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Introduction

Making Maps: Irish Literature in Transition, 1780-1830

Claire Connolly

Between 1780 and 1830, a highly distinctive body of imaginative writing emerged in Ireland. Novels, poems and plays were formed by and in turn helped to mould the linguistic, political, historical and geographical divisions characteristic of Irish life. The intense and turbulent creative effort involved bore witness to a key transition at the beginning of the nineteenth century: the emergence of modern Irish literature as a distinct cultural category. During these years, Irish literature came to consist of a recognizable body of work, which later generations could draw on, quote, anthologize and debate.

In the period itself, however, there seems to be little certainty as to the particular meanings called up by the term 'Irish literature'. In 1828 the Scottish theologian Christopher Anderson referred to 'Irish literature, properly so called'. The term, he implied, was only appropriate for works written in Irish: 'the language … of a people'.[1] There was little by way of respect for that people or their fallen literary culture, however, in his evangelizing call for biblical translations from Hebrew into Irish. When Thomas Crofton Croker published his *Researches in the South of Ireland* in 1824, he also reserved the term 'Irish literature' for an older body of writing in the Irish language, including religious and historical manuscripts. Again, the assessment was hardly positive. The ills of Irish literature were the fault of both the literature itself — 'monotonous folios', 'Monkish chronicles', 'legendary records of an age of ignorance and superstition' — and its readers, who combined the dual evils of high and low culture. 'The admirers of Irish literature are either so learnedly abstruse, or so profoundly ignorant and illiterate, that their very commendation is injurious to the cause they advocate.'[2] Yet in the course of the chapter of his *Researches* devoted to topic of 'Literature', Crofton Croker conjured up a changing contemporary cultural world, where 'every cow-boy' had a few

words of Latin and the village schoolmaster quoted popular political poems that 'pass into print, and, in the shape of penny ballads, obtain considerable and important circulation'.[3]

In its approach to the field of 'Hibernian belles-lettres', *Researches in the South of Ireland* captured a concept on the cusp of change. As 'one of the "new" discourses' of the late eighteenth century, literature began take its modern place alongside 'the applied sciences, travels, news, current opinion', related but separate to antiquarian scholarship, history and politics.[4] By 1780, Scottish and Irish theorists of polite language and rhetoric had helped to shape an understanding of literature as a kind of writing with particular aesthetic and political meanings, while antiquarian arguments for Irish cultural distinctiveness prepared the ground for nationally-bounded definitions of imaginative writing. Yet these same decades saw debate rather than consensus regarding the changing meanings of literature itself. Literature still comprised a range of older meanings, including a learned familiarity with books and older authors, Gaelic, classical and continental. The term gained a range of specialised resonances by the end of the eighteenth century, connected to the distinctiveness of creative and imaginative writing and the particularity of place. As Raymond Williams describes the changes, '[t]he sense of "a nation" having "a literature" is a crucial social and cultural, probably also political, development'.[5] The wider development is usually understood in terms of the romantic movement in art and letters, and connected also to the German theorization of romantic nationalism from Herder onwards; discussed in chapter eighteen of this volume by Joep Leerseen, who debunks the idea of a late manifestation of romanticism in Ireland and calls for a wider engagement with the languages, art and material culture of these years.

But there are problems in advancing such an account, many of which cluster around the emerging categories of Irish and English literature: the former a term that bore the mark of cultural difference even as the latter came to stand in for civilisation itself. Williams's classic account of the emergence of the modern understanding of the literature relates the latter to a

wider definition of culture, itself a word that 'came into English thinking in the period which we commonly describe as that of the Industrial Revolution'.[6] Significant as it is, the Englishness of Williams's story stands out in the Irish context and a signal aim of this introduction is to reorient our understanding of Irish romantic literature, plotting some key terms and laying out new routes. As Tom Dunne has argued, Ireland underwent its own 'cultural revolution' in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, 'the processes and traumas' of which 'are still little understood'.[7] In describing the formation of an Irish literature in transition, the present volume tells one part of that story, showing how the quicksilver pace of historical change between and across the two islands over these decades incited debates about cultural difference and fostered a new, national literature, even as Ireland was shaken by violence and subject to a raft of new assimilationist state policies.

Sharing a close semantic correspondence with literacy, literature in the nineteenth century retained its earlier links to 'an ability to read and a condition of being well read'.[8] But who were the Irish people and what was their literature? From the mid-eighteenth century, Ireland entered an extraordinary period of demographic expansion, 'sensational by the standards of the day'.[9] Though exact figures are difficult to establish, a population of 5 million in 1800 had already risen to 8.5 million on the brink of the Great Famine in 1845. When a census was taken in 1821, the Irish population was measured at 7 million, compared to 8.6 million in England and 1.6 million in Scotland in 1801. Dublin was the second city of the empire, Belfast was growing as a regional centre of industrial revolution and Cork thrived as major naval and trading port. Yet living standards declined across the country, despite a war-time boom, while famine, disease and migration became established facts of Irish life.

The eighteenth-century dominance of Ascendancy writers began to wane in this period, a set of transitions that can be traced in part via the shifting reputation of Maria Edgeworth. In 1827 the aspiring Catholic writer Gerald Griffin respectfully described Edgeworth as 'a writer

who was the first to put the sickle into the burthened field of Irish manners' before going on to lament her limited 'opportunities of observation'.[10] This sense of a shared if fraught enterprise gave way to a stricter cultural politics, with terms such as 'native literature' and 'Celtic literature' in use from the 1840s onwards. Writing in 1847 in the pages of the *Nation*, John Mitchel acknowledged that Ireland had authors ('many, and of the highest order') but insisted that it had 'no literature — in its widest sense — that we can call our own distinctly'.[11] Dismissing (among others) Oliver Goldsmith, Edmund Burke, Jeremiah Joseph Callanan, Thomas Moore, Gerald Griffin and John and Michael Banim, Mitchel brought the stern cultural judgements of Young Ireland to bear on 'the corps of Irish penmen'. Such a call for a wider literature also meant a narrowing of cultural range. By 1913 Lady Gregory felt she had to check and correct her earlier 'delight' in reading Edgeworth, remarking of *The Absentee* (1812): 'But as regards the life of Ireland and the people of Ireland, they are patronising, artificial, taking a bird's-eye view of a simple peasantry'.[12]

In Lady Morgan's novel *O'Donnel* (1814), the servant McRory describes Ireland to his master as a place of great beauty that cannot sustain its people: 'for sure they say Ireland *bates* the world in regard of the *soil*, to say nothing of the beautiful rivers, and every *convainience* in life, which there is, surely; and what is most particular, and mighty extraordinary, is that for all that, one half of the *inhabitants* lives in London, that's the quality, and the *other half* is in America.' Morgan's vision of a divided society and a scattered people is expressed in a 'voluminous epistle' penned by McRory himself, part of a letter that is otherwise filled with details of written documents but ends with a message to be passed on to his fiancé, Martha, telling her 'that I don't write to her for a raison I have, she not knowing how to read'.[13]

The first two chapters of this volume capture the transitional process whereby existing forms of literature, including a 'vibrant culture of partial literacy' took on new meaning in the rapidly changing world of Anglophone print.[14] With literacy on the rise, a burgeoning popular

culture saw the increased circulation of chapbooks, ballads, romances, almanacs and reading primers: 'By the late eighteenth century', according to Niall Ó Ciosáin, 'there was a fairly stable corpus of texts and types of texts which formed an Irish popular printed literature, most of them characteristic of individuals and communities which were partially literate.'[15] Lesa Ní Mhunghaile's chapter helps us see how perceptions of a Gaelic culture in decline spurred new kinds of writing in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The manuscript tradition adapted and changed in response to the spread of print. The relationship between scribal and print traditions left its mark in a literature characterized by lavish annotation: the characteristic paratextual devices of Irish writers such as Sydney Owenson (Lady Morgan) and Charles Robert Maturin surely owe much to such older practices as glossing and the role of the scribe as medium for the revelation of a hidden past. Matthew Campbell's discussion of Irish poetry in terms of translation, authenticity, and quality (chapter four) further explores the interrelationship between literature and its shaping linguistic and cultural contexts. As Joep Leerssen has remarked, however, literature in Irish was not only 'literary' in its mode or style and 'functioned also in a performative, communitarian, face-to-face setting'.[16] Bearing in mind Sean Ó Tuama's suggestion that the story of Gaelic culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries might be one of 'extraordinary cultural growth rather than of decay', it is worth thinking more about the permeability between the languages in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the impact of a vigorous popular imagination on Anglophone literature.[17]

Yet the asymmetries characteristic of Irish life continued to form what Tom Dunne calls 'the colonial character of Irish Romantic literature'.[18] Some 95% of the population were Catholics while power and property were concentrated in the hands of remaining 5% — stark figures that express the reality of a Protestant church 'orientated to a small group of relatively recent settlers, and whose prevailing ethos alienated it from the bulk of the Irish people'.[19]

Vincent Morley tracks the literary expression of the 'close connection' between Catholicism and nationality from the late seventeenth century onwards and gives examples of early nineteenth-century Irish language poetry that celebrated the death of George IV and the coming of Catholic Emancipation. In the 1820s and 1830s, 'macaronic compositions designed to cater for an increasingly bilingual audience were not uncommon'.[20] Such mixed forms remind us of ongoing process of transition between and across linguistic, religious and political divides. In the case of religion, there has been a tendency to guide Irish literary history along opposing confessional pathways, Protestant and Catholic. While the latter is often framed as a problematic 'Catholic question' within discussions of British romanticism, in Irish literary history there has been a tendency to tell the story of 'the emergence of a native Catholic middle class from its penal bondage' as a journey towards a difficult, fractured modernity, divided between the call of what was 'at once faithful to a revamped notion of the traditional and appropriate to a modern civil polity'.[21] But such an account narrows our focus to the extent that we may miss the multiple ways in which Catholicism provided a vocabulary that underpinned broader accounts of Irish culture for decades to come, as ideas such as casuistry, secrecy and the popular itself worked their way into definitions of Irish literature.

A related issue concerns classicism and its continuities in Irish romanticism. The usual narrative of English literature over these years describes a passage from classical and neoclassical imitation to the 'extraordinary flowering of the creative idea in what we now call Romantic thought'.[22] Even as that 'creative idea' took shape, however, it continued to pass through classical moulds and in Ireland there persisted a lively popular culture of classical learning: 'Cesar, Justin, Julius, Florence, Terence, and Horace, are Christian names not uncommon in the south of Ireland' remarks Crofton Croker. In Sydney Owenson's *Patriotic Sketches* (1807) we find a lively and detailed account of the figure of the scholar, scribe and hedge school master Thaddeus Connellan, whose Sligo 'lyceum' is filled with young people

reading Virgil. He explains to Owenson 'with the utmost gravity', his plan to translate 'the Eneid and some of Terence's plays into Irish. "The latter, he continued, I will teach to my scholars, who may play it yet upon one of the great London stages to admiration"'.[23]

Connellan's translations may not have reached London but such accounts had a long afterlife and Owenson's classroom scene will be vividly familiar to readers of Brian Friel's *Translations* (1980). In chapter two of this volume Norman Vance is concerned with the continuing resonances of classical learning across confessional and political divides. Where once a gentlemanly education required knowledge of a classical canon, the early years of the nineteenth century saw a stable body of ancient knowledge give way to the pressures of romantic aesthetics and politics. While Edmund Burke's theorisation of the sublime looked back to on a range of sources including Homer and Longinus, with Thomas Moore's Anacreontic verse and Daniel O'Connell's speeches, Irish classicism began to make its own, national history.

Literary prospects

Irish Literature in Transition 1780-1830 breaks with previous accounts of Irish culture in adopting a form of periodisation familiar from literary rather than political history. Although the years between 1780 and 1830 are widely recognised as a period of considerable significance for 'the actual history of literature', we have tended to conceive of Irish writing in units of time that follow narratives standard in the writing of history.[24] The first volume of the *Cambridge History of Irish Literature* (2006) borrowed the forms of periodisation conventional within Irish historiography for its ambitious narrative of Irish literature in two languages over fifteen centuries, adopting 1800 and pre- and post-Famine as watershed dates for the literature of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The looser and more capacious structures developed within the five volumes of the *Field Day Anthology* (1999 and 2003) allowed its divisions to

cross centuries and encompass broader periods but the question of the literary disappeared in the process.

That question was alive throughout the period itself. In 1837, seeking to address 'the interesting subject of the literary prospects and the intellectual state of this country',[25] the *Dublin University Magazine* found that the task was made all the more urgent by the then distended state of a 'body of English literature' that was itself in a state of transition in these decades. Most probably authored by Isaac Butt, the Donegal-born Protestant conservative and lawyer who would go on to found the Home Rule movement, an essay entitled 'On the Past and Present State of Literature in Ireland' described how Irish literature sought definition in the context of an overflowing English culture:

> A style, expanded beyond all due bounds, swoln [*sic*.] with a new language, the result of new theories, and stripped of the old harmony and terse idiom of a style that had gradually arisen from the study of the classic models, came into vogue, and obtained possession of the rising generation. By this prose and poetry were alike affected; and the whole body of English literature passed into a *state of transition*, the less perceivable as the critic partook of the spirit of the time.[26]

That final phrase ('the spirit of the time') resonates with the gloomy cultural predications of William Hazlitt in *The Spirit of the Age* (1824) and Thomas Carlyle in 'Signs of the Times' (1829). From such negativity, though, proceeded a bold act of cultural imagination. 'On the Past and Present State of Literature in Ireland' can be read as 'the first attempt at a theory of Anglo-Irish literature'. As befits a new scheme, it is notably characterized by 'hesitations, regrets and recognitions' and pauses in particular in relation to the question of 'the populace of Ireland'. In Butt's account, they constitute a backward peasantry who were nonetheless well-

informed regarding ‘the politics of the day’ and expert in low forms of logic and casuistry.[27] Looking for literature and finding only politics, the essay specifically blames Catholicism for the discontents of Irish culture. The cunning of Maynooth was taking the place of centuries’ worth of English civilization, claims Butt, finding trifling pamphlets and ‘[t]he miserable cant of a barbaric patriotism’ in the place of ‘the Chaucers, and the Gowers, and the Surreys, and the Spensers’. At least one Irish writer of this period, William Maginn, was to make a special art of cant and ‘humbug’ in all its forms: in chapter sixteen of the present volume, David Latané discusses Maginn’s brilliant satires of lazy literary fashions and explores the conflation of the Cork writer with his *Blackwood’s* alter-ego ‘Odoherty’.

Among the ‘rising generation’ discussed by Butt — the poets who came to fame in the period after Peterloo — were many who, like Percy Bysshe Shelley and Lord Byron, criticized existing government policy towards Ireland. On both islands, definitions of literature were made and remade in the movement between culture and politics: what Butt identifies as the ‘double dependence’ between ‘the literature of a nation, and of this nation in particular’ and ‘its political state’. Such an understanding relationship between literature and politics expressed what Raymond Williams calls ‘a *general* transition between thinking about art and thinking about society’, characteristic of nineteenth-century thought more broadly.[28] But in the case of Ireland, the diagnosis of a ‘double dependence’ shored up a narrative of failure: Butt complains that ‘[n]o literature had yet taken root in Ireland’ and that ‘[t]he spirit of the time did not favour the colonization of literature into Ireland’. With literature imagined as a foreign cultivar to be planted in Ireland, it is perhaps unsurprising that none of the writers discussed in this volume earn so much as a mention by Butt, even while the contemporary reputations of authors such as Maria Edgeworth and Thomas Moore ran high on both sides of the Irish sea.

Meanwhile, a truly popular literature seemed an elusive, even a failed prospect to the young Cork Catholic poet Jeremiah Joseph Callanan, who left the following observations (probably from the 1810s) among his manuscripts:

> Irish Literature — The L^{re} which flows from the rude mass of the people can never be good. May show some Genius. It is with the upper and more civilized classes it must originate to be good. It was not the case in Ireland.[29]

At once holding 'Irish Literature' above the common life of the people of Ireland and wondering about their potential 'Genius', Callanan's comments testify to contradictions of class, education and locality. In the same manuscript notes, Callanan speculates that the Irish language may be 'an obstacle to the improvement of the people'.[30] These manuscripts, largely written in English with some notes in Irish and in Latin, were gathered by the antiquarian John Windele following Callanan's untimely death in Lisbon in 1829. 'The Literary Remains of J.J. Callanan' include scattered observations on literature, aesthetics and history, prayers and hymns, botanical notes, historical legends, letters to friends and recollections of Callanan's time in Maynooth seminary. The notes often circle back to the question of Ireland and its culture, expressed in the self-questioning or contradictory style suggested above.

Original compositions also fill Callanan's pages. To read drafts of such accomplished poems as 'Gougane Barra' and 'The Outlaw of Loch Lene' alongside anxious questions about literature and language is to encounter transitions painfully experienced on the ground. Callanan's uncertainty combines with some of the most powerful lines of English-language poetry written in early nineteenth-century Ireland. Bernard O'Donoghue has remarked that Callanan pioneered 'a poetic form that is entirely unparalleled in standard English, often alternating the loose long lines with short lines of plain-style', as in the 'mysteriously effective'

lines from ‘The Outlaw of Loch Lene’: ‘My bed was the ground, my roof the greenwood above, | And the wealth that I sought one far kind glance from my love.’[31] Callanan’s status as transitional figure is more fully discussed by Gregory Schirmer in chapter twelve of the present volume.

Both Callanan and Butt took ‘Irish literature’ to mean a body of writing that expressed a connection not only to the island itself but to its majority Catholic population, a relationship, that is, to a vital yet elusive reality. Callanan earnestly promises ‘to confine whatever share of talent I may possess to Irish subjects’ in the hope that he will ‘have rendered my country some service’. Meanwhile Butt writes feelingly of the capacity of literature ‘to humanize the land’, sounding an echo, perhaps, of William Wordsworth’s ‘songs | Of humanized society’. Where Wordsworth, though, writes in *The Excursion* of ‘Culture, universally bestowed | On Britain’s noble Race in freedom born’, Butt must imagine a literature that draws on and redirects ‘local discontent’, ‘agitation’ and ‘religious animosity’.[32] Once more, the sheer numerousness of the Irish-speaking population — Callanan’s ‘rude mass of the people’ — helped to form a sense of Irish literature as a project that moves between an abundant popular culture and the limited resources of print. Perhaps the romantic aspiration to a literature at once nationally bounded and aesthetically apart is bound to be a contradictory one? Whatever the answers, the open-ended questions asked of ‘Irish literature’ can help us see the rawness and provisionality of an emerging cultural debate whose terms were to harden with the decades.

Though not recognized as such in 1837, the period between 1780 and 1830 can now be seen as the crucible of Irish writing in English. ‘Ireland is at her humanities’, writes Butt, acknowledging the ‘poetry, essays, reviews, tales, critical dissertations, without measure or respite’ that flowed along the public roads to reach the offices of the *Dublin University Magazine* in the 1830s.[33] Located amidst a busy commercial world, literature as a form of entertainment also vied with new visual media for impact. In *The Wild Irish Girl*, the narrator

fleshes out a ‘rude draught’ of the Connemara castle of Inismore by reference to the dramatic ruins of Dunluce Castle in County Antrim, directing readers to an image well known via popular prints of a tourist landscape.[34] Maria Edgeworth meanwhile was quick to criticize the ‘bad taste’ and ‘infinite conceit and presumption’ of Henry Fuseli in trying reimagine a great poem like *Paradise Lost* via a public exhibition of paintings. Yet she works references to his Milton Gallery into the text of *Belinda* (1801) and the happy ending of that same novel turns on a portrait painted after Bernardin de Saint-Pierre’s novel, *Paul et Virginie*.[35] And as well as being defined in relation to other kinds of entertainment, imaginative writing was also at the centre of its own complex commercial network of relations between writers, publishers, booksellers and readers. In terms of Irish book history, 1801 saw the extension of British copyright legislation to Ireland, leading to the closure of many booksellers. These were turbulent years for an Irish publishing industry accustomed to operate at the edges of the law and an indigenous Irish publishing industry did not re-emerge until the 1820s and 1830s. None of these changes remain external to Irish literature but rather were reconceived within novels, poems and plays in self-reflexive ways.[36]

Contest and change between literature and history

The emerging romantic practice of differentiating culture by people and place gathered apace but was experienced in terms of questions rather than answers, as my discussion above suggests. These transitions are at the centre of the story this volume tells: a gathering sense of literature as a body of imaginative work with specific national dimension; an emerging relationship between ‘the people’ and the printed page; a halting movement towards a definition of Irish literature that combines theory and practice in uneven ways.

The fifty years discussed in this book were marked by revolution, reaction, and reform; political developments that were in turn shaped by and reflected within a turbulent and intense

literary culture. Maria Edgeworth's decision to date the action of *Castle Rackrent* via a subtitle announcing a story relating to 'the facts and manners of the Irish squires before 1782' suggests the relevance of Grattan's Parliament and the Volunteer movement as a framing date for Irish literature. The election of Richard Brinsley Sheridan to Westminster in 1780 can also help us to develop a sense of an Irish literature concerned with questions of performed voice and public representation, with a focus on London that was to intensify in the post-Union period.

Yet the story of Irish literature might begin in Belfast rather than either Dublin or London, and Jennifer Orr's chapter tells the story from that starting point. The 1784 publication of William Drennan's *Letters of Orellana, an Irish Helot* (discussed by Norman Vance in chapter two) drew on a resonant language of slavery to call for the revival of the Volunteer spirit. With his ringing injunction to readers — 'You are all native Irish' — Drennan argues that 'the public education of the people of Ireland about all aspects of Irish culture could transform their negative self-images derived from English oppression and prejudice into positive new images that would encourage new social attitudes and reform.'[37] Drennan's powerful invocation of 'a republic of letters arising to illuminate the land' shares Callanan's and Butt's sense of a protean literature of the people yet to achieve its final form.[38] Such visions fed into the United Irish rebellion of 1798 but were also were part of a wider culture of reform. The extensive body of correspondence exchanged between Drennan and his sister Martha Drennan McTier charted the private contours of an intensely engaged public life, covering topics such as education, slavery, abolition and empire. McTier's letters in particular voiced a 'muted challenge to gendered boundaries, as she rejected the stylistic conventions of eighteenth-century women's letter writing' and earned 'a literary reputation'.[39] Meanwhile, a fifteen year old Maria Edgeworth read and admired Drennan, described by her father Richard Lovell Edgeworth as 'the Irish Rousseau.'[40]

The 1798 rebellion followed a decade or more of political ferment, drawing energies from varied but connected set of Enlightenment concepts including progress, toleration and republicanism. English literature also informed the growth of Irish revolutionary ideas. Discussing the 'broad literary tastes' that shaped United Irish song and ballads, Mary Helen Thuente lists among the books to found in the Society's library: 'James Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*; a six volume edition of Johnson's *Works*; Johnson's *Lives of the English Poets*; a six volume edition of Alexander Pope's works; and an eight volume edition of Jonathan Swift's works.' Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, William Godwin's *Political Justice* are also found on the list, alongside a wide range of travels, histories and books on the natural sciences.[41] Belfast feminist Mary Anne McCracken drew on *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* to challenge the exclusion of women from the United Irishmen's political agenda, while Martha McTier tartly remarked to her brother of Wollstonecraft that '*she* too conspires to make an important change'.[42]

In the aftermath of the United Irish rebellion, the British government drew Ireland more closely to itself via an Act of Union concerned with securing the empire and managing the threat from France. Civil power and military force were closely linked: a separate Irish executive headed by a Lord Lieutenant and supported by a strong military presence on the island continued to collect tithes and refuse Catholic rights. Union, though, did not deliver on the legislative reform which contemporaries had been led to expect and Ireland's Catholics remained excluded from many aspects of public life throughout the years of the Napoleonic and Peninsular wars. At the same time, the lineaments of empire stretched and expanded, with Britain's 'imperial meridian' taking in the Mediterranean, India and the southern parts of the African continent.[43] The figures for Irish service in the army and navy during these years are disproportionately high, given relative population numbers: 'as many as one in five of the adult male cohort' in Ireland saw military service between 1793 and 1815, while recruitment

'remained substantial after 1815'.[44] In 1830, 'when the Irish comprised some 32.2 percent of the population of the United Kingdom, there were more Irishmen than Englishmen in the British army'.[45] Gerald Griffin, who grew up on the banks of the Shannon and whose brother served with the army in Canada, gave serious thought to the conflict experienced by Catholics returning from war overseas. His tale 'Card-Drawing' (in *Tales of the Munster Festivals*, 1827) imagines the psychic dislocation experienced by a young sailor who has served on board the H.M.S. Victory with Admiral Nelson, only to return to the southwest of Ireland and find himself treated as a criminal. In chapter fifteen, Mark Corcoran explores Griffin's fiction from the point of view of its transnational range.

In a further paradox of Union, the post-union state was at once more fortified and more permeable than before: innovative national institutions such as prisons, schools and lunatic asylums began to spread throughout the country while new military and civil roads made access to remote areas easier. Such roads enabled travel for both visitors to Ireland and the Irish themselves, enhancing the potential for connectivity between Britain and Ireland as well as trade within the island of Ireland itself. Yet crises continued to affect Ireland, not least the typhus epidemics and famine in 1817 and 1822 as well as the convulsions of agrarian violence that characterized the Rockite rebellion between 1816 and 1824. The resulting government enquiries of the 1820s and 1830s exposed everyday Irish life to unprecedented levels of scrutiny. The opening of the Ordnance Survey office in the Phoenix Park in Dublin in 1824 initiated a programme of enquiry into Irish topography, history and culture, as Ireland became the subject of a state science project of unprecedented scale.

The passing of Catholic Emancipation in 1829 marks a curious endpoint to the decades discussed here: like Union itself, Emancipation was at once reformist and reactionary, offering Catholics greater access to British public life but in the same moment forging a secular state

whose official forms of tolerance continued to validate Anglican values and deny cultural difference.

These contradictions are inscribed within Irish literature in complex ways. If Irish history presents a picture of a country 'more disordered, more discontented, more divided, poorer and more vulnerable to contagious diseases than other parts of the United Kingdom',[46] then Irish literature is best thought of in terms of the making of new maps, allowing writers to chart routes between and across Enlightenment, antiquarian and romantic modes. From the 1780s, Protestant antiquarians worked to revive the Irish language literature of the island from the period before the Norman conquest and in turn paved the way for such new English language forms as the national tale. The figure of the bard was central to such accounts, as in Joseph Cooper Walker's *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* (1786) which reimagines a former world of culture and music. Rather than just standing as emblems of a lost landscape, however, literature and music remained in close and vital connection throughout the decades discussed in this book. Adrian Paterson's chapter on their overlapping relationships helps us to reimagine a lively and contested culture that addressed audiences alert to rhythm, sound and performance.

The Irish reception of Macpherson's Ossian poems and the publication of Charlotte Brooke's collection of translations from the Gaelic, *Reliques of Irish Poetry* (1789), further advanced the development of Irish literature as a distinct if hybrid category, as Lesa Ní Mhunghaile shows in chapter one. The particular nature of this mixed identity is best exemplified in Sydney Owenson's *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806), the first novel to adopt the subtitle 'A National Tale'. All three of the books so far mentioned – by Walker, Ossian, Brooke — found a place in the footnotes to Owenson's encyclopaedic novel, whose information-packed pages seem to almost mimic the achievements of such monumental works of Gaelic

scholarship as Geoffery Keating's popular *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, a book that every schoolmaster knew 'by heart', according to the Kilkenny diarist Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin.[47]

Owenson's notes and glosses have been seen as emblematic of a tendency towards the 'auto-exotic' in nineteenth-century Irish culture. What Joep Leerssen calls 'a mode of seeing, presenting and representing oneself in one's otherness' gains political substance and discursive support from the efforts of the colonial state to explain Ireland: select committees, government reports and the Poor Inquiry of 1833-6 all 'began from the assumption that Irish society was fundamentally different to British, and consequently focussed on those areas furthest from Britain, producing a kind of exoticization of enquiry'.[48] This idea of a culture constituted by its status as strange is explored in Seamus Deane's study of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Irish literature, *Strange Country* (1999). Deane's book, in Joe Cleary's summary, 'rehearses a version of Irish cultural history dominated by a sense that writers and intellectuals inhabit discursive paradigms by no means particularly Irish even though they have been deployed with great ingenuity to produce Irish particularity.'[49] Shaped in terms of broader cultural patterns of self-recognition, the national relationship to outside images of the island was to become a central founding conception of Irish Studies as it emerged as a critical discourse in the 1980s and 1990s. Yet the chapters of this book attest to some of the ways in which this relentless critical focus on strangeness has deformed our understanding of a body of writing that is also concerned to imagine Ireland on its own terms, or at very least to invent the terms from which such an image might proceed. Irish theatre, as David O'Shaughnessy shows in chapter seven, calls for a critical framework that can accommodate the kinds of urban conviviality that were to fracture in the post-Union period.

Additionally, an official print culture committed to 'exoticization' fed the emerging protocols of realist fiction in nuanced ways.[50] In the case of the Ordnance Survey, Cóilín Parsons argues that the longer history of Irish literature from James Clarence Mangan through

to James Joyce bears the influence of efforts to imagine Irish places in abstract terms.[51] Certainly these modes of enquiry did not simply yield a body of novels, poems and plays that imagine an Irish 'primitiveness' in need of explication. A recent historical account however persists in seeing literature and politics as enmeshed in a shared project of cultural translation: 'there seems to have existed in the early nineteenth century a species of unrealized conspiracy between two very different groups — one in Ireland and one in Britain — both equally determined to present, to explain, and if possible to understand Ireland in terms that emphasized that, whatever else Ireland was, it was not England.' Such a focus relies on an understanding of literature and travel writing as together committed to a version of 'wild, distinct and picturesque Ireland'.[52] Significant as such acts of explanation are, they take their place within an Irish literature engaged in making its own provenance. 'I did not write for English readers', said the Wicklow M.P. William Parnell of his novel *Maurice and Berghetta* (1819) 'but with the hope of forming a popular book that should interest the peasantry of Ireland'.[53]

To absorb all of Irish culture under the rubric of presenting, explaining and understanding a place distinguished chiefly by difference is to miss out on the range of writing discussed in this book, not least where literature seems to shield itself from public meaning or dwell in the place of difference. In the case of Mary Tighe, the fact that her poetry circulated amidst a coterie of readers rather than in more public forms meant that her powerful explorations of memory, identity and place has long been located on the very edges of Irish literary history, even as her influence on the work of John Keats earns her a place in mainstream histories of Romantic poetry. Harriet Kramer Linkin's critical and editorial recuperation of Tighe's work, including chapter eight in this volume, prompts us to an urgent reassessment of a key transitional figure whose learned, intensely subjective writing can in turn reshape existing definitions of Irish literature.

A critical narrative occupied only with cultural difference also misses the note of self-scrutiny sounded by Callanan and Butt above and ignores the role of Irish writers in advancing the conceptual terms on which literature will be read and discussed in the decades to come. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw a remarkable range of Irish contributions to the emergence of a specialized literary critical language that remains in regular use. Oliver Goldsmith identified the reign of Queen Anne as the 'Augustan Age' of English literature, 'a highly influential piece of critical shorthand 'that retains currency today'.[54] The Oxford English Dictionary gives an example from Lady Morgan's 1821 book, *Italy* as its earliest cited use of the term 'romanticism' to mean '[t]he Romantic movement or style in art, literature, or music'. Meanwhile 'modernists' were already a target in Jonathan Swift's *Tale of the Tub* (1704) and 'modernism' is described in Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* as 'a word invented by Swift'. Critics continue to quote Swift's letter to Alexander Pope in 1737 with its disparaging remarks about English 'scribblers' whose 'abominable curtailments and quaint modernisms' debase the language. In chapter three of this volume, Julia Wright offers an original study of the intellectual and political contexts from which such precocious acts of cultural theory emerged. Discussing the role of the Royal Irish Academy's 'Committee of Polite Literature' in structuring forms of discursive contest about and within culture, Wright opens up fresh understandings of the ways in which literature in Ireland was nationalized, periodized and put to use. She also makes an important contribution to the analysis of forms of abstract thought in Irish culture and deepens our understanding of the Irish Enlightenment. The popular intellectualism discussed by Jennifer Orr in chapter seven and in particular her discussion of the role of dissenting popular culture in Irish literature adds scope and range to the book's account of these Enlightenment legacies.

Traveller's tales and sober realties

The examples of literary critical language given above look outward towards language and literature in their widest sense, taking in issues of taste, periodisation, European aesthetics and the history of the written forms of speech in English. More generally, the chapters in this volume can be seen to track inward and outward movements in Irish culture, depicting a literature that cleaves to national conditions while also taking its bearings from outside perceptions of the island. As a body of writing constituted via the relationship between local realities and outside perceptions, travel writing offers a lens through which we can begin to explore the modalities of culture between 1780 and 1830. Travellers to Ireland encountered scenes and sites quite different to those seen in Britain, witnessing poor and dispossessed people living marginal lives: 'The people form too prominent an object in the landscape to be wholly passed over even by the most indifferent observer', remarked Sir Charles Morgan in the Advertisement to his wife's novel, *Florence Macarthy* (1827).[55]

Morgan's words find an emphatic echo in those of John Gamble, an Ulster dissenter and British Army surgeon who wrote novels and a pro-Catholic Emancipation pamphlet as well as a series of travel books. Gamble took three return trips to Ireland in the years after the 1798 rebellion (1810, 1812 and 1818), penning powerful accounts that are sculpted by the forces of memory and history.[56] Gamble's travel writing offers sustained commentary upon different and related modes of representation and their relationship to Irish realities. Introducing his travels in the north of Ireland in the summer and autumn of 1812, Gamble puts to one aside any expected references to the striking basalt landscape of the Giant's Causeway, asserting that 'Men and women … are of more importance than pillars or columns' and promising to give instead 'human actions, human passions and human beings'.[57] At the outset of his 1810 tour, he pretends to deplore the limited perspective afforded to 'us humble authors of tours and voyages', who, 'confined to sober realities' must confront their readers with such ugly realities as the 'nausea and disgust' of a journey at sea. Gamble piles ironic praise on

'[t]he writer of romance' with their 'four, sometimes six thick volumes of distress' before going on to treat readers to a vivid account of sea sickness, including a list of remedies.[58] A reader who desires further details of the famous beauties of Dublin Bay as seen by the arriving passenger is directed by Gamble to 'any of Mrs Radcliffe's novels, where he will get descriptions of all sizes, "ready cut and dried," both for sea and land; admirable ones truly, which, with slight alteration, will do as well for every other place as those for which they were written'. Gamble imagines literature in terms of stoutly established but banal conventions which inevitably lose out to his own witty rendition of the everyday miseries of life of a journey from Liverpool to Dublin. Versions of this argument between literature and real life recur in Irish writing between 1780 and 1830, gaining particular resonance in relation to the question of history.

History works its way into the imaginative writing of the period with the force of a rival genre, or perhaps as an alternative methodology. Opening with a sprightly attack on the 'the fine fancy of the professed historian', sadly constrained by disciplinary obligations to represent public affairs in 'measured prose', Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* offers a philosophically developed discussion of the representational dilemmas generated by an engagement with the past. The frankness of Edgeworth's attack on history testifies to the eighteenth-century Irish sense of the past as readily available for interrogation and dispute: history as 'in some ways, contemporaneous', as Clare O'Halloran puts it.[59] Edgeworth's Preface articulates a series of judgements that emerge via cleverly phrased rhetorical questions: these include the worth of 'the most minute facts relative to the domestic lives' of people of all classes; the attraction of gossip and all kinds of 'behind the scenes' knowledge; the dangers of an elegant prose style and the value of '[a] plain unvarnished tale'. All of this serves to introduce the 'illiterate old steward' whose 'Memoirs' are presented to the reader as 'tales of other times'. Often read simply for the clues it gives readers to Thady Quirke's unreliable narrative, Edgeworth's

Preface might be properly seen as offering a kind of *tour d'horizon* of literature and history at a moment in which both 'everyday experience' and 'inwardness' seemed to hold out tantalizing challenges to writers who grappled 'with the difficulty of giving shape to a historical sensibility no longer bounded by public transactions'.[60]

In the process, Edgeworth raised the conceptual stakes for Irish fiction that sought to address the past. Sydney Owenson (who became Lady Morgan in 1812) took up the challenge in the preface to her 1814 novel, *O'Donnel: a National Tale* with a claim for 'literary fiction' as 'the best history of nations'.[61] Novels by John and Michael Banim, Gerald Griffin and William Carleton used paratextual prefaces and advertisements to further advance these arguments concerning the representation of Irish culture on the printed page. In the case of the Banims, as Willa Murphy shows in chapter fourteen, the narrative inscription of violence challenged the capacities of print and lent a particular edge to the representation of a divided society. Even when fictional prefaces privilege 'the terrible realities of Truth' over 'the strongest imagery of Fiction', they continue to contribute to the self-reflective capacity of the national tale.[62] These early nineteenth-century Irish novelists set a pattern for self-reflective fictional openings that continues through the Preface to Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890), with its telegraphic theorization of realism, romanticism and art itself.

In contrast to the tale that it introduces, which is avowedly drawn from earlier events, Edgeworth's Preface marks its contemporary moment with the date '1800'; a reminder that, taken together, the Preface, memoirs, notes, glossary and editorial commentary that comprise *Castle Rackrent* present a key study in what Mark Salber Phillips calls 'the flowering of literary-historical writing circa 1800' and, again, 'the intensification of literary-historical interests circa 1800'.[63] This process of 'intensification' is central to the transitions charted in this book. To understand it, though, we need to track the mobile nature of the 'interests' expressed, their reliance upon different genres and their movement across islands and empire.

‘Literary-historical interests circa 1800’: Emmet’s Rebellion

There can be few places better to begin to trace the fluid entanglements of literature and history circa 1800 than with the case of Robert Emmet’s rebellion. Despite the suppression of the United Irish rebellion and the passing of the Act of Union, the legacies of violence continued into the new century. While some emigrated to the United States and to Europe, many of the leading United Irishmen were removed from Dublin in 1799 and imprisoned in Fort George, a Jacobite-era artillery fortification near Inverness in the Scottish Highlands. Built after the Battle of Culloden, with impregnable walls overlooking the Moray Firth, Fort George was a place of prolonged, ‘bitter and vengeful’ confinement for convicted United Irishmen including Thomas Russell, Arthur O’Connor and Thomas Addis Emmet.[64] These men maintained connections with the remaining member of the United Irish society, including Robert Emmet, who rendezvoused with his brother Thomas Addis Emmet, sister-in-law and their children in Amsterdam and instigated plans to set up headquarters in Brussels. French support was not forthcoming, however: Napoleon Bonaparte had just sent a fleet to San Domingo in an effort to regain French control of the Caribbean colony and the temporary peace between Britain and France signaled by signing of the Treaty of Amiens in 1802 came as a further blow to United Irish hopes.

Robert Emmet nonetheless went on to lead a small group of United Irishmen to rebellion in Dublin in July 1803. Thinking more about this quickly defeated effort — a failed but ‘rhetorically resonant’ event — can help us to analyse the contours of a body of writing in transition.[65] Once captured, Emmet was found guilty of treason and condemned to public execution. His ‘staccato’ speech from the dock, with its urgent appeal to a future ‘when my country takes her place among the nations of the earth’ became a writ of Irish romantic nationalism (though debate continues as to its textual provenance).[66] Seamus Deane suggests

that the very grammar of Emmet's speech — in particular its use of the future perfect tense — inscribes an insistent openness to the future that constitutes an essential aspect of romantic nationalism. 'That appeal to the future', remarks Kevin Whelan, 'is what sent Emmet cascading down the echo chamber of Irish history.'[67]

For Irish literature, however, it is a mistake to position the events of 1803 at the opening point of a hollow enclosure. Composed of reflections, relays and reverberations, echoes create complex resonances and patterns. Emmet 'shared a language with the English Romantic poets' and his story quickly inspired works by Robert Southey and Percy Bysshe Shelley as well as remarks by Samuel Taylor Coleridge.[68] Poems including Shelley's 'On Robert Emmet's Tomb' and Moore's 'Oh Breathe Not his Name!' imagine Emmet not as dead or defeated but rather as a wandering spirit, waiting in silence for 'the tears of revival'.[69] These poems secreted a cultural memory of rebellion within themselves but in doing so they also performed a kind of forgetting. Charles Robert Maturin's very different inscription of the events of 1803 is telling. Where Moore could skillfully invoke the shade of Emmet without even mentioning his name, Maturin has readers encounter dates, names, details and bloody consequences of the rebellion. In a gruesome footnote to *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820) that details the piking and mutilation of Lord Kilwarden on Thomas Street in the throes of the 1803 rebellion, he makes the spectacle of street violence serve as a strikingly contemporary illustration of the psychology of terror. Maturin imagines horror as a banal aspect of modern life and in chapter eleven Jim Kelly explores the contradictory role of rhetorical language in this dark vision.

If, in the early year of the century, Emmet's story found its way onto the printed page via a restless movement between history and literature, it can seem as if later decades conspired to limit its resonances. Thomas Moore's 'She is Far from the Land', with its distancing and deadening evocation of Emmet's lover Sarah Curran, is far better known now than the numerous lively transatlantic versions of the Curran story, for example. Emmet's rebellion

became a 'legend', suggests Marianne Elliot, 'in its historical origin, its simplicity and its pervasiveness.'[70] But culture has also intervened in Emmet's story in complex ways — contemporaneously, retrospectively, proleptically. To make this case is not only to argue for a fuller understanding of cultural inscriptions of the 1803 rebellion but also to advance a fuller understanding of a body of writing that was moving in multiple directions at the brink of a new century.

In what follows, I map these questions of space and time via a consideration of the cases of three writers whose reputation have come to define what constitutes Irish literature of the period. A closer examination of Maria Edgeworth, Thomas Moore and Sydney Owenson at a key moment enables a broadening of spatial and cultural co-ordinates and in turn opens into the wider aims of this book. All three played a significant role in the emergence of modern Irish culture and yet none of them makes for a clear example of what Irish literature was and is, in and around 1803. Coming from different class backgrounds and possessed of quite different later reputations they nonetheless shared: a curiosity about writing and place and the forms to which their relationship give rise; a focus on the role of literature in relation to the world of commerce, money and work, including the possibility of literature as a profession; and an understanding of Ireland that encompasses Europe, Britain and its Empire.

Three Irish writers in 1803

Maria Edgeworth

The eldest of the three, Maria Edgeworth returned to her life on the family estate in Edgeworthstown in March 1803, following a long visit to France. Concerned about her brother Lovell, a prisoner of war at Verdun, she occupied herself at home with a new series to be called *Popular Tales*. In August, she entrusted the manuscript to a family friend who was travelling to England, to be delivered to the publisher Joseph Johnson and published, she thought, 'by

next Xmas'.[71] In a letter from August 1803 she detailed militia arrangements in the neighborhood and described her father's efforts to 'fortify' the house: 'walls to build up before library windows — thick doors and bastions & all as of yore.'[72] With Robert Emmet imprisoned in Dublin and the events of 1798 still in memory, the Edgeworth family were wary of revolution. In the same letter in which she details the dispatch of *Popular Tales* to London, Edgeworth reported that a 'whole nest of *little* villains 10—11—12—13 years old have been discovered in Edgeworthstown who got together to drink unlawful toasts such as *Here's to the star which was lit in America, which shined in France & was quenched in Ireland*.'[73]

In *Popular Tales*, however, Edgeworth turned her attention from stories of Irish '*baby* villainy' and instead developed plots within which social mobility is achieved via a judicious mixture of education, independent effort and unobtrusive patronage. Richard Lovell Edgeworth explains that the stories earn their title 'from a wish that they may be current beyond circles which are sometimes exclusively considered as polite.' These were not 'the rude mass of the people' of whom Callanan writes, however, but rather a global population of workers who strive to improve their lot via education. The stories range across the empire, taking in America, China, Constantinople, India, the West Indies and the Middle East, as well as Derbyshire, Hereford, London, Leinster, Lincolnshire, Monmouth and Limerick.

With Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* as 'the single most important written source for the tales', Edgeworth deploys the imperial context to enable a broad ranging treatment of work, gender and professional identity.[74] *Popular Tales* is best remembered now for 'The Grateful Negro', a story around which a considerable body of scholarship has grown up. The plot concerns two neighbouring slave plantations, one governed by the abusive and splenetic Mr Jeffries and the other by Mr Edwards, who allows his slaves access to their own provision grounds and strives to better their lot. A conspiracy underway at the plantation of Mr Jeffries results in a rebellion led by the slave Hector, an event based on the Tacky slave uprising in

Jamaica in 1760. The conclusion sees a bankrupt Mr Jeffries return to England but hardly endorses an overthrow of the system of slavery: this is 'not an "anti-slavery tale" as such, but a reflection on the circumstances which produce — or may prevent — violent resistance to authority.'[75]

It seems likely that the family experience of rebellion affected Edgeworth's account of the dangers of violent uprisings and her outlook seems more conservative than other Romantic-period women writers (in particular when compared to her friend and correspondent Anna Laetitia Barbauld). Her sources are also a factor: Edgeworth had never travelled to the West Indies but was influenced by her reading of Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*. She even gives Edwards as a name to the benevolent planter in the tale, just as she later inscribes her intellectual debt to Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* via the naming of the exemplary agent in *The Absentee*. 'A literary and intellectual planter',[76] Bryan Edwards opposed abolition and thought that the condition of slaves would be best ameliorated by enlightened reform of plantation practices.

The tale has generated considerable debate with Susan Manly in particular arguing that assessment of Edgeworth as 'a lukewarm, ameliorationist supporter of slavery' can be modified by closer attention to the West Indian sub-plot of the tale 'The Good Aunt' from *Moral Tales for Young People*.[77] Rather than pursue these questions here, what seems significant in terms of the emerging identity of Irish writing is the inscription of issues of race within an imperial context and the lasting reputation of this particular story in American rather than Irish literary history. Edgeworth was to become 'the key figure in the dissemination of "the grateful slave" in nineteenth-century England and America'.[78] And because *Popular Tales* was so often reprinted in nineteenth-century America, George Boulukos shows, the tale became 'an ur text for the representation of blacks in nineteenth-century US childrens' fiction, and hence a shaping influence on white Antebellum citizens' concepts of race'.[79] Clíona Ó Gallchoir has

mapped the wider influence of Edgeworth on American writers, including her impact on Catharine Maria Sedgwick's *A New England Tale* (1822) and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.[80]

With *Popular Tales* in the press, Edgeworth returned to the question of Ireland, beginning work on *Ennui* in the autumn of 1803. Described by Marilyn Butler as 'the first and most elaborate of Edgeworth's Gaelicized allegories', *Ennui* sets a template for the Irish novels to come: *The Absentee* (1812) and *Ormond* (1817).[81] Taken together Edgeworth's Irish novels are 'the place', according to Terry Eagleton, 'where a whole *distinctive* object known as Ireland makes its first fictional appearance'.[82] The imperial backdrop for that 'first fictional appearance' is significant but so too is the experimental method via which the 'object known as Ireland' is made known. In chapter nine, James Chandler gives a new account of Edgeworth's scientific realism, a model of careful observation informed by experimentation as method, aimed at the truth of things. In the tales and novels, this experimental method can often manifest as static framed scenes (*The Grateful Negro* is full of these) yet as such they stick in the memory, Chandler argues, as a distinctive specimen of a wider culture and point us towards an encounter with reality.

Thomas Moore

Thomas Moore was also looking towards the Atlantic world in 1803. Already celebrated as the writer of lushly erotic poetry, Moore, with strong encouragement from his parents, was considering how to make a professional career. Moore was friends with Emmet in Trinity College Dublin in the late 1790s and may himself have taken the United Irish oath.[83] As with Edgeworth though, we find in Moore only indirect reference to the revolutionary violence of 1803. He wrote several letters home to Dublin in the period between Emmet's rebellion and his departure for Bermuda in 1804, but none of them mention the insurrection.[84] Rather the

letters concern financial advancement, political patronage and the possibility of literature as a professional avocation.

In May 1803, Moore was offered the Poet Laureateship of Ireland, a post that was to be created especially for him by William Wickham, the Chief Secretary of Ireland who had been on holidays in Yorkshire during Emmet's rebellion and who resigned his post only a year later. But Moore's father cautioned him to hold out for something better. In the poet's own account of his decision to turn down the prospective post, the problem was that '[I]t would place me on a *ladder* indeed, but a ladder which has but the one *rank*, where I should stand stationary forever.'[85]

The royal post of English Poet Laureate was itself in transition in the early years of the nineteenth century, moving from an older idea of loyal service to the now familiar form of honour bestowed on a distinguished living poet. The post was first conferred upon John Dryden in 1688 and Walter Scott turned it down in 1813, disliking the idea of life as a Court lackey. Queen Victoria's selection of William Wordsworth in 1843 is usually regarded as the first distinctively modern appointment. As Irish Poet Laureate, Moore would have also have been expected to write occasional poems in praise of monarch and state, presumably with an Irish inflection. How might such a post have worked? There is a slender earlier history of Dublin Castle literary patronage that left some imprint in the social world of theatre but little by way of 'a lasting impact on the creative life of Dublin, let alone Ireland'.[86] Would the anomalies that affected the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in the aftermath of Union have had an impact on an Irish Poet Laureateship or might the majority Irish population have been assuaged by the placing of a Catholic in the post?[87] In any case, following Moore's lack of interest in the post, there were no further efforts to revive the idea and it remained for the devolutionary decade of the 1990s to see the institution of Irish, Scottish and Welsh versions of the role under the titles of 'Ireland Chair of Poetry', 'Scottish Makar' and 'National Poet of Wales'.

Efforts to find a sinecure for Moore continued and by the end of 1803 he had been appointed, through the patronage of Lord Moira, Registrar of the Vice-Admiralty Court (Naval Prize Court) in Bermuda. Moore's correspondence reports his delight at this 'promising opportunity of advancement': 'My foot is upon the ladder pretty firmly' he wrote home, detailing the prospective beauties of Bermuda and the boons of its balmy climate. Like Robert Burns, whose 'near-complicity' in Britain's slave economy dates from the period when he failed as a tenant farmer in Ayrshire and sought employment as a 'book keeper' or 'Negro driver' in Jamaica, Moore clearly understood Britain's overseas colonies in terms of professional advancement.[88]

The Bermuda expedition was not however a success — on reaching his 'destin'd isle', Moore signed the post off to a placeholder and ended up in financial difficulties as result — but it did result in a significant body of work, collected in his *Epistles, Odes and Other Poems*, published in 1806 and dedicated to Lord Moira. His journey, which lasted about a year, took him from London to Bermuda and then Virginia, Washington and Philadelphia as well as Canada before arriving back in London in November 1804. Among the poems written on the journey westwards were some that became local and national classics in the nineteenth-century: these include 'The Lake of the Dismal Swamp' set in Norfolk and 'The Canadian Boat Song'. The collection as a whole has a distinctively anti-American bias: Moore describes Norfolk, Virginia, for example, as 'a most disagreeable place, and the best the journalist or geographer can say of it is, that it abounds in dogs, in negroes, and in democrats.'[89] He was openly critical of Thomas Jefferson and 'vented his spleen in three rancorous satiric epistles' attacking Washington DC in a series of 'skilled' poems.[90] In the Preface to the collection, Moore took care to give an Irish inflection to these negative views of America, describing but also disavowing an instinctive Irish fondness for the presumed 'purity of the government and the primitive happiness of the people, which I had early imbibed in my home country.' Moore goes

on: ‘I was completely disappointed in every flattering expectation which I had formed, and was inclined to say to America, as Horace says to his mistress, “intentata nites.”’[91] Or, in Anna Seward’s translation of these lines from Horace: ‘Ah wretch! to whom untried thou seemest fair!’.[92]

In comparing his relationship to America to that of a disappointed lover with an unfaithful mistress, Moore points us towards an important aspect of *Epistles, Odes and other Poems*: the connection of poems of place with amatory verse. In terms of the former, the volume’s footnotes to a range of sources that engage with American history and geography; with sources including Louis Hennepin, *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America* (1698), Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix, *An Account of the French Settlements in North America* (1746), Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782), Jedediah Morse, *The American Geography* (1789) and Gilbert Imlay, *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America* (1792). The collection makes wide use of detail from the natural history of the new world, with alligators, glass snakes, porpoises, pond-lilies and creeping vines all to be found in the poems and footnotes. The love poems on the other hand relate to minor incidents from a lover’s life and are often addressed to unnamed women. Poems such as ‘On a Beautiful East Indian’, ‘Woman’ and ‘Dreams to — ’ are flirtatious while others border on the licentious and lubricious. There is a short poem, for instance, addressed to a friend and asking to be remembered to ‘teasing CATY | The loving, languid girl of Haiti’, a ‘Postscript’ that was suppressed in nineteenth-century editions of the collection.[93] A sequence of poems written while in Bermuda, the ‘Odes to Nea’, were ‘notorious for the illicit liaison they insinuated’, as Ronan Kelly tells us, and soon to be ‘instrumental in the mutual seduction of Percy Shelley and Mary Godwin’.[94]

Despite speculation as to the identity of Moore’s ‘Nea’, the poems were destined to mostly live on in reputation for their memorable invocation of local beauty spots. The early

poems of place found in *Epistles, Odes and other Poems* have had a considerable afterlife, all the more notable when we consider that, before 1806, 'Moore had written little or nothing in this sublime vein' and would 'not have been counted as a poet of the creative imagination in the Wordsworthian manner'.[95] 'The Canadian Boat Song' not only made Moore's reputation as a lyric poet, it also 'flourished and proliferated in Canada' and went on to have a significant 'influence and presence' in North American literary history: 'Even a partial list of the Canadian authors who drew in one way or another on 'A Canadian Boat Song' reads like a roll call on a Canadian literary parade ground'.[96] The Irish Fenian turned Canadian politician Thomas D'Arcy Magee reinvented Moore's poem in an early and important call for a national literature rooted in the facts of Canadian geography and history.[97]

The publication of *Epistles* was followed by a negative review in *The Edinburgh*, which in turn led Moore to challenge the editor, Francis Jeffrey, to a duel. The affray was eventually prevented by the police and an embarrassed Moore fled to Dublin. There he met James and William Power and agreed to write the lyrics of for a new collection of *Irish Melodies*, with music arranged by Sir John Stevenson. As Jane Moore tells the story, it was the chain of events set in place by these transatlantic poems that 'effectively transformed the reputation of the erstwhile "Anacreon" Moore into his modern soubriquet, the "Bard of Erin"'.[98]

Sydney Owenson (Lady Morgan)

Before Moore began to make Irish literature on the banks of the St Lawrence, his fame reached Sydney Owenson in Dublin. In her *Memoirs*, she gives a breathless account of her first meeting with the famous poet in 1800, recalling how she and her delighted sister 'both went to bed in delirium, forgetting even to dress ourselves', following an invitation to hear Moore perform at his parents' house off Augier Street in Dublin. Owenson goes on: 'My sister rose to draw Moore's picture, which looked more like a young negro than a young poet'. The idea of the

celebrity poet as 'young negro' is intriguing: a reference perhaps to a style of drawing in profile or a sexualized version of the 'exoticization' of Irish culture discussed above? Owenson's own desires fasten on the figure of Moore as professional author rather than sex object: following the meeting, she says, 'my vocation for authorship as a means to relieve my father from his embarrassments, became a fixed idea, originating in the one strong instinct of my nature — family devotion — a very Celtic idiosyncracy. I think it was quickened into development by the success of Moore, the grocer's son'.[99]

Owenson's avowal of the role of professional woman writer is cloaked in the twin disguises of dutiful daughter and impassioned Celt, both serving as convenient spurs to fame. Owenson wrote to her father of *St Clair* and *The Novice of St Dominick*: 'Now if I had time and quiet to finish them, I am *sure* I could sell them; and observe, Sir, Miss Burney got three thousand pounds for *Camilla*, and brought out *Evelina* unknown to her father; but all this will take time.'[100] In the same letter, Owenson explains that she 'intends to go as instructress or companion to young ladies' and in the end, she spent the winter of 1801 to 1802 as governess with the Featherstone family at Bracklin, County Westmeath, working all the while on the two novels mentioned ('though I went out a great deal' as she wrote.)[101] She also exchanged a flirtations correspondence with her friend the poet Thomas Dermody who died in July 1802, aged only twenty nine.[102]

The relevant chapter of Owenson's *Memoirs* bears the ominous title 'Still A Governess' but she writes fondly of her time with the Crawford family in Fort William in Tipperary. She finished work on *St Clair* while enjoying life with the sociable Crawfords and of Nenagh, the nearest market town, she rhapsodized: 'This is the *Athens* of Ireland, music and literature carry everything before them'.[103] By the beginning of 1803, however, Owenson had begun to tire of looking after 'Miss Bridget and Miss Kate'. She wrote to her friend Alicia Le Fanu of her weariness at '*life* to *Castle Tumble-Down*' and announced that 'I gave in my resignation last

week.'[104] It is clear from the same letter that friends in Dublin were already reading *St Clair* and Owenson must have longed to be part of this metropolitan literary scene. She asks her friend if the new London second edition had yet arrived in Dublin and in a December 1803 letter to Alicia Le Fanu reported 'an account of *St Clair's* success at Bath and Bristol … it set every particle of authorship afloat which had been for some time gradually subsiding'.[105]

Literature had yet to offer her a means of making a living however, and Owenson went next to Strabane in County Tyrone. A letter to her former pupil, Miss Featherstone, written in the month before Emmet's rebellion, reports parties of pleasure, including a visit to 'the city of county Londonderry, so famous in Irish history'; 'a day at the races of St Johnston's'; and the purchase of a Spanish guitar amidst the 'bold, savage and romantic' scenery of the north of Ireland.[106] Owenson had contrived to place *St Clair* with a publisher when in Dublin with the Crawfords and her account of her efforts to get her novel published injects high drama into this, her 'first literary adventure'.[107] Dressed in the 'market bonnet and cloak' of the family cook, 'and with the MS. tidily put up under my arm', she 'slipped down quietly one morning early' and set out onto the streets of Dublin to find a publisher. In her own account, the novice author was 'unanointed, unannealed, unknown to everybody' and yet on a mission that was 'quickened into development by the success of Moore, the grocer's son'. Impressionistic and theatrical as Owenson's *Memoirs* are, they offer a glimpse inside the world of Dublin publishing and remain an important source of information regarding Irish book history in the aftermath of the Union.

Yet the prominence given to *St Clair* in Owenson's *Memoirs* may mislead us as to the varied nature of her writing and her uncertainty regarding the kind of career that she might carve out. The successful novelist does not reflect on her earliest publications, a collection of sentimental verse completed while Owenson was still at school and simply titled *Poems*. Dedicated to Lady Moira and published in Dublin in 1800, the collection reminds us of the

continuing role of literary patronage in the period, even as the commercial power of publishers grew. The case of her friend Thomas Dermody can be seen now as evidence the limitations of this 'precarious, outmoded system of patronage', yet in 1810 Owenson, by then a successful published writer, attached herself to wealthy Abercorn family and married their physician, Sir Charles Morgan.[108]

St Clair with 'its somber and unsettling foreshadowing of "Irish" issues which were to govern later titles' points out other aspects of the route ahead.[109] At first glance, *St Clair* seems remarkably similar to Owenson's more famous Irish novel of three years later, *The Wild Irish Girl*: a stranger arrives in the wilds of the West of Ireland, and falls in love with the daughter of a chieftain. Like *The Wild Irish Girl*, the novel consists of a series of letters, from the Englishman to his friend in London. But in *St Clair*, the setting, scenery and location seem almost accidental. Its publishing history, however, reveals Owenson's sense of the capacities of the national tale: a corrected edition of 1812 saw Owenson not only 'toning down some of the more exuberant language of the original' but also adding 'three letters, forming two sequences, both of which involve discussions of the Irish national character and end with legends in which female sexuality appears to have a destabilizing effect'.[110]

Publicity for the revised edition (which followed the success of her 1811 novel, *The Missionary*) suggests the author's new standing as Irish writer: 'Miss Owenson on Love and Friendship' ran the advertisements, announcing 'a Series of Familiar Letters on Love and Friendship, &c. By Miss Owenson', "With a Characteristic Portrait of the Author playing on a harp".' Yet the national remit of Owenson's output did not settle into a clear pattern and the role of Ireland in her ability to sell books was hardly clear. She followed the success of *The Wild Irish Girl* with novels set in Greece and in India respectively (*Woman: Or, Ida of Athens,* 1809 and *The Missionary*), before going on to become the author of three important Irish novels in a row (*O'Donnel,* 1814 *Florence Macarthy,* 1818 and *The O'Briens and the O'Flaherties,*

1827). In chapter ten, Nicola Lloyd shows how Owenson sustained a lifelong career in self-invention, drawing on philosophical discourses of sympathy in order to forge an identity as Irish woman writer.

Transitions: Origins, Reputations, Futures

In presenting the three literary cases above in relation to the resonant political moment of Robert Emmet's rebellion, I have sought to show how Irish literature between 1780 and 1830 made its own maps and created new chronologies. If eighteenth and early-nineteenth century antiquarian histories can be read as at once practising 'politics by other means' while also as 'laying the foundations of modern historical scholarship in Ireland', then Irish literature too should be understood in terms of ambitions, capacities and destinations.[111] Rather than read the novels, poems and plays of the period in the light of the limitations imposed by politics, the chapters of this book are arranged according to transitions between and across the centuries of Irish writing, and conclude with Fiona Stafford's argument for a reimagined literary past.

Together, my three cases prompt a conception of Irish culture in terms of an active dialogue between people, places, and forms. For each author, the particular book brought into discussion by a focus on 1803 has had little impact within standard histories: neither Edgeworth's *Popular Tales*, Moore's *Epistles, Odes and other Poems* nor Owenson's *St Clair* have achieved lasting fame within the canons of Irish literature. The sensational and lasting transatlantic success of 'The Canadian Boat Song' might almost stand as a model for the dispersal of energies and interests at this key moment. Moore's poem is not a monument to lost opportunities, though, but rather a navigational guide that can help us to plot new co-ordinates and reimagine origins, reputations and futures in transition.

To return to the wider themes addressed in this book, *Irish Literature in Transition 1780-1830* can be thought of as a volume that, first, draws together a group of writers who are

often thought to inhabit different worlds. Even where valuable biographical, critical and editorial work has helped to reshape our understanding or individual writers (Edgeworth, Moore and Tighe are cases in point), their relationship to one another and to the wider context of Irish literature can be difficult to discern and discuss. This may be because we simply do not know enough about a great number of writers or because existing specialized studies have not reached a wide enough readership across the longer span of Irish literary history. *Irish Literature in Transition* responds to this problem by giving ample space to individual author chapters, allowing readers to build a sense of a number of distinct literary voices and cultural lives and reputations. From such detail emerges the kind of texture needed to shape a fuller, richer and more varied story.

Second, as well as assessing individual reputations, the book aims to enable a new account of the afterlives of the novels, poems and plays written during the period 1780-1830 and to enable new research. Thomas Moore in particular repays analysis in this respect and Jane Moore makes the fascinating suggestion that echoes of early Moore's erotic drinking songs can be heard in W.B. Yeats and again in Austin Clarke's lyric of 1929, 'The Planter's Daughter'. Fiona Stafford's chapter presents a rich set of resonant relationships across time and space, advancing a model of romantic literature as uncomfortable but compelling inheritance within Irish writing. The feminized model of sociability that Jane Moore finds inscribed within Thomas Moore's distinctive aesthetics (chapter thirteen) suggests how a reading alert to questions of gender can reimagine Moore as poet.

Third, this volume of *Irish Literature in Transition* redraws the literary map to make space for the geographical range and scope of Irish writing between 1780 and 1830. Looking west from London, Joseph Rezek argues in chapter twenty, we can see how successive waves of Irish, Scottish, and American books forge a distinctive if divided literary aesthetics that grew up around perceptions of distance.[112] In chapter eighteen, Joep Leerssen considers the

European contexts for Irish writing in this period and pays particular attention the aesthetics, politics and geography of comparative romanticisms. The emergence of a new sense of Irish cultural identity in this period was in large part made possible by the discourse of Celticism, with its compelling articulation of the particularities of place and past. The cultural revival from which such ideas drew their energy was a 'ramifying phenomenon' that ran 'into many areas of Romantic-period writing', as John Kerrigan puts it.[113] In chapter seventeen, Murray Pittock makes a bracing case for a fuller understanding of the role of Scotland and Wales in the making of a distinctive Irishness. That archipelagic connection in turn extends itself via the empire. In the period covered by this book, Ireland underwent a transformation from eighteenth-century colonial outpost to nineteenth-century 'sub-imperial centre'.[114] The resulting transitions saw Ireland as 'providing at times an important link in the imperial chain but also a critical fault-line at the Empire's core'.[115] Finding evidence of such fault-lines within novels of the early nineteenth century, Sonja Lawrenson shows in chapter nineteen how closer engagement with such work yields a fuller sense of Ireland's imperial entanglements.

The literature of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Ireland drew on many sources — antiquarian and other histories, travel writing, political pamphlets, the persuasive articulation of the value of custom, habit and tradition found in the writings of Edmund Burke — to shape a powerful sense of a separate Irish culture. But there was scarcely any smooth cultural ground on which such a map could be spread. Rather, theories of national difference and philosophies of progress were made and remade within a contested terrain whose histories threatened to set the map at odds with the landscape. Irish literature often plunges deeply into this uneven terrain, imaginatively inhabiting a present world with a plangently historical dimension. But it also performs its concerns across a contoured surface, creating a distinctively textured aesthetics that draws on past forms while shaping new literary futures.

Notes

[1] Christopher Anderson, *Historical Sketches of the Native Irish and their Descendants: Illustrative of Their Past and Present State with Regard to Literature, Education, and Oral Instruction* (Edinburgh, 1828), p. 28.

[2] Crofton Croker, *Researches in the South of Ireland*, p. 333.

[3] Thomas Crofton Croker, *Researches in the South of Ireland, Illustrative of the Scenery, Architectural Remains and the Manners and Superstitions of the Peasantry with an Appendix containing a Private Narrative of the Rebellion of 1798* [1824] (Shannon: Irish Academic Press, 1969), pp. 325, 329.

[4] Marilyn Butler, *Mapping Mythologies: Countercurrents in Eighteenth-Century British Poetry and Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 7.

[5] Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Flamingo, 1983), p. 185.

[6] Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society: Coleridge to Orwell* [1958] (London: the Hogarth Press, 1987), n.p.

[7] Tom Dunne, 'Haunted by History: Irish Romantic Writing, 1800-50', in *Romanticism in National Context*, ed. by Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 68-91 (p. 70).

[8] Williams, *Keywords*, p. 184.

[9] Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland: A New Economic History, 1780-1939* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 23.

[10] Gerald Griffin, 'The Half-Sir', *Tales of the Munster Festivals*, 3 vols (London, 1827), I, pp. 268-69.

[11] John Mitchel, 'The Individuality of a Native Literature', *Nation*, 21 August 1847, p. 13.

[12] Lady Gregory, 'The Irish Theatre and its People', *Our Irish Theatre: A Chapter of Autobiography* [1913] (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1972), p. 140.

[13] Lady Morgan, *O'Donnel: A National Tale*, 3 vols (London, 1814), III, pp. 201-202.

[14] Niall Ó Ciosáin, 'Oral Culture, Literacy, and Reading, 1800–50' in *The Oxford History of the Irish Book*, ed. by Robert Welch and Brian Walker, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), *IV: The Irish Book in English 1800-1891*, ed. by James H. Murphy, pp. 173-191 (p. 191).

[15] Ó Ciosáin, 'Oral Culture, Literacy, and Reading, 1800–50', p. 183.

[16] Joep Leerssen, 'Writing Literary History: Raising Interesting Questions', *The Irish Review*, 16.1 (2007), 140-145 (p.141).

[17] Sean Ó Tuama, *Repossessions: Selected Essays on the Irish Literary Heritage* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1995), p. 132.

[18] Dunne, 'Haunted by History', p. 70.

[19] Tony Clayton and Ian McBride, 'The Trials of the Chosen Peoples', in *Protestantism and National Identity*, ed. by Tony Clayton and Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp 3-29 (p. 23).

[20] Vincent Morley, *The Popular Mind in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2017), p. 300.

[21] Emer Nolan, *Catholic Emancipations: Irish Fiction from Thomas Moore to James* Joyce (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), p. ix.

[22] Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution*, [1961] (London: Verso, 2011), p. 25.

[23] Sydney Owenson, *Patriotic Sketches of Ireland, Written in Connaught*, 2 vols (London, 1807), II, p. 133.

[24] Williams, *The Long Revolution*, p. 255.

[25] [Isaac Butt], 'On the Past and Present State of Literature in Ireland', *Dublin University Magazine*, 9 (1837) in *Field Day Anthology*, ed. by Seamus Deane et al, 3 vols (Derry and London: Field Day Publications and Faber, 1991), I, 1200-1212 (p. 1200).

[26] [Butt], 'On the Past and Present State of Literature in Ireland', p. 1203.

[27] W.J. McCormack, 'Headnote' to 'Past and Present State of Literature in Ireland', *Field Day Anthology*, I, 1200.

[28] Williams, *Culture and Society*, p. 138.

[29] *Literary Remains of Jeremiah Joseph Callanan, collected and compiled by John Fitzpatrick Fitzthomas Windele of Blair's Castle, Cork*, Royal Irish Academy MSS 12 I 13, p. 6.

[30] *Literary Remains*, p. 6.

[31] Bernard O'Donoghue, 'Poetry in Ireland', in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Irish Culture*, ed. by Claire Connolly and Joe Cleary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 173-189 (p. 189); *Literary Remains*, pp. 16-17. See also Gregory A. Schirmer, 'Introduction', in *The Irish Poems of JJ Callanan*, ed. by Gregory A. Schirmer (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 2005), pp. 1-34.

[32] [Butt], 'On the Past and Present State of Literature in Ireland', I, p. 1211; William Wordsworth, *The Excursion*, ed. by Sally Bushell, James Butler, and Michael C. Jaye, with the assistance of David Garcia (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), Book IX, lines 390-391; 394-395.

[33] [Butt], 'On the Past and Present State of Literature in Ireland', I, p. 1211.

[34] Sydney Owenson, *The Wild Irish Girl: A National* Tale, eds. Claire Connolly and Stephen Copley [1806] (London: Pickering, 2000), p. 43.

[35] On the relationship between Irish painting and Irish literature, see Tom Dunne, 'Cultural Impact and Influence', in *Art and Architecture of Ireland*, ed. by Andrew Carpenter, 5 vols

(Yale: Yale University Press, 2015), II, ed. by Nicola Figgis, Maria Arnold, Nesta Butler, Elizabeth Mayes, pp. 109-137.

[36] See Claire Connolly, 'A Bookish History of Irish Romanticism', in *Rethinking British Romantic History, 1770-1845*, ed. by Porscha Fermanis and John Regan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 271-296.

[37] Mary Helen Thuente, *The Harp Re-strung: The United Irishmen and the Rise of Irish Literary Nationalism* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), p. 45.

[38] Quoted in Thuente, p. 47.

[39] Catriona Kennedy, '"Womanish epistles?" Martha McTier, Female Epistolarity and Late Eighteenth-century Irish Radicalism', *Women's History Review*, 13.4 (2004), pp. 649-667 (p. 661).

[40] Quoted in Marilyn Butler, 'Edgeworth, the United Irishmen and "More Intelligent Treason"' in *An Uncomfortable Authority: Maria Edgeworth and Her Contexts*, ed. by Heidi Kaufman and Christopher Fauske (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), pp. 33-61 (p. 35).

[41] Thuente, *The Harp Re-strung*, p. 18. Thuente refers to 'the literary origins of the United Irish songs and … their debt to English literary works' (p. 20).

[42] Quoted in Maria Luddy, 'Feminism', in *The Princeton History of Modern Ireland*, ed. by Richard Bourke and Ian McBride (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 470-489 (p. 470). Luddy notes that a March 1797 letter from Mary Anne McCracken to her brother Henry Joy McCracken is 'the fullest articulation yet discovered relating to the rights of women in eighteenth-century Ireland' (p. 471).

[43] See C.A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: the British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (London and New York: Longman, 1989).

[44] Thomas Bartlett, 'Defence, Counter-insurgency and Rebellion: Ireland 1793-1803', in *A Military History of Ireland*, ed. by Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffrey (Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 1996), pp. 247- 293 (p. 247); E.M. Spiers, 'Army organisation and society in the nineteenth century', in *A Military History of Ireland*, pp. 335-357 (p. 337).

[45] Spiers, 'Army organisation and society in the nineteenth century', p. 337.

[46] Virginia Crossman, 'The Growth of the State in Nineteenth-Century Ireland', in *The Cambridge History of Ireland*, ed. by Thomas Bartlett, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), III: 1730-1880, ed. by James Kelly (pp. 542-566), p. 549.

[47] Quoted in Morley, p. 307. On the popularity of *Foras Feasa*, see Ó Tuama, *Repossessions*, p. 123.

[48] Niall Ó Ciosáin, *Ireland in Official Print Culture 1800-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 73.

[49] Joe Cleary, 'Dark Fields of the Republic: Seamus Deane's Sundered Provinces', *Boundary 2*, 37.2 (2010), 1-68 (p. 51).

[50] See Niall Ó Ciosáin's speculations regarding the relationship between state surveys, interviews and questionnaires and the emerging protocols of realist fiction (*Ireland in Official Print Culture*, p. 141.)

[51] Cóilín Parsons, *The Ordnance Survey in Modern Irish Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[52] K. Theodore Hoppen, *Governing Hibernia: British Politicians and Ireland 1800-1921* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 27.

[53] In his *A Letter to the Editor of the Quarterly Review* (Dublin, 1820), in which he responds to John Wilson Croker's negative review of the novel, Parnell wonders whether he 'should have adapted one edition to England, another to Ireland'.

[54] Ian Campbell Ross, 'Prose in English, 1690-1800: from the Williamite Wars to the Acts of Union', in *Cambridge History of Irish Literature*, ed. by Margaret Kelleher and Philip O'Leary, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), I, pp. 232-81 (p. 257).

[55] Lady Morgan, *Florence Macarthy*. [1827] (London: Pickering).

[56] Breandán Mac Suibhne, 'Introduction', John Gamble, *Society and Manners in Early-Nineteenth Century Ireland*, ed. by Breandán MacSuibhne (Dublin: Field Day Press, 2011), xv-lxxx (pp. lxi-lxii).

[57] Gamble, *Sketches of History, Politics and Manners, Taken in Dublin and the North of Ireland, in the Autumn of 1810*, in *Society and Manners in Early-Nineteenth Century Ireland*, pp. 1-228 (p. 231).

[58] Gamble, *Sketches of History, Politics and Manners, Taken in Dublin and the North of Ireland, in the Autumn of 1810*, pp. 17-18.

[59] Clare O'Halloran, 'Historical Writings, 1690-1890', in *Cambridge History of Irish Literature*, ed. by Margaret Kelleher and Philip O'Leary, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), I, pp. 599-632 (p. 599).

[60] Mark Salber Phillips, *On Historical Distance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 141, 142.

[61] Morgan, *O'Donnel*, I, p. vii.

[62] William Carleton, *The Black Prophet: A Tale of Irish Famine* [1847] (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972), p. vii.

[63] Salber Phillips, *On Historical Distance*, pp. 140, 141.

[64] Marianne Elliott, *Robert Emmet: the Making of a Legend* (London: Profile, 2003), p. 27.

[65] Hoppen, *Governing Hibernia*, p. 50.

[66] Norman Vance, 'Text and Tradition: Robert Emmet's Speech from the Dock', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 71.282 (Summer 1982), pp. 185-181 (p. 188); Vance, *Irish Literature, A Social History: Tradition, Identity and Difference* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), p.109. On provenance of the speech, see Timothy Webb, 'Coleridge and Robert Emmet: Reading the Text of Irish Revolution', *Irish Studies Review*, 8.3 (2000), 303-324 (pp. 306-311).

[67] Kevin Whelan, 'Robert Emmet: between history and memory', *History Ireland*, 11. 3 (2003). <https://www.historyireland.com/18th-19th-century-history/robert-emmet-between-history-and-memory/> [accessed 15 January 2018]

[68] Webb, 'Coleridge and Robert Emmet', p. 311.

[69] Percy Bysshe Shelley, 'On Robert Emmet's Tomb', in *Selected Poems and Prose*, ed. by Jack Donovan and Cian Duffy (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 2016), p. 14.

[70] Elliott, *Robert Emmet*, p. 2.

[71] Maria Edgeworth to Sophy Ruxton, [August 1803], National Library of Ireland MS 10166/37. See also Elizabeth Eger and Clíona Ó Gallchoir, 'Introductory Note', in *The Novels and Selected Works of Maria Edgeworth*, ed. by Marilyn Butler, 12 vols (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2003), XII, ed. by Elizabeth Eger and Clíona Ó Gallchoir, pp. vii-xix.

[72] Edgeworth to Sophy Ruxton, [August 1803], National Library of Ireland MS 10166/37.

[73] Edgeworth to Sophy Ruxton, [August 1803], National Library of Ireland MS 10166/37.

[74] Eger and Ó Gallchoir, 'Introductory Note', p. viii.

[75] Eger and Ó Gallchoir, 'Introductory Note', p. x.

[76] Nini Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery, 1612-1865* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2007), p. 248.

[77] Susan Manly, 'Intertextuality, Slavery and Abolition in Maria Edgeworth's "The Good Aunt" and "The Grateful Negro"', *Essays in Romanticism* 20 (2013), 19-36.

[78] George Boulukos, *The Grateful Slave: the Emergence of Race in Eighteenth-Century British and American Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 237.

[79] Boulukos, *The Grateful Slave*, p. 238.

[80] Clíona Ó Gallchoir, '*Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the National Tale', in *Transatlantic Stowe: Harriet Beecher Stowe and European Culture*, ed. by Denise Kohn, Sarah Meer and Emily B. Todd (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006), pp. 24-45 (p. 44).

[81] Butler, 'Edgeworth, the United Irishmen, and "More Intelligent Treason"', p. 51.

[82] Terry Eagleton, *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture* (London: Verso, 1995), p. 175.

[83] Ronan Kelly, *Bard of Erin: the Life of Thomas Moore* (London: Penguin, 2009), p. 63.

[84] Kelly, *Bard of Erin*, p. 92.

[85] *Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, ed. by John Russell, 8 vols [1853] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), I, p. 127.

[86] Toby Barnard, 'The Lord Lieutenancy and Cultural and Literary Patronage, c. 1660-1780', in *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy, c. 1541-1922*, ed. by Peter Gray and Olwen Purdue (Dublin: UCD Press, 2012). pp. 97-113 (p. 109).

[87] For a discussion of the Lord Lieutenancy in the post-Union period see *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy, c. 1541-1922*, ed. by Peter Gray and Olwen Purdue (Dublin: UCD Press, 2012).

[88] Nigel Leask, 'Burns and the Poetics of Abolition', in *The Edinburgh Companion to Robert Burns*, ed. by Gerard Carruthers (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), pp. 47-60 (p. 58).

[89]Thomas Moore, *Epistles, Odes and Other Poems* (London, 1806), p. 21n.

[90] Jane Moore, '"Transatlantic Tom": Thomas Moore in North America', in *Ireland and Romanticism: Publics, Nations and Scenes of Cultural Production*, ed. by James Kelly (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), 77-93 (p.80).

[91] Thomas Moore, 'Preface', *Epistles, Odes and Other Poems* (London, 1806), p. viii-ix.

[92] The reference is to Horace, *Odes*, Book 1, Ode 5, known as the 'ode to Pyrrha'.

[93] Moore, *Epistles, Odes and Other Poems*, p. 57. See Kelly, *Bard of Erin*, p. 100.

[94] See Kelly, *Bard of Erin*, p. 106.

[95] Jane Moore, '"Transatlantic Tom"', p. 85.

[96] D.M.R. Bentley, 'British Poets, Classical Myths, Canadian Locations', in *Oxford Handbook to Canadian Literature*, ed. by Cynthia Sugar (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 277-294 (p. 284).

[97] Bentley, 'British Poets, Classical Myths, Canadian Locations', p. 284.

[98] Moore, '"Transatlantic Tom"', p. 87.

[99] *Lady Morgan's Memoirs: Autobiography, Diaries and Correspondence*, ed. by W. Hepworth Dixon, 2 vols (London: William H. Allen & Co, 1862), I, p.184.

[100] *Lady Morgan's Memoirs*, I, pp. 134-135.

[101] Peter Garside, 'Introduction', *St. Clair; or, The Heiress of Desmond* (London: Thoemmes, 1995), p. xiii.

[102] *Lady Morgan's Memoirs*, I, p. 223.

[103] *Lady Morgan's Memoirs*, I, p. 224.

[104] *Lady Morgan's Memoirs*, I, p. 232.

[105] *Lady Morgan's Memoirs*, I, pp. 239-40.

[106] *Lady Morgan's Memoirs*, I, pp. 235-236.

[107] *Lady Morgan's Memoirs*, I, p. 184.

[108] Michael Griffin, '"Infatuated to his ruin": The Fate of Thomas Dermody, 1775-1802', *History Ireland*, 14.3 (2006) <https://www.historyireland.com/18th-19th-century-history/infatuated-to-his-ruin-the-fate-of-thomas-dermody-1775-1802/> [accessed 10 August 2018]

[109] Garside, 'Introduction', p. xx.

[110] Garside, 'Introduction', pp. xviii-xix. Garside offers a full comparison of the 1803 and 1812 texts.

[111] Oliver MacDonagh, *States of Mind: A Study of Anglo-Irish Conflict, 1780-1980* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983), p. 6.

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