IMAGING THE BODY POLITIC:
THE SOCIAL AND SYMBOLIC SPACES OF CITIZENSHIP
IN MAXWELL'S
HISTORY OF THE IRISH REBELLION
by
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This thesis examines a particular and highly contested representation of Irishness in relation to the national polity that circulated in mid-nineteenth century Britain and continued to enjoy currency through altered readings during the remainder of the century. The focus for this study is William Hamilton Maxwell's *History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798: with Memoirs of the Union and Emmett's Insurrection in 1803*. Issued in serial form beginning in 1844, with illustrations by artist and caricaturist George Cruikshank, the work was published as a bound volume in 1845. The partnership on this project of a popular writer known primarily for the publication of gentlemen's adventures and amateur histories of British military exploits in the Napoleonic Wars, together with the artist Cruikshank, the celebrated London illustrator of, among other works, Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist*, suggests an unusual approach to the representation of so-called "serious" history.

This thesis explores the complex set of factors that gave the *History of the Irish Rebellion* its particular verbal and visual form. These include: the innovative and unconventional publishing and marketing strategies associated with the initial issuing of the work as an illustrated serial; mid-century debates over predominantly Catholic Irish calls for repeal of the Union forged in 1800 between Ireland and Britain; and current anxieties about working-class agitation around issues of representation and franchise. In particular, this study
focusses on Cruikshank's twenty-one illustrations for Maxwell's work, assessing their rhetorical strategies both in relation to the text's concern with Ireland, both historically and in the present, and crucially, with these images' more subtle evocations of political concerns within Britain itself in the mid-1840's. I argue that by representing the Irish Catholic peasant as historic violator of the British social body, Cruikshank's illustrations, together with the text, worked to construct a particular image of responsible citizenship, one that asserted the patriarchal and classed values deemed essential to the modern nation state.
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INTRODUCTION

In its November 18, 1843 issue the Illustrated London News advertised a forthcoming literary production,\(^1\) the History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798, with Memoirs of the Union, and Emmett's Insurrection in 1803.\(^2\) This work was to be a collaborative project involving William Hamilton Maxwell, a popular writer known primarily for his publication of gentleman's adventures and amateur histories of the British in the Napoleonic Wars, and George Cruikshank, the former political satirist and now premier London illustrator. Two other works by Maxwell simultaneously offered in the Illustrated London News underlined the author's interest in Britain and its military conquests: these were Wanderings in the Highlands and Islands,\(^3\) a sequel to an earlier military and sporting novel set in Scotland, and the Life of the Duke of Wellington, a three-volume account of the military career of Maxwell's celebrated fellow Anglo-Irish compatriot. George Cruikshank, Maxwell's partner in the History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798, while known for his visual satires on contemporary political life in the early part of the century,\(^4\) was also known in the literary world for his illustrations for both Charles Dicken's novel Oliver Twist, which was serialized through

\(^1\) Illustrated London News, 18 Nov. 1843: 334.
\(^2\) The first edition of the bound, completed work was published in London by Baily Brothers in 1845. The National Union Catalogue: Pre 1956 Imprints, vol. 371 (Mansell, 1975) 235, cites another publication of the same title in London in 1845 by George Bell.
\(^3\) A brief preliminary review of Maxwell's Wanderings in the Highlands and Islands appears in the Illustrated London News, 30 Dec. 1843: 426. The work is described as "spirited" and "clever" in the manner of Maxwell's "Stories of Waterloo" and readers are promised a proper review in the near future "to give ... a spice [sic] of its quality".
\(^4\) John Wardroper, The Caricatures of George Cruikshank (Boston: David R. Godine, 1978) passim. See also Cruikshank's independently authored works of caricature: Comick Almanack (London: 1834-52), the Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman (London: 1839), and the Bachelor's Own Book (London: 1844).
1837-8, and the revived popular editions of Sir Walter Scott's works of historical fiction, the *Waverley Novels*, produced between 1836 and 1838.\(^5\)

While Cruikshank and Maxwell were not strangers — they had been fellow contributors to the popular literary journal, *Bentley's Miscellany*, in the late thirties and early forties\(^6\) — their collaboration on the *History of the Irish Rebellion* was in some senses an anomaly in both thematic and formal terms. When it was first advertised in 1843, the work was promised by its London publishers, A.H. Baily and Co., in the form of illustrated serial installments over a one-year period,\(^7\) an unusual publication strategy for an ostensibly "serious" work of history, which would typically be published in single or multiple-volume form.\(^8\) Indeed, illustrated serialization was a recent media phenomenon and, since its development only six years earlier, had been associated primarily with fictional works.

This thesis investigates the significance of an illustrated format to the genre of historical publication by exploring the complex relations between Maxwell's written narrative concerning the 1798 uprising against British colonial domination, and the visual narrative effected by Cruickshank's twenty-one etched and signed plates with which it was embellished.

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7 This allowed the publishers to increase sales by undercutting the circulating libraries. See Richard D. Atlick, *The English Common Reader* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1957) 279-280.
8 Advertising would have helped to reduce the costs and risks of publication even further -- something of which not all conventional "serious" histories could avail themselves. Instead many were published by subscription.
When first published at mid-century the History of the Irish Rebellion was a highly polemical work. In both its serial and bound forms, Maxwell's narrative set out to describe in ostensibly objective terms, the events of the Rebellion of 1798 which had challenged British authority in Ireland two generations earlier. The text opens with a description of the years immediately preceding the Rebellion, focusing on the conspiratorial schemes of the United Irishmen, leaders of the rebel cause. Maxwell then traces out the rebels' careful cultivation of Britain's enemies, particularly France, which resulted in an unsuccessful French attempt at an invasion of Ireland in 1796. Maxwell's description of the Rebellion itself begins with the first of the organized rebel uprisings in Dublin and the town of Prosperous in May, 1798, and moves to accounts of rebel cruelty in Kildare and military confrontations and rebel atrocities in Wexford and other insurrectionary counties. The appointment of Lord Cornwallis as British Viceroy occurs one-third of the way into the narrative. From this point, Maxwell follows the outbreaks of insurrection in various counties, the landing of French troops in the Western provinces, and the subsequent battle at Castlebar. The author then narrates the suppression of the rebel cause by British loyalist forces and the lifting of martial law in 1799. The turbulent parliamentary process which resulted in the enactment of the Union of Ireland and Great Britain in 1800, and the subsequent insurrection against this Act led by Irish nationalist Robert Emmett in 1803 is followed by Emmett's trial and execution. Indeed, Maxwell's final chapter transposes the speeches delivered at Emmett's
trial, including Emmett's own, before closing with a short two-paragraph declaration that underlines the author's support of the Union between Ireland and Great Britain.

Maxwell's text was illustrated with six engraved portraits; five were of British military, legal, and political representatives, and the sixth represented the rebel leader Robert Emmett. The deployment of these formal representations as part of a restrained and subordinate visual programme constituted a conventional approach within historical publications and helped to position Maxwell's work within the genre of historical non-fiction. However, supplementing this visual programme was another and unorthodox series of images: the twenty-one illustrations by George Cruikshank. These were interspersed throughout the work following Maxwell's chronological sequence. For the most part, Cruikshank's images focussed on the bloodiest of the incidents recounted in Maxwell's narrative. Indeed, to this end, several of the illustrations gave prominence to anecdotes related not in the main body of the text but in its supporting footnotes. Within the overall programme the artist thus foregrounded particular scenes of carnage and destruction. Bloody rebel assaults on both military and civilian groups are imaged (for example, The Surprise of the Barricade at Prosperous; The Loyal Little Drummer; The Massacre at Scullabogue; The Rebels Executing their Prisoners at Wexford; The Rebels Storming the Turret at Lt. Tyrell's; and The Heroic Conduct of the Highland Sentinel). The series also foregrounds attacks on representative bodies of the

9 William Hamilton Maxwell, History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798, with Memoirs of the Union, and Emmett's Insurrection in 1803. (London: George Bell, 1903) facing 61, 115, 125, 154, 224,236.
state, whether the personal body of the Lord Chief Justice (The Murder of Lord Kilwarden)\textsuperscript{10} or of institutions such as the Royal Mail (The Stoppage of the Mail and Murder of Lt. Giffard)\textsuperscript{11} and the Anglican Church (for example Carousel and Plunder at the Palace of the Bishop of Fern; the Destruction of the Church at Enniscorthy; and The Rev. Mr. McGhee’s House Successfully Defended).\textsuperscript{12} Threats to the safety of individual citizens and their property are similarly emphasized (for example, The Murder of George Crawford and his Granddaughter; the Attack on Capt. Chamney’s House; and Rebels Destroying a House and Furniture).\textsuperscript{13}

Supporting these representations are those which either underline rebel submission to what is posed as Catholic superstition (The Camp at Vinegar Hill and Father Murphy and the Heretic Bullets),\textsuperscript{14} or which assert the military prowess of Loyalist forces (The Arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald; The Battle of Ross; The Defeat at Vinegar Hill and The Capture of Colclough and Harvey).\textsuperscript{15}

As I will argue, while Maxwell’s verbal narrative worked to constitute the Rebellion of 1798 in terms which effectively underline the ignorance and brutality of the rebel masses and their Jacobin or French Revolutionary tendencies, Cruikshank’s visual programme addresses and constructs another narrative strand, one that serves to extend Maxwell’s representation. Here the multi-levelled significances of the History of the Irish Rebellion to a mid-19th century audience are important to assess. Michel de Certeau has argued in The Writing of History that the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{10} Maxwell, facing 409.
\item \textsuperscript{11} Maxwell, facing 70.
\item \textsuperscript{12} Maxwell, facing 82, 97, 175.is Maxwell, facing 66, 293, 384.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Maxwell, facing 99, 180.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Maxwell, facing 48, 112, 144, 288.
\end{itemize}
"present" of current events indelibly inscribes the historian's own time and place onto the historical record.\textsuperscript{16} It is therefore no coincidence to find that the \textit{History of the Irish Rebellion} was produced and promoted in England at a time when both class conflict over rights of representation and challenges to Ireland's position within the Union of Great Britain were the major preoccupations of the British Parliament and of Britain's politically-engaged publics. As the chapters of this thesis will trace out, Maxwell and Cruikshank's production can be situated among a range of political positions that had currency in the 1840's in England's expanding and constantly contested public sphere. Not only did the \textit{History of the Irish Rebellion} take up a position against Irish nationalists of the past who called for independence from Britain's colonial domination; but the work gave itself currency by implicitly linking the traumatic and violent events of 45 years earlier to both the modern Irish situation and to current working-class demands for systemic change to the body politic.

The analysis in the following pages will explore how the various narrative and publishing strategies taken up in both the text and images of Maxwell's \textit{History of the Irish Rebellion}, served to constitute this publication as a strategic site where debates about progress, civilization and the emergence of the British nation were linked to reigning anxieties concerning the status of the Irish population. In order to explore the multiple narrative strands activated by Maxwell's and Cruikshanks' history this thesis will be divided into four chapters.

\textsuperscript{16} Michel De Certeau, \textit{The Writing of History} (New York: Columbia UP, 1988) 6-7.
Chapter I, will assess how the shifts in the body politic in mid-19th century Britain gave rise to new publics, markets and media by exploring the complex set of social and political tensions which were brought to bear on contemporary assessments of the Irish. Here, I will explore how debates around reform of the franchise, the ability of the nation to resist internal challenges to its official Protestant religion, Anglicanism, and racial theories that could be brought to bear on the evolution of the nation, were deployed to mark out deviant cultural practices identified in terms of ethnicity or race. An examination of how Maxwell's *History of the Irish Rebellion* situated itself within a field of competing representations of the Irish at mid-century will be the subject of Chapter II. Specifically, I will examine the work in relation to a contemporary history that also constructed its narrative around the Irish Rebellion of 1798. At issue will be how the rupture or adaptation of conventions germane to the historical genre could work to rhetorical advantage in the promotion of particular polemical positions.

Chapter III, will assess how innovative media forms and marketing strategies emerging in the mid-19th century transformed conventional categories of fiction and non-fiction and, in the process, opened up a space for new interpretive practices within which shifts of meaning could occur. I will argue here that both the popularity of pictorial representation and the Victorian penchant for historical explanation played a significant role in the production and reception of Maxwell's *History of the Irish Rebellion*. For middle-class readerships, Cruikshank's well-known associations with earlier visual traditions as well as with new forms of fiction published in illustrated serial parts were
crucial to the work's marketability and to its multi-levelled constructions of meaning.

In the final Chapter IV, I will argue that Cruikshank's illustrations work their subjects through a range of social and symbolic spaces which can be defined in relation to the practices of bourgeois citizenship. Here, I will explore their significance within three categorical frames. The first addresses the way in which the private sphere of the family and the individual articulates the patriarchal values essential to bourgeois citizenship and the nation state. The second category, the commercial, encompasses those shared spaces that service the citizen's individual or corporate commercial interests by providing sites of extra-domestic sociability. In so doing, these spaces ultimately serve the health of the nation, which in turn ensures their accessibility. The third category, the public and institutional, explores the ways in which public, rather than private, individuals and the apparatuses of the state are invested with the authority to regulate, protect and reinforce the interests of the citizen. By analysing the images in terms of these divisions, I will argue that, following Maxwell's textual lead, Cruikshank marshalled a provocative and effective visual language as a means to figure Ireland as Britain's internal colony, incapable of ruling itself except through the surrogate and civilizing hand of the British parliamentary system.
CHAPTER I  
DEBATING THE SOCIAL BODY:  
THE MID-19TH CENTURY "IRISH QUESTION"

In recent years theorists in the field of cultural studies have argued that texts and images are subject to both multiple significances and shifts in meaning largely dependent upon historical variables which effect both the production of forms and the practices of reading. Roger Chartier in his 1989 essay "Texts, Printings, Readings"\(^1\) has been particularly useful to the analysis of the roles that literary and visual texts can take on. There he has described the three-fold relationship between the author's original production, that is, the written statement, the object which gives it material form, such as a book, pamphlet, or print, and the reader.

Especially productive for the exploration of the mediations of textual meanings are historic sites where shifts or transformations in the social body, whether technological, political, or economic, provoke reworkings and innovations in media forms capable of serving the interests and pocketbooks of newly-emergent and shifting markets. At the same time, these new or hybridized forms have the intrinsic power to construct new levels of meaning that complexify the discursive fields shaping a specific historic moment.

The time and place which situate Maxwell's History of the Irish Rebellion -- that is, the 1830's and 1840's in London and, more generally, Britain -- presents us with a particularly

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rich opportunity for the exploration of some of these kinds of cultural practices. It is possible, within the framework of Britain from the period of the great Reform Bill of 1832, which extended the vote to substantial portions of the middle classes, to the mid-1840's, when Maxwell's *History of the Irish Rebellion* was first published, to examine how certain established forms serving the writing of "history" could be appropriated to unconventional purposes. More specifically, in the case of the history genre, it is possible to see how a traditional form associated with authoritative "objectivity" could be manipulated to carry and promote a highly polemical message to a newly-defined, and potentially politically influential, constituency.

1. THE "IRISH QUESTION" AND THE CRISIS TO NATION AND IDENTITY

The document that was ultimately produced by Maxwell and Cruikshank over the period of a year and a half in 1844-45 not only constructed a narrative for events which had occurred in the 1790's, almost a half-century earlier, but did so using complex rhetorical strategies that reconstituted that earlier period with a provocative significance for a mid-nineteenth century public. For bourgeois British audiences still negotiating their place within a shifting social order, the narratives deployed in the *History of the Irish Rebellion* operated within a particularly credible symbolic space -- the terrain of History. In presenting its polemical message both visually and verbally through the authority of an historical genre, the *History of the Irish Rebellion* substantially
strengthened its particular position in relation to the important contemporary issues of legislative reform and the repeal of the 1800 constitutional act of Union between Ireland and the rest of Britain.

In the years following the Napoleonic Wars, and in spite of its military victory against France and its newly-revised position of colonial supremacy, Britain underwent a period of serious internal economic, political and social challenges that posed a threat both to the unity of the national polity and the country's international presence.² Within this frame, liberal reform-minded members of the bourgeois public looked with paternalistic concern upon the generally degraded situation of the working classes and so-called "lower orders".³ Often viewed as racially or ethnically comprised, these social groups invariably became the focus for concerns about the strength of the body politic. Indeed, when serious confrontations did occur between segments of the working classes and state authorities -- as they did with more and more frequency in the 1830's and 1840's -- disturbing associations with the events of the French Revolution were often activated. During these decades it was "the Irish Question," with its evocations of Roman Catholicism and Irish nationalism, that loaded these

³ Evangelicism and humanitarianism were among the major social movements characterizing the Victorian era. Both were concerned to reconcile the progressive demands of a bourgeois political economy with the principles of Christian morality. For a discussion of popular religious views involving the concept of cultural and physical degeneration which was thought by many to account for both domestic and foreign forms of "savagery" see George W. Stocking, Jr., Victorian Anthropology (New York: Free Press, 1987) 33-34. For further discussions of notions of the "civilizing mission" as it related to internal, classed populations see Michael Adas, Machines as the Measure of Men (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1989) 201-210; and Robert Young, Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race (London: Routledge, 1995) 34-36.
events with particular symbolic potency: Ireland's membership within the "United Kingdom" had always been precarious, and its ongoing vociferous threats, since 1800, to secede from its union with Scotland, Wales and England were never far from the public and political consciousness. 4

The publication of Maxwell's History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798, with Memoirs of the Union, and Emmett's Insurrection in 1803 coincided with an event of national import which could be attributed directly to the Irish and which inflamed acute anxieties over the question of Ireland's stability and loyalty to the British Crown. These were the "state trials" against the Irish Catholic leader of the Repeal Movement, M.P. Daniel O'Connell. 5 The Repeal Movement aimed at dissolving the union between England and Ireland. The Act of Union in 1800 had theoretically elevated Ireland from the status of colonial inferior to full and equal membership in the British nation by integrating its Parliament with that of Britain at Westminster. From England's point of view this alliance had been a necessary measure to secure Ireland against internal Catholic democratic sympathies for revolutionary France in the 1790's and early 1800's, and to curtail the increasingly sympathetic attitudes of the Protestant Ascendancy, or ruling class, for the ideals of economic and

4 James Epstein has drawn attention to the spectre of republicanism that these crises raised in Radical Expression: Political Lanaguage, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850 (New York: Oxford UP, 1994). According to Epstein, the violent mob action under Robespierre's Reign of Terror in 1794 and 1795 was construed in Britain as threatening the very patriarchal principles upon which the English middle classes based and legitimized their increasing power.

political independence symbolized by the American revolution of 1776. What had been at stake for England in 1800 -- commercial markets, defense and security of colonial holdings and of the mainland itself -- remained operative at the time of the Repeal Movement.6

The "state trials" themselves represented the seriousness with which Parliament viewed the threat of Repeal. For all the historic and contemporary reasons cited above, the agitation for the dissolution of the Union on the part of a cluster of Catholic Irish MP's at Westminster would have taken on serious national connotations. If one accepts the argument of historian Linda Colley that the absence of an internal cultural logic of British nationhood between the Welsh, Scots, Irish and English, necessitated the forging of unity in terms of notions of difference from an exterior historic enemy -- in this case, Catholic France -- then any organized Catholic challenge to the Protestant constitution was an extremely potent one.7 At the centre of the drama was Daniel O'Connell, the first Catholic Irish parliamentarian at Westminster, whose election in 1828 had forced the British government to pass the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829 which extended the franchise and the right to hold public office to both Catholic Irish of propertied status and their British counterparts.8

The Emancipation Act had served as one of the most potent catalysts for mid-century responses to Catholicism within the nation. For a large majority of Protestant citizens, the

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6 Williams and Ramsden, 156-157; John O'Beirne Ranelagh, A Short History of Ireland, 2nd ed (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994) 89-95.
7 Linda Colley, passim.
8 Ranelagh, 97-102.
enactment of the Emancipation Bill threatened a breach of the British Constitution, where both the throne and state were to be protected from any aspect of papal control. 9

Yet, while this rupture to traditional notions of Britishness -- that is, Britishness conceived as an essentially English and Protestant proposition -- had provoked concerns among a relatively broad range of the enfranchised and predominantly Protestant constituency, O'Connell's Repeal Movement, on the other hand, elicited a range of responses that were far more dependent upon class affiliation. Motivated by the continued oppression of the majority Catholic population, "the Liberator" as he was known to his supporters, had, through a series of strategies spanning two decades, attempted to sway a British citizenry to respond to Catholic Irish grievances. However, by 1843 his failure to prevent implementation of the New Poor Laws, which forced the starving unemployed into the inhumane conditions of the workhouse, had amplified the voices for Repeal in Ireland to a crescendo. As the Repeal Movement was widespread, drawing support from almost all Catholic Irish sectors, including the Catholic Church, the challenge to national unity was a serious one, and the Tory Government of

9 A decade later, in the 1840's, heated debates still continued among Anglicans, Dissenters, and Catholics over the status of religion within the constitution. Tractarianism, supported by highly-placed members within the Anglican movement posed a particular concern. Tractarianism called not only for the reinstatement of many Catholic rituals to Church of England practices but also argued for the recognition of papal authority over the spiritual lives of Anglican constituents. The increasing popularity of Catholicism among members of the educated classes, and the publicity given the beliefs adopted by its followers, had an inflammatory effect on anti-Catholic and, by extension, anti-Irish, prejudice among vast numbers of the middle and upper-class public. See Frank H. Wallis, Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian Britain (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1993) 55-59.
Robert Peel indicted O'Connell on charges of sedition. From January, 1844 the "Dublin State Trials", as they were known, dominated coverage in the newspaper and periodical press and focussed British fears on the possibility of dissolution of the Union.¹⁰

That Ireland was symbolically empowered in the mid-1840's to threaten Britain's identity both as nation and as empire gave the historical example of both the 1798 Irish Rebellion and Robert Emmett's subsequent uprising in 1803, that were taken up in Maxwell's publication, a particularly provocative resonance. Clearly, the prospect of any military intervention to enforce the Union against the modern Irish agitation for its repeal could be constructed by English audiences in the bleakest of terms -- as civil war. Not only did the possibility of such a conflagration evoke the infamous and bloody years of Cromwell's challenge to the Stuart monarchy in the 17th century, but such potential conflict was also able to call up the horrors of the French Revolution and the destructive forces of a levelling republicanism with which it was associated.

As Linda Colley has argued, the spectre of civil war had particularly ominous connotations for the British nation, given that its unity had been so precariously forged on a foundation of cultural, religious and political difference. Colley has demonstrated the difficulty with which, for example, the Scottish nation in 1707 had been absorbed within the larger British polity and has traced the degree to which English

¹⁰ For example, see the articles in the Illustrated London News, the Times, and the Spectator through 1843-44.
resistance to this culturally and politically alien "other" had to be overcome in order for the economic and military advantages of Union to be realized. Yet, Ireland's admission to the Union, almost a century later in 1800, had been even more problematic with the result that benefits to the overwhelming Irish Catholic majority had been rendered negligible.

For an era which constructed its present through constant reference to the past, the fact that the French had come to the aid of the Irish rebels against the British loyalists during the rebellion in 1798 had serious implications for contemporary anxieties raised by the Repeal of the Union movement. In real, strategic terms Ireland's geographic proximity to both France and the British mainland did suggest that the French could always have what amounted to "back door" access to the heart of Britain's empire. But such unease was also fed by the current actions of the French government itself. As art historian Jonathan Ribner has pointed out, in spite of very public and friendly overtures between the English and French monarchs in the 1840's, a fear of French invasion had never entirely abated in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars. In turn, France's technological innovations, specifically its development of steam-powered military ships, fuelled mid-century British anxieties about the modern danger of a French invasion. Here,

11 Colley, 1-43, 71-84.
12 Ranelagh, 87-109.
14 See also a series of articles in the Illustrated London News documenting festive official and non-official reciprocal visits between Queen Victoria and King Louis-Philippe which may have worked to dispel these anxieties. For example, 2 Sept.1843: 145-146; 16 Sept.1843: 177+. 
the looming possibility of Ireland's secession from the union could only re-invoke Britain's earlier humiliation as a colonial power. As the Introduction to Maxwell's *Irish Rebellion* itself pointed out, in 1776 the American colonies had challenged their "parent" country for independence and won, and French involvement had been crucial to Britain's loss. These tensions on a fraught political front were exacerbated by theories that stressed an essential affinity between the French and the Irish on racial and ethnic grounds. As Lionel Gossman has pointed out, early 19th century histories of Europe served to circulate such a connection by assigning a common ancestry to both Ireland's and France's Celtic or "Gaelic" populations; the dominant Catholic religion of each only reasserted the apparent bonds between the two.

Within this context, it is not surprising that, in spite of their constitutional right to pursue employment throughout the United Kingdom, the Irish labouring classes who had migrated to "mainland" Britain to seek seasonal or permanent work, predominantly in Scotland and England, were often singled out by the media as the incarnation of the worst of the British fears about the working classes in general. Given that Catholicism was viewed in Britain as a papal challenge to the authority of the British Protestant state, the

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15 Maxwell, 1-2.
16 Williams and Ramsden, 119-121.
18 Graham Davis, *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1914* (Dublin: Gill, 1991) passim.
"oppositional" religious practice of the Irish stood as a particular threat. Given prominence in the early 1840's, when large influxes of Irish workers sought employment in industrial centres in England and Scotland, these groups were made particularly visible because of their tendency to group together under the protective wing of the Catholic Church upon their arrival in what was, in effect, a foreign land. As a result, this "immigrant" Irish population raised a set of problematic issues which struck at the heart of British and Protestant notions of constitutionality.

Equally influential in the formulation of an unfavourable representation of the "immigrant" Irish were current views of their presence in both England and Scotland as a source of infection within the polity. Indeed, the representation of the Irish as physical and moral contaminants of the British social body had gained popular currency since the early 1830's. A widely-disseminated publication by Dr. James Phillips Kay in 1832\(^{19}\) stands as a dramatic example of this. Kay's text had targeted the growing Irish presence in England's north as the contagious source of social and moral degeneracy among the British lower classes and a significant threat to the institutions of civilized society. Written while Kay was in Manchester during a cholera epidemic, this broadly influential

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\(^{19}\) J.P. Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester*, (Manchester, 1832) reprint 1969. Cited in Graham Davis, *The Irish in Britain 1815-1914* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1991) 57+; n 19, 223. Kay was secretary to the Special Board for the Board of Health in the district; he gave extensive evidence to the commission of the state of the Irish poor and before the Poor Law Commission in 1838. See p. 57. In addition, Davis cites the direct use to which Kay's writing was put by Engels in his analysis of the condition of the English working classes. As well he credits Kay with influencing the "literary fascination with Manchester" of various novelists of the 1840's. See p.57.
pamphlet functionned within the predominant medical discourses of its day. As an authoritative textual representation, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* provided a charged and symbolically-loaded description of the squalid living conditions of the Manchester poor. However, this analysis singled out a specific Irish presence and constructed a monolithic account of "race" associated with the cultural habits of a so-called lower form of human life said to correspond to that of "savages", which was capable of spreading "corrupt" habits among its English and Scottish class counterparts.\(^{20}\) Framing the "aberrants" as both resistant to the productive practices of the capitalist economy and as carriers of disease,\(^{21}\) Kay's representation reinvested the popular English prejudice against the Irish with new potency.\(^{22}\)

It was no accident, then, that Maxwell's *History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798, with Memoirs of the Union and Emmett's Insurrection in 1803* appeared at this moment of crisis in the rearticulation of a British middle-class identity. Not only did Ireland represent a threat to the very heart of the thriving British empire, but that it did so from within the empire's centre was of acute concern to English ruling and middle classes.

The Reform Act of 1832 and its legacy over the succeeding two decades provides one further point of entry into this

\(^{20}\) Davis, 57-60.  
\(^{21}\) Davis, 58.  
unstable social moment and points to the ways in which the "Irish Question" focussed not only anxieties about the working classes, but as well raised concerns over the growing civil unrest that responded to constitutional inequalities affecting rights of representation. The Reform Act, in enfranchising propertied members of the bourgeoisie and rejecting representation of the working classes,\textsuperscript{23} had entrenched the vested interests of a middle and upper class citizenry. In the following years, when workers demonstrated for the full rights of representation, or when the working poor actively sought redress from extreme conditions, their actions would be represented in terms of unlawful unrest or in the guise of the levelling spectre of republicanism with its threat of destruction of the status quo. The oppositional practices coming out of the radical working class movement, Chartism, which took form in the years following the 1832 Reform Bill's exclusionary enactment, not only fanned such charged responses, but served as well to tie working-class agitation to the "Irish Question" itself. Most significantly in terms of reform to both the franchise and the right to hold public office, the movement's Charter of Six Points demanded universal manhood suffrage and the abolition of property qualifications for Members of Parliament. While Chartist strategies involved demonstrations, torchlit processions, and fiery platform oratory, the rhetoric of opposition also included the constant

\textsuperscript{23} Although working-class representatives had petitioned and demonstrated together with their middle-class counterparts with a shared revolutionary fervour that had, according to historians Glyn Williams and John Ramsden, had ultimately intimidated Parliament into action. Williams and Ramsden, 194-201, 216-217.
invocation of the Irish Rebellion of 1798. Within this working-class frame the name of Robert Emmett, the 18th-century Irish rebel whose insurrectionary action against the Union in 1803 was seen to represent one final attempt to shatter the hold of elite interests over the people of Ireland 24 became an evocative symbol of resistance. Indeed, in order to underline these alliances between working-class interests and those of Irish colonial subjects, the Chartist newspaper the Northern Star -- a powerful rhetorical site for working-class grievances -- took its name from the journal of the rebel United Irishmen of a half-century earlier. 25

While Maxwell's history, with its title declaring its focus on both the Rebellion and Emmett's insurrection, took form within this context, it is important to point out that Chartist and working class political and representational manoeuvres were invariably marked out as realms of illegality and irrationality in relation to bourgeois norms. In response, and with increasing conviction towards the middle of the century, the propertied citizenry formulated its own political and social space, one demarcated in opposition to working class modes and practices. Claiming their own political discourse as formed within the orderly realms of reasoned debate and parliamentary petitioning, an enfranchised British public could support liberal reform measures as one means to fend off radical demands for fundamental, structural change. Self-consciously

25 Epstein and Thompson, 128.
marking out a position as a stabilizing factor in opposition to the perceived volatility of working-class agitation, this middle-class constituency worked to simultaneously legitimize its own rising economic and public importance in relation to traditional land-holding classes of the past. A crucial result was that "Britishness" in this process was given new definitions at mid-century. While formulated and perceived by its voting citizenship in terms of "democratic" access to the law-based institutions of the state, in fact the vested interests associated with a newly-dominant middle class were enshrined within the legal and political apparatuses of the nation.

What the foregoing underscores is that the "Irish question" in many ways acted as a receptacle for the anxieties generated by the attendant public debate over the status of Britain's constitution in relation to a larger body politic. In conjunction with the large influx of Irish emigrants into Scotland and England in the early 1840's, it was thus possible to implicate Ireland and the Irish in most of the troubles perceived to be affecting the nation as a whole. As a result, contemporary discourses constructed an Irish cultural "other" both as one of the main sources of Britain's domestic problems, and as a significant internal threat to the politics, legacy, and values of the national polity.

2. RACE, ETHNICITY, AND THEORIES OF PROGRESS AND CIVILIZATION

The publication in 1973 of theorist Hayden White's groundbreaking study of nineteenth century historiography,
Metahistory, has underscored the role that historical narratives play in shaping identity, knowledge and what can be accepted as "truth" or "reality". In more recent years, studies of Victorian cultural production have taken White's analysis further to explore the complex ways in which narratives of progress and civilization -- both implicit and explicit -- were brought to bear on mid-19th century British concepts concerning history and the national polity. Theories of racial difference based upon varying notions of evolution occupied a prominent place in these analyses. As Robert Young has shown in Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race (1994) two broadly-determined camps argued over whether human beings devolved from a single or from multiple origins: in other words, whether the races of humanity represented evolutionary stages of one species, a monogenist claim, or alternatively a series of distinct species between whom sexual intercourse would produce infertile offspring and, thus, a natural check against the development of a "hybrid" race, the polygenist stance. While the authority of science and biology could accumulate support for each position, both monogenist and polygenist theories were marshalled in support of claims for an

26 Hayden White, Metahistory (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1973).
27 For example, see Rosemary Jann, The Art and Science of Victorian History (Columbus: Ohio State Press, 1985) xi-xii; Andrew Sanders, The Victorian Historical Novel, 1840-1880 (London: Macmillan, 1978) 2. For an anthropological approach, see also George Stocking, Victorian Anthropology, 30-45.
28 Young, 1-19. Young's discussion of 19th-century notions of hybridity and fertility ties racial constructs to English attempts to define a stable identity for themselves in what he calls a period of disruption, conflict and change.
inherent and "natural" superiority of white Europeans and their cultural forms.\textsuperscript{29}

Such approaches to racial hierarchy were embedded in theories of progress and civilization in mid-century Britain. These, as George Stocking has evocatively demonstrated, expressed an "integrated system" of what he calls "middle-class virtues" that could be situated in opposition to categories of the "savage."\textsuperscript{30} Theories of racial hierarchy operated, in Stocking's formulation, as a "class vision of human progress",\textsuperscript{31} one where essentially middle-class values associated with work, property, rational restraint, and religious orthodoxy were harnessed to dominant theories of civilization and order.\textsuperscript{32}

The newly-forming sciences of ethnology and anthropology provided an institutional validation for these theoretical assumptions.\textsuperscript{33} On a popular level, however, it was the quasi-sciences of physiognomy and phrenology which furnished accessible inductive methods for the visual observation and classification of humankind. The central tenets of these widely-applied human "sciences" were that psychological and moral character could be read through the facial features and, in some theories, the general body deportment (physiognomy) as well as through the shape of the human skull (phrenology). These characteristics, understood to correspond to certain

\textsuperscript{29} Young, 1-19. Circulating simultaneously, another theory, less rigidly biological in its explanations of difference, was that of "types". See Mary Cowling, \textit{The Artist as Anthropologist} (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) xix.
\textsuperscript{30} Stocking, 36.
\textsuperscript{31} Stocking, 35, 36.
\textsuperscript{32} Stocking, 430-45; Young, 14; see Adas, 250-258, for a discussion of Western European nations' self-construction as superior to foreign cultures who did not share the industrial values linked to "time, work, and discipline".
\textsuperscript{33} Cowling 4-5; Stocking
racial or ethnic, that is, culturally homogeneous, groups, were in turn broadly applied along class lines to denote inherent differences in the domestic social body.\(^{34}\)

In her 1989 study of physiognomic conventions embodied in 19th-century art, visual historian Mary Cowling has argued that the cultural codings taken to be imprinted on the human body were a source of enthusiastic interest to middle-class Victorians. Physiognomy rested, she has pointed out, on the cultivation of the "art of seeing," a process that was central to an urban experience shaped by the constant growth and diversification in city populations at mid-century.\(^{35}\) The growing visible presence of the Irish within English urban centres during the 1830's and 1840's -- a period when contemporary news reports focused on social unrest, high crime rates, and epidemic disease -- set this immigrant group up as a particularly provocative object of this kind of scrutiny. As outsiders, the Irish working classes seasonally or permanently resident in England and Scotland were particularly susceptible to examination for degrees of physical, and by extension, psychological and moral, deviation from the Anglo-Saxon norm. As a result, the different cultural practices of the Irish, along with their circumscribed conditions of work, were used to mark them out as a homogeneous group that displayed a range of objective signs denoting cultural and racial inferiority.

William Redfield's *Comparative Physiognomy*, a highly-regarded work published in 1852, provides a disturbing example

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\(^{34}\) See Cowling's description of the history and application of these classifying practices in 19th-century Britain in Chapters 1 and 2, "Physiognomy: the Literal View," 7-53 and "The Rules of Physiognomy and Their Application in the Victorian Age," 54-86.

\(^{35}\) Cowling, 5.
of this kind of pseudo-scientific analysis. Redfield's text and its illustrations exploited seeing and vision as an empirical basis for racializing practices. In one [fig.1] an analogic relationship was asserted by a juxtaposition of an Irish male and a terrier dog. Here, the purported similarities between the two, with both evoked as scrounging and yapping animals, are claimed through a visual argument in which the facial appearance of the Irishman, represented as shaggy and unkempt, is reinforced by the servile tilt of the head and a look of innocent anticipation. This is mirrored in the appearance and attitude of his canine counterpart. Underscoring this relation, and in accordance with physiognomic principles at mid-century, the exaggerated cranial angle of the Irish male, in conjunction with the flat nose and long upper lip, would also have served to register a set of prognathous features, understood as indicative of limited intellect and low development on the human scale.

36 Comparison of an Irishman with a terrier dog, in James Redfield, Comparative Physiognomy or the Resemblances between Men and Animals (New York: Redfield, Clinton Hall, 1852) illustrated in Cowling, 37 (plate 24).
37 Cited in Cowling, 34-37.
38 Cowling, 59-60. Pieter Camper's 1791 schema of facial angles and their correspondence to human and animal samples influenced mid 19th century anthropological views on racial hierarchies, thus giving scientific support to the assumptions of physiognomy. These assumptions rested on the belief that orthognathous cranial forms reflected high intelligence and moral character while deviations towards the prognathous form indicated a "brutish", that is animalistic, degradation. For a culture steeped in the "scientific truthfulness" of physiognomy -- and fascinated by the animal-human analogic system -- it would be difficult not to place a value judgment on the relative merits of a pairing of the Anglo-Saxon with the reliable, productive and steady English cob as opposed to the Irish Celt's supposed affinity with the unreliable, economically non-productive -- and -- in the case of this image -- annoyingly importunate terrier. That the Englishman was also paired with the bull invites another interesting comparison. Cowling, 35,37. According to Cowling, member of the Anthropological Society of London, Groom Napier's 1870 Book of Nature and the Book of Man drew individual, racial and class analogies between men and animals, incorporating the theory of temperaments to do so. It was in this work that he described the usefulness of the mixed temperament of the English cob. Cowling, 37.
Clearly, the scientific status of such analysis has an implication for the role that the visual, whether in verbal description or pictorial representation, could play in contemporary social theories in 19th-century culture. However, the currency of such racial constructs within the Victorian imaginary had broader and more complex manifestations. Indeed, characteristics and values explained in terms of inherent qualities of race were given a particular status in historical narratives that addressed the evolution of the modern British state. In these, British history itself could be explained in terms of a series of successive clashes between different racial groups, each with their own attributes and temperaments understood to persist through time. At its broadest level, what Lionel Gossman has described as the "theory of racial conquest," traced the gradual evolution of the nation in terms of successive waves of conflict. In Britain specifically, this narrative of national progression was articulated through the evocative metaphor of the Norman Yoke that evoked the defeat in 1066 of England's race of Anglo-Saxons by a foreign French invader.

As cultural historian L.P. Curtis, Jr. has demonstrated, England's leading historians of the middle decades of the nineteenth-century promoted the ideology of the Norman Yoke by

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41 This theme was central to Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe: a Romance* of 1820, which remained through the century one of Britain's best-selling novels. The reprinting of Scott's *Ivanhoe* at later moments in the century -- including just prior to the appearance of Maxwell's *History of the Irish Rebellion* -- contributed to the circulation of a reworked version of this ancestral myth.
ascribing the origins of royal and aristocratic privilege to the domination of this Norman racial "other". In turn, what were perceived as Britain's stable political institutions, and what was posed as a native and centuries-old "devotion of the Anglo-Saxon people to an ideal of personal and civil liberty," was traced to the "ancient constitution " of a pre-Norman, Anglo-Saxon period. The myth of the Norman Yoke thus stressed that an inherently superior and resilient Anglo-Saxon character was central to the ultimate form given modern British civil liberties and to the forging of the modern middle classes themselves.

As a narrative of national origins, this theory of racial conquest served to legitimize both conflict and oppression as a natural part of history's own unfolding. Indeed, within this frame the privilege given to a specifically Anglo-Saxon heritage was buttressed by a preceding racial conquest: the initial subjugation of earlier Celtic and Gaelic "tribes" by a more "developed" and "vital" Ango-Saxon peoples. As both Victorian ethnographers and historians would claim these Celtic/Gaelic populations, defined predominantly as of "base blood" and instinct-driven, had survived intact in the remote margins of the British Isles, providing the ancestral stock for the modern Irish, Scots and Welsh.

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42 Curtis, Anglo-Saxons and Celts, 9, 75.
44 Curtis, 36-37, and passim. Stocking, 62-64.
45 Stocking; Curtis, 36-37; Gossman, 26-27; Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," The Invention of Tradition, eds.Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger(Cambridge: Cambridge, UP
This historical and evolutionary context had an important implication for the status of Ireland within the modern body politic. In an analysis of Foucault's use of 16th and 17th century histories of the Norman conquest of Saxon England as a means to investigate the ways in which racial discourses were used to a variety of political ends, historian Ann Laura Stoler has underlined how the rationalization of European overseas empires in the 18th and 19th centuries had a corollary in terms of internal mechanisms of state power. Foucault, she notes, described a "return effect...of colonial practice."\textsuperscript{46} Citing Mary Louise Pratt's analysis of 18th-century colonial history where it is argued that Europe's colonial ventures ultimately provided models of domination for its 18th-century bourgeois order,\textsuperscript{47} Stoler describes what she terms "internal colonialism"\textsuperscript{48} as one result of the racializing theories that legitimized external colonial expansion. As I will be arguing in more detail in Chapter IV of the present study, this internalization of imperial rule was operative in mid-19th century Britain through an Anglocentric discourse which constructed the Celt -- and specifically the Irish Celt -- as England's internal colonial "other". It is useful to point out here that the relationship of dominance and opposition that was enabled by this equation was, by the mid-19th century, given particular inflection by the familiar links drawn between the

\textsuperscript{46} Michel Foucault, \textit{Difendere la societa} (Florence: Ponte alle Grazie, 1990) 78, quoted in Stoler, 75.
\textsuperscript{47} Stoler, 73-5.
\textsuperscript{48} Stoler, 74-5.
Celtic ancestry ascribed to both the French and Irish.\textsuperscript{49} The result was the strengthening of the notion of a "natural" -- and, for the British, dangerous -- alliance through the bonds of blood between the nation's historic enemy, France and what was posed as the nation's troublesome internal threat, Ireland.

\textsuperscript{49} Such theories were circulated to educated British audiences through a range of publications. As but one example, the appearance in the \textit{Quarterly Review} of Jules Michelet's \textit{History of France} of 1835, cited in Curtis, \textit{Anglo-Saxons and Celts}, 37, underscored the importance of race to national character and the essential Celtic temperament shared by French and Irish.
CHAPTER II
THE HISTORICAL FORM: THE CONTESTED FIELD

In the early 1840's, news of Ireland figured prominently in the pages of the news and other media both in and outside of London. These public forms served as a major vehicle for the discussion and dissemination of views on the "Irish Question". The Illustrated London News was among many new organs of the popular press that highlighted, through privilege of placement, frequency of reportage and, in its case, an innovative illustrated format, the progress of the "State Trials" of Irish activists accused of sedition against the British government.1 In October of 1843, just prior to the laying of these charges against O'Connell and his closest compatriots, the journal had characterized for its readership the danger of the contemporary situation in Ireland through a passionately stirring rhetoric. The newspaper's editorial had foregrounded the mounting tensions in Ireland as verging on the outbreak of rebellion,2 citing the danger of the huge organized gatherings of support for Repeal in Ireland, known as "monster meetings":

Ireland is in a perfect eruption of energy -- the volcano of agitation is discharging its lava over all the land -- the tongue of the liberator is the emblem of perpetual motion -- and repeal points towards rebellion with the eye of discord, and the finger of flame... But what are we to think of the dangerous displays of which we find a daily record in the national press? What are we to think of organized armies, the mounted cavalry of Repeal?... Will anyone declare the elements of peaceful feeling or obedience to the laws to dwell in these dreadful demonstrations?3

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Representations concerning Ireland's present, past, and future were not, however, homogenous. While the Illustrated London News, for example, treated the "Irish Question" from a standpoint of what its reform-minded readers would characterize as intense concern and humanitarian compassion, some other commentators on the Irish situation held to extreme views with real and inflammatory implications. Thomas Carlyle was one of these. Writing during the potato famine, a few years after the History of the Irish Rebellion's publication when the threat of Repeal had substantially diminished, the noted historian and author of the History of the French Revolution, described the poor in the Irish workhouse as "deceptive human swine" and "a burden on the British Empire". His observations were coloured by a perception that "the Irish problem epitomized the English dilemma", a reference to the national difficulties inherent to conditions of rapid urban growth, economic recession and, at this point, epidemic starvation, but which were framed by him in terms of racial difference.

It is significant that an early advertisement for Maxwell's History of the Irish Rebellion appeared in the November 18, 1843 issue of the Illustrated London News: the work thus both figuratively and literally made its entry into the network of new discursive forms in the late 1830's and

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4 Thomas Carlyle, "Reminiscences of My Irish Journey in 1849," The English Traveller in Ireland, ed. John P. Harrington (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1991) 255-263. Graham Davis makes mention of Carlyle's "hysterical descriptions of the Irish in Britain" (169). Davis cites Carlyle's famous statement of 1839: "The time has come when the Irish population must be improved a little or exterminated" (10).

5 Illustrated London News, 18 Nov.1843: 324.
early 1840's, which included weekly illustrated publications which were geared to middle-class readerships.6

In fact, Maxwell's History of the Irish Rebellion was only one of several literary productions in the advertisement columns of this publication which took up the subject of Ireland at this time. Indeed, shortly after the announcement of Maxwell's upcoming work the Illustrated London News announced the publication of titles as diverse as Ireland Before and After the Union with Great Britain and A Visit to the Wild West, the latter characterized as "an English traveller's sketch of the Emerald Isle", suggesting that the "wild west" designation posits the Irish "frontier" in opposition to an English civilizing centre,7 a theme we shall see elucidated through Cruikshank's images in Maxwell's work. Concurrently, the Spectator, a progressive, reform-minded London newspaper founded in the 1820's,8 published advertisements and reviews of several travel accounts and volumes of history on the subject of Ireland.9

The Spectator's 1842 review of one recently-published history, Catholic Irishman Richard Robert Madden's The United

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9 See, for example, reviews of "Mr. Grant's Impressions of Ireland and the Irish," Spectator 2 Nov. 1844: 1047-48; "Dr. James Johnson's Tour in Ireland," Spectator 11 May, 1844: 446-7. Advertisements were run for such works as J.G.Kohl's Travels in Ireland (Spectator 20 April 1844:825) and a single-volume history by Robert Montgomery Martin, Ireland Before and Since the Union with Great Britain (Spectator 20 April 1844: 847).
Irishmen, Their Lives and Times, provided its readership with an assessment of an historical narrative representing the same chronology of events that Maxwell would treat almost two years later. Indeed, it would seem that Madden's work provided the catalyst for Maxwell's own version of events, which worked to counter the support Madden gave Catholic Irish interests. Before examining the strategic formulations used in the promotion of Maxwell's literary production in relation to Madden's, it will be useful here to delineate briefly the historical background and salient events to which both the narratives' authors refer.

Historian John O'Beirne Ranelagh has characterized Ireland's position in the period of the late 18th century in terms of an ongoing process of resistance to the economic, political and cultural interventions by the British and their Anglo-Irish allies. As Ranelagh notes, slightly more than a century before the Irish Rebellion, the defeat in Ireland in 1690 of England's Catholic Stuart monarch, James II, by the Protestant William, Prince of Orange, left the Catholic Irish majority under the colonial control of a parliament of Protestant allegiance. Known as the Anglican "Ascendancy", this Anglo-Irish governing body maintained strong political and ecclesiastical links with Britain. In 1695, in order to

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10 "Dr. Madden's United Irishmen," Spectator 2 July 1842: 639.
11 R.R. Madden, M.D. The United Irishmen, Their Lives and Times (London: J. Madden & Co., 1842). There is some speculation that this work actually appeared first in serial form, although I have not been able to find that evidence.
enforce its economic advantage, the Ascendancy instituted a series of severe anti-Catholic laws that, over the period of a century, effectively emasculated or expelled Ireland's Old English (Gaelicized Anglo-Normans) and Gaelic noble families and subjugated the remaining majority Catholic population to economic servitude. A selection of the same laws were applied to the population of Dissenters, that is Ulster Presbyterians, who nonetheless enjoyed sufficient opportunity to prosper economically, if not politically. The English Parliament supplemented those restrictive laws with its own "Poyning's Law", which declared that the Irish parliament could meet only with the English king's permission and legislate only through his council.\textsuperscript{13}

Approximately a century after the entrenchment of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, anti-colonial forces within Ireland organized to overthrow the colonial government in Dublin. The ultimate goal of this denominationally-mixed group was to win representational rights for all Irish, regardless of religious affiliation, and to achieve political and economic independence from England.\textsuperscript{14} As the vast majority of Dublin's Ascendancy parliamentarians, comfortable in their positions of privilege, remained intractable, what followed in 1798 was a massive uprising against British economic and legislative domination. Subsequent to the rebels' defeat by "loyalist" forces in 1799, the Union was enacted in 1800, binding Ireland to England in an ostensible state of national "partnership". Discontent

\textsuperscript{13} Ranelagh, 45.
\textsuperscript{14} Williams and Ramsden give a concise account of the inequities of the Irish political system in the 18th century and the difficulties they posed for a British government in England at a time when it was also contending with American grievances and, ultimately, war. 114-16.
persisted however, and the Union was interrupted briefly in 1801 by the threat of another, but eventually futile, rebel insurrection led by the Irish patriot Robert Emmett, a figure who would be taken up and mythologized by later Irish nationalists.\textsuperscript{15}

Responsibility for the overall planning and organization of the Rebellion of 1798 lay within the ranks of multi-denominational groups within the middle classes for whom economic considerations were the driving force. In the North these factions, originated by Anglican nationalists, had been organized for two decades to agitate for political reform and religious equality under the authority of the Society of United Irishmen.\textsuperscript{16} Encompassing both Northern Irish radical Anglicans, that is, Church of Englanders, and Northern Irish Dissenters -- the non-Anglican Protestant and predominantly Presbyterian sector -- the Society of United Irishmen shared a common interest in winning the franchise for those segments of the middle classes whose substantial economic activity remained unrepresented in Parliament.\textsuperscript{17} In an unusual spirit of religious toleration the Dissenters and radical Anglicans claimed common cause with the prosperous members of the so-called Catholic Committee in centres in the South, who like the Dissenters, were excluded from representation on the basis of religion. Encouraged by parliamentary intransigence to draw inspiration from both the American and French Revolutions,\textsuperscript{15} Ranelagh, 94-5. This passage gives a concise description of Emmett's activity and his subsequent mythologization by Irish nationalists.  
\textsuperscript{16} For specific individuals who were involved in the formation of the Society of United Irishmen see Ranelagh, 82-83.  
\textsuperscript{17} For an account of this period from the perspective of a British historian see Williams and Ramsden, 149-150.
these groups, eventually forced underground, called on French support for their cause.\textsuperscript{18} Indeed, the Revolutionary France did send a small force to Ireland to aid the rebels in the course of the Rebellion, but their effectiveness was limited in terms of organizational efficiency and insufficient numbers.\textsuperscript{19}

Ireland's large populations of peasant farmers, overwhelmingly Catholic, who became involved in the violent conflagration, had their own historic grievances arising from the harsh penal laws which, among other forms of discrimination, excluded them from representation, education, ownership of land, and the bearing of arms.\textsuperscript{20} Popular protest among these constituencies throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century had focused on the legislated payment of tithes to the Established Anglican Church, an oppressive burden upon vast numbers of people barely able to maintain a subsistence lifestyle. Although large numbers of farmers and peasants became actively involved in the Irish Rebellion, the Catholic hierarchy, remembering the fate of the Church during the French Revolution, positioned itself against the outbreak, fully aware of damage to its own security that involvement might cause.

Originally published in serial form almost fifty years after the historical moment, Richard Robert Madden's \textit{United Irishmen. Their Lives and Times}, a three-volume version of the events leading up to and following the Rebellion, was comprised of three parts: a broad history of contact and conflict between

\begin{footnotes}
\item[18] For an account of French involvement in the Irish Rebellion see Randlagh, 82-86.
\item[19] Williams and Ramsden, 149.
\item[20] Ranelagh, 67-86.
\end{footnotes}
the Irish and the English from the 12th century; a history of the origins and the activities of the Society of the United Irishmen and its contemporaries; and a biographical section that focused on individual portraits of the patriot heroes. Unlike Maxwell, whose *History of the Irish Rebellion* emphasized military tactics and acts of violence, Madden devoted only one chapter to the atrocities of war and, framing them as symbolic of the ultimate consequences of parliamentary inaction, shared responsibility for those actions more or less equally between the Catholic and Protestant protagonists.

The *United Irishmen* was greeted with derision in the pages of the *Spectator*. Labelling the work as incompetent and devoid of any literary merits, the newspaper lambasted Madden's work as a "wordy, crude, and purposeless production[s]" in which "facts are few and the arrangement is bad". Finally it claimed Madden's history was biased, marked by hasty and inaccurate research:

...[but] as a whole, his narrative is that of a man whose nature has the recklessness and vehemence of a partisan, and who, not designing partiality, is incapable of taking a large view of complicated events, or deducing from them the philosophical truth they may contain. And sometimes, in his haste to turn a period, he is not particularly accurate about a fact, and generally makes no allowance for circumstances or necessity.

The criticisms levelled at Madden's writing style could be legitimated in an era where the writing of history was, to a significant degree, a literary exercise. However, what seems more likely to have informed the *Spectator*’s critical stance is that it was part of an offensive arsenal designed to deflect

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21 *Spectator*, 2 July 1842, 639-640.
22 *Spectator*, 2 July 1842, 640.
any sympathetic reading of Madden's content. That such a hostile position was taken up by a reform-oriented and liberal newspaper in the contentious moments of the early 1840's appears to be a deliberate subversion of the fact that in this work Madden himself made a case against the Repeal of the Union Movement, instead representing the historic situation of the Irish Rebellion in a light that foregrounded the present necessity for reform. The reviewer may well have been reacting against Madden's attempt to exonerate and to some extent mythologize the main Irish patriot figures of the 1798 Rebellion and his deflecting of the blame for the 1798 catastrophe onto the brutal and dehumanizing treatment of the Irish by successive governments controlled by England. Given the present unstable circumstances in Ireland and England, exacerbated by a Tory government seemingly intent on resisting legislative reform, Madden's interpretation no doubt was seen to have inflammatory potential. But what would have been particularly problematic for a British mid-century audience was the fact that the United Irishmen had been published first in Dublin, New York and Philadelphia, areas known for their support of the Irish cause.\(^\text{23}\)

Keeping in mind that historical representation always serves ideological interests, it is hardly surprising that the Spectator's review of Madden's work was unfavourable. Neither the author's Catholic religious affiliation nor his political sympathies -- that is, as an Irish, rather than British, patriot -- worked to his advantage in the London market in

\(^{23}\) National Union Catalogue, vol.354, 196-197.
which Maxwell's *History of the Irish Rebellion* was to circulate one-and-a-half to two years later. Indeed, given their Jacobin associations, the United Irishmen, whom Madden defended, could hardly inspire favourable press in the volatile climate of the 1840's.

Yet, however unsuccessful its appearance in the London media, the fact that Madden's history had originally appeared in serialized form suggests that it was intended to appeal, like Maxwell's *History of the Irish Rebellion*, to a middle-class audience whose political inclinations were reformist. Supporting this contention was the fact that the Introduction to Madden's work deployed an earnest plea for a reinterpretation of the United Irishmen's motives as originally reformist, rather than radical, in intent.  

Such a rhetorical gesture in the middle-class arena at mid-century would have been read with particular urgency. British middle-class audiences, while solidly against repeal of the Union, were themselves generally in favour of legislative reform -- at least in Britain. However, given the climate of civil unrest, articulated through class and constitutional challenge throughout the United Kingdom in the 1830's and early 1840's, Madden's justification of the actions of his fellow patriots almost fifty years earlier problematized the reception of his work. Indeed, his polemical stance virtually demanded an oppositional response.

Though never explicitly naming Madden, Maxwell claimed, in the preface to his single-volume *History of the Irish Rebellion*, that his own narrative of the events of 1798 was

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24 Madden, preface, vii-xvii; Ranelagh, 45.
intended as a "corrective" to more partisan accounts of the Rebellion. Yet, in representing this history over the course of 477 pages he invested ultimate responsibility for the horrors of the Rebellion in a particular classed subject, the Catholic Irish peasant. Further, he pointed a finger directly at the influence over the peasant mobs of the Irish Catholic Church. Extending an association between Catholicism and the French, Maxwell also raised the spectre of French Revolutionary republicanism. This laid the ground for his representation of the historic enactment of the Union between Ireland and England in 1800 as the result of the persuasive logic of British constitutionalism over threats of republican radicalism and its democratizing aims.

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE AND THE UNCONVENTIONAL FORM

As representation, History relies upon a repertory of conventions that distinguish it from other literary genres. The manipulation of these accepted practices, whether by rupture or by putting them to new and unexpected uses, can have a direct impact on the way in which readers approach and interpret a work. As would be expected, Maxwell, like Madden, employed certain historiographic conventions to legitimate his narrative as history. In relying heavily on footnoted sources and appendices containing period documents and affidavits, both men dignified their positions with a tone of moral authority. However, Maxwell's strategy seems also to have involved a fortification of his narrative in relation to Madden's earlier work by transposing directly into the body of his own text long passages from contesting histories written within a few years
of the 1798 Rebellion. It is through this "collation" of representations that Maxwell seems to attempt to establish his own "strict impartiality". However, while this somewhat contrived approach may be seen to support to some extent Maxwell's claims of "objectivity", his own personal situation within the highly-charged moment belied this claim. As an Anglo-Irish Protestant clergyman publishing in London and lacking financial security without the support of the Church of England, Maxwell's History of the Irish Rebellion was hardly neutral.

When Maxwell's History of the Irish Rebellion did appear on the market two years after Madden's work, it manipulated several marketing and rhetorical strategies to its advantage. While both histories of the Rebellion capitalized on the potential of the new publishing practice of serialization to


26 Maxwell, preface, History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798 (London:George Bell, 1903). Maxwell purports to describe the events of the 1798 Irish rebellion with a strict impartiality, as an antidote to the "partisan" accounts in circulation at the time. Given the highly charged moment, and Maxwell's own implication in it as an Anglo-Irish Protestant publishing in London, one can hardly take his claim at face value. Indeed, as a clergyman himself, he relied on the continuation of the constitutional policy of Protestant Ascendancy both for his legitimacy and his income. One's appreciation of his rhetorical style is enhanced knowing that, a soldier himself in the Peninsular campaigns and at Waterloo, and inculcated with the notions of Empire, Maxwell spent some years afterwards "desultorily, reading, hunting and shooting" -- in other words, unprofitably. The Dictionary of National Biography goes on to say that, disappointed by expectations of inheritance, he "mended his fortunes by marriage and took holy orders". His posting in the wild western county of Connemara hardly disturbed the lifestyle he had so conscientiously cultivated: the area was devoid of congregation "but abounding in game". Maxwell was best known as a sporting and military novelist though he also addressed his interests through other genres -- among his titles were Wild Sports of the West (1832), Life of the Duke of Wellington (1839-41), The Victories of the British Armies (1839), The Dark Lady of Doona (1834), a romance novel, and perhaps semi-autobiographically, Captain O'Sullivan, or Adventures, Civil, Military, and Matrimonial, by a Gentleman on half-pay (1846).
reach a broad audience, the absence of contemporary illustrations in Madden's text limited its potential to circulate among and then engage with a middle-class audience. Illustrated only with maps and a few conventional engraved portraits, Madden's *United Irishmen* lacked an innovative mechanism to activate the work's topical references. On the other hand, while Maxwell's work incorporated the same requisite, that is the formal engraved portraits that had lent authority both to Madden's earlier work and to other "serious" histories, it is precisely the unconventional relationship of these with the visual genre of contemporary "popular" imagery that was provided by George Cruikshank that substantially contributed to the polemical advantage of the *History of the Irish Rebellion*.

Along with six engraved plates after official portrait paintings representing major figures connected with the Rebellion, Cruikshank's twenty-one images are interspersed throughout the Maxwell's text in a sequence that roughly corresponds to Maxwell's narrative chronology. As such, they give visual form to what the *Spectator*, in its brief and moderately favourable review of the first serial part of the *History of the Irish Rebellion*, called Maxwell's "collection of facts". Overall, the review emphasized Maxwell's objectivity and his careful reliance on established authorities.

[a] narrative of the occurrences attending the Irish rebellion of '98, with notices of the prominent members of the Society of United Irishmen; compiled from various authorities, and written in a spirit of fairness, though the author does not disguise his aversion from the treasonable designs of the rebels. It is not a "history" in the full meaning of the term;

but as a collection of facts it is suited to the purpose of a popular publication, addressed -- as GEORGE CRUIKSHANK'S etchings indicate -- to the lovers of circumstantial detail.

While it is important to remember that this notice refers only to the first serial part of Maxwell's History of the Irish Rebellion, it is nonetheless useful to compare the Spectator's assessment of the two works. Each review raised issues of impartiality and the objective treatment of facts and events, and the areas in which Madden was judged to have fallen short in these respects Maxwell's work escaped serious censure.

Aside from these critical differences, the Spectator did, however, tease out a common deficit in the two histories. Neither one exhibited or, in the case of Maxwell, was expected to produce through upcoming installments, what the Spectator apparently considered the "correct" mode of representing an historical period. Madden, the Spectator's reviewer states "[was] incapable of taking a large view of complicated events, or deducing from them the philosophical truth they may contain." On the other hand, Maxwell's History of the Irish Rebellion was seen as "not a history in the full meaning of the term; but as a collection of facts...and circumstantial details".[my italics] Taken together, what these statements inferred was that the "legitimate" writing of history required an "objective" distance from the events described plus an explanatory overview which would give them coherence and contemporary relevance.

This particular notion of history and the forms of writing which satisfied its peculiarities has been addressed by Hayden

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28 There is no evidence of further reviews from this or other contemporary journals or newspapers.
White. Following Stephen C. Pepper, White has argued over two decades ago (Metahistory, 1973) that 19th-century historiography could be theorized to include four formal paradigms to explain a body of facts. One of these, the "organicism" approach, best approximates the Victorian need to see history as teleology and the English middle classes as its ultimate refinement. The organicist theories of truth and argument, according to White, synthesize series of past events into processes governed by "principles" or "ideas" which prefigure "the end to which the process as a whole tends".

It is necessary here to distinguish between the function of Cruikshank's illustrations within the serial context, where what the Spectator saw as careful attention to the detailed illustration of Maxwell's facts would entertain and build suspense, and their function within the single-volume bound work, whose readership would be circumscribed by the higher cost. It would be within this somewhat narrower field and by virtue of a unified format that the full impact of Cruikshank's series would be felt. As I will demonstrate, much of that impact was due to the ability of the visual not only to activate multiple narrative strands, (which it could accomplish in part in the serial form as well) but also to encompass the written text within the philosophical and moralizing frame so central to the Victorian notion of History.

Thus, while Maxwell's text represented a relatively unstructured chronicle of past events in the form of a quasi-military history, it was transformed by Cruikshank's visual

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29 White, 13-17.
30 White, 16.
programme into an ideological argument for the innate superiority of the mid-19th century Victorian middle classes. As will emerge in Chapter IV where I discuss Cruikshank's illustrations, this was accomplished through an approximation of the Hogarthian model of autonomous pictorial narrative. This mode, already familiar to a Victorian public through Hogarth's mid-century popularity, would serve to elevate Cruikshank's work beyond mere illustration of the text. Indeed, it could be argued that Cruikshank's involvement in the work at this particular level relegated the text itself, essentially a graphic chronicle of violent events without a philosophizing dimension, to a secondary role. Furthermore, the particular mode of Cruikshank's participation worked to transform the scenes of violence overwhelmingly represented in both text and image into a commodity that could circulate without censure among the self-consciously correct bourgeois "public".
CHAPTER III
NEW MEDIA FORMS, SERIAL PUBLICATION, AND THE FICTIONS OF THE ILLUSTRATOR

As an illustrated publication first issued in serial parts, Maxwell's *History of the Irish Rebellion* stands as an early Victorian example of both the ruptures to an historical form effected by this unconventional publishing approach and the shifts in meaning enacted upon the historical material in the process. Several factors need to be considered here. First, the collaborative "authorship" of Cruikshank and Maxwell raises questions both about the readership's expectations of the material and the role of illustration in relation to the text, that is, whether it is merely illustrative of the text or central to the construction of its meaning. Second, the particular hybridization of forms which constitutes the work -- an historical narrative illustrated in the traditional manner with formal engraved portraits together with a pictorial programme associated at this time with popular fiction -- needs to be assessed in light of the relatively recent cultural consumer, who bought not only for the intrinsic benefits of the expansion of knowledge but also for entertainment value and affordability. And third, as I will shortly explore, since the potential audience for this product was much broader than that targetted by traditional histories, the impact of the work's message must be addressed. This is relevant to an examination of the rhetorical strategies crafted within the *History of the Irish Rebellion* which, I argue, were aimed particularly towards middle-class readerships which, with much at stake in the
political decisions concerning contemporaneous social issues, substantially formulated their own positions with reference to the various print media of a newly-expanded public sphere.

As will emerge, the conflation of visual and textual forms in the History of the Irish Rebellion promoted a particular construction of a political and racial "other" that drew on a range of social discourses anchored in middle-class notions of civilization and progress. Because of the potentially wide circulation of the work, which was due, in large part, to its representation within an historical genre, it was able to contribute markedly to the formulation of the Irish as cultural inferiors throughout the century.

1. HISTORY, FICTION, AND THE ILLUSTRATED FORMAT

The 19th-century penchant for historical explanations of the present has been raised in the previous chapter. The fact that the works of the great professional 19th-century historians such as Sharon Turner (History of the Anglo-Saxons, 1799)\(^1\) and Thomas Macauley (History of England, 1848)\(^2\) were being voraciously consumed by middle-class audiences well after initial publication\(^3\) attests not only this phenomenon and to the growing democratization of knowledge that characterized the century's second quarter, but also to the popularity of the kind of national focus they traced out.

But textual forms associated with the historical genre were significantly reworked for circulation among the expanded

\(^1\) Banton, 19.
\(^2\) Banton, 24.
sphere of public discourse in the 1830's and 1840's. This examination will situate what I call the "hybridized" form of Maxwell's *History of the Irish Rebellion* among a range of print materials and media directed towards middle-class constituencies looking for engagement on political, philosophical, moral, and entertainment levels.

Expectations of both the history genre and its textual production would have had a significant impact on the middle-class reception of the *History of the Irish Rebellion*. As a history itself, Maxwell's most obvious model was the conventional narrative history in a bound state. In general, the non-fiction historical narrative written in the 1830's and 1840's continued to adhere to conventional publication practices, being produced in single or multiple volumes -- the more specialized in many cases funded by subscription. For the purposes of proving its "impartiality" the genre often relied upon the scholarly apparatus of appendices and footnotes, bolstering the "authenticity" of its interpretation of past events through the accumulation of documentary evidence (first-hand accounts and affidavits) from original sources. Though not a standardized practice, visual programmes were sometimes incorporated, however these usually consisted of a small number of maps and official engraved portraits and the occasional allegorical image. Setting a much earlier, and only partial precedent for the publishers' approach to Maxwell's *History of*

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4 See Hayden White. Also see Lionel Gossman's discussion of 19th-century liberal historiography in "Augustin Thierry and Liberal Historiography".

the Irish Rebellion, a "popular" two-volume history of England published in 1807 by Dr. Goldsmith and Mr. Morell entitled The History of England\(^6\) contained a mixture of engraved portraits plus a more "imaginative" visual programme—a series of rather stiff full-page heroic battle or diplomatic scenes.

The fact that the Irish Rebellion, as a joint publication by Maxwell and Cruikshank, operated within the realm of history was in itself of central significance to its currency in relation to contemporary events. The Victorians' well-developed sense of the teleological progress of "man" endowed the past with social and moral value for the present.\(^7\) Here, the ultimate argument of Maxwell's text that the majority Catholic population should continue to be excluded from parliamentary representation required the authority of history to promote its claims.

Although for the purposes of formal generic categorization Maxwell's History of the Irish Rebellion does not fall within the realm of fiction per se, I want to claim that, by virtue of Cruikshank's pictorial programme, the strict parameters usually applied within a fiction/non fiction or history/non history dichotomy were undermined in a situation which exploited the possibilities of each and played one off against the other. Indeed, a tenuous balance was struck between the authority of Maxwell's authenticating strategies—such as footnotes and appendices—and Cruikshank's well-known association with

\(^6\) Dr. Goldsmith and Mr. Morell, The History of England (Bungay, 1807).

fictional genres. However, in this sense of strict categorization, and in terms of the texts' thematic interests, it is useful to recognize some of the commonalities between the two literary phenomena. For example, it has been argued that the popularity of Sir Walter Scott's historical fiction, represented by his *Waverley Novels* which had been published in the first two decades of the century and which were re-issued throughout the Victorian era, was due in part to Scott's development of a descriptive realism that not only activated the past, but gave it a contemporary presence. In addition, Scott's themes, set in the historical past of England, Scotland and France, served to familiarize his reading public with the theories of racial conflict that were also current in historians' own representations of the past. For example, the Norman/Saxon antagonisms, exploited and central to *Ivanhoe*, first issued in 1820, crossed the boundaries of fiction and history to such an extent that French historian Augustin Thierry based his own writings concerning the evolution of European nations on Scott's representation of what Thierry called "two peoples locked in conflict".

While these narratives had a profound resonance in terms of a mid-19th century public's own perceptions of the forces that guided the past and the present, other theories have been put forth to account for Scott's unprecedented popularity. Thus, literary historian J.R. Harvey has argued that Scott's

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9 Sanders, 11.
renewed popularity had as much to do with the adoption of an illustrated and serialized format as the enduring relevance of his thematic material.\textsuperscript{11} This, of course has special pertinence for understanding the reception of the Maxwell/Cruikshank production and its circulation in a field of political debate in the 1840's.

2. CRUIKSHANK, FICTION, AND THE ILLUSTRATION

Cruikshank's currency in the 1830's and 1840's was certainly in part due to his association with historical fiction. For example, although he had not been hired to provide the dramatic images for Scott's work, he had contributed the comic illustrations to a series of Scott's most popular novels published in 1836-38.\textsuperscript{12} What is more important to note here is that, in general terms, the illustration of these and other originally image-less narratives by various illustrators enormously enhanced their attraction for a new middle-class audience which bought for entertainment as well as philosophical instruction -- resulting in a healthy circulation of a range of "popular" editions of classic works.

As I have intimated, the \textit{History of the Irish Rebellion} could also have been read in terms of Cruikshank's pictorial work for earlier popular publications that took up a new form in the late 1830's. This innovation was the monthly serialization of illustrated fiction (as opposed to non-fiction, including "serious" history), initiated by Charles

\textsuperscript{11} J.R. Harvey, 8.

Dickens' *The Pickwick Papers* in 1836-7. As Harvey argues, soon after its appearance illustrated serialization became the most popular vehicle for the circulation of newly-written, as opposed to reprinted, works of the genre. The serial form had certain advantages for the reader with which the traditional three-volume novel form could not effectively compete: low-cost, visual entertainment, and the production of suspense, effectively built into the form through the sequencing of parts.  

For less affluent, and perhaps less-educated readerships, the illustration of each installment would have been crucial to an ongoing engagement with the material. For the publishers, too, it meant "high circulation, spreading and elasticity of costs and payments from advertisers" — whose enthusiasm would be spurred by the successful circulation of earlier installments — and "independence from lending libraries", where readers unable to afford to buy the more expensive conventional forms had had borrowing access to fiction.  

The serial format provided ideal conditions for the illustrator to construct and assert his relationship relative to the written text. This relationship was, at the very least, one of equality if not privilege, since the Victorian viewer, accustomed to prints and comic serials — "picture book[s] issued in parts with just enough letterpress to give continuity  

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14 Harvey, 12.
to the entertaining illustrations"\(^{15}\) — relied heavily on the visual to explicate the text. In fact, as Ronald Paulson has suggested, if the illustrator's reputation was based on the independent satirical plate, the relationship between illustrator and author could be read as "emblematic" rather than illustrative — that is, rather than working as a literal description of the text, the illustration would be read as the artist's independent imaginative vision of the same events described by the author through, in turn, his own particular artistic vision. In this respect, much of the reader's engagement with the material relied on the perception that two independently respected artists were playing against one another — a situation Paulson claims was present in the Dickens/Cruikshank partnership.\(^{16}\)

The visual and illustrative in published material could work in several ways. As Gerard Curtis' analysis of Dicken's success in the Victorian book market suggests, Dickens' own popularity was due, primarily, to the pictorial quality of his writing.\(^{17}\) The Victorians' popular belief in the social value of physiognomic and phrenological analysis, for example, was associated with their passion for scientific observation and for the taxonomical classification of the material world. Thus the visual asserted a "reassuring epistemological realism" that was able to provide an ordering structure for everyday

experience. Cruikshank's illustrations for one of Dicken's works, *Oliver Twist*, [fig.2] supplied the visual counterpart to Dickens' lively and detailed verbal caricature, satisfying the appetite for both closely-observed empirical description and humorous entertainment.

It is significant to the understanding of the interrelating role that the verbal and visual played at the moment under study that a debate initiated by Cruikshank's retrospective claim to an authorial role in the conception of *Oliver Twist* is not lightly dismissed even today. Cruikshank's collaboration with the immensely popular Dickens on this work was first serialized in 1837-38 in *Bentley's Miscellany* -- a periodical geared towards literary entertainment, and a publication for which Cruikshank was resident artist from 1837 to 1841. The novel was afterwards published in the three-volume form traditional for conventional unillustrated novels. Cruikshank's etched vignettes elicited a revealing comment from the *London Review* a few years later in an 1847 retrospective analysis of Cruikshank's work. The journal's reviewer noted: "we do not wish to undervalue Dickens, but we seriously must say, that the illustrations have very materially contributed to make him popular." 22

While the comment cited above postdates the *History of the Irish Rebellion* by two years, it does give a fair indication of

18 Curtis, 213-226.
22 Buchanan-Brown, 40.
Cruikshank's popular status in relation to even the most celebrated novelist of the day, while at the same time underlining the degree of importance assigned the visual medium in relation to the written word. Direct evidence of the importance of the visual in the marketing of literary productions of the time is documented by J.R. Harvey when he quotes publishers and writers of the day describing the popular appeal that illustrations owed to the tradition of print shops, still active in the 1830's. The novelist W.M. Thackeray's description of the activity played out around the print shop characterizes this site within the context of London's rough, popular street entertainments. For his part, Victorian publisher Henry Vizetelly conjured up the excitement with which window displays of the illustrations to serialized novels. Concerning Dickens' *Pickwick Papers*, the first of the new illustrated serialized works of fiction displayed at a Victorian variation on the print shop -- the bookseller -- he noted:

"Pickwick" was then appearing in its green monthly numbers, and no sooner was a new number published than needy admirers flattened their noses against the bookseller's windows, eager to secure a good look at the etchings, and peruse every line of the letterpress that might be exposed to view, frequently reading it aloud to applauding bystanders.  

The popularity of this display practice as a preview of each serial installment has importance for the *History of the Irish Rebellion*. It suggests the degree to which the reader of Maxwell's historical text, serialized and illustrated, would have relied on the visual to create an important extra-

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23 Harvey, 10.
interpretive dimension to the written text and the degree to which intertextual play among both genres and forms was crucial to the contemporary relevance of the work. Furthermore, the prevalence of this social practice emphasizes that Cruikshank's images would have functionned at some significant level as popular entertainment, while at the same time operating through the more circumscribed field of serious history.

3. THE Role OF THE ARTIST/ILLUSTRATOR

The status of Cruikshank's name would have served as a strategic advantage in the serial marketing of the History of the Irish Rebellion. His participation as pictorial "guide" to a written description of a violent historical moment -- itself highly graphic -- would elicit certain expectations relating to his earlier career as a graphic satirist and his contemporary career as an illustrator of fiction. The authority with which Cruikshank was often attributed in the 19th century -- and which would colour contemporary expectations of his work -- lay in large part in a comparison with William Hogarth that had first been drawn in 1823. As David Kunzle has noted in his essay on Cruikshank entitled "Mr. Lambkin: Cruikshank's Strike for Independence", given the booming reputation of Hogarth's style of satire in the twenties, through the thirties, and into the forties, and which was promoted by the noted critics Lamb and Hazlitt, any construction of Cruikshank's artistic affinity with his predecessor could only enhance his popularity among
the Victorian bourgeoisie.²⁴ What was crucial to this association between the artists were two elements. First, a particular brand of social satire infused with "moral dignity", that is, a moralizing judgment on contemporary events or values based on bourgeois notions of propriety and depending on the deployment of a range of generic characters, served to underline affinities between Hogarth and Cruikshank. This, in turn, distinguished Cruikshank's later production from the coarse and partisan wit of his own early political satire in the tradition of Gillray, a form which relied on grotesque caricature to lampoon contemporary public figures.²⁵ The second crucial element linking the two was the autonomy each gave the pictorial narrative. In spite of the reputed authority of his pictorial style, the vignette format to which Cruikshank had been relegated in Oliver Twist visually integrated the image and text. However, what was required and, in part, stimulated by the currency of Hogarthian standards was scale and independence -- something the broadsheet caricature of Cruikshank's early career had allowed him but which later market circumstances, that privileged small-scale illustrations, had forced him to abandon.

Another relationship, in addition to that with Dickens, that would impact significantly upon the reception of the History of the Irish Rebellion was Cruikshank's association in the late thirties and early forties with W. Harrison Ainsworth, author and temporary editor of Bentley's Miscellany before

²⁴ See David Kunzle, "Cruikshank's Strike for Independence," Cruikshank, ed. Patten, 175-176, for an itemized account of the consumption of Hogarth's works through editions of his original plates and his acquisition by the National Gallery, etc. into the 1840's.
²⁵ Kunzle, 169-178, 175.
undertaking his own journal, *Ainsworth's Magazine*. Ainsworth's serialized comic adventures of *Jack Sheppard* appearing in 1839 enjoyed a phenomenal success due mainly to Cruikshank's square etched plates, a format that represented a step closer to artistic autonomy than the etched vignettes provided for *Oliver Twist* had allowed. In addition, Ainsworth and Cruikshank collaborated on a number of serialized historical romances among which the square plates for the *Tower of London* (1840) [fig. 3]27, *The Miser's Daughter* (1842) and *Windsor Castle* (1843) represent Cruikshank's abandonment of his celebrated caricature to attempt a naturalism with "the epic quality of grand historical painting". It was from 1840 that the artist's production appears to have been moving towards the language of "Fine Art", the visible evidence of which lies not only in his sombre subject matter but also in his finely detailed rendering and careful attention to the effects of light.29 This shift away from comic illustration is compatible with Cruikshank's declared aspirations to practise history painting30 which, as I will ultimately argue, is of consequence to the reading of his etchings in Maxwell's *History of the Irish Rebellion*.

Certainly, Cruikshank's stated concern with "serious" forms was one way of setting himself apart from the new magazine of humorous illustrated journalism which played a

26 See twelve of those etched vignettes in Buchanan-Brown, plates 103-114.
central role in representing the political debates of the day. The most successful of these was the weekly *Punch*, the first number of which appeared in July of 1841.\(^{31}\) *Punch*’s readership extended from the middle classes to members of the aristocracy, including the Queen and the Prince Consort and, presumably, the members of Parliament who were lampooned therein.\(^{32}\) Cruikshank would have been a logical participant in such a venture, based most obviously on his former practice as a high-profile political satirist during George IV’s regency.\(^{33}\) Both the scale and autonomy that this medium allowed its visual artists would have worked in Cruikshank’s favour. However, it has been speculated that his refusal to participate in the publication sprung from an acquired distaste for partisan political subjects.\(^{34}\) In any case, this kind of practice would have distanced him from the Hogarthian model — "simple, decent, and unpolitical satire", as David Kunzle has characterized it\(^{35}\) — which sensitized itself to bourgeois notions of respectability. Nonetheless, as I will also contend, Cruikshank’s earlier association with the language of satire could not be fully eradicated — indeed, satire could bring its own impact to bear on the History of the Irish Rebellion.

Newly-developing technologies in the 1830’s and 1840’s made other significant forms possible. One of these, which

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\(^{32}\) Fox, 239.

\(^{33}\) For a thorough description of Cruikshank’s production during these years see Robert L. Patten’s authoritative work *George Cruikshank’s Life, Times, and Art*, vol.1 (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1992) passim. Volume 2, which covers the years most pertinent to this thesis (after 1835), was not yet available at the time of writing.

\(^{34}\) See Patten, *George Cruikshank’s Life*, 343–34; Buchanan-Brown, 17; Wynn Jones, 82–82.

\(^{35}\) Kunzle, 175.
would directly mediate the reading of the Maxwell/Cruikshank collaboration, was the new illustrated weekly newspaper. Because of its wide circulation among the middle classes and, due to advertising revenue, its editorial freedom from government or partisan lines, it was of decisive importance in the ongoing formulations and dissemination of opinion in the public sphere.\textsuperscript{36} Because of its own high circulation numbers, the \textit{Illustrated London News} is perhaps the best example of this new illustrated medium. Started in 1842, two years before the initial publication of the \textit{History of the Irish Rebellion}, the \textit{Illustrated London News} capitalized on Victorian specularity by privileging illustration in their representation of the news.\textsuperscript{37}

Both the \textit{Illustrated London News} and its closest competitor in the 1840's, the \textit{Pictorial Times}, established themselves in opposition to the illustrated broadsheet of sensational contemporary crime which preceded them. The new illustrated papers identified themselves in more dignified terms -- as repositories of contemporary "history":\textsuperscript{38} as the \textit{Pictorial Times} characterized it, "...news for the moment, and history for the future".\textsuperscript{39} While the popularity of these weeklies was established through their generous use of illustrations; respectability was built, in large part, upon the purported journalistic veracity of the visual reportage -- although in the case of the immensely popular \textit{Illustrated London News} it also depended upon the decorum of its subject

\\textsuperscript{36} See Celina Fox's chapter "The Illustration of the News 1840-1850," for an study of the emergent form, 266-313.
\textsuperscript{37} Fox, 269-271,277.
\textsuperscript{38} Preface, \textit{Illustrated London News}, 6 July 1844.
\textsuperscript{39} Fox, 285.
The implications of this new form for the reading of Cruikshank's work in the *History of the Irish Rebellion* rests in part on the Victorian notion that truthfulness was to be discovered through the kind of detailed and "scientific" observation of the objective world that the newspaper images claimed to provide and that, in turn, the everyday "reality" of the objective world contained the symbolic power of history. The wide dissemination of these relatively high-quality printed images complexified the reading of all illustrated texts in the early 1840's. In this sense, while relying on the "factual" association with news reportage to achieve the effects of historical documentation, Cruikshank conflated the forms of journalism and history painting.

Cruikshank's steel-plate etchings capitalized on the potential readings of both engraved and etched forms, playing one off against the other: etching, in relation to engraving, was associated with with immediacy -- implying veracity (the absence of artifice) -- and with artistic individuality, the spontaneous mark-making of the artist. This tension is employed to documentary effect without effacing Cruikshank's authorial role in the *History of the Irish Rebellion*: there as I will explore in more detail shortly, formal engraved portraits by artists of the earlier period appear interspersed throughout Maxwell's text among Cruikshank's twenty-one signed plates. This arrangement set up a contrast through which Cruikshank's images might be read both in terms of action and immediacy and, at the same time, as historical tableaux in the manner of history painting.

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40 Fox, 281.
What I am suggesting here is that Cruikshank's highly-detailed and richly-worked plates in the History of the Irish Rebellion had the potential to be read as truthful visual documentation in the sense that the spirit and didactic power thought to be implicit in the historic moment was realized. In addition, it would also have been through an appreciation of Cruikshank's technical virtuosity -- by a predominantly bourgeois interpretive audience -- that the violence portrayed would have been mediated, thus allowing for bourgeois notions of respectability to remain intact in the process of consumption of visual brutality.

The aim of the foregoing analysis has been to suggest the complexity of the interpretive practices which would have been brought to the reading of the History of the Irish Rebellion. Both conventional forms and the innovative variations made possible by new legislation, new technologies, and new marketing strategies gave shape to an expanded and diversified field of discursive practices within which the formulation and circulation of public opinion took place. Representations, both written and visual, could exploit the new rhetorical powers these media changes wrought. By virtue of these changes William Maxwell's polemic against the Catholic Irish "lower orders" could hope to reach large numbers of readers usually excluded by "serious" history -- readers belonging to the emergent levels of the continually-expanding bourgeois class. I have argued that, as an illustrator of some reputation, Cruikshank's participation was central to the popularity of this representation.
I am also claiming that, because of the Victorian privileging of history, Maxwell's text would be taken to have an innate interpretive value for the present. In the guise of history -- and particularly in the History of the Irish Rebellion's completed one-volume form -- what was overwhelmingly a record of past violent events was endowed with an air of instructive respectability, one that, in turn, could open up a space for its circulation among the self-consciously correct bourgeois "public".

The mechanism that allowed Maxwell and Cruikshank's joint project to reach a still broader public was serialized publication, a form usually associated with fiction. Serialization allowed for the History of the Irish Rebellion to circulate at a lower cost and to operate on the level of popular entertainment; in this realm, its graphic description of violence was undoubtedly a titillating selling point. By virtue of its monthly issue, the publishers were able to exploit the suspenseful anticipation built up through each consecutive part.41 For these less affluent, and perhaps less-educated, readerships the illustration of each installment would have been crucial to their ongoing engagement with the material, as Vizetelly's description of the bookseller's windows has suggested.

It is necessary, however, to distinguish between the function of Cruikshank's illustrations within this context and within the single-volume bound work, whose readership would be circumscribed by the higher cost. It would be within this

41 See Patten, "Serialized Retrospection in the Pickwick Papers," Victorian Novels in Serial, ed. Vann, 123-142; also Harvey, 6-18.
somewhat narrower field and by virtue of a unified format that the full impact of Cruikshank's series would be felt. What I am claiming is that much of that impact was due to the ability of the visual not only to activate multiple narrative strands (most of which it could accomplish in the serial form as well) but also to encompass the written text within the philosophical and moralizing frame so central to the Victorian notion of history. As my description and analysis of the individual images will show, Cruikshank's approach to the illustration of the *History of the Irish Rebellion* moved the visual significantly beyond the role of mere adjunct to the text.
CHAPTER IV
THE VISUAL INTERVENTION: THE SOCIAL AND SYMBOLIC SPACES OF CITIZENSHIP

Cruikshank's illustrations in Maxwell's History of the Irish Rebellion\(^1\) concentrate on a world out of control, where constitutional notions of law and order are disrupted in images of savagery, insurrection and social backwardness. Overall, this emblematic chaos is reassuringly contained within the formal equilibrium of the picture plane, a didactic of bourgeois values implicit through philosophical and aesthetic codes in the images, and the interspersal of moral exemplars within the total production as an authoritative counterpoint to the predominant focus on the abandonment of the norms of good citizenship. The conventional steel-engraved portraits by artists other than Cruikshank which appear at various points in the text perform a further stabilizing function: as I have suggested in Chapter III,\(^2\) the medium used to represent the officers of the state itself conveys a notion of permanence. In relation to Cruikshank's etchings, a medium that, in comparison, could be associated with spontaneity and artistic licence, the portraits speak of the stability of the constitution in the face of serious, but transient, disruptions.\(^3\)

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1 The page numbers referring to Maxwell's History of the Irish Rebellion will correspond to those of the 1903 edition (London: George Bell).
2 See Chapter III above, "New Media Forms, Serial Publication and the Fictions of the Illustrator."
3 The one among the six engravings in the work to which this metaphorical explanation would not apply is the portrait of Robert Emmett, the rebel leader.
Indeed, to set the ideological parameters of the work Maxwell's first edition's frontispiece displayed an engraving of a full-length baroque portrait of the Marquis Cornwallis, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1798 [fig.4]. The engraving represents Cornwallis decked out in full regalia, his figure reading as the authority of the Anglicized British state and constitution: as statesman, his finger resting on a document identified by a British medallion, and as military leader, referenced by the sheathed sword, he occupies a combined indoor/outdoor space which refers to the impact of his legislative authority across the scope of "the land." In addition, he proudly bears the insignia of the Order of the Garter, the oldest and most elite order of chivalry in Britain, emblem of the historical continuity of British values. Surrounded by elements of classical architecture, he personifies the power, rationality, and order of the British body politic.5

Unlike Madden's personalized portraits of the Irish patriot heroes, Cornwallis here represents both an individualized body and the body of the state. Indeed, through the juxtaposition of such official portraits with Cruikshank's images, Maxwell's History of the Irish Revolution, both textually and visually, mediated notions of the personal or private by concentrating on the social body as a whole. Thus, universal heroic "truths" are extrapolated to the public and

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5 The pier table, with its characteristic 18th century hairy animal supports is the only overt reference to Ireland and provides the reference for the landscape beyond.
private spaces of what would be read as the constitutional body, at whose apex, or head, sit the officials who, though distinguished by aristocratic rank, function as agents of the bourgeois state. In this way, the portraits contained in Maxwell's *History of the Irish Rebellion* appeal not only to notions of patriotic duty, but implicitly to the interests of the bourgeois individual. It could be said that they function to reference the progressive commercial benefits of the modern bourgeois state as secured through its parliamentary, juridical and military capacities.⁶

Maxwell's construction of the Irish Rebellion on a number of levels, that is, as a military history, a constitutional challenge, and as an arena for aberrant social behaviour, supports the reading of Cruikshank's images of the military and social bodies as representations within the body politic. With few exceptions Cruikshank's images focus on the savage or uncivilized behaviour of the Irish Celtic peasant, using particular visual codes that would activate the anxieties of the British reading public. Distinctions in class are central to this reading and are represented through the popular "science" of physiognomy.⁷

As has been noted earlier,⁸ commonly-held notions of scientific racism could be traced to the features of the

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⁸ See Chapter I above, "Race, Ethnicity and Theories of Progress and Civilization."
Catholic Irish peasant, creating a moral and intellectual inferior on the level of the much-maligned African races or even relegating the Irish to the ape. One recognizes immediately the exaggerated prognathous features and awkward body in Cruikshank's images, where the Irish male and female are often marked out by emblematic references to the Catholic Church. As in contemporary constructions of the "primitive," the Catholic Irish peasant lacks individualization and is portrayed travelling in mobs guided by animal or herd instincts, as will be shortly demonstrated.

Representations of such physical and behavioural attributes were able, in a mid-19th century context, to activate notions of racial superiority and the inherent moral right of colonial rule. Through their direct inscription on the physical body, these stereotypes became the "natural" marks of distinction between the colonized subject and the colonial ruler, signifying both the "colonials'" lack of eligibility for full participation in the body politic on the basis of essential moral depravity and low intelligence and, as a consequence, their dire need of the civilizing hand of the centre. Since eighty percent of the Irish were Catholic, and only a very small percentage of those were eligible to vote or hold public office on the basis of property holdings,


10 See reference to the work of Laura Ann Stoler in Chapter I above, section: "Race, Ethnicity, and Theories of Progress and Civilization". See also Adas, 208-210.
Cruikshanks's images functionned to reassert the "logic" of exclusionary parliamentary representation. It is important when reading Cruikshank's imagery to ask how a particular middle-class ideology was being served through his representations of violence, keeping in mind that the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, while enfranchising the Catholic middle classes, disenfranchised an entire sector of small, mainly Catholic, landowning farmers who had been qualified through earlier legislation.11

As will emerge upon examination of the individual images, regardless of religious affiliation, members of the "upper orders" are represented otherwise. For example, physiognomic difference is effaced when representation enters the realm of a universal code governing gentlemanly attributes and conduct. In these cases, full membership in the body politic is determined by access to education, private property, and military expertise -- a melding of private responsibilities and public duties, both marked by "rational" signs.12 Membership in the gentlemanly elite erases racial referents, suggesting a symbolic bonding that can cross religious lines. The "aberrant" religion is coded only by a slight slippage in norms of dress and personal bearing; the Protestant Irish subject is coded similarly when he transgresses the boundaries of "good citizenship."

Cruikshank's twenty-one illustrations, then, work their subjects through a range of social and symbolic spaces which, for the purposes of this analysis, can be defined in relation

11 Ranelagh, 98.
12 Habermas, passim.
to the practices of bourgeois citizenship. Thus, rather than investigate the images individually in terms of the sequence in which they appear in the text, they are divided here into three categories: the private domestic, the commercial, and the public and institutional. The first category addresses the way in which the private sphere of the family and the individual articulates the patriarchal values essential to bourgeois citizenship and the nation state. The second category, the commercial, encompasses those shared spaces that service the citizen's individual or corporate commercial interests by providing sites of extra-domestic sociability. In so doing, they ultimately serve the health of the nation, which in turn ensures their accessibility. The category of the public and institutional explores the ways in which public rather than private individuals and the apparatuses of the state are invested with the authority to regulate, protect and reinforce the interests of the citizen. By analysing the images in terms of these divisions, we can see how Cruikshank, following Maxwell's textual lead, devised a rhetorical strategy based primarily on class for figuring Ireland as Britain's internal colony, incapable of ruling itself except through the surrogate and civilizing hand of the Anglo-Irish bourgeoisie and "upper classes" through the British parliamentary system.

In the bound version of Maxwell's *History of the Irish Rebellion*, first published in 1845, the images punctuate the text at regular intervals. Their sequence follows

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13 Habermas, passim.
chronologically the most brutal events in the narrative. Significantly, these representations start with the arrest of one of the most mythologized of the organizers before the rebellion became full-blown: the "Arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald" [fig.5],\(^{15}\) and end with the plans for a final insurrectionary action: "Emmett Preparing for the Insurrection" [fig.6],\(^{16}\) a bracketing that leaves the visual narrative open-ended and ready for reactivation in the present day. This strategy can be read as a signal to the reader-viewer that the two conspirators whose birth, honour and gentlemanly conduct are described in the text of Maxwell's account, in fact abrogate their membership rights to the ruling elite on the basis of misplaced allegiance and poor judgement. In a sense their placement as metaphorical bookends to what is represented as a bloody and violent narrative of uprising assists Maxwell in subverting the attempt by the history that appeared three years earlier than his own book, Madden's *United Irishmen* of 1842,\(^{17}\) to garner popular sympathy for the United Irishmen's utopian cause.

1. THE SPACES OF PRIVATE DOMESTICITY AND THE STRUCTURES OF PUBLIC CITIZENSHIP

If, as Lynn Nead argues,\(^{18}\) the private domestic realm represented for the Victorian middle-class viewer the symbolic site of national stability, it follows that any deviation from

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\(^{15}\) Maxwell, facing 48.
\(^{16}\) Maxwell, facing 416.
\(^{17}\) R.R. Madden, M.D. *The United Irishmen. Their Lives and Times* (London: J. Madden & Co., 1842). See the discussion of Madden's history in relation to that of Maxwell in Ch. II above.
its ordered permanence would be read as a danger to the body politic. More precisely, it was in the private space of the nuclear family that the collective national morality was instilled in the future citizen. Among Cruikshank’s illustrations there are four which, I argue, challenge the conventions of normative behaviour within the private domestic space and another which can be read as their corrective moral exemplar. Although they appear in no schematic order other than to illustrate Maxwell’s chronological arrangement, I argue that these images provide what could be termed a paradigmatic structure that controls the reading of the images and written text alike.

The first, "The Arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald" [fig.5], represents the apprehension at the beginning of the insurrection of one of its main patriot leaders by agents of the British crown. Lord Edward, a Protestant Irish nobleman, had been one of the founding members of the United Irishmen, the body of mixed religious affiliation which sought to overthrow the corrupt Irish government before Union. Here the bedchamber, as a site of private domestic intimacy, is, out of what Maxwell calls "patriotic necessity," violated by the aggressive intrusion of the British State. Conventionally coded as the feminine domain, in this case constructed by means of the female portrait and the soft, dishevelled linens and draperies of the bed along with Lord Edward's casual state of semi-dress, the bedchamber functions as a symbolic space of emasculation. Defined in opposition to the abstract notions associated with the public realm, the private usually signifies a place of sanctuary: here, in the case of the soldier-citizen,
it becomes inverted to a site of cowardly refuge. Lord Edward makes a less than heroic figure, frontally exposed and unbalanced, "publicly" discovered in a state of semi-undress, causing the contamination of the sacrosant domestic sphere.

The desecration of the domestic and private also appear in two interior scenes of violent and debauched behaviour, defining the Irish Celt as violator of private property, alien to the notions of learning and culture, and subject to uncontrolled appetites of animalistic proportions. In "Rebels Destroying a House and Furniture" [fig.7]¹⁹ and "Carousal and Plunder at the Palace of the Bishop of Ferns" [fig.8]²⁰ unruly crowds are seen to be invading the bastions of the private individual and senselessly violating the constitutionally entrenched right of private ownership. The former scene is coded as an attack not only on class (through attributes of learning and leisure) but on state -- the falling Bible, reference to the Established church, and on empire -- the overturned globe. The raucous pounding on the piano, the ripping of paintings, and the destruction of walls, floor and furniture blatantly denote disdain for and alienation from cultivated practices and notions of respectability. The ubiquitous bottle figures prominently, triggering reference to the stereotype of the drunken Irish "Paddy" in a time of widespread temperance campaigning in England, Scotland and Wales.²¹

¹⁹ Maxwell, facing 384.
²⁰ Maxwell, facing 82.
²¹ See Davis, 52, 111-12. The Irish presence among railway navvies gave this labouring group a particularly bad reputation which, in turn, contributed to the negative stereotype of the "Paddy."
It can be argued that "Carousal and Plunder at the Palace of the Bishop of Ferns" would have called up references to one of William Hogarth's Election paintings, specifically "An Election Entertainment" [fig.9], painted in 1874-5. That work signified the corruption of the electoral system, which allowed candidates to bribe voters through various "entertainments." Cruikshank's image might be read to represent the corruptibility of the Irish Celt and, therefore his logical exemption from the electoral process. Added to this, images of gluttony would have had a disturbing and ambiguous resonance for a British audience aware of the acute poverty experienced by so many of her own unemployed and poor working classes.

The moral reprehensibility of these combined acts of violation is counterbalanced by the Protestant loyalist example, "The Reverend Mr. McGhee's House successfully defended against the rebels" [fig.10]. The self-indulgent and disinterested Catholic priest, who exerts no control over his marauding constituents in "Carousal and Plunder at the Palace of the Bishop of Ferns" is replaced here by the perfect example of Protestant order and propriety in the act of defending the sanctity of the domestic sphere, heart of the bourgeois order. Where the former image is constructed as a disorderly melange of shabby and, in some cases, half-dressed Celtic bodies, the Reverend Mr. McGhee and associates are addressed through a visual vocabulary of neo-clasical order.

The Anglo-Irish men, neatly dressed, are ranged in an ascending diagonal of complementary poses, forming a liminal membrane between the public and the private spheres. The

22 Maxwell, facing 175.
female figure, never deviating from her prescribed domestic role, kneels inward at the fireplace, symbol of hearth and home, attending to a cauldron on the flames: in this case she melts the family silver for bullets, metaphorically transforming the act of female deviancy -- that is, stealing -- in the former image of the rebel gathering to a defense of the principles of the home and the nation. Cruikshank infuses this frieze-like scene with rational associations of the enlightenment aesthetic, balancing within one social space the gendered roles appropriate to middle-class notions of social stability.

In contrast, the extraordinary nature and quantity of violence inflicted by the Catholic rebels on the Protestant body in many of these images must be read as a powerful reinforcement of the worst of the stereotypes circulating about the Irish and British "lower classes." Inspite of his high-toned Preface, in which he stakes out his claims to objectivity, Maxwell engages in a strategy that sensationalizes the dangers of the extension of parliamentary representation rather than appealing to notions of conciliation and fair reform. Cruikshank is full party to this position, symbolically investing violence to the physical body with a current threat to the body politic. Although the written text occasionally makes a verbal gesture of conciliation by finding exceptions to the Catholics' brutality and briefly documenting Protestant atrocities, Cruikshank makes no such exceptions, thereby effectively closing down the possibility of dialogue.

Two cases particularly brutalize the Irish, classifying them in terms of social evolutionism on a level that the so-
called "savage" races were understood to occupy. The first, the "Murder of George Crawford and his Granddaughter" [fig.11], occurring near the beginning of the narrative after a scene of mass slaughter, purportedly documents the random murder of a former British soldier and yoeman loyalist, his granddaughter and dog. Symbolically it represents the desecration of the institution of family through the violation of the female body. The granddaughter, female and youngest, takes up the rhetorical gesture of protection of the weak and defenseless, here signified by the grandfather and faithful dog.

Like several of Cruikshank's illustrations for Maxwell's work, the "Murder of George Crawford" worked on levels beyond the obvious and literal. Its pictorial allusions could engage a viewer in an exercise of classical erudition, thus opening up a special space for an elite viewing circle, or "interpretive community," referred to earlier. The focus on the young woman constructs an heroic model for Anglo-Irish behaviour through Victorian notions of the sanctity of the family reinforced by visual references that could be drawn to well-known classical

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23 Curtis, *Apes and Angels*, passim. For 19th century approaches to a so-called hierarchy of races see, Banton, passim. The equation between the Irish and races understood to be less developed on a hierarchical scale continued through the 19th century. See for example, "The Wild Irish in the West," *Punch*, 19 May 1860: 200, where the Irish are compared to the 'savage' North American Indian; and "The Missing Link," *Punch*, 18 Oct. 1862: 165, where the Irish are linked to Black Africans. These articles and their significance to *Punch* in the mid 19th century are currently being explored by Jennifer Hanson, Department of Fine Arts, University of British Columbia, in a forthcoming M.A. thesis. I am indebted to her for sharing her findings with me.

24 Maxwell, facing 66.

25 The dog's own instincts for loyalty and protection of his master/mistress are here elevated well beyond the animalistic instincts of the "savage" Irishmen, thereby reinforcing the hierarchies, already mentioned, that equate certain ethnic or racial groups with species of animals.
groups such as Poussin's 17th-century *Rape of the Sabine Women*, 1636-37 [fig.12], or David's *Intervention of the Sabines*, of 1799 [fig.13]. The sideways extension and outstretched arm of the female figure could also activate references to the antique "Nio bids" group, in which the mother attempts to defend her family from annihilation. This kind of conflation works on levels beyond the metaphorical. It would have at once both validated a "correct" way of seeing the world and legitimized Cruikshank's sketchy, eye-witness language as an expression of events that are innately of historical importance.

Another act of violence to the body of an individual would have suggested associations of heroic action during patriotic battle. Maxwell plucks the story of the "The Loyal Little Drummer" [fig.14] from an earlier history for inclusion as a footnote. Cruikshank in turn inflates the brief anecdotal reference in Maxwell's footnote for its symbolic value: here the brutal act is enacted directly onto the heroic little body in Loyalist uniform while the royal insignia of George III, emblem of the British constitutional monarchy, is highlighted front and centre on the drum face. Cruikshank here enters the ranks of the many artists who reworked the myth that emerged out of the cult of young heroes in the French Revolution, best known perhaps through the notoriety of the killing of the patriot French drummer Barra, who was, as a range of textual and visual popular representation repeated, murdered by rebellious peasants wielding scythes and staves.  

26 Maxwell, facing 115.  
27 Maxwell, 115.  
28 Ironically, Bara was defending the Revolutionary state and represented French Republican forces. He was attacked by rebel peasants of the Vendée fighting for the Catholic church and the King. While Maxwell in his *History*
2. THE PUBLIC AND COMMERCIAL SPACES OF THE NATION

The action evoked in the two illustrations discussed above can be demonstrated to take place in the context of the public commercial spaces of the nation. The first, enacted on a country road, an artery of transportation, communication and commerce, and the second in a village, the seat of the agricultural peasant community, both point to the violation of the safe conduct of social and commercial activities as ensured by the regulatory powers of the state. It should be remembered that Britain's economic and social instability in the early and mid-1840's would have informed the reading of these images. Middle and upper-class landholders and those with commercial interests as well as city-dwellers concerned with growing slum districts and rising crime rates would logically relate images of roaming bands of the "lower classes" to their own apprehensions focussed around the movements of migrant workers and demonstrations by large crowds of the unemployed.29

If the Irish Rebellion itself was seen as a moment of suspension of reason, order and good government, when social discontent took on grotesque proportions, these brutal and animalistic outbursts could be construed as lurking under the surface in danger of erupting at any moment. Three further images play on the resonance that the French Revolution had in

of the Irish Rebellion was obviously not in sympathy with Revolutionary Republican interests, the image of an enraged Catholic peasantry, killing a youth defending a national government, may have inspired Cruikshank, via textual or visual sources, in the formulation of this image.

England, figuring the worst-case scenario of constitutional challenge, which wrecks the commercial fabric of the nation in the process. These images construct a world in desperate need of regulation, pleading for the firm hand of control before the rumblings of rebellion erupt into the full-scale horrors of revolution.

The majority of Cruikshank's illustrations construct an association between the Irish Rebellion and the French Revolution through a repertoire of signs such as pikes, flags, and facsimiles of the traditional liberty bonnet. For a middle-class readership these objects functioned not as symbols of power and liberation as they might have for radical activists, but as signs of anarchy and civil war.30 "Father Murphy and the Heretic Bullets" [fig.15],31 for example, displays these "insignia" of revolution wielded in support of the Catholic Church's directives. Within this image, the Church is construed as having a manipulative hold on incredulous peasants through the unsophisticated figure of one of its agents, the priest: what emerges is a reinforcement and conflation of the Celtic reputation for pagan superstition and ritualized practices and the Catholic Church's doctrine of miracles, blending the two into a racialized whole in a parody of the rebel "war machine." For the British middle classes seeking to legitimate their own economic and legal position through established channels, the centrality of the priest would be a reminder of the renewed threat to the stability of the nation.

31 Maxwell, facing 180.
in the form of Daniel O'Connell's Catholic Association, the organization that rallied disenfranchised Irish Catholics behind their priests in the hope of change. The primitive military technologies that are attributed to the peasant rebels, specifically their arsenal of pikes and the occasional rifle, deploy the tropes that as Michael Adas has argued in his analysis of 18th and 19th century strategies for ranking "foreign others,"\(^{32}\) suggest a socially backward but dangerous people, unfamiliar with the machinery of civilization. This combination of social naivete and military ineptitude is repeated in another image, "the Battle of Ross" \([\text{fig.16}],^{33}\) in which a rebel soldier "heroically" urges his primitive troops on to certain defeat in the face of a well-armed and disciplined British force.

A preceeding image, "The Rebels executing their Prisoners, on the Bridge at Wexford" \([\text{fig.17}],^{34}\) again calls up French associations directly referenced in the text. It also fixes the represented atrocities in the heart of a commercial town, indicated by the buildings and by the ships' masts behind the action. However, the public space of social and commercial interaction, linking the town in a network with other ports in the nation and empire, here is transformed to trade not in goods but, rather, in human lives. The central scene depicts four Irish rebels impaling a Protestant prisoner with pikes and


\(^{33}\) Maxwell, facing 112.

\(^{34}\) Maxwell, facing 154.
holding him above their heads. The Catholic Church's purported sanction of the atrocities is symbolically figured in the large flag with a cross held by the rebels and marked with the initials MWS, which in Maxwell's text is designated as meaning "Murder Without Sin."35 Female deviancy frames the action right and left: drinking, smoking, dancing, singing, and stealing provide the carnivalesque element in a grotesque juxtaposition with the violent and macabre, figured by the males. This particular representation of femininity would violate all educated notions of appropriate behaviour and transgress the "civilized" regulation of separate spheres.

In relation to the symbolic spaces of commerce an editorial in the Illustrated London News of January 13, 1844 refers directly to the current anxieties that would have been operative for the English viewer of these images. Indeed, it is not without significance that the passage was printed in the same month that the first installment of Maxwell's History of the Irish Rebellion was offered for sale:

We have prayed at the hands of Governments and agitators alike, a silencing of that quick, varying, and uncertain storm of the national soul -- that wild social turbulence ... which have alternately heated and lacerated Ireland's bosom, until speculation flies from them in terror, and commerce gazes upon them with alarm. We would fain have conjured the spirit of calm ... to have lured the gold of our English capitalists to that fine field for its outlay -- for the promotion of a glorious system of agriculture ... for the impetus to trade, for the employment of the people, and the institution of public works; but when we asked for the blessings of such a system agitation scowled down upon us its fury -- when we claimed for Ireland the bread of prosperity her own disturbers presented her with a stone!36

35 Maxwell, 153-4.
As an expression of the frustration of an entrepreneurial middle class at what was perceived to be an unjustifiably stubborn refusal on the part of the Irish to participate in the economic activities that were equated with the health of the nation, the editorial is succinct. The Maxwell/Cruikshank project provides a logical explanation for this intransigence in the persons of the peasant and the priest, or as in the case of "The Bridge at Wexford," the surrogate symbol of the Catholic Church.

3. PUBLIC BODIES AND PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS: IMAGING CITIZENSHIP AND THE STATE

In opposition to the preceding images of social chaos, "The Capture of Colclough and Harvey" [fig.18],\(^{37}\) two upper middle-class leaders of the rebellion who commanded peasant troops, is constructed as an ordered neo-classical frieze-like tableau. Although it works through an indeterminate space in the natural landscape wherein the evocation of the sublime might be seen to foreground the rational balance of the human action it contains, this representation clearly elucidates what amounts to a conservative stand on the privilege of enfranchisement. Here, and significantly without support from the text, Cruikshank constructs the surrender of two leaders of the United Irishmen who have lost control of their peasant soldiers and can no longer prevent their acts of outrage. As members of an educated middle class, these rebels are imaged

\(^{37}\) Maxwell, facing 288.
very differently to their peasant counterparts. No violence or hostility accompanies the escort of the two men and a woman on their downward diagonal journey. Gentlemanly conduct and similar physiognomic characteristics assert what are here represented here as common codes of shared behaviour and gentility, capable of superceding religious or political loyalties. In this instance, difference is marked out on the body not by physiognomy, but by means of clothing: in the case of one prisoner, Colclough, through a dishevelled appearance and effeminate gesture of distress and, in the case of the other, the rebel Harvey, by way of his uncharacteristic hat and cloak. In assisting the female figure to accept the outstretched hand of the loyalist officer, the black-cloaked figure of Harvey works to symbolically acknowledge the seeming universal "truths" for which the bourgeois order is understood to stand: he passes protection of the family and domestic sphere, generative centre of those values, out of the spaces of danger and into the hands of the state. In so doing the downward slide of the rebel cause is explicitly delineated.

For authenticating purposes Maxwell's graphic descriptions of savagery required the visual support of a journalistic approach. Cruikshank took up a highly detailed pictorial language, familiar to the readers of the new illustrated press, which worked to convince the viewer of its first-hand immediacy. Cruikshank's descriptions of uncontrolled mob violence describe in unflinching detail the most heinous of crimes involving the impalement of small children, symbolic of the future of the nation, and the brutal slaughter of countless defenseless adults. In its representation of unfettered and
unprovoked violence, "Massacre at Scullabogue" [fig.19]\textsuperscript{38} echoes the more regimented but no less brutal assault on the sleeping barracks at Prosperous [fig.20]\textsuperscript{39} which occurs early in the book. In "Surprise at the Barracks of Prosperous" the entire town is put at risk in the cover of night by what Maxwell argues is the cowardly slaughter of enemy soldiers. Here, as elsewhere, what could be read in the 19th century as a form of factual visual reportage, cannot help but display its ideological bias -- the bank of faceless rebels is counterposed to the individual representations of the loyalists.

Violence against the state itself is forcefully illustrated in one of the last images, the "Murder of Lord Kilwarden" [fig.21].\textsuperscript{40} The image is again an expansion of a lengthy footnote with the usual strong element of visuality. Cruikshank's own graphic representation suggests that the symbolic import of the event to Cruikshank's schematic formulation of the history merited an interpretive attention which the text had foregone.\textsuperscript{41} The victim is the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, slaughtered, so Maxwell explains, for reasons of vengeance despite his humanitarian treatment of the convicted. The murder inflicted on his body is symbolically thrust at the British judicial system. It needs to be underscored that in the early 1840's, when the work first appeared in serial form, this overt desecration of the state

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{38} Maxwell, facing 125.  \\
\textsuperscript{39} Maxwell, facing 61.  \\
\textsuperscript{40} Maxwell, facing 409.  \\
\textsuperscript{41} Maxwell, 409.  
\end{flushleft}
and its institutions would have actively contributed to the fears of a current possibility.\footnote{Although O'Connell's approach to the question of Ireland's problems had been conciliatory for more than a decade, the British Parliament's lack of commitment to reform that forced him to the kinds of rhetorical extremes that did excite apprehension. However, the outcome of his trial in 1844 did not produce the violent backlash that had been anticipated. This was at least partly because Ireland was beginning to suffer the impact of the weakening potato crop. By 1845, the potato famine was in full swing, bringing the country to its knees. (See George M. Trevelyan, \textit{British History in the Nineteenth Century} (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1927) 191-28. Considering these historical facts, one cannot help but see Maxwell's representation in the light of his own parasitic existence.)}

Other institutional spaces come under attack earlier in the work: "Stoppage of the Mail and Murder of Lieutenant Giffard" [fig.22]\footnote{Maxwell, facing 70.} targets the Royal Mail, organ of communication that unites the nation and the empire. The Establishment Church is plundered and its contents pillaged or burned in "Destruction of the Church at Enniscorthy" [fig.23]\footnote{Maxwell, facing 97.}: music, books, and the metaphorical body of Christ itself are thrown to the flames under the direction of the armed priest. His presence is again a serious indictment of the insurrectionary influence of the Catholic clergy. Among the pilfering mob the church bell is carried away, the Celtic Irish flag of independence blowing heroically behind. The bell, soon to appear at the apex of the camp that is represented in the "Camp at Vinegar Hill" [fig.24]\footnote{Maxwell, facing 99.} would call up references to the Liberty Bell and the American Revolution, an event for which Maxwell unconditionally blamed the bad government of George III, holding up both the loss of the Thirteen Colonies in 1776 and the Irish Rebellion in 1798 as warnings of the dire results of delayed state intervention.\footnote{Maxwell, 1-2.}
The visual and moral antidote to such desecration of the apparatuses and spaces of state authority comes in the figure of the Scottish Highlander [fig. 25] who singlehandedly defends the gaol to the death and in so doing signifies the constitutional responsibility to defend the State's regulatory spaces of Law and Order. His heroic conduct, again adjunc ted to the text by way of a footnote, refers the reader-viewer to the successful Union of Scotland with England and Wales originating in the early 18th century. This construction of the Highlander as a model citizen-soldier, in extreme contrast to the Irish rebel savage, would have been extremely potent in 1845, the centenary of the Scottish Jacobite uprising, when the Catholic pretender to the British throne, Charles Edward Stuart, had returned from France with predominantly Catholic and Episcopalian Scottish support to reassert his right to rule. Hugh Trevor Roper has pointed out the difficulty with which Highlanders were integrated into a larger British polity. It follows that the Highlander's presence on and defense of Irish soil against the French invader or foreign "other" symbolically reinforces the ultimate "naturalness" of nationhood based on difference. This in no way compromises the construction of the Irish as incapable of self-governance, but activates an interesting contrast. As the reader learns from the text, the Highlander goes to his death for the defense of

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47 Maxwell, facing 236.
48 Maxwell, 236.
49 William's and Ramsden, Ruling Britannia 78-9.
the Union with both his individual honour and his ethnicity, read through the Highland costume, intact.

The French alien "other" is represented in this illustration, unlike its Celtic allies, as a respectable soldiering force, supporting the notion in Maxwell's text that the French had been misled by accounts of the Irish readiness for war and then disappointed by the calibre of the Irish army. Here, as in previously-discussed images where class supercedes ethnic or religious difference, it is through courage and physical prowess and, again, costume, rather than a racialized physiognomy that the Highlander distinguishes himself from the French enemy. In spite of certain anxieties relating to the French military machine referred to earlier, the popularity of contemporary French culture among mid-century British publics in addition to the friendly relations between Victoria and Louis-Philippe may have contributed to such a benign treatment.\textsuperscript{51} These circumstances would have permitted the British to deflect their anxieties towards what was more generally perceived at this particular moment to be a more dangerous foreign "other," the one within their own national borders.

Finally, in an era where the strength of the Empire was demonstrated visibly through the display of military superiority, Irish incompetence damned them to colonial status. The illustration, "The Rebels Storming the Turret at Lieutenant Tyrrell's" [fig.26]\textsuperscript{52}, works to demonstrate the Irish lack of strategic intelligence; "Attack on Captain Chammney's House"

\textsuperscript{51} See footnote 13, Chapter I above.
\textsuperscript{52} Maxwell, facing 224.
[fig.27] shows a full battalion attacking an isolated and unbarricaded residence in a frontal assault, soldiers exposing themselves to gunfire, and employing the tactic to which, in Maxwell's account, the Irish are always shown to resort for lack of courage and soldiering skills, the torch.

The army mob uses this tactic to flush out the sleeping loyalist soldiers who are ultimately impaled on rebel spikes in "Surprise of the Barracks of Prosperous" [fig.20]. They resort to the same in "Massacre at Scullabogue" [fig.19] and destroy by fire the symbols of the Establishment Church [fig.23]. A metaphorical link is thereby established between fire and passion or the uncontrolled irrationality of the Irish rebels which, once lit, becomes impossible to control.

It follows that Cruikshank's "Defeat of the Rebels at Vinegar Hill" [fig.28] would exploit the contrast between the military skills of the two camps. Here, amassed under their "flag of freedom" and "Liberty Bell", whose symbolic value is ironically inverted to signal incompetence and failure, the Irish are shown as incapable of holding a superior strategic position with superior numbers. In spite of the exhortations of their hierarchy of priests and mounted commanders the foot soldiers retreat in disarray. According to these representations, cowardly and brutal at heart, these men lack the attributes of the citizen-soldier, upon which the formation and security of the modern nation-state and empire depends. Without these, and without the fundamental values or native institutions upon which to build an ordered world of separate

53 Maxwell, facing 293.
54 Maxwell, facing 144.
spheres, according to gender, class and race, these Irish Celts beg for what could be characterized as the civilizing Anglo-Saxon yoke.

The last engraving, "Emmett Preparing for the Insurrection" [fig.6], evokes the private commercial space of an artisanal workshop; in this case it is put to subversive political use, calling up for a mid-century audience the fearful spectre of the secret society. Quite apart from the memory of the Irish Rebellion, which had occurred only a short forty-five to forty-seven years before, the mythic memory of the Catholic Gunpowder Plot, for which Guy Fawkes is remembered, and much more recently the Cato Street Conspiracy of 1820,\(^\text{55}\) would have stimulated anxieties concerning Catholic associations. Window coverings in Cruikshank's illustration draw attention to the liminal space between conspiratorial activities and the constitutionally-secured public sphere of private citizens in which they will be played out.

The division of labour along mental and manual lines and, for the imbibing prognathous trio in the right foreground, along the lines of future agency in this image can be read as an indictment of the unnatural alliance of classes. In this context, the clothing and facial and physical profiles of the four men in the centre background, along with their intellectual activity, mark them out at the apex of the declining scale towards moral degeneration symbolically defined by the Irish Celts. As part of an open-ended strategy that refers the work to the present day, the placement of this image at the end of the visual narrative would have encouraged a

\(^{55}\) Williams and Ramsden, 179.
particular reading: it is likely that the orator figure declaiming the document in the background could have been read as Daniel O'Connell, "the Liberator", himself. At the same time, this image of conspiratorial practice in conjunction with other images in the series which call up challenges to the smooth economic functionning of the bourgeois nation could operate to reference labour difficulties within the British mainland. For example, Chartist activities represented a serious disruption to the notion of an "appropriate" and well-regulated division of labour along classed lines, which was seen to be an integral component of the modern nation-state.

With this in mind, the "Camp on Vinegar Hill" [fig.24], an illustration appearing a third of the way into the narrative of the *History of the Irish Rebellion*, can be seen to offer a very particular visual metaphor for the world out of control. "The Camp" brings together what would be read as the most disparate social elements and practices within one hybridized site. The codes of social hierarchy and separate spheres are almost impossible to read: the higher orders are contaminated by the lower, the domestic sharing space with the state and military, and the figure of the priest or overt references to the Catholic religion present everywhere.

Here it should be remembered that the pamphlet produced in Manchester by Dr. J.P. Kay in 1832 had become, through various transformations, an authoritative source on the Irish community in England.\(^{56}\) The pamphlet had played a formative role in activating an Irish stereotype which tied into ideas of

\(^{56}\) Davis, *The Irish in Britain*, 56-9. See also chapter I above.
aberrant communal behaviour in the ghettos that were known throughout England as "Little Irelands." 57

These communities were characterized as self-contained islands dangerously at odds with dominant British notions of the virtues of individualism, upward mobility and secularism. The Irish immigrant's well-developed sense of communal sharing of food, possessions and domestic space, conditioned by lives of extreme poverty, along with what was viewed as a relatively passive acceptance of a given economic and social station in life, encouraged by the Church's teaching of obedience, poverty and humility, and, finally, an attachment to the Church as the institution of support for arriving immigrants, became stereotyped as isolationism, laziness, lack of ambition, and subversive religious practice. 58 Many of the habits that appeared to be so incongruous in Britain in fact had their roots in the mechanics of survival.

The illustration, "The Camp on Vinegar Hill" [fig.24], could easily have been read in terms of these stereotypes. Indeed, remembering that Roman Catholicism was feared as promoting non-British values, the central placement of a Catholic bishop and cross almost directly underneath the flag of a free Ireland and the equivalent of the American "Liberty Bell" would have conjured up notions of Catholicism's direct responsibility for Ireland's revolutionary inclinations while warning of the potential consequences of colonial rebellion. In this way, the economic inequities that Madden had cited in

57 An extrapolation of Kay's designation of the Manchester community. Davis, The Irish, 59+
58 Davis, 142-4.
his United Irishmen as the source of social discontent\textsuperscript{59} become subsumed here under the insoluble problem of Celtic, or racial, difference. The bishop's centrality along with the preaching priest in the right middleground would have also referenced Daniel O'Connell's enlistment of the Catholic clergy's leadership in the construction of a popular Irish nationalism through the Repeal Movement of the 1830's and 1840's.

The "Camp on Vinegar Hill's" incongruous juxtapositions signified serious disruptions to a British sense of order and propriety. Raucous celebration and dancing in the far background of the "Camp on Vinegar Hill" thus border on the decorous conduct of important military and state matters, contaminating the public realm by the overflowing borders of the private. In an ironic condemnation of the Catholic Church's sanctionning of the "murder" of British citizens in the incident of the Bridge at Wexford described by Maxwell and illustrated by Cruikshank [see fig.17], the Catholic bishop blesses two soldiers who, it appears by their uniforms and their proximity to the scene, have just been or soon will be the executioners of the endless row of loyalist prisoners filing in orderly fashion through the wall at the left. The Church's interference in military or state matters would be theoretically impossible in Protestant Britain, where the Anglican Church of England was symbolically linked to the state in a relationship that effectively neutralized it -- in the person of the monarch.

\textsuperscript{59} See Chapter II above.
The proximity of the music-making and feasting group in the central and right foreground to the scene of death on the left would have elicited a similar sense of outrage in the reader-viewer. The combination of music and dance (in the far background) along with implications of a communal and transient lifestyle would have called up a range of associations. The unbridled display of sensuous overindulgence could call up the rowdy excess easily linked by middle-class viewers to working-class leisure, or it could evoke the historically problematic gypsy population on the British mainland, a racial other which also resisted cultural assimilation and was associated with aberrant and criminal behaviour.\(^{60}\) In what would have been another unsettling vignette, the passing of the wine goblet front and centre, directly under the bishop's image, along with the streaming blood from the slaughtered lamb at the far right had the potential to reference the Catholic belief in the miracle of Transubstantiation, thereby activating anxieties around the growing appeal of Catholic associated practices within the Anglican church which were supported by the modern Tractarian movement in Britain.\(^{61}\) In addition, the apposition of the casual slaughter of animals to the communal domestic activities around the cooking cauldron and to the slaughter of humans on the direct opposite of the picture plane is a clever rhetorical device that conjoins the sacred and the profane, or the tragic and the trivial, in an unnatural alliance.


\(^{61}\) Wallis, 55-59; see also Chapter I above, n.9.
Throughout this visual construction the seemingly unregulated and hybrid mode brings home the impossible terms of this form of mixed sociability for an Anglocentric audience. Cruikshank's strategy is, however, a deliberate and, I would argue, sophisticated one in which he draws on a variety of aesthetic forms and historical references to make his ideological point. The most obvious is his mixing of the lowly genre scene on the lower right of the picture plane and its associations with the satirical caricature of both Hogarth's and Cruikshank's own work\(^{62}\) with a reference on the left to the elevated category of history painting -- in this case Goya's *The Executions of the Third of May, 1808* [fig.29]. The latter would possess the rhetorical power to suggest the outrages practised against a nation under seige by a "foreign" other and the patriotic sacrifice of life given by her citizens on her behalf.\(^{63}\) For an informed "interpretive" audience, to use John Barrell's term,\(^{64}\) which would be familiar with Goya's work through its circulation in the British print market,\(^{65}\) it would also function as another symbolic reference to the French danger associated with Ireland. "The Camp on Vinegar Hill" would have had further significance in contemporary terms: the crowded scenario would have called up the Repeal Movement's "monster meetings," rallies that, in 1843, were said to have attracted hundreds of thousands of Irish men and women. Before

\(^{62}\) See Chapter III above.

\(^{63}\) Goya's work of 1814 represents the execution of Spanish loyalists by French firing squads during the Napoleonic occupation of Spain in 1808.


\(^{65}\) I am grateful to Dr. Rory Wallace, University College of the Fraser Valley and of the Emily Carr Institute of Art and Design for discussing the possibilities of print circulation of this image with me in January of 1996.
they were banned by an anxious government in London, thirty had taken place, the meeting in the Irish town of Tara reportedly attracting 750,000 to one million supporters.\textsuperscript{66} Modern anxieties could thus be brought to bear on the complex configurations of Cruikshank's illustration and its representation of both Maxwell's text, and of the past.

\textsuperscript{66} Ranelagh, 103;
CONCLUSION

The relationship between text and image described in the foregoing pages suggests how inconsistencies within a supposedly homogeneous production might open up a productive space for study. In the case of the History of the Irish Rebellion, Cruikshank's illustrations not only reinforce but push beyond the letter of the text, actually investing the work with a powerful rhetorical supplement that worked alongside and beyond other sources exploited in the publication, in this case Maxwell's citation of earlier histories, his use of first person testimonies, and his incorporation of original documents. However, while the totality of this "evidence" would have worked in mutual effort with the illustrations in order to persuade the reader/viewer of the "authentic" value of Maxwell's chronicle of events, Cruikshank's visual programme within the History of the Irish Rebellion also worked to transform the text's meaning. By constructing an explicit framework of bourgeois respectability in the form of images which function as moral exemplars, and by contrasting these to the larger body of images which give visual representation to the text's predominant focus on aberrant violent acts, Cruikshank provides a paradigmatic narrative structure which could give the publication its particular relevance for mid-19th century British audiences.

As I have argued in the preceding chapters, the History of the Irish Rebellion functioned on multiple levels. In a period when new media and marketing strategies gave shape to an expanded and diversified public sphere, the illustrated format
of this work drew on recent publishing technologies that addressed the popular tastes and markets of a mid-19th century cultural consumer. In turn, what I have called a hybridization of form worked its effect on the genre of historical writing itself. Yet both Maxwell's text and Cruikshank's illustrations were ultimately formulated with reference to an educated public sphere. Marshalling theories of civilization and progress that circulated within the realms of science and ethnology, and drawing on current class anxieties over the status and future of the constitution of the nation, both the written and pictorial narratives worked to naturalize a Catholic Irish population in ways that internalized imperial rule.

Emerging at a moment of crisis in terms of British national identity, Maxwell's and Cruikshank's publication defined the social body in predominantly Anglocentric terms. Within this frame, the Irish Rebellion of 1798 served as a means to address very current concerns that British political and legal institutions were under threat from within the nation itself. By activating a range of discourses -- those associated with history, science, medicine, and labour -- the Irish body was situated as a racial and religious other, an internal threat to the politics, legacy and values of the national polity.
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Figure 1: Comparison of an Irishman with a terrier dog from William Redfield, *Comparative Physiognomy or the Resemblances between Men and Animals* (New York, 1852). Cited in Mary Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) 37.
Figure 2: George Cruikshank, "Oliver's Reception by Fagin and the Boys," from Charles Dickens, Oliver Twist, 1838.
Figure 3: George Cruickshank, "Elizabeth Confronted with Wyat in the Torture Chamber," from W. Harrison Ainsworth, The Tower of London, 1940.
Figure 4: E.P. Lightfoot, "Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1798," William Maxwell, History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798 (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 161.
Figure 5: George Cruikshank, "The Arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald," William Maxwell, History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798 (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 48.
Figure 7: George Cruikshank, "Rebels Destroying a House and Furniture," William Maxwell, *History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 384.
Figure 8: George Cruikshank, "Carousal and Plunder at the Palace of the Bishop of Ferns," William Maxwell, *History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798* (London: George Bell, 1845) facing page 82.
Figure 9: William Hogarth, "An Election Entertainment," An Election I (c.1754-5) Sir John Soane Museum
Figure 10: George Cruikshank, "The Rev'd Mr. McGhee's House Successfully Defended Against the Rebels," William Maxwell, *History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 175.
Figure 11: George Cruikshank, "Murder of George Crawford and his Granddaughter," William Maxwell, *History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 66.
Figure 12: Nicolas Poussin, *Rape of the Sabines* (c.1636-37)
Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Figure 13: Jacques-Louis David, *Intervention of the Sabines* (1799) Musee du Louvre.
Figure 14: George Cruikshank, "The Loyal Little Drummer," William Maxwell, *History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 115.
Figure 15: George Cruikshank, "Father Murphy and the Heretic Bullets," William Maxwell, *History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 180.
Figure 16: George Cruikshank, "Battle of Ross, 'Come on Boys, Her Mouth's Stopt," William Maxwell, History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798 (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 112.
Figure 17: George Cruikshank, "The Rebels Executing Their Prisoners, on the Bridge at Wexford," William Maxwell, *History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 154.
Figure 18: George Cruikshank, "The Capture of Colclough and Harvey," William Maxwell, History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798 (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 288.
Figure 19: George Cruikshank, "Massacre at Scullabogue," William Maxwell, *History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 125.
Figure 20: George Cruikshank, "Surprise at the Barrack of Prosperous," William Maxwell, History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798 (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 61.
Figure 21: George Cruikshank, "The Murder of Lord Kilwarden," William Maxwell, History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798 (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 409.
Figure 22: George Cruikshank, "Stoppage of the Mail and Murder of Lieut. Giffard," William Maxwell, History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798 (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 70.
Figure 23: George Cruikshank, "Destruction of the Church at Enniscorthy," William Maxwell, *History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 97.
Figure 26: George Cruikshank, "The Rebels Storming 'The Turret' at Lieut. Tyrrell's," William Maxwell, History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798 (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 224.
Figure 27: George Cruikshank, "Attack on Captain Chamney's House," William Maxwell, *History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 293.
Figure 28: George Cruikshank, "Defeat of the Rebels at Vinegar Hill," William Maxwell, History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798 (London: George Bell and Sons, 1845) facing page 144.
Figure 29: Fransisco Goya, *The Third of May, 1808* (1814)
Museo del Prado.