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UCC
University College Cork, Ireland
Coláiste na hOllscoile Corcaigh

<CH>17 Lane-ism: Anthony Trollope's Irish Roads in Time and Space

Claire Connolly

This chapter takes its title from the curious opening scene of Anthony Trollope's *The Macdermots of Ballycloran*, his 1847 novel concerning a tragic murder in county Leitrim. The novel locates its action at an Irish roadside inn, '72 miles W.N.W. of Dublin, on the mail-coach road to Sligo'.[1] Having dined in this county Leitrim establishment, the narrator takes a walk, 'taking two or three turns to look for signs of improvement'.[2] Rather than yielding a perspective on unfolding countryside or affording an encounter with local people or customs, however, his encounter with the west of Ireland is mediated by 'as dusty, ugly and disagreeable a road as is to be found in any county in Ireland'. Encountering 'evident signs on the part of the road of retro-grading into lane-ism', the narrator follows a ramshackle route until he comes upon a dilapidated house, the history of which is told to him by the mail coach guard, and the retelling of which occupies the remainder of the novel.[3] This negatively framed connection between out of the way Irish places and a neglectful transport infrastructure is repeated in the opening of *The Kellys and the O'Kellys* (1848) where Dunmore is described as being 'on no high road': 'It is a dirty, ragged little town, standing in a very poor part of the country, with nothing about it to induce the traveller to go out of his beaten track'.[4]

In the examples quoted above, roads can be seen to redirect the flow of time between past, present and future. They act upon the present moment, breaking forms of spatial and temporal connection where they might be expected to build social relationships. Roads also possess a curious kind of agency. To borrow some terms from philosopher Bruno Latour, Trollope's Irish roads yield a 'type of force, causality, efficacy, and obstinacy'.[5] More than 'simply the hapless bearers of symbolic projection',[6] roads lead readers along unpredictable routes and serve as sites of 'complex repertoires of action.[7] In what follows I suggest that, in giving the road itself a kind of agency in the wider system, Trollope's Irish novels suggest the

potential of non-human actors to affect networks across time. They also bring into focus what R.F. Foster calls 'the shade as well as the light' in Trollope's account of Ireland.[8]

In Trollope, to move off the high road is also to slip backwards in time. As the narrator of *The Macdermots of Ballycloran* meanders along an unimproved road ('the county had evidently deserted it'), he meets 'donkeys carrying turf home from the bog, in double kishes on their back', 'fragments of a bridge . . . utterly fallen away from their palmy days' and a 'broken down entrance' to a boggy, grassed over road leading to a roofless, rotting house. The fate of the house itself results not from 'poor old Time', however, but rather is the workings of his speedy modern rival, 'Ruin'.[9]

Trollope develops a curious distinction between time, with its slow and organic approach to devastation, and ruin as a rawly efficient force of change. The terms seem familiar enough at first: Trollope might be invoking Edmund Burke's account of the French revolutionaries, who to those who come after them leave 'a ruin instead of an habitation'.[10] But the passage in Trollope goes further in opposing a slow Time that is supported by nature to an image of inhuman destruction: 'Ruin works fast enough unaided'. The Romantic personification of Ruin does not disguise the speedy modern work that causes plaster to peel, coping to fall down and timbers to rot.

Roads are central to this distinction: to be off the road infrastructure is to be behind the times, trapped in the era of transport by donkey, but also to be backwards in a very modern way – to be speedily passed by, missed in the blink of an eye. Such backwardness might shape a political diagnosis, of the kind offered by Irish nationalist John Mitchel, who at once invokes and accuses a progressive modern nation when he asks of the Irish Famine: 'Are we living in the nineteenth century – amidst all the enlightenment, steam, philanthropy and power-looms of the illustrious British Empire?'[11] Or perhaps Trollope's mixed temporalities reflect the tenor of British political commentary regarding the supposedly beneficial effects

achieved by the Famine in speeding up the pace of political change in Ireland. In particular, the Encumbered Estates Act of 1849 – an act to allow 'the swift an efficient sale of heavily indebted estates' – was seen as 'potentially inaugurating a new anglicized dawn for the Irish countryside in particular and the Irish economy in general'.[12] In such a narrative, Ireland was a ruined country on course 'for a brighter future'.[13]

But that is to run ahead of the novel's own time frame, and it seems wiser to approach its discussion of ruin versus time by staying close to the narrative location on the road. Trollope's neologism is worth closer consideration. What does 'lane-ism' mean? A glance at the *OED* tells us that -ism as a suffix was widely used by the end of the nineteenth century, to mean theory or ideology, as in J. R. Lowell's 1864 usage 'That class of untried social theories which are known by the name of *isms*'.[14] Yet the retrograding road can hardly be aligned with systems or theories: rather it seems to depart from same, leaving the official transport network for the less defined space of the lane, moving from the present into a confused past. Trollope's knowledge of this and other such twists and turns in Irish infrastructure derives from an intimate experience of state systems, known to him as part of what he described as 'continual journeys through its south, western and midland portions'.[15] This paradoxical relationship between system and local experience or between theory and practice informs my chapter and I return to it at the conclusion.

Anthony Trollope travelled extensively and routinely around Ireland and his 'comings and goings'[16] meant that he knew 'not only the map of Ireland but the surface of the roads'.[17] As an employee of the Post Office, Trollope lived in Ireland for eighteen years, domiciled in Banagher, Clonmel, Mallow, Cork, Belfast and Dublin. He wrote his first novels in Ireland, later set novels there and threaded Irish characters and Irish political issues through the tapestry of his political novels. As Gordon Bigelow shows, his Irish novels can be seen to 'draw from and refer openly to' earlier fictions by Maria Edgeworth and Lady Morgan.[18] John

McCourt's 2015 study, *Writing the Frontier: Anthony Trollope Between Britain and Ireland,* makes gives a persuasive and sympathetic case for Trollope as an honorary Irish writer who seeks to 'describe and explain the country for an English reader with a steady hand and with a sense of fairness'.[19]

There are moments, however, when Trollope's descriptions of Ireland can be strikingly official in tenor. When the narrator of *The Kellys and the O'Kellys* tells us that Kelly Court is situated in 'that corner of County Roscommon which runs up between Mayo and Galway', the description directs the reader to a map rather than a place.[20] John McCourt remarks that the opening passage of *The Macdermots of Ballycloran* 'seems more the work of a precise topographer – with all the controlling tendencies of that profession – rather than a budding novelist'. He goes on to note that Trollope 'boasted of having visited every parish and was capable of Ordnance Survey-style descriptions of the most remote places in the country'.[21] Meanwhile the action of *Castle Richmond* (1860) is located via a question which seems to hold official and local kinds of knowledge in humorous, knowing balance:

> The readability of a story should depend, one would say, on its intrinsic merit rather than the site of its adventures. No one will think that Hampshire is better for such a purpose than Cumberland, or Essex than Leicestershire. What abstract objection can there be to the county Cork?[22]

To begin to address these paradoxes of intimate experience and formal knowledge involves us not only in Anthony Trollope's professional role within the Post Office but also in the key questions that concern the historiography of the operation of the British state in nineteenth-century Ireland. Do roads represent the power of the colonial state or rather its uncertain reach? How porous were the channels through which power flowed in nineteenth-

century Ireland? In *The State of Freedom,* Patrick Joyce gives an account of how the great public works projects of the nineteenth century effected a transformation in the basis of power, as local landed interests gave way to a centralizing state: in the process the fiscal-military state of the eighteenth century became the nineteenth-century infrastructure state.[23] Joyce's two key examples of the operation of this infrastructure state are the roads and the Post Office: in Ireland, Trollope was closely involved with both. While in Clonmel, he got to know the stage coach entrepreneur Charles Bianconi, an Italian businessman who successful established a comprehensive system of travel by stage coach in Ireland the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars. Bianconi advised Trollope on the design of postal travel routes and McCourt speculates that 'perhaps Bianconi's coachguards were of even more assistance in providing Trollope with information about the country that would be just as useful for building the postal service as it would be for constructing his novels'.[24]

The case of Trollope helps us to see that the infrastructure state operated not simply as an external set of circumstances but rather as a pervasive matrix, with social, cultural and political effects.[25] Infrastructural developments were quickly integrated into debates about Irish literature, as a metaphor that seems to come readily to hand in Victorian discussions of Irish cultural distinctiveness. Despairing of the way in which the 'real progress' of Irish literature is rendered invisible by 'the overpowering demand' of the London culture industry, Isaac Butt notes 'the business of the English press and book market is as largely carried on as the paving of London, by Irish labourers'.[26] Samuel Ferguson boasts of Irish roads and insists that 'Great works, . . . which might normally have to wait for the development of society . . . are, by a generous anomaly, extended through our most remote and savage districts; high roads, canals, embankments, piers, and harbours, await prospective use and reproductive operation; and dormant facilities for the development . . .'.[27]

Ferguson's 'generous anomaly' by which Ireland has a more advanced infrastructure than that of the larger island echoes comments made by Arthur Young in the 1780s on the precocious modernity of Irish roads: 'For a country so far behind us as Ireland, to have suddenly so much the start of us in the article of roads, is a spectacle that cannot fail to strike the English traveler exceedingly'.[28] These remarks might point us towards an account of the accelerated experience of social, cultural and political change characteristic of Ireland's colonial modernity. Many of the great projects of the modernizing nineteenth-century British state were first developed in Ireland, which by the 1830s had seen the introduction of the first national school system; the first national police force and the first national system of lunatic asylums. The Ordnance Survey of Ireland, Patrick Joyce reminds us, was a 'state science project of immense size, without parallel anywhere in the world'.[29]

In addition to knowing the Famine-struck years of the 1840s, Trollope was familiar with the policies of amalgamation and conciliation that characterised the decades that followed. Trollope spent periods of time in Ireland in the 1850s, living in Donnybrook, Dublin as Post Office Surveyor for the north of Ireland. During that decade, Ireland experienced 'a relative period of prosperity and stability'[30] while also witnessing what John Bew calls 'the fraying of the pro-Union consensus in the British governing classes'.[31] Trollope's narrative strategies seem to recognize these temporal twists and turns in the narrative of Irish modernity, and to realize them via the road network along which so many of his plots run. Roads are present in Trollope's Irish fiction in all their various forms: as avenues, paths, cuttings, lanes; and as shaped by grand juries, relief works and mail companies. The word 'lane-ism' alerts us to the ironies and instabilities of infrastructure, which we can explore further via a return to the opening section of *The Macdermots of Ballycloran*.

The story told is framed by the recollections of the mail coach guard, whose speech is rendered for us by the narrator:

> I got up behind, for McC–the guard, was an old friend of mine; and after the usual salutations and strapping of portmanteaus and shifting down into places, as McC– knows everything, I began to ask him if he knew anything of a place called Ballycloran.
>
> 'Deed, then, Sir, and I do', said he, 'and good reason have I to know, and well I knew those that lived in it, ruined, and black, and desolate, as Ballycloran is now': and between Drumsna and Boyle, he gave me the heads of the following story.[32]

The narrator is keen to stress the steady value of such a travelling storyteller, adding: 'And, reader, if I thought it would ever be your good fortune to hear the history of Ballycloran from the guard of the Boyle coach, I would recommend you to get it from him, and shut my book forthwith'.[33] John McCourt argues that the driver in question is likely to be based on the solid reality of one of Charles Bianconi's workers, a man named McCluskie who was well known to Trollope.[34] It is perhaps not surprising that Trollope would identify a steady strength inherent in the viewpoint of the employee who pursues his work on the road. Additionally, there is more than an echo here of *Waverley* and the 'humble English post chaise' of Walter Scott's narrator *Waverley*, where the narrative is imagined in terms of a journey taken in 'a humble English post-chaise, drawn upon four wheels, and keeping his majesty's highway': a journey that Scott asks readers to imagine in terms of 'heavy roads, steep hills, sloughs, and other terrestrial retardations'.[35]

Trollope's Irish novels, however, do not feel obliged to keep to 'his majesty's highway'. As with the coach driver of *The Macdermots of Ballycloran*, the reality represented is anchored in the kinetic experience of a mobile landscape; a reminder of what can still be the disorientations we experience in encountering Trollope's Ireland. Roads configure relationships between of time and space and also operate as a kind of root metaphor in

culture: think of the 'high road to ruin' invoked in *The Kellys and the O'Kellys.*[36] The interrelationship of time passing and roads travelled might be analysed in terms of Bakhtin's discussion of the road as chronotrope: 'varied and multileveled are the ways in which road is turned into a metaphor, but its fundamental pivot is the flow of time'.[37] Sometimes it seems as if the road network stands in for the past itself, as when 'the solid, slow activity' of Lord Cashel's daughter Lady Selina in *The Kellys and the O'Kellys* is compared to the movements of an aged vehicle: 'Lady Selina . . . like some old coaches which we remember – very sure, very respectable; but so tedious, so monotonous, so heavy in their motion, that a man with a spark of mercury in his composition would prefer any danger from a faster vehicle to their horrid, weary, murderous, slow security'.[38]

Tedious, heavy, slow: travel on the roads does not present itself to the reader equipped with the same narrative of progress that we associate with railways. No one writes in relation to roads as Paul Fyfe has of 'the disorientation, unmeasurable expanse and uncertain social force' heralded by the railways in Britain or as Chris Morash has done on 'railway mania' in Ireland.[39] But Trollope's novels remind us to avoid 'the binary of old and new' technologies and think of rail and road together in any understanding of Irish modernity.[40] At the outset of his 1860 Irish novel *Castle Richmond*, Trollope describes Duhallow as 'in that Kanturk region through which the Mallow and Killarney railway now passes, but which some thirteen years since knew nothing of the navvy's spade, or even of the engineer's theodolite'.[41]

How can we locate roads in terms of the narratives of progress and modernity normally associated with the transport infrastructure? Here it is helpful to turn to Nitin Sinha's study of *Communication and Colonialism in Eastern India*. Complaining of 'an easy equation of communication with railways', Sinha calls for scholars to 'situate the railway-generated changes amidst the existing patterns and networks of circulation in which the role of roads and ferries was crucial'.[42] Such a historiography 'potentially threatens to flatten the rich and

changing history of circulation that existed in the pre-railway days'.[43] Sinha comments that 'scholars who have worked on nineteenth-century transport issues related either with trade or social aspects have barely tried to situate the railway-generated changes amidst the existing patterns and networks of circulation in which the role of roads and ferries was crucial'.[44]

In the case of Ireland, the co-existence of technologies of travel is quite marked. Although histories of the nineteenth century tend to plot roads, steam and railways as separate or sequential developments, they were in fact closely interrelated across several decades. Maria Edgeworth said of her first sea crossing on a steam-powered vessel that the 'jiggling' sensation generated by the movement of the paddles through the water reminded her of 'the shake felt in a carriage when a pig is scratching himself behind the hind wheel while waiting at an Irish inn door'.[45] Living as she did through major advances in travel technology (steam on the Irish sea, Thomas Telford's suspension bridge over the Menai Straits and the modernisation of the Holyhead Road), Edgeworth, like Trollope, is an astute observer of the speed at which technologies age. Travelling on the Royal Canal in 1804, she notes the rusting 'racks and pinnions and hinges' of the leaky sluice gates and imagines the locks as 'a sort of Castle Rackrent on the waters'.[46]

One of Trollope's most evocative accounts of the expected and familiar miseries of Irish travel appears as part of an account of a journey by canal boat. In *The Kellys and the O'Kellys,* Martin Kelly travels on the Ballinasloe canal. Describing the departure from Portobello in Dublin, Trollope vividly evokes the discomforts of the boat and suggests that the known limitations of the coach are preferable to the false promises of the canal boat:

> I hardly know why a journey in one of these boats should be much more intolerable than travelling either inside or outside a coach; for, either in or on the coach, one has less room for motion, and less opportunity of employment. I believe the misery of the canal boat chiefly consists in a pre-conceived and erroneous idea of its

> capabilities. One prepares oneself for occupation – an attempt is made to achieve actual comfort – and both end in disappointment; the limbs become weary with endeavouring to fix themselves in a position of repose, and the mind is fatigued more by the search after, than the want of, occupation.[47]

In a characteristic move, Trollope sets the life and experiences of his character outside this third person narrative discourse while also using him to enhance the reader's experience of the everyday wretchedness of travel: 'Martin, however, made no complaints and felt no misery. He made great play at the eternal half-boiled leg of mutton, floating in a bloody sea of grease and gravy, which always comes on the table three hours after the departure from Portobello'.[48] Martin Kelly proves 'equally diligent at breakfast', after which he disembarks at Ballinasloe and takes Bianconi's car from there on to Tuam, from where, in turn, a hack car takes him home to Dunmore. The name Bianconi might be there simply to signal the rapid extension of the road network in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars; a history normally narrated in terms of improvement and change rather than imagined in terms of a retrograding 'lane-ism'.[49] Yet as canal boat, stage coach and hack car combine to get Martin Kelly from Dublin to Dunmore, Trollope again asks us to see Irish roads as part of a patched together network that seems ever in danger of slipping backwards in technological time.

Contrary to Trollope's account, however, developments in Irish transport infrastructure up to and after the Famine have been described as ''Ireland's time-space revolution'.[50] Comac Ó Gráda remarks that '[b]y 1845, when Ireland's car and coaching system was at its most extensive, it covered a greater network of routes than the railway ever would do – travel times had been cut substantially, and a regular service established between all towns of any size for about 1*s.*5*d* a mile'.[51] Ó Gráda goes on to show how 'Between 1801 and the late 1830s journey times on the main routes were cut by one-third and fares by one-half or more'. Travel times shortened considerably as part of this new network and some of the most notable

changes involved 'the opening of west Connacht and the north-western and south-western regions, which had been virtually inaccessible before'.[52]

In his book on *Dickens and Public Transport*, Jonathan Grossman asks us not to neglect the cultural meanings of the road system in our rush to describe the sensational experience of speedy travel by rail. His book 'aims to recover the significance of the rise of a fast-driving, stage-coach network that systematized – before the railways – swift, circulating, round-trip inland journeying, with regular schedules, running continuously, available to ordinary passengers. The railways copied and intensified this system as a system'.[53] Dickens was interested in and aware of this older (but not outdated) road system, especially as it intersected with rail. His novels develop, argues Grossman, a 'narrative perspective . . . capable of taking in its precarious formation'.[54]

For Trollope in Ireland, quickening travel times across increasingly concentrated road networks might also serve as a spur to narrative coherence. Yet what is most striking about Trollope's Irish novels is the extent to which they imagine a strong but flawed road network whose failures, gaps and discontinuities emerge in relation to violence. In Grossman's account of the public transport known to Dickens, he asks us to think about 'the passenger transport system specifically as a system: that the here-and-now of mobile individuals is its contents, that it arrays living bodies into a network'.[55] In Trollope's 'here-and-now', we find dead or mutilated bodies alongside the living ones and a retrograde network that exists at the edges of the official one. People and events are arranged in relation to one another via this retro-grading network and, in a further paradox, it is these arrangements that propel the plots forward.

Consider some examples of the role of roads in the movement of Trollope's plot. In *Castle Richmond*, an isolated Lady Clara takes her forlorn walks along the 'little well-worth path by the roadside, not on the road itself'.[56] *The Kellys and the O'Kellys*, not least because

of its ingenious double plot structure, is full of examples of characters who meet on the road or whose paths cross on their various journeys, as if to exemplify Bakhtin's argument that '[t]he road is especially . . . appropriate for portraying events governed by chance'.[57] When Martin Kelly takes Bianconi's car on from Ballinasloe to Tuam, he shares a car with Mr Daly the attorney, little knowing that their missions are bound up in the same situation and yet utterly opposed. In this case, legal and transport systems meet and interconnect. Medicine too is integrated into the plot via a meeting on the road: when Lord Ballindine drives Mr Armstrong to Tuam to catch the coach, they encounter Dr Colligan in his gig on the road. He tells them about Barry Lynch's effort to persuade the doctor to murder his sister and once more the two plots of the novel become entwined on the road.

In the *Macdermots,* when Thady is led to the hideout of the ribbonmen in the hills, he leaves the road that runs along the east side of Lough Allen to follow a 'small boreen or path' up the mountain. The 'boreen' too is left behind for another path that runs 'by the sides of the loose-built walls with which the land was subdivided' until finally they arrive 'at just the spot where the open mountain no longer showed any signs of man's handiwork'.[58] Boreen derives from *bóithrín,* meaning small road or lane, and McCourt comments on Trollope's 'impressive range of vocabulary derived directly from Irish', in particular 'diminutive nouns' such as this one.[59] Rather than just being used here to 'bolster the realism of his Irish novels',[60] however, the word 'boreen' signifies an indigenous, unofficial pathways that lead to open country. Trollope's careful tracking of the journey from road to boreen to mountain sees Thady move along a dwindling infrastructure, away from the rule of law. The final destination is a ribbonmen's hideout, a 'lifeless, desolate spot' on a mountain top that affords a view of any approaching police or military force. Yet when Thady takes his decision to leave it is because he loathes the thought of becoming himself a spectacle on the roads: 'and then at length to be

taken away to the fate which he knew awaited him, and be dragged along the roads by a policeman, with handcuffs on his wrists – a show, to be gaped at by the country!'[61]

Yet more dramatically in *The Landleaguers* (1883), we see how incomplete and residual aspects of the road system facilitate murder. *The Landleaguers* is itself an unfinished work; left incomplete at the time of Trollope's death, with only forty-nine of the sixty chapters complete. Following Michael Sadleir, critics regularly remark that *The Landleaguers* is little more than a tract on the agrarian troubles in Ireland in 1879–81: 'Sad accounts of wretched actuality, in which characterization is submerged in floods of almost literal fact'.[62] Noting the way in which the novel 'moves on two tracks' and assessing the 'bitterness of the repudiation' of Ireland found in its pages, R.F. Foster identifies in *The Landleaguers* 'a deliberate representation of a fracturing society'.[63]

The plot of *The Landleaguers* concerns the murder of Florian Jones – a young boy, the son of an English landlord father, Philip Jones, who, having bought Irish land via the Encumbered Estates Act, might be just the kind of improving landowner imagined by proponents of that legislation. At the Estates Court, Jones buys two adjacent estates that 'lay to the right and left of the road which runs down from the little town of Headford to Lough Corrib'.[64] Some eighty of his acres, previously under water and yielding only rushes, are reclaimed via drains and sluices and begin to afford profitable crops and after-crops. Florian, a Catholic convert, witnesses landleaguers in the act of smashing the hinges of sluice gates that protected the reclaimed land from the lake. He first sides with the agrarian protestors by refusing to reveal the identity of the men that flooded his father's fields and then turns witness against them. The latter action brings down a boycott on the heads of the entire family (including a boycott on providing transport to any visitors to the estate, with only the railway 'beyond the power of the boycotters')[65] and eventually results in the murder of Florian. Trollope, in writing the novel, had gone 'to some trouble to find out the exact schedule of the

Lough Corrib steamer' and is highly exact in his account of the journeys that can and cannot be made around the estate.[66]

The sensational story of Florian's murder unfolds via a kind of infrastructural drama. Travelling along the main road in a carriage with his son, Philip Jones sees a masked man and 'the muzzles of a double-barreled rifle presented though the hole in the wall'. The wall referred to is situated at a cutting on the road, part of the works for an unfinished famine road. (Herbert Fitzgerald has already complained about the uselessness of such famine public works in *Castle Richmond,* suggesting Trollope's awareness of the presence of these fresh ruins on the landscape).[67] And later in *The Landleaguers,* when Captain Yorke Clayton is shot at in front of his friend Frank Jones, the action is located 'at a corner of the road, from which a little boreen or lane ran up the side of the mountain between walls about three feet high'.[68] Even as the reader learns that Captain Clayton has in fact fainted from fright rather than died from a fatal injury, the narrator takes care to locate further the position of the gunman in relation to a stalled and unfinished project of improvement that runs along the 'boreen or lane': 'But here some benevolent enterprising gentleman, wishing to bring water through Lower Lough Cong to Lough Corrib, had caused the beginnings of a canal to be built, which had, however, after the expenditure of large sums of money, come to nothing'. These ruins of past improvement afford real danger in the present: 'The whole spot up and behind the corner of the road was so honeycombed by the works of the intended canal as to afford hiding-places and retreats for a score of murderers'.[69]

Once more, the narrative makes use of Irish infrastructure in ways that exceed its potential as symbol. The 'honeycombed' canal works are disused but not inoperative: they exist as fixed sites of physical and material meaning whose location is time is subject to such jolts and displacements as the murder attempt described above. For Bruno Latour, time is not conceived as a purposeful sequence of distinct periods but rather in terms of overlapping

forms of movement: 'whirlpools and rapids, eddies and flows' rather than a fast-flowing river,[70] meaning that 'the past is not surpassed but revisited, repeated, surrounded, protected, recombined, reinterpreted, and reshuffled'.[71] Actor Network Theory – with its telling acronym ANT – stays close to the ground in its tracking of 'polytemporal' actions, opting to stay 'bogged down in the territory'.[72] One of Latour's key examples of the operations of ANT is the speed bump on a road, a concrete inscription of regulatory force that signals a need to conceptualise power in ways that exceed 'meaningful human relations'. Rather than introducing 'a world of brute material relations', however, Latour uses the speed bump to signal the significance of '[d]etour, translation, delegation, inscription, and displacement' in the realm of politics. As he puts in in *Reassembling the Social:*

> it is possible to trace more sturdy relations and discover more revealing patterns by finding a way to register the links between unstable and shifting frames of reference rather than by trying to keep one frame stable.[73]

Such 'sturdy relations' are a matter of literary style as well as social history. By connecting the present to the past as well as characters with one another, roads do important work on behalf of Trollope's realism. Benedict Anderson's classic study *Imagined Communities* discusses the ways in which realist novels manage the kinds of 'temporal coincidence' that can be 'measured by clock or calendar' – or, we can add, be made possible via road network.[74] Anderson's famous description of third person realist narration as 'a complex gloss on the word "meanwhile"'[75] helps us to see that the 'meanwhile' effects of Trollope's Irish novels cannot be produced without a reliance on the roads: those roads, in turn, both model and shape the connective tissue of Trollope's realism.

If we can imagine roads as possessing a temporal agency in Trollope, however, we must also pay attention to the ways in which the gapped and discontinuous Irish road system

inflects the narrative treatment of time. Grossman says that the public transport system 'transformed walking on the intercity highways into a comparatively slow, onerous, and solitary mode of journeying and recreated it as the possibility of falling out of its network'.[76] This account does not quite work for Trollope's Irish novels, where characters choose to exit the network or are forced out of it. In *The Landleaguers* the boycotting of Morony castle has the effect of barring the Jones family from the system of public transport. In both *The Macdermots* and *The Kellys and the O'Kellys*, walking on roads is associated with reflection and the promise of purposeful action, as with Father John in *The Macdermots*. The priest's regular recourse to such walks makes it more striking when narrator describes how the community chooses to stay off the roads in order to avoid becoming witness to the execution of Thady Macdermot:

> Not one human form appeared before the gaol that morning. Not even a passenger crossed over the bridge from half-past seven till after eight, as from thence one might just catch a glimpse of the front of the prison. At the end of the bridge stood three or four men guarding the street, and cautioning those who came, that they could not pass by; and as their behests were obeyed, the police did not interfere with them.[77]

This powerful conclusion to Trollope's first Irish novel imagines a kind of communal identity wrought via a disciplined collective withdrawal from state systems: in doing so it arguably captures the impress of O'Connellite mobilization, even as the narrative appears to censure same.

Castle Richmond is very different in this regard. Despite noting developments in modern travel (Herbert speeds from Castle Richmond to Euston Station and back again), the novel as a whole is careful to depict an infrastructural network marked by gaps and disconnections. When the disinherited Herbert Fitzgerald goes to inform Lady Clara of his

change in fortunes, he 'did not take the direct road to Desmond Court, but went round as though he were going to Gortnaclough, and then turning away from the Gortnaclough road, made his way by a cross-lane'.[78] Crossing 'poor, bleak, damp, undrained country', he comes across a cabin 'abutting as it were on the road, not standing back upon the land, as it most customary; and it was built in an angle at a spot where the road made a turn, so that two sides of it stood close out in the wayside'.[79] This cabin is itself located amidst a patchwork landscape of subdivided land, and the uncultivated remains of a field system bisected and abandoned banks of earth.

The raw appearance of the cabin and its surroundings gives way to a painful and near pornographic rendering of the figure of a corpselike woman and her dead child – one of the ugliest scenes in all of Trollope. Noting the 'nakedness of the exterior' and then 'the nakedness of the interior', the narrative describes how shifting light gradually reveals to Herbert the spectacle of a dying woman wearing 'some rag of clothing which barely sufficed to cover her nakedness'.[80] Margaret Kelleher discusses this scene in terms of the dynamics of an intrusive male gaze: '[t]he result', she argues, is an 'extensive and disturbing' 'representation of famine's effects, through the construction of female spectacle'.[81]

Versions of the words nakedness, misery and brightness recur in this 'terrible and intolerable'[82] scene of crude spectatorship. These passages, with their clumsy and repeated vocabulary, recall and revisit the novel's seventh chapter, entitled 'The Famine Year'. There, the reader is introduced to the famine via the narrator's own journeys on Irish roads: 'I was in the country, travelling always through it, during the whole period'. 'The Famine Year' chapter of *Castle Richmond* is difficult to read: politically reprehensible because of the way in which Trollope presents the facts of famine ('the greater part of eight million people were left without food') alongside a blithely providentialist account of the potato blight as divinely ordained; but also aesthetically disagreeable, as the narrative moves between polemic and

reportage. In both chapters, the unbalanced prose reverberates on the rutted surface of the cross lane – or, to extend this idea – it is as if Ireland's uneven modernity finds formal expression on the lane.

To return to the idea of lane-ism: perhaps we can think of Trollope advancing a kind of road knowledge or proto-dromology. In *Roads: An Anthropology of Infrastructure and Expertise*, Penny Harvey and Hannah Knox argue that roads have a powerful capacity to 'conjure a sense of the potential of enhanced connectivity'.[83] In the passage from *The Macdermots of Ballycloran* with which I opened it is this 'potential of enhanced connectivity' that creates the perception of the speedy workings of 'Ruin', with its showy tendency to outpace slow decay. In all of Trollope's Irish novels, connections are developed along broken remnants of older or failed infrastructure, so that the concurrent events imagined via the horizontal ties of realist narration depend on a dilapidated and dangerous infrastructure.

Benedict Anderson's account of the ways in which narrative time creates national space has been much debated and revised. David Lloyd, for instance, argues that Anderson's account misses the ways in which the novel form possesses a 'regulative function' in postcolonial contexts.[84] Franco Moretti directs our attention away from the novel as the singular form of nation and towards movements between and across the internal differences of genre and geography.[85] Anderson's own account of his 'fictive and selective kinship' with Ireland might further inflect these debates, suggesting as it does the ways in which 'the ancestries of the imagination' must give way to the material history of a felt and remembered place.[86]

A distinctly formal discussion of the impact Anderson's theories of nationhood is found in Jonathan Culler's essay on 'Anderson and the Novel'.[87] Culler argues that what we encounter in Anderson and his critics is a vital tension between rich and rewarding critical readings of individual novels as opposed to the power and attraction of encompassing theories

of the novel: 'What we seem to find is that the more interested one becomes in the way in which particular sorts of novels, with their plots and their imagined worlds, might advance, sustain, or legitimate the operations of nation-building, the richer and more detailed one's arguments about novel and nation become, but at the cost of losing that general claim about the novelistic organization of time that was alleged to be the condition of possibility of imaging a nation'.[88]

It may be strange to find Trollope on the side of theory and general claims, but his use of Irish roads to structure meetings and develop connections between past and present seems quite strictly suited to Anderson's theorization of the operation of the function of the 'meanwhile' in the formation of national culture. Scholars of Trollope continue to debate his politics, whether those of a paternalist Englishman, a broad-minded liberal or a characteristically colonial cosmopolite, and it would be too crude in any case simply to ask what is the nation on whose behalf Trollope's realism works.[89] Instead my purpose in the chapter has been to point to roads in Trollope as markings on a map, directing our attention to the interrelationship between present and past and pointing out the urgent need to apprehend the speed and force of social and political change in Ireland. In the Irish novels and tales of E. O. Somerville and Martin Ross, to offer a counter-case, roads regularly 'melt' away into lanes, bogs and lakes as 'the wilds of Ireland' reclaim their territory.[90] Trollope's roads protrude, serving as signposts to a systematic reading of Irish society in the present. Such a reliance on the abstractions of space rather than the rich particularities of place – on theory rather than lived reality – may help to explain the unforgiveable harshness we sometimes find in Trollope's Irish novels.

Readers of Trollope's Irish novels will find real interest in Bruno Latour's argument that modernity is best theorized from the perspective of a traveller bogged down in the territory.[91] Latour's Actor-Network-Theory, which offers an account of critical method as

slow travel on lesser known roads where times cross and overlap, might also be visualized via the flow of letters in the postal network, their movements tracing spatial patterns that are dictated by powerful external structures but also inscribing journeys motivated by immediate, contingent and material circumstances.[92] Even as infrastructure signals the operation of a centralizing state, the narratives of Trollope's Irish novels pause to notice the relationship between temporal progress and ruination and attribute agency to residual aspects of the network such as lanes and boreens. In doing so, they inscribe the 'bumpy territory'[93] of Irish modernity in compelling ways.

Notes

[1] Anthony Trollope, *The Macdermots of Ballycloran*, ed. Robert Tracy (Oxford: Oxford Oxford University, 1982), ch. 1, p. 1.

[2] Ibid. ch. 1, p. 2.

[3] Ibid. ch. 1, p. 2.

[4] Antony Trollope, *The Kellys and the O'Kellys*, ed. W. J. McCormack (Oxford: Oxford Oxford University, 1989), ch. 4, p. 52.

[5] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social*: *An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 76.

[6] Ibid. p. 10.

[7] Ibid. p. 55.

[8] R.F. Foster, Stopping the Hunt: Trollope and the Memory of Ireland', *The Irish Story: Telling Tales and Making it Up in Ireland* (London: Penguin, 2001), pp. 127–47 (p. 147).

[9] Trollope, *The Macdermots of Ballycloran*, ch. 1, pp. 2–5. See Gordon Bigelow for a reading of the novel in terms of a resistance to historicism and a breaking of the form of the historical novel. 'Form and Violence in Trollope's *The Macdermots of Ballycloran*', *Novel: A Forum on Fiction,* 46, 3 (2013), pp. 386–405. Bigelow cites Trollope's *Autobiography* and its account of the influence of seeing the ruins of Headfort House in County Galway.

[10] Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2004), p. 192.

[11] [John Mitchel], 'The Civilizer!', *The Nation,* V, 248 (July 3, 1847).

[12] K. Theodore Hoppen, *Governing Hibernia: British Politicians and Ireland 1800–1921* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 151.

[13] Ibid, pp. 152–3.

[14] 'ism, n.' *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, January 2018), http://www.oed.com, last accessed 1 March 2018.

[15] Anthony Trollope, *The Examiner,* 1849*;* quoted in John McCourt, *Writing the Frontier: Anthony Trollope between Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 52.

[16] Stephen Gwynne, 'Trollope and Ireland', *Contemporary Review*, 129 (Jan-June 1926), 77; quoted in McCourt, *Writing the Frontier*, p. 97.

[17] Christine Longford, 'Trollope in Ireland', *The Bell* 5.3 (December 1952), p. 185.

[18] Gordon Bigelow, 'Trollope and Ireland' in Carolyn Dever and Lisa Niles (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Anthony Trollope* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 196–209 (p. 203).

[19] McCourt, *Writing the Frontier*, p. 53. For a more critical view, see Gordon Bigelow, 'Irish Questions: Ireland and the Trollope Novels', in Deborah Denenholz Morse, Margaret Markwick and Mark W. Turner (eds), *The Routledge Companion to Anthony Trollope* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 336–77.

[20] Trollope, *The Kellys and the O'Kellys*, ch. 2, p. 19.

[21] McCourt, *Writing the Frontier*, p. 18.

[22] Anthony Trollope, *Castle Richmond*, ed. Mary Hamer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), ch. 1, p. 2.

[23] Patrick Joyce, *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the British State since 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 47.

[24] McCourt, *Writing the Frontier*, p. 17.

[25] See Joyce, *State of Freedom*, on the 'common sense' operations of state power (p. 194).

[26] Isaac Butt, 'The Present and Past State of Irish Literature', *Dublin University Magazine,* IX (1837), pp. 371–372. Butt also compares 'the slipshod newspaper prose of a modern debate 'to the 'flowered carvings, on the rough but useful masonry of Kingstown pier' (p. 366).

[27] Samuel Ferguson, 'Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy – No. III' *Dublin University Magazine,* October 1834, Vol. 4, p. 448.

[28] Arthur Young, *A Tour in Ireland* (London, 1779), p. 869. He goes on: 'I found it perfectly practicable to travel upon wheels by a map; I will go here; I will go there; I could trace a route upon paper as wild as fancy could dictate, and every where I found beautiful roads without break or hindrance, to enable me to realize my design' (p. 871).

[29] Joyce, *The State of Freedom,* p. 44.

[30] John Bew, 'Ireland under the Union: 1801–1922', in Richard Bourke and Ian McBride (eds), *The Princeton History of Modern Ireland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,), pp. 74–108 (p. 90).

[31] Ibid. p. 100.

[32] Trollope, *Macdermots of Ballycloran*, ch. 1, p. 7.

[33] Ibid. ch. 1, p. 7.

[34] McCourt, *Writing the Frontier*, p. 17.

[35] Walter Scott, *Waverley,* ed. Claire Lamont (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 24.

[36] Trollope, *The Kellys and the O'Kellys,* ch. 2, p. 27.

[37] Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. 98.

[38] Ibid. ch. 28, p. 352.

[39] Paul Fyfe, *By Accident or Design: Writing the Victorian Metropolis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 175; Christopher Morash, *A History of the Media in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 74.

[40] Nitin Sinha, *Communication and Colonialism in Eastern India: Bihar, 1760s to 1780s* (London and New York: Anthem Press, 2014). See also Jonathan H. Grossman, *Charles Dickens' Networks: Public Transport and the Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 91 and Ruth Livesey, *Writing the Stage Coach Nation: Locality on the Move in Nineteenth-Century British Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). Wilkie Collins published an essay entitled 'The Last Stage Coachman' in 1843 *Illuminated Magazine* of August 1841.

[41] Trollope, *Castle Richmond*, ch. 1, p. 2. Ernest Baker uses the same metaphor to discuss Trollope's English novels: 'But this cosmopolitanism, though constantly recurring, was only a digression. Fiction makes its conquests in other ways; its real advance is on internal lines. Trollope was beginning to deal with every aspect of English life, as methodically as if he had mapped out the ground with a theodolite'. *The History of the English Novel,* XI, 111 (1924).

[42] Nitin Sinha, *Communication and Colonialism in Eastern India: Bihar, 1760s to 1780s* (London and New York: Anthem Press, 2014), pp. xx-xxi.

[43] Sinha, *Communication and Colonialism in Eastern India*, p. 155.

[44] Ibid. p. xxi.

[45] Quoted in Augustus Hare (ed.), The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth, 2 vols (London, 1894), II, 274.

[46] Maria Edgeworth to Mrs Edgeworth, Black Castle, 4 September 1804; quoted in Valerie Pakenham (ed.), *Maria Edgeworth: Letters from Ireland* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2017), p. 84.

[47] Trollope, *The Kellys and the O'Kellys,* ch. 8, p. 97.

[48] Ibid. ch. 8, p. 97.

[49] Cormac Ó Grada*,* 'Industry and Communications, 1801–1845', in W.E. Vaughan, W. (ed), *A New History of Ireland,* V (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 137–57.

[50] Arnold Horner, 'Ireland's time-space revolution: improvements to pre-Famine travel', *History Ireland* 5 (2007), http://www.historyireland.com/18th-19th-century-history/irelands-time-space-revolution-improvements-to-pre-famine-travel/, last accessed 1 March 2018.

[51] Ó Gráda, 'Industry and Communications, 1801–1845', p. 146.

[52] Oliver McDonagh 'The economy and society, 1830–45' in Vaughan (ed.) *A New History of Ireland: Ireland Under the Union, 1801–1870* (pp. 218–41), p. 229.

[53] Jonathan H. Grossman, *Charles Dickens' Networks: Public Transport and the Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 4.

[54] Grossman, *Charles Dickens*, p. 5.

[55] Ibid. p. 71

[56] Trollope, *Castle Richmond*, ch. 16, p. 180.

[57] Bakthin, *The Dialogic Imagination,* p. 244.

[58] Trollope, *Macdermots of Ballycloran*, ch. 22, pp. 412–13.

[59] McCourt, *Writing the Frontier*, p. 229.

[60] Ibid. p. 228.

[61] Trollope, *Macdermots of Ballycloran*, ch. 23, p. 427.

[62] Michael Sadleir, *Trollope: A Commentary* (London, 1927), p. 144.

[63] Foster, 'Stopping the Hunt', p. 129; p. 145.

[64] Anthony Trollope, *The Landleaguers,* edited by Robert Lee Wolff (New York: Garland, 1979) ch. 1, I, 1.

[65] Ibid. ch. 23, III, 109.

[66] Foster, 'Stopping the Hunt', p. 142.

[67] Trollope, *Castle Richmond*, ch. 18, p. 205.

[68] Trollope, *The Landleaguers*, ch. 46, III, p. 242.

[69] Ibid. ch. 23, III, 109.

[70] Rita Felski, *The Limits of Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 158.

[71] Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 23.

[72] Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* p. 17.

[73] Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* p. 23.

[74] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), p. 24.

[75] Ibid. p. 25.

[76] Grossman, *Charles Dickens' Networks*, p. 91

[77] Trollope, *Macdermots of Ballycloran,* ch. 33, p. 622–3.

[78] Trollope, *Castle Richmond*, ch. 33, p. 367.

[79] Ibid. ch. 33, pp. 367–8.

[80] Ibid. ch. 33, p. 369.

[81] Margaret Kelleher, 'Anthony Trollope's "Castle Richmond": Famine Narrative and "Horrid Novel"?, *Irish University Review*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Autumn - Winter, 1995), pp. 242–62 (p. 250).

[82] Melissa Fegan, *Literature and the Irish Famine, 1845*–1919 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), p. 126.

[83] Penny Harvey and Hannah Knox, *Roads: An Anthropology of Infrastructure and Expertise* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2015), p. 22.

[84] David Lloyd, *Anomalous States: Irish Writing and the Post-Colonial Moment* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 154.

[85] Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel, 1800–1900* (London: Verso, 1999), p. 20.

[86] Benedict Anderson, 'Selective Kinship', *Dublin Review,* 10 (Spring 2003), pp. 5–29 (p. 26; p. 29).

[87] Jonathan Culler, 'Anderson and the Novel', *Diacritics*, Volume 29, Number 4 (Winter 1999), pp. 20–39.

[88] Ibid. p. 25.

[89] See Deborah Denenholz Morse, *Reforming Trollope: Race, Gender, and Englishness in the Novels of Anthony Trollope* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013) on Trollope as liberal; Lauren M. E. Goodlad, *The Victorian Geopolitical Aesthetic: Realism, Sovereignty, and Transnational Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) on Trollope as 'a pronounced racialist and Anglo-Saxon expansionist' . . . exemplifying 'a mid-Victorian tendency to regard modernity's cosmopolitan features with ambivalence' (p. 67). See also Elaine Hadley, *Living Liberalism: Practical Citizenship in Victorian Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), which reads the place of Phineas Finn in the Palliser novels in terms of the contradictions of liberalism:

> Mainstream midcentury liberals – the parliamentary population of professionals and industrialists presumed to enter government on the coattails of suffrage reform – are dramatized through the life adventures of handsome young Irishman Phineas Finn.
>
> That liberalism, seen so jealously by history as the an organic outgrowth of English Protestant liberty and the ancient constiution should be put into action by a Catholic doctor's son from the western reaches of Ireland has been oddly minimized by most literary critics who otherwise are thinking about the political novel in this period. (p. 229)

[90] See Mary Kelly, 'Landscapes of order and (dis)order in Somerville and Ross's *The Irish RM*', in Patrick J. Duffy and William Nolan (eds), *At the Anvil*: *Essays in Honour of William J. Smyth* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2012), pp. 537–44 (p. 541).

[91] See Latour on travel as method: '"where to travel" and "what is worth seeing there" is nothing but a way of saying in plain English what is usually said under the pompous Greek name of "method" or, even worse, "methodology". The advantage of a travel book approach over a "discourse on method" is that it cannot be confused with the territory on which it simply overlays. A guide can be put to use as well as forgotten, placed in a backpack, stained with grease and coffee, scribbled all over, its pages torn apart to light a fire under a barbecue'. Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 17.

[92] See Richard Menke's chapter in this volume, 'Mimesis, Media Archaeology, and the Postage Stamp in *John Caldigate*'.

[93] Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 22.