of the 19th century the idea of a natural aristocracy, so

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prevalent in Samuel Ferguson, Standish O'Grady and earlier revitalizations is of little interest: the high born Tory has joined history's graveyard of aristocracies. On the other hand the ideal of an industrious and temperate bourgeois--the man of the Weberian Protestant ethic--embraced by Thomas Davis and the Young Ireland movement in the 1840s was also somewhat unbelievable after a century of self-interested accumulation in the marketplace. But Yeats does not therefore abandon both classes and ideals. His poetry blends the aristocratic ideal with that of the commoner bourgeois ideal citizen in a new abstract universal, a natural leadership of the modern world.

In a sense, Yeats in Ireland is what Smith's political economy and Hegel's "philosophy of right" and France's revolutionary state were in the late 18th century. He constructed the most advanced form of the bourgeois ideal citizen which could only be articulated in the aesthetic region.

W.B. Yeats is the poet who summarizes in his work and in so many of his poems the activity of the myth-maker. There we find national identity rarified, abstracted from all concrete social classes and formulated in an abstract concept of the universal citizen of the modern nation-state. Yeats, while thoroughly Irish in terms of his meaning structure or form, is the most thoroughly international and modern of all those who worked in the aesthetic realm to formulate a national identity for Ireland.

Yeats distinguished the political citizen from the bourgeois businessman and the pursuit of self-interest which prevailed in the modern world. These citizen aristocrats would be a new natural aristocracy. But instead of blood being the criteria for membership, it was their response to the "call," their faithfulness to the vision and their Irish ancestry that called out to them to abandon their daily tasks.

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This new citizen is posited in opposition to the model citizen of the future as formulated by Thomas Davis in the early 1840s. The Irish Burgherlichkeit was to be "positivistic, comfortable, prudent, timid, joyless, pious, and insensitive" (29). For Yeats, this petit bourgeois for whom the whole world would be organized towards the private accumulation of capital was to be "the whipping boy of all his verse" (30) beginning with "The Madness of King Goll" and found fifty years later in "The Statues." In other words, Davis' "good citizen" proved himself to be less than "good" in the second half of the 19th century and the real history of this social class could not be romanticized as dedicated to and identical with the essence of Irish spirituality, Yeats' "red rose-bordered hem."

> When Pearse summoned Cuchulain to his side,
> What stalked through the Post Office: What intellect,
> What calculation, number, measurement, replied?
> We Irish, born into that ancient sect,
> But thrown upon this filthy modern tide,
> And by its formless spawning fury wrecked,
> Climb to our proper dark that we may trace
> The lineaments of a plummet-measured face. (31)

Just as O'Grady had lacerated the former slave who now owned land of his own but refused hospitality to Laeg, Cuchulain's charioteer, Yeats lashed out at the Irish Catholic middle class in Countess Cathleen (1899). In this play, Yeats tells of demon merchants who in famine times buy the souls of the peasants. Countess Cathleen gives away all she has and finally sells her own soul to save them. She is saved, however, in the end through the goodness of her motives (32). This selflessness of the landlord Cathleen in the service of those in her care and for whom she feels responsibility contrasts with the privatized cares and antisocial attitudes of the modern bourgeois, the tenant farmers, merchants and

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businessmen of Ireland.

Yeats subjects his audience in the theatre of Dublin to his criticism formulated in the "morning light." He attacks not only their narrowed Catholicism and their rejection of the Anglo-Saxon traditions of the gentry, but the main thrust of his work is focused on the burgher mentality.

I do not disagree with Conor Cruise O'Brien (33) who argues that the play was rejected by the Catholic middle class audience because they were of only one generation at most away from being of peasant stock. What we are looking at is precisely the ideological struggle to define Irishry or the "rale Irish." But this debate does not take place in a disembodied ethereal world. The meaning of the concept of Ireland wrought in very specific images is to be found in the relation of the poem or literature—in this case, the play—to the social and economic situation in which it is written, a situation in which there are a number of different points of view.

Yeats attacked the narrow-mindedness of the Catholic social elite trained by the Jesuits. They were at this time contending for supremacy with their Protestant counterparts in Dublin (34). In a poem, "To a Friend," he laments the fact that Lady Gregory's contribution to Irish culture has "come to nothing." He was especially saddened by the treatment of her nephew, Hugh Lane. In "To a Shade," he assails the lying accusations, the frenzy of detraction among the Gaels which had been directed at Parnell, landlord and Protestant, the most prominent political figure in the late 19th century struggle for Home Rule. In "Paudeen," Yeats finds himself lost in this world of 1913, a world very different from that which he had struggled to establish at the turn of the century.

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Instead of a grandiose elite, he finds himself:

> Indignant at the fumbling wits, the obscure spite
> Of our old Paudeen in his shop! I stumbled blind
> Among the stones and thorn-tree, under morning light . . . (35)

Again in his poem "September 1913," he contrasts the new elite of Irish society, the business community locking out the Larkinite trade unionists, with his ideal aristocratic gentry. The miserly bourgeoisie of urban Ireland who paid the worst wages in Great Britain are contrasted with the selflessness of revolutionary martyrs and the "Wild Geese" who spread "the grey wing upon every tide" and were forced into exile.

> What need you, being come to sense,
> But fumble in a greasy till
> And add the halfpence to the pence
> And prayer to shivering prayer, until
> You have dried the marrow from the bone?
> For men were born to pray and save:
> Romantic Ireland's dead and gone,
> It's with O'Leary in the grave. (36)

Thus, in the face of a world full of selfish privatized individuals, Yeats desires the formation of a citizen aristocrat, the ideal public servant educated in the liberal arts and pursuing the good of all. Such a citizen aristocratic elite is required in this world of "crumbling battlements."

> Is every modern nation like the tower
> Half dead at the top? (37)

It is this absence of a truly aristocratic self-sacrificing leadership in Irish society that Yeats would fill with a social class of citizen aristocrats.

But instead of concrete social classes being identified with Ireland or of any one social class leading out all the others, Yeats transcends all social classes in a universal concept of the citizen. He takes the

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materials of all the other revitalizations and works them into his poetry and debate. For him the fairy legends of the peasants, the mansions and towers of the gentry, the universalism of certain religious values, the illustrious figures of Irish history, the quiet nobility of the common folk of the west of Ireland, the heroes of Fenian days, and the ancient spirits that haunt Irish soil—all these are grist for his Irish citizen, a new natural aristocracy that is above nation, above narrow social class interests, above concrete history and yet immersed in poltical activity. All these images and ideas or signifieds are now caught up in the mythical whirlwind of this international poet; they all become language objects of his new signified.

But the Yeatsian emotion is not blind. A contradictory calculative emotion was to be the determining character of the political citizen of a Gaelic Ireland. In "The Statues" (1939), Yeats contrasts Greek rationality symbolized in the Pythagorean theory of numbers and in the measured proportions of Hellenic sculpture and Asiatic formlessness, symbolized by the relaxed inclusiveness of Buddha, the anti-aesthetic, and self-indulgent sloth of Christianity grown decadent ("a fat dreamer of the Middle Ages") and finally, mere animality (Grimalkin). As Rosenthal goes on to point out in his commentary, the modern Irish face a crucial moment of choice. "'Pearse and some of his followers had a cult' of Cuchulain, wrote Yeats in a letter (Letters, 911). That clearly defined heroic image is a challenge to Ireland to combine passion with clear, measured vision in contrst to the formlessness of 'this filthy modern tide.'" An Ireland which has therefore been wrecked by "'formless spawning fury' must first grope in the dark to try to sense the right lineaments of an emergent pesonality to be created, as the Greeks created theirs, out of inspired

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calculation" (38).

Thus the dialectical tide of history had carried Yeats through the early years of hope, the dark years of despair, and now finally, an era of new hope in 1939.

How then is this social class to be formed? We find in Yeats two types of poetry which bring about a transformation in the reader, a metamorphosis that is related to and parallels the ebb and flow, day and night of history. In an early poem, "The Stolen Child" (1886), Yeats seeks to make strange the everyday life of his readers, to release them from the everyday cares and interests of their private selves:

> Come away O human child,
> To the waters and the wild
> With a fairy hand in hand,
> For the world's more full of weeping
> Than he can understand. (39)

Yeats calls out to his own alienated self in the concrete world in the form of a fairy, as a non-human. It is in the company of this non-human spirit that he expects to find his true self.

This world of "unquiet dreams" to which the poet and men of vision are called is a difficult world. In "The Man Who Dreamd of Faeryland" (1891), the hero is one who would have known "the normal things of this life had he had not been led into impossible visions that mocked him and cheapened everything he actually had within his grasp. He is seduced by the song of things below the level of human consciousness" (40), the things that most men are not able to take heed of. In this underworld below the level of human consciousness, the "singers speak for the elements themselves and cry out the longing of all mortality for eternity. The 'singers' are a pile of dead fish in the marketplace, a lug worm in the mud, a common weed, and finally the worms that 'spired' about his body

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in the grave so that he could even have his death in peace" (41). Such a man "has found no comfort in the grave":

> He slept under the hill of Lugnagall;
> And might have known at least unhaunted sleep
> Under that cold and vapour-turbaned steep
> Now that the earth had taken man and all
> Did not the worms that spired about his bones
> Proclaim with that unwearied, reedy cry
> That God had laid his fingers on the sky,
> That from those fingers glittering summer runs
> Upon the dancer by the dreamless wave.
> Why should those lovers that no lovers miss
> Dream, until God burn nature with a kiss?
> The man has found no comfort in the grave. (42)

In yet another poem, "Fergus and the Druid" (1892), Fergus, who was once "king of the Proud Red Branch Kings," has given up his concrete power to the more worldly Conchubar. He now seeks to learn from the Druid the "dreaming wisdom" both intoxicating and bitter, which, for Yeats, is also the wisdom of the poet. The Druid then said:

> Take, if you will, this little bag of dreams;
> Unloose the cord, and they will wrap you round. (43)

In this poem, Fergus is an ambiguous figure—"a mythical yearning presence," both half king and double king, "poised hesitatingly between two realisms. He cannot quite give up what he has foresworn, nor does he quite possess the ideal realm of desire and imagination he has turned to" (44).

While Yeats' old world gentry is at its ebb tide, the wave of new life and the house of the morning dew will come, after we have passed through a period of ideal criticism. He men of vision, men of thought and selflessness who step back from the cares and concerns of this world, must now emerge. The process of theirformation is captured in the metaphor of the spiral staircase of the tower. Through the lonely poetic journey up

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the winding tortuous stairs to reach the light we find an abstract formation of the new citizen.

> I declare this tower is my symbol; I declare
> This winding, gyring, spiring treadmill of a stair is my ancestral stair;
> That Goldsmith and the Dean, Berkeley and Burke have travelled there.
> ("Blood and Moon," 1928) (45)

In history we find a repetitive cycle of day and night, birth and decay, but Ireland is forever. At times of great transformation the aristocratic citizen must enter into communion with Eire and her needs.

> Your mother Eire is always young,
> Dew ever shining and twilight grey.
> ("Into the Twilight," 1893) (46)

The yearning soul seeks identification with the fairies said to be

> . . . old, old and gay
> Oh!, so old,
> Thousands of years, thousands of years,
> If all were told.
> ("A Faery Song," 1891) (47)

In this Yeats sought to emulate Carolan, the last of the Irish bards who "slept on a rath (ancient burial ground), and ever after the fairy tunes rang in his head and made him the great man that he was" (48). Yeats found his home among the true poets, Druids, and fairies of Ireland.

> Nor may I less be counted one
> With Davis, Mangan, Ferguson,
> Because to him who ponders well,
> My rhymes more than their rhyming tell
> Of things discovered in the deep,
> Where only body's laid asleep.
> . . .
> Ah, faeries, dancing under the moon,
> A Druid land, a Druid tune.
> ("To Ireland in the Coming Times," 1892) (49)

The poet himself, thus converted, baptized, now calls out in "The Hosting

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of the Sidhe" (1899) as one of the Sidhe said to be the fairy gods of Ireland that ride upon the winds:

> Away, come away
> Empty your heart of its mortal dream.
> . . .
> Our lips are apart;
> And if any gaze our rushing band,
> We come between him and the deed of his hand,
> We come betwen him and the hope of his heart.
> The host is rushing twixt night and day,
> and where is there hope or deed as fair?
> Caoilte, tossing his burning hair
> And Niamh calling Away, come away. (50)

This spiritual identification and baptism and the sense of conversion and inner transformation is a central mode of many Irish revitalizations. It is not a question of putting on a coat, a style. We are not looking at a mere mode of self-presentation. What was involved was a spiritual immersion, not through some kind of religious ritual or initiation rite, but through a cultural or poetic event. While the cultural renaissance in general involved a learning process, a socialization and internalization of history, games, music, dance, there are many poems that represent this kind of inner experience and function to provoke such a psychological event.

Samuel Ferguson, a Tory unionist and leading figure in the revitalization of Dublin University Magazine, wrote before Yeats the highest quality poetry of this kind. Ferguson, however, is more concerned with the problem of being transformed into a "natural" Irishry.

In "The Fairy Thorn" (51), Anna Grace is spirited away from her "weary spinning wheel" to dance a highland reel "Around the Fairy Thorn on the steep." Old and solitary thorns, in common with the digitalis purpurea (the bells on a fairy dress), were regarded with reverence by the peasantry. The solitary thorns, according to Thomas Crofton Croker, are

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"considered as sacred to the revels of these eccentric little sprites, whose vengeance follows their removal" (52). The peasantry believed that "when a child appears delicate, or a young woman consumptive, the conclusion is, that they had been carried off to be playmate or nurse to the young fairies and that a substitute resembling the person taken away, is deposited in their place, which gradually declines and ultimately dies" (53). This child is called a "changeling" (54).

Ferguson does not treat the story of Anna Grace from this angle, but transforms this peasant culture completely. When Anna and the "three merry maidens fair in kirtles of the green" who called her arrived at the great hawthorn tree "between the ashes tall and slim," a whole supernatural aura accompanies the arrival of the "silent fairy crowd":

> But solemn is the silence on the silvery haze
> That drinks away their voices in echoless repose,
> And dreamily the evening has stilled the haunted braes,
> And dreamier the gloaming grows.
>
> And sinking one by one, like lark-notes from the sky,
> When the falcon's shadow saileth across the open shaw,
> Are hushed the maidens' voices, as cowering down they lie
> In the flutter of their sudden awe.
>
> For, from the air above and the grassy mound beneath,
> And from the mountain-ashes and thej old white-thorn between,
> A power of faint enchantment doth through their beings breathe,
> And they sink down together on the green.

They lie "prostrate all, with their heads together bowed," speechless and full of terror, "For they feel fair Anna Grace drawn silently away" from their embracing arms. They then lie still throughout the night, "For heavy on their senses the faint enchantment lies." In the morning the trance dissolves and they fly away to tell their friends the tale:

> They pined away and died within the year and day,
> And ne'er was Anna Grace seen again. (56)

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In this poem, it is not a healthy vigorous person who is stolen away from life only to be replaced by a sickly changeling of little value in the harsh world of the peasantry. On the contrary it is a person weary of her cottage industry that is spirited away to a higher existence, one that terrifies mere mortals who are focused on their concrete existence. The name Anna Grace suggests a commoner (she worked at the weary spinning wheel) of the Anglo-Irish community. By means of the ritual matamorphosis in which nature itself lends its support, she becomes one with the earth and its natural ancestors.

In the narrative poem "Aideen's Grave," this identification with natural Ireland is given a different form. Anna the commoner is naturalized by being spirited away and becoming one of the fairies--she is called and elevated to a higher order. Here the Protestant Ascendancy, the new aristocracy of Ireland, enter into communion with their natural (i.e., aristocratic) forebears through Ossians lay or narrative poem.

"Aideen's Grave"

They heaved the stone; they heap'd the cairn:
Said Ossian, "In a queenly grave
We leave her, 'mong her fields of fern
Between the cliff and wave.

The cliff behind stands clear and bare,
And bare, above, the heathery steep
Scales the clear heaven's expanse, to where
The Danaan Druids sleep.

. . .

Here far from camp and chase removed,
Apart in Nature's quiet room,
The music that alive she loved
Shall cheer her in the tomb.

The humming of the noontide bees,
The lark's loud carol all day long,
And, borne on evening's salted breeze,
The clanking sea bird's song.

. . .

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And when the fierce Danaan ghosts
   At midnight from their peak come down,
When all around the enchanted coasts
   Despairing strangers drown;

When mingling with the wreckful wail,
   From low Clontaff's wave-trampled floor
Comes booming up the burthen'd gale
   The angry Sand-Bull's roar;

Or angrier than the sea, the shout
   Of Erin's hosts; in wrath combined,
When Terror heads Oppression's rout,
   And Freedom cheers behind:

Then o'er our lady's placid dream,
   Where safe from storms she sleeps, may steal
Such joy as will not misbeseem
   A queen of men to feel:

Such thrill of free, defiant pride,
   As rapt her in her battle car
At Gavra, when by Oscar's side
   She rode the ridge of war . . .

And here, hard by her natal bower
   On lone Ben Edar's side, we strive
With lifted rock and sign of power
   To keep her name alive.

That while, from circling year to year,
   Her Ogham-letter'd stone is seen,
The Gael shall say, "Our Fenians here
   Entombed their loved Aideen." (57)

But this lettering on the stone will wear away and so her name will only be recalled when Ossian's poem or lay is spoken:

The long forgotten lay I sing
   May only ages hence revive,
(As eagle with a wounded wing
   To soar again might strive.)

Imperfect, in an alien spech,
   When, wandering here, some child of chance
Through pangs of keen delight shall reach
   The gift of utterance--

To speak the air, the sky to speak,
   The freshness of the hill to tell,
Who, roaming bare Ben Edar's peak,
   And Aideen's briary dell,

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And gazing on the cromlech vast,
   And on the mountain and the sea,
Shall catch communion with the past
   And mix himself with me.

Child of the Future's doubtful night,
   Whate'er your speech, whoe'ver your sires,
Sing while you may with frank delight
   The song your hour inspires;
. . .
Ah me, or e'er the hour arrive
   Shall bid my long-forgotten tones,
Unknown One, on your lips revive,
   Here, by these moss-grown stones,

What change shall o'er the scene have cross'd
   What conquering lords anew have come;
What lore-arm'd, mightier Druid host
   From Gaul or distant Rome!
. . .

And haply, where yon curley calls,
   Athwart the marsh, 'mid groves and bowers
See rise some mighty chieftain's hall
   With unimagined towers;

And baying hounds, and coursers bright,
   And burnish'd cars of dazzling sheen,
With courtly train of dame and knight
   Where now the fern is green,
Let change as may the Name of Awe,
   Let rite surcease and altar fall,
The same One God remains, a law
   For ever and for all.

Let change as may the face of earth,
   Let alter all the social frame,
For mortal man the ways of birth
   And death are still the same. (58)

The natural cycle of the individual, his birth and death, and the lamentation of friends is invoked establishing the ongoing history of the natural ordering of society and the earth with which present generations enter into communion. By means of this poetic process the aristocratic "foreigner" is naturalized. Once again we see the pattern whereby the real concrete social class, the Irish Aristocracy as they existed concretely in Ferguson's day, is rejected in favor of an ideal and dead

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but analogous social class.

The search for a master class that would take the reins of a turbulent Ireland "turning and turning in the widening gyre" (59) saw a new solution in the literature of Patrick Pearse, a leading figure in the sacrificial uprising of Easter Week 1916. Pearse was from the outset interested in "uplifting the soul and the Gael" (60). But his focus on the heroic age of Ireland took a different direction than that of O'Grady, Yeats and Ferguson.

He, too, loved the noble soul of the Irish people. But in an early work, "Brian Boroimhe" (1899), he located this grandeur and self-abnegation in Brian Boru, the southern prince of the 11th century who made himself High King to rid Ireland of the Danes. God was on the side of Brian fighting for our Savior's faith against the Gaul, i.e., the "foreigner" (61).

In 1900 Pearse published Fiann and the Fiann Saga. It is a cycle of stories concerning Finn and his warriors. "Finn was a legendary hero, the strongest, noblest, bravest and wisest leader of Irish mythology. His band of warriors, the Fianna, fought in countelss battles throughout Ireland. The stories, which exist in many versions, revolve particularly around Finn, his challenger for the leadership of the Fianna, Goll MacMorna, Finn's son Oisin and his wife Grainne, and her lover Diarmaid" (62).

The focus then was on the warriors of Ireland rather than on the chieftains or the aristocrats of early or later history. When Pearse launched "An Barr Buadh" ("The Trumpet of Victory") in 1912, it was to preach "the elementary political truth that the liberty of a people can only be guaranteed by its readiness and ability to vindicate it in arms"

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(63).

The people of Ireland to be served by this warrior leadership he personified as an old woman in "Mise Eire." "The second 'Mise Eire' ('I Am Ireland')—later shortened in the Collected Works—personified Ireland as an old woman who spoke of her shame, her glory, her pain, and her sorrow. Her glory was Cuchulainn, her shame in those who sold her, her pain in the persecution of her enemies and hefr sorrow, the death of those in whom she had hope" (64).

This fascination with sacrifice and death in Pearse gave, according to Conor Cruise O'Brien, a new twist to the republican tradition of violent blood letting "for this generation" (65). The failures of the "physical force movement" (66) in each generation, which depressed most people in Ireland, had a different effect on Pearse:

> Pearse, on the other hand, felt exaltation at the thought, not excatly of failure, but of the continual renewal of blood sacrifice for Ireland . . . Pearse was, of course, by no means unique in the exaltation of his romantic nationalism . . . What was special about Pearse was the intensity of his commitment to a scarificial form of nationalism, his vision of the past as a long chain of sacrifices, and his imaginative understanding of the power over the future which further sacrifices could exert. He was determined himself to be part of such a blood sacrifice, inspiring other blood sacrifices, as the Fenians had done. (67)

In a prayer poem, "Mionn" ("Oath") the heroic nobility of Ireland (irrespective of their class origins) are transformed into sacrificial Gaels. A ritual prayer identifies poet, reader, and the saints and patriots of Ireland from St. Patrick to Tone and Emmet.

> In the name of God,
> by Christ His only Son
> By Mary His gentle Mother
> By Patrick the Apostle of the Irish,
> By the loyalty of Colm Cille,
> By the glory of our race,
> By the blood of our ancestors,

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By the murder of Red Hugh,
By the sad death of Owen Roe,
By the dying wish of Sarsfield,
By the anguished sigh of Fitzgerald,
By the bloody wounds of Tone,
by the noble blood of Emmet,
by te Famine Corpses,
By the tears of Irish exiles,
We swear the oaths our ancestors swore,
That we will free our race from bondage,
Or that we will fall fighting hand to hand.
Amen. (68)

In this poem/prayer we find a summary and accumulation of many revitalizations. Pearse takes the products of a century of archeological digging and various revitalizations only to skip the whole 19th century revitalizations and history. (He mentions only the silent death of many Gaels in the Famine and through enforced exile.) Jumping over all his immediate predecessors in history, he identifies his nation with the republican insurrectionists of 1798, the Jacobite and feudal chieftains, the Christian saints and the Christian God. It is in this poem that we most clearly see a glaring contradiction of contents hidden by the partial analogy of present and past. The analogy that binds all the actual historical figures together is, of course, their sacrificial dedication to "free our race from bondage," but the concept of bondage meant different things in each case. The death of Christ as a salvific act stands in sharp contrast to the death of a nationalist guerrilla fighter. The French revolutionists of 1798 are here allied with the feudal and Jacobean reactionaries. And the name of God and his Catholic Church are invoked even though both were at the time Pearse wrote solidly opposed to the "physical force movement" that would give its blood "for this generation."

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National Identity—An Ethical Imperative for an Elite: The Middle Class Baptism in the Culture of the "People" of Ireland

The form of ethical imperative and the special mission involved in the above revitalizations of national identity were directed mainly to a political elite, a natural aristocracy, a natural citizen, a natural warrior class. It reached out to men of natural superiority in a world of self-interested persons to demand absolute self-abnegation and immolation. All these poetic transformations are moments in the life of individuals who embrace the ethical imperative. Each poem represents a ritual hour of creative effervescence in a more individual sense. But this was not the only form of cultural transformation found in the literatuare of revitalization.

Following the years of turmoil in the 1830s and '40s and the brief nationalist uprising of 1848, Samuel Ferguson, author of "The Fairy Thorn" above, argued that all these political cleavages and battles could only be transcended by internal subjective events, through "the reconciling power of mind" (69). He was referring to the great importance of the recently translated The Annals of the Four Masters and the many others which he and acquaintances were doing at the time. "For these noble works of learning which day by day begin to show their heads above the waves of misfortune around us, rest upon deep and solid substructions, such as assure us that they will yet become centres of gathering intelligence—will spread, and unite, and grow green with culture, and be covered with harvests, while storms shall blow, and waves fret at their feet in vain" (70). Indeed, many scholars precisely in the 1840s prdouced an abundance of English translations. With this heroic material in hand, the "geniuses of the country," he wrote to William Allingham in 1849, should rally to Dublin

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and "create a pure home literature" and "make it symbolize significant patterns in the nation's destiny" (71).

A Protestant Tory, staunch unionist and married into the Guinness family, the highest social class in Ireland, Ferguson was immersed in the culture of an aristocratic pre-Christian, i.e., non-Catholic, Ireland. His "Hibernian Nights Entertainments" (72) was first published in DUM in December, 1834. Here Ferguson develops an elaborate framing device to tell thee ancient mythological stories and bardic legends of the Red Branch which appealed especially to the aristocratic classes of Tudor Ireland (73). The framing device consisted in the use of a real heroic historic event, when Gaelic chieftains Red Hugh O'Donnell, Henry O'Neill and Art O'Neill and Turlogh Buy O'Hogan, the Bard of Tullaghoge, plan their escape from Dublin Tower in 1591. To pass the time while waiting for the moment of escape, Turlogh is asked to tell a tale of the Red Branch. This system of a tale within a tale allows the stories to be told. It also allows Ferguson, though his historical personages, to comment on each story.

In his English translations of Irish originals, Ferguson tried to preserve their "shape, sound and sentiment" (74). He did not see his activity as mere art. He wanted to create a "distinctive national literature" as the "means of realizing the destiny which he considered rightfully Ireland's but would also provide a link between people of diverse convictions, it would be argued, minimize and ultimately remove the antipathies of Orange and Green, Protestant and Catholic, aristocrat and peasant" (75). The basis of this national literature should be "the fact of Irish history and legend" (76). Thus, by getting at the deep spiritual structures of Ireland, he hoped to reconcile the minds of a

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society ridden by cleavages. But his works were not popular in style or content. His readers could only be an elite capable of reading his more obscure texts.

But another kind of literary revival hoped to steep the entire middle class of Ireland in the culture not of legend and history, but the culture of "the people." It would acquire its national identity by a renunciation of modern culture and its immersion in one that was truly Irish. The real existence of this middle class is to be rejected and its true value is to be found outside itself, in another class. In order to acquire a real Irish identity, they would have to abandon their real existence and find a culture constructed by another existence, the culture of another reality. I will examine this form of revitalization as it is found in Thomas Davis of the 1840s and Douglas Hyde of the cultural renaissance at the turn of the century.

Initially Douglas Hyde and the various organizations of the cultural renaissance which he and Yeats and others founded were to be strictly apolitical. Ireland had just experienced the cleavages of the Parnell debacle (77), and like Ferguson after the 1848 rebellion, the leaders of the cultural renaissance realized the need to form a community of culture and sentiment in a divided and divisive world before any concrete political activity could take place.

The title of Hyde's inaugural address when made President of The National Literary Society in November, 1892—"The Necessity for de-Anglicizing the Irish Nation"—sums up the basic orienation and program of the general movements of this cultural renaissance. Hyde argued that Anglicization had caused Ireland to slip from being one of the most cultured nations in Europe to its most backward. By giving up the native

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language and customs, the Irish had thrown away with a light heart the best claim which they had upon the world's recognition as a separate nation. Mazzine had said that the Irish ought to be content as an integral part of the United Kingdom because they had lost the notes of the nationalist song. Said Hyde:

> While the Irish claimed to hate the English, they imitated them in dress, literature, music, names, and ideas, only a long time after them the British, and a long way behind. But at the bottom of the Gaelic heart was the Gaelic past which prevented them from becoming citizens of the Empire. In order to de-Anglicize, the Irish would have to create a strong feeling against West Britonism and arrest at once the decay of the language . . . The soul of Ireland was to be rediscovered not in the descendants of Cromwellians and Williamites who sat in Grattan's Parliament, but . . . in the descendants of the hewars of wood and drawers of water, the ordinary people themselves. (78)

In Hyde's first book of folk tales, Leabhar Sgealaigheachta (1889), he appended six "Notes" to the Gaelic texts written in the English language. There he argued that the reason for keeping Irish alive was because English was the language of strangers, and the Irish language preserved the legends, poems, and proverbs of the people. All this would be lost if English supplanted Irish as the language of the people. If the language must die, however, it should be the decision of the Irish people, not the dictate of an alien oppressive culture. But the Irish had no choice--the Anglo-Irish gentry had tried to "stamp out both the language and the institutions of the nation" and so robbed the people of their right to choose (79).

Thomas Davis too sought to bring an Irish soul to a public he deemed lost to an English culture or who were anti-Irish Irishmen. In the latter group he included many of his contemporary Protestant gentry at Trinity Historical Society. Thus he addressed them on October 12, 1840: "Look on our class in Ireland; are they worthy of their nature or their country? .

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. . You who are called the upper classes in Ireland possess no institutions for any sort of instruction worthy of you. Nay, more, so strong are bigotry, interest and laziness that you will get none. You must found your own institutes—you must conduct your own affairs. . . How long will you sin against patriotism?" (80). Again in the Nation of July 13, 1844, in an article entitled "Ireland's People," he attacked the "Irish nobles" and "Irish gentry" and placed all hope of reviving Ireland in what he called the "Irish people." "The nobles are the highest class. They have most to guard. In every other country they are the champions of patriotism . . . In Ireland they are its disgrace. They were first to sell and would be last to redeem it" (81).

The Irish gentry he divided into two groups: those "of the old Norman race who commingled with the Catholic gentlemen," and those who are "the descendants of Cromwell's or Williams' successful soldiery. This last is the most anti-Irish of all. They feel no personal debasement in the dishonour of their country" (82).

The "people" on the other hand are those who "till its soil, raise its produce, ply its trade. They serve, sustain, support, save it. They supply its armies; they are its farmers, its merchants, its tradesmen, its artists, all that enrich and adorn it" (83).

However, Davis was unhappy that this population might have lost its soul to England. He wrote:

> A people without a language of its own is only half a nation . . . To lose your native tongue, and learn that of an alien, is the worst badge of conquest—it is the chain on the soul. To have lost entirely the native language is death; the fetter was worn through . . . For centuries upon centuries Irish was spoken by men of all bloods in Ireland, and English was unknown save to a few citizens and nobles of the Pale. 'Tis only within a very late period that the majority of the people learned English . . . Nothing can make us believe that it is natural or honourable for

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> the Irish to speak the speech of the alien, the invader, the Sassenagh tyrant, and to abandon the language of our kind and heroes . . . No! Oh, no! the "brighter days shall surely come" and the green flag shall wave on our towers, and the sweet old language be heard once more in college, mart and senate. (84)

This language is natural to the Irish people, it is "conformed to their organs, descriptive of their climate, constitution and manners, mingled inseparably with their history and their soil, fitted beyond any other language to express their prevalent thoughts in the most natural and efficient way" (85).

At present, however, the middle classes think it is a sign of vulgarity to speak Irish, and instead they learn the language of their masters in school. But the "upper classes should have their children taught the language which explains our names of persons, or places, our older history and our music, and which is spoken in the majority of our counties" (86). Thus, learning the Irish language would bring their political class closer to the large mass of the people. AS he understood it, about "half of the people west of the line drawn from Derry to Waterford speak Irish habitually and in some of the mountain tracts east of that line it is still common" (87).

Unlike the cultural renaissance which was to follow him, in trying to rouse a natural soul among the Irish middle clas Thomas Davis did not produce a highly intellectual or very refined poetry. His writings relate to a larger public, the readership of the Nation that he hoped to elevate in spirit and sentiment. For them he assumed the rousing ballad form of music, so traditional in Ireland, was best suited. He considered Thomas Moore's balladry to be very important. "A reprint of Moore's Melodies on lower keys and at much lower prices would probably restore the sentimental music of Ireland to its natural supremacy" (88),he wrote in the Nation.

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Davis and Moore wrote popular songs in modern verse and music, but used an imaginative content of Irish legend and history. A national balladry for Davis had the following function:

> To hallow or accurse the scenes of glory and honour, or of shame and sorrow; to give to the imagination the terms and homes and senates, and battles of other days; to rouse and soften and strengthen, and enlarge us with the passions of great periods; to lead us into love of self-denial, of justice, of beauty, of valor, of generous life, and proud death; and to set up in our souls the memory of great men, who shall then be as models and judges of our actions--these are the highest duties of history and these are best taught by a Ballad History. (89)

Thus, Davis, unlike Yeats, hoped to battle successfully with his middle class public and form the citizens of a new Ireland.

> And righteous men must make our land
> A Nation once again . . .
>
> And then I prayed I yet might see
> Our fetters rent in twain,
> And Ireland, long a province be
> A Nation once again. (90)

Davis' ballads were without doubt extremely popular among the farmers and middle classes, as were Moore's Melodies which we will see later. Both authors failed to achieve the approval of the intelectual strata of their succeeding generations. Their culture was first and foremost a mass culture. But the culture which Davis brought to the middle class was that of the "natural" Irish, those who spoke the language still, those who still held the oral traditions and sentiments, those who "remembered" the days of yore, who were anti-British. The Irish citizen class would be formed by taking on the sentiments and collective sense of community still extant in this remnant.

The cultural renaissance led by Hyde and Yeats in the 1890s had a similar itention. The original purpose of the Gaelic League proposed not

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so much the revival of the language throughout Ireland as to keep the language spoken wherever it was still alive (91). But, however, they may have seen the revival of the language in terms of the mass of the Irish people, this immersion in the Irish language and the culture of the simple people of the west represented a kind of ritual baptism in Irishness—an act through which one became something else, through which one donned a new identity. It was not seen, however, as a coat, but as an immersion, a change of being, an inner substantive transformation which would take the individual out of the world in which they as middle class people existed.

Learning the Irish language meant internalizing Irish history, Irish nationality and becoming Gaelic. Hitherto the Gaelic language had been identified with the peasant Catholic world of superstition, penal oppressions, with an abject people. It had been abandoned by the more elite Catholics of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Now, however, embraced by the intellectual and political middle class elite, the ancient language is transformed.

However, there was a paradoxical twist to this development. By learning the Irish language as a culture or as an acquired ritual and bade of immersion in a national identity, the 20th centurynationalist ws made remote from the "people" of Ireland. The latter were more immersed in trying to earn a living, getting ready to take the boat to England or America or wherever. Hence this form of identification with the "people" of Ireland became more the spiritual event of the privileged and enlightened few.

During the cultural renaissance this immersion in the true spirit of Ireland was also conceived poetically as a movement to the west, the locus ofthe last remnant and twilight years of an Irish peasantry. This

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movement to the west of Ireland in search of enlightenment and a baptism in the Irish soul by those who rejected Anglicization and the assimilation of a modern culture is reflected in a poem, "Raftery the Poet," which was popular among these early revivalists. In the early 19th century there had been a blind Irish poet, Raftery (1784-1835) who led a wandering life around Gort, County Galway in the west. Douglas Hyde, the first President of the National Literary Society and the Gaelic League, and who would later be President of Ireland, collected many poems from the oral versions of the people of the west. This one about Raftery may have been his own creation which he put in the mouth of Raftery. No one knows.

"Raftery the Poet"
I am Raftery the poet,
Full of hope and love,
With eyes that have no light,
With gentleness that has no misery.

Going west upon my pilgrimage
By the light of my heart,
Feeble and tired
To the end of my road.

Behold me now,
And my face to the wall,
A-playing music
Unto empty pockets. (92)

This journey to the "west" could, of course, be understood in different ways. It could be formulated as a task like that of Thomas Davis in the 1840s, of bringing a soul to a dying people without a soul, an identity to a dead race of people. It could be viewed as defending an Irish spirit and keeping it alive in the face of the inroads made by Anglicization. Or it could be seen as an effort to convert the already Anglicized Gaels, the new Irish social classes. Most of the urban members of the Gaelic League had come to the League in order to do precisely this. MacNeill had in fact argued, in a March, 1893 article in the Gaelic

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Journal, that the movement to preserve Irish had been confined almost entirely to the education of the middle class. Among the great mass of the people, indifference prevailed.

This cultural renaissance was not, of course, a movement of the Irish folk or common people, but of people of Protestant and gentry stock and of Catholics of Irish tenant farmer background who were now solidly urban and an educated middle class—teachers, writers, bank clerks, and so on. It is clear that the revival of the Irish language as a spoken medium in Dublin, where it had not been spoken since the days of the Pale, would have been an absurdity. Something else was intended here. The revival of the language among an educated elite represented the formation of a national identity. It was this point that Hyde, as well as Yeats and Eoin MacNeill (all of them of Protestant stock) made clear. They wanted to form a distinctive culture, a distinctive identity, a non-English concept of Ireland and what it meant to be Irish. As Yeats put it in his poem "To Ireland in the Coming Times" (1892):

> Ah, faeries, dancing under the moon
> A Druid land, a Druid tune! (93)

An identification with the culture of the common folk of Ireland was viewed as the means whereby an urban and Anglicized middle class would become Irish. They would be identified with the "concrete" people in Ireland by taking on this alien culture. But "concrete" is in quotation marks, because the common people of Ireland at this time were not these western Gaels living in cottages and speaking Irish. They may once have been the producers of wealth, the hewers of wood and drawers of water, and their culture may indeed have been constructed on their experience as such, but by the late 19th century they were a dying remnant. The Great

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Famine and the mass emigration after 1850 of the peasant laborers and the residents of the smaller farms had seen a vast change in the western Irish countryside. Moreover, the land war and the radical organization of farm laborers in the larger farms of eastern and central Ireland meant that the remaining population involved in real agricultural production had little in common with the Irish-speaking westerner.

Immersion in the true Gaels of the west took many literary forms. One such is the dramatic usage of the English spoken by people in western Ireland at the turn of the century found in Synge's plays, such as *Riders to the Sea* and *The Playboy of the Western World*. In *Beside the Fire* (1890), Douglas Hyde tried to give a perfect translation in Anglo-Irish dialect of the Gaelic oral folklore he had recorded (94). The most bitter criticism of this romanticization of the village folk is found in *The Valley of the Squinting Windows* by Brinsley MacNamara.

The Literary Revival: A Spiritual Formation of the Irish Citizen

Roland Barthes tells us that "the bourgeois is defined as the social class which does not want to be named" (95). He points out that when it passes from reality to representation, it obliterates its name, "it makes its status undergo a real ex-nominating operation" (96).

This hemorrhage of the bourgeois is effected especially through the idea of "the nation." By means of this concept the "anonymity of the bourgeoisie" in culture and politics is guaranteed and "bourgeois norms are experienced as the evident laws of a natural order" (97). From the historical point of view, "the status of the bourgeoisie is particular, historical: man as represented by it is universal, eternal. The bourgeois class has precisely built its power on technical, scientific

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progress, as an unlimited transformation of nature: bourgeois ideology yields in return an unchangeable nature" (98).

The primary focus of Barthes' analysis shows how a class interest is mediated and transformed by the concept of the nation-state into the appearance of the collective interest. In the above literature we find a class that seeks to deny its own existence in order to assert itself. This class represses its own real experience, feeling and the ideas that might emerge from its relation to reality in order to have life in an alien culture. The class constructs no imagery of its own or even a language proper to itself. The real class experience of the world is suppressed while that same class finds a way to express itself and live in an alien culture.

They cannot find within their own class and their own experience as intellectuals in Irish society, the basis for a sentiment that can claim to be collective. But to bring a soul to Ireland and themselves they visited the graveyards of Ireland. They dug up the ideological formulations of another existence, a different class from themselves. However, it was never the culture of a contemporary and existing "real" active class. This other social class was either the essence of a long dead ancestry or the dying remnant of an obsolete concrete social class. What we are looking at is not the ex-nomination of a social class but its nomination as something other than it is. They lose their real identity and assume a false one which is then considered to be real.

This has two meanings. First, the Tory middle class such as Ferguson wanted to divest itself of its foreign identity as a settler population. On the other hand, the Anglicized Catholic middle class also needed to become truly Irish and different from middle class "foreigners." The

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Protestant Tory wants to shed his settler status while the Catholic middle class seeks to de-Anglicize itself. Both must be naturalized.

Secondly, the cultural or poetic metamorphosis represents a need to shed the cares of daily life in which the individual pursues a mere self-sinterest. The political elite must divest themselves of their bourgeois character. The pursuit of a collective interest is regarded as fundamentally opposed to this first everyday interest. It is this opposition that is mediated by a political and literary elite. The two terms are not united in one person, but are bifurcated. The political elite pursues the common good irrespective of and in opposition to and despite those who merely pursue their daily concerns. Hence revitalization does not represent some kind of an "ideological" pursuit of a "class interest," a "bourgeois" interest in any direct sense. Indeed the nation and the citizen appear in an antagonistic form to the bourgeois class as a whole.

The self-immolation and self-hatred involved in revitalization is not that of a masked self-interest but is a much more contradictory affair. In general, it involved the self-sacrifice of the citizen thus formed in a cultural and poetic act. While those who pursued the cares of everyday life (making money) may have reaped the benefits of their political exertions, the individuals involved in revitalization and its construction see themselves as truly opposed to everything their own class stands for, and opposed to every experience of that class. If the idea of progress was formulated on the basis of the real experience of the urbanites of the Enlightenment, the idea of self-immolation and self-destruction is central to the middle class of Irish culture. Their experience of the 19th century must therefore not have been that of an upwardly mobile stratum or

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a progressive situation.

It is precisely because of the egotistical character of the middle class itself that this other culture is identified with the real Irish. In the cultures of the past we find the primacy to sentiment over intellect. There we find nobility of feeling and morality, self-abnegation and sacrifice. This is locked away and hidden from direct observation in the language, balladry, and stories of "the people," or what has been preserved in the ballad, history or poetic writings of the Irish bards. Real sentiment is to be found in this other culture. It is this role, motivating sentiment, a social morality, which prevails in the national identity articulated as an ethical imperative. In its articulation, this national identity is not primariuly a collective social content. But through it the middle classes of the cities drum themselves into a fit of citizenry and self-abnegation which is not proper to their own class situation and the pursuit of self-interest. The literary texts function as a ritual of creative effervescence. They are not merely a propagandistic weapon, though they were that too, as we have seen. Neither are they merely an attempt to mask a narrow self-interest behind a mask of a national interest.

Yet their literary self-destruction as a real and concrete social class in Ireland does not mean that they seek to live in a monastery or a remote island. Their mission is the mastery of a world in turmoil and the formation of a new Ireland. They have the political mission of unification in a world where, as Yeats describes it in "The Second Coming,"

> Things fall apart; the center cannot hold;
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world. (99)

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Their mastery, however, does not refer to the Fascist mastery of the working class; the latter did not exist in large numbers. Neither is it the Tory mastery of an unruly peasantry and serfdom except in the eyes of Standish O'Grady. It is rather the mastery of their own class that is most desired, the formation of an internal unity among the middle class, especially that of Dublin city.

As Marx wrote in the "18th Brumaire":

> The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a night-mare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionizing themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honoured disguise and this borrowed language. (100)

At the moment of revolutionary transformation in France,

> Camille Desmoulins, Danton, Robespierre, Saint-Just, Napoleon, the heroes as well as the parties and the masses of the old French Revolution, performed the task of their time in Roman costume and with Roman phrases, the task of unchaining and setting up modern bourgeois society . . . [But] unheroic as bourgeois society is, it nevertheless took heroism, sacrifice, terror, civil war and battles of peoples to bring it into being. And in the classically austere traditions of the Roman Republic and its gladiators found the ideals and the art forms, the self-deceptions that they needed in order to conceal from themselves the bourgeois limitations of the content of their struggles and to keep their enthusiasm on the high plane of the great historical tragedy . . .
>
> Thus the awakening of the dead in those revolutions served the purpose of glorifying the new struggles, not of parodying the old; of magnifying the given task in imagination, not of fleeing from its solution in reality; of finding once more the spirit of revolution, not of making its ghost walk again. (101)

However, the failure of this social transformation and hence the failure of urban classes to achieve supremacy due to the predominance of the land in Irish economics throughout the 19th century in one social form (tenants and Ascendancy landlords) and through the early twentieth century

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in another social form (farmers) has meant that this spirit of revolution must be forever renewed in urban society. At the same time, the continued presence of the "foreigner" due to the agricultural dependence on Great Britain and the Protestant supremacy in a northern Ireland tied to England, forever questions the authenticity of national identity. Consequently the Gays, Cousins, etc. that Marx mentions as the true interpreters and mouthpieces of bourgeois society who took over from the myth-makers once the new social transformation was established, have a constant problem of achieving hegemony and legitimacy in Irish culture. We may also note that here we have a more structural explanation for the ambivalent situation of the state in southern Ireland which O'Brien (102) argues results from the specific content of the physical force republic ideology and the fact that the same ideology legitimates both the state and the IRA.

The second half of the material, national identity formulated as a special intrinsic quality of the Irish, will be presented as indicated above in two parts: status identification through the lower orders, and status identification through the higher orders.

Status Identification through the Lower Orders

In the early 19th century two images of the Irish prevailed among the British public. As Foster points out, "the tradition of the stage-Irishman on the English stage can be dated from the late 16th century." The other image was that of the rebellious and murderous Irishmen of 1798. The stage Irishman was not a dangerous figure but a ridiculous and laughable one. To quote Maurice Bourgeois:

> The stage-Irishman habitually bears the generic name of Pat, Paddy or Teague. He has an atrocious Irish brogue, makes perpetual

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> jokes, blunders and bulls in speaking, and never fails to utter, by way of Hibernian seasoning, some wild screech or oath of Gaelic origin at every third word; he has an unsurpassable gift of "blarney" and cadges tips and free drinks. His hair is of a fiery red; he is rosy-cheeked, massive and whiskey-loving. His face is one of simian bestiality, with an expresion of diabolical archness written all over it . . . In his right hand he brandishes a stout blackthorn or a sprig of shillelagh, and threatens to belabor therewith the daring person who will tread on the tails of his coat. (103)

Basically the English saw the Irish as a race of people very low on the "rungs of the evolutionary ladder" (104). It is precisely this image which is confronted in the writings which seek to attribute a special intrinsic characteristic to the Irish. This literary activity had a number of different meanings. But at this point it will be useful to analyze the way in which the lower orders were presented by Thomas Crofton Croker in the early 19th century.

T. Crofton Croker sought to define the Irish people by analyzing the peasantry. But his idea of the nation was very different from that of the Abbe Sieyes, who a few years previously had argued that "the people are the nation." It is true that for Croker the lower orders indeed defined the nation. It was they who gave the people of a region their concrete and specific characteristics. The upper classes were defined by universal criteria which are valid for Englishmen, Irishmen, Indians, French or whatever region of the world. An aristocracy he considered natural, whereas a peasantry is concrete, regional and national. In Researches in the South of Ireland (1824) he says he wants to compare the "peasantry of England and Ireland (for in the lower classes alone can national distinctions be traced) in proportion to the variation of feature in the respective annals of their countries, and to the minute and liberal observer a summary of each may be read in the present inhabitants" (105).

In his task, then, he will move freely between the past and the

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present. He will then illustrate "the cause of existing distinctions between the children of England and Ireland, a distinction so strong that it separates those who should feel united in one common interest and which, under slight modifications, still threatens to render Ireland the scene of serious disaffection" (106).

He will not examine the relics of the ancient past. "I am not interested in those descriptions of the Regal splendour of Tara, the scholastic learning of Lismore or the achievements of Brian and Malachi . . . there is now little to be gleaned from those repositories of monkish labor, either of an amusing or an instructive nature" (107). Instead he will examine the tradition of the country man: "The vulgar superstition, the traditionary tale, even the Romantic legend possess a relative value from the conclusions to which they lead; and every fragment that we glean, is important as preserving ancient and decaying peculiarities, from which alone a just estimation of former transactions can be derived" (108).

The difference between them is that the

> . . . rough and honest independence of the English cottager speaks the freedom he has so long enjoyed, and when really injured his appeal to the laws for redress and protection mark their impartial and just administration; the witty servility of the Irish peasantry, mingled with occasional bursts of desperation and revenge, the devoted yet visionary patriotism, the romantic sense of honour, and improvident yet unalterable attachments, are evidences of a conquest without system, an irregular government, and the remains of feudal clanship in the barbarous and arbitrary organization of a warklike people. (109)

A good deal of what Croker examines in his tour of the south of Ireland is not the civilization of the Irish peasantry but that of its chieftains and clergy. In a section on Irish architecture, he shows how uncivilized they were in comparison with the settler population. The comparison is not with the English peasantry but in discussing the

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mansions of the Elizabethan era and so on he is talking about the civilization of the gentry. The main point of this exercise is, however, to show that leadership strata of the native Irish is not very civilized. On the other hand, his review of the peasantry shows them to be fine fellows. If this stout Irish peasant is given the proper leadership, they will come round, we have no need to fear a French invasion or a French Revolution in Ireland. The Irish Tories of the 1830s made a similar argument, as we saw. If, however, they are not given full and just attention by Westminster, then England may well fear the seditious native leadership (110).

Croker's Researches in the South of Ireland (1824) was, he said, a mere "arrangement of notes made during several excursions to the south of Ireland between the years 1812 and 1822" (111). However, his first collection of stories represented a much more sophisticated literary event. Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland was published anonymously in 1825 (112). It was so successful that it was published again in the following year. Sir Walter Scott wrote a complimentary letter for this edition (113).

In this collection of beautiful stories we find a peasant that is spontaneous, imaginative, quaint, basically very generous, respectful of authority, and whose lords and masters deal properly with him. However, a national identity is imposed on this authentic voice and language of the peasantry. It is in and through the meta-language of the myth-maker, in the interaction of the writer-collector and audience or public (in this case, a Tory public in Great Britain and Ireland) that the peasant now speaks a language he himself does not know. In a curious sense, we can say that if the fairies hinted at the existence of another and very

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different universe parallel with the everyday one of the peasantry, these same stories now hint at or suggest a completely different universe established by the mythical concept. They are now the language object of a very different discourse, in fact different discourses. In Croker's hands the imaginative creations of the peasantry, their only art work and possession, are wrested from them. They are, so to speak, robbed of their speech so that they can speak on a national and international level for the first time. However, they do not get to speak directly, but in an alien tongue, that of their gentry and in a discourse quite foreign to what was then a completely localized peasantry.

In life itself, as real participants in Irish society, as agricultural producers, they had no public voice. They never "spoke" as a collective. As it is, the first Irish peasant stories are being collected precisely when as a class they are in their twilight years. In physical terms, they were, in the 1820s, multiplying their numbers at fantastic yearly rates. But the Industrial Revolution and the modernization of agricultural production had already defined their future.

Of these stories Yeats would later say that Croker "merely magnified an irresponsible type, found oftenest among boatmen, carmen, and gentlemen's servants into the type of a whole nation and created the stage Irishman" (114). Whatever the correctness of this evaluation, which need not concern us here, Yeats fully agreed with the literary form. He goes on to point out that the best book of such stories since Croker was that of Lady Wilde, Ancient Legends. In this work, "the humour has all given way to pathos and tenderness. We have here the innermost heart of the Celt in the moments he has grown to love through years of persecution; when, cushioning himself about with dreams, and hearing fairy songs in the

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twilight, he ponders on the soul and on the dead. Here is the Celt, only it is the Celt dreaming" (115). But in fact the dreams in Croker's stories were also very much a part of the peasant world, though if Yeats' occupational class characterization of the stories is correct, they are a different part of that class.

In Croker's work the peasantry appears as a coherent whole. However, it is not a reflection of all that is essential about the "peasantry" Irish. In fact, it not only excluded the elites and leadership strata of Catholic and Gaelic Ireland, but he also excluded in his Fairy Legends the "other" peasantry known to all, the rebellious peasantry of '98. In his Researches, Croker had indeed noted and recorded the exceptional moment of the 1798 rebellion. But he textually separated this episode from his analysis of the Irish "peasantry" customs and architecture and so on. They are not then identified with the nation. In Fairy Legends, he focuses all attention on the basically loyal and simple peasantry.

But here is the precise character of the (true or false) collection of stories. They are just that, a selective collection. Not only does the myth-concept function in and through the stories to characterize the Irish for Croker, but the myth-maker's activity as a selector of that tradition is hidden within the appearance of realism. They are a selection of a real peasant phenomenology. The stories are falsified by the collector, not because he may or may not have "doctored" them in any way, though the translation or through the language used which may be more adequate to the writer's audience than that of the "simple folk" themselves. Whatever means of this kind may be involved, we can assume here that Croker's stories are a faithful rendering. Nevertheless, there is a process of falsification because he does not have to reproduce all

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peasant stories, only those that suit his particular myth concept of the peasantry—i.e., stories that reflect the "positive" peasant, one that is not threatening as those of 1798, and one that can be led in the proper direction, unlike the stage Irishman.

This peasant of the 1820s stands in silent contrast for Croker and his audience with the bourgeois land grabbing peasants, the rebellious Whiteboy tenants refusing to pay their rents, and, of course, the new outspoken urban middle class Irish. These latter were more than "uppity" in their activities within the Catholic Association led by Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic clergy. For Croker, these are not the "real" Irish peasantry. In fact, of course, they were not, but represented the most developed and modernized element of the native population.

But the hidden comparison is very important in this myth sign. It was this Irishness, this natural association of lord and tenantry-peasantry-servantry that was signified as being truly Irish in contrast with the foreign Irish of the liberal and Romish elements. The activity of the writer-selector, who chooses a particular set of stories which reflect or embody his prototype of the Irish peasantry or lower orders, functions in relation to the collective consciousness of forms common to his audience in a hidden as well as in an overt manner. This activity, as Raymond Williams points out (116), will either reproduce their image, idea of the situation or in some manner he will change the outward shape of a familiar phenomenal reality.

Another aspect of this literary device, collecting the "real" stories of "the people," is that years later, even through editions published in the United States in the 1980s, this literature can have a new life. It may function as national identity, it may fuction as an image of a

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childlike reality and fantasy and so on, but basically new significations and modes of recognition are here associated with the texts.

This kind of freedom is augmented by an editorial device of the writer. In the Fairy Legends, the mythical concept(s) is confined to two moments. It is relegated to an introductory note or a small footnote at the end of each story. The writer's activity is isolated in the text and made obvious. It is not at all fused with the folklore and facts as in the case of his Researches in the South of Ireland. Again, unlike Ferguson's Hibernian Nights Entertainment, the commentary is not integrated as part of the "historical" novel, within which the legends of the Red Branch are told. It is also unlike Hyde's translations, where certain choices of meaning in translation may affect the whole text.

Consequently, in Fairy Legends we can perceive two very distinct ideologies and world views. That of the peasantry is a spontaneous phenomenology of the time of collection; that of the writer is intentional, motivated, programmed. Moreover, this very clear separation and compartmentalization of the two layers of social reality, the two forms of social reality, we find the possibility that those same stories, as an objectification, as independent of their author/collector, have the capability of relating to many different audiences. So that the same text can have many lives, that of the author in his historical conjuncture with his audience, and later, bypassing the author himself, the text through new editions relates in a completely different manner with new audiences.

It is the form therefore in which this real phenomenology of the peasantry becomes the embodiment of an idea, a myth concept, that is the conjunctural fact or reality. While on the other hand, the actual short stories become significant as a structural fact, as a collective mode.

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Three completely different kinds of ideological realities are involved: that of the peasantry itself, that of the writer-audience of the epoch in which they were collected, and that of the text-audiences in later years (both within Ireland and in the international world of literary production). In this latter context the conjunctural dross of their collector is set aside and the meaning of the stories is again available as the form of a new myth concept.

Pierre Macherey, in his theory of a "decentred" form in literature, argues that a work is tied to ideology not so much by what it says as by what it does not say.

> It is in the significant silences of a text, in its gaps and absences, that the presence of ideology can be most positively felt . . . The text is, as it were, ideologically forbidden to say certain things; in trying to tell the truth in his own way, for example, the author finds himself forced to reveal the limits of the ideology within which he writes. He is forced to reveal its gaps and silences, what it is unable to articulate. Because a text contains these gaps and silences, it is alway incomplete. (117)

As Croker pointed out in his Researches, he favored a Westminster policy of just and strict management of the peasantry combined with a suppression of the native leadership strata and rebellious elements. In order to formulate this argument, he was forced to select out a highly manageable "peasantry." This had two effects. For the British audience, the question must have arisen as to why the Irish Ascendancy had not been able to keep such people as appear in Fairy Legends and Researches under control. To an Irish Protestant, his oversight of the rebellious, insolent and upstart Catholics spoke more forcefully through the silences in the text.

This very powerful literary code of the outspoken silences had already been effectively and consciously employed by Maria Edgeworth. In

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her novel, Castle Rackrent (1800), she described the joyful and wasteful behavior of the successive gentry in an Irish estate. The story of these profligate spendthrift gentry is told by a faithful, loyal and bemused Irish servant. In contrast with this faithful servant, the loss of their family estate comes about through the machinations of this same servant's son, a man who understands the meaning of documents and usury. These latter instruments, which are outside the horizons of both the gentry and his father their servant, he manipulates to his own narrow advantage.

In this work the same code of hidden signification operates through an opposite. Given the thoroughly rationalized estate management of Irish gentry at the turn of the century (she and her father were second to none in this regard), Castle Rackrent signified a reverse image of themselves. The new Irish gentry are here reflected in a negative comparison with their forebears in the early part of the 18th century.

But the method of negative comparison operates differently in Castle Rackrent and Fairy Legends. In both the key imaginative activity takes place in the readership. Edgeworth presents a negative regional definition of the management activities of the gentry prior to the 1740s in which her contemporary gentry can evaluate themselves positively as enlightened managers of their estates. When reading Castle Rackrent, self-confident new estate managers at the height of the Napoleonic Wars could laugh and enjoy their own superiority.

In Croker's work we have a very positive image of the regional Catholic peasantry which is based on a selection of their imaginative oral constructions. But the harassed Protestant readers surrounded by the Catholic besiegers must have found this simple imagination of the fairy believers somewhat ironic. The work gives relief to the very negative

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evaluation of the concrete Irish middle class and tenantry, a new social class of upwardly mobile persons among te Catholic population knocking at the Protestant door. Both texts would, of course, have yet another meaning for an English audience which would bring its forms of the Irishry to bear on the literature.

Edgeworth, even though she wrote this truly regional novel, was not a myth-maker working on the signification of Irishness. Yet one could point out that her negative evaluation of the former Irish gentry is only negative when evaluated from the perspective of her contemporary gentry's management activities. She is silent regarding their general historical relationship with the Catholic population. Indeed, the greedy upstart who takes their land seems to emerge from nowhere, he is unexplained within the dramatic text. How could a son of such a loyal and faithful, if bemused, servant, Thady, ever do such a thing to such a charming gentry? There is yet another aspect to this process of silent signification. In the loyal servant Thady, in the image of a simple fairy-believing peasantry, the master strata sees a positive image of itself and its community relations. We saw the same silent speech when we looked at the Tory gentry critique of industrial life.

The main point here is merely to point out that even in the context of their own author's lifetime, a single work can have many audiences, all of whom impose their own form on the literary images, sometimes even in opposition to that which the author intended. So the appropriators of the text, the myth consumers, are so important that any mere textual analysis of these literary works can only represent a simplification of the question. The collective mode which they bring to the text, which is a variable in terms of the specific content or concept of the nation they

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happen to have, can be the decisive element in defining the meaning of the text. The relation of this particular image to that audience can be equally decisive.

Status Identification through the Higher Orders

The "lower order" was not the only class chosen as the key to identifying the res specifica of the Irish and source of an Irish soul. A very different kind of revitalization may be seen in the identification of Irishry with a "higher order" or social class. Two publications especially launched this new direction in Irish literature. In 1789, Charlotte Brooke published five "Ossianic poems" with translations, Reliques of Irish Poetry. Lady Morgan's (Sydney Owenson's) aristocratic and Gaelic Irish Girl (1806) was to provide the imagery of harp and flowing costume that became the rage of fashionable Europe in the 19th century.

But it was Sir Thomas Moore's Irish Melodies (1808-34) that most clearly articulated a new identify for a Catholic and native Irish. No matter how poor their quality as poetry and song, this massive collection was immensely successful in his own lifetime. He made 30,000 pounds sterling out of his verses alone (118). They sold in England and Euorpe as well as in Ireland. He was Charles Dickens' favorite poet. "'Tom Moore is my poet,' says one of the characters in Sketches by Boz. 'And mine,' echoes a second. 'And mine!' adds a third and faith" (119).

Writing shortly after the rebellion of 1798 and the Act of Union, 1800, Moore's poetry moves in many directions at the same time. He was an intimate of Whig notables Lord Lansdowne, Lord Holland and Lord John Russell (120) and a friend of the Prince Regent (121).

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> But while Moore undoubtedly aimed at flattering the susceptibilities of English Whigs, who were supporting the cause of Catholic Emancipation, he makes it quite clear that he differed from them fundamentally in relation to Ireland. He wrote in 1808 that both Whigs and Tories had been equally "cruel to Ireland" and he was later to say, in connection with a proposal to put him forward as a parliamentary candidate that "the government are mistaken, if they think they might count upon me as a supporter on Irish matters. I can already foresee I should be against them tooth and nail." This was in 1832 at a period when the Whigs were in power. (122)

Most writers of the 19th century which are of interest to this topic tended to play down the identity of Catholicism and the Gaelic people of Ireland. This fact played different roles, all divisive, in relation to British and European audiences and in the context of an Irish readership. To Tory readers, Catholicism was a dangerous abomination. To Whigs and Liberals it was a source of reaction throughout Europe. But to a peculiar social class, the Irish Tories and Whigs who sought a unified and pacified Ireland, it was necessary to play down this contentious factor. We shall see this aspect in great detail later.

Moore, however, tended to identify the greatness of the Irish and their Catholicism. Catholic Emancipation had been promised the Church in return for their acceptance of the union with Britain in 1800, but it had not been granted. Moore supported this cause among the Whig and Tory gentry of Great Britain and Ireland. Emphasizing the nobility of the Gaelic soul and their capacity for the greatest feeling, he struggled with the negative image prevailing in the drawing rooms of the world.

Moore was a friend of Robert Emmet ("Oh! breathe not his name, let it sleep in the shade") and published a Life of Lord Edward. Both men were leading figures in the separatist movements at the turn of the century. But Moore himself was not a separatist. He even hesitated to support the Repeal movement, believing that it must inevitably lead to separation from

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Great Britain. Consequently, his writings ignore the whole period from the Norman invasion up to the Grattan Parliament, the precise period which the separatist writers of the Nation would emphasize in the 1840s. Moore sought his "past" in an earlier Christian Ireland. He looked to a period prior to the English invasions for a specific Irish quality (123). Taken in the abstract, the spirit of Christianity, a capacity for love and strength in adversity, pervades the Irish people.

The following poem speaks of the days of Malachi. He was a High King who defeated the Viking invaders in the year 848:

> Let Erin remember the days of old
> Ere her faithless sons betrayed her;
> When Malachi wore the collar of gold
> Which he won from her proud invader;
> When her kings with her standard of green unfurled,
> Led the Red Branch Knights to danger:
> Ere the emerald gem of the western world
> Was set in the crown of a stranger. (124)

It is the Church that is the source of hope and inspiration throughout the long period of darkness. The following poem is an allegorical personification of Ireland or of the Catholic Church beloved of the Irish people (125):

> Through grief and danger thy smile hath cheered my way,
> Till hope seemed to bud from each thorn that round me lay:
> The darker our fortune, the brighter our pure love burned,
> Till shame into glory, till fear into zeal was turned.
> Yes, slave as I was, in thy arms my spririt felt free,
> And blessed even the sorrows that made me more dear to thee.
> Your rival was honored but I cannot wed her . . .

He goes on to point out that many say you have worn chains so long that "their servile stains" are printed in your heart, but I say that

> Where shineth thy spirit, there liberty shineth too!

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Within the poetry we find that in the condition of slavery and defeat that prevailed since the Elizabethan era, the "idea" of Ireland and the church, or "liberty" allowed him to feel free.

Seen from this angle, Moore's poetry is also a ritual experience of the soul of Ireland or of the Catholic Church, or of Gaelic Christian aristocratic and proud Ireland, which has two possible effects because of its very content. On the one hand it allows the soul to embrace the actual conditions of society, at that time, the Union, while turning this loss into a good, transforming it into "a sweet habit-forming enticement" (127). On the other hand, in formulating this very conceptualization of the situation, his songs necessarily invoke a proud moment of Irish history, one that contradicts that moment when her "faithless sons betrayed her" (128).

By embracing the ideal of a Christian Ireland no matter what her real condition might be, he can feel dignity, he feels free. He desires the "bygone liberties," or freedom for the Church despite the fact that he has fully assimilated Whig traditions himself. He laments the wrongs done to Ireland and the Church by England and the sorrow of the Irish people denied emancipation.

Moore himself wrote all the poetry and songs found in the Melodies. His knoweldge of Ireland's history and mythology was very limited. But as creations of his imagination, the songs and poems exude the sentiments he sought to bring to the drawing rooms of Great Britain and Europe. The remembrance of the ancient chieftains of Gaelic and Christian Ireland found in "The Harp that Once through Tara's Halls" and "Forget Not the Fields Where They Perished" reflected the essence of the Irish soul according to Augustin Thierry (129). Joy and sorrow are the two

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paradigmatic sentiments that predominate:

> Erin, the tear and the smile in thine eyes
> Blend like the rainbow that hangs in they skies.

But the joys and sorrows of Erin appear in very abstract form as well as his desire for liberty:

> Erin, oh Erin, though long in the shade,
> They star will shine out when the proudest shall fade.

Or again,

> That dark o'er the kingdoms of earth is returning
> And darkest of all, hapless Erin, o'er thee. (130)

This joy is asociated with the youth and liberty of Catholic Ireland, while the sorrow refers to the period of bondage and slavery, the penal days. Light, sunshine, brightness refer to joy, while clouds, shadow, darkness express sorrow in a vague andmetaphroical lyricism (131). By contrasting the abstract feelings of joy and sorrow, Moore said his Irish Melodies brought out "the mixture of gloom and levity, which comprises the character of my countrymen" (132).

His songs praise the great noble houses of Irish lords. "How Oft Has the Banshee Cried" laments the death of some member of a great Irish family. The warrior chieftains are celebrated in the well known "The Minstrel Boy to the War Has Gone" and "Oh, for the Swords of Former Time." But Moore embraced the Union of Ireland and Great Britian even if he insisted on Catholic emancipation. His poetry has a fundamentally contradictory effect. He tries to bury the past while at the same time demanding that the past wrongs be redressed and the Christian Ireland of old rejuvenated:

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Silence in our Festal Halls
Sweet Song of Song! Thy course is o'er;
In vain on thee sad Erin calls,
Her minstrel's voice responds no more. (133)

In "Let Erin Remember," cited above, fisherman of the present time look into the waters of Lough Neagh where they can see "the round towers of other days," and

Thus shall memory often, in dreams sublime,
Catch a glimpse of the days that are over. (134)

We find a similar theme in "The Harp that Once":

The harp that once through Tara's halls,
The soul of music shed,
Now hangs as mute on Tara's walls
As if that Soul were fled.
So sleeps the pride of former days,
So glory's thrill is o'er,
And Hearts, that once beat high for praise,
Now fell that pulse no more. (135)

In a sense he is saying that we are to forget the past as something real, as having real import, while at the same time we are to keep the past in our memory in Irish song. He emphasizes the fact that the past is past, over and done with. But the memory is to be continually made real. In his "Ode to Robert Emmet," we are advised to "breath not his name," yet,

And the tear that we shed, though in secret it rolls,
Shall long keep his memory green in our souls. (136)

Nevertheless, it is precisely this intention to bury the past that forces Moore to invoke the past, to bring up the historical social class differences.

In the early 19th century, Moore allowed his fellow Irishmen to experience the recognition of defeat while at the same time to salvage

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their dignity around the drawing room piano. By saying, "You have fought the good fight," he could also say, "Glory's thrill is o'er." But by invoking the memory of the fight, this same poetry allowed later audiences to focus attention on this aspect of his songs when they were intrested in promoting a break with England. Thus, it was that Thomas Davis wished Tom's melodies could have been sold in a cheaper edition for more popular consumption (see above).

In doing so, he may be evaluated in two ways. He can be seen as "one of the principal arhitects of our National Independence. Seldom can a poet by his poetry alone, have played so vital a part in politics . . . Moore was the first Anglo-Irish poet . . . By writing poems about Ireland, and by writing them with genius, in a new way, he established if not a new literature, at least a new literary consciousness" (137). On the other hand, another nationalist perspective might argue: "Tom betrayed nothing; he just diluted everything. He looked both ways and sideways" (138). Daniel O'Connell might "charge Moore with turning patriotism into an article of the toilet" (139), while William Hazlett remarked that "Mr. Moore converts the wild Irish harp into a musical snuff box" (140).

Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy, or Bardic Remains of Ireland with English Poeticl Translations (1831), like Moore's Irish Melodies, had a social function for the author of restoring the status of the Irish. "The collection, and the successor volumes planned ot it, were to rehabilitate the native Irish in the eyes of the civilized world" (141). Hardiman never speaks of his origins, and we know very little about him except that he emerges from obscurity in 1810 as an employee of the records office and already a member of the Dublin Library Society which was a middle class institution designed to encourage Irish learning (142). He became

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librarian of the newly founded Queens College, Galway, and its legal advisor. He died in 1855.

Compiled in the same era as Croker's Fairy Legends, there is an analogous literary device used. The text has the original Irish poems and Hardiman's own "poetical" translations published side by side. However, these translations are remote from the original, and "bowdlerized and drawing-roomized out of all semblance of reality or genuine feeling" (143). But it is precisely this fact which allows us to consider them as basically a commentary on the original text, like that of Croker. In a sense, they are a different poetry from the original. They represent the imagination of the 1800s. According to Maire Mhac an tSaoi, they "were almost certainly preferred by many if indeed not most of the readership for whom Hardiman intended his work" (144). But of course like Croker's commentaries, the original literature survives their conjunctural interpretations. In terms of the Barthian myth, the first language or language object for the myth is maintained distinct from and openly articulated independent of the meta-language of the 1800s.

Unlike the revitalizations of the separatist nationalists of the Nation (1840s) who focused on the period ranging from the Norman invasion to the Grattan Parliament (the Protestant era), and Moore, who focused on the Christian Gaelic and Catholic era, Hardiman sought to resurrect the Bardic culture of Ireland. In his own introduction, Hardiman celebrates the very early settlers of Ireland, later known as the Milesians. Their remains, the traces of this pagan era, were, he says, destroyed by the zeal of the first christian missionaries and "the barbarity of the Danes and the destructive policy of the English" (145). All of the above are therefore too foreign to represent what Hardiman regards as a true Irish

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tradition. It is their bardic tradition, not so much their original bardic remains, that Hardiman hopes to rescue from the decline they have suffered since "the spread of the English tongue amongst us" (146). Of course, since Hardiman was unaware of linguistic criticisms or possibly had no interest in such techniques, he accepted all the materials before him in the 1800s as authentic originals (147).

The Christians who followed this early poetry founded their work on "the traditional rhythmical songs of the pagan bards. Their metre and their jingle are national" (148), even if they "gave a new and more exalted direction to the powers of poetry" (149).

The Danes (800-) "silenced the Muses." For two centuries after the invasion of Henry II, "the voice of the muse was but feebly heard in Ireland. The genius of the nation withered at the approach of slavery" (150). However, the bards were not to remain silent. For during the "cruel reign of Elizabeth," they rose up to devote "their talents to the vindication of their suffering country" (151).

This bardic version of Irish life and history, though somewhat similar in intent to Moore's Irish Melodies, is much more secular in content, since the materials being originals in the Gaelic language celebrate all the great houses and elites of Irish history.

The Planxty (meaning "Hail") poems and songs tell of the lavishness and generosity, the love life and gaity found in the great Irish families and mansions. The nation is identified with the social class that maintained and supported bardic Ireland. "Planxty Stafford" sings the praises of the Gaelic community:

> When in sickness or in sorrow I have chanc'd to be,
> My hopes my dear Stafford were plac'd in thee;

. . .

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At midnight all merrily our cups went round;
Our joys in the morning the gay cordial crown'd;
   For the past had plainly shewn,
   That in this, and this alone,
Old Turlought unfailingly true comfort found:
      Drinking, drinking,
      Never thinking,
      Roaring, raking,
      Harpstrings breaking--
Oh! this is my delight--'tis the life for me;
   Then let glasses overflowing,
   Still o'er the board keep going,
   Bright gleams of bliss bestowing
      On the sons of glee. (152)

This national identity based on the revelry and generosity of the great Irish families is clearly articulated in the following bacchanalian poem, "Maggy Laidir:

Come friends don't fail--to toast O'Neill,
   Whose race our rights defended;
Maguire the true, O'Donnell too,
   From eastern sires descended;
Up! up again--the tribes of Maine,
   In danger never failed us;
With Leinster's spear forever near,
   When foemen have assailed us.

The madder fill with right good will,
   There's sure no joy like drinking--
Our bishops name--this draught must claim,
   Come let us have no shrinking;
His name is dear, and with him here,
   We'll join old Father Peter;
And as he steers thro' life's long years,
   May life to him seem sweeter.

Come mark the call, and drink to all
   Old Ireland's tribes so glorious,
Who still have stood, in fields of blood,
   Unbroken and victorious;

. . .

Come raise the voice! rejoice, rejoice,
   Fast, fast, the dawn's advancing;
My eyes grown dim, but every limb
   Seems quite agog for dancing:
Sweet girls begin, 'tis shame and sin,
   To see the time we're losing;
Come lads be gay, trip, trip away,

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While those who sit keep boozing.

. . .

—am I not sprung
From chiefs that all must honour;
The princely Gael, the great O'Neill,
O'Kelly and O'Connor;
O'Brien the strong, Maguire whose son
Has won the praise of nations;
O'Moore the tough, and big Branduff,
These are my blood relations! (153)

The natural aristocracy of Ireland were second to none when it came to drinking and merrymaking:

"Whiskey Is the Potion That Can Cure Every Ill"
by Thomas Furlong

At the dawning of the morn, ere you start from the bed,
Try and clear away the vapours which the night has shed,
If drowsy or if dull,
At the bottle take a pull,
And comfort thro' your bosom the gay draught shall spread:
Moist'ning, cheering life-endearing,
Humour-lending, mirth-extending—
Be the whiskey ever near thee thro' the day and the night;
'Tis the cordial for all ages,
Each evil it assuages
And to bards, and saints, and sages
Gives joy, life, and light.

Oh! whiskey is the potion that can cure every ill,
'Tis the charm that can work beyond the doctor's skill;
If sad, or sick, or sore,
Take a bumper brimming o'er,
And sprightliness and jollity shall bless thee still:

Still seducing, glee-producing,
Love-inspiring, valor-firing—
'Tis the nectar of the Gods—it is the drink divine;
Let no travell'd dunce again,
Praise the wines of France or Spain,
What is claret or champagne?—
Be the whiskey mine.

Oh! bright will be your pleasures, and your days will be long,
Your spirits ever lively, and your frame still strong;
Your eyes with joy shall laugh,
If heartily you quaff,
Of the liquor dear and cheering to the child of song:

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Gout-dispelling, cholic-quelling,
Agues-crushing, murmurs hushing,—
To the limbs all old and feeble it will youth restore;
And the weak one who complains,
Of his weary aches and pains,
If the bottle well he drains,
Shall be sick no more. (154)

In his "Ode to the Milesians," we find a more belicose spirit:

God shield you, champions of the Gael,
Never may your foes prevail;
Never were ye known to yield,
Basely in embattled field . . .
Forth warriors, forth, with heaven to speed,
Proud in your country's cause to bleed;
They best may hope the civoty wreath,
Whose watch-word's "liberty or death." (155)

The ballads collected by Hardiman therefore present a claim that the elites of Irish history are second to none. They engage in all the traditional manners of nobility. They were given to fine arts, merrymaking, heavy drinking, lavish generosity and were courageous in the face of their enemies. They in fact lived up to that image of the gentry stock which Yeats was to idealize also, even if he illustrated his concept of an aristocracy from the Protestant Irish tradition.

Even in the English "translations," Hardiman sets aside the drawing room gentitlity of Moore's gentle weeping and joy. In its place is substituted a robust naturalness of the country mansion. In a sense the middle class Catholic elites of the ealry 1800s in this poetry identify with the profligate behaviors of the landlord gentry in Castle Rackrent rather than either the efficient managers of modern estates or the professionals of the rational traditions of the Enlightenment.

In the section on the Jacobite relics, Hardiman does like Moore present a sickly lamentation which might have been consumed by the lovers of Irish Melodies:

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"On the Downfall of the Gael"
Weep! Weep! for agony and shame
With deepening gloom the Gael invest;
Fall'n is each proud and patriot name
On which a nation's hope might rest. (156)

But the collection as a whole is structured around the bardic remains and not merely those of the Jacobite era. By reviewing this bardic history, the activities of a Milesian poetic elite, he proclaims an aristocratic Gael, and establishes a traditional literature. (He does not merely fantasize such a tradition.) But Hardiman's work is not directed at an English audience so much as his contemporary Irish middle class who had to confront an aristocratic and upper class Protestant elite. It is in the context of this status struggle that Ferguson called him a Catholic bigot.

In this section we have developed some of the literature which sought to identify the "special intrinsic quality" of the Irish. As in the case of the literature which formulated an "ethical imperative," the middle classes of Ireland go through yet another process of ex-nomination. But the act of ex-nomination takes a different turn.

Croker ex-nominated the only native Irish social classes of political significance in the 1820s—the urban Catholic middle class and some of the larger farmers and the Catholic clergy, who were active in O'Connell's movement for Catholic Emancipation. Instead, he focused on the identity and culture of the "peasantry."

Moore's Melodies and Hardiman's Minstrelsy attribute to this same leadership strata the characteristics of a feudal and pre-feudal chieftainate and nobility. In either case, the real Catholic middle class of southern Ireland is set aside. In Croker they become a peasantry but not the real peasantry of the 1820s. Only a selection of that Irish

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peasantry is highlighted and then only that of a dying and insignificant segment. In Moore and Hardiman, the middle classes of their contemporary Ireland are set aside or ex-nominated and in their place a real historical but very different political elite is highlighted.

In Moore a drawing room status is developed for the Irish middle classes in Great Britain which seeks to dethrone the stage Irishman and the rebellious Irishman. His poetry identifies the current elite of native Ireland with the higher orders of a wronged Gaelic and Catholic nation. In Hardiman, we find this same social class presented with a similar social status, but more secular in tone since it is the pre-Christian race of Milesians whose bardic nature and tradition are rediscovered. This tradition is more rebellious and threatening. It is directed not at a European audience but within Ireland it is part of a status struggle on the part of the Catholic middle class. The bardic remains assert the existence of a natural Gaelic nobility in the face of the exclusive aristocratic claim on the part of the Ascendancy, the foreigners of Ireland. Again the middle class seeks to nominate itself, to state a claim to leadership, not, however, as a middle class, but as a status group with a natural ancestry in Irish history.

If we find a similar attempt to positively value the native Irish in Croker and Lover and others, it represents the point of view of this same "foreign" elite. They characterize their contemporary Catholic middle classes and leadership strata as commoners. It denies their status claims to nobility and the rank of a higher order. At the same time, they oppose both the stage Irishman and the rebellious Irishman, the imagery prevalent in British circles, by identifying the Irish with a true and loyal and imaginative peasantry. This in turn is an imaginative creation based on a

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selective observation of "illustrious" peasants and the reproduction of their more imaginative and beautiful oral traditions.

On the other hand, as we saw elsewhere, the ancient Gaelic chieftains were revitalized by the Tories of the 1830s in order to make their claim to a natural Irish aristocracy.

Aesthetic Nationhood: A Depoliticized Speech

Myth is depoliticized speech (157). Political speech would describe human relations in their real, concrete social structure, their power of making the world. Myth does not deny such realities. Its function is to talk about them and make them innocent. "In passing from history to nature, myth acts economically; it abolishes the complexity of human acts, it gives them the simplicity of essences, it does away with all dialectics, with any going back beyond what is immediately visible, it organizes a world which is without contradictions, because it is without depth" (158). In the aesthetic world of national identity which we have seen, the real social history either of the past or of the present is dissolved. In its place there appears a veneer of national identity.

A number of important figures in the history of cultural nationalism in Ireland were fully aware of the fact that myth is depoliticized speech (159). W.B. Yeats' "imaginative nationalism" in the late 19th century involved a shift from the popular balladry found in Thomas Davis' work of the 1840s. Davis, he said, was an "orator influencing men's acts and not a poet shaping their emotions" (160). Instead, Yeats would sift through the materials of folklore and legend which would be the servant of poetry. The aim was "to recreate a golden age when love of country was fastened in and irradiated by a kind of pantheism; when, Yeats argued, there was a sense of sanctity in the very landscape" (161) Legends, Yeats argued,

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present life "not as it is, but as the heroic part of us, the part which desires always dreams and emotions greater than any in the world . . . hopes in secret it may become" (162). The arts, he argued, are "about to take upon their shoulders the burdens that have fallen from the shoudlers of the priests and to lead us back on our journey by filling our thoughts with the essences of things, and not with things" (163). The Marxian and Feuerbachian concept of religion as "the soul of suffering" (164) is reborn as the god of the national aspiration to unity.

John O'Leary was the major theorist of the relationship between literature and nationalism influencing Yeats and the cultural renaissance at the turn of the century (165). Born in 1830, he was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment as the editor of a revolutionary newspaper, The Irish People, in 1865. His argument is summarized by Richard Fallis as follows:

> No great literature could exist without nationality; no nationality could define itself without great literature. If Ireland were ever to gain her political and cultural freedom from Britain, the Irish writers would have to provide the climate for it by helping create a national imagination which was distinctively Irish . . . Because the Irish language was virtually dead, Irish writers would have to use English, but by studying the mythology and legend of ancient Ireland as well as the folklore and history of modern Ireland and by listening to the English actually spoken in Ireland, the writers could find a subject and a style which were distinctively their own. (166)

But as he saw it, there was a difference between a national literature and nationalist propaganda. He therefore

> . . . insisted that Irish literature had to be purged of politics. The idea that Irish literature ought to be overt propaganda for a nationalist cause was, he said, one of the things which had made it mediocre in the past. Irish literature had to further the cause of nationalism, but it should do so not by creating propaganda but by creating a literature, essentially Irish, so reflective of the national imgaintion, that it would prepare the country spiritually for the coming day of political liberation. (167)

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Douglas Hyde, Yeats' principal associate at the turn of the century in the cultural renaissance, also insisted on formulating a distinct Irish literature which would be apolitical (168). Irish literature and genius should transcend society. Looking back on his presidency of the Gaelic League, Hyde observed that he had sought to use the Irish language "as a unifying bond to join all Irishmen together . . . My ambition had always been to use the language as a neutral field upon which all Irishmen might melt. We were doing the only business that really counted, we were keeping Ireland Irish. But the moment we became political all significance of the movement as one to build up a nation from all classes and creeds came to an end" (169). Following the terrible factional disputes of the Parnell debacle, it wss in the aesthetic region that internal factional inter- and intra-class struggles were to disappear and be resolved in a single "nation."

There are two estranged worlds, that of myth and that of social reality. As far as the myth consumer is concerned, the myth world is like the realm inhabited by fairies, it remains distinct, even if connected. It is a world that exists alongside the real world and is a distinct but connected other reality. They are estranged worlds, foreign to one another. However, it is from the aesthetic region that the "nation" calls out to her divided sons. This other world found in the language tended inintially to be formulated in more concrete social class images. The lower and higher orders of society were invoked as the source of the peculiar special quality of the Irish. But national identity becomes more and more rarified until finally it steps forth in the twentieth century as a complete abstraction in the Yeatsian aristocratic citizen formulated in a visionary and poetic experience.

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In myth, national identity is not clearly defined. The concept is open, it is "a formless, unstable, nebulous condensation" (170). As a result neologism is necessary to express "the instabiity" (171) of the concept in myth. Yeats supplies us with a perfect example: "indomitable Irishry."

Now such a signified, the "certain knowledge of reality" (172) can have many signifiers. From the above collection alone representing hundreds of years and very different contexts we see how the concept of Ireland, Irishry, Irish nation, Gaels, Fir-bolgs, "the rale (real) Irish," a "rale" Irishman, the Irish, Irishness, all different synonyms of a regional and national identity in Ireland, is much poorer than the signifier from a quantitative standpoint. The concept merely represents itself. "This repetition of the concept through different forms is precious to the mythologist, it allows him to decipher the myth; it is the insistence of a kind of behavior which reveals its intention" (173).

But if there are many signifiers for any single myth concept, it is also true that in the case of national identity, this vague substance can be conceived differently. The Irish nation has been concretely conceived in very different signifieds as well as signifiers. The indomitable Irishry, precisely because it lacks any "fixity" (174), can have specific Protestant, Catholic, settler, Gaelic conceptualizations, images, meanings and literary forms. The signification can be different even though the same neologism, "Irishry," fits the whole range of myths composed of different concepts and images. The "real Irish" conceived as a clever peasant, a likeable buffoon who believes in fairies is very different from the "real Irish" as conceived by the English-speaking O'Connellite Catholic urban middle class and clergy of the 1820s. Indeed as we saw

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repeatedly, the same image or set of stories can be appropriated by different audiences or myth consumers who bring different signifieds to the one image or text. The very nebulosity of the idea of national identity may be a function of the social diversity of the "nation" at any given conjuncture of history and across time.

As Conor Cruise O'Brien says, even though persons of all creeds participated, "the story of the Irish literary revival in one of its aspects is one of Protestant and Catholic consciousness in intermittent contact often leading to increasing mutual distrust" (175). The contradiction, or rather opposition, between a variable social reality and the idea of a transcendent national literature reared its ugly head.

Writing in 1900 and looking back on his earier nationalism which was mentioned above, Yeats wrote: "We were to forge in Ireland a new sword on our old traditional anvil for that great battle that must in the end re-establish the old, confident, joyous world. All the while I worked with this idea, founding societies that became quickly or slowly everything that I despised, one part of me loked on, mischievous and mocking, and the other part spoke words which were more and more unreal, as the attitude of mind became more strained and dificult" (176). He now argued that the language of poetry should deal directly with life as it is, drawing its strength from things and not "essences" (177). But this back and forth between reality and the thought world is precisely the way the myth operates, now in one plce and now in the other, but never in the same place at any one time (178).

Besides such obvious historical clashes between different social factions and social classes trying to define the nation in their way, there are a number of ways in which the actual world of literature itself

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reveals the mythical unity of the nation to be an illusion, a mere appearance.

We have seen how the aesthetic forms of national identity may be designed by an author to produce specific kinds of effects on readers. But the public too can determine the meaning of a text. Every revitalization emerged in a given moment of historical interaction. Hence, since most of the texts are also part of th aesthetic heritage of Ireland, they transcened the politics of specific eras or the conjunctural history of the author/audience. The same text can be continually re-interpreted and signified even in a manner which contradicts that of the original situation. The myth-concept of the new readers can make the same story or image or signifier speak a different signification. In a sense the author is bypassed by the myth consumers.

Edgeworth's Castle Rackrent had one concept of Irish gentry for her contemporaries in 1800 even though they never appeared in the text. Today's readers may take this novel to reprsent a charming story about gentry/peasant or servant folk who enjoy life and care little about money, the burning concern of our present society, the very opposite idea of a gentry from the author's standpoint.

Yeats, when discussing Croker and Lover in his "Irish Folk Stories and Fairy Tales" (1874), recognizes this constant movement of the original images in the hands of different authors and publics. The social class of these authors and their publics is, he says, the source of a problem. These story writers have "caught the very voice of the people, the very pulse of life, each giving what was most noticed in his day" (179). But the "most noticedin his day" is seen by Yeats to be related to social class and politics. He goes on:

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> Croker and Lover, full of the ideas of harum scarum Irish gentility, saw everything humorized. The impulse of the Irish literature of their time from a class that did not--mainly for political reasons--take the populace seriously and imagined the country as a humorist's Arcadia; its passion, its gloom, its tragedy, they knew nothing of. What they did was not wholly false, they merely magnified an irresponsible type, found oftenest among boatmen, carmen and gentlemen's servants, into a type of a whole nation, and created the stage Irishman. (180)

Hence in his very critique of these two authors' concepts and imagery in a literary discussion, Yeats reveals the meaning of his own activity as a myth maker. Yeats if fully as aware of how "reality," in this case authentic stories, can be transformed by a myth. He simply does not care for the signifed found in their works as a whole. What is actually being discussed is the meta-language in order to re-interpret the images contained in these stories. They are then re-presented in Yeats' own collection directed by a new myth-concept, a new intention for a new myth consuming public. Later in the 20th century, yet another public, another "Irishry," would reject the Yeatsian image of their identity found in this collection of peasant fairy stories.

But if the different interpretations of the same text both on the part of different publics and literary critics reveal the contradictions within the same national literature, there is yet another reason why this disunity might be revealed in a literary manner. The original concept of the nation does not go away simply because later interpreters impose another signified on the text. It remains available within the set of images and may be hostile to a later imposed myth concept (181). Whereas the concept in any one text is the principle of differentiation within the general concept of "Irishry," it is through the diverse images that the contradictions in this myth sign of national identity are apparent. The social diversity is the source of the variability of the idea of the

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"nation." But it is only through the great variability of the images and literary forms that this diverse social relity is revealed, due to the fact that the specific signified is hidden within the myth form of the very general modern question of national identity in the face of increasing internationalization. Seen at this highest level of abstraction, the idea of being Irish is without differentiation.

This idea exists concretely in a language of images, a body of signs, a vast array of forms which the myth-makers have constructed in the various circumstances of specific modern struggles. But these revitalizations fail to achieve a national universality precisely because the signifiers are particular even if mythical. The contradictory images within this language reflect the very independent social realities which engaged in the quest for national identity (182).

This particular history or past or image must be chosen if a particular concept of the nation is to be articulated. Many areas of real history must be skipped over. All other "pasts" or histories and classes are glossed over in the text in order to achieve a unity because they are spoiled and cannot serve the intention of a particular concrete myth of national identity. The contradictions are retained despite the new intention which makes use of this particular text precisely because myth needs history.

In the idea of a national literature, social reality is given an aesthetic existence and a universal nature. Nevertheless, the political speech of the text is to be found in the images and in the past which the author highlights, or the social class through which the nation speaks. If the myth form is to be used, then a real history, a concrete reality, must be invoked, to formulate the image or the form of the myth concept.

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In this concrete and material aspect of the myth we find the indicator of the specific concept which is expressed as the national identity; we find the principle of contradiction within the general language of national identity. This language is not a logical unity or an ideological paradigm, but full of the contradictions which are proper to the concrete history of Irish society. This imagery is available to any writer and audience; it is a collective mode. But this term implies a logical unity which in terms of this language available to all is not the case. It is in the form of a text or poem, the myth system, that these contradictions are resolved.

A literary text, a form, is the principle of unity. If in the different readings of the text we find many sources of contradiction, we saw above how in Pearse's poem/prayer "Mionn" ("Oath") an ideal unity of all these contradictions is possible. The various concepts of national identity and the many different images or historical personalities can be unified within yet another signified, the sacrificial Gael of each generation. But this unity in the myth form does not make the glaring contradictions of the image within the prayer disappear, and if not the images, then the different concepts of the many historical eras are also present, even if distorted.

Thus, the contradictory aspect of national identity is available to the reader at any moment in history both in the commentaries which bring a new signified to a piece of literature and in the very diversity of imagery itself. The myth form on the other hand is a collective mode (183) that functions to distort the diverse content resulting from the historical guests for national identity and gives us the appearnce of unity in the abstraction—Irishry.

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Footnotes: Chapter 5

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135. Ibid., p. 17.

136. Ibid., p. 16.

137. Taylor, "Tom Moore," pp. 45-46.

138. Craig, "Blame Not the Bard," p. 75.

139. Taylor, "Tom Moore," p. 86.

140. Ibid., p. 81.

141. Maire Mhac an tSaoi, Introduction to Irish Minstrelsy or Bardic Remains of Ireland with English Poetical Translations 1 (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1971), p. vi.

142. Ibid., p. viii.

143. Ibid., p. vi.

144. Ibid.

145. James Hardiman, Irish Minstrelsy or Bardic Remains of Ireland with English Poetical Translations 1 (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1971), p. x.

146. Ibid.

147. Mhac an tSaoi, Introduction, Irish Minstrelsy, p. xi.

148. Hardiman, Irish Minstrelsy, p. xiii.

149. Ibid., p. xiv.

150. Ibid., p. xvii.

151. Ibid.

152. Ibid., p. 23.

153. Ibid., pp. 155ff.

154. Ibid., pp. 19ff.

155. Hardiman, Irish Minstrelsy 2:285.

156. Ibid., p. 103.

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157. See Barthes, Mythologies, p. 143; and Ernst Cassirer, The Myth of the State (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 277ff.

158. Barthes, Mythologies, p. 143.

159. Besides the ones mentioned in the text, there is at lest one other way in which these contradictions may be resolved. By formulating a universalist pespective of national art, one can salvage the texts from being designated mere propaganda when the literatue happens to be heavily involved with the question of national identity. From this standpoint Sean O'Faolain criticized the concept of art found among the Young Irelanders in the 1840s (Thomas Davis especially) and in Daniel Corkery of the 20th century. For this comment on O'Faolain's writings, "Daniel Corkery," in Commonwealth (1936) and Vive Moi (1936), see Lawrence J. McCaffrey, "Daniel Corkery and Irish Cultural Nationalism," in Eire-Ireland 8 (1973):40.

160. W.B. Yeats' introduction to A Book of Irish Verse (London: Methuen, 1895), quoted in The Ballads and Songs of W.B. Yeats by Colin Meir (New YorK: Barnes and Noble/Harper & Row, 1974), p. 27.

161. Ibid., p. 29.

162. "Mr. Rhys' Welsh Ballads," in The Bookman (April 1898):14-15, quoted in Meir, The Ballads and Songs of W.B. Yeats, p. 30.

163. W.B. Yeats, Essays and Introductions (London: Macmillan, 1963), p. 193, quoted in Meir, The Ballads and Songs of W.B. Yeats, p. 30.

164. Karl Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," Introduction in Karl Marx: Early Writings, trans. and ed. T.B. Bottomore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 43.

165. See Fallis, The Irish Renaissance, pp. 3ff.

166. Ibid., pp. 5f.

167. Ibid., p. 6.

168. See McCartney, "Hyde, D.P. Moran, and Irish Ireland," p. 45. See also Dunleavy, Douglas Hyde, p. 29.

169. "A passage from an unpublished history quoted in Myles Dillon's essay on Hyde in The Shaping of Modern Ireland" (Dunleavy, Douglas Hyde, p. 38).

170. Barthes, Mythologies, p. 119.

171. Ibid.

172. Ibid.

173. Ibid., p. 120.

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174. Ibid.

175. O'Brien, States of Ireland, p. 49.

176. Meir, The Ballads and Songs of W.B. Yeats, p. 26.

177. Ibid., p. 30.

178. Barthes, Mythologies, p. 123.

179. Yeats, Irish Folk Stories, p. xv.

180. Ibid.

181. For a discussion of how a concept is embodied in an image, see Galvano Della Volpe, Critique of Taste, chapter 1.

182. But how does this occur? This differentiation of signifieds within the myth-concept of national identity is made concrete and specific in and through the images themselves and their contextual meaning. Images, as Della Volpe argues, are not mere matter, they are image-concepts (Critique of Taste, p. 19). Indeed, this is implicit in Barthes' structural analysis of the myth. He argues that the myth takes over an existing sign, i.e., a signfier or image-concept, and make it a mere form in order to give it yet another signified—the myth-concept. But as he says, the meaning in the image/signifier is not lost in the myth form (it is merely distorted). This means, however, that the dynamic of the myth is not one directional. Barthes sees the signified or myth-concept as the only determining agent. But the images can contain a concept which specifies the more nebulous idea of a national identity (which is, in turn, ubiquitous, as Barthes says).

183. For Williams (Marxism and Literature), such "collective modes" (or the "collective consciousness of forms") have a constitutive function in the communications systems of a given society. Collective modes exist prior to the activity of the writer and reader of a literary text. Moreover, it is in forms and only in forms that "specific consciousness, specific feeling, is realized" (p. 191). The form, he says, is used to refer to "an inherent shaping impulse" and also to a "visible or outward shape" of something. As the former, the collective mode is related to the activity of the authors who use it. Some authors challenge it, make it strange and change the collective consciousness of forms in a society. As the latter the term refers to the activity of an audience for whom this shape, this appearance of things, is "recognizable." "As the common property of writers and audiences form depends on its perception as well as its creation" (p. 188).

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CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The formation of a modern state involves a social transformation in which urban strata achieve economic and political supremacy over landed capital. This social transformation may take the political form of revolution as in France, or of reform as in England. But urban capital did not achieve any such supremacy in Ireland, a colonial society.

Instead, Ireland saw a reversal in terms of the socio-economic question in the early 19th century. Agriculture was re-established as the absolute primary economic relation, while manufactures declined in significance. On the other hand, because of the Act of Union, Ireland had lost its own Parliament and was in the 1830s a part of Great Britain. The political fall-out of this fact was that Ireland participated fully in the most modern of political revolutions. At Westminster, urban capital prevailed over agriculture. Hence the primary class relation of Ireland was a mere subsidiary relation in Great Britain. Thus, the landlords had no regional Parliament which they could control, and they depended totally on a Parliament dominated by a bourgeois interest. To this first bifurcation of economic and political life in Ireland a number of others were added.

Even if the landed classes were the most significant from the standpoint of economic activity, it was not they who played the most positive role in the formulation of political questions and culture. Political activity tended to emanate from Dublin city, especially the middle class. The urbanites who articulated the national identity confronted this agricultural reality as a problem, a negative factor to be transcended. However, they could not do so directly. Because of the

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Union, their relationship with the landed classes was mediated through a foreign power. Neither the landed classes nor the middle classes had a direct relationship with their own region, but all their issues had to be mediated in the reform government at Westminster.

This fact aggravated yet another problem. The colonial legacy of settler and native, Protestant and Catholic, was still a factor. The status communities were in the early 19th century locked in a new kind of conflict. Even if it was very different in nature from that which characterized the period of colonization and settlement, it tended to be formulated in the language of that earlier confrontation.

Because of this division within the middle classes of Dublin, they took very different positions on the questions of the regional economy, the landed classes and the relation with Great Britain.

Within Ireland the colonial legacy of two social classes, settler and native, Protestant and Catholic, had taken a specific form. The Catholics and natives were very sparsely represented among the landlord class. But by the 1830s they were not only numerically dominant among the tenant classes. More importantly for our story, there was a new and vigorous upwardly mobile urban middle class Catholic stratum. These presented a challenge to the Protestant upper classes, the landlord class in the countryside and their contemporary urban gentry and middle class in Dublin. The Catholic Church was a key element in British policy for the pacification of the Irish since the Act of Union in 1800. Thus, the Dublin middle class Catholic faction achieved a universality within Ireland and were allied with the liberal forces of England through their Catholicism.

Paradoxically, it was the very alliance of the more conservative

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Catholic population with the progressive social forces at Westminster that made it possible for the upwardly mobile Catholic middle classes to make a bid for political supremacy. But their economic progress required, in their view, the formation of a regional government under their control. Hence, their social relations with the landlord class of Ireland and the Protestant status community required the alliance with a liberal British government while their economic interests required a break with Westminster, the Repeal of the Union.

On the other hand it was precisely this progressive social and political development that fed the fears of the historically more progressive Protestant middle classes. Hence, the Dublin Protestant gentry and middle class achieved universality within Ireland through their alliance with the landlords, the Protestant community and the repressive function of the British state. But while the Protestant middle class defined themselves in terms of a very narrow status interest, the new middle class Catholics defined themselves in terms of a very narrow class interest.

The Repealers failed to mobilize politically the Catholic tenant class; they even disenfranchised most of them. The Protestant middle class subjected their real urban interests to the landed and the Westminster interests in order to preserve their status supremacy. The result is that they could not confront the economic decline of the cities, the primacy of land, the relation with Britain. Moreover, all defined the regional economic questions in political terms, as a factor of the Union or of the status question.

Politically the Tories assumed that there was no social transformation taking place in Great Britain. All they would have to do

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was to cut off the heads of the agitators, exile the problematical community, plant more Protestants, and convince Westminster of the error of their policies. The Irish Whigs on the other hand also assumed that the policial question, the Union, had primacy over the economic factor. For O'Connell, the absence of a regional administration in a period of crisis was the central issue; for Davis, the military capacity of Westminster lined up on the side of the landlords meant that any discussion of social class and class transformation would have to await separation. They both assumed that a Dublin Parliament and military power would not be controlled by the landlords, but by the middle class of Dublin. But to make this assumption they would have to ignore or transcend the status division within the middle class.

Yet another structural factor resulting from the colonial status of Ireland further aggravated these internal divisions. If modern nationhood is indeed an abstraction that allows all the real concrete social differentiations to develop freely and indeed defends their "right" to exist in civil society, the modern state as an institution can play and does play a significant role in formulating and implementing policies of capital accumulation. Hence, it functions to strengthen the investment classes. Because of the complex relations of all the social forces in Ireland to Westminster and 19th century Great Britain, given the status community divisions among the middle class, we find that all class interests in Ireland are left without such an institution of policy formation. They are in other words left completely "free" to function in relation to the international market forces. Moreover, the key factor in determining the capital development of backward societies—a proper banking system—was absent. As we saw, most of the financial activity of

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Ireland was handled from London. In the context of Imperial finance, the Irish activities represented a small and insignificant factor.

In the absence of an Irish Parliament, being forced constantly to refer to an "outside" political institution, Westminster, being politically just one more minor item on the voluminous agenda in London, the political representatives of the Irish status communities and complex of class relations could merely engage in verbal battles. They were not constrained to hammer out agreements and reorganize their social space—i.e., develop their relations. Indeed, these verbal relations and the concrete political struggles in relation to Westminster merely strengthened the colonial cleavage forcing the separation of Protestant and Catholic in the 20th century (1).

The structural conditions of both middle class factions made it impossible to implement any truly effective plan. Instead of any single class representing all the negative aspects of Irish society for all those seeking liberation and emancipation, we find that it is primarily a foreign state administration that plays this role, while at the same time, because of the internal social conflicts, all factions are completely dependent on that same state. Neither the Tory nor the Whig middle class could achieve hegemony within the middle class itself nor transcend their status antagonisms and therefore confront the question of a modern social transformation, the problem of an agricultural predominance in the economy.

Instead of attacking a single class that stands above all, each class and social class in Ireland sought to promote a narrow self-interest and to repress the upwardly mobile social class closest to itself (2). In this struggle they use the connection with Westminster in their different

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manners and within Ireland they seek to dominate the political debate and cultural developments. Indeed, each distinct revitalization or selected "past" had the function of claiming for one social class or faction a natural right above all others to lead a unified Ireland in a "combination of all classes."

Their very weakness as a faction of the middle class forced each to seek a source of internal unification through their religious identity. The Protestant gentry failed in this endavour within southern Ireland. The Catholic middle class, while it did not promote the Catholic religion in the thirties and forties but sought to gain Protestant middle class support as equally Irish, did use the Catholic clergy in all the nationwide campaigns of the period. Thus they combined with Westminster and opened the door to a Catholic religious interest that in the second half of the century succeeded in beocming the established church of Ireland once again.

In feudal Europe, as Max Weber argues in The City (3), an urban estate was formed which usurped the absolute power of the lords and the religious urban authority. Within that estate or community the processes of fraternization and universalization broke down the segregation of persons and the dual legal system which prevailed in a society composed of two status groups, aristocracy and commoner. But in Ireland, because of the colonial heritage, the urban estate never achieved such unity, nor did it succeed in emancipating itself from the religious identities. Had they succeeded in forming a modern secular state, they would have been able to declare these social class realities formed in Irish history to be apolitical factors (4). If, as in the American case, the native population and culture (in this case Catholic) had been completely

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suppressed, then it is possible that modern social classes might have achieved their emancipation much easier in accordance with British developments. But as it was, the vast majority of Irishmen in southern Ireland were Catholic and native, while its upper strata in the countryside was Protestant and settler stock.

The real middle class of Dublin experienced the same difficulties in terms of their particular economic position (5) or situation. Yet they were rent in two by the social class division. While their economic analysis might not be different on many of the important issues, their political analysis transformed the economic issues into wholly different regional solutions. As Tory and Whig, these middle class factions attempted to formulate a unified ideology for the nation. They tried to reduce their different social class ideologies and impose a single ideology for the population, whether as an Irish people within Great Britain or as an Irish people separated administratively from Westminster.

Whether Tory or Whig, all sought to distinguish themselves from the British middle class. The cultural nationalism of both factions was formulated as a rejection of the modern bourgeois world. For the Tories, of course, it was the political fact of the Reform govenment and the disestablishment of the Church of England that was the important factor in Ireland because it touched on both the class and social class questions. However, for both, the horros of the British experience with the Industrial Revolution compared unfavorably with their memory of 18th century Irish prosperity and manufactures. Yet neither the rural community nor the home manufactures of that era could survive in the international market of the 19th century. This late 18th century model served as a symbolic critique both of the destructive power of the market

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developments and the actual horrors of the British manufacturing system in the 1830s.

Because these middle class strata are struggling for political supremacy, they use the ancestral "past" to make their claim to a position of natural leadership within Ireland, the Tories as a natural aristocracy, the Catholics as a native and hence natural population. For both, this immersion in an ancient Ireland functioned to naturalize the leadership strata since the former were a "foreign" settler aristocracy while the latter were foreign due to their Anglicization.

Finally, because most elements in the middle class itself are busily pursuing their private cares in everyday life, this immersion in cultural nationalism and the "past" functioned to separate out a political elite who would transcend the moral limitations of the class position itself. Dedicated exclusively to the collective interest of Ireland, this citizen body stood opposed to the privatized selves of the remainder of their class. This way, the opposition between the citizen and the private individual was bifurcated in terms of the middle class itself. On the one hand we have those who are wholly dedicated to private accumulation, and on the other hand, those who are wholly citizen, "who gave though free to refuse."

However, this claim on the part of the political elite was negated by the fact that many of the nationalist agitators were indeed "briefless barristers," journalists, and writers trying to "sell their page" (6). The loss of a Dublin administrative center, the banking and wholesale business left many middle class Irishmen in a position where they were forced to "cry for victual" (7) and promote their self-interest through political life.

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Social development, however, continued unabated. The regional questions did not inhibit the rationalization of agriculture and some individual firms in southern Ireland. Moreover the portfolios of those who had money to invest swelled with their dividend of the Industrial Revolution. But the class and social class transformations, the resolution of the relation with the foreign power and the two churches, and the unity of the middle class, did not take place. It was easier for some elements on both sides of the middle class to talk to the question of a national interest and the need for a cultural identity and liberation from a foreign power than to propose a social revolution either in terms of the land question or in terms of the status community question. This they did in the myth form of national identity embodied in a whole set of artistic productions that achieve a wholly abstract unity.

But in going about this ideal unification in the face of a foreign power, they must also refer to the social differentiation that concretely existed in society. Hence, we find that the "national" literature is full of contradictory images. The remembrance of things past is selective; the national identity signified is quite different for all. Nevertheless, if the 19th century economic, political and cultural revolution achieved its highest degree of poltiical clarification and confrontation in France, of economic thought in England, of political thought in Hegel's philosophy of right in Germany, of complete political emancipation in the U.S., it was in Ireland that aesthetic nationhood was most perfectly formulated. It was there that all the social differentiations continued to find open political expression in daily life but disappeared in that other world, the fairy land of national unity.

The movement towards national identity was no simple gathering of the

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clans unified in their opposition to foreign domination. This simple view is merely that of Joyce's famous "citizen," who often raised his "pintglass" to "the memory of the dead. Sinn Fein! says the citizen. Sinn Fein amhain! The friends we love are by our side and the foes we hate before us" (8). The voices of nationalism were rather an expression of a divisive society, a bedlam world sorting outself out, the "Donnybrook" of perpetual turmoil captured in another passage from Ulysses:

> (Brimstone fires spring up. Dense clouds roll past. Heavy Gatling guns boom. Pandemonium. Troops deploy. Gallop of hoofs. Artillery. Hoarse commands. Bells clang. Backers shout. Drunkards bawl. Whores screech. Foghorns hoot. Cries of valour. Shrieks of dying. Pikes clash on cuirasses. Thieves rob the slain. Birds of prey, winging from the sea, rising from marshlands, swooping from eyries, hover screaming, gannets, cormorants, vultures, goshawks, climbing woodcocks, peregrines, merlins, blackgrouse, sea eagles, gulls, albatrosses, barnacle geese. The midnight sun is darkened. The earth trembles. The dead of Dublin from Prospect and Mount Jerome in white sheepskin overcoats and black goatfell cloaks arise and appear to many. A chasm opens with a noiseless yawn. Tom Rochford, winner in athlete's singlet and breeches, arrives at the head of the national hurdle handicap and leaps into the void. He is followed by a race of runners and leapers. In wild attitudes they spring from the brink. Their bodies plunge. Factory lasses with fancy clothes toss redhot Yorkshire baraabombs. Society ladies lift their skirts above their heads to protect themselves. Laughing witches in red cutty sarks ride through the air on broomsticks. Quakerlyster plasters blisters. It rains dragon's teeth. Armed heroes spring up from furrows. They exchange in amity the pass of knights of the red cross and fight duels with cavalry sabres: Wolfe Tone against Henry Grattan, Smith O'Brien against Daniel O'Connell, Michael Davitt against Isaac Butt, Justin M'Carthy against Parnell, Arthur Griffith against John Redmond, John O'Leary against Lear O'Johnny, Lord Edward Fitzgerald against Lord Gerald Fitzedward, The O'Donoghue of the Glens against The Glens of The Donoghue. On an eminence, the centre of the earth, rises the field altar of Saint Barbara. Black candles rise from its gospel and epistle horns. From the high baricans of the tower two shafts of light fall on the smokepalled altarstone. On the altarstone Mrs. Mina Purefoy, goddess of unreason, lies naked, fettered, a chalice resting on her swollen belly. Father Malachi O'Flynn, in a long petticoat and reversed chasuble, his two left feet back to the front, celebrates camp mass. The Reverend Mr. Hugh C. Haines Love M.A. in a plain cassock and mortar board, his head and collar back to the front, holds over the celebrant's head an open umbrella.) (9)

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Footnotes: Chapter 6

1. See Conor Cruise O'Brien, States of Ireland (London: Panther, Granada Publishing Ltd., 1974), who develops this aspect of the situation fully.

2. See Karl Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," Introduction, in Karl Marx: Early Writings, trans. and ed. T.B. Bottomore, and with a new Foreword by Erich Fromm (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), pp. 56f.

3. Max Weber, The City, ed. and trans. Don Martindale and Gertrude Neuwirth (New York: The Free Press/Macmillan, 1958).

4. Karl Marx, Early Writings, pp. 3-59.

5. Ibid., p. 55.

6. For these phrases, see the poem "Tenants at Will," from Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland, in The Penguin Book of Irish Verse, ed. Brendan Kennelly (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1979), pp. 244-252.

7. Ibid.

8. James H. Joyce, Ulysses, with "Ulysses: A Short History," by Richard Ellman (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1974), p. 304.

9. Ibid., p. 526.

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APPENDIX 1

MAGAZINES AND READERS IN THE 1830s AND 1840s

The main source material is the novels, dramas, poetry, songs and stories which are part of the 19th and 20th century aesthetic activity in Ireland, and which are available in any bookstore that carries Irish literary works. They are also available in any good library of international literature and many of the early 19th century works have been brought out in new editions during the seventies here in America. The only source material which is not generally available will be Dublin University Magazine. A number of libraries in New York City have a full set of volumes. It is this literature that is used in the analysis of 1830-1848, along with the writings of Davis and the Nation, a newspaper which will be reviewed later.

In post-Union 1800 Ireland, controversy prevailed among the gentry. The unity slates of both Whigs and Tories collapsed. Given such a factionalized and partisan public it is not surprising that many periodicals were founded only to close shortly afterwards. Divisions were so strongly felt that people would not read a journal that opposed them on even one issue.

Moreover, the vast majority of the population could not read and had no money to buy journals. Barbara Hayley lists a number of other reasons for the failure of Irish periodicals in this period. The reading public, "the ascendancy and would-be ascendancy, the tradespeople and comfortable Irish were resistant to Irish periodicals for snobbish reasons; time and again one reads of their resistance to take magazines of 'local manufacture'; for them Blackwood's and Frazer's and the Gentleman's

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Magazine had a more cosmopolitan, less provincial appeal when displayed on their library tables" (1). Moreover, she says that all these short-lived periodicals discuss "the country's emptiness and apathy; they regret that since the Union, Ireland has lost her identity, her life, her trade, and that her writers and intellectuals have all left Ireland for London taking their 'absentee talent' with them to fill the pages of the English press" (2). Finally, the booksellers in Ireland had a monopoly control. Since they were agents for the British periodicals, they had no interest in transferring custom to Irish rivals (3).

Dublin University Magazine, which would promote some of the best writers of the 19th century, was the first periodical to break through these barriers and find an audience. In January 1833, six collegians of Trinity University launched the journal. Each subscribed 10 pounds sterling to the venture. Given the difficult market conditions, it is probable that they could not get a publisher's backing initially. However, they were able to sell the magazine to Curry and McGlahen, a leading publishing firm at that time in Dublin, after six months (4).

Many of the periodicals that promoted a "unity slate" before it had failed. DUM did not try to be "above party"; it was explicitly Tory. "We are Conservatives; and no feeble vacillation shall dishonour our steady and upright strength. We cannot ascend to the suspicious friendship that would counsel an impotent moderation, where vigorous and intrepid activity prompt to rough collision" (5).

At first the clerical element of the Church of Ireland was strong in DUM. The journal aspired to be the advocate and representative of "the Protestantism, the intelligence and the respectability of Ireland. Unquestionably the graduates of the University as a body combine all these

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elements in themselves" (6). Its founders, editors and writers were "ultra-conservative, ultra-Protestant, young dons and undergraduates of Trinity College" (7). Throughout its history from 1833 through 1878, the magazine was "an organ of the Ascendancy in religion and politics" (8). It was most openly polemical between 1833 and the Famine (9), precisely the period in which the magazine is most useful for our analysis. In its pages we find the contradictory existential predicament and the contradictory ideological response of Tory intellectuals to their new situation in the era of reform following Catholic emancipation in 1829.

After 1845, it "became less aggressive, less national" (10) in the hands of a succession of editors. Finally, it was bought by Sheridan Le Fanu. Once again, Irish subjects, "literary ad political" (11), were promoted. With this its specifically Irish character was re-established and circulation restored.

From the beginning the journal was very successful. Six years after its foundation, its editors could say: "We are proud to say we have earned the confidence of the Protestants of Ireland" (12). While the journal is not in any way "an organ of the heads of the University (Trinity College)--of them we are perfectly independent--we do claim to speak the sentiments of the great majority of the graduates of the university" (13).

In a postscript to the one hundredth number, DUM congratulated itself on being "actually written for the most part by our authors resident in Ireland and seeking as the principle basis of support, an Irish circulation" (14). However, the magazine was also read in all the colonies, including America. Charles Lever, editor 1842-1845, raised circulation to four thousand a month (15).

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Most of the articles, book reviews and poems were published anonymously or initialed only, or under a pseudonym. Thus, for example, its first editor, the Reverend Charles Stuart Stanford, was "Anthony Popular." This was modelled on a similar style in Frazer and Blackwood with which the magazine hoped to compete for the Irish public of Great Britain (16).

Stanford was "an out-and-out establishment churchman" (17), but his successor and co-founder, then an undergraduate, Isaac Butt (1834-1838) was a political economist. Butt was a much more open-minded person and years later he "gave though free to refuse" as Yeats described it, in his defense of the Fenians. He was also a founder of an Amnesty movement to defend the rights of political prisoners. Another DUM founder, John Anster, was a young lawyer from Cork. He was already well known because of his translation of Goethe's Faust in 1820 for Blackwood's Magazine (18).

Others on its staff were Dr. Longfield (afterwards a judge), William Carleton (novelist), Samuel Ferguson (poet), Mortimer and Samuel O'Sullivan, REv. Mr. Maturin, William Archer Butler, Samuel Hayman, Caesar Otway, D.P. Starkey (19).

The poet and translator of Gaelic works, James Clarence Mangan, was also their strong devotee of German literature, Schiller being the most popular poet (20). Between 1833 and 1850 especially there was a great deal of German literature in the magazine. Charles Lever founded a Burschenshaft along German lines in 1830 in Dublin (21). However, this interest had been around since 1750 (22). These authors' names are mentioned here mainly because the magazine articles will be used without reference to individual persons.

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The Nation, a weekly newspaper, was founded in 1842 to aid the Repeal movement. A younger generation of nationalists within the Repeal movement founded the Young Ireland movement in the 1840s--Thomas Davis, Charles Gavan Duffy, John Mitchel, and James Fintan Lalor. It was they who were associated with the Nation (23). It is important to point out that an occupational breakdown of active nationalists in the 1840s shows "a marked overrepresentation (considering their numbers in the society) of professionals and 'merchants, traders and artisans,' while there is a marked underrepresentation of 'landholders and farmers'" (24). The Nation itself pointed out in 1846 that "The very bone and muscle of the movement" consisted of "gentlemen of education and rank, professional persons of every kind . . . [and] intelligent tradesmen" (25). On the other hand the Nation was effective among the Catholic clergy throughout the country. Davis, who was a Protestant and highly respected among the Dublin Ascendancy Tories, sought to win them to the cause of Young Ireland even though the Repeal movement itself was largely a Catholic affair.

There can be no attempt to exhaust the massive quantities of literature produced in Ireland which is directly related to our topic. The theoretical aim of this work is the examination of the social formation of modern Ireland in the making from the standpoint of the relationship betwen the revitalization of national identity and its articulation in the aesthetic region and the structure and specific conjunctural moments of Irish society. As in the case of Lukacs (1981), this will determines the selection of the material used in constructing typical modalities and patterns.

The focus on more polemical literature will throw light on the sensibility involved. Hence, whole areas of interest will be overlooked.

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The participation of the Catholic Church in this revitalization and the analysis of the literary productions which break with the general cultural form will have to be done at some future date.

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Footnotes: Appendix 1

1. Barbara Hayley, "Irish Periodicals from the Union to the Nation," in Anglo-Irish Studies 2 (1976):93.

2. Ibid., p. 83.

3. Ibid., p. 93.

4. The Irish Book Lover 9 (September 1913):22.

5. Dublin University Magazine (hereafter cited as DUM) 9 (March 1835):365.

6. DUM 6 (December 1835):710.

7. Hayley, "Irish Periodicals," p. 94.

8. Irish Book Lover 10 (April-May 1919):75.

9. Long Room: Friends of the Library, nos. 14, 15 (Autumn 1976-Spring 1977), p. 7.

10. Hayley, "Irish Periodicals," p. 95.

11. Ibid.

12. DUM 6 (December 1835):709.

13. Ibid., p. 710. See also Long Room, p. 7.

14. DUM 17 (April 1841):528.

15. Hayley, "Irish Periodicals," p. 95.

16. Ibid., p. 94. See also Irish Book Lover 9 (September, 1913):22.

17. Hayley, "Irish Periodicals," p. 95.

18. Long Room, p. 20.

19. Irish Book Lover 10 (1919):75.

20. Long Room, p. 21.

21. Ibid., p. 20.

22. See Studia Hibernica, no. 16 (1976), pp. 122-139; and nos. 17 and 18 (1977-78), pp. 91-106.

23. Richard Fallis, The Irish Renaissance: An Introduction to

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Anglo-Irish Literature (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1978), p. 78.

24. See Samuel Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979, pp. 97f.

25. The Nation (October 10, 1846), p. 9, quoted in Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War, pp. 97f.

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APPENDIX 2

THE BARTHIAN MYTH

The semiological system of myth as analyzed by Roland Barthes (1981) will also be helpful in presenting the material. Within the general area of semiology, the science of signs, Roland Barthes sees mythology as the study of a type of speech (1). Mythology "studies ideas-in-form" (2). A myth is a mode of signification, a form (3); it is a system of communicating a message. Thus, myth is defined by the way in which it utters its messsage, and not by the content of the message (4). It is a form that communicates a message; the way in which a message is communicated is itself a system. As a science of forms, semiology studies significations apart form their content. It is therefore distinct from the study of structures and the study of ideology, yet it is directly related to both, since it is a historical science. But for the time being, we will put the structure of society and the ideological nature of the revitalizations in parentheses in this analysis of the internal structures of the literature of national identity. The more a social system "is specifically defined in its forms the more amenable it is to historical criticism" (5)—i.e., the exposition of its movements and totality and structure.

In any semiological system there are three parts: the signifier, the signified, and the sign. Barthes gives a simple example of a rose (signifier) which expresses passion (the signified) in a specific context of interaction such as Valentines Day. The sign is "the associative total which unites the first two terms" (6). There appear to be ony two terms, but in fact there are three. "For what we grasp is not at all one term

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after the other, but the correlation which units them" (7). As an example, Barthes points out that "roses" and "passion" existed before uniting to form the third object which is the sign given on Valentines Day. It is the sign that we grasp as a whole, the relation between image and concept that is integrated in a context as meaning. The signifier and the signified come together in a functional unity that is composed of and yet different from the first two terms. The sign is the associative total of these related terms, the signifier or image and the signified concept which we grasp not directly but through the correlation that unites them.

Now myth is also a sign, but it is a special kind of sign. It takes a first sign, empties out its meaning, making it pure form, and infuses it with a new concept to construct the myth. "Myth is a peculiar system in that it is constructed from a semiological chain which existed before it; it is a second-order semilogical system. That which is a sign (namely the associative total of a concept and an image) in the first system becomes a mere signifier in the second" (8). A "signifying consciousness" (9), i.e. the myth-maker, that is not concerned with the "facts" directly uses this mode of communicating a message by defining and exploring these facts as tokens of something else (10).

The key point is that there are two semiological systems in myth. First there is the linguistic system or first sign which becomes a "language-object." It is the language which myth gets hold of in order to build its own system. No matter what the materials of these signs may have been in their original function as a sign, they are reduced to the status of mere language by myth. They have a pure signifying function. Secondly there is myth itself, which Barthes (11) calls a "meta-language," because it is a second language, in which one speaks about the first. In

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other words, in a myth, a sign already in existence is taken up by the myth-maker and turned into a language or speech out of which another sign, the myth-sign, is constructed.

So each image in myth can be viewed in two ways: from the point of view of its meaning as the sign or final term in semiological system A, and from the point of view of there being a starting point or a form in system B or the myth-sign. In order to capture this structural shift, Barthes uses a new terminology. In the case of the myth-sign, the signifier is called form, the signified continues to be called the concept, and the sign is called the signification. However, as Barthes says:

> The essential point in all this is that the form does not suppress the meaning, it only impoverishes it, it puts it at a distance, it holds it at one's disposal. The form will draw its nourishment from the meaning, it will be an instantaneous reserve of history, a tame richness, and moreover, the form must be able to hide in the meaning. It is this constant game of hide and seek between the meaning and the form which defines myth. (12)

In his Critique of Taste, Della Volpe argues that images are "image-concepts" (14). Now this particular issue does not directly concern us here except to note that the semiological analysis of myth as a system shows how the image does indeed have meaning. Indeed, it is a sign. But it is a sign which is taken over by yet another concept; the myth concept is imposed on that image which is reduced to a mere form. Yet another concept can be again imposed on this first myth, and so on.

Now let us look at the signified or the concept. This concept which absorbs the history drained out of the form is "determined, it is at once historical and intentional; it is the motivation which causes the myth to be uttered" (14). In the revitalizations of Chapter 5, each definition of "Irish" determines the myth. "The concept reconstitutes a chain of cause

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and effects, motives and intentions. Unlike the form, the concept is in no way abstract; it is filled with a situation. Through the concept, it is a whole new history which is implanted in the myth" (15). It is through this signification that the whole poem is "tied to the totality of the world" (16).

Barthes points out,

> What is invested in the concept is less reality than a cerrtain knowledge of reality; in passing from the meaning to the form, the image loses some knowledge: the better to receive the knowledge in the concept. In actual fact the knowledge contained in the mythical concept is confused, made of yielding, shapeless associations. One must firmly stress this open character of the concept, it is not at all an abstract, purified essence; it is a formless, unstable, nebulous condensation, whose unity and coherence are above all due to its function. (17)

Consequently, Barthes argues there are few concepts and many forms. "I can find a thousand images which signify ; me French imperiality" (18). The myth concept has an unlimited mass of signifiers which it can use (so long as there is a partial analogy). Hence, "to the qualitative poverty of the form, which is the repository of a rafified meaning, thee corresponds the richness of the concept which is open to the whole of history and to the quantitative abundance of the forms there corresponds a small number of concepts" (19).

This very looseness of the concept which functions as a tendency is precisely why "the fundmental character of the mythical concept is to be appropriated . . . [the specific concept] must appeal to such and such a group of readers and not another" (20). But it is precisely this very looseness, this fact of appropriation by different readerships which indicates the possibility of different concepts of French imperiality.

We shall not here discuss the specific modes whereby the signifier and signified are correlated (21). Barthes focused primarily on the

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distortion involved in this signification. Here the focus is on the myth form of national identity in terms of its content and relation to the history and structure of Irish society. It is therefore his conceptual distinctions and the organization of the myth form which are more relevant.

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Footnotes: Appendix 2

1. Roland Barthes, <u>Mythologies</u>, sel. and trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981).

2. Ibid., p. 112.

3. Ibid., p. 109.

4. Ibid., p. 110.

5. Ibid., p. 112.

6. Ibid., p. 113.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p. 114.

9. Ibid., p. 110.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., p. 115.

12. Ibid., p. 118.

13. Galvano Della Volpe, <u>Critique of Taste</u>, trans. Michael Caesar (London: NLB, 1978), ch. 1.

14. Barthes, <u>Mythologies</u>, p. 118.

15. Ibid., p. 119.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., p. 120.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., p. 119.

21. Ibid., pp. 121ff.

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