ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the representation of Ireland in images and texts produced in Britain and France between 1839 and 1855. I argue that in this period, Ireland functioned as a crucial site for the negotiation and transformation of the relationship between the two nations. Chapter One examines a popular middle-class British publication of 1845, Maxwell’s *History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798...and Emmett’s Insurrection*. Through an analysis of George Cruikshank’s illustrations to this work, I explore the ways that a predominant image of the Irish was linked to British anxieties concerning a potential political alliance between the French and the Irish based on what was represented as a “natural” religio-racial connection between the two nations. Developing this transnational focus, I argue that French concern with Ireland exacerbated such constructions. Chapter Two examines liberal and left-leaning French publications that took up representations of the Irish between 1839 to 1846 in order to critique Britain’s role as a modern industrial nation. In Chapter Three I analyze how “Irishness” in the French press between 1845 and 1847, and in satires by artists like Cham and Paul Gavarni, served both as a warning against French adoption of the English economic model of *laissez-faire* capitalism, and as a commentary on domestic working class poverty. Chapter Four explores how the Irish were taken up both visually and textually in the French press to be momentarily transformed into active agents of radical change in the year of France’s revolution of 1848. My final chapter concludes with an analysis of French artist Gustave Courbet’s figure of an Irishwoman as a complex marker of both pauperism and potential revolution in a contentious painting displayed strategically outside Paris’ 1855 *Exposition universelle*. In the course of this analysis “Ireland” is shown to raise a range of issues concerning relations between France and Britain. While images of
Irishness evoked the mobility and exchange that characterized an early moment of free trade, those same images could simultaneously arouse anxieties in both Britain and France around industrialization, the “advancement” of civil liberties, the growing pauperization of populations, and the threat to both nations of calls for republican reform.
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Introduction

Two images, one published in Britain in 1845 and the other in Paris in the same year, offer compelling and yet competing images of Ireland. The first, “Father Murphy and the Heretic Bullets” (fig.1), was one of a series of engravings by George Cruikshank that illustrated W. H. Maxwell’s History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798, with Memoirs of the Union, and Emmett’s [sic] Insurrection of 1803. The work was published in London in 1845 in book form, after first being issued serially in 1844. Through a combination of text and images, Maxwell’s publication constructed an account of events that had occurred almost half a century earlier when the United Irishmen -- a group composed of Protestant and Catholic dissidents -- had led two successive armed uprisings against the British Crown. The first and largest, the Irish Rebellion of 1798, had been suppressed by British and loyalist Irish forces, resulting in the incorporation of Ireland into Great Britain by the Act of Union in 1800. A second, short-lived attempt at an uprising against the British presence in Ireland instigated a few years later in 1803, and led by the Protestant United Irishman, Robert Emmet, was equally unsuccessful. Cruikshank’s image, “Father Murphy and the Heretic Bullets,” depicts an event during the course of the 1798 rebellion. Described in Maxwell’s highly partisan, pro-English and Unionist account of the 1798 Irish uprising, the image emphasizes the involvement of Irish Catholic priests in both the rebellion and the attendant slaughter of pro-Union and Protestant “heretics.” Cruikshank’s engraving also argues for the superstitious inclinations of the Catholic rebel masses. Holding a flag marked with a cross and the slogan “Liberty or Death,” Father Murphy extends a hand holding bullets towards a group of rebel soldiers, a reference to Maxwell’s claim that Irish Catholic priests -- described as “monsters...[who] desecrated the holy orders entrusted to them....” -- played on the “Popish” superstitions of the rebels by promising “immunity from danger to the

faithful.” Here the incident refers to priests claiming to catch in their hands bullets shot by the Protestant enemy “heretics.” The group of rebels around Father Murphy are armed with a few shotguns and a mass of primitive pikes. Some of the latter are held aloft, surmounted by the rebels’ caps, which take on the appearance of the famous liberty caps of the French Revolution of 1789. In the background a band of Irish rebel soldiers, leaving a heap of corpses behind them, flee the gunshots of a well-disciplined row of forces loyal to the British crown.

The second image, signed by the French artist Cham, appeared as part of an illustrated series, M. Trottman en voyage, in the satirical Paris journal, Le Charivari, in December of 1845. Cham’s satire presents a starkly contrasting picture of the Irish in terms of the danger they posed to Britain. In “Vue prise n’importe où -- en Irlande” (fig.2), the title indicating the pervasiveness of the scene depicted, the viewer is shown a poverty-stricken and passive Irish rural family. Thin, weak and ragged, the Irish peasants are gathered with their pigs in front of their domestic hovel. Two of the figures appear to be looking beyond the picture frame, as if puzzled to be the subject of interest.

The juxtaposition of these two images that circulated in 1845 in the very different venues of Britain and France raises a set of contentious issues that serve as the focus for this thesis. Both Cruikshank’s satiric portrayal of Irish Catholic involvement in the brutalities of the 1798 rebellion and Cham’s caricature of the sufferings of the Irish Catholic peasant within the British Union appeared during the months when early evidence of Ireland’s devastating potato blight was being published widely in both the British and French press. The appearance of the images also followed debate in Britain and in France concerning the Irish Catholic Member of Parliament Daniel O’Connell’s attempt to repeal the Union that had bound Ireland

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4 This catchphrase was first used by Patrick Henry in 1775 at the beginning of the American Revolution against Britain. See, for example, <www.law.ou.edu/hist/henry.html> 16 August 2004. The slogan was also used during the radical Jacobin phase of the French Revolution.

5 Maxwell (George Bell and Sons) 151.

6 Maxwell 151.

7 Liberty caps of the French Revolution were based on the caps of freed Greek slaves in antiquity.


9 See Leslie A. Williams, Daniel O’Connell, the British Press and the Irish Famine: Killing Remarks (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003) passim. French publication of data on the potato famine appeared in newspapers and journals which are discussed in Chapters Two and Three below.
to Britain since 1800 and which had resulted in his trial for sedition in 1844. 10 While these events served to bring ongoing discussion of Ireland to the fore in both Britain and in France what my thesis argues is that during the period examined by this study -- from 1844 to 1855 -- there was an ongoing cross-border exchange between the two rival nations that played a role in representations of Ireland and the Irish. This exchange was registered in Britain in texts and images such as Maxwell’s and Cruikshank’s History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmet’s Insurrection and, in France, in a range of publications as well as caricatures, illustrations, and a history painting that raised the issue of Ireland and its status within Britain as a whole. In some instances such exchanges were explicit and involved the actual appropriations of imagery published in Britain and its re-contextualization in France. For example, in early 1844 the mainstream French illustrated newspaper L’Illustration featured an image of Daniel O’Connell, “Caricature anglaise sur O’Connel” (fig.3), 11 borrowed directly from England’s well-known satirical illustrated journal, Punch, in order to comment ironically on England’s hostile response to the Irish Catholic Member of Parliament (fig.4). In 1847 L’Illustration featured two images on its front page: “Irlande -- Jeune garçon et jeune fille de Cahera cherchant de pommes de terre”, of an emaciated and ragged boy and girl searching the ground for potatoes, and “Irlande -- Village de Mienies” of decrepit Irish hovels (fig. 5). 12 The engravings (fig. 6) had been appropriated from the British journal, The Illustrated London News (fig.7), 13 in order to comment both on the devastation and poverty throughout Ireland wrought by the potato famine, and on Britain’s inabilities to remedy its effects. Other exchanges, however, were less straightforward and involved negotiating a range of anxieties raised by Britain’s and France’s status as competitors on an international stage. British anxieties devolved on the potential of Ireland to evoke the spectre of its traditional enemy, France. While both Ireland and France were viewed as sharing a mutual Celtic ancestry, the common religious allegiance of both -- Catholicism --

11 L’Illustration 27 January 1844: n. pag. See Chapter Two below.
12 L’Illustration 27 February 1847: 1.
13 “Boy and Girl at Cahera,” “The Village of Mienies” from “Sketches in the West of Ireland --by Mr. James Mahony,” from “Histoire de la Semaine,” Illustrated London News 20 February 1847: n. pag. See Chapter Three below.
represented a particular threat to the British constitution. Equally problematic for Britain following the French Revolution of 1789 was the fear of a potential political alliance between Ireland and France based on shared anti-monarchical and republican values -- fears which had first come to the fore with French involvement in the Irish Rebellion of 1798. As literary historian Clare A. Simmons points out, by the second quarter of the nineteenth century the upheaval of the French Revolution and its violent overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy served as a marker in Britain of the ability of its own constitutional system to appease calls for radical reform. Still, the French Revolution was repeatedly held up as a warning to modern Britain. For example, in 1837 the English historian and essayist Thomas Carlyle published The French Revolution: a History in which he characterized the revolutionary period following 1789 -- and particularly the violence of the “Terror” through 1794 -- in terms of the radical passions of the impoverished Parisian sans-culottes. Portraying this body as militant and bloodthirsty, Carlyle considered the spirit of the republican sans-culottes to be still alive in modern France. Significantly, he also linked the sans-culottes’ urgent calls for reform and their potential for desperate action to the modern plight of the starving and impoverished Irish-Catholic peasantry. He termed the latter the “sans-potato.” As Carlyle made clear, as poverty and inequities had toppled the French monarchy in 1789, so starvation and disenfranchisement in Ireland laid the ground for a revolutionary threat in Britain in the nineteenth-century.

In France, as the range of French commentators in the late 1830s and the 1840s discussed in this thesis will demonstrate, Ireland served to call up images of a Catholic people impoverished and subjugated under British rule. Such representations effectively undermined Britain’s reputation as a leader both in industrial development and in the advancement of constitutional freedoms. In turn, for these French commentators, the example of modern Ireland underscored the risks of adopting a British model of an unrestrained market economy -- laissez-faire capitalism -- with its
accompanying problems of growing industrial populations, unemployment, and the management of poverty.  

In its concern with what can be termed the “transnational” significance to representations of Ireland and the Irish at mid-century, my thesis distinguishes itself from the large body of scholarly literature that, in focusing on the construction of English images of Ireland and the Irish in both textual and visual forms in the nineteenth century, has restricted its analysis to the “closed” internal dynamic at play within the British Union. For example, several assessments of the representation of the Irish at mid-nineteenth century have examined the racialized constructs foregrounded in British texts and visual imagery, and have usefully demonstrated the differentiation that marked out the troublesome and lazy Irish “Celt” from his law-abiding and productive English “Saxon” counterpart. Most recently, Leslie A. Williams’ 2003 study has explored how both texts and visual imagery circulated by the mainstream British press played a role in the formation of English public opinion about Ireland during the height of Repeal agitation and the Irish famine years, from 1843 through roughly 1849. Drawing on post-colonial theory, Williams has demonstrated the complex ways in which a range of press sites circulated predominantly negative representations of the Irish to British and mainly English audiences at the same time as the Irish population was enduring the hardships of the Great Famine. These -- including satires and cartoons, as well as illustrations claiming a documentary “truth” -- figured prominently in the mainstream press and in

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18 *Laissez-faire* refers to a form of “unregulated” liberal capitalism with its roots in eighteenth-century enlightenment thought. The notion rested on the belief that economic markets should be allowed to operate free of all government intervention. The *laissez-faire* approach was popularized in the nineteenth century by the work of eighteenth-century economist Adam Smith, the author in 1776 of the well-known *Wealth of Nations*. In the nineteenth century a more extreme form of *laissez-faire*, the Malthusian doctrine, was appended to Smith’s more humane formulation of the free market system. These principles were contained in Malthus’ *Essay on Population*, written in 1789. Here the “political economy freed itself entirely from moral philosophy”: in his writings on the “principle of population” Malthus advocated the reduction of the population to the level of the food supply by means of “natural” starvation or emigration. See, for example, R.D. Collison Black, “The Classical Economists and the Irish Problem,” *Oxford Economic Papers*, New ser. 5.1 (1953): 27-28, 31, 32, 37 and Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (New York: Knopf, 1984) 42-63, 100-32.


20 Williams *passim*.
popular and well-circulated illustrated journals like Punch and the Illustrated London News. Williams’ study has underscored how the formulation of such images of the Irish during the decade of the 1840s served broader agendas, with Britain using representations of Ireland to work through the mid-century English economic debate around the application of free-trade and laissez-faire principles. This debate, which focused around the issue of the Corn Laws, pitted traditional landed interests with their protectionist policies against those representing the claims of modern capitalism and liberalism.\textsuperscript{21} Williams has argued that, regardless of each constituency’s stand on the question, both the powerful landed interests (represented, for example, by the conservative newspaper, The Times) and the newer industrial élites (represented in her study mainly by the satirical illustrated journal Punch) tended to produce derogatory representations of the Irish which emphasized their character as inherently lazy or deceptive and in need of disciplined management.\textsuperscript{22} While newer sites that catered to the growing middle classes, like the liberal and popular Illustrated London News, did offer more sympathetic perspectives on Ireland during the potato blight, with texts and images referencing the suffering and devastation of the Irish, such representations, Williams argues, still denied the full impact of the Famine by underscoring the inability of the Irish population to deal with the disaster.\textsuperscript{23}

In contrast to these studies which examine representations of Ireland within a national frame, I argue that in the period preceding, throughout, and after the Famine, complex and shifting tensions between Britain and France played an important role in

\textsuperscript{21} The Corn Laws protected the price of English grain against competition (grain at cheaper prices) from outside England’s borders, and in so doing served the landed interests. The anti-Corn Law League wanted to abolish this protective tariff in favour of “free trade” -- thus becoming a seminal movement in the dismantling of the old economic interest in favour of the new economic order of free market capitalism. The abolition of the tariff on corn was seen as one way to give Ireland, which paid the tariff on English grain, access to cheap food and motivation to change its subsistence crop from the potato to grain. See Williams 14-16, 136, 151-54, 158.

\textsuperscript{22} This negative image, which effectively infantilized and emasculated the Irish, was partly based, as Williams points out, on two major perceptions: one, that the potato was cultivated in Ireland because it was easy to grow and required little labour to harvest; and two, that the reliance of Ireland’s peasant population on the potato crop, as opposed to a more diverse agricultural economy, was responsible for the devastation of the famine.

\textsuperscript{23} On the ways in which the Illustrated London News sentimentalized Irish poverty see Williams 163-67, 348. For other representations of the Irish circulating in this period, see The Pictorial Times, January 1846-October 1847. (For example: vassun.vassar.edu/~sttaylor/FAMINE/PT/PT.html). According to historian of Victorian periodicals, Patricia Anderson, the Pictorial Times was a general-interest illustrated journal of the 1840s. It was a rival to the highly-popular, “a-political” and middle-class journal, the Illustrated London News. See Patricia Anderson, “Illustration,” Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society, ed. J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1994) 133-34, 140.
the way in which the subject of Ireland and the Irish was taken up and portrayed. I examine this topic by first exploring the multiple meanings that “Irishness” could hold for an English audience. To do so, Chapter One focuses on the powerful stereotypes of the Irish that were circulated in William Maxwell and George Cruikshanks’ popular History of the Irish Rebellion... and Emmett’s Insurrection. I examine the relationship of Cruikshank’s illustrations to Maxwell’s text in order to demonstrate that this work, which circulated within a broader mid-nineteenth century field of English constructions of Ireland and the Irish, and which was widely disseminated with re-editions of the publication continuing from 1845 throughout the century, produced for English audiences an aspect of “Irishness” that stressed Ireland’s Catholic, and thus “foreign” associations. Maxwell and Cruikshank’s condemnation of the Irish was also accomplished by connecting the Irish Rebellion of 1798 and its leadership by the United Irishmen to radical French Jacobin interests in the French Revolution of 1789. In turn, as I demonstrate, these associations of Ireland with France’s violent anti-monarchical past raised contemporary social and political debates in the mid 1840s ranging from calls for labour and political reform of the working-class Chartist movement, to British fears of a contemporary French invasion of Britain by sea. In exploring the visual strategies of Cruikshank’s illustrations and their role in the publication’s narrative, I argue that the images played with vocabularies associated with the “high” art of history painting, and those used to convey journalistic veracity. This category of exchange -- one that operated across artistic genres -- contributed to the popularity of Maxwell’s textual narrative while also serving to underscore the relevance of Irish upheavals against England in the past to Britain’s modern present.

24 According to the National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints, which gives the most comprehensive publication dates available in the case of this work, Maxwell’s History of the Irish Rebellion... and Emmett’s Insurrection with illustrations by Cruikshank was published in four editions through 1854. The work’s tenth edition was published in 1877 and the book continued to be published until 1903.


26 Cruikshank’s images have not yet been studied in any depth. Recently historian Ruán O’Donnell has acknowledged, albeit briefly, the importance of Maxwell’s History of the Irish Rebellion... and Emmett’s Insurrection to the mid-nineteenth century British perception of the earlier revolutionary period in Ireland -- and implicitly to the current situation in Ireland around the time of the Famine.
Chapter Two explores how British fears of French involvement with Ireland which are so emphasized in Maxwell and Cruikshank’s publication had a validity at mid-century -- at least in the realm of representation. My research shows that the subject of “Ireland” arose repeatedly in a range of French publications between 1839 and 1847. These representations, and the tenor of their analyses were stimulated by the publication in 1839 of an influential account of the history and current state of Irish-English relations by the liberal politician and humanitarian reformer Gustave de Beaumont. In Beaumont’s text, L’Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse, the Irish population was portrayed as destitute, passive and oppressed by centuries of English mistreatment. Subsequent studies like Flora Tristan’s Les Promenades dans Londres, published in 1840 and re-issued several times in its first half-decade, and J.-J. Prévost’s Un Tour en Irlande of 1846 and Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle published serially between 1845 and 1852, either acknowledged Beaumont directly, or similarly focussed on the abject poverty visible in Ireland and the implications of such destitution to British rule.

British and French analyses of poverty and its manifestation in Ireland differed in this period. In Britain, even before the Great Famine, Ireland had represented an underdeveloped economy at the heart of Britain’s rapidly developing industrialized empire. Laissez-faire economics and the Malthusian solution (which advised against government intervention in situations where population growth overtook subsistence supplies, instead promoting the “natural” culling of the population by starvation or emigration) were seen to least violate the British


Gustave de Beaumont, L’Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse, 2 vols. (Paris, Gosselin; Londres: Delau; Leipzig: Michelsen, 1839) As I discuss in Chapter Three below, Beaumont’s text was a highly popular one and was republished several times between 1839 and 1842.

Flora Tristan, Les Promenades dans Londres (Paris: H.L. Delloye; Londres: W. Jeffs, 1840). The several re-publications of Tristan’s study are discussed in Chapter Three below.


See n18 above.
principles of free enterprise. *Laissez-faire* economics was particularly valued at a time when the abolition of any protectionist tariffs (as called for by the British anti-Corn Law movement) was high in the priorities of an industrializing nation of liberal middle-class interests.33 Several British liberals embraced this approach with respect to Ireland. 34

In contrast, in France, Ireland raised questions about the merits of extreme *laissez-faire* solutions in a situation like that affecting the modern Irish peasant where the growth of population had “far out-distanced the growth of capital, so causing the rate of wages to fall to the barest minimum of subsistence.”35 I argue in Chapter Two that French writers, such as Beaumont, Tristan, and Prévost, representing liberal and more radical republican perspectives, invariably pointed out the human cost that existed side by side with the kind of economic prosperity that Britain exhibited. Thus, French representations of Ireland frequently referenced the dangerous depths to which segments of the British working classes could and did descend under the unconstrained system of industrial capitalism to which many British political economists subscribed, and which much of France remained anxiously hesitant to adopt.36 Repeatedly, the issue of poverty and pauperism comes to the fore in the analyses of these commentators. In France pauperism was understood as a decidedly “English” evil.37 The term “pauperism” was first coined in nineteenth-century England for application in the New Poor Law, an amended sixteenth-century law governing state charity, which was reinstated amidst much controversy in 1834.38 The main criterion devised for eligibility for state aid under the New Poor Law was an individual’s proof that employment, if available, was insufficient to satisfy subsistence requirements.39 This inability to earn a survival wage produced a distinction between the working poor and the pauper. The plight of the latter was marked out by the pauper being required to receive assistance within the prison-like

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34 Williams 15-16.
35 Black 27-8, 31, 37.
39 Himmelfarb 161.
Workhouse, necessitating the sacrifice of both the pauper’s own liberty and that of his family.  
What my analysis in Chapter Two also underscores is the ability of Ireland to call up the economic and human dimensions of French and British pauperism as part of a debate in France about the appropriate management of the condition of extreme poverty. In France through the 1830s and 1840s, as historian Timothy B. Smith has noted, there was broad-based French condemnation of the British example of state-funded assistance provided through the English New Poor Laws with its institution of the Workhouse.  
Smith demonstrates that in France liberals criticized state aid for its expense and for its threat to the values of individualism. Socialists and republicans also warned that public charity as delivered by the English Poor Laws was “inhumane and punitive” and was in danger of producing “an outcast class of paupers.”
Government relief in the English case was dependent partly on confinement and the relinquishing of liberty; it was, therefore, not surprising that the Workhouse was often blamed for the demoralization of its inmates. In France the image of the Irish pauper was able to call up all these horrors because it could evoke a whole population of destitute, eligible for state relief on the basis of insufficient or total lack of employment.

The idea of an Irish Poor Law, which was enacted by the British government for the first time in 1838, also stirred up debates in France about whether such legislation was, in fact, capable of addressing the deep-rooted poverty and extensive pauperism which existed in Ireland. Indeed, many public figures, among them Repeal leader Daniel O’Connell, were fully opposed to the implementation of the Irish Poor Law, partly on the basis of the hardship it represented to Irish ratepayers such as the small tenant-farmer, whom the law often forced into pauperism through the payment of higher taxes, and partly on the law’s inadequacy to provide the

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40 Himmelfarb 164-65.
42 Smith 999-1000.
43 Himmelfarb 165-67; Smith 1001-02.
45 Nicholas Mansergh, The Irish Question, 1840-1921 (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1965) 44-46. Also see Himmelfarb 157, who discusses the well-known British economist Nassau Senior’s assessment that Ireland represented a special case which government intervention in the form of financial injections to develop the economy, rather than a poor law, would be appropriate.
widespread relief required in Ireland, in a period when poor harvests -- even in the years before the potato blight -- induced widespread and prolonged hardship and starvation.46

Consideration of the British example dominated debates in France concerning the development of industrial capitalism among a wide spectrum of French writers, politicians, and activists. For example, Gustave de Beaumont’s political colleague, the liberal député Alexis de Tocqueville, deplored the British system of state aid and reviled the “inhumane” institution of the Workhouse in his 1835 study Mémoire sur le paupérisme.47 Following Tocqueville’s article, texts from a range of diverse political positions addressed the issue of poverty in Britain and France. Eugene Buret’s widely referenced De la Misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France was published in 1840 and re-issued in 1841.48 The liberal Léon Faucher’s serialized articles called “Etudes sur l’Angleterre” appeared in the Revue des Deux Mondes in 1843-1844, with a segment published in translation in Britain in 1844, followed by a book-length study issued in France in 1845.49 Radical republican Alexandre Ledru-Rollin’s La Décadence de l’Angleterre, written from exile in England, was published in both French and English in 1850.50 State aid, British-style, was condemned in all of these texts in favour of either private charity -- in some critical cases supplemented by temporary state aid -- or, more radically, political reforms to the economy.

Where Chapter Two considers major book-length publications in France that focused on Ireland as a way of commenting on the “logic” of laissez-faire capitalism, Chapter Three examines debates on Ireland in the popular press and the emergence of images of Ireland in visual satire under the strict press censorship imposed by the

French government of Louis-Philippe in the mid-1840s. I first examine the satirical travel series, “M. Trottman en Irlande,” by the caricaturist Cham in the popular and moderate republican journal Le Charivari. The series depicts a sojourn in Ireland at the beginning of the Irish potato famine. Cham’s commentary on Ireland emerges as part of the journal’s attempt to emphasize a critique of Britain’s response to O’Connell’s Repeal movement and its demands for constitutional reform in Ireland, and England’s neglect of Ireland during the famine. I also assess other satires and features in Le Charivari (including one by Paul Gavarni) to show that references to Ireland offered a way for the journal to engage in an ongoing discussion of France’s domestic economy. Thus, while the climate of press censorship under the July monarchy inhibited overt critique of Louis-Philippe’s government, particularly in its application to caricatures, I argue that domestic issues of hunger and poverty were raised by the plethora of ongoing and detailed reports of the Irish famine in the French press. Central to my analysis concerning the links made between poverty in Ireland and poverty in France is Eugène Buret’s widely cited study of the condition of the British and French working classes, De La Misère des classes laborieuses en...
Angleterre et en France, which was published in 1840 and 1841. Buret emphasized that there was a significant link between unemployed workers in France and the plight of the Irish poor, and that the association hinged on the laissez-faire economics of the modern industrial system. I argue that the work contributed substantially to French perceptions of poverty in France as an “Irish” affliction.

Chapter Four examines the transformation that took place in France's representation of Ireland following the republican revolution of February 1848. The temporary alliance of the bourgeoisie and the working classes that resulted in the Second Republic had an affect on revolutionaries throughout Europe, including those in Ireland. By tracing developments within the Second French Republic, I explore the meanings that Ireland and its visibility had in this period. Through an examination of the previously untapped French press coverage concerning both developments in Ireland at this time and Irish republican liaisons with France through the spring and summer of 1848, I show the extent of French engagement with Irish dissidents and the ongoing exchanges between Irish and French revolutionaries. With the 1848 revolution the spectre of the republican United Irishmen is reinvoked in Ireland and France. Young Irishman, John Mitchel, had named his new and “defiant” newspaper that was first published in Ireland on February 12 of 1848, the United Irishman. Its emergence in Ireland had produced a sensation, to the extent that its first edition was well sold out and its influence immediate. What this analysis also reveals is that the conservative, moderate, and radical press in France noted the important differences between the Catholic middle-class leadership of Daniel O'Connell’s Repeal Movement with its efforts at a peaceful and constitutional approach to social change, and the break-away group Young Ireland, composed of Catholic and Protestant adherents and which was more militant and republican in affiliation. Chapter Four also traces the discussion in the French press that flagged British anxieties over increased agitation and the build-up of arms in Ireland over the spring of 1848 as Irish dissidents prepared for their own 1848 revolution against British authority in July and August of 1848. I argue that the failure of Irish republicans to carry out their uprising

56 Richard Davis, Young Ireland Movement (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan; Totowa NJ: Barnes & Noble, 1987); Nowlan, passim.
was a major factor in the subsequent disappearance of Ireland from coverage in the press of the French Second Republic over the following years.

As a conclusion and a postscript Chapter Five explores the reappearance of an image of Ireland in an unusual, but significant site: a large-scale allegorical painting by radical artist Gustave Courbet, displayed in conjunction with Paris’ international exhibition of art and industry in 1855 -- the spectacle that celebrated the ideologies of progress and industrialization promoted in Britain and embraced by the government of Napoleon III. I argue that Courbet’s painting, *L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle déterminant sept ans de ma vie artistique et morale* (fig.8), stands as an important commentary on the flow of goods, people, and ideas between nations, and particularly Britain and France, at mid-century. The title of Courbet’s painting refers back seven years to 1848, the year of the republican revolution in France. As my analysis shows, *L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle* functioned as a critique of aspects of liberal capitalism and modern industrialization, then on display at the 1855 *Exposition universelle*. Investigating the figure of a destitute nursing mother that Courbet identified as “une Irlandaise” and as “un produit anglais,” I argue that this marker of poverty served to undermine the exhibition’s representation of Britain as a unified and untroubled nation, while simultaneously critiquing Emperor Napoléon III’s policies on poverty and his repression of republican reform.

As part of this analysis I show that not only does Courbet’s painting cross over national boundaries in terms of its focus on British and French relations, but its exchange across the normally carefully-policed genres of “high” and “low” art constitutes a form of traffic that underscores how the hierarchical ordering mechanisms of mid-nineteenth century art discourses played a role in the representation of Ireland and the Irish. In *L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle*, the disruption of high and low genres is activated by the appearance of the lowly and commonplace “Irish” woman as a figure that has been elevated from its previous presence in France in the ephemeral print media of visual satire to appear in a serious “high” art genre. Clearly, the impoverished figure assumes a greater credibility and permanence in the visual medium of paint in 1855 than it had done intermittently during the past decade-and-a-half in France in the print press and in visual satire.

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While my analysis of Courbet’s painting thus returns to the topic of visual exchanges across representational and genre boundaries that was initiated in Chapter One, it also underscores the ways in which references to Ireland could serve in France both as a means to critique Britain’s standing as an industrial power, and as a vehicle for questioning how the poverty and destitution which were the fallout of industrialization could best be resolved. I also argue that the figure of Ireland as a destitute woman in Courbet’s painting, which was designed to be exhibited outside Napoléon III’s *Exposition universelle*, could also call up Ireland’s radical revolutionary past, and in 1848, its relationship to France’s Second Republic and to other European revolutionary republicans. In this way the image underscores the suppression of republicanism that characterized the imperial government of Napoléon III.

Taken as a whole, the chapters of this thesis demonstrate that the concerns about Irish links to France which are registered so evocatively in both Maxwell’s *History of the Irish Rebellion... and Emmett’s Insurrection* and in Cruikshank’s illustrations for the publication were in fact justified. As Chapters Two and Three demonstrate, significant French commentary focused on the social and political condition of Ireland from 1839, through the 1840s, and into the mid-1850s. Indeed, a major feature of Maxwell’s text and Cruikshank’s illustrations -- emphasis on the insurrectionary capabilities of the United Irishmen in 1798 and 1803 and the susceptibility of the Irish to French republicanism -- would be borne out in contemporary events in 1848, when the memory of the United Irishmen was re-invoked in Ireland among militant republicans, and support for an Irish revolution was taken up in the rhetoric of radical republicans in France of the Second Republic. Along with ongoing British resistance to Irish independence through the nineteenth century, these French engagements, including radical interventions like Courbet’s *L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle* of 1855, suggest one reason why Maxwell’s and Cruikshank’s portrayal of Ireland and Irish activism, continued to be republished after 1845 and indeed through the course of the nineteenth century.59

58 Toussaint [French version] 246.
59 In Ireland, republican agitation continued throughout the nineteenth century. See n24 above for the publication history of Maxwell and Cruikshank’s work. It is worth noting that the *History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798... and Emmett’s Insurrection of 1803* was re-issued more than once during the 1860s, the decade during which the Fenians -- based in the United States of America -- attempted several abortive attacks against the British authority in Ireland. The work had several more
publications until, at least, 1903, during the time that Charles Stewart Parnell and other Irish nationalist leaders from the 1880s to 1918 sought Home Rule, for instance. It was in 1922, after years of civil strife and conflict, that an Irish Free State in the south of Ireland grew partly out of the de facto Irish republic that had been established in 1919, finally severing most formal political ties with the rest of Britain. See “Irish Free State,” Wikipedia, 2 December 2004 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish_Free_State>
Chapter One: Constructing an "Irish Savage": the Foreign Threat at the Centre of British Civilization

In its November 18, 1843 issue, the popular British weekly the Illustrated London News advertised a forthcoming serial production: W.H. Maxwell's History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798, with Memoirs of the Union and Emmett's [sic] Insurrection in 1803, with illustrations by artist George Cruikshank.1 Focusing on events of almost fifty years earlier -- the Irish uprisings which had challenged British authority in Ireland at the end of the eighteenth century -- the publication was to be a collaborative project. William Hamilton Maxwell was a popular writer known primarily for his publication of gentlemen's adventures and amateur histories of the British in the Napoleonic Wars against France.2 George Cruikshank was a former political satirist and now premier London illustrator.3 Well known for his visual satires on contemporary political life in the early part of the century, Cruikshank had been more recently acclaimed in the literary world for his illustrations for Charles Dickens' novel Oliver Twist, which had initially been published serially through 1837-38.4

1 Illustrated London News, 18 Nov. 1843, 334. The work was advertised by its London publisher, A.H. Bailey and Co. The first part of the serial publication was to appear on Jan 1st, 1844, and to continue in successive installments over the following year.
2 Two other works by Maxwell were simultaneously offered in the Illustrated London News. Their titles underlined the author's interest in Britain and its military conquests: these were Wanderings in the Highlands and Islands, a sequel to an earlier military and sporting novel set in Scotland. The second, Life of the Duke of Wellington, was a three-volume account of the military career of Maxwell's celebrated Anglo-Irish compatriot, the Duke of Wellington.
3 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. See "Bentley's Miscellany, 1837-1868," Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, Walter E. Houghton, ed., vol. 8 (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1987) 5-14, 529, 841.
First issued in serial installments through 1844, and then bound and published in book form in 1845,\(^5\) Maxwell’s *History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett’s Insurrection*, with its twenty-one signed engravings by George Cruikshank, was a highly polemical work. As the present chapter will show, the publication unabashedly stressed Anglo-British interests in its account of both the Irish Rebellion of 1798, and Emmett’s subsequent insurrection against Britain of 1803. Patently ignoring Irish grievances about the economic and political legacy that six centuries of English occupation had created, both Maxwell’s narrative and Cruikshank’s illustrations avoided instances of English or Protestant brutality to focus repeatedly on acts of Irish Catholic violence.\(^6\) At an obvious level such representations worked to rationalize the Act of Union of 1800, which had sealed Ireland’s amalgamation within the larger whole of Great Britain. Yet the popularity of the history -- it would be published in four editions in London in the 10 years following 1845, with editions appearing regularly until the end of the century\(^7\)-- had other significances.

Central to my argument in this chapter is that a large part of the popularity of *History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett’s Insurrection* rested on the currency that its multi-leveled representation of ‘Irishness’ had for contemporary audiences. Of key importance here is that while the publication conjured up an image of a brutal and violent Irish population, it also gave form to widespread British fears concerning the role of the nation’s traditional enemy, France, in fostering past, and significantly

\(^5\) W.H. Maxwell, *History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798, with Memoirs of the Union and Emmett’s Insurrection in 1803* (London: Baily Brothers, 1845). Another publication of the same title was issued in London in 1845 by George Bell. The initial appearance of the *History of the Irish Rebellion ...and Emmett’s Insurrection* in the form of serial installments was an unusual publication strategy for an historical work. Since its development six years earlier, the illustrated serial had been associated primarily with the marketing of fiction. On the illustrated serial see: Harvey 6-18; Burton, “Cruikshank as an Illustrator of Fiction,” Patten, ed. 115-16; and L. Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1971) 213-249. On serialized fiction see J. Don Vann ed., *Victorian Novels in Serial* (New York: Modern Language Association, 1985). As Richard D. Altick, *the English Common Reader* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1957) 279-80, has noted, the serial form allowed publishers to increase sales by undercutting the circulating libraries. Given that the illustrated serialized format was low cost and played on the appeal illustrated works had for a mid-century public, the mode of publication provided an innovative means of advertising Maxwell’s study.

\(^6\) While there have been no studies of Maxwell’s text with Cruickshank’s illustrations, Ruán O’Donnell, *Robert Emmet and the Rising of 1803* (Dublin: Irish Academic P, 2003) 194, provides a short commentary on the work and describes it in similar terms. However, O’Donnell’s account, while succinct (for example: “Maxwell’s book was essentially a synthesis of loyalist perspectives which were vividly illustrated by George Cruikshank’s racist depictions of the rebels”), is general in scope due to its two-paragraph length (194-95).

\(^7\) The tenth edition appeared in 1877 and, according to my searches, the work was last reprinted in London in 1903.
present, Irish antagonism to the British Crown. It was the rhetorical strategies of Cruikshank’s illustrations that highlighted these features of the text. As I will show in a more detailed analysis of the images in the second half of this chapter, Cruikshank’s visual programme effectively underlined the ignorance and brutality of the rebel masses by emphasizing their association with both radical French Revolutionary and republican tendencies, and with a Catholicism deemed to be foreign. This pictorial narrative made visible widespread British concerns that focused on modern Ireland and the Irish. By drawing on current anxieties around contemporary Irish political events and working-class activism, and by marshalling current theories on race and nation that circulated as part of discourses on progress and civilization, the signed engravings in the History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett’s Insurrection worked to constitute the Irish body as a racial and religious other. Ireland emerges through this representational strategy as Britain’s internal colony, incapable of ruling itself except through surrogate and civilizing hand of the British parliamentary system.

The United Irishmen: the savagery of foreign republicanism

In both its serial and bound forms, the History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett’s Insurrection focused on the revolutionary activities of the United Irishmen, the dissident organization consisting of Anglicans, Catholics and Dissenters which sought to overthrow the colonial government in Dublin and achieve political and economic independence from Britain. O’Donnell has recently observed in a brief account of Maxwell’s publication that while there had been earlier accounts of the United Irishmen and of the Irish Rebellion of 1798, what made the History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett’s Insurrection particularly significant in the mid-1840s was that it was the first to treat the uprising of 1803 led by Robert Emmet, and to link the 1798 and 1803 rebellions together. O’Donnell suggests that

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the concerted effort of the British to stamp out the United Irishmen in the years following 1803 -- either through execution, forced exile, or government suppression - - played a role in the lack of attention given by historians in the early nineteenth century to the events surrounding the 1803 rebellion. He also argues that Emmet's uprising was also downplayed in British histories because the rebellion of 1803 demonstrated both the extent of Irish opposition to British rule and the participation of Irish Protestants, along with Catholics, in republican opposition to Great Britain.10

Maxwell's narrative opened with a description of the years immediately preceding the 1798 Rebellion. Central to his account was that the origins of the United Irishmen could be traced to the republicanism of the American Revolution, and especially to French Revolutionary republicanism.11 Maxwell then described the rebels' careful cultivation of Britain's enemies, particularly France.12 Chapter Three of Maxwell's account described the result of these communications, emphasizing the attempt by Revolutionary France to invade Ireland in 1796 in order to attack Britain through its most vulnerable region, and to support rebel calls for the overthrow of British rule.13 The author traced the first of the organized rebel uprisings around Dublin and an attack on the British barracks in the town of Prosperous in May of 1798 that marked the beginning of the military component of the Rebellion. Accounts of rebel cruelty in Kildare and the military confrontations and reports of rebel atrocities in Wexford and other insurrectionary counties in the first third of the book they were reformist rather than radical in intent (Preface, vii-xvii). Maxwell's publication was in part a rebuttal to Madden's account. Maxwell never explicitly names Madden or his work; however, he claims in the preface to History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett's Insurrection that his own work was a corrective to earlier accounts which " with rare exceptions, have been written by ardent partisans -- who, yielding to a political bias have coloured the narrative of the transactions..." While Maxwell presented his own history as founded on empirical evidence, the documents, archives, and earlier histories of Ireland that he cites in copious footnotes and appendices invariably supported pro-Union perspectives. Two sources used by Maxwell throughout his study are Sir Richard Musgrave, Memoirs of the Different Rebellions in Ireland From the Arrival of the English (Dublin: John Mililiken; London: John Stockdale, 1801), and Rev. James Gordon, History of the Rebellion in Ireland in the Year 1798 (London: T. Hurst; Dublin: J. Cooke, 1803).

11 Maxwell, Chapter II, 12: "The issue of the American contest...the overthrow of the French monarchy -- the victories of the republican armies abroad, and the spread of infidel doctrines at home - - to all of these the system of the United Irishmen may be traced."
13 Maxwell, Chapter III: "First French attempt Invasion in 1796."
mark out the rebels as violent and inhumane.\textsuperscript{14} In contrast, the British Crown's attempts to remedy the crisis, for example through the appointment of Lord Cornwallis as British Viceroy, are designed "to reclaim the disaffected and, induce them to return to their allegiances."\textsuperscript{15} Through subsequent chapters, Maxwell followed the outbreaks of insurrection in other counties, emphasizing a second landing of supporting French Revolutionary troops in the Western provinces,\textsuperscript{16} and the ensuing battle with British forces at Castlebar. The narrative of the 1798 Rebellion concluded with the suppression of the rebels by British loyalist forces and the lifting of martial law in 1799.\textsuperscript{17} In the final few chapters of the book, Maxwell pointed to key events -- from a pro-Union and loyalist perspective -- that marked the aftermath of the Irish Rebellion. These included the turbulent parliamentary process which resulted in the dissolution of the Irish Parliament and the Union of Ireland with Great Britain in 1800, and the subsequent uprising led by the United Irishman Robert Emmet in Dublin in 1803.\textsuperscript{18} Maxwell’s final chapter transcribed some of the arguments delivered at Emmet’s trial, and included Emmet’s final speech from the dock following his condemnation to death. One of Emmet’s declarations, "I am charged with being an emissary of France,"\textsuperscript{19} underscored a key feature of the trial: British claims that the rebel Emmet had sought support from the French government for his insurrection.\textsuperscript{20} Maxwell provided a short two-paragraph condemnation at the end of Emmet’s speech where he described the rebel’s statement as the ravings of a

\textsuperscript{14} Maxwell, Chapter XV.
\textsuperscript{15} Maxwell, Chapter XV.
\textsuperscript{16} Maxwell, Chapter XXX.
\textsuperscript{17} Maxwell, Chapter XXXI.
\textsuperscript{18} Maxwell, Chapter XXXII through Chapter XXXVIII. As the recent study by Ruán O’Donnell has emphasized, pro-British Union accounts of Emmet’s uprising treated the event dismissively and attempted to downplay the significance of the revolt by dissociating Emmet’s activities from the larger network of United Irishmen opposed to the Crown and the Union. O’Donnell 216-18. Maxwell was an Anglo-Irishman clergyman, and, as O’Donnell notes, 194, "deeply hostile to towards the United Irishmen." Maxwell appended his comparatively brief account of Robert Emmet’s insurrection on to a more lengthy analysis of the earlier 1798 rebellion, presenting the 1803 event, and Emmet’s famous ‘speech from the dock,’ as the product of misguided youth.
\textsuperscript{19} Maxwell, XXXIX, 430.
\textsuperscript{20} O’Donnell’s study of Emmet and the 1803 uprising notes that numerous United Irishmen went into exile in France following the failure of the 1798 Rebellion. Many returned to Ireland in 1803 to aid in the uprising in Dublin. See for example, O’Donnell 2-4, 7, 23-26, 57, 225 n68. For an account of Emmet’s encouragement from the French government (he had lived in Paris in 1802 and reportedly met with Napoleon), see O’Donnell 9, 38-40, 223-6, 225 n68. For reports of French contingents massed to invade Britain, see O’Donnell 226 n85.
madman, and concluded by underlining his own support for the Union between Ireland and Great Britain.  

Cruikshank's Pictorial Programme -- an Overview

The History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett's Insurrection, featured two different forms of illustration. The twenty-one signed engravings by Cruikshank were supplemented by six engraved portraits depicting leading British military, legal, and political representatives associated with Ireland at the time of the rebellions. The sixth represented the rebel leader Robert Emmet. These engraved representations -- as in that of Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1798 (fig. 9) -- asserted the conventions of formal portraiture. The deployment of such engravings was a typical feature of historical publications and their appearance in the History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett's Insurrection helped to position Maxwell's work within the genre of historical non-fiction. However, supplementing this visual programme was another series of images: the twenty-one signed

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21 Maxwell, Chapter XXXIX, 432. This chapter is followed by an Appendix which reprints the Constitution of the United Irishman in 1791; Emmett’s Manifesto: “the Provisional Government to the People of Ireland” and a miscellany of documents (accounts of selected rebel trials, financial accounts, etc.) relating to the Rebellion, the dissolution of the Irish Parliament, the Union, and the 1803 Insurrection. It was significant to the inclusion (and condemnation) of Emmet’s famous speech from the dock, that in the early 1840s the radical working class organization, the Chartists were publishing editions of Robert Emmet’s speech from the dock as a rallying cry for reform. The Chartists use of Emmet’s famous speech from the dock is discussed in more detail at a later point in this chapter.

22 Maxwell, facing pag. 398.

23 These included, Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1798 (Maxwell, facing pag. 161); Lord Lake (Maxwell, facing pag. 286), represents the General who along with Cornwallis, led British forces against the rebels and the French in 1798; John Fane, Earl of Westmorland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1790 (Maxwell, facing pag. 295); Arthur Wolf, Viscount Kilwarden (Maxwell, facing pag. 314) portrays the Chief Justice of the King’s Bench who tried the rebels of 1798. He was assassinated by Emmet’s supporters in 1803; John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare (Maxwell, facing pag. 346), portrays the former Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1789. An advisor to George III, he was instrumental in forging the 1800 Union. He supported Protestant issues in Ireland and ardently opposed Catholic Relief bills and the election of Catholics to Parliament.

24 Maxwell, facing pag. 161.
engravings by George Cruikshank. These were interspersed throughout the work and conformed to Maxwell's chronological sequence. Cruikshank's images were strategically placed in the publication on pages facing key incidents in the narrative, most often providing an opportunity to emphasize rebel violence, atrocities or savage disorder. For example, bloody rebel assaults against both military and loyalist civilian groups are imaged in several of the engravings: The Surprise of the Barracks at Prosperous; The Loyal Little Drummer; The Rebels Executing their Prisoners at Wexford; The Rebels Storming the Turret at Lt. Tyrell's; and The Heroic Conduct of the Highland Sentinel (fig.10-15).²⁶ Invariably these highlighted the brutality of the pike-wielding rebels, while ennobling their loyalist victims. The illustrations also foregrounded attacks on representative bodies of the state, as in The Murder of Lord Kilwarden (fig.16), British Chief Justice in Ireland,²⁷ or in The Stoppage of the Mail and Murder of Lt. Giffard (fig.17).²⁸ Similarly, in Carousal 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 (fig.18-20),²⁹ the Established Church of England is repeatedly shown as threatened and sullied by rebel outrages. Threats to the safety of individual -- and significantly Protestant -- citizens and their property are emphasized, for example in Murder of George Crawford and his Grandaughter; the Attack on Capt. Chamney's House; and Rebels Destroying a House and Furniture) (fig.21-23).³⁰ Supporting these, were those engravings which either underlined rebel submission to Catholic ritual -- but which Cruikshank presents as Catholic superstition -- as in The Camp at Vinegar Hill and Father Murphy and the Heretic Bullets (fig.24-25).³¹ Others assert the military prowess of loyalist forces allied with the British crown against such disorder: The Arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald; The Battle of Ross; The Defeat at Vinegar Hill and The Capture of Colclough and Harvey (fig.26-29).³²

Taken as a whole, Cruikshank's illustrations emphasized the destruction and upheaval of the United Irishmen's rebellions of almost half a century earlier.

²⁶ Maxwell, facing pag. 61, 115, 224, 236.
²⁷ Maxwell, facing pag. 409.
²⁸ Maxwell, facing pag. 70.
²⁹ Maxwell, facing pag. 82, 97, 175.
³⁰ Maxwell, facing pag. 66, 293, 384.
³¹ Maxwell, facing pag. 99, 180.
³² Maxwell, facing pag. 48, 112, 144, 288
However, it is part of my argument in this chapter that the pictorial programme of *History of the Irish Rebellion... and Emmett’s Insurrection* activated issues and debates specific to modern Britain of the mid-nineteenth century. Thus, before examining Cruikshank’s images in more detail in the second half of this chapter, the following sections will address the set of factors that gave a compelling resonance to the publication’s pictorial narrative. These include the Irish Repeal movement, Irish emigration to Britain’s industrial centres, working class agitation for reform and representation, and the role of discourses around contamination and disease, Catholicism and the British constitution, and theories of race and ethnic difference.

*The Contemporary Context: the Irish Repeal Movement and the Threat of Catholicism*

Michel de Certeau has argued that the “present” of current events indelibly inscribes the historian’s own time and place onto the historical record. It is no accident, then, that in the early 1840s, the announcement and publication of Maxwell’s *History of the Irish Rebellion... and Emmett’s Insurrection* coincided with debate over the state trials against Daniel O’Connell, Irish Catholic Member of Parliament and leader of the Irish Repeal Movement that sought to dismantle the Union between Ireland and Britain. 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, the Act of Union had been a necessary measure to secure Ireland from its associations and sympathies with revolutionary France forged through the 1790s. As historian Lawrence McCaffrey has noted:


35 On links between Ireland and France during the French Revolution see, Homer L. Calkin, “La Propagation en Irlande des idées de la révolution française,” *Annales Historique de l’histoire de la*
Involved in a life and death struggle with the French Revolutionary armies, William Pitt the younger in the late 1790's decided that an autonomous Ireland was a weak link in Britain's chain of defenses. Using the power of the British government and the wealth of its treasury he managed to achieve a legislative Union between Britain and Ireland. Pitt’s efforts were aided by the fears of many members of the Irish Protestant aristocracy and gentry that Ireland was in danger of conquest by either of two dangerous enemies -- French inspired radical democracy or the revitalized forces of Popery. The inadequately French-supported Irish rebellion of 1798, which allied the radical middle class United Irishmen, the Catholic peasantry of the South, and the Protestant peasantry of the North in an effort to establish a democratic Republic seemed to confirm the fears of the Establishment. So in 1800 a majority of the Protestant Irish Parliament -- some members frightened by Jacobinism and Romanism and others bribed by British money -- voted the extinction of their legislature. They exchanged Irish sovereignty for a permanent Protestant ascendancy supported by the British government and its armed forces.

Such fears of contamination from both republicanism and Catholicism were reactivated in the early to mid-1840s during the Repeal Movement’s most inflammatory phase, as a cluster of Catholic Irish MPs at Westminster sought to dissolve the Union and install an independent Irish parliament. Historian Linda Colley has pointed out that in the early decades of the century, 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. Within this frame, any organized Catholic dissent posed a threat to the British polity.

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36 Lawrence McCaffrey, The Irish Question, 1800-1922 (Lexington: U of Kentucky P, 1968) 1-2. The Act of Union was also designed to curtail the increasingly sympathetic attitudes of the Protestant Ascendancy (the Irish Protestant aristocracy and gentry) for the ideals of economic and political independence symbolized by the formation of the American republic after the American Revolution of 1776. Williams and Ramsden 156-57; John O’Beirne Ranelagh A Short History of Ireland, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994) 89-95.


38 Colley 340, passim.
politics were overtly tied to Catholic rights. His election to Parliament in 1828 (although at that point he was prohibited as a Catholic from taking his seat and finally took it in 1830) had forced the British government to pass the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. The Act had extended the franchise and the right to hold public office to both Irish and British Catholics of propertied, and therefore privileged, status. Catholic Emancipation was received in Catholic Europe, and significantly in France, as a major step towards democratization in a traditionally oppressed "colonial" Ireland. But Emancipation had also served as one of the most potent catalysts for mid-century reactions against Catholicism within Britain, with many viewing the passage of the Act as a potential breach of the British Constitution, where both the throne and state were to be protected from any aspect of papal interference.

Notions of Britishness conceived as an essentially English and Protestant proposition and based on predominantly Anglo-Saxon traditions were ruptured by Catholic Emancipation. This rupture was exacerbated by the critique of British institutions in O’Connell’s Memoir on Ireland, Native and Saxon, published in the spring of 1843. Issued in Dublin and London, and then in France in both English and French, O’Connell’s Memoir was a scathing analysis of the history of English contact with Ireland from the first in a succession of English “invasions” in the twelfth century. With the rhetorical flourish of an orator, O’Connell evoked English

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40 French commentators on Ireland, Catholic Emancipation and Daniel O’Connell are discussed in Chapter Two. As but one example, liberal politician Gustave de Beaumont, whose 1839 publication on Ireland was translated into English and published in London, made it clear that the Emancipation Act was a landmark achievement for Catholics. Gustave de Beaumont, Ireland, social, political and religious, trans. W.C. Taylor, vol.1 (London: Richard Bentley, 1839) 245-48.
41 See Colley 349-54. For a decade following Emancipation, in the 1840s, 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 Church, 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.
occupation in terms of a violent racial suppression by waves of Saxon invaders. Highlighting land confiscation, rape, wholesale massacre, enforced starvation, murder, exile, and transportation for the Irish people, O’Connell emphasized the extended period of racial extermination during which the Irish population “sought for, but could not obtain, any species of legal protection” from the English. For O’Connell the indigenous Irish population was a subjugated race that had never been allowed cultural or legal integration with England. He emphasized that the eighteenth-century Penal Laws against Ireland had prohibited Catholics from ownership of property and engagement in industry and argued that the repercussions of these deprivations produced an essentialization of the “Irish” character.

Bolstering his case for Repeal, O’Connell repeatedly underscored the failure of the British Union to ensure the civil liberties of the Irish people. Continually pointing out the legal breaches to Irish integration with the Anglo-British political culture since Union in 1801, O’Connell insisted that the “emancipation” of Catholics in 1829 and the Reform Act of 1832 had done little to advance democracy. Calling the Union “a living lie,” and evoking an image of the Irish as akin to slaves in the British Empire, O’Connell made an impassioned plea for a separate Irish Parliament under the British Crown, which would guarantee the Irish civil liberties that Union with Britain had failed to deliver. As a final option, he advocated Repeal of the Union with Britain.

The timing of O’Connell’s publication -- which coincided with the huge political gatherings in Ireland termed Monster Meetings in the British press and which were part of Repeal agitation -- underscored the threat the Irish movement posed to modern Britain. International relations also played a role in British anxieties.

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43 O’Connell 1-2, 43, passim.
44 O’Connell 71, passim.
45 O’Connell 70.
46 O’Connell 11-15, 365, passim.
47 O’Connell 43-8.
48 O’Connell 2, 9-10, 16, 28, 34.
49 O’Connell 31-34.
50 O’Connell 35-42.
51 Most members of the British working classes were not enfranchised by the Reform Act, which predominantly benefited the members of the middle classes. Ireland’s general poverty excluded it from benefiting from the franchise. For the Reform Act’s effects, see Williams and Ramsden 193-201.
52 O’Connell 45-47.
53 O’Connell 3.
54 McCaffrey 51-58.
In an era which constructed its present through constant reference to the past, the fact that the French Revolutionary government had come to the aid of the Irish rebels at the time of the 1798 rebellion had serious implications for contemporary anxieties raised by the Repeal 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. Such unease was fed not only by geography and history but also by the current actions of the French government itself.

As art historian Jonathan Ribner has demonstrated, in spite of very public and friendly overtures between the English and French monarchs in the 1840s, a fear of French invasion had never entirely abated in the aftermath of the Napoleonic period and Britain's exhausting wars against France which ended in 1815. In turn, France's technological innovations, specifically its development of steam-powered military ships, had fuelled mid-century British anxieties about Britain's lack of military preparedness and the modern danger of a French invasion. In this context, 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 History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett's Insurrection 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 the political front were exacerbated by theories that stressed an essential affinity between the French and the Irish on racial and ethnic grounds. As historian Lionel Gossman has pointed out, early nineteenth-century histories of Europe served to popularize such a connection by assigning a common ancestry to

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55 On the history of the links between France and Ireland at the time of the Irish Rebellion see Marianne Elliot, Partners in Revolution: the United Irishmen and France.
56 Jonathan P. Ribner, "Our English Coasts, 1852: William Holman Hunt and Invasion Fear at Midcentury," Art Journal 55. 2 (1996): 45-54, esp. 46 and n10, 53. See n12, 53 for a dissenting view. Lord Wellington, who had played a crucial military role in the Napoleonic wars, was instrumental in fanning this anxiety at mid-century. Wellington’s concerns regarding a French invasion were tabled in January of 1848 and are discussed in Chapter Four of this dissertation.
58 Maxwell 1-2.
59 Williams and Ramsden 119-21.
both Ireland's and France's Celtic or "Gaelic" populations. Against this legacy, the dominant Catholic religion of both French and Irish nations only reasserted the bonds between the two.

*The Challenge to Britain's Social Body: Irish emigration to Britain, and working class poverty and agitation.*

The threats to the British Union posed by both the Irish Repeal movement and by Catholicism shaped one aspect of the social and political context in which Maxwell's and Cruikshank's work emerged. At the same time, other factors such as Irish immigration to mainland Britain gave currency to the publication. The 1840s saw a large influx of Irish emigrants into England and this was exacerbated in 1845 and after by the devastation of the potato blight and the resulting Great Famine. The Irish labouring classes who had migrated to "mainland" Britain to seek seasonal or permanent work were often scapegoated in their new surroundings. Repeatedly, the Irish communities in mainland Britain were selected by the media as the incarnation of the worst of the British fears about the working classes in general. Marked as outsiders, Irish immigrants were singled out as "foreign" in spite of their constitutional right to pursue employment throughout the United Kingdom. Given that Catholicism was viewed in Britain as a papal challenge to the authority of the British Protestant state, the "oppositional" religious practice of the Irish stood as a particular threat. Because of their increasing numbers in industrial centres in England and Scotland in the early 1840s, the Irish immigrants' tendency to group together under the protective wing of the Catholic church made them particularly visible. As a result, the immigrant Irish communities raised a set of problematic issues which struck at the heart of British and Protestant notions of constitutional stability.

Particularly 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

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Irish as physical and moral contaminants of the British social body\textsuperscript{63} had gained popular currency since the early 1830s, when a devastating cholera epidemic hit Britain. The trope of contamination relied on the notion of an alien element willingly entering into the healthy body and circulating through it to produce disease. It was a construct that ignored the fact that the destitute Irish entered mainland Britain under duress and in response to demand, and that their presence had more to do with economic displacement pressed upon them by an indifferent Parliament than with a voluntary absence from their historic homeland. It also ignored the fact that Ireland was a member nation of the British Union.

Cultural historian and theorist of nineteenth-century England, Mary Poovey, has shown the degree to which the formation of the modern British nation around notions of the organic social body was fraught with contradictions. Central to the organizing notion of the social as body was, however, the idea that the whole was susceptible to disease in any of its component parts. Within this model Ireland and the Irish Catholic population represented a special site of illness that was reconciled only with great difficulty to the British nation. Presumably the remedy for its ailments would benefit Britain as a whole, but the fact that Ireland was seen to require strict containment and independent healing implied at the same time that it was indeed a foreign problem. Under these terms of exclusion, immigrant Irish in mainland Britain were represented as unwelcome outsiders, whose removal would restore health.

Especially significant in circulating an image of the “Irish infection” that essentialized an entire community as primitive and dangerously contaminating was a medical pamphlet written by Dr. James Phillips Kay in 1832, \textit{The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester}.\textsuperscript{64} The pamphlet was widely disseminated in mainland Britain, where it became a rationalization for efforts to identify and control the “infection of the Irish. As Kay’s work was also given authority in France, affecting discussions of both the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{63} Mary Poovey, “Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830 – 1864,” \textit{Making a Social Body} (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1995) 1-24. Poovey, 7-8, engages the trope of the “social body” which was used in the nineteenth century to refer to British society as an organic whole.
\item \textsuperscript{64} J.P. Kay, \textit{The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester}, reprint 1969 (Manchester, 1832). Cited in Davis, \textit{The Irish 57+}; 223 n19. Kay was secretary to the Special Board for the Board of Health in Manchester; he gave extensive evidence to the commission on the state of the Irish poor and before the Poor Law Commission in 1838. Davis, \textit{The Irish} 57.
\end{itemize}
Irish and the French working classes as Chapter Two and Three below will demonstrate, the arguments of The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes are usefully discussed at some length here.

Resting on medical authority and "recast[ing] physiological disorders into more general social and political terms," Kay's study provided a charged description of the squalid living conditions of the Manchester poor during the Asiatic cholera epidemic which struck Britain in 1832. Kay targeted the growing Irish presence in England's north in the midst of this epidemic -- which struck rapidly and violently and appeared to centre in low-income crowded conditions -- as the source of social and moral degeneracy among the British lower classes and a significant threat to the institutions of civilized society. His highly-detailed descriptions constructed the Irish body as an alien and destabilizing influence on an otherwise harmoniously-functioning British body. More pointedly, his analysis also constructed a monolithic account of "race" associated with the cultural habits of the lower forms of human life which he associated with cholera. Irish cultural practices were linked to those of uncivilized "savages," and were presented as constituting a dangerous influence that would tend to spread "corrupt" habits among the British, particularly the "naturally" clean and disciplined English working classes. Framing the Irish "aberrants" as both resistant to the productive practices of the capitalist economy and as carriers of disease, Kay's representation reinvested the popular English prejudice against the Irish -- as potential sources of disease whose tendency was to move into and contaminate "healthy" territories -- with new potency.

Poovey stresses how the incidence of cholera from 1832 onwards gave all these Irish associations a heightened urgency. She argues that, couched in a medical discourse that concerned itself with the economy of hygienics, Kay's condemnation of the immigrant Irish really rested on an economic argument in favour of free trade. Kay was against the Corn Laws, whose protective tariffs safeguarded landed interests -- and therefore the landed Irish and their peasant tenants. Poovey makes clear that the medical discourse through which Kay's 1832 pamphlet operated "materially influenced" the way in which Whig ministers of the British government -- supporters

65 See Chapters Two and Three below.
66 Poovey 56.
67 Kay passim; see also Davis, The Irish 57-60.
68 Kay passim; Davis, The Irish 58.
of middle-class manufacturing interests and in power for most of the 1830s and 1840s -- formulated the “Irish Question.” Kay’s construction linked the Irish up with the “social and moral woes of the British labouring classes,” and the challenges they represented to the Whig government’s promotion of industrial interests and middle-class values. Poovey underscores the connection Kay made between the Catholic Irish population and popular violence. The recent passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, for instance -- perceived by the Protestant British middle classes to represent a foreign threat to Britain’s sovereignty -- followed the increase of rural violence in Ireland (the Act had given relatively-prosperous Catholics with a ten-pound voting qualification representation in Parliament). In 1831 the failure of a reform bill in Britain was followed by widespread working-class violence. Parliament reacted in haste, and within a year the Reform Act of 1832 had extended the British franchise to members of the middle classes. Though neither act immediately benefited the working classes, whose income was not high enough to qualify them, the passage of these acts could be traced back to the effect of working-class discontent. Presumably, the radical violence and disruption to the entire social body that working-class discontent appeared to produce, would be placed at the feet of the immigrant Irish.

By displacing internal political power struggles onto the model of the social body, Kay was able to represent a healthy system under attack from a foreign infection. The dangers of mobility and migration were underscored by the conflation of Asiatic cholera and the immigrant Irish, both of which entered England through its ports, bringing contamination, it was thought, by connections with the “outside” world. Kay’s plan to restore a healthy balance to the social body was connected to his promotion of the middle-class liberal values of free trade and required the “purging” or removal of the infectious foreign part and the inhibition of further “invasions.” Consequently, he advocated that the Irish immigrant population inhabiting ghettos or “little Irelands” within mainland Britain’s urban centres, be sent home to Ireland.

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69 Poovey 56.  
70 Poovey 57.  
71 Davis, The Irish 59. Kay’s argument that Irish immigrants in Britain return to Ireland set up a conflict with his promotion of free trade. While he set Ireland to one side, Kay proposed opening the rest of the Union to free trade practices across international borders. In this way a symbiotic relationship between employer and employed could be established where the English labourer could take advantage of his employer’s unfettered profits in open markets, and benefit himself by way of
Kay’s influential pamphlet on the working classes effectively stigmatized the Irish while raising other points of anxiety in relation to Ireland and the Irish. The Reform Act of 1832, in enfranchising propertied members of the bourgeoisie, had rejected representation for the working classes. In the following years, when workers demonstrated for the full rights of representation or when the working poor actively sought relief from extreme conditions, their actions would be represented in terms of unlawful unrest, and not as desperate means to accomplish legitimate demands. Often these popular actions were linked to 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." Named for the movement's Charter of Six Points which demanded universal manhood suffrage and the abolition of property qualifications for Members of Parliament, the Chartists were generally favourable to the Irish cause and the thrust of Repeal (although through the early and mid 1840s, the middle-class leaders of the Repeal movement, who based Repeal’s strategy on the powers of constitutional persuasion, discouraged links with the more republican and socially radical working-class Chartists). 72

Significant to Maxwell’s History of the Irish Rebellion ... and Emmett’s Insurrection, and to Cruikshank’s programme of illustrations, is that while Chartist strategies involved demonstrations, torch-lit processions, fiery platform oratory, and strikes in industrial areas, 73 the rhetoric of opposition also included the constant

cheaper bread. Obviously, there was an inherent contradiction in Kay’s plan to stop up the porosity of mainland Britain’s borders to Ireland while promoting the equivalent movement across borders that free trade practices require. (Poovey 71-72.) As Poovey points out, according to Kay’s plan, the end of protection for the Irish export of grain to mainland Britain would eliminate Ireland’s burden on the British economy. The responsibility for Irish poverty would be restricted to Ireland, where Kay envisaged a “natural” solution. Since he blamed the “animalistic” appetites of the Irish, with their immoral propensity to reproduce beyond the means of their potato culture sustenance, he promoted a Malthusian approach. (Poovey 64-65.) This remedy drew on the thought of Thomas Malthus, the eighteenth-century political economist, who believed that a population that outgrows its means of subsistence should be subjected to natural mechanisms to reestablish its balance – death by starvation not excluded. (Poovey 62.)


73 For example the 1842 strikes which resulted in the ‘Plug Plot Riots.’
invocation of the Irish Rebellion of 1798 and the uprising of 1803. For the Chartists, the name of the young United Irishman, Robert Emmet, whose insurrectionary action against the Union in 1803 had attempted to shatter the hold of élite interests over the people of Ireland, became an evocative and ongoing symbol of resistance. The name of Robert Emmet was constantly evoked in Chartist speeches. Not only was Emmet’s final “speech from the dock” with its ringing condemnation of British imperialism and endorsement of universal liberty re-published by Chartist groups in London and Manchester through the 1830s and 1840s, but as well Chartist groups performed the famous speech in dramatic performances “in all parts of the country.” 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. As a result, as the rebellions of 1798 and 1803 raised the spectre of revolutionary events in France, so in the 1840s both the Chartist and Irish demands for reform could re-invoke the United Irishmen and their links with French republicanism.

Both Maxwell’s History of the Irish Rebellion... and Emmett’s Insurrection and Cruikshank’s illustrations took shape within this context. Chartist working-class disruptions were invariably marked out as realms of illegality and irrationality in relation to middle-class norms. 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 that its own political discourse was formed within the orderly realms of reasoned debate and parliamentary petitioning instead of through disruptive practices, the enfranchised British public could support liberal reform measures as one means to fend off radical demands for fundamental, structural change. Self-consciously marking out a position for themselves as a legal and stabilizing factor in opposition to the perceived volatility

75 See “Editions of Emmet’s Speech, 1803-1898,” compiled from the National Library, Dublin; Belfast Public Library; the British Museum; Harvard University; and the Library of Congress among other holdings, posted at http://www.emmet1803.com/editions.htm
77 Epstein and Thompson 128.
of working-class agitation, this middle-class constituency simultaneously worked to legitimize its own rising economic and public importance in relation to traditional land-holding classes of the past. "Britishness" thus took on 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.\(^7^8\)

What the foregoing section underscores is that, by the early 1840s, 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 challenges within the body politic. 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.

**Theories of Race, and Bonds of Blood**

As an historical narrative, Maxwell's text and Cruikshank's illustrations were also influenced by contemporaneous discourses concerning progress, nation and racial difference. Hayden White's groundbreaking study of nineteenth-century historiography, *Metahistory*,\(^7^9\) has emphasized the part that historical narratives play in actively shaping knowledge, identity and what can be accepted as historical truth. In more recent years, studies of Victorian cultural production have taken White's analysis further to explore the complex ways in which notions of history and nation were affected by theories of progress and civilization in mid-nineteenth century Britain.\(^8^0\) In turn, concepts of racial difference were embedded in these analyses.

George Stocking has evocatively demonstrated how, in nineteenth-century Britain, theories of racial hierarchy expressed an "integrated system" of what he calls "middle-class virtues" that could be situated in opposition to categories of the

\(^7^8\) Poovey *passim*.


"savage." Such "scientific" theories operated, according to Stocking, as a "class vision of human progress," one where essentially middle-class values associated with work, property, rational restraint, and religious orthodoxy were harnessed to dominant theories of civilization and order.

The newly-forming sciences of ethnology and anthropology provided an institutional validation for these theoretical assumptions. 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). There was also a popular belief that personality and intelligence were legible through surface bumps on the human skull (phrenology). These characteristics, understood to correspond to certain 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. Racial differences could coexist, as long as binary oppositions remained stable, avoiding any danger of integration or "hybridization." This possibility of coexistence, with homogenous populations in close proximity and in constant social interaction with one another, produced the social anxieties related to invisible "contamination" of pure blood lines.

Emphasis on the visible signs of difference through quasi-scientific methods such as physiognomy were a source of enthusiastic interest to middle-class Victorians according to historian Mary Cowling. Physiognomy, she has pointed out, rested 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.

The growing visibility of the Irish within English urban centres during the 1830s and

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81 Stocking 36.
82 Stocking 35, 36.
83 Stocking 430-45; Young 14; see Michael Adas, Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1989) 250-58, 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."
86 Cowling 5.
1840s — 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, members of the Irish working classes -- seasonally or permanently resident in mainland Britain -- 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, provided a disturbing example 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 illustration (fig. 30) an analogic relationship was asserted by a juxtaposition of an Irish male and a terrier dog. Here, similarities are drawn between the two, with both evoked as scrounging and yapping animals 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 relationship, and in accordance with physiognomic principles at mid-century, the exaggerated cranial angle of the Irish male's head, in conjunction with the flat nose and long upper lip, would also have served to register the figure as possessing prognathous features, a marker understood as indicative of limited intellect and low development on the human scale.

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87 James Redfield, *Comparative Physiognomy or the Resemblances between Men and Animals* (New York: Redfield, Clinton Hall, 1852), discussed in Cowling 34-37.
88 Illustrated in Cowling 37 (plate 24).
89 Cowling 59-60. Pieter Camper's 1791 schema of facial angles and their correspondence to human and animal samples influenced mid-nineteenth 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
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," was used to trace the gradual evolution of the nation in terms of successive waves of conflict. In Britain, this narrative of national progress was articulated through the evocative metaphor of the Norman Yoke that called up the defeat in 1066 of England's race of Anglo-Saxons by a foreign French invader.

As 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 ascribing the origins of royal and aristocratic privilege to domination by 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 to 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" Anglo-Saxon people. As both

was in this work that he described the usefulness of the mixed temperament of the English cob. Cowling 37.


91 Gossman 1-83, 23.

92 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.

Victorian ethnographers and historians would claim, the Celtic/Gaelic populations, defined as of “base blood” and as driven by instinct rather than reason, had survived intact in the remote margins of the British Isles, providing the ancestral stock for the modern Irish, Scots and Welsh.  

This historical and evolutionary context had an important implication for the status of Ireland within the “modern” body politic. Cultural historian and post-colonial theorist Ann Laura Stoler has analyzed Foucault's use of sixteenth and seventeenth-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. Quoting Foucault, she has underlined how the rationalization of European overseas empires had a corollary in terms of internal mechanisms of state power, what Foucault termed a “return effect...of colonial practice.”  

Citing Mary Louise Pratt's analysis of eighteenth-century colonial history where Pratt argued that Europe's colonial ventures ultimately provided models of domination for Europe's own bourgeois order, Stoler describes “internal colonialism” as one result of the racializing theories that legitimized external colonial expansion. This internalization of imperial rule, I am arguing, was operative in mid-nineteenth 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-nineteenth century, given particular inflection by the familiar links drawn between the Celtic ancestry ascribed to both the French and Irish. 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.

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94 On the Celtic connection constructed between the French and the Irish, see Curtis, Anglo-Saxons and Celts, 36-37, passim. Stocking 62-64.
95 Michel Foucault, Defendere la società (Florence: Ponte alle Grazie, 1990) 78, quoted in Stoler 75.
96 Stoler 73-75.
97 Stoler 74-75.
98 Such theories were circulated to educated British audiences through a range of publications. As but one example, the appearance in the Quarterly Review of Jules Michelet's History of France of 1835, underscored the importance of race to national character and the essential Celtic temperament shared by French and Irish. Cited in Curtis, Anglo-Saxons and Celts, 37.
Reconfiguring Ireland: Cruikshank’s Illustrations and the Role of the Visual

While Maxwell’s text was based on a chronological account of past events in Ireland in the form of a quasi-military history, his work was mediated and transformed by Cruikshank’s visual programme into a radical argument for the innate superiority of the mid-nineteenth century Victorian middle classes over the British working classes as a whole, and the Irish working and peasant classes. Indeed, it could be said that Cruikshank’s involvement in the work relegated Maxwell’s text, itself essentially a graphic chronicle of violent events, to a secondary role. As the following section will suggest, the illustrations broadened the appeal of the work beyond an audience for military history to a general middle-class public who read for entertainment as much as for historical information. Furthermore, Cruikshank’s engravings also worked to transform the scenes of violence overwhelmingly represented in both text and image into a moralizing frame that could circulate without censure among the self-consciously decorous middle-class “public”.

It is necessary here to distinguish between the way Cruikshank’s illustrations functioned within the History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett’s Insurrection when it was first published, in serial form, and the way they functioned in the single-volume bound work that first appeared in 1845. The serial form, published in 1844, was designed to hold the reader’s interest, entertain, and build suspense over a series of parts -- all popular functions that would be aided by Cruikshank’s focus on what the journal the Spectator described as “circumstantial details.” But within the format of the higher cost single volume publication issued in 1845, Cruikshank’s twenty-one illustrations were able to reinforce their meanings through repetition and reiteration. In turn, the single-volume form could, more easily than serial parts, encompass the written text within a larger philosophical and moralizing frame conveyed by the totality of images incorporated within the whole.

History and the Fictions of the Illustrator

As cultural historian and theorist Roger Chartier has argued, historic sites where complex shifts and transformations in the social body play out are especially productive for the exploration of mediations of textual meanings. Whether technological, political, or economic, these ruptures provoke re-workings and

99 Spectator, 6 January 1844: 19.
innovations in various media. Such changes are produced to serve the interests and pocketbooks of newly-emergent and shifting markets. But, at the same time, these new or hybridized forms have the power to construct new levels of meaning that complicate the discursive fields shaping a specific historic moment.\textsuperscript{100}

As an illustrated publication first issued in serial parts in 1844, Maxwell’s \textit{History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett’s Insurrection} stands as an early Victorian example of the ruptures to an historical form effected by a new approach to publishing. It also represents the shifts in meaning that a tumultuous present could enact upon historical material. To assess Cruikshank’s illustrative programme, several factors need to be considered. First, the collaborative authorship of Cruikshank and Maxwell raises questions about both the readership’s expectations of the role of the artist and of illustration within a collaborative production. Second, the particular hybridization of forms which constitutes the work -- an historical narrative illustrated in a traditional manner with formal engraved portraits, but these appearing with a pictorial programme that carried other, more popular associations -- requires analysis. And third, the way in which meanings were activated through the visual needs to be addressed. This is particularly relevant to an examination of the rhetorical strategies crafted within the \textit{History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett’s Insurrection} which were aimed at a varied middle-class readership. This broad constituency, with much at stake in the political decisions concerning current social issues, was practiced at formulating their own positions with reference to the various print media of a newly-expanded public sphere.\textsuperscript{101}

Cruikshank’s participation in the \textit{History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett’s Insurrection} was a significant one, and was certainly due in part to his association with historical fiction. For example, although he had not been hired to provide the dramatic images for Scott’s novels at the outset, he had contributed the comic illustrations to a series of Scott’s most popular novels published in 1836-38.\textsuperscript{102}

This had greatly enhanced his popularity among the members of the new middle-class audience, a constituency that bought for entertainment purposes as well as

\textsuperscript{102} Burton 115-16.
philosophical instruction -- resulting in a healthy circulation of a range of "popular" editions of classic works.

The meanings of the History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett's Insurrection were also mediated by Cruikshank's earlier participation as an illustrator associated with the monthly fiction serial, a form that was initiated by Charles Dickens in 1836-7.\textsuperscript{103} As J. R. Harvey has argued, soon after its first appearance illustrated serialization became the most popular vehicle for the circulation of newly-written, as opposed to reprinted, works of the fiction genre. The serial form had certain advantages for the reader for whom the traditional three-volume novel form could not effectively compete; affordability, visual entertainment, and suspense were effectively built into the illustrated serial through the monthly sequencing of parts.\textsuperscript{104} In addition, for less affluent, and perhaps less-educated readerships, the illustration of each installment assured 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.\textsuperscript{105} Serialization also meant "independence from lending libraries" to which readers unable to afford the more expensive and conventional publication forms had formerly to turn.\textsuperscript{106}

The visual and illustrative elements 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.\textsuperscript{107} 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.\textsuperscript{108} Cruikshank's illustrations

\textsuperscript{103} Serialized fiction started with the publication of the Pickwick Papers, which I discuss at a further point in this section.
\textsuperscript{105} Harvey 12
\textsuperscript{106} Harvey 12.
\textsuperscript{107} Gerard Curtis 213-49.
\textsuperscript{108} Gerard Curtis 213-26.
for Dickens’ popular work, *Oliver Twist* \(^{109}\) supplied the visual counterpart to Dickens’ lively and detailed verbal caricature, satisfying the appetite for both closely-observed empirical description (factual objectivity) and humorous entertainment. Indeed the perception of their relative importance was revealed when the *London Review* commented a few years later in an 1847 retrospective analysis of Cruikshank’s work that “we do not wish to undervalue Dickens, but we seriously must say, that the illustrations have very materially contributed to make him popular.”\(^ {110}\)

While the comment cited above postdates the *History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett’s Insurrection* by two years, it does give a fair indication of Cruikshank’s popular status in relation to even the most celebrated novelist of the day. Simultaneously it emphasizes the degree of importance assigned to the visual medium in relation to the written word. Harvey places great emphasis on the importance of the visual in the marketing of literary productions of the time, quoting writers and publishers of the day, who described the ways that print shops used illustrations to market their wares. Victorian publisher Henry Vizetelly, for example, conjured up the excitement with which window displays of the illustrations to serialized novels were consumed by passersby. 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.\(^ {111}\)

The popularity of this display practice as a preview of each serial installment has importance for the *History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett’s Insurrection*. 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-interpretive dimension to the written text. At the same time it emphasizes the degree to which


\(^{110}\) Buchanan-Brown 40.

\(^{111}\) Harvey 10.
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 -- in a popular engraved form -- would have functioned at some significant level as popular entertainment, while at the same time operating through the more circumscribed field of serious history.

The Role of the Artist-Illustrator

Clearly, the status of Cruikshank’s name would have served as a strategic advantage in both the serial and single-volume marketing of the History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett’s Insurrection. His participation as pictorial "guide" to a written description of a violent historical moment -- itself highly graphic -- would elicit expectations relating to his earlier career as a graphic satirist and his contemporary career as an illustrator of fiction. The authority often attributed to Cruikshank in the nineteenth 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, given the booming reputation of Hogarth’s particular eighteenth-century style of satire in the eighteen-twenties, through the thirties, and into the forties, which was promoted by the noted critics Lamb and Hazlitt, any suggestion of Cruikshank’s artistic affinity with his predecessor could only enhance his popularity among the Victorian middle classes.112 Two elements were crucial to this association between the artists. First, a particular brand of social satire infused with "moral dignity," that is, a moralizing judgment on contemporary events or values based on middle-class 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.113

The second crucial element linking Cruikshank to Hogarth was the autonomy each gave the pictorial narrative. In spite of the reputed authority of his pictorial style, the vignette format in Oliver Twist visually integrated the image and text.

112 See Kunzle 175-76, for an itemized account of the consumption of Hogarth’s works through editions of his original plates into the 1840s.
113 Kunzle 169-178, 175.
However, 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 illustration, had forced him to abandon.  

Certainly, Cruikshank’s stated concern by the 1840s with “serious” forms was one way of setting himself apart from the new magazines of humorous illustrated journalism which played a 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. 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. It was thus aimed towards audiences educated in the political culture of the day. Cruikshank would have been a logical participant in such a venture, based most obviously on his

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114 It should be noted, however, in considering how Cruikshank’s 1844-45 visual series for Maxwell’s book identified more with Hogarth’s “elevated” approach to caricature than that produced by James Gillray, that Cruikshank can nonetheless be seen to take up a brutalizing representation of the Irish rebels similar to that which the British caricaturist Gillray had earlier deployed in the 1790s. In 1798, the year of the Irish Rebellion, Gillray had produced at least two caricatures of the rebel United Irishmen in their “military” preparations for a rebellion against England -- “United Irishmen in Training” and “United Irishmen upon Duty” -- which portrayed them as both undisciplined and incompetent soldiers and as uncivilized and savage members of the lower orders. These are similar in tone to Cruikshank’s later images of the Irish rebels. Gillray’s late eighteenth century representation of the rebel United Irishmen also display attributes that associate them with the Jacobins of the French Revolution. In “United Irishmen in Training,” for instance, the rebels perform military exercises in front of a building marked by a sign announcing “True French Spirits,” suggesting that the Irish rebels indulged in alcohol and that they were associated with the French revolutionary ethos. This connection is underscored by Gillray’s depiction of the Irish rebels wearing cocades on their hats that were similar to the revolutionary republican tri-colour cocades of the French radicals. Other images by Gillray also point to the existence of English anxieties about a link between the Irish and the French, two of which appeared even before the French sent invasion forces in support of the United Irishmen and the masses of Catholic rebels. The first invasion was in 1796 when the French landing was thwarted at the last moment because of the weather. The second was in 1798 when the French were defeated by Loyalist forces. (See John O’Beirne Ranelagh, *A Short History of Ireland*, second ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994) 83-85). Two early Gillray satires explicitly evoke a French-Irish association: “The Zenith of French Glory” (1793) and “The French Invasion” (1793). Others by Gillray reference English fears of French invasionary forces: “Promised Horrors of a French Invasion” (1796); “Lord Longbow, the Alarmist, discovering the Miseries of Ireland” (1798); “Consequences of a Successful French Invasion: we come to recover your long lost liberties” (1798); “Consequences of a Successful French Invasion: we explain de right of Man to de Noblesse” (1798); “Consequences of a Successful French Invasion: Me teach de English Republicans to work” (1798); “Consequences of a Successful French Invasion: We fly on the Wings of the Wind to save the Irish Catholics from persecution” (1798).  

115 Fox 217.  

former practice as a high-profile political satirist during George IV's regency.\textsuperscript{117} Both the scale and autonomy that this medium allowed its visual artists would have worked in Cruikshank's favour. While it has been speculated that his refusal to participate in the publication sprung from a distaste for overtly partisan political subjects,\textsuperscript{118} what seems more relevant is that this kind of practice, had he taken it up, would have distanced him from the Hogarthian model of satire which sensitized itself to middle-class notions of respectability.\textsuperscript{119}

Other newly-developing publication forms in the 1830s and 1840s provided the context in which Maxwell and Cruikshank's collaboration was received. One of these, which provided a very immediate context for the reception of the publication was the advent of the new illustrated weekly newspaper. Because of its wide circulation among the middle classes and, due to advertising revenue and its editorial freedom from government or partisan lines, the illustrated newspaper was of decisive importance in the formulation and dissemination of opinion in the public sphere.\textsuperscript{120}

While the popularity of these weeklies was established through their generous use of illustrations, respectability was built, in large part, upon the claims to journalistic veracity of the visual reportage -- although in the case of the immensely popular \textit{Illustrated London News} with its wood engravings representing current events, the decorum of its subject matter (in terms of the avoidance of caricature and satire), also played an important role.\textsuperscript{121} The implications of this new form for the reading of Cruikshank's work in the \textit{History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett's Insurrection} rests in part on the Victorian notion that truthfulness was to be discovered through a detailed and "scientific" observation of the objective world. The wood engravings in the \textit{Illustrated London News} claimed to provide such objectivity, and the wide dissemination of these relatively high-quality printed images thus added another dimension to the reading of all illustrated texts in the early 1840s. As Leslie Williams has shown, the \textit{Illustrated London News} circulated images of events in Ireland -- for example, of Daniel O'Connell attending his trial in 1844 (fig.31), and of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{117} For a thorough description of Cruikshank's production during these years see Robert L. Patten's authoritative work \textit{George Cruikshank's Life, Times, and Art}, vol.1 (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1992) passim.
\item \textsuperscript{118} See Patten, \textit{George Cruikshank's Life}, 343-34; Buchanan-Brown 17; Wynn Jones 82.
\item \textsuperscript{119} Kunzle 175.
\item \textsuperscript{120} See Celina Fox's chapter "The Illustration of the News 1840-1850," for a study of the emergent form, 266-313. Also Williams 163-67 and 208-222.
\item \textsuperscript{121} Fox 281.
\end{itemize}
the effects of the potato famine in 1847 (fig. 7). Within this context, Cruikshank’s engravings for the History of the Irish Rebellion ... and Emmett’s Insurrection could call up associations with journalistic objectivity and historical documentation as well as with satire, and as I will show, with forms of history painting, the latter a pedagogical form which used abstracted language -- often classical or religious in association -- to perform its didactic functions.

In summary, both conventional publishing forms and the innovative variations made possible by new technologies, along with new marketing strategies such as serialization and illustration, 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, George Cruikshank’s polemic against the Catholic Irish as “lower orders” in William Maxwell’s the History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett’s Insurrection could hope to reach large numbers of readers usually excluded by “serious” history -- readers belonging to the emergent levels of the continually-expanding middle class. In the guise of history, Cruikshank’s representations of Irish violence and destruction could be endowed with an air of instructive respectability -- one that in turn, was given an interpretive value for the present.

*The Visual Intervention: The Social and Symbolic Spaces of Citizenship*

Cruikshank’s illustrations in Maxwell’s History of the Irish Rebellion ... and Emmett’s Insurrection concentrate on a world out of control, where notions of constitutional law and order are disrupted by images of savagery, insurrection and social backwardness. Overall, this emblematic chaos is reassuringly contained within the formal equilibrium of the picture plane, but it is also controlled by moral exemplars which enable Cruikshank’s visual programme ultimately to assert the norms of good citizenship. In this respect, the six formal steel-engraved portraits representing British military leaders, aristocrats, and governors which were executed by artists other than Cruikshank, and which appear at various points in the text, perform a stabilizing function. In relation to Cruikshank’s engravings depicting rebellion and brutality, the portraits speak of the stability of the constitution in the
face of serious, but transient, disruptions. Indeed, to set the ideological parameters of the work the frontispiece to the first edition of Maxwell's publication displayed an engraving of a full-length baroque portrait of the Marquis Cornwallis, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1798 (fig. 9). The engraving represents Cornwallis in full regalia, his figure evoking 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 élite 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.

In contrast and with few exceptions, Cruikshank's images focus on the savage or uncivilized violence of the Irish rebels using a range of visual codes that would activate the anxieties of the British reading public. As has been noted earlier, the popular "science" of physiognomy and commonly-held notions of scientific racism could be linked to the features of the Irish, indeed, creating a moral and intellectual inferior on the level of the much-maligned African races or even relegating the Irish to the ape. Cruikshank was known for his attention to physiognomic character, and in his illustrations, for History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett's Insurrection, the prognathous faces and awkward bodies of the Irish rebels evoke these racializing categories. At an early point, (in fact, the third engraving in Cruikshanks's visual programme), the brutal death of a former soldier in the British army, but a Protestant and therefore in rebel eyes, a 'heretic,' sets a standard.  

122 See n22 above for discussion of these legal, political and military representatives who were associated with Ireland at the time of the rebellion. The one among the six engravings in the work to which this metaphorical explanation would not apply is the portrait of Robert Emmet, the rebel leader.  
123 Maxwell facing pag 161.  
125 Prominent Victorian critic and art theorist John Ruskin praised Cruikshank for his "perfect exemplifications" of characters through physiognomic renderings in the Oliver Twist illustrations, among others works. See Cowling 116 and Rauri McLean, George Cruikshank (New York: Pellegrini, 1948) 39.
physiognomic model for use throughout the work. In “Murder of George Crawford and his Granddaughter” (fig.32), Cruikshank’s engraving represents a mob of rebels with simianized features, who brutally use pikes to slaughter the aged George Crawford, his granddaughter, and their dog who, the narrative explains, had attempted to defend them. The difference constructed between the mob of rebels and the victims is made clear not only from the action, but from the distinct physiognomies assigned to the attackers -- low brows, thick lips and brutalized and snarling visages.

Representations of such physical and behavioural attributes were able, in a mid-nineteenth century context, to activate notions of racial superiority and the inherent moral right of middle-class Anglo-Saxons to colonial rulership. 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.

Two other signs of ‘difference’ associated with the Irish rebels also play a role in Cruikshank’s illustrations: religion, that is Catholicism, and class. Although Catholics had been admitted to the franchise and the holding of public office by the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, this only affected a small proportion of the Irish population. Since eighty percent of the Catholic majority in Ireland were peasant and as a result, like the majority of the British working classes, were too poor to be

126 Maxwell, facing 66.
127 Maxwell 66-67.
128 There is a history of British images of the Irish which represent them visually in coarse and brutalizing terms. For example, already in 1798 the satirist James Gillray had depicted the Irish involved in the 1798 Rebellion with coarse and even repulsive features. He showed Irish rebels practicing with a pike against a scarecrow dummy in a visual satire entitled “United Irishmen in Training.” See the Trinity College, Dublin website: www.tcd.ie/Modern_History/Contesting/Module4/key_terms.php. Much later, by the 1840s, even a journal for audiences among the middle classes like the Illustrated London News, as reformist and sympathetic to Ireland and its poverty as it was, published physiognomic portraits of the Irish that brutalized their features. See, for example, Illustrated London News, 7 October, 1843: n.pag. However, it was the satirical magazine, Punch, that took up a gradual simianization of the Irish peasant in its satires for its middle and upper-class audiences. In Punch one can see the effect of this form of representation, and its relation to Cruikshank’s illustrated program for Maxwell’s book. For example see “Young Ireland in Business for Himself,” Punch 22 August, 1847 on the Views of the Famine website by Steve Taylor www.vassun.vasara.edu/~staylor/FAMINE/Punch/Punch. For an analysis of press satires of the Irish, visual and verbal, see Leslie A. Williams, Daniel O’Connell, the British Press and the Irish Famine: Killing Remarks (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003).
129 Stoler passim; see also Adas 208-10.
eligible to vote or hold public office on the basis of property holdings, reference to
the Catholicism of the rebels, which as I will show was a feature of several of
Cruikshank's illustrations, was able to function to reassert the "logic" of exclusionary
parliamentary representation. Another feature of Cruikshank's visual programme
that will emerge in this examination is that regardless of religious affiliation,
members of the middle and upper classes are represented very differently from their
Irish peasant or working-class counterparts. That is, bestialized and prognathus
physiognomic features are effaced when 'gentlemen' among the rebels are imaged. In
other words, 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, which is marked by signs of reason and rationality. Membership in
the gentlemanly élite erases racial referents, suggesting a symbolic bonding that can
cross religious lines. In these instances, the "aberrant" religion of Catholicism 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" to partake in the uprising against British rule. As an example, in the
bound version of Maxwell's History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett's
Insurrection, first published in 1845, the images punctuate the text at regular intervals
with their sequence following the most brutal events in the narrative. Significantly,
the first of Cruikshank's twenty-one engravings depicts the arrest of one of the most
mythologized of the organizers among the United Irishmen, the multi-denominational
organization which sought to overthrow British rule before the rebellion became full-
blown: the "Arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald" (fig.33). Lord Edward, a Protestant
Irish nobleman, had been one of the founding members of the United Irishmen. The
illustrations end with a representation of the plotting of United Irishman Robert
Emmet's uprising in 1803: "Emmet Preparing for the Insurrection" (fig.34). As
Emmet was the university-educated son of the physician to the Lord Lieutenant of
Ireland, the first and last illustrations can be read as a signal to both readers and
viewers that these two conspirators whose birth, and gentlemanly conduct are

130 Ranelagh 98. 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.
131 Habermas passim.
132 Maxwell, facing pag. 48.
described in the text of Maxwell's account, in fact abrogate their membership rights to the ruling élite on the basis of misjudgment and misplaced allegiance that threatens the Crown.

As I will argue in the following section, Cruikshank's twenty-one illustrations work their subjects through a range of social and symbolic spaces which produce their meanings in relation to the practices of middle-class citizenship. To underline this point, rather than investigate the images individually in terms of the sequence in which they appear in the text, they are divided here into three analytical 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, it becomes apparent that Cruikshank's illustrations rhetorically figured race, religion and class as a way of representing 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.

**The Spaces of Private Domesticity and the Structures of Public Citizenship**

If, as Lynn Nead argues, the private domestic realm represented for the Victorian middle-class viewer the symbolic site of national stability, it follows that any deviation from 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 challenge the conventions of normative behaviour within private domestic space and another which can be read as their corrective moral.

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133 Habermas passim.
exemplar. 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. 33), represents the apprehension at the outset of the Irish Rebellion of one of the patriot leaders of the United Irishmen by agents of the British crown. 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 at a remove from the masculinized public sphere, evoked in this case by the female portrait on the wall, the dishevelled linens and draperies of the bed, along with Lord Edward's casual state of semi-undress, 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 turned rebel, it becomes inverted to a site of cowardly refuge. The United Irishman 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 appears 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. 35) and "Carousal and Plunder at the Palace of the Bishop of Ferns" (fig. 36), 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 refined living such as bottles of wine, silver table decorations, chandelier, and fine furnishings -- but on the alliance of Church and state -- evoked by the falling Bible, with its reference to both the monarchy and the Established Church -- and on empire -- evoked by 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

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135 Maxwell, facing pag. 384.
136 Maxwell, facing pag. 82.
"Paddy" in a time of widespread temperance campaigning in England, Scotland and Wales.\textsuperscript{137}

Both compositionally and in terms of the disorderly conduct to which it gave form, "Carousel 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.37), painted in 1774-5. 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 (a sin within Catholicism) would have had a disturbing and ambiguous resonance for a British audience aware of the acute poverty experienced by so many of its own unemployed and poor working classes.

The moral reprehensibility of these combined acts of violation is counterbalanced by the Protestant loyalist example, as in "The Reverend Mr. McGhee's House successfully defended against the rebels" (fig.38).\textsuperscript{138} The self-indulgent Catholic priest, who exerts no control over his marauding constituents in "Carousel 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 "Carousel and Plunder at the Palace of the Bishop of Ferns" is constructed as a disorderly mélange of shabby and, in some cases half-dressed, bodies, the Reverend Mr. McGhee and associates are represented through a visual vocabulary that asserts classical decorum and order. Thus, these Protestant Irish are ranged in a rational space in complementary poses, forming a liminal membrane between the public and the private spheres. The wife of the Anglican clergyman, 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. Her activity metaphorically counters the images of female brutality (beating a child) and criminality (stealing the Bishop's silver) that is pictured in "Carousel and Plunder at the Palace of the Bishop of Ferns," with one that figures a defense of the principles of the home and the nation.

\textsuperscript{137} See Davis, The Irish 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."

\textsuperscript{138} Maxwell, facing pag. 175.
on the part of Protestant members of the middle classes. Cruikshank represents the
gendered roles appropriate to middle-class notions of social stability by means of the
orderly frieze-like scene which evokes the rational associations of an enlightenment
aesthetic.

In contrast, the extraordinary nature and quantity of violence inflicted by the Catholic rebels on the
Protestant body in many of Cruikshank’s images must be read as a powerful
reinforcement of the worst of the stereotypes circulating about the Irish and British
"lower classes." In spite of his “Preface,” in which he stakes out his claims to
objectivity, Maxwell engaged in a strategy that sensationalized the dangers of the
extension of parliamentary representation rather than appealing to notions of
conciliation and fair reform. Cruikshank was 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 made no such exceptions, thereby effectively closing down the
possibility of dialogue between the two sides.

Two engravings in particular represented the brutality of the Irish rebels as
akin to the so-called "savage" races.139 The "Murder of George Crawford and his
Granddaughter" (fig. 32) has been described at an earlier point in this chapter, and
symbolically 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.140 Like several of Cruikshank's illustrations for
Maxwell's work, the "Murder of George Crawford and his Granddaughter" 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 élite viewing

139 Curtis, Apes and Angels, passim. For nineteenth-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 nineteenth 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 October 1862, 165, where the Irish are linked to Black Africans.
These articles and their significance to Punch in the mid-nineteenth century were cited by Jennifer

140 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.
circle, or "interpretive community." 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 groups such as Poussin's 17th-century Rape of the Sabine Women, 1636-37 (fig. 39), or David's Intervention of the Sabines, of 1799 (fig. 40). The extended arms of the wounded and dying granddaughter could also activate references to prototypes like the antique sculpture of the Dying Niobid struggling to remove the arrows that pierce her body.\footnote{Dying Niobid: 450-440 BC Rome, National Museum. Another similarity may also be noted. Like other images of women being slaughtered by foreign 'savages,' for example, John Vanderlyn's The Death of Jane McCrae, 1804, (the white settler is being scalped by American natives), or Goyas, "Bitter Presence," plate 13 in the Disasters of War, 1810-1823, where a Spanish woman is being seized by French invaders, the kneeling pose and the extended arms of the female victims recall the pose of the pinioned father in the Laocoon group. While Cruikshank would not have been aware of Goya's series nor of Vanderlyn's image, the reference to a similar pose in all three is suggestive.}

Another act of violence to the body of an individual would have suggested associations of heroic action during patriotic battle. Maxwell had borrowed the story of the "The Loyal Little Drummer" (fig.41)\footnote{Maxwell, facing pag. 115.} from an earlier history of the 1798 Rebellion for inclusion as a footnote.\footnote{Maxwell took his account of the violent death of the young loyalist drummer from the history by Sir Richard Musgrave, Memoirs of the Different Rebellions in Ireland from the Arrival of the English....(1801) and inserted it in a footnote: A Drummer, named Hunter, of the Antrim regiment, only some twelve years old, fell into the hands of the rebels in the unfortunate affair in which Colonel Walpole lost his life. He carried his drum with him -- and when conducted to the town of Gorey, with some other prisoners, being ordered to beat it, actuated by a spirit of enthusiastic loyalty, he exclaimed, 'That the king's drum should never be beaten for rebels;' and at the same instant leaped on the head and broke through the parchment. The inhuman villains, callous to admiration of a heroic act even in an enemy, instantly perforated his body with pikes. (Maxwell 115.)} Cruikshank in turn inflated 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 Bara, who was, as a range of textual and visual popular representation repeated, murdered by rebellious peasants wielding scythes and staves.\footnote{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}
The Public and Commercial Spaces of the Nation

The action evoked in the two illustrations "Murder of George Crawford and his Grandaughter," and "The Loyal Little Drummer," took place in the context of the public commercial spaces of the nation. The first was enacted on a country road, an artery of transportation, communication and commerce, and the second in a village green, 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. The early and mid-1840s was a time of economic and social instability in Britain and this 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.\(^{145}\)

If the Irish Rebellion of 1798 and the 1803 uprising of the republican-affiliated United Irishmen was seen as a moment of suspension of reason, order and good government, when social discontent took on grotesque proportions, the brutal and animalistic outbursts ascribed to the rebels could also be construed as lurking under the surface in the modern present, in danger of erupting at any moment. Three further engravings play on the resonance that the French Revolution had in England, figuring the worst-case scenario of constitutional challenge, and its threat to the commercial fabric of the nation in the process.\(^{146}\) These images construct a world in desperate need of regulation, pleading for the firm hand of control before the rumblings of radicalism and rebellion erupt into the full-scale horrors of revolution.

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\(^{145}\) Maxwell in his *History of the Irish Rebellion* was obviously opposed to French 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.


\(^{146}\) Simmons 33-62 discusses British concerns about the republican implications of the French Revolution and has pointed out that the July 1830 Revolution in France, which overthrew the Bourbon monarchy, exacerbated British awareness of radicalism in France.
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.\textsuperscript{147} For example, "Father Murphy and the Heretic Bullets" (fig. 1),\textsuperscript{148} displays these "insignia" of revolution wielded in conjunction with the Catholic Church's directives. Ironically, in France, the Catholic Church had been targeted as part of the old régime and as an enemy by the French revolutionaries through the French Revolution following 1789. However, in Ireland, the clergy of the Irish Catholic Church was known for its radical politics by the 1840s and for its support of the nationalist efforts of Irish Repeal. The Irish Catholic clergy was admired by the republican and even moderate liberal French for its promotion of the interests of the Irish peasants,\textsuperscript{149} in spite of the official hierarchy appointed from Rome. What is important here is that any sign of Catholicism -- Irish or French -- would be read by the Protestant British government as a challenge to the British constitution. As noted in the Introduction to this thesis, the Catholic Church in Ireland was construed as having a manipulative hold on incredulous peasants through its agents, the priests. What is conveyed in this engraving 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 to parody the rebels' efforts at war. 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 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.\textsuperscript{150} The


\textsuperscript{148} Maxwell, facing pag. 180.

\textsuperscript{149} Nowlan 55, 110, 180. For a French account of these aspects of the Irish clergy see Beaumont, vol II, 45-60.

\textsuperscript{150} The Catholic Association, was founded in 1823 as an organization agitating for reform of anti-Catholic inequities by several political activists, including the Repeal leader of the 1830s and 1840s, Daniel O'Connell. By 1834 O'Connell started collecting an annual tribute or "rent" of one shilling a year from his Repeal supporters in the Association. Eventually paid by the majority of the Catholic Irish population, the modest "rent" from individuals was intended to replace the salary O'Connell forfeited by giving up his private legal practice. Bruce L. Kinzer, \textit{England's Disgrace? J.S. Mill and the Irish Question} (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2001) 15. The Association and the rent's collection was supported and facilitated by the majority of the Catholic clergy in Ireland. McCaffrey 5-6, 12, 58.
primitive military technologies that are attributed to the Irish rebels, specifically their arsenal of pikes and the occasional rifle, deploy tropes that suggest a socially-backward but dangerous people, unfamiliar with the machinery of civilization.\textsuperscript{151} This combination of social naivety and military ineptitude is repeated in another image, “Battle of Ross” (fig.42),\textsuperscript{152} in which a rebel soldier frantically urges his troops -- primitively armed with pikes -- on to certain defeat in the face of the cannon and rifles of a well-armed and disciplined British force.

Another engraving that depicts the violence associated with Catholicism,”The Rebels executing their Prisoners on the Bridge at Wexford” (fig.43),\textsuperscript{153} also calls up French associations of the rebels. Locating the brutal torture and exetution by pikes of Protestants in the heart of a commercial town, the public space of social and commercial interaction, is transformed to trade, not in goods, but in human lives. The central scene depicts four Irish rebels impaling a Protestant prisoner with pikes and holding him above their heads. The Catholic Church’s supposed sanction of these atrocities is symbolically figured in the large black flag with a cross held by the rebels and marked with the initials MWS. Maxwell’s text describes the flag and its insignia as “a harbinger of destruction... having on one side a bloody cross, and on the other, the initials MWS, that is ‘Murder without Sin, signifying that its was no sin to murder a Protestant.’”\textsuperscript{154} A footnote in Maxwell’s text which describes the massacres of Protestants at Wexford and other towns, links such atrocities to the influence of the French revolutionary Republic: “After taking possession of Erinscoky, they [the rebels] planted the Tree of Liberty with shouts of ‘Vive la Republique’...”\textsuperscript{155} Female deviance frames and underscores the aberration of the action. Women drinking, smoking, dancing, singing, and stealing provide the carnivalesque element in a grotesque juxtaposition with the macabre violence of the Irish rebels. This particular representation of femininity would violate all educated notions of appropriate behaviour and transgress the "civilized" regulation of separate spheres.

\textsuperscript{152} Maxwell, facing pag. 112.
\textsuperscript{153} Maxwell, facing pag. 154.
\textsuperscript{154} Maxwell 153-54.
\textsuperscript{155} Maxwell 156.
In relation to such symbolic spaces of commerce as that depicted in Wexford, an editorial in the Illustrated London News of January 13, 1844 referred directly to the current anxieties that would have been operative for the English viewer of Cruikshank's illustrations. It is significant 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!156

The editorial was a succinct 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. Cruikshank's illustrations provide an explanation for this intransigence in the persons of the rebels and the priest, the surrogate symbols of the Catholic Church.

Public Bodies and Public Institutions: Imaging Citizenship and the State

In opposition to the preceding images of social chaos, Cruikshank's depiction of two upper middle-class leaders of the rebellion who commanded peasant troops, "The Capture of Colclough and Harvey" (fig.44),157 is constructed as an ordered frieze-like tableau that carried associations of the authority of the past and tradition. Cruikshank represents the surrender of two middle class leaders of the United Irishmen who have lost control of their soldiers and can no longer prevent their acts of outrage. As members of an educated middle class, these rebel leaders are imaged

157 Maxwell, facing pag. 288.
very differently to their peasant and working class counterparts. No violence or hostility accompanies the escort of the two men and a woman on their downward journey along the rocky precipice. Gentlemanly conduct and similar physiognomic characteristics assert what are represented here as common codes of shared behaviour and gentility, capable of superseding 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 melodramatic 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.

Maxwell's descriptions of savagery were authenticated through his very detailed and graphic language. In turn, 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 depictions 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 the brutal assault depicted in "Surprise at the Barracks of Prosperous" (fig. 45), an image representing an event described early in the Maxwell narrative, the entire town is put at risk under the cover of night by what Maxwell argues is the rebels' cowardly slaughter of British and loyalist soldiers. The latter are impaled on rebel pikes as they leap from the upper stories of their barracks which the rebels have set afire. Here, as elsewhere, what could be read in the nineteenth century as a form of factual visual reportage, cannot help but display its ideological bias -- the bank of faceless, pike-wielding rebels is counterposed to the individualized representations of the impaled and dying loyalist soldiers.

Violence against the state itself is forcefully illustrated in one of the last engravings in Cruikshank's illustrative programme and one that took place during the

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158 Maxwell, facing pag. 61.
1803 uprising led by Robert Emmet. The "Murder of Lord Kilwarden" (fig.16)\textsuperscript{159} represents a major episode in the 1803 rebellion and Cruikshank's image portrays a mob of pike-carrying rebels slaughtering the elderly Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Lord Kilwarden who has been dragged from his carriage at night. Cruikshank's own graphic representation suggests that the symbolic value of the event was significant. Maxwell's account of the assassination had been a provocative one:

It was during the height of Emmet's insurrection that the venerable magistrate Lord Kilwarden, accompanied by his daughter, Miss Wolfe, and his nephew, a clergyman, arrived in Thomas street on his way from his country-house to the castle. Lord Kilwarden and Mr. Wolfe, his nephew, were "inhumanly dragged from the carriage and pierced with innumerable mortal wounds by the pikemen." \textsuperscript{160} The representative of the Crown is slaughtered, so Maxwell explains, despite his humanitarian treatment of the convicted in the past.\textsuperscript{161} While underscoring Kilwarden's death as an heroic demise Maxwell affiliates the brutal inhumanity of the rebels who were under Emmett's direction with the "lower orders."\textsuperscript{162} He particularly valorizes the final words of Lord Kilwarden who is described as requesting with his last breath that the rebels, despite their brutality, be treated fairly by the British legal system:

...[Kilwarden] hearing some violent expression employed as to the punishment of the rebels, he had only time before he breathed his last, to profer a petition that "No man might suffer but by the laws of his country." Such a death was more honourable than that of a commander who dies in the arms of Victory, and who possible acts a part to secure a posthumous reputation...\textsuperscript{163}

The damage inflicted on Lord Kilwarden's body is symbolically directed at the British judicial system and the British state. In the mid 1840s, when Maxwell's publication first appeared in serial and in book form, this overt desecration of the institutions of the Crown by Irish in 1798 calling for separation from Britain would have actively contributed to the fears that such acts of violence would be reactivated.

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{159} Maxwell, facing pag. 409.
\textsuperscript{160} Maxwell 409.
\textsuperscript{161} Maxwell 409 n*.
\textsuperscript{162} Maxwell 409 n*.
\textsuperscript{163} Maxwell 409.
if modern calls in the 1840s for Repeal of Ireland's union with Britain were allowed to succeed.\textsuperscript{164}

Other institutional spaces had come under attack in representations of earlier events in the 1798 Rebellion: "Stoppage of the Mail and Murder of Lieutenant Giffard" (fig.17)\textsuperscript{165} targets the Royal Mail, organ of communication that unites the nation and the empire. In turn, the Establishment Church is plundered and its contents pillaged or burned in "Destruction of the Church at Enniscorthy" (fig. 46).\textsuperscript{166} Here, music and books of the Protestant Church and the metaphorical body of Christ itself are thrown to the flames under the direction of the armed Catholic priest. His presence is again a serious indictment of the insurrectionary influence of the Catholic clergy. The pilfering mob carries the Anglican church bell away, as the Irish flag with its celtic harp waves above the activity. The bell, soon to appear at the apex of the rebel camp that is pictured in the "Camp at Vinegar Hill" (fig. 47),\textsuperscript{167} calls up in this new context references to the Liberty Bell and the American Revolution. The latter was an event which Maxwell held responsible, along with the French Revolution, for the independence movement in Ireland which resulted in the 1798 Rebellion\textsuperscript{168}

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. 48)\textsuperscript{169} who is portrayed in Cruikshank's engraving as singlehandedly defending 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, which appears in the text by way of a footnote,\textsuperscript{170} refers the reader-viewer to the successful Union of Scotland with England and Wales originating in the early eighteenth century. The footnote, a description again lifted from Musgrave's Memoirs, describes the landing of French revolutionary troops in Ireland to support the Irish rebel cause:

\begin{footnotes}
\item[164] 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 them 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.
\item[165] Maxwell, facing pag. 70.
\item[166] Maxwell, facing pag. 97.
\item[167] Maxwell, facing pag. 99.
\item[168] Maxwell 1-4.
\item[169] Maxwell, facing pag. 236.
\item[170] Maxwell 236.
\end{footnotes}
The French approached the new gaol to break it open. It was guarded by a highland Fraser sentinel, whom his friends had desired to retreat with them; but he heroically refused to quit his post, which was elevated, with some steps leading to it. He charged and fired five times successively, and killed a Frenchman at every shot, but before he could charge the sixth time, they rushed on him, beat out his brains, and threw him down the steps, with the sentry-box on his body.\textsuperscript{171}

This construction of the Highlander as a model citizen-soldier, in extreme contrast to the Irish rebel savage who relies on foreign French aid, 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.\textsuperscript{172} Hugh Trevor Roper has pointed out the difficulty with which Highlanders themselves were integrated into a larger British polity.\textsuperscript{173} For Cruikshank 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 a powerful contrast. While the Highlander has been "domesticated" by submission to British rule, the Irish are portrayed as continuing to resist integration to the British polity. Thus the reader learns from the text, the Highlander goes to his death for the defense of the British Crown with both his individual honour and his ethnicity, read through the Highland uniform, intact.

In an era where the strength of the Empire was demonstrated visibly through the display of military superiority, Irish incompetence is thus portrayed as dooming them to colonial status. The illustration, "The Rebels Storming the Turret at Lieutenant Tyrrell's," (fig. 49)\textsuperscript{174} works to demonstrate the Irish lack of strategic intelligence; "Attack on Captain Chamney's House" (fig. 50)\textsuperscript{175} shows a rebel battalion attacking an isolated and unbarricaded residence in a frontal assault, with the rebels

\textsuperscript{171} Maxwell 236 n*.
\textsuperscript{172} Williams and Ramsden 78-79.
\textsuperscript{174} Maxwell, facing pag. 224.
\textsuperscript{175} Maxwell, facing pag. 293.
exposing themselves to gunfire and employing the tactic of torching and fire, to which in Maxwell's account, the Irish are shown to resort for lack of courage and soldiering skills.

The rebels are also depicted as using fire to flush out sleeping British and loyalist soldiers -- who are then impaled on rebel pikes as they jump from their burning building, in "Surprise of the Barracks of Prosperous" (fig. 45). The rebels also destroy by fire the symbols of the Established Church (fig. 46). A metaphorical link is thereby established between fire and the uncontrollable irrationality of the Irish rebels, whose savagery, once kindled, becomes impossible to control.

Cruikshank's rendering of a major victory for the British, "Defeat of the Rebels at Vinegar Hill" (fig. 51), also exploits the contrast between the military skills of the two camps. Here, amassed under their rebel flag emblazoned with the celtic harp and with the "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, the rebels are cowardly as well as brutal, and lacking the attributes of the citizen-soldier upon which the formation and security of the modern nation-state and empire depends. Without these attributes, and without the fundamental values or native institutions upon which to build an ordered world of separate spheres of public and private, these Irish rebels are depicted as in need of the civilizing Anglo-Saxon yoke.

The final engraving in Cruikshank's visual programme, “Emmett Preparing for the Insurrection” (fig. 34), evokes the private commercial space of an artisanal workshop which in this case is put to subversive political use. Quite apart from its association with the 1803 insurrection, which had occurred only a short forty years earlier, the image had the potential to raise memories of two earlier subversive attacks on the Crown that had in the first instance, Catholic, and in the second, French associations. These were the Catholic Gunpowder Plot, for which Guy Fawkes is remembered, and the Cato Street Conspiracy of 1820 -- a plot by Jacobins to assassinate the entire English cabinet. In Cruikshank’s image, window coverings

176 Maxwell, facing pag. 144.
177 Williams and Ramsden 179.
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. As I have pointed out earlier in this chapter, in the mid-nineteenth century the name of Robert Emmett was evoked by both Irish nationalist circles and those of working-class Chartists in mainland Britain. Given Daniel O'Connell's arrest by the British government on charges of sedition against the Crown by the mid 1840s, the placement of this image at the end of Maxwell's publication had the power to raise British anxieties concerning the current social unrest and kinds of plots the more radical groups in the Repeal Association could devise while O'Connell was incarcerated.

With this threat in mind, the "Camp on Vinegar Hill" (fig. 51), an illustration appearing a third of the way into the narrative of the Irish Rebellion and Emmett's Uprising, offers a very potent 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.

The image draws on the whole range of stereotypes of the Irish that were then in circulation. Most significantly, it reinforced the images popularized by the pamphlet produced in Manchester by Dr. J.P. Kay in 1832, which had become, through various transformations, an authoritative source on the Irish community in England. The pamphlet had played a formative role in activating an Irish stereotype which tied into ideas of aberrant communal behaviour in the ghettoes that were known throughout England as "Little Irelands." 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 Catholic 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. Many of the habits that appeared to be so incongruous in Britain in fact had their roots in the mechanics of survival.

While "The Camp on Vinegar Hill" (fig. 51) could evoke all of these stereotypes, the central placement of a Catholic bishop and cross almost directly underneath both the rebel flag with its celtic harp and the equivalent of the American "Liberty Bell" had other implications. The bishop’s presence had the ability to conjure up notions of Catholicism's direct responsibility for Ireland's revolutionary inclinations while warning of the potential consequences of colonial rebellion. In this way, any economic inequities in modern Ireland which might be a source of contemporaneous social discontent become subsumed in Cruikshank's illustrations under the essentialist signs of difference through the references to a Celtic past and to religious alterity: Catholicism. The bishop's centrality along with the preaching priest in the right middleground could 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 1830s and 1840s.

The incongruous juxtapositions depicted in "Camp on Vinegar Hill" represented serious disruptions to a British sense of order and propriety. Raucous celebration and dancing in the far background of the image are juxtaposed with decorous conduct of important military and state matters, contaminating the public realm. Elsewhere in the image, a 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 Protestant and loyalist prisoners filing in orderly fashion through the wall at the left. The Catholic 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 the person of the monarch.

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

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181 Davis, The Irish 142-4.
background of the image along with implications of a communal and transient mode of life 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. 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 evoked the Catholic belief in the miracle of Transubstantiation. 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 stands as a clever rhetorical device that conjoins the sacred and the profane, or the tragic and the trivial, in an unnatural alliance.

Throughout the “Camp on Vinegar Hill,” 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 an ideological point. The most obvious emerges in the mixing of the lowly genre scene in the lower right of the image and its associations with the satirical caricature of both Hogarth's and Cruikshank's own work, with a reference on the left to the elevated category of history painting -- in this case Goya's The Third of May, 1808 (fig. 52). Goya’s work possessed the rhetorical power to suggest the outrages practised against a nation under siege by a “foreign” other and the patriotic sacrifice of life given by her citizens on her behalf. A segment of Cruikshank’s illustration -- in the left foreground -- pictures, as in Goya’s “high art” painting, a row of executioners, firing shots close-range at the first bodies in an oncoming row of prisoners. In Cruikshank, the executioners are Irish Catholics,

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183 This reference to Transubstantiation would have raised anxieties around the growing appeal of Catholic associated practices within the Anglican church which were supported by the modern Tractarian movement in Britain. Wallis 55-59.

184 Goya's work of 1814 represents the execution of Spanish loyalists by French firing squads during the Napoleonic occupation of Spain in 1808.
rather than French Napoleonic soldiers, and the victims are presumably English or Anglo-Irish prisoners, rather than, as in the Goya, Spanish nationals. For an informed "interpretive" audience\textsuperscript{185} which would be familiar with Goya's work through its circulation in the British print market,\textsuperscript{186} this reference could also function to underscore the dangers of French and Irish associations. "The Camp on Vinegar Hill" had further significance in contemporary terms: the crowded scenario could also 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 they were banned by an anxious government in London, thirty had taken place, the meeting in the Irish Hill of Tara (a highly-charged symbolic site where early Irish Celtic chieftains convened), reportedly attracted 750,000 to one million supporters.\textsuperscript{187} 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.

Emerging at a moment of crisis in Britain, Maxwell's and Cruikshank's History of the Irish Rebellion...and Emmett's Insurrection, defined the normative social body in predominantly anglocentric terms. Within this frame, Maxwell's text, and even more, Cruikshank's visual programme 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 associated with history, science, medicine, religion and labour -- and with art itself -- the Irish body could be contained to some degree, positioned as an internal threat to the politics, legacy and values of the national polity.

As the foregoing has shown, Cruikshank's collaboration with Maxwell in the portrayal of the history of the Irish rebellion and the insurrection of 1803 forged a powerful image of Ireland's revolutionary potential -- one that played up both the dangers of Irish Catholicism and of French republican influences on the Irish insurgents. As the following chapters will show, French representations of Ireland challenged the set of stereotypes that were marshalled in the Maxwell and Cruikshank publication. Such French focus on Ireland served to validate the fears given form in

\textsuperscript{186} I am grateful to Dr. Rory Wallace 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.
\textsuperscript{187} Ranelagh 103.
the History of the Irish Rebellion ... and Emmett's Insurrection but also suggests why the publication was re-issued through the 1840s and into the next decade.
Chapter Two: Crossing Borders:  
The International Exchange of the Image of Ireland

On January 27, 1844, the French illustrated journal l'Illustration featured a caricature of Daniel O'Connell, the nationalist leader of the Irish Repeal movement (fig.3).1 Currently on trial in Dublin on charges of sedition against the British crown,2 O'Connell was portrayed in the French journal as a corpulent and belligerent figure. Carrying sacks over his shoulders and dressed in breeches, an unkempt jacket and a tattered shirt split by his protruding belly, O'Connell stands protectively on top of a lyre and glowers at the viewer. The lyre, emblem of Ireland, is in turn supported by four lounging men, two of whom sneer as they spew pipe smoke in the air. One wears a headband emblazoned with the word ‘Repeal.’ The satire was an unflattering one. However, underneath the image, the caption, “Caricature anglaise sur O'Connell,” made clear that the derogatory representation of the Irish Member of Parliament was one that emanated from an “English” -- as opposed to French -- source. That O'Connell was mocked in Britain by at least one segment of the nation’s public was re-iterated in a longer French text that accompanied the image. Explaining that the trial of O'Connell in Britain had sparked numerous caricatures, l'Illustration implied that the tone of anger that these images displayed was out of keeping with “l'esprit John Bull.” L'Illustration's text went on to explain that the present satire of O'Connell, in its portrayal of the Irish leader as a beggar who was supported by an idle and lazy people,3 was an example of such British hostility.

Le procès d'O'Connell donne lieu en Angleterre à un grandes nombres des caricatures qui témoignent de la colère un peu plus que de l’esprit de John

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1 L'Illustration 27 January 1844: n. pag. Although O'Connell used Repeal as one of his most formidable weapons against the British Parliament, his real intent was to use such a threat as leverage to gain concessions and reforms for Catholics from the Protestant Union. He could, in fact, envision a constitutional union with Britain, as long as it accommodated an independent Irish parliament responsible for domestic affairs. See Daniel O'Connell, A Memoir on Ireland, Native and Saxon (Dublin, 1843) 48; Kevin B. Nowlan, The Politics of Repeal, Studies in Irish History, Second ser. 3 (London: Kegan Paul; Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1965) 8-10.


3 It was through the Catholic Association, an organization agitating for reform of anti-Catholic inequities which he helped found in 1823, that O'Connell, in 1834, started collecting an annual tribute or “rent” of one shilling a year from his Repeal supporters. Eventually paid by the majority of the Catholic Irish population, the modest “rent” from individuals was intended to replace the salary O'Connell forfeited by giving up his private legal practice. Bruce L. Kinzer, England's Disgrace? J.S. Mill and the Irish Question (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2001) 15. McCaffrey points out that the rent was paid in installments of one penny a week in return for membership in the Association (5-6, 12, 58).
Bull. Celle que nous publions ici, empruntée à un journal souvent mieux inspiré dans ses moqueries pittoresques, représente le grand Agitateur en costume de mendiant, supporté d'un peuple de fainéants; nous la reproduisons comme échantillon de la verve et de la gaité britannique au sujet d'O'Connell et du rappel.⁴

L'Illustration’s claim that the caricature conveyed “de la verve et de la gaiété britannique au sujet d’O’Connell et du rappel” was a deliberately ironic one. The image of the Irish leader had been taken from the London satirical journal Punch (fig.4).⁵ In Punch, a very different text than the one excised in L'Illustration -- had provided a British readership with a highly sarcastic account. In Punch’s text, the caricature was labeled “The O’Connell Statue.” In turn, this supposed monument was dedicated:

To One ...who has declared his attachment to the throne, and proved it, by his endeavours to erect a throne to himself; who lives in the hearts of the Irish people and out of their pockets. To Him who is indeed an Emancipator and a Liberator, making at all times uncommonly free. In a word, to Daniel O’Connell, who has identified the interests of his countrymen with his own, by endeavouring to make his own whatever belongs to them. Having lived by the contributions of others, he generously contributed The Brass of which this statue is constructed.⁶

⁴ L'Illustration 27 January 1844: n. pag. "O’Connell’s trial has produced in England a large number of caricatures which bear witness to John Bull’s anger rather than his humour. The one that we publish here, borrowed from a journal often better inspired in its visual jokes, represents the great Agitator dressed as a beggar, supported by a population of idlers; we are reproducing the caricature as an example of British wit and humour on the subject of O’Connell and Repeal." [my translation].
⁵ Punch, or the London Charivari, vol. 5, July-Dec. 1843: 143.
⁶ Punch, or the London Charivari, vol. 5, July-Dec. 1843: 143. The reference to “The Brass” in the Punch caption may have been referring to the inherent cheap quality of the statue, as opposed to the usual bronze employed in public monuments. In nineteenth-century Britain, “brass” was also generic for money and it was sometimes used explicitly to mean copper or bronze coin, perhaps a reference to the pennies collected by O’Connell’s supporters. In addition, "brass" was (and is) used colloquially to mean impudence or boldness, which is clearly referenced here to characterize O’Connell’s affront to British respectability. I am indebted to Professor Joy Dixon for her providing me with this interpretation.
Punch’s image, designed for British audiences for whom textual and visual critiques of O’Connell and the Repeal movement were common, places the leader atop the Irish lyre, thus giving visual form to the text’s implication that O’Connell had deceptively trampled the Irish nation in his efforts to demand Repeal. Such allusions to O’Connell as an exploitative beggar and leader of a gullible people hinged on accusations made in Britain that his collection of a Repeal “rent” was an act of beggary on a massive scale. In L’Illustration, however, and for the French middleclass public who constituted its clientele, such a reading was dramatically transformed. As L’Illustration’s text tersely pointed out, the issues raised by O’Connell and Ireland did not constitute a laughing matter, and making fun of the situation did not serve Britain well: “A ne regarder que la côté comique de la question irlandaise, les rieurs ne seraient pas pour les anglais, qui s’efforcent de se moquer d’O’Connell et de l’Irlande.”

As I will argue, L’Illustration’s image of O’Connell, and its questioning of British representations of the leader, registered a degree of public familiarity on the

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7 The volume of Punch for the July to December term of 1843 (vol. 5) was sprinkled with caricatures of O’Connell. One represented him as an “ogre” who hoarded sacks of Repeal rent from the peasantry (15), another as a dancer who performed in the shadow of his fellow jig-dancing Irish under a sign marking the “blarney” of Repeal (69), and another as a “king” seated atop a throne and receiving obeisances from members of the Irish peasantry at Tara, site of a mass meeting of Repealers that year. Before the appearance of “The O’Connell Statue”, he appears in flight above an inflamed and smoking Ireland while taunting a group of British hunters (89). In this case, Punch’s “Political Summary” provides the introduction for the last half of 1843 and focuses on secessionist matters pertaining to the Welsh Rebeccaites and O’Connell’s Repealers. In fact, more than half the summary was devoted to the agitation surrounding O’Connell, including: the method through which O’Connell recruited membership to his association, his collection of “rent” money from his membership, his initiation of a series of mass or “monster meetings” of his followers to agitate against the British government for an Irish Parliament, and, the arrest and initiation of trial proceedings against the Irish leader and his associates for sedition. Punch, vol. 5, July to September 1843: n. pag. On critiques of O’Connell in the British press and for an analysis of caricatures on Ireland, the Repeal and the Famine in Punch and other British illustrated newspapers, see Leslie Williams, Daniel O’Connell. the British Press and the Irish Famine (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003). See also Peter Gray for an analysis of how the visual images of O’Connell and the Irish population in Punch influenced the formation of British public opinion slightly later during the famine: “Punch and the Great Famine,” History Ireland 1.2 (1993): 26-32.

8 These associations had already been brought to the attention of the French reading public by an earlier well-circulated work to be discussed at greater length later in this chapter, Gustave de Beaumont’s L’Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse, 2 vols. (Paris; London; Leipzig, 1839) vol. 2: 43-44. Here, Beaumont also noted the incident during which an Irish aristocrat conferred the epithet “mendiant,” or “beggar” on O’Connell, provoking a heated response the following day from the nationalist leader.


10 “[Caricature anglaise sur O’Connell],” L’Illustration 27 January 1844: n. pag. “If we only consider the comic side of the Irish predicament, those laughing wouldn’t side with the English, who strive to make fun of O’Connell and Ireland.” [my translation]
part of a French readership with Daniel O’Connell and his party’s goals. During the 1830s and 1840s, the threats of the Repeal Movement to release Ireland from its union with Britain made Daniel O’Connell well-known throughout Europe as a whole. Not only did nationalists within Europe use the example of O’Connell’s reformist movement as a way of foregrounding their own issues of sovereignty in relation to “foreign” control, but Ireland and the Irish also became a locus where the success of Britain as both imperial center and democratic model came under international scrutiny. As this chapter will demonstrate, O’Connell and Ireland had an added significance in France. When L’Illustration published its caricature in January of 1844, the image and its commentary joined a range of representations that had already served to bring the destitution and poverty that characterized modern Ireland to the attention of a French reading public.

The issue of Daniel O’Connell and Irish Repeal as indicated by L’Illustration’s satirical commentary on Punch’s caricature was inextricably bound up with the image of an Irish population that was marginalized and abused by centuries of British-imposed inequities. This association of the Irish “nationalist” leader and a history of Irish deprivations and abuses arose repeatedly in the mid-century literature in France. From 1839 through the 1840s, a broad range of texts representing different political positions — liberal, republican and socialist — were all united on one thing: sympathy for the condition of Ireland and the Irish. Each of them described Ireland’s current and past conditions by activating a metaphor familiar from descriptions of feudal relations and currently enlivened by issues around the slave trade. Applied to the modern Irish, the metaphor of an enslaved people called up a degraded and “unnatural” history, and an Irish population that was victimized by mistreatment at

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11 On general European interest, see Nicholas Mansergh, The Irish Question 1840-1921, revised edition (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1965) 21-55. See also Thomas Kabdebo, Ireland and Hungary: a Study in Parallels (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001). Hungarian patriots who fought for separation from the Austrian empire exploited O’Connell’s Repeal Association as a model for their own organization. Hungarian nationalist politicians, Bertalan Szemere and Ferenc Pulszky, visited Ireland during a European tour in 1837 and both published their respective books, Utazas Kulfoldon and Aus dem Tagebuch eines in Grossbritannien reisenden Ungarn, in Pest in 1840. These texts represented Ireland as thoroughly marginalized by its union with Britain: “whatever horrible rags there are in Britain are brought over here as if in exchange for the crop which they extort from the hungry population.” Ireland’s capital of Dublin was represented sympathetically but unflatteringly as a “city of paupers.” Kabdebo 20-22.

12 For example, for a description of Britain’s leadership in industrial matters, see the chapter entitled “Workshop of the World” in Glynn Williams and John Ramsden, Ruling Britannia (London: Longman, 1990) 232-47.
the hands of an ostensibly “progressive” British system. Ironically, that British system, both economic and legal, was internationally lauded for its economic and industrial advances and its enlightened thinking on matters of civil liberties.

The expansion of Chapter One’s analysis of Irish-English relations in 1798 and in the mid 1840s to a consideration of French debates around how liberal capitalism and the management of its human fallout was represented in France helps explain the rhetorical power that references to France and the French had in British images of the Irish that were in circulation in England from the mid-1840s. My analysis in the following chapter will thus reveal some of the major terms that gave shape to debates in France while simultaneously addressing the currency of the British caricature of Daniel O’Connell in the French journal L’Illustration. My thinking thus moves beyond the frame of national relations in Britain, explored in Chapter One, to engage with the category of the transnational. By tracking representations of Ireland through varied and multiple contexts in France, this chapter will underscore the way in which images of Ireland and the Irish mediated political conflicts between Britain and France at the time of an official conciliatory policy, the entente cordiale, of which most French disapproved.13

L’Illustration’s use of Punch’s caricature of Daniel O’Connell followed upon O’Connell’s own scathing critique of Britain’s— and especially England’s — role in Ireland, which had been published the preceding year. O’Connell’s text, Memoir on Ireland, Native and Saxon, had been issued, in English, in Paris in 1843 immediately following the work’s appearance in Britain that same year.14 A second edition of Memoir on Ireland, Native and Saxon, this time in French translation as Mémoire de


l’Irlande, indigène et saxonne, attested to the text’s popularity with its French readership. Significantly, other French publications in circulation in France over the previous several years had already raised the issue of poverty and oppression of the Irish and had repeatedly brought O’Connell’s politics to the fore. These, which will be the subject of closer analysis through the course of this chapter, reveal that both liberals and the radical left in France responded to the situation of modern Ireland by activating a set of discourses that juxtaposed a history of tyranny, subjection and modern laissez-faire economics with a present defined by civil liberties, progress and remedies to endemic poverty. Such studies included the 1839 publication by liberal politician Gustave de Beaumont, L’Irlande, sociale, politique et religieuse. This two-volume groundbreaking history of Ireland assessed the plight of Ireland’s poor and homeless in light of England’s colonial relationship with the country. \(^{15}\) First published in Paris, London and Leipzig, Beaumont’s study was in its fifth edition in France in 1842,\(^{16}\) and was subsequently published again in Brussels in 1843 and 1844.\(^{17}\) The work established many of the themes that were to be reiterated by subsequent French writers, including the importance of O’Connell to the Irish cause. A travel publication by socialist and activist Flora Tristan published in London and Paris in 1840, and in its fourth edition in 1842, had scathingly condemned the poverty of the Irish in modern London.\(^{18}\) A serial publication by liberal J.-J. Prévost commenced in 1843 (another would be issued in 1845), and argued that Ireland could flourish if Britain encouraged industrial development there, while simultaneously reforming the behaviour of Ireland’s aristocratic and landowning classes by remedying the phenomenon of absentee landlords in rural areas.\(^{19}\) Together, these analyses of the Irish condition used the poverty of the modern Irish as a means to challenge Britain’s reputation as a leading industrial power and to critique its claims.


\(^{19}\) J.-J. Prévost, Un Tour en Irlande (Paris, 1843-46); L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle (Paris, 1845).
to a just and impartial legal system.20 By exposing Irish poverty as an extreme case of the failure of Britain’s “success” these French representations worked to mediate ongoing debates in France. These discussions devolved on France’s own monarchy and its international reputation. They also concerned pauperism and poverty in France, conditions that were prominent through the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s.21 As historian Timothy B. Smith has pointed out, French politicians, activists and writers across a broad political spectrum raised the example of destitution in Britain in order to assess solutions for France’s problems.22 Many among these attempted to rationalize broad-based French resistance to the concept of institutionalized state-funded assistance as a remedy to pauperism. The failure of Britain’s long-standing Poor Laws (and of their recent Irish equivalents introduced in 1838)23 was cited to bolster French opposition to the introduction of similar measures in France as part of the effort to relieve poverty and unemployment.24

Gustave de Beaumont was the first among several commentators to circulate discussion of the Irish condition among French audiences at mid-century. A liberal reformer and member of the opposition parti de mouvement in the Chambre des députés,25 Beaumont was elected to office in 1839, the same year that he first had published the two-volume L’Irlande, sociale, politique et religieuse. Beaumont’s study was initially part of a joint project with his political colleague and friend, the prominent political philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville.26 A decade earlier, the two had set out to examine the institutions of what they considered to be the world’s two most advanced democracies, the United States of America and Great Britain. The task

20 There was a general French admiration for British abolition of slavery and the slave trade on what were thought to be humanitarian grounds. See Beaumont later in this chapter and also Flora Tristan’s cynical assessment in Les Promenades dans Londres, ed. Francois Bédarida 195-99.
21 Definitions of the ‘pauper’ as distinct from the working poor, are provided in the Introduction above. For French debates on the subject see Timothy B. Smith, “The Ideology of Charity, the Image of the English Poor Law, and Debates over the Right to Assistance in France, 1830-1905,” Historical Journal 40. 4 (1997): 997-1032 for a discussion of the numerous French publications and political debates on this issue.
22 Smith passim.
23 Britain’s New Poor Laws of 1834, and the Irish Poor Laws of 1838 are discussed in the Introduction above.
24 Smith passim.
25 This was a loosely-knit and widely-ranging reformist group of politicians in Louis-Philippe’s government. Collingham 24. On Beaumont’s career, including his election to the Chambres des Deputés, see Seymour Drescher, “Appendix,” Tocqueville and Beaumont on Social Reform (New York: Harper, 1968) 204-17, and especially 205.
of writing on each had been divided between them, with Beaumont taking up the
subject of Ireland within Britain’s United Kingdom, and Tocqueville focusing on
“America.”

When first published in French in 1839, *L'Irlande, sociale, politique et
religieuse* was issued in London, Leipzig and Paris. An English translation of that
year, issued in London, also rendered the work broadly accessible to literate European
audiences. As an indication of the initial popularity of Beaumont’s study, the
translator’s preface to the English edition noted “the extraordinary success” which
had marked the publication on the Continent, taking this as “evidence that
[Beaumont’s] testimony respecting Ireland will guide the opinions of a great part of
Europe.” That the study was in its fifth edition when last published in Paris in 1842,
and the fact that an 1843 and 1844 edition were issued in Brussels, demonstrates the
public interest in the French author’s account.

Throughout Volume One of *L'Irlande, sociale, politique et religieuse*,
Beaumont painstakingly drew on British sources to reconstruct six centuries of what
he represented as the deprivations of Irish Catholics. The historical account of Ireland
was divided into four epochs of British invasion and conquest of the indigenous Irish,
spanning the eleventh century to the modern period. The first epoch covered the
obstacles to the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland, starting in the twelfth century;
the second, the several attempts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to impose
the Protestant Church on a resistant Catholic population; and the third, the
continuing legalized persecution of Irish Catholics through the penal laws, the

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27 Jardin 239. Tocqueville had written a well-received book arising out of a trip he and Beaumont had
taken to the United States in 1831-2 called *Democracy in America*, published in Paris in early 1835
(Jardin 224). Beaumont had also published two works deriving from that trip with Tocqueville: a
novel entitled *Marie, ou l'esclavage aux Etats-Unis* (Paris, 1835) and a study on the penitentiary
system, taken up by both of them, but written by Beaumont (Dreschler 210), called *Le Système
penitentiaire aux Etats-Unis et de son application en France, suivi d'un appendice sur les colonies
pénitentielles et notes statistiques* (Paris, 1833). The two men traveled to England and Ireland together in
1835 (Dreschler 212), the first of two trips to Ireland for Beaumont. They shared political views,
intellectual interests and worked together in parliamentary debates (Dreschler 210-13).
1839).
of Beaumont’s book, the English-speaking translator and editor of Beaumont’s work was associated
with Trinity College, Dublin.
eighteenth-century legislation which restricted Catholic ownership of property, Catholic education and involvement in the professions and Catholic political representation.\textsuperscript{33} The fourth epoch, from 1775 to 1829 and optimistically called the "Renaissance et affranchissement de l'Irlande," traced the implications for Ireland of the American War of Independence in 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789.\textsuperscript{34} Both were revolutions that overthrew monarchical and aristocratic political systems in favour of republican democracies. In relation to the French Revolution, Beaumont emphasized that a bond had been forged between French revolutionaries and Irish nationalists seeking independence from Britain. In emphasizing French and Irish links, the author pointed to the widespread adoption of French revolutionary laws and practices by "Irish volunteers" to the French Revolution; the subsequent formation in 1792 of the multi-denominational Irish patriot group, the United Irishmen; and the failed French invasion of Ireland in support of the group's independence effort in 1798.\textsuperscript{35} As liberal historiography in the first half of the nineteenth century in France saw the French Revolution of 1789 as the overthrow of monarchical and feudal power in favour of the legitimate instatement of the French bourgeoisie, so the revolution of the United Irishmen in Ireland in 1798 would represent to the liberal Beaumont, writing in 1839, a parallel metaphor that spoke of the coming to power of the middle classes in Ireland as a result of the overthrow of British monarchical influence.

One of the frequently-repeated components of Beaumont’s historical narrative was the constant displacement and exile of the Catholic Irish over the centuries. These included the Elizabethan and Stuart confiscations of Irish land,\textsuperscript{36} the forcible displacement of the Irish rural population from all of the island’s most fertile areas through the Tudor and Stuart monarchies in England, and again in the eighteenth century under the Puritan Commonwealth leader Oliver Cromwell and later under William of Orange.\textsuperscript{37} Beaumont also noted the banishing of members of the Catholic clergy and aristocracy in this period under the penal laws.\textsuperscript{38} In the second volume,

\begin{flushleft}
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Beaumont turned to the more modern crisis of emigration.\textsuperscript{39} Repeatedly, Beaumont framed all these dislocations as one of the cruel consequences of the history of Catholic Irish resistance to the Protestant "invaders" who ultimately became the landholding classes associated with the modern British Tory party.\textsuperscript{40}

Significantly, the historical material in the first volume concluded with the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, which, for Beaumont, represented a major victory for the advancement of Irish civil liberties. Catholic Emancipation was to have narrowed the legal divide between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants. The Act, which had met with considerable British resistance, had been spearheaded by the present Repeal leader, Daniel O'Connell. As a result, O'Connell assumed the position of the first Catholic Member of Parliament in Britain.\textsuperscript{41} The second volume also examined the aftermath of Catholic emancipation with the author proposing specific remedies for Ireland's currently notorious impoverishment.\textsuperscript{42} These included land reform,\textsuperscript{43} the modification of both the aristocracy and the official privilege of tithing to the Protestant church,\textsuperscript{44} and the development of a middle-class with industrialized interests that would lead to the employment of the impoverished rural population.\textsuperscript{45} Contesting the British notion that the solution to Ireland’s overpopulation problem was either inevitable starvation or emigration to North America,\textsuperscript{46} Beaumont’s work made an overall plea for land reform and industrial development as crucial elements of a solution to Ireland’s current ills.\textsuperscript{47}

Throughout \textit{L'Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse}, Beaumont emphasized the role of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy and landowners in the current plight of modern Ireland. For Beaumont, a dysfunctional and dominant aristocracy had been responsible for an unsuccessful colonial relationship that continued to enslave the Irish both to the land and to their Anglo masters.\textsuperscript{48} By insisting on the historical

\textsuperscript{40} Beaumont, \textit{L'Irlande} \textit{passim}.
\textsuperscript{41} McCaffrey 8.
\textsuperscript{47} Beaumont, \textit{L'Irlande}, vol. 2: 105-20, 160-172 \textit{passim}.
\textsuperscript{48} Beaumont, \textit{L'Irlande}, vol. 1: 5, 16-20. Following Beaumont’s prescription, good colonial management would have included the willing settlement of the conquered country by its invading forces, a commitment by the colonizers to a new life in what would become their naturalized "home" country, and an eventual willing integration of conquering and native populations. According to
reasons for the lack of economic productivity ascribed to the Irish Catholics, and what many considered their contaminating potential, Beaumont refused the British idea that racial determinants were the cause for their enduring marginalized and impoverished condition. The author instead located the cause of Irish pauperism squarely with the landlord class. He thus attempted to reverse the widespread stereotype of the unproductive Irishman by reassigning a similar term to those who owned the land. In *L’Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse*, the Anglo-Irish Protestant aristocrat is termed a “parasite.” It was this group of absentee landlords, who, by exploiting the ill-effects of degenerated policies, lived unproductively off the rents generated by a stagnant and over-populated land.

It is in the second volume that Beaumont addressed at length the importance of Daniel O’Connell to the advent of democracy for the Catholics in modern Ireland. Emphasizing O’Connell’s training as a lawyer, Beaumont pointed out approvingly that, despite the charismatic Repeal leader’s antipathy towards the upper classes, O’Connell still disavowed violence to advance the Catholic Irish cause. Using examples that would have appealed to literate French readers, especially those who approved of liberal and, in some cases, extreme republican reform, Beaumont compared O’Connell’s qualities as a leader struggling for significant democratic change to those of General Washington in the young republic of the United States and to the moderate Count Mirabeau during the French Revolution.


Beaumont, *L’Irlande*, vol. 2: 180-88, 189-248, 368-72. The term “parasite” is used repeatedly by Beaumont to characterize the majority of the Protestant [“absentee”] propertied class, whom the author singles out as the main culprit in the production of destitution and misery throughout Ireland.


Beaumont, *L’Irlande*, vol. 2: 29. Significantly, Mirabeau supported the maintenance of a constitutional monarchy during the French Revolution. Beaumont’s reference to Mirabeau would have underscored O’Connell’s own Repeal platform that called for a separate Irish parliament under the existing British monarchy.
That L'Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse addressed modern Ireland in terms of a centuries-old history of racial conflict, that is, between ‘English’ Anglo-Saxon invaders and a suppressed indigenous population of Celts, was another significant aspect of Beaumont’s study, and one that drew on an established tradition of “racial” histories in France. In the preface to his study, Beaumont noted that Augustin du Thierry’s earlier Histoire de la Conquête de l’Angleterre par les Normands of 1825 was one of only two French scholarly works on Ireland to precede his own. The other was Lettres sur les élections anglaises et sur la situation dans l’Irlande by M.P. Duvergier, the 1827 account of the English elections and their effect on Irish agitation for Catholic emancipation. While neither work made Ireland’s current status a focus of attention, the reference to Thierry did serve to align Beaumont’s work with a form of historical analysis that had been popular in France since the Bourbon Restoration. As historiographer Lionel Gossman has pointed out, Augustin Thierry and other liberal historians writing during the conservative Bourbon Restoration monarchy, developed a theory of “racial” conquest (one where consecutive waves of racial invasion overwhelmed indigenous populations) to explain the social hierarchies that characterized the emergence of modern bourgeois European nations. For example, liberal historians argued that in the case of France, first invading Romans, and then, in the fifth century, invading Franks, had suppressed the indigenous populations of Celts and Gauls. These latter, Thierry and other liberal historians argued, served as serfs to both Romans, and to later “Frankish” aristocrats, and in turn formed the basis of the modern French peasantry. Like Thierry, then, Beaumont assessed modern Irish relations in terms of a centuries-old history of racial conflict. It was this conflict which was the basis of the continued power of the “English” aristocracy over a native peasantry, and which continued to be an

56 Stanley Mellon has argued that Thierry and other French liberal historians exploited the currently widespread popularity of folklore to construct their historical narratives of nationhood. Mellon, The Political Uses of History (Stanford; Stanford UP, 1958) 1-27.
57 Gossman 1-83.
58 See also Stanley Mellon passim and Charles Rearick, Beyond the Enlightenment: Historians and Folklore in Nineteenth Century France (Bloomington and London: Indiana UP, 1974) passim.
anachronistic holdout against modern progress realized through economic development.\textsuperscript{59}

Another important strategy in Beaumont’s analysis was the equation he made between the modern Irish, whom he described as slaves within the constitutional monarchy of Britain,\textsuperscript{60} and the situation of “Negro” slaves and the Native American Indian within the otherwise progressive democracy of the United States. But while Beaumont pointed out that the situation of the enslaved “Negro” and the “savage” Native American Indian appeared to register the ultimate in “la misère humaine,” he indicated that the situation of the modern Irish was significantly different:

\[ J\text{'}ai vu l\text{'}Indien dans ses forets et le negre dans ses fers, et j\text{'}ai cru, en contemplant leur condition digne de pitié, que je voyais le dernier terme de la misère humaine: je ne connaissais point alors le sort de la pauvre Irlande. \textsuperscript{61} \]

Beaumont’s passage ultimately made clear that the modern Irish were worse off than either the Native Indian “in the forest” or the Black slave “in his shackles.” In the first instance, he explained, the “Indian” was starving but had his freedom; in the second, the Black slave had no freedom but did not starve:

\[ \text{Comme l\text{'}Indien, l\text{'}Irlandais est pauvre et nu; mais il vit au milieu d\text{'}une société qui recherche le luxe et honore la richesse. Comme l\text{'}Indien, il est dépourvu du bien-être matériel que procure l\text{'}industrie humaine et le commerce des nations; mais il voit une partie de ses semblables jouir de ce bien-être auquel il ne peut aspirer. Au sein de sa plus grande détresse, l\text{'}Indien conserve une certaine indépendence qui a ses charmes et sa dignité. Tout indigent qu\text{'}il est, et quoique affamé, il est pourtant libre dans ses déserts; et le sentiment qu\text{'}il a de cette liberté adoucit pour lui bien des souffrances...}\textsuperscript{62} \]

\textsuperscript{59} Beaumont, \textit{L'Irlande} passim.

\textsuperscript{60} Gustave de Beaumont’s interest in the tropes of slavery, enslavement and equality in his account of Ireland took up issues he had developed in earlier studies. Beaumont had already published his observations on the institution of slavery in the 1835 novel \textit{Marie, ou l'esclavage aux Etats-Unis} in which he exposed the contradiction of the institution of slavery in a newly independent and ostensibly free and democratic United States. His work with fellow politician Alexis de Tocqueville in 1833, \textit{Système pénitentiaire aux Etats-Unis}, constituted an examination of another institution of coercion and restraint in the same country.

\textsuperscript{61} Beaumont, \textit{L'Irlande}, vol. 2: 204-05. “I have seen the Indian in his forests, and the negro in his chains, and thought, as I contemplated their pitiable condition, that I saw the very extreme of human wretchedness; but I did not then know the condition of unfortunate Ireland.” (Beaumont, \textit{Ireland}, trans. and ed. Taylor, vol. 2: 268-69).

\textsuperscript{62} Beaumont, \textit{L'Irlande}, vol. 2: 204-05. “Like the Indian, the Irishman is poor and naked; but he lives in the midst of a society where luxury is eagerly sought, and where wealth is honoured. Like the Indian, he is destitute of the physical comforts which human industry and the commerce of nations
The Irish, he insisted, were disadvantaged in relation to both, having neither food to nourish the body nor the liberty to nourish the spirit:

...l'Irlandais subit le même dénuement, sans avoir la même liberté; il est soumis à des règles, à des entraves de toute sorte; il meurt de faim et il a des lois; triste condition, qui réunit les vices de la civilisation et ceux de la nature sauvage. Sans doute l'Irlandais qui vient de secouer ses fers, et qui a foi dans l'avenir, est au fond moins à plaindre que l'Indien et que l'esclave noir. Cependant, aujourd'hui, il n'y a ni la liberté du sauvage ni le pain de la servitude.\footnote{Beaumont, \textit{L'Irlande}, vol. 2: 204-05. \textquotedblleft...the Irishman undergoes the same destitution without possessing the same liberty; he is subject to rules and restrictions of every sort: he is dying of hunger, and restrained by law; a sad condition, which unites all the vices of civilization to all those of savage life. Without doubt, the Irishman who is about to break his chains, and has faith in futurity, is not quite so much to be bewailed as the Indian or the slave, still, at the present day, he has neither the liberty of the savage nor the bread of servitude." (Beaumont, \textit{Ireland}, trans. and ed. Taylor, vol. 2: 268-69).}

While Beaumont's text indicated that he supported the emancipation of the Irish (who are described as having "just thrown off their chains," a reference to Catholic emancipation in 1829), there was another significance to his analysis. In bringing the three terms -- the North American Indian, the Black slave, and the Irishman -- into relation, Gustave de Beaumont foregrounded the extent to which a discourse of racial difference had been used in British accounts to rationalize Irish destitution. He also underscored the ways in which Britain's practice of a \textit{laissez faire} liberal economics, which argued against government intervention to correct current conditions of poverty and starvation, had affected the current situation in Ireland.

But the references to slavery had other significances. Beaumont's study of Ireland represented the institution of slavery existing in the United States as a paradox, an uncontainable disease, a leprosy -- endangering the healthy and youthful body of the otherwise prosperous nation:

...Cependant au sein de cette prospérité merveilleuse, qui brille d'une si douce clarté, une affreuse tâche apparaît; ce corps, si jeune, si sain, si robuste, porte une plaie hideuse et profonde: les États-Unis ont des esclaves. Et vainement dans ce pays chrétien, la religion et l'humanité se dévouent avec un admirable
vertu à guérir ce mal néfaste; la lèpre s’étend, elle flétrit des institutions pures,
elle empoisonne la félicité des générations présentes, et dépose déjà un germe
de mort dans une société pleine de vie.64

Beaumont presented the enslavement of Black Africans in the United States as the
fatal “germe de mort,” which violated both civil liberties and “Christian humanity.” In
turn, Britain’s status as an advanced nation is undermined by the situation of its “Irish
slaves.”65

...En même temps qu'en Amerique les Etats-Unis font d'impuissants efforts
pour rejeter de leur sein la race noire, dont la servitude les trouble et les
humilie; en Europe, la nation la plus habile peut-être dans l’art du
gouvernement, l’Angleterre s’épuise en stériles efforts pour se délivrer du
pays qu’elle a mis six siècles à conquérir, et se débat vainement sous les
misères de son esclave.66

Such allusion to Britain and slavery in 1839 raised a contentious set of issues.
French debate on the abolition of the slave trade played an important role in French
foreign relations with Britain, in particular following Britain’s emancipation of its
black colonial slaves in 1834.67 The French press, representing a range of political

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64 Beaumont, L'Irlande, vol. 2: 356. “However, at the heart of this marvelous prosperity that shines
with such soft clarity, an awful stain appears: this body, so young, so healthy, so robust, carries a
hideous and profound wound: The Unites States has slaves. And vainly, in this Christian country,
religion and humanity dedicate themselves with admirable virtue to cure this harmful malady. Leprosy
spreads, it infiltrates pure institutions, it poisons the well-being of present generations, and it is already
planting a seed of death in a society that is full of life.” [my translation].


66 Beaumont, L'Irlande, vol. 2: 356. “At the same time that in America, the United States is making
futile efforts to reject from its heart the black race, whose servitude is troubling and shaming; so in
Europe, the nation perhaps the most adept in the art of government, England, exhausts itself in sterile
efforts to be rid of a country that it has attempted to conquer for six centuries, and disputes endlessly
over the sufferings of its slaves.” [my translation].

67 Lawrence C. Jennings, French Reaction to British Slave Emancipation (Baton Rouge: Louisiana
State UP, 1988) 150. Indeed, it is for this reason that Ireland was described, beyond the “slave” and
“savage” metaphors, as an internal contradiction to the logic of the British empire. Beaumont imagined
Ireland as a “membre gangréné,” an infected part of the body in need of amputation, without which,
however, the British Union could not survive (Beaumont, L'Irlande, vol. 2: 327). Alternatively,
Beaumont represented the Union of Ireland with England as a natural, but terrible, union between
equals, as a “natural birth,” though be it of “monstrous twins, condemned by nature to form only one
Lands: Britain and Ireland, France and Algeria, Israel and the West Bank-Gaza (Ithaca and London:
Cornell UP, 1993) 58-59. Beaumont took the metaphor of contamination further when he described
the depths to which Irish morality had descended because of centuries of English maltreatment: “...[A]
worse condition cannot be imagined than that of all these poor labourers vegetating on the ground,
clinging to it like vermin, and adding to their misery by their supernatural efforts to overcome it.”
accompanied the economic benefits of the European West’s overseas trade and colonialism. Ongoing
leanings (for example, the conservative *Le Constitutionnel*, the Orléanist *Le Journal des Débats*, and left-leaning *Le Courrier français*) had treated the English abolitionist gesture with some admiration. However, French attitudes towards Britain on this issue cooled markedly after 1840 following stories in the French press of British harassment of French commercial vessels over the *droit de visite* ("right to search"), a reciprocal agreement by both British and French governments to permit each nation to search the other's ships for illegal traffic in the slave trade. French public opinion was further inflamed just over a year later with the British seizure in late 1841 of the freighter, *Le Marabout*, on the (mistaken) suspicion that it carried slaves. It was reported that, in the course of the seizure of the merchant ship, the French crew members had been badly mistreated by the British crew. Britain's reputation as an enlightened state, especially with regard to issues of slavery, had shifted suddenly and significantly, and a number of articles in the popular French press began to argue that the British defense of slaves' rights had been tarnished from the beginning by competitive economic motives. Given this issue of France's concerns over the British engagement with the abolition of slavery and the slave trade, it is of little surprise that Gustave de Beaumont's *L'Irlande sociale, politique, et religieuse*, with

exchange with colonial holdings was linked in the European imaginary with the dangers of infectious diseases as well as the benefits of material resources. Cholera, for example, which had hit France and England in a devastating epidemic in 1832, was understood to have arrived from India. See François Delaporte, "Introduction," *Disease and Civilization: The Cholera in Paris, 1832* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT P, 1986) 5. Cholera was suspected to have been spread through domestic populations in Europe by the working class. Delaporte 63-64, 71, 81-82, 102; Nicholas Green, *The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and bourgeois culture in nineteenth-century France* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1990) 48-53. On the topic of contamination, see the assessment by James Philips Kay of the contaminating potential of Irish communities in England in Chapter One. Beaumont's image of the Irish peasant as vermin was able to stimulate fears of cholera at the same time that it called up the disease's inextricable link with famine in Ireland since the early eighteenth century. Beaumont, *L'Irlande*, vol. 2: 207. Delaporte also notes that cholera had popular French associations with government plots to avoid famine, 51-52.

68 Cited in Jennings 90-91. From time to time, the French press published articles by French abolitionists promoting similar emancipation within French colonies. For example, the high-circulation opposition daily, *Le Siècle*, published the anti-slavery position of Alexis de Tocqueville, Beaumont's colleague. See Jennings 153, 157-58, 201. Also, appearing initially in 1845, *Le Siècle* was the site of a full-page review of a serial travelogue on Ireland by J.-J. Prévost. The review pointed out the inconsistency of Britain's position on the abolition of Black slavery with the perpetuation of "ses lois exceptionnelles et barbares" against the Irish. "Variétés," *Le Siècle* 29 June 1846.

69 See Jennings 146-67. That the French government's decision to repatriate the ashes of the Emperor Napoleon (whose defeat had come at the hands of Britain and its allies in 1815) was to mitigate French fury after the *droit du visite* "violation" (Collingham 245-46) indicates the extent to which anti-English sentiment had become a part of the French national identity in the early 1840s. It also reveals the degree to which patriotic feeling rested on the success of assertive, even aggressive, foreign policy in relation to Britain and successful colonial enterprises.

70 Jennings 147.

71 Jennings 145-160.
its condemnation of Irish "slaves" within Britain, was reprinted in Paris again in 1842, the very year following the further inflammation of the right-to-search issue between the two rival nations. The publicity of the "slavery" of the Irish in Britain, in tandem with the rising cry of the Repeal of the Union movement in Ireland and its "monster meetings" led by Daniel O'Connell in 1843, ensured the interest of an increasingly Anglophobic French public.

Beaumont's critique of Britain's treatment of the Irish in 1839 was reasserted a few months later, in May of 1840, with the publication of Les Promenades dans Londres by prominent socialist and feminist, Flora Tristan. Published simultaneously in Paris and in London, Tristan's Promenades dans Londres assumed the form of a travelogue through the city of London, which the Preface claimed was based on the author's observations recorded during her visit to Britain in 1839. Like other travelogues, Les Promenades dans Londres promised to examine a range of institutions and customs; however, Tristan's work provided a searingly critical and negative assessment of British society supposedly "democratized" by the workings of industrial capitalism. Tristan's focus on Britain was deliberately wide ranging. She moved from an assessment of Parliament to the radical working-class organization of Chartists, provided an account of British valorization of Wellington's defeat of Napoleon, and moved to an analysis of prisons and insane asylums, and also

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75 The observations possibly included some of her impressions gleaned from three previous visits, the first in 1826 and the others in the early 1830s. See Bédarida, "Introduction," Les Promenades, by Tristan 20.
76 Tristan's thoughts regarding "English hypocrisy" are succinctly captured in her dedication to the working classes in her chapter entitled "La Paroisse Saint-Gilles," Les Promenades, ed. Bédarida 47-55, 194-99.
considered aristocratic clubs in London as well as the worst of the city's slums. Like Beaumont's analysis of poverty in Ireland, which Tristan referenced in her own study, the extremes of destitution in the British capital were blamed on the incompatibility of aristocratic privilege with the progressive claims of a modern British nation. Representing London as a city of multiple social pathologies, Tristan underscored the acute marginalization of diverse working-class groups in a burgeoning British industrial economy. She blamed the misery of these working-class communities only partly on the industrialist class; more pointedly, she criticized the landed power of the aristocracy, whose protective actions she viewed as responsible for forcing rural emigration to the cities, and whose frivolous and self-indulgent values she saw as permeating and denigrating urban social life.

In Tristan's account, London was a "ville monstre" where extremes of wealth and poverty were encouraged by the progressive political economists and by a new aristocracy of industrialists who supported extreme laissez-faire theories. In turn, the demoralization of disease, crime and depravity, and the disillusionment of inequities and alienation were used by Tristan to subvert Britain's international reputation as a model of industrial progress.

Les Promenades dans Londres was initially made available to readers for the relatively expensive price of 7 F 50. The publication was enthusiastically received within Parisian literary circles as well as among the "milieux avancés, socialistes et ouvriers." The book was also welcomed by a larger public, in spite of the refusal of most large newspapers and influential journals to publish work of such a "revolutionary tone." Nonetheless, Tristan's success with her analysis of London elicited a second edition in the same year, 1840, and a third, re-titled La Ville

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83 Name of one chapter of Les Promenades dans Londres and name of the 3rd edition of Tristan's book in 1842.
84 Tristan refers to the principles developed by Malthus and followed by Ricardo in Les Promenades, ed. Bédarida 194.
85 According to François Bédarida's introduction to the popular edition of Les Promenades, by Tristan.
Monstre, in 1842. As has been noted earlier, in relation to the 1842 republication of Beaumont’s critique of Great Britain in L’Irlande, sociale, politique et religieuse, French criticism of Britain was at a peak at this time. As in the case of Beaumont’s study, this may have encouraged interest in Tristan’s work, given its condemnation of British society.

Tristan’s focus on the “fallout” of industrialization and the plight of the urban worker also made her work relevant to modern labour issues. In 1840, the socialist Saint-Simonian workers’ journal, La Ruche populaire, circulated some excerpts from Les Promenades dans Londres to working-class constituents. Workers in modern France were advised to read Tristan’s accounts of the “slavery” of the working classes in Britain, otherwise vaunted as a paragon of civil liberties, because France itself was on the threshold of a new industrial and manufacturing era:

...cette grande histoire des classes pauvres en Angleterre, de leurs privations au sein des plus abondantes productions, de leur esclavage au centre de l’Etat le plus libre de l’Europe, et dont on vante partout les franchises et les droits civils; c’est une école sérieuse pour nous, surtout au début de la carrière nouvelle qui s’ouvre devant nos progrès industriels et manufacturiers.

A fourth edition of her Les Promenades dans Londres, opening with a scathing condemnation of industrialization and the modern “aristocracy” it had created, was also produced in 1842. Tristan’s first edition had been priced beyond the financial reach of the average worker; the new format of the fourth edition allowed it to sell at one third of the original price (2 francs). Bearing its dedication to “les classes ouvriers,” this abridged version of Les Promenades dans Londres was also dedicated to Eugène Buret, author of a study on poverty in British and French

90 Beaumont’s 1842 re-publication was the 5th edition of L’Irlande, sociale, politique et religieuse.
92 La Ruche populaire August 1840: 8, 11, 19 n29. Cited in Bédarida, ed., "Introduction," Les Promenades, by Tristan 22-23. "...this impressive history about England’s poor classes, about their hardships amongst abundance and plenty, and about their loss of liberty in the centre of Europe’s freest state, whose civil rights and freedoms are praised all over, [provides] a serious lesson for us, especially at the early stages of this new mode of life which is initiated by industrial and manufacturing development." [my translation].
urban centers, De la Misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France.\textsuperscript{95} The dedication to Buret, whose work, Tristan noted, had been published in 1841, several months after her first edition of Les Promenades dans Londres, was an important one.\textsuperscript{96} Tristan cited Buret to emphasize her own point that understanding the nature of pauperism was crucial to any assessment of the condition of the working classes in France.\textsuperscript{97} The reference to Buret’s study also reasserted that Tristan’s own analysis of the contrasts of wealth and poverty in London were to be taken as a warning to French workers of the human toll that industrialization and an unrestrained \textit{laissez-faire} economy could effect.\textsuperscript{98}

The Irish Quarter in London -- St. Giles -- provided Tristan’s Les Promenades dans Londres with a palpable example of the destitution that could go hand in hand with industrial progress. Evoking both Buret and Gustave de Beaumont on matters concerning the plight of Ireland and the destitution of the Irish, Tristan’s description of the Irish quarter emphasized the foul smells of the neighbourhood, the squalor, the barefoot poor, and “des enfants gisant dans la boue comme des porceaux.”\textsuperscript{99} The contemporary reader may not have been aware of Dr. James Philips Kay’s well-known study on the working class conditions in Manchester which emphasized the contaminating degradation of Britain’s “little Irelands”,\textsuperscript{100} nor of Eugène Buret’s carefully documented study on poverty which quoted Kay’s findings frequently. Nevertheless, Tristan’s images of St. Giles would compel the reader to think in terms of the environmentalist discourse of the day, one which associated disease and “immoral” living practices with visible signs of destitution and class difference.\textsuperscript{101} The sense of debased humanity to be found in the Irish Quarter was produced in Tristan’s evocative and descriptive text through visceral imagery and the use of animalistic terms. Thus, the cramped room within which a family sleeps was referred


\textsuperscript{96} See Tristan,"Avant-propos," Les Promenades, ed. Bédarida 59-60, for her reference to Buret. Tristan also noted that Gustave de Beaumont’s 1839 study of modern Ireland had appeared several months before her own publication.


\textsuperscript{100} Kay’s treatise of 1832 is discussed in Chapter 1 above.

\textsuperscript{101} On the environmentalist discourse and its construction of the association of disease with class unrest, see Nicholas Green 48-53. On disease, see Delaporte \textit{passim}. 
to as “un chenil ou couchent pêle-mêle père, mère, fils, filles et amis...,” that is, a “kennel” where the father, mother, sons, daughters and friends all sleep together in a disorderly fashion. Again, Tristan evoked animalistic stupor with her reference to the eyes of the Irish, describing them as “leurs yeux caves” expressing “une stupidité féroce.” To underscore their marginalization within modern London, the Irish in St. Giles were ranked along with Black Africans in terms of their remove from western civilization: “Tout sont d’une maigreur effrayante; étoilés, souffrants, et remplis de maux au visage, au cou et aux mains; ils ont la peau si sale, les cheveux tellement encrassées et ebouriffés qu’ils paraissent des nègres crépus...” [my italics]

The degradation of Irish women in London was also emphasized in Tristan’s text. While Irish women in the parish of St. Giles were not to be distinguished in degree of poverty from the ragged men and boys in their community, they do provide a contrast with the figure of a different kind of Irishwoman in a section which Tristan devoted to prostitution entitled “Filles Publiques.” In opposition to the image of destitute women in St. Giles (for example, “des femmes nourrices, pieds nus, n’ayant qu’une chemise qui tombait en lambeaux et laissait voir leur corps nus presque en entier...”), Tristan described “une femme superbe... une irlandaise d’une beauté extraordinaire” whose treatment by the clientele of an upper class men’s club outside of the quarter resulted in her complete degradation. In what can be taken as a metaphor for the abuse of Ireland by its absentee landlords and their agents, the young woman was finally so used, drunk and filthy that she was kicked out of the club by the waiters like a bag of garbage -- “un paquet d’ordures.”

104 Tristan, Les Promenades, ed. Bédarida 193. Hawkes translated this passage as follows: “they are all fearfully thin, emaciated and sickly, their faces, necks and hands are covered with sores; their skin is so filthy and their hair so matted and dishevelled that they look like negroes.” Tristan, The London Journal, trans. Hawkes 157-58. On the equation of the Irish with African Blacks, see Chapter One above and the scientific racial theory developed during the nineteenth century as Stocking and others represent it.
107 Tristan describes her “vêtue avec une simplicité élégante” in Les Promenades, ed. Bédarida. An account of her degradation from this state can be found in a footnote to the main text: 130-31 n*.
108 “Elle entre vers deux heures du matin, vêtue avec une simplicité élégante qui rehaussait encore l’éclat de sa beauté. Elle avait une robe de satin blanc, ses gants demi-longues laissaient voir ses jolies bras; de charmants petits souliers roses dessinaient ses pieds mignons, et une espèce de diadème en
Tristan’s account of her observations of London life contained cruel contrasts, such as her attendance at London’s Houses of Parliament. There, she witnessed a performance by Daniel O’Connell in the House of Commons, whose stirring oratory on behalf of his wretched and impoverished population held out the possibility of hope for the Irish people. However, given Tristan’s assessment of the English, she was skeptical regarding positive change for any of the oppressed peoples -- Irish or English working classes. Indeed, Tristan’s analysis of the condition of London’s working classes served to critique the authenticity of British humanitarian gestures and their real interest in human welfare. Thus, she pointed to the hypocrisy of the recommendations of British ‘moralists’ and politicians that the destitute could overcome their situation by fasting and avoiding marriage, describing such “remedies” as patently absurd. And, like Beaumont, whose commentary on the enslavement of the Irish tapped current debates on abolition, Tristan compared the inconsistency of the domestic oppression and enslavement of British workers with Britain’s international profile on the abolition and the emancipation of the Black slaves. Pointing to the condition of Britain’s “emancipated” slaves in Jamaica with skepticism, she emphasized the hardship and poverty they would still need to endure until they worked off their indentured labour. She concluded that British humanitarianism, which had been praised in France for more than thirty years, was nothing but commercial self-interest: “le grand acte d’humanité qu’on nous prône...”

perles couronnait sa tête. Trois heures après, cette même femme gisait à terre morte ivre! Sa robe était dégoûtante! Chacun jetait sur ses belles épaules, sur sa magnifique poitrine, des verres de vin, de liqueur, etc. Les garçons de le taverne la foudraient au pieds comme un paquet d’ordures. Oh! Il faut avoir été témoin d’une aussi indigne profanation de l’être humain pour y croire ...


depuis trente ans n’est autre chose qu’un calcul commercial bien réfléchi, bien pesé!"\textsuperscript{113}

In 1843, the same year that the French translation of Daniel O’Connell’s condemnation of Britain’s role in Ireland was published in Paris, yet another French account of Ireland was put into circulation, this time by a supporter of liberal capitalism. J.-J. Prévost’s \textit{Un Tour en Irlande} was a travelogue that was issued in serial form from 1843 until 1846.\textsuperscript{114} The new publication identified its author as the editor of the \textit{Revue britannique}, the well-known French periodical that featured articles gathered from British periodicals on topics that ranged from geography, natural history, social and cultural histories, to debates on current social issues.\textsuperscript{115} \textit{Un Tour en Irlande} took the format of letters written by Prévost to prominent French figures while the author traveled in Ireland between 1843 and 1845. The letters were addressed to the editors of French newspapers – for example, the conservative daily, \textit{Le Constitutionnel} and the liberal journal, \textit{La Revue de Paris}, as well as to well-known public figures including the republican député and literary author Victor Hugo, and the former French consul to Dublin, M.E. Herbert, whom Prévost identified as associated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.\textsuperscript{116}

At one level, the timing of Prévost’s publication responded to ongoing publicity in France concerning poverty and discrimination in Ireland that Daniel O’Connell’s political activities had brought to the fore.\textsuperscript{117} In fact, the text of Prévost’s \textit{Un Tour en Irlande}, which referenced Beaumont’s earlier description of poverty in Ireland,\textsuperscript{118} juxtaposed an account of Irish destitution and lack of commercial and

\textsuperscript{113} Tristan, \textit{Les Promenades}, ed. Bédarida 197. “The great act of humanity that has been represented as such for thirty years is nothing other than a well-measured, well-considered commercial calculation.” [my translation]

\textsuperscript{114} The series which constituted \textit{Un Tour en Irlande} appeared between 1843 and 1846. See Prévost, \textit{Un Tour en Irlande} (Paris, 1846). J.-J. Prévost’s \textit{Un Tour en Irlande} represented a shift in the treatment of Great Britain where Ireland was examined \textit{not} as a region of Great Britain – as had been the case in earlier traditional narratives such as Amedée Pichot’s \textit{L’Angleterre pittoresque, histoire des trois royaumes} (Paris, 1825).


\textsuperscript{116} Letter xvi, March 1845. Other letters by Prévost include his letter to A.M.F. Halévy, “membre de l’Institut,” Letter xiv.

\textsuperscript{117} Prévost discusses O’Connell’s efforts to reform Irish politics and discloses his own (Prévost’s) anxieties over O’Connell’s tactics of agitation, \textit{Un Tour} 10-15, 53.

\textsuperscript{118} Prévost refers to Gustave de Beaumont as having “rendu de si grands services à la cause de l’Irlande,” in Prévost, \textit{Un Tour} 9. (A fifth edition of Beaumont’s work, \textit{L’Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse}, had been published in Paris in 1842 and an edition was published in Brussels in 1843.) Though Prévost’s description of O’Connell is more qualified than Beaumont’s account of the Irish
industrial development with an English landscape of prosperity. Prévost’s narrative described how he traveled in comfort and speed by train across England to Liverpool, from where he was transported by ship to the port of Kingstown, Ireland. Over the course of his letters, the author provided an account of Ireland’s history, its built and natural environments, the character and practices of the Irish people, their current social condition and the state of Irish commerce. Prévost also wrote extensively about the extremes of poverty that confronted the foreign traveler and about the massive emigration of the Irish to colonies abroad. For Prévost, this forced exodus was lamentable as the Irish people were especially attached to their native soil and ancestral homeland. Such emigration, he stressed, was also unnecessary. As in the earlier studies on Ireland that had been published in France -- those by Beaumont, O’Connell, and Tristan -- it was the absentee landlord, as opposed to the Irish peasants, who were blamed for agricultural failure in Ireland and the starvation or emigration which resulted. Prévost counterposed a potentially vigorous peasantry with an obsolete and unproductive system of landownership, blaming the absent landlords for having neglected vast tracts of agricultural land that could potentially support millions of peasants:

N’est-il pas triste de voir ainsi arracher à l’Irlande ses vigoureux enfants, quand on pense que la moitié du pays reste sans culture, que de vastes domaines possédés des lords insouciants qui n’ont jamais daigné y mettre le pied, pourrait, s’ils étaient bien administrés, faire vivre dans l’abondance des millions de paysans!...

nationalist leader, he recognizes the power O’Connell has over the Irish Catholic peasantry – the Repeal leader is described as “toujours le roi, l’idôle de ce peuple [irlandais].” (Prévost, Un Tour 15.) But Prévost clearly is concerned that O’Connell’s efforts at reform of the British Union will be in vain. “Avec cette puissante armée, si bien disciplinée, et qui lui obéit si aveuglement, il pourra faire encore de grandes choses, pourvu toutefois qu’il ne s’obstine pas à se briser contre l’impossible.” (Prévost, Un Tour 15). “With this powerful army, so well-disciplined, and which obeys him so blindly, he will do great things again, provided that he does not obstinantly persist in attempting to achieve the impossible.” [my translation].

119 Prévost, Un Tour 4, 5.
120 “Les paysans irlandais adorent leurs pays; la plupart entre eux aime mieux souffrir, être à jamais pauvres et nus, et même périr de faim, plutôt que d’abandonner le sol qui les a vu naître, la terre sacrée où reposent leurs aieux…” Prévost, Un Tour 229. “Irish farmers adore their country, most of them prefer to suffer, to live forever poor and naked, and even to die of hunger, rather than leave the soil that bore them, that sacred earth where their forefathers rest.” [my translation].
121 Prévost, Un Tour 227-29. “Is it not sad to see Ireland’s vigorous children torn away from their country, when one considers that half of the country remains without cultivation, that carefree landowners who have never even laid foot on these lands, could, if they were well-administered, help millions of farmers live in abundance!” [my translation].
Prévost predicted that stability in Ireland would only occur when the absentee landowners of Ireland returned to take up their responsibilities on the land.

L’Irlande ne sera définitivement tranquille et heureuse que lorsque les maitres, comprennent enfin leurs véritables intérêts et toute la responsabilité qui pèse sur eux, penseront qu’ils n’ont pas le droit d’affamer un peuple en laissant leurs terres dans l’abandon.¹²²

In contrast to this condemnation of absentee landlords -- predominantly Anglo-Irish and aristocratic -- the Catholic church and the local clergy were praised for their ongoing sacrifices on behalf of their rural and peasant constituencies.¹²³

Equally important to Prévost’s representation of Ireland was his emphasis on the historic associations between Ireland and France. In particular, he pointed to the links between the radical United Irishmen during the Irish Rebellion against Britain in 1798 and the ideals of the French Revolution. Making a point of honouring the memory of the nationalists -- most of whom were exiled or executed following the rebellion and the attempt at a subsequent rising under Robert Emmet in 1803 -- Prévost visited the graves (conjured up in his text as ‘shrines’) of prominent members of the United Irishmen in Dublin.¹²⁴ Prévost noted: “...la Révolution française, qui ébranla l’Europe et le monde entier, excita principalement en Irlande le plus vif enthousiasme et les plus ardents sympathies.”¹²⁵ The fact that Prévost expressed admiration for the United Irishmen’s nationalist cause was given contemporary relevance by his focus elsewhere in the Irish capital on the ongoing social inequities he encountered in the form of starvation and begging.¹²⁶ Revealing his own and his French readership’s awareness of ongoing debates in France on remedies for

¹²² Prévost, Un Tour 227-29. "Ireland will definitely not be peaceful and happy until its masters, finally understanding their real interests and everything that they are responsible for, realize that they do not have the right to starve a people by neglecting their lands." [my translation].

¹²³ For example, their patriotic sacrifices for the rural population extend to accompanying their constituents when they are forced to emigrate: "Nous venons voir un jeune prêtre, dont les manières distinguées annonçaient une éducation soignée, s’embarquer avec des pauvres paysans, renoncer à sa famille, à ses relations, à son pays, pour accompagner ses ouailles à travers les mers et s’établir avec elles dans un terre sauvage." Prévost, Un Tour 231. "We have just seen a young priest, whose distinguished manners signified a sophisticated education, leaving with poor peasants; he has renounced his family, his relatives, his country, to accompany his charges across the seas to settle in an untamed land." [my translation].

¹²⁴ On the United Irishmen, the 1798 rebellion, and the later uprising of Robert Emmet in 1803, see Chapter One above.

¹²⁵ Prévost, Un Tour 25.

¹²⁶ Prévost, Un Tour 5, 6, passim.
poverty, Prévost criticized the British policy of applying the Workhouse, with its origins in England, to Ireland. For Prévost, the Workhouse represented an inappropriate measure for dealing with extensive Irish poverty. Taking up a decade-old debate in France on the benefits of individual as opposed to state charity, the author pointed out that the Workhouse imposed a state tax on a local population who could not afford it. Prévost emphasized the destitution he encountered throughout his account. Describing the capital city of Dublin, he contrasted its architectural splendour with the troops of beggars filling the streets:

Mais tous ces tableaux si séduisants, tous ces aspects si pittoresques que présente la belle capitale de l’Irlande sont gâtées, sont tâchés, pour ainsi dire, par ces troupes de mendiants qui fourmillent et semblent sortir de terre de toutes parts...

Emphasizing that such destitution confronted the visitor at every step through the capital and appeared to affect both sexes and all ages impartially, Prévost comments:

...à chaque pas je rencontre un de ces semblables, extenues, mourant de faim, tantôt une femme, au teint have, portant un enfant mourant, suspendu a son sein, tantôt un veillard caduc et infirme, étalant au soleil ses plaies hideuses et ses membres déchainés...

Prévost proposed a solution to Ireland’s situation. Cognizant of Ireland’s special circumstances of extreme hardship due to what he termed centuries of “Tory” (that is, landholder or conservative) abuse, and contrary to the extreme laissez faire principles advocated by many English Whig (liberal) and French economists, Prévost prescribed government intervention and the provision of work projects to alleviate Ireland’s extremes of destitution. He also stressed that the policies of the

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127 See Smith passim.  
128 Smith passim.  
129 Prévost, Un Tour 36-37.  
130 130 Prévost, Un Tour 5. "But all of these seductive images, all of these picturesque scenes that represent the beautiful Irish capital, are tainted, marred, so to speak, by these groups of beggars that swarm around and seem to come out of all corners of the earth...
131 Prévost, Un Tour 5. "...at each step, I encounter one of these creatures, exhausted, dying of hunger, sometimes a woman with a wan complexion carrying a dying child suspended at her breast, sometimes an old man, decrepit and infirm, displaying his hideous wounds and torn-apart limbs." [my translation].  
132 Prévost, Un Tour 41.  
133 Collingham 349-54.  
134 Prévost, Un Tour 37.
Liberal party, which preceded the present Tory government, had encouraged the return of numbers of Irish absentee landlords to the management of their properties in the countryside.135

Like Un Tour en Irlande, Prévost’s second publication of 1845, L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle was a travelogue, but it differed from the 1843 work in several ways. Where Un Tour en Irlande had only mentioned Gustave de Beaumont in passing, Prévost’s 1845 publication, embellished with illustrations,136 bore a formal dedication to the liberal député and author of L’Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse. The author emphasized that his second study on Ireland was to be a corrective to what he argued was a bias in British travel accounts on the region.137 British accounts, he pointed out in his preface, typically referred to Ireland as a wild and primitive locale, “une île sauvage.” In contrast, Prévost cited the well-known poetry of the Irish nationalist Thomas Moore, an associate of the United Irishmen, to describe Ireland as “la première perle de la mer” and “la première fleur de la terre;”138 thus eradicating a British tendency to demean the nation by primitivizing it, and instead, investing it with an inherent value. While the author emphasized that as a travelogue, the illustrated L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle would focus on the scenic and picturesque aspects of the nation,139 a critique of Britain’s past and present engagement with the Irish was still a prominent feature of the text. On the first page of his preface, Prévost described “England’s” role in terms of six centuries of oppression, “les plus cruelles et les plus raffinés.”140 Yet, while the conquerors were “bourreaux,” that is, tyrants and even executioners, the English presence had not been able to destroy the country’s beautiful and picturesque landscape. While Prévost argued that Daniel O’Connell was a “vengeur” who had fought to achieve Catholic

135 Prévost, Un Tour 52.
136 Prévost, L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle (Paris, 1845). Despite the fact that in the Introduction, Prévost’s work was projected to appear in serial form until 1852, no evidence of continued publication was found in the Bibliothèque nationale in 2000 (only a part of the 1845 segment appears to have been held). On the quality and expertise associated with steel engravings, see Basil Hunnisett, Steel-engraved book illustration in England (Boston: David R. Godine, 1980) 55-56. This would have an impact on their cost and therefore, circulation.
137 Prévost, Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle ii, iii.
138 Prévost, Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle i. On Moore’s association with the United Irishmen, see Richard Davis, The Young Ireland Movement (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1988) 237-39. Prévost’s citation of Moore’s poem may have deliberately referenced Irish calls for independence. The line of Moore’s poem preceding that quoted by Prévost is: “Wert thou all that I wish thee, great, glorious, and free…”
139 Prévost, L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle i.
140 Prévost, L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle i.
emancipation,"\textsuperscript{141} he allowed that O'Connell's further efforts were currently necessary; "England" was still presented as working against liberal reforms in Ireland. Prévost thus warned his readers that, despite his scenic focus, it was difficult to gloss over the poverty and injustices that were patently evident throughout the country.\textsuperscript{142} Describing pauperism as an ongoing "mal terrible,"\textsuperscript{143} he argued that programs providing "work and bread" were the only ways of addressing the suffering of the modern Irish.\textsuperscript{144}

Prévost's second study on Ireland also featured an introduction by the well-known travelogue writer, Baron Taylor. Taylor's \emph{La France Pittoresque et romantique dans l'ancienne France} (begun in 1820) had concentrated on a regional history of France and had responded to the medieval nostalgia that flourished under the conservative monarchy of the Bourbon Restoration by focusing on the remnants of aristocratic and monastic architecture in the nation.\textsuperscript{145} However, in Taylor's four-page introduction to Prévost's 1845 \emph{L'Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle}, he aligned himself with a more liberal agenda.\textsuperscript{146} Instead of supporting a conservative approach that privileged aristocratic interests, Taylor argued that the struggle in Ireland against the "aristocratie anglaise" was part of a universal struggle of the oppressed against tyranny. In turn, "l'Europe libérale" was described as concerned with the progress of the Irish "slaves" against their English oppressors, which included reparation for what they had undergone: "La tyrannie a donc commencé de subir son châtiment; mais pour que l'expiation soit complète, il faudra que les maîtres accordent eux-mêmes à leurs esclaves affranchis la réparation qui leur est due."\textsuperscript{147}

Unlike British perspectives which blamed Catholicism for much of the current suffering of the Irish people,\textsuperscript{148} Baron Taylor credited the Catholic religion for the ongoing survival of the population "...ce peuple est aujourd'hui plus fort, plus

\textsuperscript{141} Prévost, \emph{L'Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle} ii.
\textsuperscript{142} Prévost, \emph{L'Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle} iii.
\textsuperscript{143} Prévost, \emph{Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle} 33.
\textsuperscript{144} Prévost, \emph{L'Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle} ii.
\textsuperscript{145} The study by Baron Taylor was started under the Bourbon Restoration in 1820 and continued to its completion in twenty volumes in 1878. Through text and illustrations in lithographic form, Taylor organized the study of France's medieval treasures in regional segments. See Anita L. Spadafore, \emph{The Voyages Pittoresques: Baron Taylor's letters to Adrien Dauzats}, English Series (Sherbrooke, Que.: Naaman, 1984) 11-28.
\textsuperscript{146} Baron Taylor, "Introduction," \emph{L'Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle}, by Prévost i-iv.
\textsuperscript{147} Taylor, "Introduction," \emph{L'Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle}, by Prévost i. "The tyranny has then started to endure its punishment, but in order for its expiation to be complete, the masters must give their freed slaves the compensation that they deserve." [my translation].
\textsuperscript{148} See L.P. Curtis Jr., \emph{Anglo Saxons and Celts} (Berkeley: University of California P, 1968) and Chapter One above.
nombreux et plus fidèle que jamais à son divin religion." He also dramatically valorized O'Connell’s leadership of the Irish people by comparing him to the Biblical prophets ("saints prophètes") who consoled the tribes of Israel in their misfortune ("renvers"): "Le vengeur qui Dieu a envoyé à l’Irlande est aussi tendrement aimé, est aussi sacré par ses compatriotes que l’étaient autrefois les saintes prophètes dont la parole inspirée consolait les tribus d’Israël aux jours de leurs revers."  

Like *Un Tour en Irlande*, *L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle* underscored a history of familial sympathy between the French and Irish. At one level, such sympathetic bonds were located in a history of exchange between the two nations that was based on a shared Catholicism. Baron Taylor’s introduction emphasized that “des peuples catholiques” had always responded to the suffering and dispossession of other Christians:

... les cris de douleur des victimes traversaient la mer et retentissaient dans tous les coeurs des peuples catholiques; car souvent des familles, des tribus, des bandes formidables des malheureux dépossédés de leurs biens, chassés de leur pays, abordaient sur quelque plage de la chrétienté demandant du pain, un asile, une patrie, toute chose que la France n’a jamais refusées à des proscrits... Nos pères les ont accueillis comme des frères; tout catholique, tout chrétien s’est attendri au récit de leurs souffrances."

While groups of destitute Irish Catholics were represented as having formed part of a continuous history of Irish refugees to France, French sentiments for liberty constituted another link between the peoples. *L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle*

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149 Taylor, "Introduction," *L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle*, by Prévost i. "This people is today stronger, more numerous, and more faithful than ever to its blessed religion." [my translation]
150 Taylor, "Introduction," *L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle*, by Prévost i. "The avenger that God sent to Ireland is also dearly loved and is as sacred to his compatriots as were the holy prophets whose inspired words consoled the tribes of Israel in the days of their misfortune." [my translation].
151 Taylor, "Introduction," *L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle*, by Prévost. "...the cries of victims’ pain crossed the sea and rang in the hearts of all Catholic people; because often families, tribes, and groups of victims stripped of their possessions, chased out of their countries, landed on some beach of Christendom asking for bread, shelter, a homeland, all the things that France never refused to offer its foreign exiles... Our fathers welcomed them like brothers; all Catholics, all Christians were moved by the story of their suffering." [my translation].
stressed that the French Revolution of 1789 played an inspirational role in the emergence of the Irish nationalist movement at the end of the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{152}

La révolution française suscita en Irlande un mouvement réellement national, catholique et démocratique... Irlande a désormais les yeux constamment tournées vers la France: elle suit avec anxiété tous les mouvements de nos armées, applaudit à nos victoires, et comptait à nos rêves; elle sait par cœur nos hymnes patriotiques, et célèbre toutes nos fêtes civiques comme des solemnités nationales.\textsuperscript{153}

Prévost also described these flows of religious and ideological sympathies between Ireland and France, claiming that they were stronger and more significant than those of racial affinity, which were typically used to associate the Irish and the French as part of a single “grande famille celtique.”\textsuperscript{154}

Baron Taylor’s preface and his well-known association with a history of France that stressed the nation’s aristocratic and feudal past, emphasized a major theme in Prévost’s account. For Prévost, the principal rationale of L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle was that it have a positive impact on the absentee landlord class, influencing aristocrats and landowners to return to Ireland to fulfill the duties and obligations (devoirs) that landholding conferred.\textsuperscript{155} Prévost’s conclusion explicitly targeted the Protestant Anglo-Irish absentee landlords, many of whom he claimed had never seen their holdings:

\textsuperscript{152} Irish interest in the French Revolution grew into the Irish Rebellion of 1798, to which Cruikshank had just given visual form.

\textsuperscript{153} Prévost, *L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle* 31. “The French Revolution gave rise in Ireland to a real national, Catholic, and democratic movement... Since then, Ireland has its eyes constantly turned towards France: it anxiously follows each movement of ours, it applauds our victories, and has counted on our dreams; it knows our patriotic hymns by heart, and celebrates all of our civic holidays like solemn national occasions.” [my translation].

\textsuperscript{154} Prévost, *L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle* 11. Such links were promoted by the Société Royale which emphasized the racial affinity of the Breton peasants in France’s province of Brittany and the peasantry of Ireland. Prévost’s own text acknowledges this ancient connection on page 11. Just one year after the commencement of the publication of *L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle* in 1844, a new and comprehensive illustrated study of the cultural history of the Celtic population of Brittany by Pitre-Chevalier started publication. It was entitled *La Bretagne, ancienne et moderne* (Paris: W. Coquebert, 1845).

\textsuperscript{155} Beaumont, *L’Irlande*, vol. 1: 5 had also noted that the Irish and French shared Celtic and Gallic links. The work emerged at a time when the Irish push for Repeal had been slowed by the arrest and trial of its leader, Daniel O’Connell. The volume’s participation in the current debate about the viability of the Union is underscored also by news about Ireland’s devastation by famine. Indeed, *L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle* emphasized Daniel O’Connell’s efforts for reform to address such problems. The work also appeared at a time when the increasing incidence of violence and insurrection by the “Whiteboys,” a militant Irish peasant society in Ireland, and the subsequent implementation of harsh British laws, was attracting newspaper coverage. See *Le Siècle* 29 June 1846: n.pag.
Mais notre but serait atteint si nos descriptions avaient le pouvoir de convertir
ces insouciantes absentees, qui oublient que la propriete a ses devoirs aussi
bien que ses droits. Si notre livre, tombant entre les mains de ces riches
landlords a qui appartiennent les plus beaux domaines de cette ile magnifique
qu’ils n’ont jamais vue, réussissait a les tirer de leur indifférence, notre voeu le
plus cher serait exercé...\textsuperscript{156}

The illustrations in Prévost’s 1845 publication played an important role in
relation to the text, and emphasized the author’s challenge to British representations
of Ireland that he had noted in his preface.\textsuperscript{157} The title page of L’Irlande du dix-
neuvième siècle\textsuperscript{158} informed the reader that the steelplate engravings that were used
for the publication’s illustrations were themselves “splendidement executée” by
Britain’s foremost artists. In fact, while the images were not attributed to any source,
Prévost had culled them from a recent British production of 1842 entitled The
Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland, a work that presented Ireland’s past and present in
terms of romantic vignettes situated within a British paternalistic commentary.\textsuperscript{159} The
work, by American poet Nathaniel Parker Willis and Englishman Joseph Stirling
Coyne, was embellished with steelplate engravings of images by William H. Bartlett,
a well-known British illustrator who had already produced works on the topography
and antiquities of regions of England and Scotland, as well as parts of the Continent,
the Holy Land and the scenery of Canada.\textsuperscript{160} The collection of images through which
L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle represented the island nation offered the viewer a

\textsuperscript{156} Prévost, L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle 126. “But our goal would be accomplished if our
descriptions had the power to convert these carefree absentee landlords, who forget that ownership
entails not only rights but also obligations. Our dearest wish would be fulfilled if our book fell into the
hands of these rich landlords who own the most beautiful properties on this magnificent island which
they have never seen, and if it would succeed in transforming their indifference.” [my translation].

\textsuperscript{157} Both of Prévost’s texts described Ireland as a country torn apart by a history of British neglect,
famine, destitution and current political agitation. \textit{Un Tour passim, L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle
passim}.

\textsuperscript{158} The section of L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle which exists as a “demande exceptionnelle” in the
Bibliothèque nationale appears to be a fragment of the complete work. It is undated but the fact that it
contains, in addition to a title page and frontispiece, both a four-page introduction (i-iv), a short
conclusion (126), and approximately 40 of the promised 120 steel engravings, suggests that it may be
part of the final bound work.

\textsuperscript{159} Joseph Stirling Coyne, Nathaniel Parker Willis and William H. Bartlett, \textit{The Scenery and
Antiquities of Ireland} (London: Virtue, 1842).

\textsuperscript{160} For a short biographical sketch of Bartlett and his many projects both within and outside of Britain,
see Basil Hunnisett, \textit{Steel-Engraved Book Illustration in England} (Boston: David R. Godine, 1980)
109-20.
diverse range of views, both built and natural, all of which contributed to the impression of a smoothly-running, prosperous nation. Indeed, by relying on a specifically British source for its visual programme, Prévost’s publication would have been able to appeal to those liberals who promoted the possibility of a healthy, well-managed Ireland that would remain within the framework of the British Union. The images were also able to conjure up the familiar concept of British facility in technological matters. The high-volume production of steelplate engraving was, in fact, a relatively recent British innovation that had transformed the production of bookplate. Thus, through a visual language that itself evoked both labour and manufacture, the engraved plates could evoke and circulate the utopian possibilities of an Ireland transformed by a commercially-based liberal economy. As a result, in L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle, Prévost could counter the current and widespread British representation of Ireland as primitive, irrational and unproductive.

An important strategy that affected the images was that they worked in ironic counterpoint to the poverty and injustices that Prévost underlined in his text. For example, in an engraving of Dublin entitled “Vue de la Liffey: Les Quatres Cours,” the reader and viewer is given a vista over the bank of the river Liffey and across several small working crafts to the imposing neo-classical architecture of Dublin’s Four Courts on the far bank. Built in the late eighteenth century and housing the British judiciary, the building of the Four Courts dominates the scene by acting as the focal point for the orderly human traffic that crosses the bridge leading to and away from its entrance portico. Together, the broad flight of steps leading up to the pedimented temple portico, along with the Corinthian columns, classicizing allegorical statues, and the imposing dome that surmounts the whole, allude to Britain’s imperial authority and its claims to have inherited the legacy of the Greeks and Romans. In turn, the engraving conveys the notion that, under the ideal circumstances of full and equal membership in the British Union, Ireland’s commercial health would be supported by the benevolent protection of British legal

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161 For the reputation of British steel-engraving for bookplates in France and the rest of Europe at this time, see Hussinett 53-56.
162 Prévost, L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle n.pag. This plate is also identified as “The Four Courts, Dublin” in Willis, Stirling and Bartlett, The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland, vol. 2: facing pag. 149.
164 Guinness 54. He claims that the statues are allegorical representations of Wisdom, Justice, Moses, Mercy, and Authority.
institutions. However, the engraving "la Vue de la Liffey: Les Quatre Cours," and Prévost's other images of commercial and institutional activity in the capital, also provide a striking contrast to descriptions of the close-up experience of the Dublin poor and destitute. Indeed, Prévost's text, like his earlier Un Tour en Irlande, emphasized the acute poverty and suffering of the urban poor in Dublin as a contrast to Britain's reputation in the realm of civil liberties. Within this context, it can be argued that visual images like "la Vue de la Liffey: Les Quatre Cours" were able to underscore one aspect of Prévost's argument, namely that commercial enterprise and full accessibility to British institutions were a major part of the solution to modern Ireland's problems. Certainly, other engravings appropriated without attribution from the British Scenery of Antiquities of Ireland, such as "Port de Cove" (fig.54) or "Phare du Southwall..." (fig.55), also picture a productive and vital Ireland. These show industrious scenes of groups of fishing craft, leisure sailboats, and steam-powered ships and work to suggest the varied possibilities of a vigorous and labour-oriented Irish nation.

The illustrations in L'Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle also emphasized the natural antiquity of the country. The plate depicting "Carrick a Rede" (fig.56), for example, depicts towering seaside cliffs swept by winds and dotted with minute human forms. The latter are on the verge of being subsumed by powerful nature as they precariously cross from one peak to another over a vulnerable-looking suspension bridge. Within Prévost's publication, this coastal view could be read as supporting claims for an indigenous heritage which owed nothing to either the medieval or classicized past with their roots in "English" or British traditions. Instead, Ireland is represented as inheriting its own rich heritage of natural spectacles. But Ireland was, Prévost argued, "par excellence [un] pays de tradition." In another image entitled "Gougaune Barra," tiny human figures surrounded by sheer, rocky cliffs wind

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165 Prévost, L'Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle n.pag. This plate is identified as "Cove Harbour" in Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland, vol.2: facing pag. 84.
166 Prévost, L'Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle n.pag. This plate is identified as "South-Wall Lighthouse, Dublin" in Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland, vol.2: facing pag.156.
167 Prévost, L'Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle n.pag. This is also found in Scenery and entitled "Carrick-a-Rede," vol.1: facing pag. 40. Some of the other images in L'Irlande that reference a "natural" history are "Breche de Dunloe," n. pag.; "Paysage, vue de la montagne du Pain du Sucre, Bantry Bay," n.pag.; "Glengariff," n.pag.; "Chaussee du Geant, vue du haut," n.pag. They are all included in Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland where they are titled "Gap at Dunloe," (vol.2: facing pag.40); "Scene from Sugar-loaf Mountain, Bantry Bay,"(vol.2: facing pag.16); "Glengariff'(vol.2: facing pag. 17), and; "The Giant's Causeway, from above," (vol.1: facing pag. 43).
their way towards what looks like a grotto, which in the text is described as working miracles.\textsuperscript{169} In foregrounding the power of nature and superstition through such imagery, Prévost’s account aligned itself with a strategy taken up by liberal historians of the period. As historiographer Charles Rearick has pointed out, nineteenth-century French liberals stressed that it was by way of a people’s history, constructed from traditional oral narratives, folklore and superstitions, that an “authentically” national history was preserved.\textsuperscript{170} Indeed, Prévost’s \textit{L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle} emphasized that the history of the Irish people continued to be transmitted orally through memories of historic events, legends, and the “natural” logic of superstitious beliefs.\textsuperscript{171} He thus countered “English” notions of a savage locale and elevated the Irish to a respectable position through the restoration of a long popular history.

But there is another level at which these images appropriated from \textit{The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland} operated when they crossed from one cultural context to another. As a British publication, \textit{The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland} had avoided any critique of Britain’s paternalistic presence in Ireland. In contrast, Prévost’s \textit{L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle} of 1845 triggered a broadly-felt French view. The work foregrounded the destitution of the majority of the Irish population and thereby activated a critique of an “English” colonial presence. By way of the images’ transnational movement, Prévost was able to rupture the seamless representation of Ireland as an untroubled, or at least subdued, site for visual consumption that the British source for his images had advanced. And, in contrast to the title of the British book, \textit{The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland}, which promoted Ireland in terms of its natural scenery and antique values, the title of Prévost’s work, \textit{L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle}, exploited the notion of a “modern” Ireland and thus stressed its present deplorable condition. In an ironic twist which could be taken as a form of commentary on Britain’s refusal at mid-century to acknowledge the degree to which poverty, hunger and inequalities characterized modern Ireland, the steel engravings, in displaying the aesthetic pleasures of travel to the island nation, drew attention to the critical tone of Prévost’s text which assiduously recited a litany of human depredations.

\textsuperscript{169} Prévost, \textit{L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle} n.pag.; also identified in \textit{Scenery} as “Gouguane Barra,” (vol.2: facing pag. 51).
\textsuperscript{170} Rearick \textit{passim}.
\textsuperscript{171} Prévost, \textit{L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle} 4-5, 11.
This contrast between image and text played a major role in underscoring a significant theme of the book: namely, Prévost’s critique of Ireland’s absentee landlords.¹² This concern over absentee landlords is made explicit in the frontispiece to one of the serial issues that were bound together to form L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle. Entitled “Château de Dangan” (fig.57),¹³ this frontispiece featured an image of an Irish country estate. Two clusters of labourers who pause in their duties of tending lawns, are dwarfed by vacated buildings. Roofless, one is the empty shell of a substantial country house, a neo-classical château of the eighteenth century, now obviously abandoned.¹⁴ The other, behind a gated enclosure, is a smaller, more modest Georgian dwelling or outbuilding, the windows of which are boarded up. Behind this vista, the sun is setting, bathing the whole scene in a gentle light, at once conveying a picturesque evocation of rural tranquility. But despite the harmonious veneer, the engraving negotiates tensions not far from the surface. For example, it is significant that neither building in the image qualifies as a ruin from the distant past. Rather, the neo-classical architecture places each within a historical continuum that speaks of a history more recent than ancient, with each dwelling’s condition alluding not to a long noble lineage but instead to neglectful recent ownership and obvious lack of use. The sealed-up windows of the smaller house imply the recent absence of its owners and become a sign that raises questions about the real social relations between absentee landlords and the Irish Catholic peasantry. However, in this image, the troublesome aspect of class relations in Ireland is mediated by the relaxed demeanour of the labourers, who, well-fed and clothed, appear to have spent the day cutting and raking the grass into large piles -- upon which one of them now sits, chatting to his female companion. In the 1842 Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland, this image would have worked to aestheticize and make picturesque Britain’s history in Ireland. However, within the context of Prévost’s polemical publication, the same illustration contrasts starkly with the author’s evocations of a starving and ragged

¹² The successful mass-circulation daily, Le Siècle, circulated a promotion of L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle on 29 June 1846 to its predominantly petit-bourgeois audience. The “review” actually consisted of a representation of the Irish history of abuse at the hands of an arrogant and indifferent English aristocracy and it advised radical land reform as the solution to universal Irish distress. By virtue of the review’s lengthy diatribe on English abuses of the Irish, it appears that the journalist, O. Devallée, focused less critically on the structure, format, and content of Prévost’s book than on Anglo-Irish relations, Le Siècle 29 June 1846: n.pag.


Irish peasantry oppressed by a history of absent landowners. As a frontispiece, then, the image foregrounds Ireland’s problematic present. But the image also supports Prévost’s conclusion to his study by rendering the countryside hospitable to the landlords and thereby encouraging their return.\textsuperscript{175}

In this way, “Chateau de Dangan” stands in contrast to other images in the publication, such as “Paysans sur un chemin” (fig.58),\textsuperscript{176} in which peasants meander down a hillside road towards a distant town that is dominated by mountain-top ruins of an impressive, and presumably Norman, ancient castle. The ruins, together with another cluster adjacent to the mountain, evoke a social history and lineage that extends back through the centuries to encompass the first English occupiers of Ireland in the twelfth century. Other images, such as “L’Abbaye de Younghall, résidence de Sir Walter Raleigh” (fig.59),\textsuperscript{177} entangle Gothic ruins in native overgrowth. These scenes of peaceful integration deny the history of conflict that characterized the continuum of Irish annexation and replace that aggression and resistance with an optimistic picture of a “successful” process of colonization over the centuries. Both images uncannily call up Beaumont’s text concerning the remnants of feudal châteaux in Ireland in his publication of 1839, some six years earlier:

\begin{quote}
Tandis que le château féodal se montre, après sept siècles, plus riche et plus brillant qu’à sa naissance, vous voyez ça et là crouler des habitations misérables, et celles-ci ne se relèvent point. On est étonné, quand on parcourt Irlande, de la quantité de ruines que s’y rencontrent. Je ne parle point ici de ces ruines pittoresques que font les âges en s’écoulant, et dont la vétusté décore le pays; ces ruines-là appartiennent encore à la riche Irlande qui conserve avec soin comme des souvenirs d’orgueil et des monuments d’antiquité…\textsuperscript{178}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{175} Prévost, \textit{L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle} 126.
\textsuperscript{176} Prévost, \textit{L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle} n.pag. This image is identified as “Approach to Cashel,” in \textit{Scenery}, vol.1: facing pag.138.
\textsuperscript{177} Prévost, \textit{L’Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle} n.pag. This image is identified as “Youghall Abbey (the Residence of Sir Walter Raleigh)” in \textit{Scenery}, vol.2: facing pag. 89. For other examples of images in Prévost containing ancient architectural ruins, see “Ruines du Château de Kilcolman,” n.pag.; “Château de Ross, Killarney,” n.pag.; “St. Canice, Kilkenny,” n.pag. They are identified in \textit{Scenery} as “Remains of Kilcolman Castle,” (vol.2: facing pag. 122); “Ross Castle, Killarney,” (vol. 2: facing pag. 20); “St. Canice, Kilkenny,” (vol.1: facing pag.153). It is by way of such institutions that England claimed to justify its presence and, implicitly, its positive commercial influence in Ireland. The boats in the foreground work with the architecture in this harmonious scene as a sign of England’s civilizing influence in Ireland.
\textsuperscript{178} Beaumont, \textit{L’Irlande}, vol. 2: 202. "While the feudal castle, after seven centuries, is even richer and more brilliant than when it first appeared, you see here and there deteriorating living quarters that will
Beaumont’s text emphasized the number of ruins bespeaking feudal authority which dotted the Irish countryside. However, the author went on to make a distinction between those that designated the rich cultural heritage of an earlier era and those that he termed premature ruins -- that is, the plethora of country houses and castles that stood abandoned by their current proprietors:

... je veux dire ces ruines prématurées que crée l'infortune, ces pauvres habitations que délaïsse un possesseur malheureux, et qui n'attestant qu'un obscure misère, n'excitent en général que peu d'attention et d'intérêt.

These ruins constituted the ubiquitous traces of a recent past of abandonment and indifference by their absentee owners.

The illustrations for L'Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle avoided any signs of the troublesome aspects of economic “advancement” that industrialization might evoke for French audiences, such as the filth or poverty that Flora Tristan had recorded in her 1842 account of London. Instead, taken together, they presented Ireland as a tranquil, predominantly rural nation endowed with an industrious people and an active legacy of values from both an anglicized past and a rich indigenous heritage. However, as the components of this visual programme worked to pose the utopian possibilities of a British liberal economy in Ireland, they also effectively undermined another kind of British representation. I refer here to the representations that criticized the indigenous Irish and the sovereign interests of the Irish nation by vilifying their nationalist leader, Daniel O'Connell -- the sort of caricature of Daniel O’Connell that was represented in the British journal Punch, and discussed at the outset of this never rise again. One is surprised, when one travels through Ireland, by the quantity of ruins one is confronted with. I am not speaking here about those picturesque ruins that have been shaped over time, and whose ancient appearance decorates the landscape; these ruins still belong to a rich Ireland that preserves them with care like proud souvenirs and monuments of antiquity." [my translation].

179 Beaumont, L'Irlande, vol. 2: 202. "...what I mean is that these premature ruins that misfortune creates, these pitiable living quarters neglected by their miserable inhabitants that speak only of a profound misery, incite but little attention and interest." [my translation].

180 “Le Procès d'O'Connell donne lieu a un grand nombre de caricatures qui témoignent de la colère un peu plus que de l'esprit de John Bull.” L'Illustration 27 January 1844: n.pag. As noted above, the popular satirical English journal Punch ran caricatures of O'Connell throughout 1844 and 1845, the years of his increased agitation for Repeal and his eventual trial by a British court for sedition. The journal focused responsibility for Ireland’s problems on the person of O’Connell through a series of images lampooning the “moral force” leader’s aspirations to monarchical status in Ireland. The images conflated his physical person with his political popularity among the Irish people, implying his heartless and selfish exploitation of Irish resources while the people starved. See, for example, images such as “The Probable Effects of Good Living and No Exercise,” Punch, vol. 7, 1844: n.pag.; “The ‘Uncrowned Monarch’s’ Next Levee,” Punch, vol.9, 1845: n.pag.; “‘Rint’ v. Potatoes -- The Irish
chapter. In contrast, Prévost dealt with the topic of O'Connell, and what appeared to be his legitimate concerns for reform with, if not unqualified approval, some seriousness and respect. The polished images of an ideal Ireland, represented by means of the sophisticated visual medium of steel engraving, played an important role within this agenda.

The network of literature and images on the topic of Ireland at mid-century rested on a complex set of debates and exchanges. While liberals and the left in France represented Ireland as a sign of Britain’s failure as an industrial power and as evidence of the violent legacy of the nation’s past and its dominance by an irresponsible, mainly Protestant, landlord class, the topic had additional significances for those in France under the monarchy of Louis-Philippe. Clearly, the figure of Ireland and its ongoing condition of acute poverty raised anxieties and concerns about poverty and destitution in France and the measures required to ameliorate its effects. But French debates over Britain’s role in Ireland could also serve as a method of managing the anxieties of many French constituents over the status of French international interests that were generally seen to be undermined by the French government’s diplomatic relations with Britain. The humiliation of years of British occupation of France following defeat in the Napoleonic wars had been exacerbated in the 1840s by Louis-Philippe’s policy of deferential conciliation towards Britain, known as the entente cordiale. Ireland provided the French with an opportunity to undermine and contest Britain’s international leadership -- at least in the important arenas of the advancement of civil liberties and successful colonial management.


181 While the French liberal Beaumont appears to have more enthusiastically embraced O’Connell’s leadership of the Irish Catholic struggle for rights, Prévost’s endorsement is somewhat more reserved. This may flow from the fact that Prévost’s own personal assessment of Daniel O’Connell followed the agitation for Repeal which looked as though it threatened social disorder. O’Connell was generally admired among French liberals, at least for his peaceful constitutional protest against British mistreatment. Here it is worth noting that some months after his death he was given a memorial service in Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris and that it was given prominent and illustrated coverage in the liberal illustrated journal L’Illustration. “Oraison funèbre de Daniel O’Connell...” L’Illustration 19 February 1848: n. pag.

182 For references to the Irish and Ireland in the contemporaneous “roman feuilleton” or serial newspaper fiction, see Appendix I below.

183 See above and Smith passim.

184 Collingham 18-26.
Chapter 3: Irish Poverty Viewed from France: Boundaries Traversed and Anxieties Displaced

By the late autumn of 1845, the widespread devastation of the Irish potato crop was suspected by the British press to foreshadow a major crisis. The potato blight and ensuing famine would last until the early 1850s. Through this period some one million Irish would die and as many emigrate. As Daniel O'Connell and the Irish Repeal movement had brought Ireland to the fore earlier in the 1840s, the potato famine was able to bring renewed international attention to the condition of Irish poverty.

In France, the potato famine brought an urgency to earlier French descriptions of the Irish, like those of Gustave de Beaumont in 1839, Eugene Buret in 1840 and 1841, and Flora Tristan in 1840 and 1842. In those texts, the Irish condition of acute poverty, whether in Ireland itself or in Irish communities in industrial centres in mainland Britain, had served as a warning to France of the consequences of the widespread migration of its own poor rural populations to major French cities. As I will show in this chapter, while discussions of the Irish condition continued in France through the 1840s and the period of the famine, Ireland and the Irish body emerged in...

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1 Leslie A. Williams, Daniel O'Connell, The British Press and The Irish Famine (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003) 138-49. Williams gives an account of the British press' reluctant recognition of the extent and implications of the potato blight in and for Ireland. As early as mid October, the French press circulated news of the potato blight and famine in Ireland. See La Réforme 19 October 1845: 1 and its references to this news being reported in the British Morning Advertiser and the Globe.


3 The British Tory government of Sir Robert Peel encompassed Ireland in its overall policy of economic laissez-faire. The government’s belief that state intervention in Ireland’s economy should be considered only as a last resort arguably aggravated an already acute situation, as numerous historians have argued. See R.D. Collison Black, “The Classical Economists and the Irish Problem,” Oxford Economic Papers, New ser. 5 (March 1953): 31; Cormac Ó Gráda, “Introduction,” Black '47 and Beyond: the Great Irish Famine in History, Economy, and Memory (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1999) 6-7, 77-83; Woodham-Smith 54; Nicholas Mansergh, The Irish Question, 1840-1921 (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1965) 43-45. To exacerbate matters, this tragic circumstance of famine was accompanied by disease -- cholera, typhus, and scurvy -- and by emigration. The Irish Poor Laws, a form of indoor workhouse relief for the poor, which had been instated with great resistance from Daniel O'Connell and others in 1838, were inadequate to provide for an entire nation in distress. Black 33; McCaffrey, Daniel O'Connell and the Repeal Year (U of Kentucky P, 1966) 34-38.

visual caricature as well. In particular, I will examine several lithographic caricatures that focused on Ireland and the Irish and which appeared in the illustrated daily, *Le Charivari*. These images, I claim, served a double purpose in what had become, since the passage of the “September Laws” of 1835, a highly-censored French state. At one level, as I will show, the caricatures demonstrate an on-going engagement in France with both the Irish Repeal movement and with the problem of Irish destitution and starvation. I also argue, however, that in conjunction with stories and caricatures in *Le Charivari* that took up the contentious issue of poverty and hunger in France, these images of Ireland and the Irish permitted the journal to engage in criticism of French domestic polices regarding the increasingly problematic phenomenon of working-class poverty in France.

*Ireland in the French Press*

Major newspapers in Paris kept discussions of Ireland alive between 1845 until February 1848 when the revolution and the beginning of the Second French Republic changed the nation’s political focus. Many took their reports on Ireland

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5 On the French press at this time and its political allegiances, see Claude Bellanger et al., *Histoire générale de la presse française*, vol. 2 (Presses universitaires de France, 1969). The government and moderate press contained news on Ireland under the heading “Angleterre” and sometimes under the separate title “Irlande.” Subjects that were noted were: 1) Daniel O’Connell and Repeal: *Journal des Débats* 2 October 1845: 1; *L’Univers* 5 June 1845: 1; *L’Univers* 1 August 1845: 1; *Le Constitutionnel* 16 August 1847: 1; *La Réforme* 28 April 1845: 1; *La Réforme* 29 July 1845: 1; *La Réforme* 11 January 1845: 1; *Le Siècle* 9 March 1845: 1; 2) The split of the more militant Young Ireland group from Repeal: *La Réforme* 7 July 1845: 1; “La Jeune Irlande,” *Le Siècle* 6 August 1846: 2; *Le Siècle* 10 July 1846: 2; *Le Siècle* 8 November 1846: 2; *Le Siècle* 9 November 1846: 2; *Le Siècle* 22 May 1847: 1; *Le Siècle* 17 August 1847: 2; 3) The potato famine and agitation in the countryside, including the Molly Maguire activists. These were members of a rural secret society in the 1840s whose organized outbreaks of violence against landlords were directed by and for tenants against the refusal of landlords to reform and to protect the peasants against, for example, high rents, eviction, and confiscation of improvements to the land: “Irlande,” *Le Siècle* 6 June 1845: 2; *La Réforme* 10 July 1845: 1; “Situation de l’Irlande,” *Le Siècle* 25 October 1846: f.pag; *Le Siècle* 12 January 1847: 2; *Journal des Débats* 1 July 1845: 1; *Journal des Débats* 7 July 1845: 1; *Journal des Débats* 11 September 1845: 1; *Journal des Débats* 25 September 1845: 1; *Journal des Débats* 8 November 1845: 1; *Journal des Débats* 5 December 1845: 1; *L’Univers* 9 July 1845: 1; *La Réforme* 19 October 1845: 1; and 4) The debate between the Protestants and Catholics over religious education in Ireland that focused on Maynooth College, Dublin: *Journal des Débats* 18 April 1845: 1; *Journal des Débats* 2 May 1845: 1; *L’Univers* 4 June 1845: 1; *La Réforme* 19 April 1845: 2; *Le Siècle* 29 June 1845: n.pag; *Journal des Débats* 4 October 1845: 1. Another subject was the French author J.-J. Prévost (whose work is discussed in Chapter Two): *Le Siècle* 29 June 1846: 2, a four-column review on Prévost’s *Un Tour en Irlande* quoting the reviewer Devalée, cites Gustave de Beaumont and his famous passage on the Irish being more fettered than the Indian in the forest or the Negro in chains, that out of 6 million Irish, there are more than 3 million indigents. The poor are distinguished from indigents in that they cultivate a few acres of land. For the appearance of the Irish and Ireland in the French *roman-feuilleton* --the serial novel in French newspapers in this period -- see Appendix I. Chapter Four will discuss the French press and Ireland post-February 1848.
and its famine straight from the British press. One of the mainstream French papers, L’Illustration, even on occasion borrowed visual representations directly from its English equivalent, the moderate journal, the Illustrated London News. In a direct exchange in 1847, L’Illustration circulated on its front page (fig. 4A) two images; one of emaciated Irish children searching for potatoes in a field, “Irlande. -- Jeune garçon et jeune fille de Cahera cherchant de pommes de terre” (fig. 5), and the other, a desolate Irish village with run down stone and sod huts, “Irlande. -- Village de Mienies” (fig. 6). These images of startlingly bleak poverty in Ireland were disseminated to an audience of mainly middle-class French readers only a week after the identical images had been published in the Illustrated London News in order, the British journal claimed, “to direct [English] public sympathy to the suffering poor [of Ireland].” In France however, the illustrations appeared along with a brief commentary that associated the Irish disaster with French anxieties around domestic poverty.

However, it was two journals in particular which focused on developments in Ireland and the crisis of the potato famine, and ongoing calls for social and political reform. These were La Réforme, a left-wing republican journal, and Le Charivari, the satirical daily aimed at a more moderate republican and liberal audience. La Réforme was edited by a group of radical intellectuals and supported financially by a number of “proprietors, merchants, and professional men.” The editors of La Réforme identified with the radical Jacobins of 1792-93 in the sense that they understood themselves to represent the interests of workers and petits bourgeois. Louis Blanc, a radical socialist who had written a popular work, L’Organisation du Travail, which was published first in 1839 and underwent many subsequent editions, contributed to the paper. La Réforme was also associated with Alexandre Ledru-Rollin, a radical republican politician, who was identified by his demands for universal suffrage as well as for government intervention in the organization of

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6 L’Illustration 27 February 1847: 1.
7 "Boy and Girl at Cahera," "The Village of Mienies" from “Sketches in the West of Ireland. -- by Mr. James Mahony,” Illustrated London News 20 February 1847 (see fig. 7 for "Boy and Girl at Cahera").
8 "Histoire de la Semaine," L’Illustration 27 February 1847: 1
10 Pilbeam 175-76, 205.
work. 11 La Réforme’s concerns with French labour and working-class issues were always paramount in its analyses and in early 1847 the paper charged the conservative French press with deliberately ignoring the signs of pervasive worker destitution throughout the French nation, while focusing instead on the Irish crisis. 12 Nevertheless, La Réforme repeatedly highlighted the deteriorating condition of Ireland intermittently sustaining hopes of a revolutionary leadership that would motivate the Irish people to militant action. 13

Like La Réforme, Le Charivari had a history of opposition to the monarchy of Louis-Philippe, and the government’s entente cordiale with Britain. 14 Indeed, as cultural historian Richard Terdiman has argued, the caricatures that well-known government foe Honore Daumier produced for Le Charivari, mainly in the 1830s and 1840s, constituted a kind of “counter-discourse,” or contestation to the predominant bourgeois opinion. 15 Daumier’s witty and entertaining visual practice implicitly critiqued the French bourgeoisie’s blind obsession with English capitalist values, in spite of obvious signs of increasing poverty at home. Addressing a more moderate republican readership than La Réforme, which targeted a radical constituency, Le Charivari, like other newspapers, reached a broader audience than the subscription lists suggested. 16 The journal was circulated through reading circles and cabinets de

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12 La Réforme 8 January 1847: n. pag.


14 Le Charivari had ridiculed the French government’s policy of entente cordiale with Britain as a hypocritical agreement between two natural enemies in an article entitled “Demandez et Ton vous refusera,” Le Charivari 6 January 1845: 1. This cynicism pervades all of Le Charivari’s stories about Britain.


16 Le Charivari’s subscription circulation would be confined to those who could also afford to buy a larger, more comprehensive newspaper — in other words, the well-off or leisured classes. Mainstream dailies were the first choice in terms of a delivery subscription for private consumption in the bourgeois apartment, for instance. One copy of a daily would often be circulated well beyond the limits of a family unit and circulate from one resident to another in an apartment block. David S. Kerr, Caricature and French Political Culture, 1830-1848 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000) 123-24, 130. These more mainstream daily papers of a range of political and social allegiances were available at a cost of about 60 and up to 80 francs (the lower cost due to clever marketing schemes such as the
lecture -- cafés where Parisian reading materials could be accessed by workers and students in their own neighbourhoods, as well as by the bourgeoisie in their more affluent quartiers. Individual visual caricatures that were published in Le Charivari were often hung in the windows of the cabinets de lecture; this form of attraction and marketing also occurred in the windows of the print-shop, La Maison Aubert, located in a prosperous area where caricature was targeted at a diverse audience of passers-by. 17

Caricatures and visual satires served a number of purposes in mid-nineteenth century France. Art historian James Cuno has pointed to the important role that satires played in policing Parisian borders at mid-century, arguing that satirical images worked to represent the city to the bourgeoisie as a series of segregated bourgeois spaces, free from any working-class threat. 18 Rapid growth and the resulting urban instability, where boundaries were not distinct and fixed, had contributed to a climate of fear where the impoverished working classes, many of whose members immigrated to the urban centres from the French countryside, were stigmatized by urbanites with racialized epithets such as “savages” and “barbarians.” 19 Cuno’s study has argued that visual satires worked to manage these bourgeois anxieties at a time when the dangers of the working classes had become the focus of mainstream dailies. In these newspapers, crime statistics and serialized fiction, which often sensationalized crime, figured large. 21

roman-feuilleton or serial novel form and the advent of mass advertising). See Nicholas Green, The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and bourgeois culture in nineteenth-century France (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1990) 55; Marc Martin, Trois siècles de publicité en France (Paris: Odile Jacob, 1992) 60-2. These readers were thereby exposed to criminal statistics and criminalized fiction on a frequent basis -- within the safe confines of the private bourgeois domestic interior.

17 Robert Justin Goldstein, Censorship of Political Caricature in Nineteenth-Century France (Kent, Ohio: Kent State UP, 1989) 130; Kerr 129.


20 Louis Chevalier notes that other newspapers exploited and embellished the meticulously detailed police reports that appeared in the official newspaper, La Gazette des tribunaux. See Chevalier 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 19.

21 See literary historian Lise Quèfellec for an analysis of how the recent form of serialized fiction, which contributed to the circulation and sensationalization of fiction, was contested by conservative
But satire also served to promote bourgeois concerns by critiquing contemporary social and political developments. Cultural historian David Kerr has pointed out that the subversive character of visual satire was enhanced by the diversity and number of oppositional forms like popular theatre, parades and charivaris with which it sustained an ongoing exchange.22 These relationships made visual satire, as it appeared in Le Charivari and its predecessor La Caricature, a particularly potent vehicle of protest pre-1835.23 Like these other forms, the threat of lithographic caricature was perceived to be implicit in the medium’s spontaneity -- that is, in its ability to adjust to new and pending social and political debates.24 By the mid-1840s, however, Le Charivari had been forced to find imaginative ways to negotiate the 1835 official ban on visual satires that critiqued the monarch or recognizable government figures, or those which focused on topical political issues. As a result, and as numerous commentators on the satirical press in this period have observed, caricatures and satires turned from overt political commentary to focus on bourgeois moeurs and attitudes of the day.25 Significantly, however, such ostensibly innocuous subject matter could still raise troubling questions about social life under Louis-Philippe’s monarchy.

critics in the 1840s in Le Roman-Feuilleton français au XIXème siècle (Presses universitaires de France, 1989) 30-35.
22 Kerr 146-49 passim. Kerr links satire and theatre as ephemeral and flexible forms. In the 1830s, Le Charivari had popularized the practice of lampooning Louis-Philippe as a pear to the point where this image of the monarch spread into the streets as popular graffiti. By this means, Le Charivari had contributed significantly to the national and international debasement of the reputation of the king and his Orléanist governments. The journal’s visual practices had also stimulated the passage of the September Laws of 1835, harsh censorship measures that particularly targeted ephemeral visual forms, including caricature. For a comprehensive analysis of the development of the representation of Louis-Philippe as a pear, see Kenney and Merriman, eds., The Pear: French Graphic Arts in the Golden Age of Caricature. exh. cat. (South Hadley: Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, 1991) 24, 5, 6, 33.
Louis-Philippe may have been lampooned as a pear, but other members of his Orléanist régime were censured for corruption as well and lampooned in visual satire. Louis-Philippe’s government, though conservative and uncommercial in the realm of science, as Collingham points out, tended towards liberal laissez-faire principles, with its emphasis on an “equilibrium” created by supply and demand, when it came to the matter of industrialization. Although, according to Collingham, “Orléanist governments believed in reducing tariffs where possible,” [The July Monarchy (London: Longman, 1988) 353] they were inclined to some forms of protectionism against the much stronger British economy. They provided some forms of inadequate public assistance to the working poor and indigent, but did not make improved working conditions for the labouring class into policy. See Collingham 345-64.
23 Kerr 177.
24 Not only the popular theatre, but parades and even charivaris -- whose original sexual connotations had been appropriated by political protest -- had a provocative inter-relationship with visual satire. Even visual satire’s dialogue was deliberately incorporated into everyday speech. Kerr 177. See also Robert Julian Goldstein, Censorship of Political Caricature in Nineteenth-century France (Kent, Ohio: Kent State UP, 1989) 164.
25 Goldstein 164-65.
Le Charivari and Ireland

From 1845 through 1847, as the potato famine decimated Ireland’s population, Le Charivari circulated stories about Ireland’s distress, and satirized the British government’s inadequate response to the crisis. A lithographic series featured in November and December of 1845 was one of the earliest commentaries by the illustrated journal on these developments. The series, which featured the European travels of one M. Trotman, gave prominence to Ireland in three full page images which appeared on December 11, 1845 (fig. 2), December 12, 1845 (fig. 60), and December 13, 1845 (fig. 61). The satirical portrayal of M. Trotman – whose dress and name marked him out as a somewhat naïve and earnest provincial as opposed to a fashionable Parisian bourgeois, was produced by Cham (pseudonym for Count Amédée de Nôé), one of Le Charivari’s rising and prolific artists. The full-page
lithographic satires through which Cham represented M. Trottman's exploits in different nations and regions of Europe (for example, Belgium, Russia, England, Scotland, Ireland and Spain), began on November 5, 1845 and continued through to December of 1845, with each page consisting of multiple vignettes accompanied by captions. Throughout the series, M. Trottman's naïve responses to locales and peoples outside of France marked him out as ambiguously different from the urbane and modern traveler. His name, "Trottman," played on the French verb 'trotter' -- to run or dash around, and evoked a man definitely on the move, "trotting the globe." But the hero's lack of sophistication would have allowed the viewer to interpret his many awkwardnesses with the "insider" knowledge that distinguished the educated and sophisticated reader targeted by Le Charivari.  

At its broadest level the M. Trottman series exploited the recent popularization of European travels by highlighting what was a new vogue for steamship and train travel. But while the series underscored the increased mobility of the viewer as a result of trade and new and more efficient modes of transportation that also facilitated the movement of goods, it also permitted ironic and satirical commentary -- from a French perspective -- on peoples and customs beyond French borders. In some instances, however, the satires, by inference, could provide a subtle critique of life under France's monarch, Louis-Philippe. For example, when M. Trottman visits Russia (fig.62), the problem of the censorship of free speech is raised. In the vignettes, M. Trottman comments on the "aesthetics" of an equestrian statue of the emperor Peter the Great and is immediately threatened with deportation, or exile to Siberia. Metaphorically the images called up current censorship of the press under the monarchy of Louis-Philippe. When M. Trottman arrives in Britain by steamship, a satire which appeared on November 30, 1845 (fig.63), the much "British" topics in the later images which he produced for Le Charivari's "Moeurs Britanniques" series which will be discussed in at a later point in Chapter Three.

29 M. Trottman en Voyage can also be understood to represent a modern version of the Grand Tour, and thus as a parody of the former practice of the English aristocracy -- ever a butt of Le Charivari's ridicule -- in a recent period. Aristocratic and genteel youth had "finished" off their education by chaperoned tours throughout Europe. This relentless parodying of the English occurs in Le Charivari throughout the July Monarchy's policy of entente cordiale with the English. For examples of the parody of the English travel habit see "Eccentricités anglaises," Le Charivari 7 January 1844: 1; "Le voyage en Irlande," Le Charivari 3 April 1845: 1, 2; Le Charivari 2 March 1846; "Les Lacs et la tragédie," Le Charivari 18 July 1847: 2; "Un voyage d'agrément," Le Charivari 14 July 1848: 1, 2.
30 See Goldstein passim.
31 Le Charivari 30 November 1845: 3.
vaunted industrial and technological achievements of Great Britain are mocked. Steamship travel ostensibly evoked the technological advances of European modernity by calling up the new steam power which was replacing sailing fleets in Europe. However the image accompanying the caption, “Vue générale de la Tamise à Londres” (“A View of the Thames in London”), instead pictures the ill effects of modernity’s claim to progress. As M. Trottman’s ship approaches a huge flotilla, M. Trottman, gesticulating madly, appears to be seeking rescue from among the jumbled mass of coal-burning vessels, each spewing out a filthy column of smoke as they inch ahead in a tightly-compressed group. In addition to the image’s reference to one of the distasteful by-products of industrial development, the vignette also indirectly and ironically comments on British maritime practices in general, which identified Britain’s power in terms of its imperial scope and “global” trade, as well as the British navy’s and its commanding officers’ obsessive preoccupation with the possibility of a “foreign” -- French -- invasion by sea.  

In the same vignette, both on board ship and on land, M. Trottman is subjected -- almost violently -- to English entrepreneurial and commercial competitiveness by baggage carriers and hoteliers. In turn, in the satire of December 1, 1845 (fig.64) M. Trottman is exposed to seemingly luxurious innovations -- a gigantic bed and a sash window, again at risk to personal well-being and safety.

Yet the segment on Ireland, which coincided with international news of the potato blight and associated famine in Ireland, reconfigured such inconveniences as

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32 Regarding the negative by-products of British “technological advances” in the area of the navy, Léon Faucher, in the first installment of his work, Études sur l’Angleterre in the Revue des deux mondes in 1843-44: 71 wrote about his approach to London by the Thames in a section called “White-chapel.” “Lorsque, en arrivant du continent par la Tamise, on découvre Londres, au milieu d’une forêt de navires dont les agrès se confondent avec les toits des maisons, et à travers le brouillard de fumée que vomissent incessamment les cheminées des bateaux à vapeur, il semble difficile, au premier aspect, de saisir les grandes lignes de cette perspective sans relief.” “When arriving from the continent on the Thames, one discovers London in the middle of a forest of ships, where the masts, tackles and rooftops meld together, and through the incessant smoke coughed up by the steamships, it seems difficult, at first glance, to grasp the main features of this unrelieved perspective.” [my translation] (In 1856, the entire journalistic series was published in a single volume.) As for changes in the navy relating to invasion fears, the British fleet was in the course of being transformed, partly at the urging of the Duke of Wellington, into a coal-burning steamship navy, unassisted by sail. The Duke, an officer and commander during the Napoleonic wars and still, in his old age, heroized by the British for his part in that victory over France, constantly badgered the British Government over the present danger of war or invasion from France. La Réforme published articles that traced British fears of French aggression and followed subsequent British preparations of the military -- both navy and army. At the same time, the French questioned their own readiness for war, given such a bellicose atmosphere. See, for example, “Travaux de fortification et armemens en Angleterre,” La Réforme 18 November 1845: 2, 3; “Nouvelles anglaises,” La Réforme 4 July 1845: 2; “Nouvelles anglaises,” La Réforme 21 August 1845: 2.
luxuries. In the first of the four vignettes of the single page image of December 11, 1845 (fig. 2), M. Trottman witnesses the general destitution for which Ireland had become notorious. The first vignette represents an Irish family who stand and sit, amongst the farmyard pigs, outside a rural hut. Their clothes are comprised of disheveled rags, their hair is matted, and their glazed stares bespeak a hopeless resignation and the ravages of poverty and starvation. The caption, “Vue prise n’importe où en Irlande,” (“A Scene from Anywhere in Ireland”) indicates that similar scenes could be witnessed anywhere and everywhere throughout the nation.

The Irish family is pictured in the second vignette within a darkened hut interior that lacks furniture or decoration. While some are slumped on the floor, the group, including the pigs, are gathered around a central, and possibly empty, cauldron. M. Trottman regards them with arms folded across his chest, while the caption reads: “Dîner dans une ferme des plus riches” (“Dinner in one of the wealthier farms”), implying that this image represented Irish peasants of more substantial means than the former. The following image in the vignette pictures the family sleeping after dinner, sprawling without blankets on the dirt floor of the furniture-less hut alongside one pig for the night. The caption reads simply: “Après quoi la famille se couche.” (“Afterwards the family goes to bed.”). For a European public, these images of domestic life had the ability to evoke current scientific evolutionary theory which measured the degree of civilization of “remote” countries in their relation to the ideal of French or English bourgeois individualism. Thus the disheveled and matted hair, ragged clothes -- which look suspiciously like animal skins -- and the relationship of the humans to animals such as pigs, all register as signs of cultural primitivism or “savagery.”

In the last vignette of the caricature, one disheveled Irish man drops his money into the outstretched top-hat proffered by another wearing rags. The text explains “Quête pour O-Connel [sic], the protector” (“Collection on behalf of O’Connell”). The inclusion of this last scene refers to the collection of the “Repeal

33 “M. Trottman en Irlande,” Le Charivari 11 December 1845: 3.
34 See Chapter Two above. Also see Nicholas Mansergh, The Irish Question, 1840-1921 (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1965) 21.
rent" -- the weekly contribution to Daniel O'Connell's campaign to repeal the union with Britain. Critics of the Repeal rent characterized the donation as the paying of "alms" to a beggar -- O'Connell.36

On December 12, one day after the appearance of the satirical vignette representing a gaunt Irishman willingly donating the little money he has to a solicitor for Repeal, another set of vignettes on a single page appeared (fig.60).37 The visual narrative begins with M. Trotman dropping money into the hand of an astonished skeletal collector of funds who is marked out from M. Trotman by his ragged clothes, his bare head with matted hair and his bare feet. The caption reads: "M. Trotman donne un sou pour le libérateur et deux sous pour le quêteur" ("M. Trotman gives a shilling to the liberator and two to the beggar"), indicating the beggar-like quality of those supporting O'Connell. In the following image, the skeletal solicitor-beggar sprawls in an open field. The caption ironically notes that he, the collector, has never been associated with so much money: "Le quêteur qui ne s'est jamais vu à la tête d'un semblable capital, se livre aux douceurs du far
niente."38 [bold in original]

Significantly, these vignettes in Le Charivari appeared about a month or more after the news of the extent of the Irish famine had been revealed in the European news media. Published a little more than a year after the Repeal leader's imprisonment and release by the British courts,39 the visual satires could not help but raise questions about the merits of Daniel O'Connell's leadership over the still-suffering Irish. The ambivalent attitude of these images towards Repeal's traditionally-celebrated relationship to the state of Ireland was emphasized in another scene, of a riot at a Repeal meeting, which appeared on the same page on December 12, 1844: "M. Trotman se trouve au milieu d'un meeting." ("M. Trotman finds himself in the middle of a meeting"). Far from representing an image which supported O'Connell's appeal for non-violence, the vignette depicts a scene of riot at a Repeal gathering: men and women in a mob, many carrying clubs, attack each other with a passion at odds with the general Irish despondence that has been represented in

36 See Chapter Two above for British and French commentary on O'Connell as a beggar. Concerning French scepticism concerning O'Connell's collection of 'rent' and his leadership see Le Siècle 9 May 1845: 1
37 Le Charivari 12 December 1845: 3.
38 "The beggar who has never owned so much money abandons himself to the pleasures of idleness."
the other images of the series. While the crowded scene of unruly conduct would reinforce British stereotypes of Irish brutality, *Le Charivari*’s image also commented upon the disagreement among Repeal members that followed O’Connell’s “dismemberment” by his British trial. Here, the disension between O’Connell’s followers and those calling for a more militant approach to British Union – the group called the Young Irelanders-- was actively called up by the violence instigated by the crowd in the vignette. The following vignette shows M. Trotman nursing his eye, blackened at the Repeal meeting. The caption reads: “Après le meeting, M. Trotman bassine son œil.” (“After the meeting, M. Trotman soaks his eye”). If the otherwise peaceable Irish are aggressive and unruly only at their political meetings, what are the implications for Britain as a whole? The failure of the British “civilizing mission,” through which the British claimed to inculcate British middle-class values throughout the empire, is treated in the next vignette that appeared on December 13, 1845. In the last vignette of the preceding page, M. Trotman, exhausted by his encounter at the Repeal meeting violence, is sound asleep in a solitary room which, unlike that of the Irish peasants he has visited, features a mattress with a full set of sheets and blankets. Reference to his Irish surroundings, however, are made by means of the rats that are depicted scampering across his bed and a pig that pokes his head through the window to stare at the sleeping traveler. The next vignette on the page of December 13, 1845 shows a group of nighttime rioting Rebeccaites (fig.61) who are identified in the M. Trotman series as militant Irish insurgents. The caption to the vignette reads: “Au milieu de la nuit, la secte des Rebeccaites met le feu à la maison” (“In the middle of the night, the Rebeccaites set the house on fire”). The image evokes the terror spread by a mob dressed as women armed with torches who attempt to set fire to the house in which M. Trotman rests. In fact, the Rebeccaites were another militant British nationalist group, this time from Wales, who

40 O’Connell promoted peaceful parliamentary means, known as “moral force,” to advocate for Repeal of the Union. This approach included the public and open-air “monster meetings” of thousands of supporters in shows of strength that were recorded in the English press. After years of the British government’s intransigence, a part of the Repeal movement known as “Young Ireland,” those more extreme members of which believed in using armed militancy to achieve their goal, battled the “moral force” contingent for prominence. Eventually ascendant, these “physical force” Repealers were willing to resort to armed insurrection to achieve their ends. See Nicholas Mansergh, *The Irish Question, 1840–1921* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1965) 62, and Kevin B. Nowlan, *The Politics of Repeal: A Study in the Relations between Great Britain and Ireland, 1841-50* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1965) 79-93. See also Chapter Four following.

masqueraded as women while they agitated in the countryside. But in this case associated with “M. Trotman en Irlande,” their violence in a nationalist cause becomes an Irish political attribute. Cham’s reference to the Rebeccaites may have been based on a satire in the British journal Punch of July 1843, “Rebecca and her Daughters” (fig. 65), where Daniel O’Connell was linked to the Welsh Rebeccaites. As Leslie Williams has noted, the Punch satire portrayed Daniel O’Connell in a woman’s dress, along with other similarly attired Irish Repeal agitators, in order to convey the idea “that the Irish Repealers would be no more successful in their resistance to English domination, than were the Welsh Rebeccaites.” Cham’s visual commentary concludes with an allusion to official recriminations directed against Irish agitators. In the following vignette M. Trotman is roused from his sleep by the forcible entry to his sleeping quarters by two police officers apparently in search of the terrorist suspects. The final scene in the “M. Trotman en Irlande” series shows M. Trotman fleeing Britain for Spain in a steamer.

These satires of “M. Trotman en Irlande” signal the beginning of a shift in French republican attitudes to Irish political practices that would eventually have an effect on the way in which the Irish were represented in France. Though French moderates generally supported O’Connell’s peaceful agitation, Le Charivari, as a republican journal, provides a veiled critique of O’Connell’s Irish Repeal. It is perhaps significant that O’Connell is referred to sardonically as “le libérateur” and “le protecteur” in the captions of two of the vignettes on December 11 and 12 where Repeal “rent” is dutifully being collected by a skeletal figure and where O’Connell is, in fact, conspicuous in his absence. In the first vignette, O’Connell is referred to only by a top-hat being held out for money-collection. Notably, the top-hat had other significations for French audiences which would link the Irish situation with a French domestic one. The French monarch, Louis-Philippe, was also represented by the top-hat -- a marker of the bourgeois interests of his monarchy. Cynical French liberal or republican viewers could have associated O’Connell’s financial reliance on the

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42 Illustrated London News 29 July 1843: 1, 2.
43 It is possible that Cham had confused the Rebeccaites’ insurrectionary actions with the frequent incidents of agrarian violence in Ireland at the time. These Irish Catholic aggressions against Protestant landlords were known by a gendered inversion as “Molly Maguires” and were discussed in the British and French news as such.
44 Williams 59
45 Howard P. Vincent, Daumier and His World (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1968) 73.
peasant Irish classes as a form of exploitation, not unlike what journals like *Le Charivari* had repeatedly suggested was the fleecing of the French public carried out on behalf of Louis-Philippe. As but one example, *Le Charivari* had represented Louis-Philippe as a beggar holding out his top-hat for alms in the November 10, 1833 satire entitled “Un pauvre père de famille...Qui n’a que quelques millions de revenue” (fig. 66). Indeed, O'Connell would be criticized in this period, and after in France, for raising money among the pauper population in Ireland, and, in doing so, for raising false hopes about reform.

While the poverty and dissent of Ireland was made a prominent feature of the M. Trottman series, part of the Irish segment of traveler’s journeys hinged on the contrast of Ireland with other areas in Britain. England had been distinguished in the M. Trottman series as absorbed by the ostentatious display of industrial advancement and domestic material comforts. Ireland, in contrast, is characterized as deficient in domestic matters. Where England’s “hospitality” and modernity is shown to mask cultural immaturity, intolerance, and frenetic competitiveness, Ireland is poverty-stricken, primitive, but generous. This strategy of contrast made visible the discrepancy that the reader and viewer of *Le Charivari* would already have known well; that is, the irony that England relied on its self-representation as the centre of a “natural” and equitable union that, in fact, hid glaring contradictions. These pages of vignettes insistently represent the Irish peasant and the peasant family as disheveled and dirty, primitive and poor, but as generous and welcoming to M. Trottman, the unknown foreign traveler in their midst.

While the M. Trottman series ran a critique of British unity and English arrogance, other commentaries could be evinced from the images. Because the visual sequence appeared in a well-known media site that was overtly linked with a republican, as opposed to the French government viewpoint, the critique of foreign régimes offered up by *Le Charivari* could also suggest parallels with the domestic French situation. These parallels could not, however, be explicitly stated under the existing conditions of censorship. As noted earlier, *Le Charivari* was practiced at

46 Kenney and Merriman 82-83. “A poor head of the family...whose income only consists of a few millions.” [my translation]

negotiating the strictures of the September Laws of 1835 by directing satire away from specific individuals, like the king or government figures, while enabling other subjects to embody a commentary on Louis-Philippe’s Orléanist monarchy. Thus, a critique of the French government and its unpopular policy of entente cordiale with England, would be implicit in M. Trottman’s exposure of English hypocrisy and greed in relation to the endemic poverty and starvation, which as one of the captions indicates, are to be found “...n’importe où en Ireland” (fig. 2).

In a similar way, the M. Trottman series also raised issues concerning the growing signs of poverty in France. Between 1845 and the end of 1847, while Le Charivari raised the hypocrisy of British measures to ameliorate the crisis caused by the famine in Ireland, it also repeatedly focused on the potato blight in France, and on the fact that a large part of the French governing classes were unwilling to discuss either the problem of famine in the nation, or possibilities for its relief. In the M. Trottman series such issues were displaced to Ireland where destitution and starvation could be placed at the feet of British mismanagement of its interior affairs. As I will show in the following sections, drawing associations between Irish poverty and French poverty was not uncommon in France. Such links appeared frequently in arguments concerning economic policy; they also played a role in later satires in Le Charivari.

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Porous Boundaries: Linking pauperism in Ireland to poverty in urban France

As Timothy B. Smith has shown, economists, politicians, and philosophers in France were actively engaged in a debate on poverty and its remedies, as part of a discussion of the place of the working classes in the newly-industrializing economy. These debates had circulated in France since the mid 1830s and leading public names -- like political philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville in 1835, social reformer Eugene Buret in 1840-41 and in 1844, Louis-Napoléon, nephew of the Emperor Napoléon I and contender for French political power in 1844 -- had submitted solutions. Not only was Britain’s status as an economic leader questioned by means of this focus on poverty and destitution, but the nation’s reputation for humanitarian leadership was similarly brought into the public sphere for debate.

For the most part, the debates focused on the merits of state-supported relief, as opposed to individual acts of charity. What is important about these discussions to the present context is that repeatedly the issue of Britain’s solution to poverty was held up as an example against which to measure French solutions to similar problems in France. Social reformer Eugène Buret whose De la Misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France was published in both Paris and Leipzig in 1841, stands as a major example of such an analysis -- and one which raised the situation in Ireland in particular as Chapter Two has noted. Buret’s study was an extended analysis of poverty and the working classes in Britain and France. His work repeatedly foregrounded the Irish as the worst example to which working-class poverty could descend. His representation of the Irish as downtrodden followed upon Gustave de Beaumont’s unflattering study of English Protestant treatment of the Irish Catholic population in Ireland and Flora Tristan's negative portrait of the effects of industrialization on the Irish immigrants in London.

51 Smith 997-1015.
53 These works are discussed more fully in Chapter Two.
Buret had made a link in 1840, several years before the “Trottman series” appeared in Le Charivari, between the Irish who had migrated from rural Ireland to English urban centres and the French urban working classes -- most of whom had come in waves from rural France. Buret’s image of the Irish body was not only able to evoke this link between French rural and urban poverty, but his argument about the Irish condition was also able to contest the English essentialization of the Irish and other domestic populations as “foreign” contaminants, threatening to a bourgeois norm.

Buret argued that the trend towards laissez-faire markets, and the fluctuating employment they represented, threatened to pauperize even the productive segments of the French working classes. He noted that, because capital obeyed the law of profits and the workers were forced to sell their labour like merchandise (to the highest bidder), members of the working classes grew steadily poorer as the owners of industry as a group grew richer. But what distinguished Buret’s work from the statistical surveys on poverty that had been published over the previous ten years, were the conclusions that he drew and the course of action he recommended. In short, Buret demonstrated that the causes of pauperization were social, not biologically-determined, and that only radical government intervention into the capitalist economy could provide necessary long-term solutions.

Buret’s study made extensive use of the work of the 1832 British publication by Dr. James Phillip Kay: The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture of Manchester. Kay’s pamphlet had targeted the "invasion" of Irish migrants -- many of them peasants from the countryside -- into British urban centres, as a major source of the physical and moral contamination of the British English working classes. It was Kay who identified the Irish immigrant as a racial outsider and promoted wholesale Irish deportation for the sake of the health of the English social body. His 1832 English report on the Manchester poor during

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54 Buret passim.
56 Chevalier 140-41.
57 Buret accessed Kay’s earlier authoritative research notes, made when Kay was public health officer, on the subject of the "Little Irelands" that were the result of the "invasion" and "colonization" of English cities by Irish immigration (Buret, vol 1: 327-33). These communities were set apart by filth and inebriation and were pockets of deviation that violated bourgeois norms of personal cleanliness and sobriety - major contributors to the definition of civilized behaviour. See Buret on Kay, vol. 1: 330-33, 421-44.
the cholera epidemic had been influential in fostering the discourse of social hygiene as a way of demonizing the Irish immigrant communities or "Little Irelands". Buret, in order to bolster his own argument about French poverty, cited the British doctor as a recognized authority on the Irish communities in England, and on the bigger picture of British poverty. However, for Buret there were social causes for the situation of the working classes and the poor. In Buret’s study, the pauperism which characterized the most destitute of the working classes ("les misérables") necessitated a nomadic existence. For these populations, it was the vagaries of a market based more and more on laissez-faire principles that prevented them from making plans and kept them unsettled and rootless and in constant search of employment, not any innate working-class tendency to the "savage" or the "barbaric," which popular stereotypes in France associated with these groups.

In fact, Buret reworked stereotypes of the period which viewed the French worker as a "savage" by noting that the terms "worker" and "savage" were erroneously conflated and needed to be distinguished one from the other. In a passage reminiscent of Gustave de Beaumont’s construction of a parallel between the Black African slave and the modern Irish in Britain, Buret argued that what was shared between the French worker and the "savage" was their mutual subjection to the uncertainties of a life where survival depended on chance. However, where the "savage" freely chose his life, the worker was subjected to chance by the vagaries of the market and the economy:

L’incertitude de l’existence est le premier trait de ressemblance qui rapproche le pauvre du sauvage. Pour le prolétaire de l’industrie, comme pour le sauvage, la vie est à la mercie des chances du jeu, des caprices du hasard: aujourd’hui bonne chasse et salaire, demain chasse infructueuse ou chômage, aujourd’hui l’abondance et demain la famine; et comme ces alternatives ne dépendent pas de la volonté de celui qui les subit, qu’il est impossible de

58 In Kay’s notion of the “social body,” the Irish were ‘contaminants’ of the English working classes. Buret also evokes a symbiotic organism, by using the term social “physiologie” throughout his work. But in his vision of an holistic economy, where infection does not arise, the working classes are not an external and alien element to the liberal industrial economy. Buret passim.

59 Buret, vol 2 : 1-2. "Voilà donc déjà une des premières vertus sociales, l’habitude de la prévoyance, rendue bien difficile même impossible à l’ouvrier pauvre qui n’a pour vivre qu’un travail déprécié qu’il n’est pas sûr d’échanger chaque jour contre le pain nécessaire à la vie. » (Buret, vol. 2: 2). “Here already is one of the first social virtues, the habit of planning for the future, which is rendered difficult and, in fact, impossible for the poor worker who has nothing to exist but a depreciating job that he can’t be sure of exchanging every day for the bread necessary to keep himself alive.” [my translation]
As I have noted in Chapter Two, Kay’s characterization of the Irish as morally lax hid an economic agenda: his figurative expulsion of the Irish from the British social body was associated with attempts to promote a free market economy. Within this frame, the Irish population was seen as an impediment to free trade. While a liberal economy thrived on the middle-class values of individualism and private property being cultivated in England (through which the bourgeois discourse of hygiene circulated), those values were inapplicable to an impoverished agricultural economy, such as that upon which the Irish population relied. Significantly, although Buret had borrowed aspects from Kay’s analysis, the French author had no faith in the principles of unfettered free trade. In contrast to Kay’s text, the image of an impoverished Irish figure which emerged repetitively in Buret’s own analysis of French poverty, served not to promote *laissez-faire*, but to argue against it. Thus, Buret staked out a position early in his study: widespread Irish destitution was caused by the lack of government intervention (in adherence to *laissez-faire* principles) and by English belief in Malthusian concepts — that is, that overpopulation and diminished market returns would discourage the reproduction of working populations and starve or expel those who were unproductive.

Buret’s study of 1840 raised three major points that tied the pauperized Irish to the effects of French industrialization on the working classes. Each point bore a relation to the value of labour in the liberal economic system. The first point was that

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60 Buret, vol. 2: 2: “The uncertainty of existence is the first trait of resemblance which makes the pauper similar to the savage. For the industrial proletarian, as for the savage, life is at the mercy of a game of chance: today good hunting and a salary; tomorrow, a failed hunt or unemployment; today abundance, tomorrow famine; and as these alternatives don’t depend on the will of those who endure them, [and as] they are impossible to regulate, the result is that they[ both the pauper and the savage] are habituated to a passiveness about about their fate, and to not taking the trouble to foresee the needs of their future.” [my translation]


62 Poovey 70-72.

63 Malthus, an eighteenth-century political economist, blamed overpopulation on economic abundance. Malthus had advocated that internal market mechanisms would take care of surplus populations in declining market climates “naturally.” Malthusian thinking argued that the diminished market returns would discourage the reproduction of working populations as well as of starving non-productive populations. For example, Buret, vol. 1: 39, 45, 46, 152.
the current economic system in Britain, which produced the social extremes of opulence and destitution, was the equivalent of an antiquated feudal model. Early on Buret states that “Plus que je considère notre régime industriel, plus je suis tenté de le regarder comme le moyen âge de l’industrie.” In this system, where the worker is eventually forced to abandon the family workshop or atelier, the worker becomes alienated from his labour to function as little more than a machine:

Le travailleur se trouve assimilé par cette doctrine à une chose insensible, à une machine dont on a le droit d’exiger chaque jour plus de précision, plus de travail et plus de produit. [La population ouvrière, marchande de travail, est forcément réduite à la plus faible part du produit;] nous dirions presqu’on la déclare exploitable à merci comme l’était [la gent] corvéable et taillable de la société féodale.

Entire populations that evoked the Irish condition are produced by this economic model:

En Angleterre et en France, on trouve à côté de l’extrême opulence l’extrême dénuement, des populations entières, comme l’Irlande, réduites à l’agonie de la faim, aux dernières angoisses de la détresse physique et de la détresse morale; dans le centre même des foyers les plus actifs de l’industrie.

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64 Ireland surfaced early in the work as a human by-product of the “modern” industrial and commercial “success” that linked England and France in a new industrial “moyen age.” (Buret, vol. 1: 19-29, 55-62 passim.) Buret predicted that, without intervention in the economy, the English labouring classes would succumb to the pauperization and serfdom that centuries of violence and oppression had already caused in Ireland. This would constitute a kind of process of barbarization: “L’action naturelle et constante de ces causes, si elles existent, ne ferait-elle pas à la longue ce que l’usurpation, la violence et l’oppression ont fait en Irlande? Quel effrayant avenir si, malgré tous les progrès politique et industriels, les travailleurs libres des nations modernes, étaient poussés, par une inexorable fatalité, à la condition des Irlandais, à la condition économique des esclaves, moins la sécurité qu’ont les esclaves de ne pas mourir de faim?” [my italics] Buret, vol. 1: 206-07. “The natural result of these causes...would it not be in the end that which usurpation, violence and oppression, have produced in Ireland? What a terrifying future if, in spite of political and industrial progress, the free workers of modern nations were pushed, by an inexorable fate, to the condition of the Irish, to the economic condition of slaves, but without the security that slaves have of not dying of hunger?” [my translation]

65 Buret, vol. 1: 19. “The longer I consider our industrial regime, the more I am tempted to regard it as the middle ages of industry.” [my translation]


67 Buret, vol. 1: 43. “The worker finds himself assimilated by this doctrine to become an unfeeling thing, to become a machine over which one has the right to demand more precision each day, more work and more product. [The working population, merchants of labour, is reduced to the weakest part of the product:] we would almost say that the worker is deemed exploitable, thanks to a new feudal society.” [my translation]
commerce, on voit des milliers d’êtres humains ramenés par la vice et la
misère à l’état de barbarie. 68 [my italics]

The second salient point in Buret’s argument linking the Irish with the French
working classes occurred when he ascribed the racializing discourse associated with
slavery and with foreign populations to the peasants from the countryside who fuelled
the growth of urban working classes at mid-century. In an equation that constructed
parallels between the French industrialist and the Anglo-Irish landlord, Buret built a
comparison between the practice of “merchandising” French labour on the job market
(selling it at a competitive price) with the Irish need to bid up land rentals in order to
survive:

Comme marchandise, le travail doit de plus en plus bailer de prix; [car la
concurrence exerce une double pression pour le réduire, pression de la part de
ceux qui emploient le travail et qui s’efforcent de l’obtenir au meilleur marché
possible, au moyen des machines et d’inventions nouvelles;] pression de la
part des travailleurs, qui, agglomérés sur un même point et de plus en plus
nombreux, offrent leur travail au rabais, comme les paysans d’Irlande, qui se
disputent à qui paiera un loyer plus élevé d’une parcelle de terre insuffisante
pour les nourrir. 69 [my italics]

Buret’s first and second points -- setting the racialized working classes within
a feudal construct -- simultaneously activated a French liberal discourse that pitted
despotism against enslavement. 70 However, Buret’s third point extended the feudal
system to the modern economy of liberal capitalism, or for Buret, “laissez-faire

68 Buret, vol. 1: 14. “In England and France, one finds extreme destitution next to extreme opulence,
whole populations, like that of Ireland, reduced to the agonies of hunger, the last agonies of physical
and moral distress; even in the centre of the busiest industry and commerce, one sees thousands of
human beings reduced by vice and misery to a state of barbarism.” [my translation]
69 Buret, vol. 1: 43. “Like merchandise, labour must drop in price more and more [because competition
exerts a double pressure to reduce it, pressure on the part of employers who force themselves to obtain
it at the cheapest rate possible, considering machinery or new inventions;] pressure on the part of the
workers, who converge on the same point in greater and greater numbers to offer their work at a
discount, and who, like the peasants in Ireland, dispute over who will pay a higher rent for a piece of
land insufficient to feed them.” [my translation]
70 On this discussion, see Stanley Mellon, The Political Uses of History: A Study of Historians in the
French Restoration (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1958) passim and Lionel Gossman, “Augustin Thierry and
Liberal Historiography,” History and Theory, Studies in the Philosophy of History, Betheft 15
(Wesleyan UP, 1976) passim.
"absolu" and its corollary, political anarchy.\textsuperscript{71} In France this would call up images of the revolutions that had overthrown previous "despotic" governments -- such as the French Revolution of 1789.\textsuperscript{72} Buret’s analysis of the current economic relations as feudal was bolstered by the increasing anxieties about crime and social unrest: he pointed out that crime and vice were systemic in such an overall social "physiology."\textsuperscript{73} In fact, Buret’s work played upon contemporary fears around the eruption of "random" violence into full-blown revolution in a social body already weakened by class conflict --"cette guérison périlleuse dont nous sommes encore malades!"\textsuperscript{74}

Buret’s assessment of the Irish condition as representative of the worst depths to which a worker in a modern nation could descend, appeared a couple of years after the institution of the Irish Poor Laws in 1838. One of the major tropes in Buret’s work -- that of the modern French worker as Irish pauper -- thus passed judgment on the efficacy of those laws governing the delivery of public charity in a system of hopelessly unbalanced social and economic relations. Buret argued that both private and public charity, as delivered in France and in Britain, were inadequate for the creation of an independent working class.\textsuperscript{75} Instead, he recommended a new attitude towards labour that would minimize such needs as charity. Buret would balance the power of labour with that of capital and make a division in the ownership of assets and profits with the employer.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{71} Buret, vol. 1: 17.

\textsuperscript{72} In its several references to the potential for revolution among the distressed working classes (for example, Buret, vol. 1: 17, 40; vol. 2: 333, 342), Buret’s work exploited the current anxieties of Louis-Philippe’s monarchical government and of the French industrial or commercial middle classes around issues of social stability.

\textsuperscript{73} Buret demonstrated that it was poverty that gradually degraded a worker and pushed him towards crime:

"Une fois que la misère s’est appesantie sur un homme, elle le déprime peu à peu, dégrade son caractère, lui enlève les uns après les autres tous les bienfaits de la vie civilisée, et lui impose les vices de l’esclave et du barbare. (Buret vol. 2, 2.) "Once poverty slows a man down, it deprives him little by little, degrades his character, takes from him one by one all the benefits of a civilized life, and imposes on him the vices of the slave and the barbarian." [my translation]

\textsuperscript{74} Buret, vol. 1: 40. "...this dangerous recovery from which we are still sick!"

\textsuperscript{75} By 1838, the Irish had their own Poor Laws which restricted charity to indoor relief through the Workhouse. This proved to be an extreme hardship in an already impoverished country. Buret comments very unfavourably on the British poor laws and the Workhouse. He sees the latter as a source of deplorable conditions where deprivation of one’s family is exacerbated by removal of all dignity and liberty. (Buret, vol. 1: 143-48, 168-71.) See Smith \textit{passim} on debates on state-instituted charity in France and on French concern around creating a parallel system to the British Poor Laws.

\textsuperscript{76} Buret, vol. 2: 336-470.
As Chapter One has pointed out in relation to Kay’s condemnation of Irish communities in England, the contaminating potential of the Irish body was officially and popularly associated with the devastating cholera epidemic which had hit Manchester and other parts of Britain in 1832. This central aspect of Kay’s study of the Irish was, of course, adopted in Buret’s work to underscore the condition of pauperism. The cholera epidemic of 1832 had also hit France with a devastating and memorable impact and was linked to the dangers represented by the working classes.

Paris’ experience in the cholera epidemic of 1832 had provoked a barrage of statistical surveys, which attempted to identify its causal factors. Cultural historian Nicholas Green pointed out in 1990 that the French hygienicist discourse of the time located the local French source of cholera in squalid, overcrowded and ill-ventilated quarters. He argues that this focus on the environmental causes of the disease diverted focus from its random behaviour -- spreading across classes, regardless of environment -- and conveniently targeted the impoverished working classes for its contamination of the entire social body. Of course, this was an attribution that reinforced derogatory associations of the working-classes with contagious disease. These class associations heightened cholera’s political implications in class conflict. For example, the hysteria that had accompanied the cholera outbreak of 1832 had produced scenes of mob violence by the “lower orders” at the suspicion that the authorities had deliberately poisoned the working-class population. Such a suspicion and its violent impact on mainstream society reveals that the political implications of class, poverty, and disease were already firmly embedded in Paris before Buret’s study brought Kay’s Irish “contaminants” into focus.

But this leads to another point: the massive influx of Irish to England had implications for France itself in the relationship constructed between crime, disease and poverty. Indeed, according to cultural historian Delaporte, it was thought that ports (through which the Irish and other outsider peoples had to enter England) were particularly susceptible to cholera contamination and its inevitable spread through

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77 Green 51.
79 Green 51; Delaporte 49-58; Collingham 67-68.
new populations. Ports -- whether English or French -- were metaphoric and material sites of exchange in the new economy of global trade. Occurring alongside the exchange of resources and commodities and ideas, the trade of bodies and germs was more difficult to monitor. Just as the porosity of borders between European nations was a concern, so was the preservation of the invisible internal boundaries that formerly separated rural peasant populations from the urban working classes. Buret worried about the growing working population and its increasing poverty. Indeed, the worsening condition of the working classes in both Britain and France was exacerbated by the influx of rural and peasant populations from the countryside.

French poverty at home and abroad

Through 1846 and 1847 as the potato famine in Ireland continued, France itself was experiencing deepening poverty in urban centres like Paris, partly as a result of France’s own potato blight, poor grain harvests, and economic recession. As has been noted, in this period, the French journal Le Charivari brought the issue of poverty -- whether Irish or French -- to the fore through a series of articles and visual satires. Some of these drew attention to the inadequate government response in dealing with or even acknowledging the dimensions of the crisis. For example, in March 1847 Le Charivari lampooned France’s various political approaches to the widespread condition of hunger with articles such as “La Charité selon M. Fulchiron” on 13 March 1847, and “La Charité des deux cotes du detroit” on 14 March 1847. The former mocks a peer who, shocked by pauperism, wants to draw attention to himself by legislating charitable relief. As Le Charivari sardonically noted (and in so doing gave support to mainstream French hostility to state-funded solutions to

80 Delaporte 12-3.
83 Collingham 360-61.
84 See p. 21 and n 49 above.
poverty), such legislation coming from the *Chambres des Pairs* could also be selfinterested. State funded solutions risked by-passing personal responsibility for ameliorating destitution.87

Both government and public attitudes to the harsh reality of starvation underscored such images as “Il a faim” (fig.67), a caricature which appeared on March 29th of 1847. The image was one of a series sardonically entitled “les Baliverneries parisiennes” (“Parisian nonsenses”) that was produced by well-known *Le Charivari* artist Paul Gavarni. Until 1845 Gavarni was best-known for his representation of frivolous and fashionable Parisian life, particularly the “lorettes,” or Paris courtesans, rather than for the subject matter of his later satires which, like “Il a faim,” involved members of the “under” classes and commented ironically on their social relations with the bourgeoisie.89 During his early and mid-career, Gavarni’s output was noted for its representation of contemporary life and mores,90 and he was

86 Public opinion and debates on this issue are discussed above in relation to Smith *passim.*
87 This point is also made in “La Charité sociale,” *Le Charivari* 27 September 147: 1.
88 *Le Charivari* 29 March 1847: 3.
90 Stamm 14.
often compared to the popular literary figure, Honoré de Balzac, and to the celebrated caricaturist, Honoré Daumier.

"Il a faim" of 1847 represents the focus of Gavarni's later works, for which the artist was less well-known. The satire shows a black-suited and top-hatted French bourgeois passing a barefoot, emaciated and collapsed human form propped up against a wall on an urban street. As the bourgeois gentleman passes he chastises the starving man for his laziness (fig. 67). In the caption the bourgeois mumbles to himself, "'Il a faim'...paresse!...moi aussi j'ai faim, mais je prends la peine d'aller diner." The impotent figure he passes, collapsed into an unthreatening heap and seemingly unconscious with hunger, neither looks up nor actively implores the passing bourgeois. There appears to be a pair of spindly glasses hooked onto the collapsed figure's shirt, suggesting a former involvement in a skilled or semi-skilled labour practice which required visual accuracy or reading ability. These glasses are a clue to the figure's recent employment -- and therefore to the social causes of his condition. His face is virtually indistinguishable to the viewer -- it is his body language that identifies his impotence and the hopelessness of his situation. There is no interaction between the two figures, indigent and bourgeois. There is no eye contact. The bourgeois' words assign the silent figure an agency that he, in fact, lacks in representation. Crumpled and supported by an exterior wall, the broken figure passively succumbs to fatigue and hunger as the authoritative, well-heeled and upright (one might say "inflated") figure of the French bourgeois moves on by, hands thrust deep in his pockets, eyes downcast and black costume enveloping his entire body except the face.

"Il a faim" of 29 March 1847 exposes the many levels of bourgeois anxieties concerning pauperization and suggests that the issue was a worrying one for readers of the journal. As Timothy B. Smith has shown, many of the French contributions to the debate about poverty argued that solutions to destitution rested on individuals and charitable organizations -- and not just the state -- taking responsibility for remedies. The bourgeois in the satire casts a shadow that echoes the form of the

91 Stamm 7-30.
92 Stamm 4, 32, 39, 44, 51.
93 "So he's hungry...lazy man...I'm also hungry, but at least I take the trouble to go and have my dinner." [my translation]
94 Timothy B. Smith, "The Ideology of Charity, the Image of the Poor Law, and Debates over the Right to Assistance in France, 1830-1905," The Historical Journal 40. 4 (1997): 999-1000.
demoralized body.\textsuperscript{95} Considering that the debate on poverty continued throughout and beyond this decade, the physical contiguousness -- or even contingency -- of the two figures is important, serving to underscore the passing bourgeois' denial of what contemporaneous French studies on poverty were arguing; namely, that the two figures formed two parts of a unified social fabric. Within this model, the avoidance of class polarization and conflict depended on the forging of ties between classes, which could be achieved through the kind of patron-client relationship that charitable giving was thought to establish.\textsuperscript{96} Even Buret's "utopian" solutions to French working-class poverty and pauperization in 1840-41 had relied on the benefits of an integrated, rather than polarized, arrangement between both industry and labour.\textsuperscript{97} The visual strategy encountered in "Il a faim," binds the figures together in a causal relationship in which the bourgeois--and the bourgeois system--cannot escape responsibility.

Debates around the role of charity in resolving contemporary problems of poverty and starvation were a frequent feature in the pages of \textit{Le Charivari}, and British and French examples served to highlight this issue. As has been noted already, the apparent widespread indifference of the British middle classes and élites to the devastation of the famine throughout Ireland was presented as a matter of astonishment and ridicule to the subscribers to \textit{Le Charivari}.\textsuperscript{98} Through 1846 and 1847 for example, the satirical journal ran articles and visual satires that lampooned the British for their gluttonous obsession with roast beef (particularly the British "bourgeois" royal couple, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert).\textsuperscript{99} This had been the thrust of the features in the March of 1847 edition which ridiculed the British monarch's decision to lead her nation in a general fast which would briefly eliminate beef and potatoes from its diet as a "penance" for the famine devastation in Ireland.\textsuperscript{100}

\textsuperscript{95} I also owe a debt of gratitude to fellow doctoral candidate in the Art History Department at UBC, Aleksandra Idzior, for urging me to expand on Robert Rosenblum's observation.
\textsuperscript{96} Smith 999-1000.
\textsuperscript{97} Buret vol.2, 275-92.
\textsuperscript{98} See 113 and n26 above.
\textsuperscript{99} See "Un Rosbif phénoménał," \textit{Le Charivari} 30 December 1846: 1. For other satires on the British obsession with roast beef, see "Carillon," \textit{Le Charivari} 30 December 1846: 2,3; "La charité des deux cotés du détroit," \textit{Le Charivari} 14 March 1847: 1; "Calembredaines du Vatican britannique," \textit{Le Charivari} 17 March 1847: 1; "Smithfield market," \textit{Moeurs brittaniques} 5 June 1847: 3, which is discussed more fully below.
In one of these satires, Le Charivari linked the British taste for roast beef with the obsessive British "taste" for matters of lineage and breeding, by virtue of which the English damned the Irish to a status below that of domestic livestock. For example, on June 5, 1847 Le Charivari ran a full-page caricature in the Moeurs britanniques series by an unspecified artist. The "Smithfield Market," represents a stout middle-class Englishman at London's principal livestock auction site and meat market (fig.68). To his side stand an enormous bull (or steer) and the bull's handler. The latter, with his arms folded across his chest, patiently listens while the bourgeois holds forth on his knowledge of the bull's lineage. The caption reads: "Vous avez un beouf magnifique et d'excellente race, j'ai mangé son père, sa mère, sa soeur et deux de ses frères, vous voyez que je connais sa famille." It seems that the flamboyant and well-fed bourgeois has intimate knowledge of the bull's breeding line by way of his own dining experience on roast beef. Aside from pointing out the bourgeois observer's inability to see beyond the individual animal's value as a cut of roast beef on his own dining table, this satire concerning food in London trivializes the British attitude towards hunger and starvation in Ireland during 1847, a year which had already turned out to be the worst of the famine years to date.

In addition to lampooning British eating habits, Le Charivari produced caricatures in the Moeurs britanniques series which satirized British fashion eccentricities. Together the images constructed a commentary on the different modes of national dress within Britain, in turn, underscoring the Irish condition of poverty. One of these, subtitled "L'Ecossais" ("The Scotsman") (fig.69), was drawn by Cham, and published on January 14, 1847. The caption read, "Ce monsieur a oublié ses sous-pieds et son pantaloon est remonté...ou bien, il a oublié ses bretelles et perdu ses coulottes en route ..." A British bourgeois, tall and slim, understated but well-dressed in a black top-hat and coat over tweed trousers -- observes over-his-shoulder with astonishment the sturdy and well-nourished backside of a short and squat kilted Scot as he retreats into the distance. The Scot not only wears a vividly-patterned kilt

101 Le Charivari 5 June 1847: 3.
102 "You have a wonderfully-bred ox; I ate his father, his mother, his sister and two of his brothers, you see how well I know his family." [my translation]
103 Williams 189-240. Williams gives an account of the British press's coverage of an increasingly dire situation in Ireland in 1847. Also see Ó Gráda passim.
104 Le Charivari 14 January 1847: 3.
105 "This gentleman forgot his understraps and his pants are too high...or else, he forgot his suspenders and lost his underwear on the way." [my translation]
and sports a wide-brimmed tam, but he walks determinedly, staff in hand, towards a
distant mountain. The Scot’s outrageous girth and his national costume could not help
but evoke a contrast with the Irish, also members of the British Union, for whom such
proud displays and dress were made irrelevant during what was the most acute phase
of the Irish famine. In another visual satire by Cham in the Moeurs britanniques series
subtitled “Baragouin britannique” (‘British gibberish’) and appearing on January 31,
1847 (fig.70),106 the French bourgeois himself becomes the butt of jokes for his
understated attire on the part of three “fashionably” thin Britons. This observing
group occupies the foreground and consists of two inordinately thin and tall British
dandies — one in undersized jacket and shrunken, but brashly tartaned trousers -- and
a thin female companion dressed in a gown embellished with an enormous, oversized
collar and a hat with an oversized duck-bill brim, which weighs down her head. One
dandy laughingly mocks a well-dressed gentleman in the background who sports
understated but well-tailored and fashionable clothes, a beard and a walking stick.
The caption reads: “Godem! Oha! Frenchman ridiculous, costume comical very
good, Oh Ah! Oh!” The caption, in which the British ridicule the French dress,
becomes a joke on the British themselves when read in conjunction with the visual
emphasis on their ill-fitting and outrageous clothes. The frivolous nature of the
fashion concerns that are given representation in these satires in Le Charivari was
underscored by the simultaneous publication of stories in the same month that praised
the British government of Robert Peel. He was acclaimed for his attempts to address
the important social concern of the day, distress and starvation, while the French
government was criticized in the same pages for foreclosing on parallel internal
matters while debating foreign matters instead.107

But satires on Britain or the British in Le Charivari invariably provided a
means of raising current French issues. James Cuno has pointed out that it was part
of an oppositional strategy in the satirical press during the years before censorship in
1835 to publish a “string of images linked only by their appearance in successive
issues.”108 Newly-released caricatures would have the ability to call up earlier

106 Le Charivari 31 January 1847: 3.
107 See “Eloquence Rentée: relativement à l’Angleterre,” Le Charivari 8 January 1847: 1;
108 See Cuno for how Philipon developed a tradition of “visual allusions” between caricatures to
lampoon Louis-Philippe and his ministers in La Caricature: “Charles Philipon and la Maison Aubert,”
188-91.
references in the same or even different series by virtue of an element of visual similarity. This strategy of visual interdependence is also pointed out by cultural historian David S. Kerr. In his recent analysis of the operations of satirical images in Le Charivari, Kerr notes their polysemic qualities and their ability to relate visually to other seemingly unrelated caricature series in the journal, and even in its predecessor, the illustrated La Caricature. Similar relationships, I want to argue, forged links between poverty in Ireland and poverty in urban France in this period of the 1840s.

Some months after the satire concerning French urban poverty on March 29, 1847, “Il a faim” (fig.67), Le Charivari published “Un Costume national” (“A National Costume”) (fig.71) under the rubric Moeurs britanniques. While taking a leisurely stroll, an elegantly top-hatted British gentleman, most likely a tourist -- based on his unhurried attitude -- confronts an emaciated and barefooted man with long and matted hair, dressed only in tattered rags. Underscoring the well-dressed gentleman's naïve assessment of such destitution, the caption indicates that the starving peasant is taken to be a “savage” from some remote continent: “Monsieur est sans doute d’un pays chaud?” asks the observer, hands in his trouser pockets and lorgnette at his eye, as he peers with curiosity at the figure he encounters. “Non, Monsieur, Je suis Irlandais,” is the reply. The gentleman associates the figure with “a hot country,” potentially activating prevalent British stereotypes which linked the Irish with Africans or with “savages” -- stereotypes which had been noted and critiqued by French authors like Gustave de Beaumont. However, the naïveté of the middle-class Briton is exposed through his assumption that the near-nakedness of the peasant signifies a national costume of some tropical locale. At the same time, “Un costume national” also underscores the somewhat unfamiliar interface of the urban dweller with the rural peasant. While on the surface the satire targets British attitudes to Ireland, on a more complex level, the image brings underlying French anxieties and issues to the fore. While the outdoor setting in “Un Costume national” denotes a rural environment in Ireland, the fact is that this visual satire had a visibility and a

109 Kerr 19, 44-50, 141.
110 Le Charivari 14 August 1847: 3.
111 “Monsieur must come from a very warm country?”
112 “No, Sir, I am Irish.”
114 See the discussion of Beaumont in Chapter Two above.
mobility in the urban espaces of Paris. Metaphorically, the satire brings the country to the city, thus provoking the urban middle classes in France to confront bourgeois anxieties about the migration of the rural French peasantry to the cities resulting in a swell in the urban working classes. As I have argued in the preceding pages, links between poverty in Ireland and poverty in France were a crucial and long-standing feature of French public debate in the 1840s. With this in mind, starvation in the streets of Paris is given visible features in common with starvation in Ireland. A comparison between “Un Costume national” in the Moeurs britanniques series (fig.71) and “Il a faim” in the Baliverneries parisiennes series (fig.67)-- satires that appeared almost five months apart and were executed by different artists --stresses these common links: emaciated and resigned bodies, bare feet, ragged clothing, and matted and disheveled hair. For the bourgeois in Paris, the Irishman was associated with the ‘savage’ inhabitant of a foreign locale and the emaciated urban pauper seemed to suggest a racialized other; both in keeping with prevalent French stereotypes that marked out the French peasant and worker as foreign and savage entities.

What I am arguing is that the satires in Le Charivari that have been discussed in this section challenged prevalent reductions of poverty and degradation to innate forms of difference -- whether of race or of class -- to promote newer ideas which accused both the British and French government’s exclusive promotion of middle-class values and needs as responsible for the mismanagement of current social and economic problems. The journal and its satires, which through a visual and textual interplay associated Irish starvation with the worst of French working-class

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115 On the anxieties of the French middle classes concerning immigration of the peasantry to the city and the swell of the working classes, and on both as threats to the middle classes, see Chevalier 3-4, 359-61; Cuno, “Charles Philipon and la Maison Aubert” 267-70; Kenney and Merriman 16.
116 On French views of the peasantry as ‘savages,’ see Weber passim; Chevalier passim; Cuno, “Philipon et Desloges” 142.
117 It is significant that, by early and mid 1847, the source of state aid for the Irish was being widely debated in the British press. The so-called “Gregory clause” then forced the “Irish” landlords (usually Protestant and with strong English affiliations) to take over the responsibility for the starving Irish population through a revised version of the Irish poor laws, that had originally been instituted in 1838, and which Daniel O’Connell had resisted. In 1847, the British media, representing British public opinion, expressed exasperation and resentment at having had to shoulder the burden of state aid to Ireland and thoroughly demonized the “Irish” landlord class for deliberate neglect of its responsibility to its own Irish poor, a point that bears a relationship to the French bourgeois denying responsibility for the French destitute in the caricature “Il a faim.” See James S. Donnelly, Jr., “Irish Property Must Pay for Irish Poverty’: British Public Opinion and the Great Irish Famine,” “Fearful Realities” New
destitution, was thus involved in a debate about poverty and social policy in France under Louis-Philippe’s monarchy.

Chapter Four: Young Ireland and Le Gamin de Paris: The 1848 Revolution and After

Three days of violence that came to be known as the February Days, the popular revolution of 1848 in France, deposed the Orléanist King and established the nation’s Second Republic under a provisional government. The revolution of 1848 that momentarily allied the working classes and the liberal bourgeoisie in the overthrow of King Louis-Philippe had an impact on Ireland as well as other suppressed nationalities living under autocratic rule. But Ireland itself played a role in the newly formed French Republic, as this chapter will show. References to Ireland and the Irish were frequent in the French press in the dynamic months between February and June of 1848, at which time civil war between moderate and more radical working-class republicans resulted in a more conservative cast to the Second Republic. Through the spring of 1848 major newspapers across the political spectrum in Paris presented an ongoing commentary on Irish agitation against the British union, and on contacts between Irish nationalists and France’s new republican government. Within this context as I will show, representations of the Irish and Ireland initially foregrounded the revolutionary optimism of the new French republic in dialogue with Irish nationalist groups. However, after the defeat of the Irish republican insurrection in July of 1848 and with the increasingly repressive legislation imposed on the French working classes by President Louis-Napoléon following his election in December 1848, such representations shifted. By 1849 discussions of Irish nationalist movements disappear from the French press. As a result and as a part of a critique of the British government and its policies towards Ireland, the image of the Irish returned -- from its brief incarnation as a sovereign, if inexperienced, agent of national independence -- to that of a famished and resigned population.

Press Coverage of Events: Le Gamin de Paris meets le Jeune Irlande

The illustrated satirical journal, Le Charivari, made a major contribution to the coverage of national and international events involving Britain, in 1848, after the

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1 Newspapers surveyed include the middle-of-the-road Le Constitutionnel, the liberal Le Siècle, the Catholic L'Univers, the non-aligned and volatile La Patrie, the republican Le Peuple constituant, and the radical La Réforme. For a brief history of each see Edgar L. Newman, ed., Historical Dictionary of France from the 1815 Restoration to the Second Empire, 2 vols. (New York: Greenwood P, 1987) 253-55, 972, 717-19 (see “Montalembert”), 783, 796, 873-75.
Revolution in Paris. On March 11, 1848, a year after Daniel O'Connell’s death, *Le Charivari* published a full-page visual satire that represented a significant shift in the way the popular moderate republican newspaper gave form to the Irish body. Produced by the increasingly well-known satirist Cham, “Lord Wellington cherchant à dissuader la jeune Irlande de suivre l’exemple du gamin de Paris” (fig. 72), appeared just two weeks after the revolution in Paris on February 23rd and 24th 1848.

*Le Charivari’s* satire pictured an unlikely trio of figures occupying an urban street together: Britain’s Lord Wellington -- the aging former military commander of the Napoleonic wars and, in 1848, Commander in Chief of Britain’s armed forces -- with two young boys. Wellington had recently been under discussion in the French press for having urged the British government to bolster its defenses against the possibility of an invasion from France. The youths accompanying him, however, make clear that Ireland’s links with France were of a more immediate concern to the aged military leader. The youths are identified as the “gamin de Paris” -- the French street urchin who was popularized through the literature of Honoré Balzac and Victor Hugo and who had widespread associations with revolutionary insurgency -- and “la

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4 Particularly relevant to Cham’s satire of the Duke of Wellington was *le gamin’s* revolutionary association. As Alexis de Tocqueville observed shortly after the February Days of the 1848 revolution: “It is the Paris urchins who usually start insurrections, and they usually do so merrily, like schoolboys on holiday” Alexis de Tocqueville’s statement about the gamin and his revolutionary associations is cited as coming from *Sur le droit au travail*, 1848, by Chevalier in *Laboring Classes and Dangerous Classes in Paris in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Frank Jellinick (New York: Howard Fertig, 1973) 115-116. Chevalier notes that Victor Hugo’s “gamin,” Gavroche, in *Les Misérables* and the practices of such urchins drew on the demographic and social study of Chevalier’s source, M.A. Fregier, *Des Classes dangereuses de la population dans les grandes villes*, 2 vols. Paris, 1840. The image of the *gamin de Paris* was popularized and circulated through various nineteenth-century forms as the “tough, roguish [and] impertinent” youth representing “l’esprit français.” One of the gamins’ earliest appearances was in the painting, *Liberty on the Barricades*, by Delacroix in 1832 -- commemorating the Revolution of 1830. See Beatrice Farwell, *The Charged Image : French
"jeune Irlande" — a name which referred to the comparatively radical group Young Ireland a break-away from Irish Repeal, which had formed its own association, the Irish Confederation, in January of 1847. Chapter Three has noted that some of the French press had already registered a rift between Young Ireland and the traditional leadership of Repeal, represented by Daniel O'Connell and his son, John, as early as May of 1845. That "rift" would have become even more visible to French audiences after Daniel O'Connell died in May of 1847, especially when many representatives of "official" France and prominent members of Repeal -- but no indications in news reports that any Young Ireland representatives were in evidence -- attended a memorial service to honour the Irish leader at Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris in early February of 1848, only about two weeks before the revolution in France that was to


Young Ireland was composed of Repeal members who had for some time been critical of O'Connell's conciliatory methods with the British government. Kevin B. Nowlan, The Politics of Repeal: a Study in the Relations between Great Britain and Ireland, 1841-50 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Toronto : U of Toronto P, 1965) 9-10, has pointed out that the name 'Young Ireland' was initially a term of ridicule used by O'Connell's Repeal movement to designate a small opposition faction within Repeal. 'Old Ireland' was used to refer to both Repeal and those who supported O'Connell's Catholic leadership. Nowlan discusses Young Ireland's split with Repeal which began in 1846 and the formation of the Irish Confederation by members of the Young Ireland faction in January of 1847 as an organization for their group (114, 127-28). Young Ireland adopted a more inclusive and, in some significant cases (such as that of journalist John Mitchel and the stirring Young Ireland orator, Thomas Francis Meagher) overtly militant stand in calling for reform in Ireland. Young Ireland was critical of the original Repeal leadership's exclusive focus on Catholic and tenant rights and argued instead for a platform that would attract Irish Protestant members and include landlord concerns. Though the allegiances of Young Ireland's Irish Confederation shifted over time (especially as the various factions became more militant after the 1848 revolution in France) it is possible to say that Young Ireland's interest in the politics of nationalism included an increasing focus on land issues, interdenominational and inter-class participation, and on the possibility of radical agitation against recalcitrant landlords by their tenants. See Nowlan 145-73. For an account of the growing radicalism among Young Ireland that was inspired by the revolution in France see Nowlan 183-87.

For early reports on the differences between the Repeal leadership and Young Ireland in May of 1845 see the conservative L'Univers 23 May 1845: n. pag. Le Charivari had commented on the differences within the Repeal movement with its publication of M. Trottman at a very hostile Repeal meeting in the series "M. Trottman en voyage," Le Charivari, 12 December 1845: 3. In August of 1846 the more moderate mass-circulation paper Le Siecle had published news of the growing ascendancy of Young Ireland over Repeal: see "La Jeune Irlande," Le Siecle 6 August 1846. Later that year the same paper, Le Siecle, recorded a dispute over policy between Young Ireland and Repeal in "Irlande," Le Siecle 9 November 1846: n. pag.

O'Connell died in Genoa Italy on May 15 1847 and his funeral in Dublin was not held until August. The moderate liberal Le Siecle covered O'Connell's death on 22 May 1847: 1. Le Siecle (17 August 1847: 3) and the moderate liberal daily Le Constitutionnel (16 August 1847: 1) also covered Daniel O'Connell's Dublin funeral. John O'Connell had given a speech at his father's funeral in Dublin which had reinforced the young O'Connell's choice of the peaceful approach to Irish Repeal that his father, Daniel, had espoused. For an account of the political position conveyed by John O'Connell at that event, just months before the revolution in Paris of February 1848, see the article in a moderate liberal daily newspaper: "Paris, 13 Août: Les Elections en Irlande," Le Constitutionnel 16 August 1847: 1. On speculation about the divisions in Repeal and the organization's potential leadership after Daniel O'Connell's death see "Paris, 21 Mai," Le Siecle 22 May 1847: 1.
depose King Louis-Philippe. Daniel O'Connell’s son, John O'Connell, was among those who attended the service. Although there was significant coverage of the “religious” event in the conservative Catholic and moderate press, the more radical papers, marking out their disapproval of what they saw as O’Connell’s ineffective tactics on behalf of the Irish people, noticeably ignored the service.

The republican paper, Le Charivari, published its caricature by Cham, “Lord Wellington cherchant à dissuader la jeune Irlande de suivre l’exemple du gamin de Paris,” on March 11, 1848 a month after Daniel O’Connell’s February 10 service in Paris. As the title to Cham’s satire conveys, the highly decorated Wellington, who was a staunch opponent of O’Connell’s Irish Repeal Movement, attempts to discourage the enthusiastic figure of “la jeune Irlande” -- unarmed and dressed in schoolboy clothes -- from imitating the insurrectionary behaviour associated with the Paris gamin and the Revolution in France of 1848. The personification of “Young Ireland,” in a gesture typical of a schoolboy prankster, thumbs his nose in the Duke’s face, as if to reject the warning and reprimand that is being directed at him. Behind Wellington’s back the gamin de Paris throws his hands up to catch “la jeune Irlande’s” attention. His gesture can be seen either as a coaching session meant to teach an appropriately subversive attitude to the apparently naïve Irish youth, or as an indication of the gamin’s horror and dismay at “la jeune Irlande’s” somewhat puerile tactic used against Wellington, who was a well-known icon of English force. That “la jeune Irlande” requires the tutelage of the French gamin is clear. He is, after all, dressed in a child’s costume of smock, ribbons and hat, equipped only with a school satchel. The gamin de Paris, on the other hand, wears the street clothes of the working classes as well as the tricolour cockade in his hat, underscoring his

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8 The memorial service for Daniel O'Connell on February 10 was given extensive coverage in the conservative paper, L'Univers under “Paris, 10 Février 1848,” on 11 February 1848: 1. Le Siècle gave the service modest coverage in one short paragraph under “Nouvelles diverses” on 12 February 1848: n. pag. while L'Illustration gave it extensive front-page illustrated coverage: see “Oraison funèbre de Daniel O'Connell, par le R.P. Lacordaire, prononcée a Notre Dame de Paris le 10 février,” L'Illustration 19 February 1848: 1.

9 For examples of dissatisfaction or skepticism over the effectiveness of Daniel O'Connell’s approach see “Irlande,” La Réforme 12 October 1846: 1; “Manifeste de la Jeune Irlande,” La Réforme 10 November 1846: 1; “Une remède à la faim,” La Réforme 16 December 1846: 1; “Irlande,” La Réforme 9 January 1848: 3. Also see Chapter Three above.

10 A couple of days after the appearance of this caricature in Le Charivari the mass-circulation daily Le Siècle reported that the British government had already banned meetings in Ireland that celebrated the revolution in France. Wellington himself was already in the news: the republican paper La Réforme had published Wellington’s letter to the British on the dangers of French invasion and the need to focus on national defense in early January. See n3 above.
revolutionary and republican allegiances. The *gamin* appears to have lifted the large sword from Wellington’s back, effectively disempowering the aged British leader and underscoring the *gamin*’s pretences to military might and international authority.

On the wall behind the trio, a poster, somewhat obscured by Wellington’s military headdress reads: “Avis aux Irlandais” (“Notice to the Irish”). Juxtaposed with the wall graffiti -- signed by Titi\(^1\) -- which celebrates the revolutionary and republican principles of “fraternité,” “égalité,” and “liberté,” the poster evokes the efforts of the British government to suppress agitation in Ireland over the late autumn of 1847 and into January of 1848.\(^1\) Such graffiti was one of the forms that had been associated with popular oppositional street culture throughout the July Monarchy.\(^1\) It was by way of such mural juxtapositions -- which referenced the impromptu scribbles that celebrated the revolution in Paris alongside posted warnings to the Irish that are mocked by “*la jeune Irlande*” -- that Cham’s satire of Lord Wellington questioned the effectiveness of British attempts to control the revolutionary exchanges between the French and Irish radicals during the spring of 1848.

With its humorous contrast of the extremes of decrepit old age and youthful verve, the impact of *Le Charivari*’s satire rested on a number of factors. One was the currency among French republicans of the *gamin de Paris* in the context of the recent revolution in Paris. Another was the well-publicized split in Repeal and the recent and rising prominence of Young Ireland. This explains the fact that in Cham’s cartoon, appearing in a republican media site, it is a member of Young Ireland and not a figure of the traditional Repeal movement who engages with Lord Wellington and the *gamin de Paris*. In the satire of March 11, “*la jeune Irlande*” receives instruction from the French “street kid” only a little more than two weeks after the revolution of late

\(^1\) According to Judith Wechsler, Titi was a “familiar generic nickname for an insolent Parisian working-class youth.” “Titi” had already appeared among the Physiognomic Gallery by Travies in 1837, a pictorial gallery which rendered images of working-class “types” in *Le Charivari*. See Judith Wechsler, *A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th Century Paris* (U of Chicago P, 1982) 96. Also see Farwell 157-8.

\(^1\) In December of 1847 the republican press reported that the British government was initiating crackdowns on agitation in Ireland: see “Irlande,” *La Réforme* 27 December 1847: n. pag. Subsequent arrests and court proceedings against Irish agitators were reported in January of 1848: for example, “Irlande,” *La Réforme* 9 January 1848: 3. On the danger that Ireland presented to Britain see *L’Univers* 3 July 1845: n. pag.; “Paris, 25 Décembre: Les conservateurs at la misère,” *La Réforme* 26 December 1846: 1; “Paris, 4 Janvier: Collision en Irlande,” *La Réforme* 5 January 1847: 1; “Irlande,” *La Réforme* 9 January 1848: 3.

February 1848. While the caricature responded to reports in the French press on British repression of the continuing eruptions of violence in Ireland, Parisian papers had also run accounts on English concerns about a French invasion of Britain. These reports were particularly charged because Ireland had been used historically by France in its ongoing hostility towards England — and represented a particular threat still evoked in British memory since France had sent troop support to Ireland during the Irish Rebellion in 1798. Le Charivari’s visual representation of French willingness to advise Young Ireland on its revolutionary action against Britain in 1848 promised to inflame those anxieties.

On the other hand, about a week prior to the publication of Le Charivari’s provocative caricature and just about a week-and-a-half after the revolution in France, the liberal daily newspaper La Patrie had featured another, more moderate brand of Irish nationalism, and tied it to the new French republic. On March 3 the paper had already published a letter from the Irish Repeal leader, John O’Connell, Daniel O’Connell’s son, on its front page. The letter to the new French republican government was dated March 1 and its origin marked Paris, where John O’Connell had attended his father’s memorial service and, as historian Kevin Nowlan points out, stayed for the duration of the revolution at the end of February. In the letter O’Connell commented favourably on the success and especially the orderliness of France’s recent uprising against and overthrow of the monarchy and on the formation of a Republic in France. Predictably, in light of the well-publicized schism between the Repeal leadership (now in the person of John O’Connell) and Young Ireland, the Repeal greeting foregrounded in a moderate newspaper linked “Old Ireland” and its lawful and constitutional resistance to British rule (for example, O’Connell signed

14 Whereas O’Connell’s Repeal group was sometimes termed “Old Ireland” and his efforts at conciliation termed “moral force,” Young Ireland was often associated with a more active militancy, sometimes called “physical force.” Nowlan, 9-11. See, for example, reports in the French press: “Paris, 8 Août : O’Connell et la jeune Irlande,” La Réforme 9 August 1846: 1; “Manifeste de la Jeune Irlande,” La Réforme 10 November 1846: 1.


16 On the circulation of invasion fears see n3 above.

17 Nowlan 182. The letter from John O’Connell, which was dated a couple of days previously in Paris, on March 1 1848, was published in La Patrie 3 March 1848: 1.
himself as an Irish member of the British Parliament) with a predominantly orderly, non-violent approach to French republicanism.  

Two days later, on March 5, La Patrie printed a second letter by O’Connell. This letter reinforced the conciliatory tone of the first. It enclosed, like the first, an offering for the wounded and families of those who had died in the French uprising from a sympathetic Irish population, for whom the discourse of freedom and liberty evidently outweighed concerns for its own suffering from the famine. As could be expected in the context of a paper without radical associations, John O’Connell again linked the conduct of the revolution in Paris with restraint, the protection of order, and respect for persons and property -- in other words with the middle-class discourse with which the masses of the predominantly Catholic Repeal movement had become linked by its leadership and with which the dominant discourse in France and Britain identified. But the liberal newspaper entry also included -- without comment -- the Minister’s enthusiastic reply, which placed “the greatest value” on the Irish response to the new Republican government, thus quietly reinforcing the connection between the anti-monarchical revolution in France with the political aspirations of the Irish people.

But Cham’s satire in Le Charivari struck another, more radical, tone, which compromised John O’Connell’s “soft” brand of Irish nationalism. Cham’s

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18 The relevant part of John O’Connell’s letter reads: “Vous êtes un symbole de l’ordre, et c’est ainsi que votre présence sera jugée et acceptée non seulement en France mais dans tous les pays...Votre cause et la sienne [“mon cher père”] sont les mêmes, celles de l’ordre, de la paix, de la vraie liberté chrétienne...” “You are a symbol of order, and that is how you will be judged and accepted not only in France but everywhere...Your cause and that of [my dear father] are the same, those of order, peace, and true Christian liberty...” [my translation]

19 This second letter from John O’Connell was addressed to the French Minister of the Interior, the radical Ledru-Rollin. La Patrie introduced the letter from John O’Connell as symbolically important to the new French republic: “sans aucune doute une des celles auxquelles la France attache le plus grand prix [de] John O’Connell, le fils aîné du célèbre libérateur... .” La Patrie 5 March 1848: 2.

20 On one level the letter is careful not to inflame British anxieties about the conflict over Irish sovereignty while simultaneously declaring the Irish leader’s support for the French people and their victory over an oppressive government. O’Connell does so by addressing a subordinate in the Provisional government, rather than its leader, Alphonse de Lamartine and by signing as a British Member of Parliament, not as an independent Irishman. La Patrie 3 March 1848: 1.

21 “Qu’il me soit aussi permis d’exprimer ma haute et profonde admiration de la sublimite du spectacle offert au monde par la modération, le respect pour la propriété et les personnes, l’amour de l’ordre et de la paix et les excellentes dispositions, en tout genre, du peuple parisien.” La Patrie le 5 March 1848: 2. “That it may be permitted to me to express my profound admiration for the sublime spectacle offered the world by the Parisian people by way of their moderation, their respect for property and persons, their love of order and peace, and their excellent conduct in all ways.” [my translation]

22 In the excitable days immediately following the revolution in Paris discrepancies in the avowed “methods” of moderate John O’Connell and radical republican Ledru-Rollin were overlooked in the celebration of the French Republic and the international hopes it inspired.
representation explored a militant Irish nationalism in the figure of "la jeune Irlande," which, although somewhat ambiguous on the nature of its radicalism -- Young Ireland is, after all, armed only with a satchel -- negotiated the fact that, although French audiences had not yet seen any actions suggesting Young Ireland’s ability to stage a full-blown revolution against Britain, they were aware of the recent prominence of the Young Ireland faction in Irish nationalism. However, as a republican journal, Le Charivari could be counted as the first of the French press to foreground a more militant Irish support for the revolution.

Only in the days following Cham’s satire in Le Charivari would the more moderate French press register a militant Irish republicanism. For example, another and very different letter of support for the revolution in France was printed in La Patrie the day following the publication of Cham’s image and exactly a week after the publication of John O’Connell’s second letter. The message took the form of a congratulatory letter to the victorious French republicans from one of the proliferating Confederation clubs, the Sarsfields of Limerick. The club was one of Young Ireland’s militia groups, which defied the constitutional politics of John O’Connell and his father’s Repeal Association. Partly because of the broad perception that Repeal’s primary focus was on the peaceful and legal acquisition of Catholic rights for the Irish peasant masses, the Irish Confederation stressed the nationalist movement’s comprehensive character, cutting across religion and class lines with the goal of forming a convincing and united national political movement that could influence British Parliament. Its most notorious members were known for their provocative stand against Britain, incited especially by the harsh conditions of the famine, the inadequate famine relief by the British government, and the impression that the Repeal association and the “inactive” group among the Young Irelanders were willing to press only for social reform, rather than political change. The artisanal classes of

23 La Patrie. 12 March 1848: n.pag. As Nowlan suggests, the Confederation clubs (or “Confederate Clubs” as they were often known) became active in attempts to raise an armed national guard in Ireland. There were some 17 clubs at the time of the 1848 Revolution. Nowlan 185, 192, 206, 211.
24 The British government conducted a well-publicized Irish relief programme during the Irish famine, administered by the Assistant Secretary to the British Treasury Charles Trevelyan from late 1845 to 1848. The programme was dismantled prematurely in 1847 as Trevelyan thought the famine to be over that year. In fact, it continued for several more. According to Trevelyan’s pamphlet, that was published on the subject of British famine relief to Ireland in March of 1848 and called The Irish Crisis (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1848), Trevelyan had already published an account of his findings in the Edinburgh Review in January of 1848 (No. CLXXV). Leslie A. Williams has made a very thorough analysis of this account by Trevelyan which, while adhering to the current
the towns had felt alienated by Repeal and its lack of forcefulness with the British government since at least 1846. This “deference” led the urban working classes to look for a more radical alternative that had some of their interests in issues of urban unemployment at heart. Confederate clubs, which were formed in 1847 under the Irish Confederation and its Young Ireland leadership, addressed this need. The clubs acted as grassroots organizations that, while ostensibly serving as reading rooms for educational purposes, functioned in fact as units for popular militias. In this context it is possible that “la jeune Irlande,” wearing a schoolboy uniform in Cham’s satire, “Lord Wellington cherchant a dissuader la jeune Irlande de suivre l’exemple du gamin de Paris,” alludes to the misleading educational function that could be innocently associated with the Confederate clubs, camouflaging their true function as militia groups. Such groups were formed in both Ireland and England where ties with the Chartists, the radical and often militant British, and predominantly English, working-class group demanding fair employment terms, private property rights and political representation, were forged. From the evidence supplied by reports in the more conservative French press at this time at least some French audiences were aware of the existence of a militant faction within the new Irish Confederation.

Unlike John O’Connell’s more subdued greeting, it is not surprising then -- especially with knowledge that part of Young Ireland had adopted a militant stance by 1848 and particularly with the example of the revolution in France -- that there should be a message of fraternal solidarity with the French from an Irish Confederate club. This message from the Sarsfield Club attempted to validate current violent resistance in Ireland by constructing links with the French republicans. Well-known historic battles where the French and Irish had fought together and where a beloved Irish


Nowlan 156-58, 173.

Nowlan 111-14.


Davis 137, 138.

See L’Univers (22 March 1848: 2) which notes the range of competing factions within Young Ireland, including the United Irishmen or Irlandais-unis and their association with rising militancy.

La Patrie, 12 March 1848: n.pag.
patriot hero for whom the club was named had fallen for the French army were
marshalled to justify current Irish interest in France’s revolution:31

Citoyens, vous ne savez pas combien est vraie notre sympathie pour vous.
Frères, dans les plaines ensanglantées de Fontenoy et de Laudeu, où notre
brave Sarsfield tomba, les Français et les Irlandais ne fraternisent-ils pas?
Fière de sa participation aux victoires de la France dans ces anciens
jours, comment l’Irlande ne se réjouirait-elle pas de la plus grande de ses
victoires! Français nous nous réjouissons; nous considérerons votre victoire
comme le nôtre.32

Then, the letter from the Confederate Club continued by calling up the violence of the
revolutionary barricades:

Vainquers des barricades, qui pourrait mesurer notre gratitude envers vous;
écasés par des abus accumuler par la corruption autorisée et par la famine,
victimes de toute espèce de tyrannie et privés de tout moyen de résistance,
l’esprit nationale applaudit par vos ancêtres […] avait pour ainsi dire péri
chêz [sic] nous, quand la nouvelle de votre glorieuse conquête vint
heureusement ranimer nos cœurs défaillants, et nous rejoign par l’assurance ce
que la liberté est toujours à la portée de ceux qui savent la chercher avec
courage.33

In the moderate La Patrie such revolutionary sentiments in Ireland, though
published, were located on the inside pages of the newspaper. But because of its
special interest and greater frequency of coverage, Irish militancy was more
conspicuous in the left wing of the French news media. Over the spring of 1848, the
radical republican paper La Réforme and the left-leaning liberal daily, Le Peuple

31 After exile from Ireland by the English Protestant authority in 1691, having made an honourable
surrender to British monarchs William and Mary at the Battle of Limerick, Patrick Sarsfield became a
marshal in the French army and died on the battlefield for France. For a brief account see John
O’Beirne Ranelagh, A Short History of Ireland, 2nd ed. (Cambridge UP, 1994) 68.
32 “Citizens, you don’t know how much we sympathise with you. Brothers, on the bloody fields of
Fontenoy and Leydeu where our courageous Sarsfield fell, are not the French and Irish brothers? How
proud we were of our participation in the victories of France in former days? How Ireland rejoices in
the greatest of its victories! Frenchmen we rejoice, we consider your victory as ours.” [My translation]
According to La Patrie this letter came from the Sarsfield Confederate club.
33 “You, Conquerors of barricades, who are especially qualified to measure our gratitude towards you;
we, crushed by abuses of authority and by the famine, victims of all kinds of tyranny and deprived of
all means of resistance, [we, having] displayed the national spirit which was applauded by your
ancestors, […] and which had metaphorically perished with us, [you] arrived to reanimate our failing
hearts with news of your glorious and happy conquest, and to delight us with the assurance that liberty
is always within reach of those who know how to look for it with courage.” [My translation]
constituant carried continuous coverage of the build-up of popular Irish nationalist activities inspired by the success of French republicanism. The coverage included messages of solidarity from various “confederate clubs” associated with Young Ireland and also reported the arming and growing agitation of increasing numbers of Irish nationalists. On March 22 and 24 La Réforme and Le Peuple constituant respectively published the message of the militant Irish nationalist John Mitchel (whose identification with republican militancy -- which the conservative paper L'Univers was concurrently publicizing, as a rebirth of the United Irishmen, “le parti des Irlandais-unis” -- and pro-working class politics would ultimately be the basis of his conviction, trial and deportation from Ireland by the British courts).

\[34\] Marshalling

\[35\] For example, Le Peuple constituant published the letter from the Sarsfield club on 18 March 1848: n. pag.; on the United Irishman’s call for armed revolt and Young Ireland’s support for France see “Angleterre,” Le Peuple constituant: 24 March 1848: 1; for an account of the fabrication and sales of arms in Ireland see Le Peuple constituant 31 March 1848: n. pag.; for the organization of armed clubs and the Irish’s relationship to the Polish republicans and their use of pikes see Le Peuple constituant: 5 April 1848: n. pag.; for what looks like a change in the young Repeal leader’s position of conciliation, see a report of an aggressive letter from John O’Connell to the British Prime Minister and the continuation of Irish arming in “Nouvelles des Monarchies Etrangères: Angleterre,” Le Peuple constituant: 19 April 1848: n. pag.; for reports of the display of the French tricolour flag beneath an Irish-made pike on the return to Dublin of the Irish delegation to Paris see “Nouvelles des Monarchies Etrangères: Angleterre,” Le Peuple constituant: 20 April 1848: 3; for a speech of John Mitchel which looks to the example of French revolutionaries see Le Peuple constituant: 27 April 1848: 2; for reports of increasing agitation in Ireland see Le Peuple constituant: 30 April 1848: 2; for for a report of increased arming in Ireland see “Angleterre,” Le Peuple constituant: 12 June 1848; for a report of the armed challenge which followed John Mitchel’s arrest see Le Peuple constituant: 9 July 1848: 1. For the prevalence of the purchase of arms in Ireland see “Angleterre,” La Réforme 19 April 1848: n. pag.; for Young Ireland’s evocation of the revolution in France and the group’s desire to organize more clubs see “Angleterre,” La Réforme 27 April 1848: 1; for growing agitation in Ireland and the formation of a national guard through the clubs see “Angleterre,” La Réforme: 30 April 1848: 1; for the fusion of Young and Old Ireland in the Confederation and their growing militancy see “15 Juin 1848: Angleterre,” La Réforme: 16 June 1848: n. pag.; for a report on the escalating organization of clubs see “Angleterre,” La Réforme: 23 June 1848: n. pag.; for the Irish League’s first military parade see”Irlande,” La Réforme: ed. du matin, 1 July 1848:1; for reports on the organization of clubs across Ireland see “Irlande,” La Réforme: 5 July 1848: ed. du matin, 1; for an account of how the organization of clubs in Ireland is taking on giant proportions see “Angleterre,” La Réforme 9 July 1848: 1. For other, more mainstream, press coverage see Le Siècle 5 April 1848: 1, for an account of the growing militancy of the clergy in Ireland; for a report on the Irish arming see “Nouvelles Etrangères,” Le Siècle: 13 April 1848: n. pag.; for a French report on British parliamentry debates on Ireland concerning the “dangerous character of clubs see Le Siècle: 14 July 1848: 2; for a report that the agitation in Ireland had reached a very high point see “Angleterre et Irlande,” Le Siècle 26 July 1848: 1. On the manufacture of pikes see the report months earlier in L’Univers 6 April 1848: 1, 2; for the conservative newspaper’s approval of British measures against Irish arming see L’Univers 22 April 1848: 1.

\[36\] For a French conservative paper’s view of the conflict not only between Repeal and Young Ireland, but between the “peaceful” faction of Young Ireland and the more militant branch, who were pushing for an insurrection see L’Univers 22 March 1848: 2.

\[37\] “Nouvelles de monarchies étrangères: Irlande,” Le Peuple constituant 24 March 1848: 3; “Dépêches télégraphiques: Angleterre,” La Réforme. 22 March 1848: 3. Nowlan describes the charges that were brought against Young Ireland’s leadership on March 22 (the day that Mitchell’s letter appeared in La Réforme). See Nowlan 186-87, 195-97, 203-05.
both the rhetoric of Irish slavery and a shared racial ancestry -- already made familiar in France through publications like that by Gustave de Beaumont in 1839, Flora Tristan in 1840 and 1842 and J.J. Prévost in 1845 and 1846, Mitchell’s address to the French Republic relied on the sympathy of the newly-liberated French for a people forced to live under foreign domination.

Comme des esclaves doivent s’adresser à des hommes libres, comme un pays qui a encore son indépendance à conquérir et sa liberté sociale à obtenir doit s’adresser à un Etat souverain et à une République, nous venons vous féliciter, citoyens... La domination étrangère parmi nous a paralysé les plus nobles impulsions de nos coeurs, et la voix de milliers d’hommes ainsi étouffés n’a pu avoir d’échos.

Recevez de nous, citoyens, toutes les félicitations qu’il nous est permis de vous offrir, soyez assurés qu’il est encore une foule de choses que nous ne pouvons pas dire, et que sous nos paroles sont enfouïes les passions d’hommes qui souffrent et qui sont dans les fers. Vous qui avez brisé d’hier seulement le despotisme, et qui pendant dix-huit ans, avez été contraints de refouler au fond de vos coeurs la haine contre ce despotisme, si noblement exercée aujourd’hui; citoyens vous pouvez nous comprendre. Nous reconnaissions dans la République française l’œuvre des ouvriers; nous voyons dans tous ses actes, la justice faite aux droits du labeur. Ouvriers et travailleurs, nous nous associons à votre victoire, à vos succès, à votre sentiment de justice. 38

37 Gustave de Beaumont, 2 vols., Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse (Paris; Londres; Leipzig, 1839); Flora Tristan, Les Promenades dans Londres (Paris, 1840; Paris 1842); J.-J. Prévost, Un Tour en Irlande (Paris, 1843-6); J.-J. Prevost, Irlande du dix-neuvième siècle (Paris, 1845). These works are assessed in Chapter Two above.

38 “Nouvelles de monarchies étrangères: Irlande,” Le Peuple constituant 24 March 1848: 3; “Depêches télégraphiques: Angleterre,” La Réforme 22 March 1848: 3 “As slaves must address free men, as a country which has still to conquer its independence and social liberty should address a sovereign state and a Republic, we come to you with congratulations, citizens...Foreign domination has paralyzed the most noble impulses of our hearts, and the voices of millions of men, thus almost extinguished can hardly be heard. Receive on our behalf, citizens, all of the congratulations that we, in our situation, are permitted to offer you. Be assured that there are still so many, many things that we are not able to say. And that underlying our words are the passions of men who suffer and who are in chains. You who have only just yesterday smashed despotism, and who, over for eighteen years [the reign of Louis-Philippe] have been forced to repress your hatred for despotism to the bottom of your heart,...we recognize in the French Republic the labour of workers. We see in all its acts justice done for labour rights. Labourers and workers, we identify ourselves with your victory, with your successes, and with your ideals of justice.” [My translation]
Mitchel’s address pointed to the common Celtic family (“notre commune race celtique”), to which both the French and Irish peoples belonged. Crediting the revolution in France as the labour of the worker, he concluded by calling on the sympathy of the French worker for the Irish predicament by evoking the liberty/tyranny rhetoric that underscored current Irish “enslavement” to the British. The implication was that family ties would ensure French support for the liberation of Ireland:

Mais les esclaves ne peuvent vous offrir que l’expression de leurs sympathies et de leurs amitié individuelle. En retour, nous vous demandons un regard de commisération et de douleur pour les souffrances de la soeur ainée et la plus persécutée de notre commune race celtique. Ne rougissez pas de notre honte et de notre esclavage; mais gardez-nous l’amitié et la sympathie réciproques, jusqu’à ce que notre patrie affranchie en soit digne.  

*A Militant Ireland in the French Print Press*

Only four days after the publication of Cham’s satire on the meeting between “la jeune Irlande” and “le gamin de Paris,” *Le Charivari* again gave visual form to Britain’s fear of invasion and its anxieties about the inflammatory spread of the republicanism that was coming out of France. The journal published a second visual satire by Cham on this topic on March 15, 1848, entitled “Un voyageur vexé” (fig. 73). The image explicitly evoked the dangers of cross-border traffic and the issue of mobility -- in this case the unregulated movement of the “contaminating” ideas of the revolution with their destabilizing threat to the security of monarchical governments. Already the mainstream French press had reported that the revolution in France was causing a sensation in Britain and that demonstrations of support for France and its revolution had been banned in Ireland -- a ban that served as evidence of British concern over the disruptive influence of French developments on a pre-

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39 “Nouvelles de monarchies étrangères: Irlande,” *Le Peuple constituant* 24 March 1848: 3; “Depêches télégraphiques: Angleterre,” *La Réforme* 22 March 1848: 3. “But slaves are only able to offer to you the friendship and sympathies of individuals. In return, we ask you to have sympathy and pity for the sufferings of the elder and most persecuted sister in our shared Celtic family. Do not be embarrassed for our shame and our enslavement, but keep and nourish your friendship and concern for us until our country, once freed, is truly deserving of it.” [My translation]

40 *Le Charivari* 15 March 1848: 3.

41 *Le Siècle* 8 March 1848: n. pag.

42 *Le Siècle* 13 March 1848: 1.
existent Irish nationalism. Even earlier evidence of concerns about British radicalism can be found in January 1848, a month prior to Cham’s caricature in the republican press. At that time, the republican newspaper, La Réforme, had published a report in which a British judge had warned of the imminent danger that current court proceedings could represent to Ireland’s social order.43 The following day the same paper published a story on the British Chartists emphasizing the growing threat they presented to the “oligarchie anglaise.”44 And on March 11, 1848, just four days prior to the publication of “Un voyageur vexé”, La Réforme covered the British press’ anxieties over the outbreak of demonstrations and riots in England that accompanied ongoing calls for reform.45 While these reports all pointed to a disruptive climate in Britain prior to, during, and following the revolution in France, the left-leaning paper Le Peuple constituant reported that public meetings of sympathy for France and its revolution were being held throughout England and Scotland, and that in Ireland there were even greater indications of support for the republican overthrow of the monarchy in France.46 In other words, resistance to British authority was becoming widespread throughout Britain, and it was possible for readers of the French press to understand that the 1848 Revolution in France was acting as a catalyst that encouraged the eruption of longstanding opposition to the Crown.47

While not downplaying the brutal repression of demonstrations by the British authorities, Cham’s satire in the republican journal Le Charivari at once ridicules British anxieties concerning the effect of the revolution in France on what was already ongoing working-class and Irish unrest in Britain, while celebrating the overthrow of King Louis-Philippe. “Un Voyageur vexé” (fig. 73) depicts a humble dory carrying three exhausted French travelers -- a man accompanied by a disheveled

43 “Irlande,” La Réforme 9 January 1848: 3.
44 “Mouvement chartiste,” La Réforme 10 January 1848: 3. The importance of the Chartists movement and its defense of working-class interests had already been noted by the republican La Réforme 18 November 1847: n. pag. French republicans and the working classes would have been well aware of Chartist struggles for rights in previous years, as Flora Tristan’s chapter on “The Chartists” in her account of her London trip implies. See Tristan 84-102.
47 As literary historian Clare A. Simmons points out, the Chartists, though already organized in their opposition to British authority and in their demands for political reforms, were influenced by the February 1848 events in France and by the Provisional government of the Second Republic’s support of the working classes. See Clare A. Simmons, Eyes Across the Channel, Interdisciplinary Nineteenth Century Studies Ser. (Harwood Academic Publishers, 2000) 128; Thompson 236.
female companion and boy. With a huge suitcase over his shoulder and carpet bag in hand, the père-de-famille bears a furled umbrella under his arm. The dory approaches a waterfront dock which is identified by a sign as the waterfront of London. The three travelers stare with mouths agape at the scene which greets them: a violent confrontation on the waterfront between mounted officials and a raging mob of protesters.

The umbrella was one of the attributes used throughout the July Monarchy to identify Louis-Philippe, the recently-deposed “bourgeois” king of the French, whose “July Monarchy” had been in power since 1830. Part of the caricature’s humour derived from the fact that Louis-Philippe had just escaped the French revolution of 1848. As the French press reported, Louis-Philippe, along with his family and 97 other passengers, was, in fact, on a steamer that was currently stationed off the shores of England. In Cham’s satire, the disproportionate scale of the dory, in relation to the actual size of Louis-Philippe’s yacht that was reportedly anchored off the English shore at the time, contributes to the humour and irony of the visual commentary. In the caption that accompanied the Cham satire, the umbrella-carrying “King” remarks on his bad luck at escaping one threat of a row (“tapage”) in Paris only to find himself in the middle of a violent riot in London: “Je me sauve de Paris de crainte du tapage et voilà que j’arrive à Londres pour tomber au milieu d’une émuète...quelle chance!” While the use of the term tapage -- “row” -- for the scale and upheaval of the recent February 1848 revolution in Paris underplays the importance of the February Revolution, and simultaneously ridicules the king’s misapprehension of the proportions and significance of the uprising that led to his overthrow, the satire also highlights the “dangerous” proximity of France and Britain. Thus, the émuète (“riot”) not only evokes the escalation of civil disturbances in Britain as a whole, and Chartist demonstrations in urban centres in particular, but also underscores, as I have

49 La Patrie. 5 March 1848: n. pag.
50 “I rescue myself from Paris because of fears of a row there, and now I arrive in London only to land smack in the middle of a riot...what luck!” [my translation]
suggested above, that such activity bore a relation to France's own republican revolution. In fact, Chartist representatives had recently sent a congratulatory delegation to the Provisional Republican Government in Paris, a visit which was recorded in the official paper Le Moniteur universel on March 6, 1848 -- an event that would have added to a broad French public awareness of radical developments in Britain. It is important to note that through the spring and early summer of 1848, the French press would continue to report on the steady growth of Chartist agitation in Britain and the threat to the established order that it represented. Significantly this French coverage also emphasized that through the spring of 1848 strong links were forged between the Chartists and Irish nationals of the Young Ireland movement.

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51 See n41 to n49 above.
52 The citation of Le Moniteur universel on 6 March 1848 concerning the March 5 Chartist delegation to President Lamartine, President of the Provisional Government of the Second French Republic, is in Lawrence C. Jennings, France and Europe in 1848: a Study of French Foreign Affairs in Time of Crisis (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1973) 49.
53 On the growing membership and militancy of the Chartists see D. Thompson, The Chartists 310-16. Thompson describes the widespread buildup in working-class support for Chartism in mainland Britain from 1847 forward to what turned out to be the failed presentation of the Chartist petition to Parliament on April 10, 1848. This buildup was accompanied by an increase in meetings, both indoor and open-air, in marching and drilling through English towns, the sharpening of pikes and the buying of guns, open support for the Irish Repeal cause, and enthusiastic support for the violent overthrow of the monarchy that had taken place in France.
54 A reprint of a Chartist address to the workers of Britain and Ireland in early 1848 made the link between the working people of both England and Ireland, explicit: "Mouvement chartiste," La Réforme 10 January 1848: 3. Although Daniel O'Connell's Repeal movement had rejected the British working-class Chartists' militant approach to radical reform (Nowlan 169-70 and Dorothy Thompson, The Chartists: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution (New York: Pantheon, 1984) 26-28), following O'Connell's death relations between the Chartists and an altered Irish nationalist movement would become more fraternal. The French press publicized the new cooperation between the Chartists and Young Ireland in April of 1848: see "Angleterre," La Réforme 1 April 1848: 2, 3. This was just prior to the peaceful and "unsuccessful" Chartist demonstration on April 10 in London on Kennington Common. The demonstration was reported by the full gamut of papers: on the nature of that demonstration and simultaneously underscoring the alliance between the Chartists and the Irish see Le Siècle 12 April 1848: n. pag.; L'Univers 12 April 1848: 2, which reports on the participation of the Irish Confederates with their flag; "Angleterre," Le Réforme 13 April 1848: n. pag. wherein the French paper notes that the English paper The Standard has noticed Irish workers with their banners in the Chartist march. A range of French papers noted the new co-operation between the Chartists and the Irish during the later spring and early summer of 1848. For example, L'Univers 15 April 1848: 1, speculates on a "moral force" link between the two; "Angleterre," Le Siècle 18 May 1848: 2 discusses the Irish revival of Chartist associations in England; for a report that the arrest of John Mitchel, of Young Ireland and the Irish Confederation sparked Chartist unrest throughout England, see "Angleterre," La Réforme 1 June 1848, éd. du soir: 1; about Chartist and Irish meetings and arrests, see "Angleterre," La Réforme 9 June 1848, éd. du matin: 1; "Paris, 27 Juillet: Irlande," La Réforme 28 July 1848, éd. du matin: 1; on the reports of civil war in Ireland and their effect on English and Scottish Chartists see "Angleterre et Irlande," Le Siècle 28 July 1848: n. pag.; for a report that the Confederates, Repealers and Chartists would act in concert if civil war has begun in Ireland see "Angleterre et Irlande," Le Siècle 30 July 1848: n. pag. For the connection between the Chartists and the Irish insurrectionists at the time of the Irish insurrection of 1848, see Le Peuple constituant, 11 July 1848: n. pag. On the Irish leadership of the Chartists, see Nowlan 185-86, 204; Simmons 127.
Cham’s caricature thus pointed to cross-channel revolutionary exchanges and satirized the fall from power of King Louis-Philippe, while also ridiculing British fears of invasion that the Duke of Wellington had repeatedly tried to inflame by insisting publicly on the reconstruction of the British navy to levels that could withstand and repulse a potential French assault. Although not the sort of invasion anticipated by Wellington, a kind of attack on England by the French is indeed accomplished in *Le Charivari*’s “Le Voyageur vexé” by the arrival of the displaced ex-king. But in constructing Louis-Philippe as bedraggled, exhausted and impotent (he is, after all, at sea in an unstable dinghy, and his umbrella is collapsed), the satire moves beyond the conventional discourse of war to give form to the idea of an “invasion” of a much more powerful force -- that of republican ideas which might result in the overthrow of the “constitutional” monarchy itself.

**French workers and the Irish Catholic Church: The Battle for Representation**

It was a few days after the appearance of Cham’s satires depicting “la jeune Irlande” and the “gamin de Paris”, and that of Louis Philippe as the voyageur vexé that a democratic “Ireland,” visible in the streets of Paris, was associated literally with French workers by the French press. On March 17, during a huge French worker demonstration that wound its way through the streets of Paris to the Provisional Government’s seat in the Hôtel de Ville (city hall), a sighting of a group of Irish priests from the *Collège irlandais* in Paris occurred. Various media representations of the Irish participation in the French worker demonstration conveyed the ideological stakes that various Parisian constituencies invested in “Ireland.”

The worker march with the contingent of Irish priests took place six days after *Le Charivari* published “Lord Wellington cherchant à dissuader la jeune Irlande” with its reference to subversive street encounters that involved Paris revolutionaries and Irish radicals. The event on March 17, 1848, responded to a demonstration the preceding day by segments of the National Guard, the volunteer citizen militia, when

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55 See n3 above.
56 Pamela M. Pilbeam *Republicanism in Nineteenth Century France, 1814-1871* (New York: St.Martin’s P, 1995) 194. While Pilbeam corroborates what L’Atelier calls “un colonne immense” by citing the number 150,000, also reported in “Manifestation populaire du 17 mars,” L’Atelier n.d.: n. pag., on the other hand, *Le Siècle* cited 50-60,000 people: see “Paris [18] mars,” *Le Siècle* 19 March 1848: 1. What Pilbeam dates 16 March 1848 seems in fact to have occurred, according to papers of the day, among which were *Le Siècle, L’Atelier* and *La Patrie* and *L’Univers*, on March 17 1848.
some of its élite groups had protested against the Provisional Government’s dissolution of their contingents. The workers’ demonstration, on the other hand, protested what was interpreted as the National Guard’s “counter-revolutionary” attempt to privilege its own interests above those of the general populace who were more needful of state assistance. But the more direct purpose of the workers’ march was the request that the government postpone elections of the Constituent Assembly so that the greatest number of voters could be won over to the republican cause beforehand.

Ireland played an important role in this street protest and in reformulating the public spaces of Paris. While throughout most of the decade of the 1840s the streets of Paris had been appropriated by the monarchy’s official spectacles and controlled by its censorship of the use of public space, by late February 1848, these same streets had been dramatically opened up to reinvention. The spontaneous, chaotic and violent confusion of popular revolution re-inscribed the urban streets as spaces shared between both the bourgeoisie and working classes -- the two groups for whom the February revolution to overthrow Louis-Philippe had necessitated a brief amalgamation of interests. According to the liberal and middle-class La Patrie, the huge workers’ demonstration of March 17, 1848 wound its way from L’Etoile at the west of the city, through to the Hôtel-de-Ville at its centre, to culminate finally at La Bastille, the working class quartier on the eastern edge of Paris. The march undoubtedly transgressed the boundaries of what had been until then, as art historian James Cuno reminds us, carefully policed and culturally distinct quarters. Indeed the way the streets were used in the course of the March 17 demonstration radically challenged the established classed geography of the pre-1848 city. This rupture of conventional use continued at least until the civil war between the liberal bourgeois and more radical working class interests in June of the same year.

The significance of the Irish priests’ presence lay not just in the priests’ physical participation in the rally, but in the meaning the Irish clergy were given by

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57 According to Pilbeam, membership in the Garde nationale was open to anyone who had the money for equipment and the time to drill. It was operative through most of the 19th century, but originated in the Revolution of 1789, when it was associated at the same time with both revolutionary values and those of private property. Pilbeam 10-11.  
58 Pilbeam 194.  
different French constituencies. Newspapers ranging from the left-wing workers' paper *L'Atelier* to the liberal bourgeois *La Patrie* to the conservative and Catholic *L'Univers* provided decidedly varying constructions concerning the significance of the Irish presence.

The workers’ paper *L'Atelier* published its account of the workers’ demonstration of March 17 (estimated by *L'Atelier* at 150,000 people) and referenced the presence of a large contingent of Irish Catholic priests -- four hundred men, to be exact -- from the *Collège irlandais* in Paris, the institution that trained the Irish Catholic priesthood in Paris:

> En réponse à cette manifestation [of the National Guard the preceding day], le peuple de Paris a voulu, lui aussi, faire connaître son sentiment d'une manière publique et solennelle.

> Dans la journée de vendredi : une colonne immense de citoyens se déployant en rangs serrés de la barrière de l'Etoile à l'Hôtel de Ville, et se groupant autour de leurs bannières respectives, s'est portée auprès du gouvernement provisoire pour lui assurer son concours et son ferme appui en toutes circonstances.

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60 The role of the Irish clergy in Irish nationalism during the 1840s was complex and shifting. As Gustave de Beaumont had pointed out as early as 1839, Catholicism in Ireland was a democratic enterprise. See Gustave de Beaumont, *Irlande, sociale, politique et religieuse*, vol. 2 (Paris: Gosselin; Londres: Dulau; Leipzig, Michelsen, 1839) 45-60. The parish priest, who generally supported Daniel O'Connell’s Repeal Association, held much influence over the political conduct of his parishioners. In 1845, while accusing the Vatican of befriending tyrants, the French radical republican newspaper *La Réforme* identified the Irish clergy as nationalistic, traditionally associating itself with the Irish people and the nation’s troubled history: “Paris, 10 Janvier: Le Pape et l'Irlande,” *La Réforme* 11 January 1845: 1. Even many of the Irish bishops were in favour of O'Connell’s form of peaceful nationalism. Nowlan 110. The British Government tried to weaken O'Connell’s influence over the Irish population by establishing friendly relations with the Vatican in Rome. In 1843-44 the British government (erroneously) anticipated that in return for some charitable bequests, the Vatican would be able to rein its Irish bishops in and thereby aid in stabilizing the political situation in Ireland. Nowlan 65-69. Again in 1847-48 the British government hoped to weaken the political activity of the Irish clergy by intervention by Rome. Nowlan 174-79. Later in the 1840s while much of the Irish clergy was, in fact, hostile to Young Ireland’s more militant and secular nationalism and remained supportive of O’Connell’s approach, other segments of the clergy switched allegiance to a more militant strategy, as Irish politics became more intense after the revolution in France. Soon after the French uprising in February, the ultramontanist French newspaper, *L'Univers*, for example, cited a British peer who praised the conservatism of the Irish clergy in opposing Young Ireland’s reforms and in maintaining peace in Ireland: *L'Univers* 6 April 1848: 1, 2. Again in June the same paper associated the Irish clergy with O'Connell’s legal and peaceful means of Repeal; later in the same month the paper condemned the decision of John O'Connell, Daniel O'Connell’s son and once a “moral force” defender, to join with Mitchel in his militant nationalism: *L'Univers* 4 June 1848: n. pag.; *L'Univers* 17 June 1848: 1. However, the more liberal paper *Le Siècle* celebrated the radicalism of the Irish clergy that supported its fellow citizens’ active love of liberty: *Le Siècle* 5 April 1848: 1. On the same date as the latter the radical paper *Le Peuple constituant* mentioned an Irish clergyman who prominently supported physical force in the accomplishment of Irish goals: “Angleterre,” *Le Peuple constituant* 5 April 1848: n. pag.
Des hommes de toutes conditions ont pris part à cette manifestation imposante, à laquelle s'étaient joints quatre cents prêtres du collège irlandais. Avant de se séparer, le peuple de Paris est allé saluer les victimes qui ont été déposées sous la colonne de la Bastille, et puis tout s'est terminé dans la plus grand ordre. [my italics]

As the passage above indicates, L'Atelier emphasized a solemn, orderly and self-disciplined crowd, drawn from a wide range of social ranks. The presence of the four hundred Irish priests served to underscore this aspect.

The liberal La Patrie, a journal which had been critical of the government of Louis-Philippe but was by no means a supporter of a radical republic, published its account of the march only a day after the demonstration had taken place. Like L'Atelier, the journal stressed the order and calm that had dominated the crowd of workers, especially given the fact that it was a counter protest to the demonstration held the day before by the bourgeois members of the National Guard. La Patrie represented the workers’ demonstration as spontaneous, but calm and formal:

[un]e profonde agitation s'était emparée de la capitale, à la suite de la protestation de ces compagnies [of the National Guard]...Ce témoignage si calme, si formelle, si spontanée...Nous le répétons, la journée d'aujourd'hui; si calme dans son énergique manifestation, doit ramener la confiance dans tous les esprits...

La Patrie’s reference to the presence of the Irish priests -- constituting a “venerable” component of the crowd -- was neatly but prominently embedded in the single-

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61 “Manifestation populaire du 17 mars,” L’Atelier, n.d. 1848. “In response to this demonstration [by the National Guard] the people of Paris themselves wanted to make their feelings known in a public and ceremonial manner. During the day on Friday, a huge column of citizens spread out in tight rows from the barrier of the Etoile to the Hôtel de Ville, and grouped around their respective flags, headed towards the provisional government to assure it of their assistance and their firm support in all circumstances. Men of all stations took part in this impressive demonstration, which was joined by four hundred priests from the Irish College. Before dispersing, the people of Paris went to honour the victims who had been felled under the column of the Bastille, and then everything ended in an orderly fashion.” [My translation]. L’Atelier’s story about the popular demonstration of March 17 refers to the previous day’s demonstration of March 16 by members of the gardes nationaux as having taken place “jeudi dernier.” This indicates that the story appeared by the following Thursday, or March 23, 1848.

62 “Order,” in fact, was an important component of what turned out to be what Newman (783) characterizes as La Patrie’s short-lived and moderate republicanism. Newman argues that La Patrie supported Louis-Napoléon’s election as President of the Republic in December 1848, hoping that he would destroy the Second Republic.

63 “Paris, 17 mars,” La Patrie 18 March 1848: 1. “A deep restlessness took hold of the capital, following the protests of these gatherings [of the National Guard]. This account [of today’s event] so calm, formal, but spontaneous...We repeat, the day, so calm in its powerful demonstration, must have restored confidence in all minds...” [My translation]
column story of republican order as the participation of the whole of the Collège irlandais:

Une immense promenade civique, composée de tous les corps d'états, de toutes les sociétés politiques, de députations des diverses classes de la population, ayant chacune leur drapeau, et au milieu desquelles nous avons remarqué tout le collège catholique irlandais, de vénérables prêtres que la foule saluait de ses acclamations [my italics], a défilé de 11 heures à 5 heures devant l'Hôtel-de-Ville. Haranguée plusieurs fois par les membres du gouvernement provisoire, elle ne faisait entendre que ces deux cris, dans ces rangs: Vive la Republique! Vive le gouvernement provisoire!  

However, La Patrie’s account was challenged by L’Univers, the official organ of the Roman Catholic Church in Paris. While L’Univers agreed with representations of the demonstration as large and orderly, it disagreed that the event was spontaneous. Indeed, the Catholic newspaper speculated that the numbers were augmented by planned additions from the outskirts of the city (working-class areas), and as far away as Orléans, implying that only advanced organization could attract such large numbers of people.

And specifically, the Catholic paper contested La Patrie’s account of the participation of the priests from the Collège Irlandais. In a subsequent but independent passage, the readers of l’Univers were informed that the Collège Irlandais and its “foreign” priests were emphatically not part of the demonstration and were only intermingled with it by accident:

La Patrie se trompe. Le Collège Irlandais s’est, en effet, rendu aujourd’hui à l'Hôtel-de-Ville avec son drapeau national, mais il ne faisait aucunement

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64 “Paris 17 mars,” La Patrie 18 March 1848: 1. “A huge civic rally, composed of all bodies of the state, all political societies, of deputations from different classes of the population, each with its own flag, and in the middle of which we noticed all of the Irish College, a group of venerable priests that the crowd saluted by its cheers, all filed from 11 till 5 in front of the Hôtel de Ville. Often addressed by the provisional government, the crowd made only two audible cries: Long live the Republic! Long live the provisional government!” [My translation]

65 The popular daily Le Siècle allowed that the march was orderly but expressed doubt as to the wisdom of the workers’ demands to set the date of the elections back. The paper characterized those demands as baseless and divisive. The mass-circulation Le Siècle was one media site -- representing a moderate republicanism in 1848 -- that indicated the kind of class anxiety already present in the early days of the Second Republic. “Paris [18] mars 1848” Le Siècle 19 March 1848: 1.

partie de la réunion à laquelle il s’est trouvé mêlé quelques instants. On comprend, en effet, que des prêtres étrangers n’avaient rien à faire là.  

Contemporary evidence, however, indicates that the links between the Irish College and French republicans were very important to representations of the “workers’ revolution.” In his 1978 study of the Irish college’s history over a ten-year period opened by the 1848 revolution, Fearghas Ó Fearghill quotes the notes of the Irish priest John Miley, who, in 1850, would become rector of the College. Miley described the College community’s “participation in a demonstration,” presumably the workers’ republican march on March 17, recorded in the newspapers above:

On one occasion, the whole community, priests and students, with banner unfurled, paraded with the “Reds” from end to end of the city – *deux rouges* supporting each soutane… to the Place de la Bastille. The tricolour decorations borne away from that memorable promenade were worn even in choir when I first took charge of the College. Very soon after they disappeared.  

In describing the revolutionary atmosphere in the College and noting that priests wore the republican tricolour “even in choir,” up until he began his tenure as rector, Miley underscored the Irish priests’ identification with republican values. He also cited the students’ chanting of the *Marseillaise*, and the inscription of the College’s outer walls with the slogan “Vive la République!”  

While these “subversive” gestures could be read in the Parisian community at large as unmistakable signs of the republican tendencies of the Irish priests, Ó Fearghill also records other events which related to visible revolutionary and republican behaviour within the College at this time. These included the planting of a republican and revolutionary liberty tree in the College’s

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67 *La Patrie* is mistaken. The *Collège irlandais* went today to the Hôtel de Ville [City Hall] with its national flag, but it took no part in the meeting in which it was mixed up for a few moments. It is to be understood that the foreign priests had nothing to do with the demonstration.” [My translation] Rather like the operations of satire, the visceral power of improvisation and the agility of its unmediated nature would have been undermined by advance planning. In other words, according to l’*Univers*, a demonstration’s potential for revolutionary change is compromised or somewhat defused if, as the paper suggested, it is planned in advance. “France. Paris, 17 March 1848,” *L’Univers*, 18 March 1848: 2.


69 Ó Fearghill 108.
courtyard by 1848 republican revolutionaries, and “an attempt to use the windows of the college for cannon from which to fire on the [monarchical] troops.”

From the evidence of such publicity, it is clear that there was a heightened, though contested, awareness of Ireland in Paris, during the time of the Second Republic’s Provisional Government between February and June 1848. Thus, while bourgeois republicans and moderate liberals could celebrate the promise of Ireland’s militant stand against the aging Anglo-establishment through Le Charivari’s satire of Lord Wellington, le gamin de Paris and la jeune Irlande, French workers could celebrate the democratic values of Irish Catholicism through the participation of the Irish priests in a French workers’ demonstration in the streets. Indeed in a few months, by June of 1848, the streets would once again be ideologically charged when tensions between French workers and the bourgeoisie would result in violent class conflict and civil war over the political direction of the Republic.

**French Catholicism and the Irish Priest**

The pro-active Irish body that occupied the public spaces of Paris and which was associated with republican gestures of song, graffiti and solidarity marches, had more complex meanings still. In fact, the significance of a visible Irish contingent in the streets during the March 17 workers’ demonstration hinged not only on its active republican associations, but also on its visible association with Catholicism -- the religion that France and Ireland shared and which Britain saw as a constitutional threat. That the Irish presence in the March 17, 1848 demonstration was contested in the French press, particularly by L’Univers, which represented the interests of the Catholic Church, is of importance here. The Irish priest, construed at the same time as Catholic and republican, though not militant, clearly became a site of anxiety for the French Catholic church unsure of its position within the new “democratic” and republican framework of the early Second Republic. At this moment of uncertainty, with formal elections still lying in the future, the apparent affiliation of the Irish priests with the French worker drew attention to the role of the Catholic Church within an increasingly secular French nationalism.

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70 Ó Fearghill 109. Priest participation was taken up by authorities within the institution of the Collège, who sought to silence republican, and perhaps all, political affiliations, just as the Catholic journal L’Univers sought to disassociate the French church from politicization. O Fearghill 108, passim.
The traditional relationship of the Catholic Church to radical reform and republican values differed widely between France and Ireland. In France, the separation of the Church from radical politics was stark. Except for Catholic groups marginalized by the dominant sects of French Catholicism, the French Church had few sympathies for worker’s rights and saw no connection between industrialization and worker poverty. In fact, the Gallican Church, the mainstream branch of French Catholicism that allied itself with the bourgeois state, regarded ideal workers as accepting of their social station and resigned to their economic disenfranchisement.

The nationalism of French Gallicism extended only far enough to promote a secure alliance with the state and a divorce from Rome. This meant that the Gallican Church accommodated itself to any form of French government, but especially to one that promoted bourgeois values. In the spring of 1848, this forced the Gallican Church to accept what was a moderate republican government. The Gallican French Church stood in ideological opposition to Ultramontanism, a reactionary form of Catholicism which ostensibly focused on matters of spirituality rather than social concerns, but which was, in fact, highly conservative. Indeed, Ultramontanism had strong ties with the Catholic hierarchies in Rome, and, as a result, was often seen as a threat to French nationalism.

Likewise, Rome and the Vatican were perceived by the French press to be enemies of Irish nationalism. The French liberal and republican press had cynically commented in 1845 that there was a dichotomy between the official line on political matters from Rome and the grassroots practices of the Catholic clergy in Ireland. Rome forbade the Irish Catholic Church from engaging in political practices, while the British government pursued good relations with the Vatican. On the other hand, members of the Irish clergy, who came mainly from the peasantry and willingly shared in the hardships and oppression of the Irish people, were highly supportive of popular Irish nationalism, at least in the form of peaceful agitation and payment of

72 Ravitch 63-71, 85.
73 Ravitch 65.
74 Ravitch 64-68. *L'Univers*, the newspaper from which the denial of the Irish priests’ participation in the March 17 demonstration had come, was Ultramontaine in allegiance.
75 For the current attempt at a “rapprochement” between London and the Vatican see Nowlan 174-79. For French commentary on an earlier intervention by the Vatican into Irish local political affairs, see “Paris, 10 Janvier: Le Pape et l'Irlande,” *La Réforme* 11 January 1845: 1, and “Irlande,” *Le Siècle* 18 January 1845: 1.
“rents” that Daniel O’Connell and Repeal had promoted. It was from this class-based, grass-roots group, which had dominated the Irish experience of the Catholic Church for so long, that Irish Catholicism gained a reputation for political engagement in support of the Irish people and as a result a concern with social reform.\(^{76}\)

Clearly then, “Catholicism” was heavily freighted with meaning in the Second Republic of 1848 and the image of Irish priests in a workers’ demonstration in Paris in early March was ideologically-charged. Ironically, even as Irish priests in Paris were aligning themselves with French worker concerns, the Roman Catholic Church in Britain was making efforts to comply with British government demands to disengage priests in Ireland from nationalist and anti-British agitation.\(^{77}\)

**Familial Exchanges: Links with Ireland in the French Print Press**

It was during this period of challenge and destabilization in the first three months of the republican Provisional Government that international European delegations, comprised mainly of foreign residents in Paris, converged on the Hôtel-de-Ville in Paris. Their purpose was to offer their congratulations and support to the Second French Republic.\(^{78}\) Among the many nations that celebrated France’s 1848 revolution and the establishment of a republic was Ireland. On March 17, 1848, the same day that the priests from the *Collège irlandais* joined the worker’s demonstration in the streets, a delegation of Irish residents in Paris formally appeared before President Lamartine of France’s Provisional Government, reportedly presenting a flag denoting the Irish Republic.\(^{79}\) Public reports indicated that Lamartine, in line with the Second Republic’s Manifesto of March 2, 1848, which declared support for international

\(^{76}\) From as early as the first edition of his work in 1839, Gustave de Beaumont had stressed the democratic political tendencies of the Irish Catholic priesthood. See, Beaumont, *Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse* (Paris, Gosselin, 1839) vol. 1, 45-60. Although French Ultramontanism was, on the other hand, strictly hierarchical and apparently non-political, it begrudgingly adopted liberalism over support of such groups as the Irish peasants or the French working classes, whom it associated negatively with socialistic tendencies.


oppressed peoples, gave the Irish encouragement in their struggle against the English. Indeed Lamartine was reported to have referred to Ireland’s “soon hoped for constitutional independence.”

British concerns about Lamartine’s statements were immediate, and would ultimately undermine the relationship between republican France and Ireland. On April 3, 1848 an official delegation of Young Ireland members and representatives of the newly formed Irish Confederation -- led by Smith O’Brien but made up of several disparate groups -- arrived in the French capital with plans to meet with the Provisional Government as fraternal sympathizers. The conservative paper L’Univers had already noted in March the conflict between the peaceful branch of Young Ireland, which tended to side with Old Ireland in the matter of taking up arms, and the militant United Irishmen (or the Irlandais-unis), both of whom were sending representatives. A couple of days later the liberal press associated the Irlandais-unis with an open call for armed revolt in Ireland, after the example of the revolution in France. Le Peuple constituant implied that the new militancy was now the dominant voice in Irish nationalism. Part of the left-wing republican press, La Réforme -- also just a couple of days previous to the Irish delegation’s arrival -- had noted the growing radicalization of the Irish nationalists. The paper then reported on the union of the working-class Chartists and the Irish Confederation in a mutual call to arms. The French newspaper quoted the English paper, The Chronicle, in characterizing the increase in unrest and arming in Ireland as “Jacobin” and “anti-

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80 A manifesto of March 2 1848 (and published in the Le Moniteur universelle on 5 March 1848), had announced that France considered itself the protector of oppressed peoples and nations and their “intellectual ally.” For the debate within the French press concerning the appropriate role for the new republican government in relation to foreign nationalist movements and for President Lamartine’s “need” to consider the new Republic’s actions within the broader context of the overwhelming importance of France’s diplomatic relations with Britain, see Jennings 14-20.
81 Jennings 49-50; Nowlan, 188-91. As Jennings and Nowlan indicate, the meeting was reported in the official government newspaper Le Moniteur universelle 18 March 1848.
82 Quoted in Jennings 49. However, Nowlan suggests that Lamartine’s comments to the delegation of Irish residents was more diplomatic and less incendiary. He cites the British newspaper The Times of March 20, 1848, to the effect that Lamartine praised Daniel O’Connell at this meeting for his “peaceful agitation” as a means for the Irish to “regain their rights.” Nowlan 189.
83 Jennings 50; Mansergh 62-63; Nowlan 189-191.
84 According to the conservative Catholic L’Univers 22 March 1848:2, which praised O’Connell’s earlier “agitation pacifique,” there were both moderate and militant Irish delegates from Young Ireland of the Irish Confederation but no representatives of “Old” Ireland Repealers among the Irish group that met with Lamartine on April 3. R. Davis says that a Dublin silk weaver was included in the party in deference to the French “Albert Ouvrier” (Albert the worker). R. Davis 152.
85 L’Univers 22 March 1848: 2.
Protestant,” terms that surely inflamed British anxieties over the disturbances that were taking place throughout Britain, especially Ireland. Indeed, British government anxieties around Ireland’s vulnerability to republican and revolutionary fervour, encouraged by the recent revolution in Paris, resulted in a diplomatic “understanding” between Britain and France. At the last moment the French leader and the British ambassador set out to defuse the symbolic impact of the Irish delegation’s visit to the Provisional government of the Second Republic in Paris. As a result of British pressure, Lamartine delivered a conciliatory public speech that underscored the ties between France and a unified Britain -- as opposed to stressing French bonds with Irish radicals and promising material support for Irish nationalist defiance of England as the Irish Confederates had hoped. Lamartine’s concession to Britain, wherein he publicly committed to avoid foreign intervention in British affairs, was then reported in the official newspaper Le Moniteur universelle on April 4, 1848.

When one does not have a blood relationship with a people, one is not permitted to intervene [in their affairs]. We are at peace and we wish to remain in good relations of equality, not with such or such a part of Great Britain, but with Great Britain as a whole... We will commit no act, we will say no word, we will make no insinuation in contradiction with the principles of reciprocal inviolability of peoples, which we have proclaimed, and whose fruit the continent is now reaping.

Yet while support for Irish nationalists was withdrawn officially in early April 1848 after Lamartine’s meeting with Lord Normanby, the English ambassador to Paris, the French press continued to publish reports on Ireland. Even the mass-circulation, moderate liberal newspaper Le Siècle covered growing Chartist and Irish

87 “Angleterre,” La Réforme 1 April 1848: 2, 3.
88 Nowlan 182-86. Thompson, Wellington after Waterloo 235.
89 Responding to directives from Lord Palmerston, British Minister of Foreign Affairs, Normanby had warned Lamartine away from promising any special consideration for Ireland. He feared encouraging divisions in the British Union. Charles Gavan Duffy, Young Ireland, Part II; Four Years of Irish History, 1845 – 1849 (Dublin, 1887) 202-03. For an account of the discussion between Lamartine and Lord Normanby and the meeting between Lamartine and the Irish delegation see Jennings 49, 50; Mansergh 62-63; Nowlan 189-91. Also see Duffy 202-03 and the same pages in Nowlan for the private expression of sympathies for Irish nationalism from French radicals such as Ledru-Rollin.
90 Cited in Nowlan 191n78.
91 Lamartine – April 4 1848, quoted in Jennings 50. Le Peuple constituent 5 April, 1848: 1, also reported Lamartine’s conciliatory gesture to Britain. See also the Catholic L’Univers 6 April 1848: 1-2. and Le Peuple constituent 5 April 1848: 1, which also reported on the Irish delegates’ visit.
agitation in Britain through April to July 1848, emphasizing the progressive arming of
the Irish people, the arrest of Irish republican agitator John Mitchel, who had
reportedly evoked a free Ireland under “a forest of pikes” -- signal of a primitive
violence that could call up the “democratic” horrors and the instability of the French
Revolution of 1789 -- and ongoing meetings of the Confederate clubs. Already in
April just after the Irish delegation’s “rebuff” by Lamartine, the extent of Irish
radicalism was noted even in the conservative press. In the Catholic paper L’Univers
John Mitchel’s radical militancy was again associated with the manufacture and use
of pikes. The liberal Le Peuple constituant gave more coverage to these and other
signs of growing defiance among the Irish, including the dissolution of Repeal in
favour of a more radical activism. For example, the paper reported on the display of
the French tricolour flag under an Irish pike in a Dublin hall upon the Irish
debates’ homecoming from Paris. The radical La Réforme covered similar
developments. La Réforme noted the Irish build-up in arms and ammunition and the
revolutionary insurrection in Ireland on the 28th of July 1848. The paper also
reported on the declaration of martial law in Ireland and official British threats to
Young Ireland leaders O’Brien, Meagher and Mitchel. Indeed, la Réforme explicitly

92 And also for a report on Mitchel’s association with an Irish tricolour flag with a pike in the middle at a festivity to welcome the Irish delegation home from Paris, see “Irlande,” Le Siècle 20 April 1848: n. pag.
93 On the French reception of the Irish delegation and the continued arming of the Irish people, see “Nouvelles Etrangères,” Le Siècle 13 April 1848: n. pag.; on Mitchel’s letter in the United Irishman on the constitution of the jury for his trial, see “Irlande,” Le Siècle 19 April 1848, n. pag.; on the recent willingness of Old Ireland to take up arms, see Le Siècle 18 May 1848: 2; on growing agitation throughout Britain and on the meetings of Confederate clubs, see Le Siècle 15 July 1848: 2; on ever-more increasing agitation in Ireland, see “Angleterre et Irlande,” Le Siècle 26 July 1848: n. pag.; signs of civil war and then revolution were reported in “L’Angleterre et L’Irlande,” Le Siècle 27 July: 2.
94 L’Univers 6 April 1848: 1. 2.
95 For example, on John O’Connell’s growing hostility to British policy towards Ireland as expressed in the United Irishman, the trials of Young Irishmen, and the increasing arming of the Irish, see “Nouvelles des Monarchies Etrangères,” Le Peuple constituant 27 April 1848: 2, where Mitchel is quoted as using rhetoric that is evocative of the French democrats; Le Peuple constituant 30 April 1848: 2, for increasing agitation in Ireland and meetings; on the arrest of Mitchel for his publications in the United Irishman, see Le Peuple constituant 18 May 1848: n. pag.; “Angleterre,” Le Peuple constituant 12 June 1848: 3, on reports on arming with rifles and pikes and the Confederate posterings of London; for John O’Connell’s dissolution of the Repeal Association, see Le Peuple constituant 19 June 1848: n. pag. and “Angleterre,” La Réforme 23 June 1848: n. pag.; see Le Peuple constituant 11 July 1848: 2, for French encouragement of Irish liberation.
96 “Angleterre,” Le Peuple constituant 20 April 1848: 3.
98 On the implementation of martial law and attacks on O’Brien, Meagher, and Mitchel, see “Angleterre,” La Réforme 5 May 1848: n. pag. For other matters relating to an increasing radicalism: on the build-up of arms and the organization of Confederate clubs, see “Angleterre,” La Réforme 19 April 1848: 1, for an account of the escalating purchase of rifles and pikes in Ireland and for the
urged the Irish to take up arms against their British oppressors. In mid-May, on the same day that the paper reported on Mitchel’s arrest and only a couple of days before Repeal’s stunning decision to take up arms, Le Siècle carried a report that the British government planned that Queen Victoria make a visit to Ireland in the summer of 1848; given the political climate (of ongoing agitation by Chartists and their Irish allies in Young Ireland), Le Siècle doubted the visit would take place.

Louis-Napoléon: Friend to the Worker?

While an interest in Ireland was well-represented across the French press and on the streets of Paris in the early months of the Revolution, its visibility diminished in the illustrated press as French revolutionary politics shifted. At least three factors limited the appearance of Ireland in France after the failed April 3, 1848 meeting between representatives of the Irish Confederation and President Lamartine: first, the pressure of British diplomacy; second, censorship from the Church in France (particularly after the March 17 demonstration); and third, factors internal to Ireland. On this third point, although news accounts in the print press continued to follow events in Ireland, the French illustrated press was silent on developments there. However, the illustrated press did circulate a related visual satire on April 19, 1848 -- and one that expressed a cynical disappointment in the operations of British radicalism which may have coloured the journal’s assessment of the credibility of

beginning of the court proceedings against members of Young Ireland; “Angleterre,” La Réforme 3 June 1848, éd. du matin: 1, on Mitchel’s deportation and the Confederate and Chartist threat to set London ablaze; for reports on the further organization of clubs, La Réforme 23 June 1848: n. pag.; “Irlande,” La Réforme 1 July 1848: éd. du matin: 1, on the Irish League’s first military parade and manoeuvres; “Irlande,” La Réforme 5 July 1848, éd. du matin: 1, with reports that Irish newspapers are predicting revolution; “Angleterre,” La Réforme 12 July 1848, éd. du matin: 1, on the topic of the spread among the people of the idea of revolution and the further organization of the clubs; at the height of tensions and finally close to civil war: “Irlande,” La Réforme 26 July 1848: 1;

99 For La Réforme’s revolutionary rhetoric to encourage the Irish on their way to insurrection by evoking the Polish nationalists and their use of pikes, see La Réforme 20 July 1848: 1.
100 For speculation about the Queen’s trip and the arrest of Mitchel, see Le Siècle 18 May 1848: 2; for the arming of Repeal see “Irlande,” Le Siècle 21 May 1848: n. pag.; later, the republican press sarcastically announces that Queen Victoria should see her “loyal” Ireland, but that the British monarch postpones the trip (due to social and political unrest) in “Angleterre,” La Réforme 12 July 1848, éd. du matin: 1.
101 See Nowlan 185-86, 204. Also, for example, “Angleterre,” La Réforme 1 April 1848: 2, 3; “Angleterre,” La Réforme 8 April 1848: 2; “Angleterre,” La Réforme 13 April 1848: n. pag. La Réforme represented only one site in the French press that followed the association of interests between the democratic Chartists and the Irish repealers: most reports came from the British press, occasionally accompanied by some French commentary. Another site that underscored the link was the more moderate Le Siècle. For example, see “Nouvelles Etrangères,” Le Siècle 12 April 1848: n. pag.; “Nouvelles Etrangères,” Le Siècle 13 April 1848: n. pag.
Ireland’s own insurrectionary threats during what was a dramatic period in Ireland. The image appeared in Le Charivari and was entitled “Une Révolution à la Mode de la Grande Bretagne” (fig. 74). It represented a group of protestors in Britain and pictured a mob gathered in front of a male speaker. The image referred to a well-publicized Chartist event that had taken place on April 10 at Kennington Common in London. The Chartist gathering had been anticipated by the French press as a revolutionary moment. At that demonstration the new and much-publicized affiliation between the Chartists, and Young Ireland’s Irish Confederation, which had been the subject of significant comment in the French press, was given form in a large and visible contingent of Irish Confederates who had reportedly paraded behind an Irish flag. However, in the end the anticipated march through London was defused by a show of government force. This intimidation had included an enormous contingent of 170,000 special constables to protect private property. According to Neville Thompson, “[P]ractically every gentleman of property heeded the call to defend the constitution and his possessions and to play a part on the great day” against the workers’ planned presentation of demands for social and electoral reform. A few days later the French republican paper La Réforme cited the English paper The Globe as noticing that “étrangers de distinction” served as constables under the direction of the Duke of Wellington to help maintain order in London, including a prominent Frenchman among them: M. Guizot, well known in his ministerial role in the government of Louis-Philippe in France.

The visual satire in Le Charivari on April 19 represented a male figure’s plaintive address to an animated crowd of club-waving British protestors -- agitators who were, until April 1848, much admired by the French. Elevated above the

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102 Le Charivari, 19 April 1848: 3.
103 For the build-up to the British Chartist event in French republican newspapers see “Angleterre,” La Réforme 13 April 1848: n. pag.; “Angleterre,” Le Peuple constituant 8 April 1848: n. pag.;
104 See n55 above
105 The French press had taken note of the unfolding of the large Chartist demonstration on 10 April 1848: “Nouvelles Etrangères,” Le Siècle 12 April 1848: n. pag.; “Paris, 12 Avril,” Le Peuple constituant 13 April 1848: 1. Some French papers also noted the involvement of the Irish in the Chartist demonstration. See L’Univers 12 April 1848: 2; “Angleterre,” La Réforme 13 April 1848: n. pag.; L’Univers 15 April 1848: 1. Also see Nowlan 186.
106 Thompson 237.
108 For an early and positive assessment of the Chartists see Flora Tristan, Promenades dans Londres (Paris: Delloye, 1840) 84-102, published in four editions till 1842.
crowd, whose backs are to the viewer, is a single figure who addresses the
demonstrators. The caption reads ironically: “Une révolution à la mode de la
Grande Bretagne” (“A fashionable revolution in Great Britain”) followed by “Mes
amis, je vais me mettre à votre tête……et nous allons rentrer chacun chez
nous……”

While Le Charivari’s satire gives visual form to the exasperation of French
republicans over the lack of effectiveness of the programme espoused by the “radical”
English working classes, the representation can simultaneously be seen to allude
indirectly to the continued ineffectiveness of Irish militancy, particularly in the
absence of a strong Irish leadership, disabled by arrests and court charges. The
satire makes clear that this lack of effective leadership in conjunction with the evident
spinelessness of the radical rhetoric of the Chartists rendered revolutionary intentions
empty.

In France, on the other hand, the working classes had been instrumental in
overthrowing the French monarchy and challenging the established order in the
February revolution of 1848. One of the early measures that the provisional
government of the Second Republic took was to install National Workshops to
address unemployment in the city. The workshops (Ateliers nationaux) were
modeled on a traditional temporary relief scheme that had existed in France before the
Revolution, and which were tolerated by more moderate republicans only as a short-
term measure and to address a critical situation. Meanwhile, workers embraced the
model of state-supported employment, designed after the plan of socialist Louis

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109 The dismantlement of the Chartist demonstration following the instructions of leader, Feargus
O’Connor, is reported in “Paris, 12 Avril,” Le Peuple constituant 13 April 1848: 1.
110 “My friends, I am going to take the leadership role…..and everyone is going to go home…..” [my
translation]
111 Paris, 12 Avril,” Le Peuple constituant 13 April 1848 : 1; “Angleterre,” La Réforme 13 April
1848 : n. pag.
112 On the disabling of the Irish leadership see R. Davis 151-55; Nowlan 185-88; Paul A Pickering, The
Chartist Legacy, eds. Ashton, Fyson, and Roberts (Rendlesham, Suffolk: Merlin P, 1999) 125; Dorothy
Thompson, The Chartists (New York: Pantheon, 1984) 315-6. The Chartists had sent an early
delegation to Paris on March 5, only days after the revolution in Paris. Jennings 49.
113 Nowlan describes how Chartist leader, Feargus O’Connor, conspicuously intertwined the Irish and
the Chartist causes in a speech to the Chartist gathering at Kennington Common just before the
demonstration. Nowlan 186. As early as 10 January 1848 La Réforme had noted the strength of the
Chartist movement in Britain and reprinted a speech which addressed both the English and Irish
working classes. See “Mouvement chartiste,” 10 January 1848: 3.
114 Pilbeam 189.
Blanc. The scheme lasted till the civil war in June. By the winter of 1848, when Louis Napoléon was elected as president of the Second Republic, France had undergone a conservatizing turn. Ironically Louis Napoléon had gained his popularity during the republic and in his election campaign prior to December of 1848 through his claims to support the working classes. Working-class support for Louis-Napoléon was largely the outcome of the wide circulation of his pamphlet, L’Extinction du paupérisme of 1844.117 Written while incarcerated in a French prison for an attempted coup d’état against the government of Louis-Philippe, Louis-Napoléon’s pamphlet addressed the issue of poverty and pauperism in urban centres. As a solution, he proposed the state implementation of a series of colonies agricoles, with the purpose of moving destitute urban workers to rural settlements on formerly uncultivated land. There the state would provide agricultural labour in a collective arrangement until urban industries could supply the workers with steady employment. Louis-Napoléon managed to gain qualified support for his plan among well-known republicans and socialists, such as the radical Louis Blanc and the republicans George Sand, Ledru-Rollin, and worker-singer and poet Claude Bélanger.118 What is highly ironic considering that French workers looked to Louis-Napoléon as an ally is that the future President of the Second Republic had been among those “special constables” serving under Wellington in London at the time of the Chartist’s Kennington Common march.119

By the summer of 1848, it was clear that earlier sympathetic connections between France’s Second Republic and radical Irish politics would not bear fruit. As the previous sections have shown, news in the French press from March through to July had repeatedly carried reports of Irish preparations for insurrection.120 The radical Le Peuple constituant and La Réforme supplemented this coverage with

116 Pilbeam 198-99, 204-05. Louis Blanc’s ideas were laid out in his popular work among the working classes, L’Organisation du travail of 1840, which was in its fifth edition in 1847. Pilbeam 175-76.
119 Simmons 128-29.
120 One of the final reports of a call to arms was in “Irelande,” La Réforme. 26 July, 1848:1, which reiterated the arming of the Irish people in the countryside noting that newspapers in Ireland and the Young Ireland activist, Thomas Meagher, had urged the population to arm and in doing so evoked the memory of the Rebellion of 1798. See also “Angleterre et Irlande,” Le Siècle 30 July, 1848: n. pag; “L’Angleterre et L'Irlande,” Le Siècle 31 July 1848: n. pag.; “Paris, 27 juillet: Irlande,” La Réforme, 28 July 1848:1
outraged commentary concerning the arrests, trials, and deportations of most of the Irish nationalist leaders, carried out by the British government\footnote{For arrests or trials of Young Ireland leaders, see “Angleterre,” La Réforme 19 April 1848: n. pag.; “Nouvelles Monarchies Etrangères,” Le Peuple constituant 19 April 1848: n. pag.; La Réforme 18 May 1848: n. pag.; Le Peuple constituant 1 June 1848. For the condemnation and deportation of John Mitchel and its immediate effects on the Irish, see Le Peuple constituant 31 May 1848: n. pag.; Le Peuple constituant 1 June 1848: 1, n. pag.; “Paris 5 June: Irlande” Le Peuple constituant 6 June 1848: 1; La Réforme 1 June 1848: 1. For continued Chartist activity see, for example, “15 Juin 1848,” La Réforme 16 June 1848, éd. du soir: n. pag.; “Paris, 27 Juillet: Irlande,” La Réforme 28 July 1848, éd. du matin: 1. On the cooperation of the Irish nationalists and the Chartists, see “Angleterre,” La Réforme 9 June 1848, éd. du matin: 1; “15 Juin 1848: Angleterre,” La Réforme 16 June 1848, éd. du soir: 1 Le Peuple constituant 11 July 1848: 2.} -- events in which even the more moderate French newspapers took more than a passing interest.\footnote{For arrests or trials of Young Ireland leaders from a mainstream or conservative point of view, see “Irlande,” Le Siècle 19 April 1848: n. pag.; Le Siècle 18 May 1848: 2; L’Univers 21 May 1848: n. pag. For the condemnation and deportation of John Mitchel and its immediate effects on the Irish in the conservative press, see L’Univers 1 June 1848: 1. For continued Chartist activity in the mainstream press, see, for example, “Nouvelles Etrangères,” Le Siècle 12 April 1848: n. pag.; “L’Angleterre et l’Irlande,” Le Siècle 31 July 1848: n. pag. On the cooperation of the Irish nationalists and the Chartists, see “L’Angleterre et l’Irlande,” Le Siècle 27 July 1848: 2.} All segments of the French print press continued to report on the solidarity meetings between Chartists and Irish confederates, conflating the interests of the two against what was repeatedly described as the power of the English aristocracy in Britain. However, this protracted focus on the preparations for an uprising in Ireland virtually ended in late July, when the British government defeated the troops of Young Ireland’s Smith O’Brien on July 29\textsuperscript{th} 1848.\footnote{Nowlan 214-15; Davis 160-162. With the defeat of the insurrection, it was primarily the mass circulation moderate newspaper, Le Siècle, that continued to comment on the waning of agitation in Ireland and calls of amnesty for the uprising leaders. See “L’Angleterre et l’Irlande,” Le Siècle 2 August 1848: n. pag; “L’Angleterre et l’Irlande,” Le Siècle 4 August 1848: n. pag; “L’Angleterre et l’Irlande,” Le Siècle 17 August 1848: n. pag “By late August 1848, although there was the isolated report of agitation in Ireland the French press noted more often that severe famine conditions had once again taken over in Ireland: for example, “L’Angleterre et l’Irlande,” Le Siècle 16 August 1848: n. pag.; “Angleterre,” Le Siècle 23 August 1848: 3; “Angleterre,” La Réforme 24 August 1848: n. pag. For the numerous arrests, sentencings, imprisonments, and deportations of the Young Irishers see Nowlan 186-87, 193-97, 199, 203-05, 211, 217. The French republican press watched these developments with interest. See n123 and 124 above. “Insurrection en Irlande – signaux de feu dans les montagnes,” L’Illustration 23 September 1848: n. pag.} In September of 1848, well after news of the collapse of the Irish insurrection against England had been circulated in France, along with accounts of the arrest of the principal republican leaders,\footnote{Thepike was a particularly brutal weapon. Pikes were inexpensive and accessible to the masses and were therefore often associated with the peasant uprising during the French Revolution of 1789 and the popular “Terror” which followed that event. In Irish hands the pike symbolized the} the French journal L’Illustration featured an image, “Insurrection en Irlande -- signaux de feu dans les montagnes” (fig. 75),\footnote{“Insurrection en Irlande – signaux de feu dans les montagnes,” L’Illustration 23 September 1848: n. pag.} showing a gathering of pike-wielding Irish men\footnote{The pike was a particularly brutal weapon. Pikes were inexpensive and accessible to the masses and were therefore often associated with the peasant uprising during the French Revolution of 1789 and the popular “Terror” which followed that event. In Irish hands the pike symbolized the} conferring around a bonfire underneath a
starry night sky, while a number of other fires burn on adjacent hilltops. The title of
the French illustration in 1848 clearly referenced the insurrectionary activity of the
previous months — and indeed, while romanticizing the Irish uprising by means of a
juxtaposition of the rebels against a night sky ornamented with stars, the image also
implied the insurrection’s clandestine continuance. L’Illustration’s image may have
been inspired by an engraving in the January 1844 edition of the British journal, the
Illustrated London News entitled “Signal Fires” (fig. 76).127 There, in an associated
article, the practice of burning bonfires in Ireland was described for the publication’s
English readership as one of the “[m]ysterious symptoms of illegal confederation,”
that in 1844 was on the wane.128 The French transformation of the image some four
years later by means of a title that linked the signal fires and the carrying of pikes to
insurrectionary activity, points to the way in which the liberal and radical French
press had supported Irish agitation against Britain through the previous spring and
summer. Certainly the French portrayal of Irish rebels was in stark contrast to a more
recent engraving in the Illustrated London News that referenced the manufacture of
pikes during the summer uprising. In “Forging Pikes -- A Recent Scene in Ireland,”
which appeared in the edition of August 5, 1848 of the journal (fig. 77), the focus is a
blacksmith’s forge where one man carries a bundle of poles to the fire while a
blacksmith waits to attach the recently-forged iron pike-heads. Others crouch around
the central fire, assisting in the manufacture of the brutal weapons. Given the recent
reports in the British press of the suppression of the Irish ‘rising,’ which emphasized
how the Irish revolutionaries were armed with primitive pikes as well as other crude
implements,129 “Forging Pikes -- A Recent Scene in Ireland,” takes on, as Leslie
Williams has remarked, a sinister aspect: “a dark, fiery smith’s shop where brawny,
demonic-looking Irishmen labour at a hellfire forge, beating out pikes for an

129 The Illustrated London News of August 12, 1848, described the rebels as being furnished with “a
miscellaneous assortment of pikes, pitchforks, spades, shovel, scythes, reaping-hooks, blunderbusses,
fowling pieces, and pistols” (cited Williams 293).
The contrast between the French and British representations of the uprising in Ireland and its attempt to sever ties with Britain is a telling one. The British press condemned the rebellion calling for its strict military suppression and for the severest judicial penalties against the insurrection’s perpetrators. In contrast, in France, as the preceding analysis of the French press has shown, liberal, republican and radical publications supported and even called for an Irish revolution in 1848 to match France’s own.

*French translations of English successes: Irish emasculation*

The failure of Irish radicals to carry out an insurrection in July of 1848 seems to have played a role in the subsequent absence of Ireland and the Irish in the French press over the following year. After a hiatus during which the French Republic shifted to the right Ireland did reappear -- and once again in the medium of visual caricature. The image of Ireland reappeared in *Le Charivari* on August 20, 1849 in the form of a representation of the visit of Queen Victoria to Ireland earlier that same month entitled “Voyage de la Reine d’Angleterre en Irlande” (fig. 78). It followed an image of the same visit in the English journal *Punch*, which offered a very different construction of the event.

The French satire of August 20, 1849 was produced by the caricaturist Cham. While the *Punch* illustration negotiated British anxieties about national unity by making any sign of hardship invisible to the viewer, Cham’s caricature underscored Irish pauperism by exposing the discrepancy between the official spectacle of the Queen’s visit and the material realities -- starvation, destitution, and unemployment -- of the general populace in Ireland.

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130 Williams 293.
131 Davis 164-65; Nowlan 215-17; Williams 293-99.
132 For an account of the failure of the French radicals and the increasingly conservative moves of Louis-Napoleon see Pilbeam 210-42.
134 “The Landing of Queen Victoria in Ireland” *Punch*, 17 (July-December 1849): n.pag. The specific date of the print and the caption is given in Leslie A. Williams, *Daniel O’Connell, the English Press and the Irish Famine* (Aldershot, Hants. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2003) 318-20 where Williams gives a thorough analysis of the image. The British image manipulated representations of the Irish to reinforce the health and security of the British union: it depicted the Queen, Prince Albert and their children as a happy family among a crowd of healthy and hospitable Irish subjects. *Punch*’s image of harmony, however, worked to mask a series of anxieties. The image negotiated a significant number of official British reservations about the Queen’s trip in a time of dire hardship in Ireland.
Le Charivari's image represents the procession of Queen Victoria's carriage through an Irish landscape. Carrying the queen and two children, the carriage heads towards a triumphal arch in the background. Three dignitaries with their backs to the viewer fan the tails of their coats out like skirts to obscure from the Queen's vision two groups of starving and disconsolate paupers, who are passively slouched on the earth in the foreground. On the far left the viewer is confronted with another member of the official entourage who holds up an ephemeral façade denoting a rural dwelling. That the structure is nothing more than a theatrical prop is made clear by its label: "Décoration [d' une] Chaumière No. 4." These words suggest that it is one of several false-front structures designed to simulate substantial housing along the Queen's procession route.

The transformation of the image of Ireland in France from an empowered and street-smart youth, seen in "Wellington cherchant à dissuader la jeune Irlande de suivre l'exemple du gamin de Paris" (fig. 72) a year-and-a-half earlier in March of 1848, to a hopeless figure of impoverishment barely more than a year later in "Voyage de la Reine d'Angleterre en Irlande" corresponded to the failure of the anticipated revolution in Ireland in July of 1848 and to the arrest and transportation of some of its most significant leaders to Australia. However, the visual satire in Le Charivari served an important function in French terms as well. Just as Cham's satire critiqued English misrepresentation of, what was to the French at least, an unforgivable case of English arrogance and colonial mismanagement, the image simultaneously negotiated anxieties about the social situation in France after the civil strife.

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135 It was widely known in England in 1849 that the Irish economy was at a very low ebb and that famine and disease were widespread. Indeed, in Ireland itself, among both élites and the population at large, reception of the idea of Victoria's visit was mixed. Taking the general social situation into consideration, the visit was intended to be low-key, and the cost of preparations relatively modest. Instead, neglected and shabby state buildings were restored at substantial cost, and rooms expensively refitted for the Queen's use. Processions, public illuminations, and street decorations were organized. (See Cecil Woodham-Smith's account of the condition of the country at the time of Queen Victoria's trip and the preparations that were necessitated by the royal visit. Woodham-Smith 380-406.

136 According to historian Woodham-Smith's account of the royal visit, Victoria's welcome in Cork involved a procession of the Queen's open landau with carriages and horsemen behind. It is evident that the triumphal arch that can be discerned in the image's background corresponds to a description of the town's decorations for the occasion. Woodham-Smith cites the conservative press as suggesting ironically that a screen of boards should be built along the Queen's route to spare her the sight of the starving multitudes and the general "decay" of Ireland. Woodham-Smith 386-87.
war of June 1848. For republicans, the foreign and domestic policies of President Louis-Napoléon were disturbingly contradictory. For example, following his election, Louis-Napoléon proceeded to send a French military expedition to assist the Papal States in repressing the Roman Republic. The suppression of Italian nationalism was, in fact, in violation of the Second Republic’s constitution, particularly in its universal defense of liberty, which radical republicans and most of the working classes supported. The gesture exposed a troubling inconsistency between Louis-Napoléon’s pre-election profession of republican values and his post-election policies. Additionally unsettling was the fact that Louis-Napoléon’s prolonged efforts at befriending the working classes both before and during his presidential campaign were subsequently undermined by his neglect of workers’ interests and betrayed by the repressive measures he had started to undertake to restore bourgeois confidence.

In this sense, Le Charivari’s publication in August 1849 of Cham’s image of a British state procession through streets in Ireland that were strewn with paupers gives visual form to similar ironies in France itself. More than a year earlier, in June 1848, before Louis-Napoléon’s election, the state system of National Workshops that had been designed to address the phenomenon of unemployment and increasing worker poverty had been dismantled. Since his assumption of the presidency, Louis-Napoléon had done little of significance to address the dilemma of the impoverished unemployed worker. The restoration of bourgeois order and its liberal economy became his prime concern, while the problem of the pauperization of workers grew.

In other words, in August of 1849 the representation in France of Ireland’s population as ragged, emaciated, and passive represented a revolutionary hope broken as well as renewed repression of republican dreams in France. The caricature would

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138 Bierman 79, 82-3. For a summary of the complex relationship relating to Italy at the time of the early French Second Republic see Jennings 38-43.
139 Jennings 14-17; Pilbeam 232; Truesdale 20.
140 For an account of Louis-Napoléon’s campaign and the extent to which he relied on the support of the workers see Kulstein 31-17, 38.
141 Bierman 80-84; Pilbeam 232-34.
142 For an account of the effort to invent and manage a make-work state program called the National Workshops see Pilbeam 198-209. On the difficulties surrounding their closure, see Jennings 121; Pilbeam 215-16.
143 Pilbeam 225, 229.
also remind its viewer of the constant struggle against famine in Ireland, which compounded that nation’s political problems. In France, there was an additional hardship with which Ireland had been associated in the past by Eugène Buret and his De La Misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France\textsuperscript{144} in which Dr. Kay’s work in Manchester’s “Little Irelands” during the cholera epidemic in 1832 had been repeatedly cited. The same highly contagious disease was now exacerbating French poverty and increasing the anxieties of the bourgeois republic: in 1849 Paris was struck with a cholera epidemic, the first since what had been the unforgettable scourge of 1832. For the sake of maintaining calm and not inflaming working-class protest, with which disease was invariably associated, the French government of Louis-Napoléon was silent on the epidemic’s outbreak, effectively obliterating news of the devastation of the disease, the effects of which were most strongly evidenced in working-class and impoverished neighbourhoods.\textsuperscript{145}

As the foregoing chapter has shown, rapid shifts in both France and in Britain produced changes in the image of Ireland in Paris during the volatile years of 1848 and 1849. Since the February revolution in France the Republic had gone through its most radical phase, followed by a civil war pitting the bourgeois against the worker, the rise of Louis-Napoléon and a conservatizing trend. Simultaneously Ireland witnessed the dismantling of the Irish leadership and the failure of its revolution against England, plus a growing pauperization by famine and disease.\textsuperscript{146}

It was in this mutual climate of hardship and disappointment that the republican hopes of the labouring classes -- whether peasant workers or urban dwellers, Irish or French -- were dashed. Within this social and political setting the image of an impotent Ireland in “Voyage de la Reine d’Angleterre en Irlande” played out in complex ways by August of 1849. Beyond the power of Cham’s image of Ireland to give form to a traditional French hostility and cynicism towards England and its imperial arrogance, the satire could evoke anxieties around domestic issues for its French viewership. After all, the representation of a destitute and disempowered

\textsuperscript{144} The first edition of this work was published in Paris in 1840. Eugène Buret, La Misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France (Paris: Paulin, 1840). See Chapter Three above.


\textsuperscript{146} Historian Kevin B. Nowlan describes the fact that the Irish insurrectionary army was small, ill-equipped, badly trained and, in the case of the peasant-participants, hungry, weak and demoralized by the years of famine Nowlan 218-19.
population was not only capable of underscoring the social injustice of the gross discrepancy of material wealth between Queen Victoria and her native Irish pauper subjects; as well, Ireland was able to address concerns over the extravagant displays that marked out Louis-Napoléon’s ascendency in French politics.

After six months of a bourgeois republic, following a bloody civil war, Louis-Napoléon had assumed the presidency in December 1848. His election owed its existence to a significant extent to the propaganda that had been circulated concerning Louis-Napoléon’s advocacy of working-class concerns, which had been partly addressed by his own 1844 pamphlet, *L’Extinction du paupérisme*. But once elected, Louis-Napoléon implemented a new politics of spectacle at odds with his campaign promises. Contemporary studies have pointed out that lavish and enormous balls became one frequently-utilized means of ensuring the support of the privileged classes, while more popular public events were spectacularized for a non-élite audience. The culture of spectacle became characteristic of Louis-Napoléon’s presidency, and later, when he became emperor by coup d’état in December of 1851, it became an integral propaganda strategy for the Empire.

Needless to say, this culture of display was at odds with the austerity that had originally characterized the conduct of the Second Republic. The provisional government of the Second Republic, a disparate group of moderate republicans which was in control from February to the end of June, 1848, made visible one of its main concerns when it tackled the problem of unemployment in Paris. By instituting the National Workshops it had addressed one of the main worker demands during the revolution -- the *droit au travail*, a policy of state intervention ensuring jobs in the capitalist market and a seemingly direct solution to *la question sociale*. The development of some strategy to deliver aid to the working poor and unemployed through private or state intervention had already been debated in France for years and had constituted one of the main subjects of exchange between Britain and France.

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147 Louis-Napoléon’s pamphlet, *Extinction du paupérisme* had proposed a solution for working-class unemployment that was given qualified approval by several activists with republican and even socialist associations. See more in Chapter Five below.
148 Bierman 79, *passim*; Truesdale 69-70.
149 Truesdale preface, vii-viii, *passim*.
150 For an idea of the tensions the Provisional Government faced while it attempted to unify the Second Republic see Bierman 61; Nowlan 188-9; Pilbeam 185-216.
151 Pilbeam 185, 199-209, 214. The *droit au travail* was linked in the worker’s mind with *la question sociale*, which was one of the main provocations among the working classes for the revolution. T J. Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois*, 1973, 1982 (Berkeley: U of Calif. P, 1999) 12.
However, bourgeois discourse, already uneasy about some of the democratic principles of the young Republic (especially extending the vote to include universal male suffrage), had marked these Workshops out as dangerously useless in inculcating the “necessary” values of the marketplace. Worse still, they labeled the Workshops as breeding grounds of radical socialist tendencies. They were dismantled -- and with them any idea of state-supported aid -- subsequent to the bourgeois victory in the June civil war. By the time of the Le Charivari satire of Queen Victoria’s state visit to Ireland in August of 1849 -- and its foregrounding of the pauperized Irish body -- President Louis-Napoléon had successfully reduced the electorate to exclude those working-class constituents most likely to back socialist or radical candidates. Instead, a scourge of repression was unleashed against the working classes: the Republic’s constitutional guarantees of freedom of assembly, speech, and press were severely modified or retracted. What I am suggesting is that in Cham’s satire, “Voyage de la Reine d’Angleterre en Irlande,” the diplomatic camouflage provided by the coat tails of Queen Victoria’s officials, speaks as much about the political cover-ups, contradictions and subterfuges in France, as it does of those in Britain.
Chapter Five: The Irish Pauper in the Artist's Studio: Trading Revolution and Poverty

After 1849 and a decade of visibility in French publications including the French press, Ireland virtually disappeared from representation in France. When an image of Ireland finally did reemerge in 1855 after several years of absence, it did so cryptically through an unusual and innovative visual form -- Gustave Courbet's well-known, large-scale painting, L'Atelier de l'artiste: une allégorie réelle déterminant sept ans de ma vie artistique et morale (The Studio of the Artist: a Real Allegory determining a Seven Year Period of my Artistic and Moral Life)\(^1\) (fig.8). As an allegory associated with the "real," Courbet's huge painting (11' 10" by 19' 8")\(^2\) has long presented art historians with a puzzle. My analysis of this work will examine the significance of one figure in the painting -- that of a destitute nursing mother situated prominently in the image beside the centrally-placed easel of the artist. Courbet described this figure in a letter written to his friend, the artist and writer Champfleury, in which the artist discussed the significance of the painting and the figures in it. The slumped-over figure of the nursing mother was referred to by Courbet as an Irishwoman, seen on the streets of London; significantly Courbet described the pauper as one of the industrial products of modern England: "L'Irlandaise est encore un produit anglais. J'ai rencontré cette femme dans une rue de Londres, elle avait pour tout vêtement un chapeau en paille noire, un voile vert troué, un châle noir effrangé sous laquelle elle portait un enfant nu sous le bras."\(^3\)

My analysis in this

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\(^1\) English translations of this title have reconfigured the original French. The title I have cited comes from, Hélène Toussaint, "Dossier de 'L'Atelier' de Courbet," Gustave Courbet: 1819-1877 exh.cat. (Paris: Louvre and Grand Palais, 1977) 246. However, the English translation of the catalogue, "The dossier on 'The Studio' by Courbet," Gustave Courbet, 1819-1877 exh.cat. (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1978) 251, uses a shortened version of the original which alters the meaning: The Painter's Studio. A Real Allegory summing up Seven Years of my Artistic Life. I argue that 'determinant' translates better as 'determining' rather than 'summing up,' and that 'ma vie artistique et morale' -- that is, artistic and moral (or ethical) life -- needs to be included in the title as it is significant to the social and political meanings of the image, which Toussaint argues for. The English translation with its shortened title is used widely: see Stephen Eisenman, Nineteenth-Century Art (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994) 216; and Linda Nochlin, "Courbet's Real Allegory: Rereading 'The Painter's Studio'," eds. Sarah Faunce and Linda Nochlin, Courbet Reconsidered exh.cat. (New Haven: The Brooklyn Museum, 1988) 17; Michael Fried, "Real Allegories, Allegories of Realism: The Wheat Sifters, The Painter's Studio, and The Quarry, with an Excursus on The Death of the Stag," Courbet's Realism (Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 1990) 156, does however translate "determinant" as "determining." The painting is now at the Musée d'Orsay in Paris.

\(^2\) 359 cm. x 598 cm.

chapter will link Courbet’s painting and the impoverished “Irlandaise” within it — “encore un produit anglais” — to the ongoing cultural and economic rivalry between France and Britain, represented by the international exhibitions held initially in Britain in 1851 and then in France in 1855. I will argue that Ireland’s part in the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London represented an attempt by the government in London to manage Ireland’s recent Catholic unrest and England’s anxieties around Irish secular republicanism. What I will show is how Britain, by presenting to the world a prosperous and unified British empire, had already by 1851 started attempts, at least symbolic ones, to reincorporate a disorderly and impoverished Ireland into Britain’s “Protestant” Constitution and “prosperous” liberal economy. Further, this chapter will investigate how this destitute figure in Courbet’s painting could be capable of evoking Ireland’s indigence for many French and even European viewers and how, at the same time, the figure could be related back to a militant and emancipatory moment in France in 1848 and the hope of ongoing associations between Irish and French radicalism.

L’Atelier de l’artiste... the contradictions of allegory and realism

The initial exhibition of L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle by the radical left-wing painter, Gustave Courbet, took place in a makeshift gallery set up by the artist and called the Pavillon du Réalisme. Situated within the parameters of her in a London street wearing nothing but black straw hat, a torn green veil and a ragged black shawl, and carrying a naked baby under her arm.” [English catalogue translation] 254. It should be noted here that the English translation of Courbet’s letter to his friend Champfleury omits Courbet’s reference to the “Irishwoman” as a product of England. I therefore distinguish between the French and the English versions of Toussaint’s catalogue by noting when the quotation is taken from the French version.

Napoléon III’s 1855 *Exposition universelle*, across from the *Pavillon des Beaux-Arts* and not far from the *Pavillon de l’Industrie*, the location of the *Pavillon du Réalisme* has been noted as significant by several scholars. In fact, the location has itself been singled out as an oppositional gesture to the Emperor’s official art exhibit at the 1855 *Exposition*, from which the painting had been rejected.

Courbet’s description of *L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle*, which he provided to his friend, the writer and critic Champfleury, and which has been the subject of much analysis, has provided art historians with a basis for describing the format and the general subject of the painting. The format of *L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle* suggests a triptych, a single painting with three sections. A central group of figures is gathered around Courbet as he paints a rural landscape. On the viewer’s left is a large group of unidealized figures, all of whom appear to be oblivious to the artist’s presence. Courbet calls this entire left-hand grouping “[l’autre] monde de la vie triviale, le peuple, la misère, la pauvreté, la richesse, les exploités, les exploitateurs, les gens qui vivent de la mort.” Figures on the left thus constitute an eclectic mix of rustic and urban types, of whom the isolated “Irishwoman” with her suckling baby is represented as one of the most impoverished forms. This female figure, on the floor in the foreground and drooping over her infant, is marked out by her exposed swollen and veined legs and her ragged clothing. The destitute female figure is placed close to, though somewhat hidden behind, the artist’s easel. In fact, the figure’s left hand encroaches marginally on the central space of the image, where the artist sits at his canvas, considering his painted work. On Courbet’s right is a gathering of individuals, who appear to be aware of the artist at work and of their studio surroundings. Among those individuals represented are, in addition to Champfleury, the poet and critic, Charles Baudelaire; Courbet’s patron, Alfred Bruyas; and his friend, the socialist/anarchist philosopher, Proudhon. As the artist’s description to Champfleury states, they are “...tous les actionnaires, c’est à
As many scholars have noted since the painting’s production, Courbet’s title referring to “une allégorie réelle” or “A Real Allegory,” contains an implicit contradiction which undermines the viewer’s expectations of a correlation in the painting between form and meaning. While an allegory generally uses the idealized language of the past to address contemporary matters in a pre-coded form and often within the large-scale format conventional to history painting and its serious content, Courbet’s L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle studiously avoids any easily recognizable codes and readable narratives. Indeed, by 1855 and the exhibition of this work, Courbet’s painting practice had already been singled out by critics as unacceptable for its unconventional emphasis on the “real,” and the “ugly” at the expense of the classical values of “truth” and “beauty.” L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle certainly refuses any traditional idealization of its figures, portraying instead recognizable portraits of Courbet’s friends and patrons on the right side of the composition, and a range of types described by Courbet in his letter to Champfleury and including a “diehard republican” of the 1789 French Revolution, an “undertaker’s mute,” a “Jew,” a “huntsman,” a “scytheman,” a “labourer,” a “poacher,” and the “Irishwoman” on the left. Not only does this reference to “real” figures undermine the work’s claims to the abstractions of allegory, but at the same time “real” refers to Courbet’s use of a new and subversive visual language, inherently at odds with “allegory,” which he had already labelled Réalisme. The artist’s “realism” was achieved technically through the non-illusionistic and “crude” application of paint, as well as through a distinctive subject matter drawn from everyday life which, as T. J. Clark has shown, stripped away the illusions and idealizations traditionally associated

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11 Touchant 246 [French version]: “...the shareholders, that is to say friends, fellow-workers...” Touchant 254.
12 This inconsistency between “real” and “allegory” was pointed out by at least two of Courbet’s contemporaries, the writer Champfleury and the philosopher Proudhon. See Nicolson 23.
13 Nochlin 17, 18.
15 Courbet’s letter to Champfleury is in Touchant 254.
with the genres of landscape and history painting. In *L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle*, the illusory nature of allegory was also deliberately undermined by the radically direct impact of the “real” in the paint’s materiality. This disruption of traditional expectations may have contributed to the official jury’s initial rejection of the painting from the exhibition of Fine Arts at the *Exposition*.  

Art historian Linda Nochlin has argued that the reference to “allegory” in the title Courbet gave to his work, *L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle*, has a political significance. Noting that the allegorical form refuses any interpretive speculation, fixing the meaning of the image through authorial control and thus limiting the possibilities of the “sign” to operate in a responsive complex of ways, Nochlin draws on twentieth-century cultural theorist Walter Benjamin’s claim that “[A]llegory... bears a natural affinity to disintegrative moments of history.” For Nochlin, the revolutionary moment of 1848, characterized in France particularly by the violent overthrow of the old monarchical order, was appropriate for the concept of allegory in the sense put forth by Benjamin -- since the social order to be established on the ruins of the past with the 1848 revolution was still in flux and as yet uncertain. The apparent confidence of the 1848 Revolution, which was soon to be replaced following 1851 by the underlying anxieties associated with the rule of Louis-Napoléon, who subsequently proclaimed himself Emperor Napoléon III in 1852, would have produced a set of conditions suitable for the attempt by allegory -- in Benjamin’s sense -- to stabilize or fix meaning.

Courbet’s radical politics demand that we ask how the painting’s structure, its languages, and its content address the social politics of the moment, in 1855 and, as Nochlin suggests, in 1848. The enigmatic title of *L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle déterminant sept ans de ma vie artistique et morale* and its reference to seven years of the artist’s life stretching from 1855 back to Paris’ revolutionary year of 1848.

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17 T.J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1999) 71-74 for a discussion of how Courbet’s *Dinner at Ornans*, for example, was an early realist genre painting that made use of conventions to disrupt them and produce a new, more direct, effect.


1848 have led many scholars to speculate on the nature of the painting’s visual references and particularly on the nature of its social critique.\textsuperscript{21} These analyses take into account that Courbet’s “allegorie réelle” describes a particularly conflictual period in French history. The seven-year span evoked in Courbet’s title encompassed the 1848 revolution and the early months of a workers’ Republic. The latter was followed in 1849 by a more conservative Republic under the presidency of Louis-Napoléon and then by the Empire of Napoléon III.\textsuperscript{22} Among the studies that have addressed \textit{L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle} several have attached a general and vague importance to the obscure “Irish” figure, which Courbet described in his letter to Champfleury.\textsuperscript{23} These, however, have substantially downplayed or ignored what I am arguing can be seen as this figure’s crucial importance to an understanding of the painting’s historical reference to the period between 1848 and 1855. The figure of the destitute mother in Courbet’s painting, whether read as representing poverty in general or as an image of Ireland, would, I argue, be able to evoke the French Republic’s withdrawal from its tradition of support to European emancipatory movements following 1848, and as well evoke the present status of such liberation efforts.

\textsuperscript{21} Nochlin herself performed a reading of \textit{L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle} as an 1855 allegory of the early nineteenth-century French socialist Charles Fourier’s thought. [Nochlin, “the Invention of the Avant Garde: 1830-80,” \textit{Art News Annual} 34 (1968): 14-16] Her reading supplemented the 1980 analysis by James Rubin which argued that the painting was a representation of the socialist/anarchist programme of P.J. Proudhon, a close contemporary and friend of Courbet. Proudhon is, so Courbet’s letter suggested and subsequent historians have verified, represented in \textit{L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle} among the group on the viewer’s right of the painting. [Nochlin, “Courbet’s Real Allegory” 17; Rubin 3, \textit{passim}; Toussaint 257.] Both Nochlin’s and Rubin’s analyses have relied on Courbet’s own identification, in the letter describing the painting to Champfleury, of the figures on the right of the artist’s central group. They are individuals among the artist’s progressive intellectual network, including philosophers and activists (some of whom were influenced by Fourier) and specifically the radical economic and political philosopher, Proudhon. Both Nochlin and Rubin see the painting as a critique of the failures of Napoleon III’s administration, posited from the point of view of alternate models for the political economy. Both interpretations of Courbet’s painting argue that \textit{L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle} was to remind Napoleon III’s government by way of the image’s focus on the worker’s environment of the importance of and on productive employment as key to a healthy society. Rubin sees the prominent central portrait of Courbet himself, relaxed at his easel, flanked by a nude model and observing boy as having provided some key towards clarifying the mystery of the painting as allegory: in particular, the exemplary social role of the artist as worker and master in what was perceived by some prominent socialist thought of the moment as the “basic social unit” -- the workshop [Rubin 36].


\textsuperscript{23} For example Toussaint 256-67; Herding, 57; Rubin, \textit{Realism and Social Vision in Courbet & Proudhon} 40-41. Even Nochlin’s focus on this figure does not treat her as a sign with particular historical relevance to this time in “Courbet’s Real Allegory: Rereading the “Painter’s Studio” neither is it Paul Crapo’s interest to extend his analysis of \textit{paupertas} in an earlier painting beyond making a connection with the figure of the Irishwoman in \textit{L’Atelier}. 
L’Atelier de l’artiste and Contemporary Politics

For the purposes of my interpretation of the nursing pauper in Courbet’s painting -- “l’Irlandaise” -- useful light has already been shed on L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle, both in terms of its status as allegory and in terms of the destitute figure in the foreground as an image of Ireland, by Louvre scholar Hélène Toussaint who curated a major Courbet exhibition (Gustave Courbet, 1819 – 1877) in 1977. Using photograph portraiture and caricatures of the period, Toussaint argued for specific identities for many of Courbet’s “types” on the left side of the artist in his 1855 painting. For example, the figure of the “Jew” described by Courbet in his letter to Champfleury as observed in London carrying a casket, represents, according to Toussaint, the contemporary financier and statesman, Achille Fould, who also served as a minister under Napoléon III’s régime; the undertaker’s mute, represents the opportunistic popular journalist Emile de Girardin; the huntsman, the Italian nationalist Garibaldi; the man in the cap, the Hungarian revolutionary Kossuth; the scytheman, the Polish patriot Kościuszko. Though the destitute nursing mother in the foreground of the image is assigned no specific individual identity, Toussaint does to some degree expand upon the image’s potential readings. While she dismisses the importance of the accuracy of Courbet’s auto-biographical claim to have himself seen this figure of an “Irishwoman” in the London streets, Toussaint evaluates the presence of the figure in contemporaneous terms as a “symbol of abject misery”. She points out that “the [Irish] potato famine was in everyone’s memory, and in the second half of the century the state of Ireland was a byword for oppression and want.” She further cites Flora Tristan’s widely-circulated publication in the early 1840s, Promenades dans Londres, as a possible source for Courbet’s use of the figure.

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24 The figures on the left of Courbet’s canvas are identified in Toussaint 260-66.
25 Toussaint 256-577.
26 See Chapter Two above for an account of Tristan’s work. Toussaint 257.
What is important here is that Toussaint identified the seated "braconnier" (poacher)\textsuperscript{27} in the left foreground across from whom the "Irish" figure crouches, as a thinly-disguised portrait of Napoléon III himself. What she draws attention to is the fact that this juxtaposition would surely have referred to a situation that many on the political left saw as the unfulfilled promise the Emperor had made in 1844, then as Louis Napoléon, an imprisoned political aspirant, in a publication entitled \textit{L'Extinction du paupérisme}.\textsuperscript{28} In this widely-disseminated pamphlet, written while a prisoner of Louis-Philippe's régime, Louis-Napoléon had outlined a model for eradicating the social misery associated with unemployment, and in so doing aligned himself with the goals of the utopian-socialists and other more moderate reformist aspirations of a range of French democrats and of representatives of the working classes.\textsuperscript{29} The pamphlet had made promises of the relocation of unemployed workers to "colonies agricoles" which were organized on uncultivated land in rural France and could eventually be established overseas -- in Algeria, for instance. There, as the plan conceived it, workers could earn living wages in highly disciplined but quasi-democratic conditions by producing much-needed agricultural products for domestic consumption, and in turn putting an end to foreign exports of such items.\textsuperscript{30} Louis-Napoléon was to run his campaign for election as President in late 1848 in large part on the basis of this publication and his implied identification with the working classes. However, upon his assumption of the presidency in 1849 he was to move towards the interests of the middle classes, and by the time of the 1851 coup d'État and the establishment of the Second Empire in 1852, Napoléon III was known for his conservative policies that benefited élites, often at the expense of the working classes.\textsuperscript{31}

Extending Toussaint's analysis, which situates the author of \textit{L'Extinction du paupérisme} among the figures in \textit{L'Atelier de l'artiste: une allégorie réelle}, what I

\textsuperscript{27} Toussaint translates this term as one used by Champfleury to mean "poacher' or "trainer of sporting dogs." She cites Champfleury's use of the term in "L'Artiste" of 2 September 1855. Toussaint 257. Toussaint also points out that this figure was absent from early versions of the painting and so was not mentioned in Courbet's letter to Champfleury. She speculates that the figure was added as the painting neared its completion. See Toussaint 265.


\textsuperscript{30} Bonaparte, \textit{Extinction du Paupérisme}, 3\textsuperscript{rd} ed. (Paris, 1844).

\textsuperscript{31} See Chapter Four above for more details of the changes in Louis-Napoléon's stance towards the working classes.
want to argue is that the formal relationship in Courbet’s painting between this sponsor of the 1855 *Exposition universelle* and that of the pauper-woman who nurses her child implies a kind of a complex back and forth relationship among Ireland, England and France. From the French perspective this implied exchange would have encompassed more than a decade of shifting social conditions, one of the most precarious of which -- rural migration to urban centres to fuel the numbers of working or unemployed poor -- can be seen to have been taken up by Louis Napoléon’s pamphlet publication of 1844, discussed above. Art historians since T.J. Clarke have already pointed out that by mid-century Paris itself had become a site of constant social transformation and class contestation, where the visibility of social misery was rampant. Unemployment in the countryside had been provoking massive migration into urban centres whose infrastructures and traditional social hierarchies were ill-prepared to receive an influx of rural émigrés. Further, upon arrival, the vast majority of newcomers were to find unstable prospects for employment and grossly inadequate living conditions.³²

Of importance here is that Louis-Napoléon’s links to solutions for pauperism were still being forged into the 1850s. Art historian Paul B. Crapo argues that Louis-Napoléon had ordered a propaganda piece from Courbet in 1850-51 to help ensure his political future in the upcoming presidential elections. According to Crapo the painting, *Départ des pompiers courants à une incendie* or *Firemen Running to a Blaze* (fig.79),³³ like *L'Atelier de l'artiste: une allégorie réelle*, contained a female version of poverty.³⁴ Crapo points out that in the *Départ des pompiers...* a representation of poverty -- the figure of *paupertas* in the image -- gives form to the critical condition of the impoverished classes through the figure of a mother carrying an infant. Louis-Napoléon is represented in this painting “in worker’s clothes,” thus aligning himself with workers’ interests in spite of the growing evidence of the increasing bourgeois agenda of his administration. He leads a band of firemen away from the beckoning *paupertas* to a presumably superior solution to the social crisis than the one that the

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³⁴ Crapo 242-4.
figure of poverty offers. As Crapo points out, the image as a whole would have worked as an allusion to Louis Napoléon’s 1844 utopian pamphlet. Following the lead of Hélène Toussaint, Crapo speculates that Louis-Napoléon’s coup d’état in December of 1851 would have put an end to this painted propaganda commission from Courbet. While subsequent censorship of political discussion and debate over social issues in the following years would have prohibited overt criticism of Napoléon III’s régime, I argue that the figure of the destitute nursing mother -- “L’Irlandaise” in Courbet’s L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle -- also represents an allusion to poverty, but with a different significance in relation to Napoléon III’s politics in 1855.

The only extended analysis of the figure of the “Irishwoman” in the art historical literature is performed by Linda Nochlin in her 1988 exhibition catalogue with Sarah Faunce, Courbet Reconsidered. Nochlin's feminist reading of the figure arises within a framework of resistance to what was then Klaus Herding’s recent account of the allegory, which Nochlin argues adheres literally to allegory’s implicit promise to fix the image’s meaning once and for all. Herding had leaned heavily on Toussaint’s decoding of the individuals’ identity on the left-hand side of Courbet’s canvas to arrive at an interpretation of the painting as an allegory of reconciliation intended as a lesson in statecraft for the French Emperor Napoléon III. Within Herding’s context the allegorical figure of the Irishwoman stands again, following Toussaint, as a sign of abject poverty and a silent lament for Napoléon III’s broken promise given in L’Extinction du paupérisme. Alluding to the painting’s ambiguous treatment of space, its eschewing of technical finish through various passages and the fragmentary and uncertain nature of its pictorial unity, Nochlin challenges any single authoritative meaning for the allegory as a whole. Furthermore, resisting the static closure of Herding’s interpretation, Nochlin insists on reading the painting as a moveable text, open to multiple meanings. Nochlin turns to feminist and psychoanalytic theory to read the Irish figure as a "modern" and gendered allegorical figure of melancholy, whose lineage she traces to Albrecht Dürer’s monumental

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35 Crapo 244; Toussaint 214-18.
36 Nochlin, “Courbet’s Real Allegory” 17-41.
37 Nochlin, 20-21.
38 Herding 57.
engraving of 1514, *Melancholia I*. Nochlin further sees the “Irishwoman” as a powerful and unstable signifier of “lack,” disruptive to any more general meaning of reconciliation assigned to the painting, and productive of multiple significations in relation to other figures represented in the image -- for example, the art critic and poet Baudelaire, Courbet himself, and Napoléon III.40

Nochlin’s analysis, a rebuff to any finality in a reading of the allegory, is, as I have suggested, primarily a psychoanalytic reading of the figure. But what is significant for my argument here is that Nochlin herself emphasizes Courbet’s use of the allegorical mode as a subversive strategy responding to the enforcement of official censorship at the beginning of Napoléon III’s Second Empire. She also refers to the cultural politics at work in Courbet’s painting under such censorship conditions. Here, Nochlin relates Courbet’s large-scale history painting to a “low” form of popular art, and specifically to the “political cartoon,” in order to suggest the work’s provocative early modernism and the public of “excluded outsiders” which it hoped to address.41 Nochlin’s reference to the political cartoon alludes to the identifiable inclusion of well-known political and social figures of the period, many of whom had been identified by Toussaint.42 However, what I argue in this chapter is that popular prints such as the several lithographic satires of Irish and French poverty in *Le Charivari*, along with the numerous published accounts of Irish poverty and its political and social significance to modern Britain and France that have been examined in Chapters Two, Three, and Four above, also serve as the “low” popular forms with which Courbet’s painting was in dialogue. Indeed, with the presence on the right of Courbet’s canvas of both Champfleury and Baudelaire -- both advocates of caricature as a legitimate form of modern history painting43 and, in the case of Champfleury, an insistence on caricature’s political nature44 -- the charged dialogue between forms implicit in this painting of a “real allegory” is underscored.

The very strategy of mixing the artistic languages of high and low art -- that is, images taken from popular sources as well as a visual vocabulary associated with popular art -- was one that Courbet had already used prior to 1855 in order to

42 Toussaint 257-68. Toussaint identifies well-known figures throughout the canvas.
43 Stamm 14, 17, 21, 22, 45, 51, 54, 62.
44 Stamm 51, 59.
highlight the oppositional stance of his art and politics in relation to the dominant high art modes of his time. This enlarged reading of Courbet’s L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle in relation to popular art in turn gives the destitute “Irish” nursing mother further significances. Central here is the context for which the painting was produced and across from which it was first displayed -- Paris’ *Exposition universelle* of 1855.

*World’s Fairs: the construction of Ireland in the negotiation of national identities*

It is significant that while the “global” character of the French international exhibition of 1855 was expected to bring much of the European world to Paris to view the metropolitan display of industrial accomplishments, the fair relied heavily for its successful reputation on the representation of internal French harmony -- in other words on the eradication of any radical challenges to the status quo at home. Since the June days of 1848 and the defeat of the French working classes, Louis-Napoléon had increasingly pursued a range of conservative policies, culminating in his proclamation of the Empire in 1852. The 1855 *Exposition universelle*’s representation of internal political stability was an important component of the present Napoléon III’s goal of promoting France as unified and stable to an international audience. Another major element in public marketing was empire. The display of goods and resources from far-flung colonial holdings added value and prestige to the portrayal of the nation as imperial centre. It was this transnational movement of both of people and products towards and away from Paris in 1855 which provided the social context from which Courbet’s large-scale painting took its


46 Merriman *passim.* Merriman’s study deals with the repression of popular republicanism in both Paris and regional France. Pilbeam 185-248.

47 See Paul Greenhalgh for his argument that French international exhibitions were useful in developing a sense of national unity. 113-15. See also Franklin Charles Palm, *England and Napoleon III: A Study in the Rise of a Utopian Dictator* (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1948) *passim* for a study of the degree to which Napoleon III concerned himself with good relations with England, especially early in his political career.

48 Greenhalgh 112-15.
meaning. The concept of a to-and-fro movement across national boundaries allows
the destitute female figure in L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle – described by
Courbet as “un produit anglais”49 -- to be painted as a presence in his studio in Paris
and to circulate on a number of levels and across multiple boundaries.

Exhibition, London, 1851

In Ireland, 1851 was another year of severe regional famine and represented
the greatest increase in Ireland’s emigration numbers.50 At the same time it was the
year of the first large international industrial exhibition to be held in Europe, where
the circulation of ideas, designs, commodities, and people was to stimulate a new and
vigorous economic exchange among nations.51 Held in London and known as the
Great Exhibition of 1851, the British international trade fair took place in the
enormous glass structure called the Crystal Palace, for which the exhibition was
occasionally named. The London exhibition was designed as a showcase and
promotion of the ideal of progress that advanced industrialization and the principles
of free trade were supposed to have brought to the host country.52 The exhibition’s

49 Toussaint 246 [French version].
50 Jeffrey A. Auerbach, The Great Exhibition of 1851: a Nation on Display (New Haven: Yale UP,
51 Morash points out the irony that “British progress” was being marketed at the same time that
statistical information regarding the significant losses in the Great Irish Famine were being released.
(Morash 52-59.) The same year, 1851, that London’s Great Exhibition took place Millet’s painting in
the 1851 Parisian Salon, Le Semeur, was provoking attention. One critic linked its image of a coarse
and brute-like Gaulois farmer with the Irish poor. As T.J. Clark noted, it was the critics of the Far
Right and the Left who set the “savagery” they recognized in Millet’s figure within the political
discourse. On one hand, the “dangers” of the proletariat and socialism were evoked, and on the other,
an obtuse mention of “the social problem” was made. (Clark, Bourgeois 94, 95.) However, one article
that Clark does not mention is the review by Taxile Delord in Le Charivari on January 8, 1851. Delord
drew what would have been a persuasive connection between the misery suffered by the Gaulois, or
French peasants, and the Irish in famine-torn Ireland; “L’homme, le ciel, le paysage m’ont rappelé
l’Irlande, et le paysan irlandais. Hélas! C’est bien en France que la scène se passe; la chaumière
gauloise, dans bien des lieux n’a rien à envier, sous la rapport de la misère, à la lutte irlandaise.” (“The
man, the sky, the countryside reminded me of Ireland, and the Irish peasant. Alas! But it is really in
France that the scene is happening; the Gaulois cottager, in many places has no better lot than the
Irish.”) [my translation] Dismissing the charges of some of the other critics that the artist’s intentions
were socialist, Delord underscores the image’s ability to call up the sufferings of the “race gauloises”
through the misery of the “proletarian rustique,” thereby evoking an identity linked to the urban
working classes and an oppositional politics that rested on republican nationalism, rooted in an ancient
race. Le Charivari 8 January 1851: n. pag.
Walton’s work underscores the perception of French political economists that free trade could
accommodate and even benefit France’s unique contribution to European markets in the matter of taste
as well as promote the social integration of the artisan class to bourgeois interests. Walton, France at
initiation of what was to be a frequent international spectacle also functioned to display Britain’s superiority over its closest rivals -- the most credible threat at the time being France.

Though celebratory in nature, these trade exhibitions masked a range of insecurities about presenting a confident national image to “the world.” Some scholars of art and cultural history have pointed out the degree to which Britain was aware of and anxious about France’s design superiority in manufactured goods at the time of the early exhibitions. Tobin Sparling, for example, cites official British discomfort around the design inferiority of its own products at a time -- in the 1840s - - when markets for British manufactured goods were falling off.\(^{53}\) He notes that the British press took a special interest in the 1844 French National Industrial Exhibition since the French had an international reputation of excellence in matters of quality and design.\(^ {54}\) Art historian Patricia Mainardi has pointed out that, unlike the British, the French tradition of regular national industrial exhibitions had a long history, with France initiating industrial fairs as far back as 1798. In particular, Mainardi stresses that it was the 1849 French Exposition that had attracted and inspired official English plans to “go international.” She notes that Britain’s preemption of France in staging the first international trade fair -- which the French had already proposed unsuccessfully to skeptical businessmen during the 1830s and 1840s – became, in fact, the cause of French national humiliation.\(^ {55}\) By tracing out the interchange between Britain and France over the subject of the first significant international exhibitions -- one in Britain in 1851, the next in France in 1855 – one sees that the exhibitions provided new discursive sites where a range of anxieties about relative industrialization and market rivalries were managed.

Britain worked to tie its industrial superiority at the 1851 exhibition to free-trade values.\(^ {56}\) This was particularly relevant in the context of a heated debate

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\(^{54}\) Sparling, “Introduction,” ix; 1, 28-29.

\(^{55}\) Mainardi 22.

\(^{56}\) Indeed, England’s official promotion of free trade was greeted with ridicule in the same French republican newspaper that had been the site for the visual satires including a sign of Ireland. In May of 1851, only days after the industrial exhibition had opened, *Le Charivari* ran a visual satire on the
between free-trade proponents and those, more conservative, who held to protectionist values to one degree or another. Not only did Britain's anxieties about the success of free-trade principles require that its own development and production capabilities be foregrounded, but that the breadth of the British empire's colonial holdings, whose raw and manufactured materials could be efficiently exploited in an unimpeded flow, be given visible form. It was in the context of this heated debate over the visible merits of a laissez-faire economy that made Ireland and its role as an integral part of the British Empire require management.

Ireland played a pivotal, though modest, role in the construction of the unified British identity that Britain sought to present at the Crystal Palace. The visible inclusion of Ireland's contribution at the international exhibition can be seen as an attempt by Britain to downplay Ireland's troublesome past and to signal that insurrectionary tendencies and the influence of foreign radicalism in that country had been subdued. The visible inclusion of Ireland as part of the British Union also worked to reassert the logic of British constitutionalism while reintegrating Ireland into an unrestrained liberal economy.

Nonetheless, there were several domestic obstacles to the reintegration of Ireland into Britain in 1851, especially as the predominantly protectionist stand of Ireland's rural population stood at odds with the values of free trade. To aggravate matters there was also the British perception that Irish Catholicism, increasing in Britain with immigration to the mainland, was incompatible with the notion of progress. For many conservatives and liberals Ireland had clearly not spent the last years as a productive partner in Britain's economy, but rather as a financial drain. The Great Famine in Ireland, beginning in 1845 and lasting into the following decade, had made onerous demands on British charity, but it had also devastated the Irish population and continued to cause further waves of emigration, much of it into

inefficiency of the British system in providing French visitors with food and accomodation. In a one-page format, bands of small horizontal illustrations form a humorous visual narrative depicting the privations that the stupefied French suffer at the hands of their London hosts -- including the offer of a tree branch in Hyde Park or a system of hammocks strung between buildings as lodging. The forbearance of the French visitor is contrasted with English parsimony and ingenuity at making an unlikely profit from what seems an insoluble situation. *Le Charivari*, 11 May 1851: 3.

57 See, for instance, Auerbach 51-52, 82
58 Auerbach 50-51, 112-13.
59 Auerbach 50-51, 82-83, 85.
60 Auerbach 171-73. See also Chapter One above.
mainland Britain. It was there that the Irish competed for British jobs. To make matters worse, Ireland’s recent political agitation for separation from the British Parliament as part of Daniel O’Connell’s Repeal movement, and then the failed revolution of 1848 by Young Ireland’s Confederation with its more radical demands for separation, was an embarrassment to the Union. Thus, by 1851, Ireland’s notorious past links with France and its revolutions could not help but inflame the anxieties of the British middle classes and élites, who feared an influx of foreign visitors to the exhibition. To exacerbate matters, concerns over social unrest in Britain itself were fanned not only by the increase in the Irish population in the mainland and its association with foreign French threats but also by the fact that other foreigners with liberationist nationalist agendas -- such as the Hungarian Kossuth and the Italian Mazzini -- were already visitors to or resident in England. These “visitors” or asylum seekers such as Kossuth who visited England in 1851 and then took up residence there in 1852 and who, with others like the Russian Herzen and the Polish Kościuszko, had been leaders of national independence struggles in Europe that had taken their hope from France’s 1848 republican revolution (that these individuals are portrayed in Courbet’s 1855 L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle will be addressed at a later point in this chapter). By the time of the London exhibition in 1851 Ireland’s radical republican leaders had largely been deported to distant locales, such as Tasmania. Ireland’s rural population, predominantly Catholic, who tended for the most part to be followers of O’Connell and the Catholic clergy’s “moral force” position (as opposed to the more militant “physical force” of Young Ireland and the

62 Toussaint 264. For a discussion of the refugee situation in England and the general English welcome of Mazzini in 1849 see Palm 85-86.
64 Toussaint 263-64.
Irish Confederation) found itself demoralized and exhausted from the famine and its failure to gain an independent parliament from Britain, whose role of political dominance had been reasserted over Ireland in 1848. It is not surprising, given this troubled history, that Ireland was given such an insignificant showing at the international exhibition. At the 1851 Crystal Palace exhibition, Ireland was represented modestly by a small lace and linen exhibit. This display of women’s work used the gendered associations of lace and linen-making and the link of both with viable small-scale cottage industry to counter the images of famine and political protest and insurrection with which Ireland had become connected. Ultimately, however, Ireland’s productivity was overshadowed by England’s display of similar goods from Lancashire, successfully maintaining English superiority over other member countries of the British Union.

Britain had much at stake in representing Ireland as recovering its health to productive levels. At the same time, it was important to represent the nation, formerly associated not only with peaceful constitutional protest but also with a more disturbing militant nationalism, as docile and submissive to the British Union. This was made visible in 1852, a year following the exhibition, when John Tallis published in London a three-volume illustrated account of the exhibition at the Crystal Palace in which Ireland’s contribution to the exhibition was noted and illustrated. There, though limited in length to about four pages, Ireland was represented through a short written description and two bands of steel engraved illustrations entitled “Lace-Making” (fig. 80). Tallis used the two horizontal panels of steel engravings of child and female labour to describe a compliant Ireland capable of contributing to, rather than rupturing, the Union. Three engraved roundels contain scenes of orderly

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66 The employment of physical aggression in order to promote the Irish cause was a long-standing matter of debate by Repeal and later by the Irish Confederation. “Old Ireland,” representing Daniel O’Connell’s original Repeal Association, refused physical force (except in defensive situations) in favour of “moral force” or constitutional tactics. Old Ireland’s position was distinguished from the more militant approach of radical factions associated with Young Ireland. For an analysis of the ongoing rift between “Young” and “Old” Ireland and their approaches to the use of force see The Young Ireland Movement (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan; Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble Books, 1987) 93-106, 245-57.
67 Auerbach 50-51.
68 Auerbach 50-51, 85.
69 John Tallis, Tallis’ History and Description of the Crystal Palace 3 vols. (London, 1852) vol. 3: 39-43, facing 40. As cultural historian Laura Kreigl recently described it, Tallis’ guide “appealed to a select audience through its rich narrative descriptions and engravings...” 151.
industry, as both neatly-dressed and well-nourished boys and women perform the partially-mechanized manufacture of lace. While integrating some of the signs of mechanized production on a small-scale in some of the roundels, others represent lone figures pursuing the handicraft skills of lace-making. It is significant that Ireland was introduced in a chapter entitled “the Ladies’ Department,” where Tallis represented Irish production as consisting of “tempting” and (to male observers) irrational items that would appeal predominantly to female consumers. Tallis’ account used two contradictory strategies which converged into a positive image of a suitably-obedient and productive Ireland -- a nation that had overcome the ravages of the famine and the temptation of social agitation. One strategy built Ireland up as a productive and disciplined labour force while the other simultaneously undermined any threat from an Irish working population by feminizing and infantilizing it. Additionally, the text told the reader that the lace-making project as represented at the exhibition had been facilitated by the “active benevolence” of aristocratic groups, who claimed to aid the Irish population in its recovery from famine and in its eradication of the “criminal tendencies” that resulted from a lack of work.71

The representation of Ireland through handicraft skills both in the Great Exhibition of 1851 and in Tallis’ publication of a year later, not only domesticated a once-worrisome associate, but also gave Ireland, and by extension Britain, a certain advantage with other nations. Irish production was distinguished from the mass-production values of the larger factories that drove the English economy, and therefore was able to make a unique and traditional contribution to Britain’s display at the Fair. The value of lace production lay both in its hand-crafted, finely detailed quality and its perceived cultural authenticity (although ironically the tradition of Irish lace-making had to be salvaged through Belgian training at this moment).72 Lace was a luxury product that could be manufactured in the efficiency of a small factory environment, that for small scale and worker skill could be compared to the French workshop system.73 Arguably, in this area Britain was capable of competing with French production, which was well-known and generally admired for its “good taste” through its standard of high quality and superior design.74 Indeed, acknowledging

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71 Tallis vol. 3, 40-1.
72 Tallis vol. 3, 40-41.
73 Walton 207-08.
74 Sparling 28; Walton 23-24.
French superiority in areas for which mass-production values were irrelevant, Britain strove to elevate its own standards for mass-manufactured goods. Manufacturers, workers, and consumers were quite deliberately exposed to French products at the Crystal Palace. In this context, Irish lace-making could contribute to British prestige, providing one area at least where Britain could compete on France’s “high ground.”

The modest role given Ireland as a part of the imperial centre was actively contrasted with the way in which other regions of Britain’s empire -- like India -- were displayed to the world. India was considered a particularly prosperous British colonial holding and it, unlike Ireland, was ostentatiously foregrounded as a treasured British possession. The subcontinent contributed a crucial component to the construction of an image of Britain that rested as much on an imperial or global presence as on a unified and untroubled identity at home. At the exhibition of 1851, as both Carol Brekenridge and Lara Kriegel have pointed out, India was located in a generous area and in a privileged place “near the main entrance and the Queen’s retiring room.” India’s contribution (through the auspices of the East India Company) “filled the west side of the Palace’s north-south transept.” Here, goods were arranged to spectacularize their abundance and variety, which included a wealth of raw materials, exotic artisanal manufactures, and opulent jewels and furnishings, all of which were classified according to the categories that ordered the rest of the British displays. India’s wealth of raw materials and exotic manufactured goods increased Britain’s prestige on the international stage. The British ability to control foreign resources and to exploit foreign markets on such a scale as the Indian display represented went a long way to enhancing a domestic identity that was vulnerable in

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75 Sparling 28-9.
76 At mid-century India was directed by a mandate given by the British government to the British East India Company. Paul Greenhalgh 62.
77 Greenhalgh 55.
78 In a 1989 article, Carol A. Brekenridge deployed the notion of the “Victorian ecumene” to describe the new kind of discursive space made possible by the “world’s fairs.” According to her, the early international exhibitions constituted a new cultural technology that could address the symbiotic relationship between metropole and colony and, in particular, the reliance of the former on the latter for national credibility. In other words, what Brekenridge provides is an analytic frame that acknowledges how crucial the display of these global transnational flows have been to the formation of national identities. See Carol Brekenridge, “The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting: India at World Fairs,” Comparative Studies in Society and Theory 31 (1989): 195-216.
79 Brekenridge 202-03; Kriegel 150-1.
80 Although it was not to hold true in later international exhibitions, at this early point the culture of India took a back seat to the itemized display of its wealth. Kriegel 150-3.
other internal areas -- such as in Ireland, Britain's "internal colony." Kriegel notes the reaction of one of France's prominent political economists, Adolph Blanqui -- the free-trade proponent and representative to the Great Exhibition in London of the Académie des Sciences morales et politiques, who was overwhelmed with admiration for the opulence and diversity of the Indian collection in London and for the ordering of its display -- to such a degree that many of his remarks were printed as part of Tallis' English text.\(^{81}\)

In comparison with Britain's notable showing in 1851, France's colonial display was modest -- its own colonial holdings were few since the loss of most in the Napoléonic wars, and France did not generate a comparable display of wealth and exoticism in its sole colonial exhibit, that of Algiers.\(^{82}\) For a nation as passionately nationalistic as France was at this time, this display of British superiority in matters of empire must have registered painfully. On the other hand, for French critics of Britain's past and its alleged "hypocrisy" in the field of civil liberties, the Indian display could be seen cynically, as a marketing ploy that masked a series of oppressive social relations both abroad and at home. At the same time, other assessments were more reassuring, as for example Blanqui's appraisal of the London exhibition, which underscored France's own unique contribution. In her 1992 study, Whitney Walton cites Blanqui as exclaiming upon the exhibition's "universal" and uncontested recognition of France's superiority in matters of art and taste. She also points out that the French weekly La Semaine had registered France's winning of the palm of victory in the plastic arts only two weeks after the Crystal Palace had opened.\(^{83}\)

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\(^{81}\) Kriegel 151. Blanqui was an official French observer at the Crystal Palace, one of the representatives of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques (Walton 203). Though in 1840 this body had awarded its prize for outstanding essay to Eugène Buret, who proposed government intervention to help solve the social issue, by this time the economic solutions of free trade appeared to be taking official precedence. Certainly this was true by the time of France's own Exposition universelle, four years later. Also see Walton for Blanqui's enthusiastic reaction to London's Great Exhibition and his promotion of free trade in France. See Walton 213-16.

\(^{82}\) Algeria, France's "India," became a centerpiece of French colonial display in 1855. Greenhalgh 64-65.

\(^{83}\) Walton 23. Although Walton cites the date of the weekly, she makes no further reference to the publication. Bellanger mentions a journal from the time of the Second Empire entitled La Semaine universelle, which could be the same publication. Others mentioned by Bellanger which are identified by a similar name are La Semaine financière (Bellanger 292) which stated publishing in 1856, several years after the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace, and the La Semaine catholique, published in Toulouse, (Bellanger 296). In the case of the former, it is impossible that the particular journal correspond with Walton's source and, in the case of the latter, it is highly unlikely. Bellanger notes that
The *Exposition universelle* in Paris in 1855 provided an opportunity for France and Britain to continue their competitive displays. Britain again presented its colonial holdings to the world and India once more contributed significantly to Britain’s successful imperial image, as it had in 1851. Cultural historian Paul Greenhalgh has pointed out that in 1855 France simultaneously foregrounded its empire though a display of Algeria, equivalent in "scale and opulence" to that of Britain’s colonial holding, India. While modern historians have focused on the competitive display of each nation’s empire, mention of an Irish component at the Parisian *Exposition* in 1855 has been neglected. However, an 1855 British account of this French exhibition by one George Wallis did briefly note Ireland’s participation -- although only to imply that its contribution could easily have been overlooked. As in 1851, Ireland was represented by a lace department. Evidently the lace display in London had generated some improvement in business and so was again featured in 1855. Wallis thus noted that Ireland’s lace-manufacturing industry, though feeble, represented a step in the right direction for Ireland’s social situation: “It cannot be doubted that the present Exhibition will further assist in a direction so essential to the future interests and prosperity of a branch industry, the social influence of which now is beginning to be felt in so many directions in that unfortunate country.”

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La *Semaine universelle*, which is probably the weekly to which Walton refers, posed as a sort of “international tribune” and was published in Brussels to escape French legislation “pour raisons de commodité et securité.” Claude Bellanger et al., *Histoire générale de la Presse française*, vol. 2, (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1969) 289.

84 Breckenridge 205-07.
86 For example, Patricia Mainardi neglects an account of Ireland’s showing at the 1855 Exposition universelle in Paris in her book, Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867 (New Haven: Yale UP, 1987). Matthew Truesdale discusses the Expositions of 1855 and 1867 in Paris as part of the spectacle in the service of Louis-Napoleon’s Second Empire, but he makes no mention of Ireland in Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte and the *Fête Impérial*, 1849-1870, (New York, Oxford UP, 1997).
87 George Wallis also mentioned the lackluster and badly-managed exhibition of industry held in Dublin a couple of years after London’s exhibition of 1851, and its “calamitous effects” on the minds of many exhibitors (presumably Irish and international) in 1853 See Wallis, The *Exhibition of Art-Industry* in Paris, 1855: the illustrated catalogue of the Universal Exhibition (London: Virtue: Paris: Stassin & Xavier, 1855) XX. An account of the Dublin exhibition was previewed briefly in the French bi-weekly publication *L’Illustration* (“Dublin,” 12 March 1852, n. pag.) and then described briefly and without prominence after the exhibition’s opening in the pages of the same magazine (“Dublin,” 7 May 1853: n. pag.). For an account of the earliest Irish exhibition (that was held in Cork in 1852) and mention of the Dublin exhibition in 1853 as its national successor in the pursuit of economic development see A.C. Davies, “The First Irish Industrial Exhibition: Cork 1852,” Irish Economic and Social History 2 (1975): 46-59.
88 Wallis VI.
muslins, another display in 1855, were, on the other hand, “meagre” and “unsatisfactory,” somewhat of an embarrassment on an international scene, and a detriment to future trade in that area. “Belfast has not displayed its usual energy and good sense in allowing so important a branch of its trade to stand before Europe in so puny and uninteresting a form...”\(^8^9\) It is clear from this account that the development of trade and industry in Ireland -- however modest -- was, unlike political or social reform, seen as the only hope for the country’s future. Ireland’s representation in Courbet’s painting through the image of a destitute mother, barely fit to care for her offspring, however, provided a counter-image to such a belief in the productive power of Ireland within the industrialized present.

_Courbet’s Artist’s Studio as Artisan’s Workshop: The Atelier_

The grand-scale spectacle of the principles of free trade at France’s _Exposition universelle_ of 1855 -- in response to England’s own Great Exhibition of 1851 -- underscored the international competitiveness that underlay the exhibition. Such rivalry relied heavily on the representation of a unified national identity and on the colonial relations without which a global network of trade could not be exploited. In turn, the deployment of Courbet’s _L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle déterminant sept ans de ma vie artistique et morale_ cannot be divorced from the fact that the large-scale painting would have addressed both French and international audiences.

Although viewers of the painting outside Courbet’s circle would not necessarily read the pauper woman in Courbet’s image as Irish, she could still be read as a general marker of hardship and poverty -- one with French associations. As Chapters Two, Three, and Four in this thesis have shown, attentive viewers in France could associate generic poverty with “Irishness” from the many connections already broadly established which linked the worst of the conditions among the French working classes -- pauperism -- with the state of the whole nation of Ireland. These relations of exchange between Britain and France had been a major theme in Buret’s well-known 1840 publication, _De la Misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et_

\(^8^9\) Wallis VI.
en France,\textsuperscript{90} and were also circulated in feminist and socialist Flora Tristan's well-known publications,\textsuperscript{91} as well as in the journal 
Le Charivari, which had developed commentary based on the example of Irish destitution and its relevance to poverty in France. Within this context, Courbet's destitute nursing mother -- whether read as Irish or French -- had a special resonance for both Britain and France and their respective economic policies. As Britain would be expected to at least equal or outdo its self-promotion at the 1851 Crystal Palace exhibit in the venue of the international World's Fair in Paris in 1855, Courbet's painting represented a rupture or a counter-discourse to the almost seamless image that Britain had put forward. But the French Emperor Napoléon III also had an investment in making a good showing of his own empire at the 
Exposition in 1855. As Greenhalgh has noted, Napoléon III needed to display Paris as the centre of French, indeed European, civilization – with an advanced economic culture but also with an enviable artistic tradition.\textsuperscript{92} When Courbet, in 
L'Atelier de l'artiste: une allégorie réelle déterminant sept ans de ma vie, displayed “l'Irlandaise” representing destitution in such a prominent place, the nursing mother could serve as an unfortunate reminder of the social failure at the centre of Britain’s -- and, by extension, France’s -- empire. As a representation of poverty and destitution in general, the nursing mother could point up the human shortcomings of the British model of industrial capitalism as practiced in France, with its celebration of the principles of 
laissez-faire and non-intervention in social problems. But, for those insiders who may have been familiar with Courbet’s designation of this figure as an “Irlandaise” the pauper could also raise a set of disturbing questions about Britain’s own ability to manage what it represented as the successful colonial relations upon which its empire relied. After all, as Gustave de Beaumont had put it in 1839 when he set the terms for the French discourse on Ireland’s relationship to England through the forties and into the fifties, it was never totally clear whether Ireland was to be understood as a feudal underling to England (the notion was hardly compatible with England’s progressive reputation among

\textsuperscript{90} Eugène Buret, 

\textsuperscript{91} Flora Tristan, 
Les Promenades dans Londres (Paris: Delloye, 1840); (London: W. Jeffs, 1840) 
Les Promenades dans Londres ou l’aristocratie et les prolétaires anglais. Edition populaire (Paris: 
Raymond-Bocquet, 1842)

\textsuperscript{92} Greenhalgh 114-16.
many international liberals), or as a lowly and troublesome colonial subject. Given the long history of oppression of Ireland by the English, continuing in the recent past with England’s management of the famine and Britain’s harsh treatment of Irish nationalists by prison sentences or deportations, the designation of Ireland as an unsuccessful colony to Britain was perhaps the more diplomatic of the two reflections on Britain.

As I have noted earlier, Hélène Toussaint has interpreted Courbet’s figure of the “Irlandaise” as a symbol of marginality. In addition to citing Flora Tristan’s “travelogue” of London as a possible source for Courbet’s impoverished Irishwoman, Toussaint indirectly underscores the connection between the “Irlandaise” and various other examples of “appalling” marginalization brought on by the “British” economic and social system. As I have noted, Toussaint stresses that the Irish figure’s position in Courbet’s composition in relation to the braconnier Napoleon III is significant, evoking the failure of the Emperor’s proposals for unemployment relief. But the figure evoked another social ill. A quotation from a critical review of L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allegorie réelle in the middle-class journal L’Illustration reveals its nature:

“[.. .]au milieu de cette réunion singulière des personnages ... on voit au pied du chevalet une malheureuse créature, tenant son enfant sur son sein et cachant mal sa nudité sous un lambeau de haillon; tous ce que les déformations par l'embonpoint et les varices, le vice , la vieillesse et la misère peuvent produire chez la femme de plus affreux, de plus ignoble. Comment le

94 See Charles Trevelyan’s account of the British government’s relief intervention in the Irish famine in Charles Edward Trevelyan “The Irish Crisis.” Edinburgh Review 87 (1848): 229-320. His study was later published as a pamphlet (London, 1848). Trevelyan was the head of Irish famine relief and Britain’s Assistant Secretary of the Treasury during the crisis. Leslie A. Williams in Daniel O’Connell. The British Press and the Irish Famine: Killing Remarks (Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2003) 257-81 provides a compelling analysis of Trevelyan’s publication. Trevelyan’s report was published as a retrospective study of British government intervention well before the end of the famine. It then appeared in French translation in 1849, preceded by an introduction by M. A. Matheré. [Trevelyan, Histoire de la famine en Irlande en 1845. 1846, et 1847 trans. M.A. Matheré (Auxerre, 1849)]. Significantly, although the unaltered French translation of the English text supported Trevelyan’s basic model for crisis management, the French introduction undermined the underlying assumption in Trevelyan’s text that the famine was the “natural “ result of the Irish population’s “moral” choice of a potato culture and the Irish people’s refusal of the middle-class values that supported a liberal economy.
95 Toussaint 256. Tristan’s publication is discussed in my Chapter Two above.
96 Toussaint 266.
peintre a-t-il eu le courage de placer cette vermine près de lui et d’un de ses amis en costume de chasse, au lieu de la reléguer dans un coin du cadre, derrière l’indescriptible ramassis où l’on distingue des paysans, des portefaix, un juif, un marchand d’habits, un paille, un croquemort?”

As the passage above indicates, this review was almost virulent in its condemnation of the fact that Courbet had placed the figure of the nursing woman, this “vermin,” close to the artist himself and to the figures of his own friends in the painting. But why was *L’Illustration* so outraged and shrill? The image of the pauper woman was after all, only a representation. At its most obvious level, the choice of words by the critic of *L’Illustration* implies the threat of contamination posed by the placement of a member of the “dangerous” working classes close to some of the more “respectable” figures inhabiting this painting. However, this danger suggests something more serious than dirt or stench -- it also calls up the threat of contagious disease. Indeed the review proposes that the maternal figure in question deserves to be hidden behind what are considered less significant, even marginal, figures themselves (that is, she is to be relegated to “un coin du cadre, derrière l’indescriptible ramassis où l’on distingue des paysans, des portefaix, un juif, un marchand d’habits, un paille, un croquemort?”). To be noted here is that *L’Illustration*’s review conveys an attitude that corresponded to the government’s official policy to remain silent on the outbreak of cholera that had begun in 1854 and which continued through 1855, the year of international traffic into and away from Paris at the time of the *Exposition universelle*. But the term “vermin” was also one that marked the pauper body out as having a susceptibility to disease and to carry disease which had been identified as an intrinsically Irish characteristic as far back as 1832, in the work of James Phillips Kay, segments of which were republished in Buret’s well-circulated French study on

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97 “Exposition nouvelle des beaux-arts,” *L’Illustration* 28 July 1855: n. pag. “[...in the middle of this unusual gathering of people...one sees at the foot of the easel a miserable creature holding her child to her breast and barely hiding her nudity under shredded rags; [she is] everything that all the deformations of obesity, varicose veins, vices, age and desperation can produce in a frightful and unworthy woman. How could the painter dare to place this vermin near both him and one of his friends in hunting costume, rather than relegating her to a corner of the frame, behind the indescribable clutter where one can make out peasants, porters, a Jew, a merchant of clothes, a heap of rotten straw, an undertaker?” [my translation]

poverty in Britain and France. By placing the destitute figure centrally and across from the figure that represented Napoléon III, Courbet’s work not only foregrounded the inconsistency of the emperor’s past promises and actions towards the working classes, but he also exposed the hypocrisy of the present action of Napoléon III’s government in covering up the cholera epidemic in favour of the successful appearance France was to present to the world at the 1855 Exposition.

As suggested earlier in this chapter, for the viewer of the painting who was not aware of Courbet’s identification of the pauper figure as Irish, her image could function on other levels. As I have noted, for French viewers, steeped in discourses since 1839 which used Irish poverty as a warning to France as it began to industrialize, the figure could be broadly interpreted as a sign of the French social problem of unemployment and thus poverty at its lowest level, with the attendant social dangers of contamination and the spread of disease to the “upper orders.” As such, the nursing mother could evoke a question which pervaded the political landscape leading up to the predominantly working-class revolution of February 1848 and which dominated the early Second Republic. This was the droit au travail or the right to work, a measure that would address poverty and pauperism by the government’s intervention in the economy by way of make-work projects. Calls for the right to work manifested themselves early after the February 1848 Revolution in the National Workshops (ateliers nationaux), the aim of which was to provide equitably-paid employment to all of the working classes, often till then denied living wages and supplied only with intermittent work. For many of the working classes or for those with sympathy for the working-class dilemma, Courbet’s reference in the title of his painting to 1848 -- the year of revolution -- and the seven years following would call up both the hope and “failure” of that revolutionary dream.

The National Workshops were dissolved in June 1848, around the time of the bourgeois victory over the working classes in civil war during “the June Days.” By December 10th of the same year Louis-Napélon was voted to a four-year term as president of the Republic. While Louis-Napélon and most French political

100 Clark, The Absolute Bourgeois 13, 49-50. See Pilbeam for a comprehensive look at the constitution and organization of the workshops and the difficulties relating to them in a Republic with little money and with mixed loyalties, both worker and bourgeois. Pilbeam 199-214.
economists would become proponents of free trade with Britain by 1855, there remained in France a significant number of powerful protectionist interests. These were, in large part, responsible for stemming the tide towards free trade for the 1850s.

Notably, among the several protectionist rationalizations in France in the early 1850s was one that represented the more modest interests of members of the artisanal and skilled labour classes, who had anxieties about competing in the open markets against the higher volumes produced by the English. Free-trade promoters and supporters of the universal exhibitions attempted to reassure artisanal workshops that an emphasis on their workers' skills -- small-scale hand-production -- was the key to French success in a "global" free-trade market. As I have pointed out earlier, historians Walton and Sparling have underscored the fact that access to artisanal products was a means of distinguishing the French bourgeoisie from its British counterparts in matters of quality and design. In this regard, Walton emphasizes the degree to which the notion of "specialized industrialization" was promoted by free-trade proponents in the economic debate in France.

Clearly, this French reputation for high standards of "taste" depended on the fact that French manufacturing was dominated by the small artisanal workshop or atelier, where hand-crafted goods or luxury items were produced for sale to the bourgeois consumer. Artisanal or handicraft production implied first-hand involvement and supervision in the small studio-workshop, where the artisan worked alongside his employees. These issues, it would seem, have a significance to Courbet's L'Atelier du peintre, allégorie réelle. There, the central focus asserts Courbet's hand-crafted production of a painting -- a luxury item -- the production of which is witnessed by the group of friends and supporters on the right who, as Courbet indicated in his letter to Champfleury, contribute to the artist's labour intellectually, financially, or imaginatively. On one level, the subject of Courbet's painting can be read as subduing anxieties about the health of the economy, since on the surface there are no disruptions to his focused labour. But on another level, the

101 However, Napoleon was unable to achieve a free-trade agreement with Britain until 1860. Walton 219.
102 Walton 215.
103 Walton 199-220.
104 For Courbet's description of the group on the right see Toussaint 246-47 [French version]; 254.
image called up the close-knit and relatively intimate working arrangement that also evoked anxieties among the bourgeoisie. The location of the artist in a workshop or atelier provided the conditions for intense discussion about inevitable changes in the nature of labour. Subversive and socialist ideas were associated with this kind of environment, and the atelier was notorious as the source of revolution. After all, political economists and politicians reasoned, skilled workers had played an important role in initiating the recent revolution of 1848, as well as the previous revolution of 1830 that had ousted a Bourbon king in favour of a constitutional monarch. In other words, the artisan’s atelier could evoke worker demands and have sinister connotations for a bourgeois interest in social stability.

The association between radical thinkers and the atelier is significant to my interpretation of the figure of the “Irish” pauper woman. I am responding here to art historian James Henry Rubin’s analysis of Courbet’s L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle (1980) which hinged on what he argued were the Proudhonian implications of the painting. Rubin points out that Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, a radical anarchist philosopher and a close friend of the artist, in fact his “constant companion” since 1848, was “notorious” in his day as a significant public figure. Proudhon saw work as an important form of mediation between the physical and spiritual that was capable of synthesizing the two into a material product. As Rubin notes concerning the importance of work to Proudhon, “Any alienation of its value from the producer, whether the result of communist or of capitalist appropriations, was a profound injustice.” Proudhon and his followers, among them Courbet, would surely have been suspicious of any pursuit by political economists that threatened to alienate workers from their labour, particularly through the mass-production associated with British goods so celebrated at both the Great Exhibition and the

105 Walton 211-12. See also W.H. Sewell, Jr., Work and Revolution in France: the language of labour from the Old Regime to 1848 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980) 219-22. Sewell claims that from 1840 on socialist ideas were openly discussed in workshops and that labour and poverty were central to those discussions.
107 Rubin 17.
108 Rubin 4.
109 Rubin 31.
Exposition universelle of 1855 and which were threatening to take over the French worker as well.

Rubin makes clear that in this context Courbet’s choice of the term atelier in the title of his painting to describe his painting is significant to the work, as the word atelier had a very particular and “charged” meaning in French political thought at mid-century. Rubin suggests that because of the word’s connection to the notion of the nobility of manual labour, it is more appropriate to translate atelier as “workshop,” as opposed to “studio,” the latter being the term that art historians have traditionally used. Rubin argues that Courbet’s use of atelier could mean “any workshop, including not only that of the painter, but of any master craftsman, artisan or even group of factory workers.”

Rubin’s analysis is an important one in terms of his assessment of the multiple levels at which labour and work might be referenced in Courbet’s painting. But what he neglects in his discussion are the workshop’s radical connections. We are reminded that, in the context of the atelier/workshop, pauperism could call up the dangers of unemployment caused by the mechanized developments of “advanced” industrial capitalism. In this context, the presence of the “Irlandaise” in the workshop or atelier could call up for viewers a range of readings: among them, unemployment and the ensuing possibility of destitution. Given the charged politics of 1848 when, as Chapter Four has indicated, French and Irish republican links had been so prominently featured in the press, a figure of French poverty could call up Proudhon’s and Courbet’s radicalism and the potential for worker unrest. All this in turn raised the spectre of working-class links to the tradition of radical insurrection.

I want to elaborate one further reading of the figure of the “Irlandaise,” which hinges on the status of this figure as one of the few foreigners in the image. On the left side of the painting, according to Toussaint’s decoding, the Irishwoman shares space with, among others, a “Russian socialist,” whose country now opposed France and its allies in the Crimean War and a “Chinese” who signified some of France’s new trading relations. A group of three other figures represented the

\[110\] Rubin 7, 8.

\[111\] Toussaint 263-65. Toussaint tells us that the revolutionary figure for Russia, Alexander Herzen stands aloof, because by the time of Courbet’s painting he supported his nation’s struggle against France and its allies in the Crimean War. However Herzen, too, was among Proudhon’s circle, and was exiled by Louis-Napoleon in 1851. (Toussaint 264.) Proudhon and Herzen both took asylum in Belgium for a time, where together they published a radical journal. (Palm 85) Herzen was in exile in London by 1852. (The National Archives, U.K. website <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/RUSherzen> (July 16, 2004.)
revolutionary leader, Garibaldi, a symbol of the struggle for Italian unity; the figure of Kościuszko, personification of republican Poland\textsuperscript{112} whose struggle for liberty against its Austrian overlords had been followed and celebrated in the Parisian republican press for several years leading up to the Polish democratic movement in 1848,\textsuperscript{113} and the Hungarian patriot leader Louis Kossuth.\textsuperscript{114} These non-French nationals are significant in relationship to the date -- "1848" -- that the title of Courbet's painting evokes. One of the principles that had been enshrined in the constitution of the Second Republic in 1848 was the defense of universal liberty. The French revolution of 1848 and the overthrow of Louis-Philippe had inspired nationalists across Europe to attain their own independence; in turn, nationalists had looked to France for both moral and material support.\textsuperscript{115} Louis-Napoléon betrayed this principle in April 1849 when he refused to aid the Italian nationalists against Rome and the Vatican and, in fact, turned against the revolutionaries in his attempt to re-secure Rome for the Papacy and reinstate himself in the Vatican's favour.\textsuperscript{116} Ireland, too, had been failed by the Republic.\textsuperscript{117} This had occurred, as noted in Chapter Four, when the provisional republican government of Lamartine (having initially given indications of support for the Irish struggle for independence in 1848) ultimately bowed to British pressure and refused the Irish delegates aid in their cause. These events had been discussed extensively in the French press as had the revolutionary buildup in Ireland, the final attempt at an emancipatory insurrection of July and August of 1848, and the subsequent imprisonment and deportation of Irish nationalists.\textsuperscript{118} By the time Louis-Napoléon had won the presidential post in December of 1848, the Irish republican insurrection by Young Ireland's Irish Confederation and the increasing militarism by factions of the Repeal movement had

\textsuperscript{112} Toussaint 264-65.
\textsuperscript{113} For the nature of the support given by France's Provisional Government of the Second Republic to Polish nationalists in France who were to return to fight for their nation, see Jennings 45-48.
\textsuperscript{114} On Kossuth see Toussaint 264.
\textsuperscript{115} Jennings 36-37, 48-49 points out how the expectations of foreign delegations were often disappointed by the Provisional Government's concerns about British reaction.
\textsuperscript{116} Bierman 79, 82-83; Merriman, "Introduction" xxxiv; Palm 33-38.
\textsuperscript{117} Richard Davis 152; Jennings 49-50; Nowlan 187-92.
\textsuperscript{118} For example, L'\textsuperscript{Univers} 22 March 1848: 2; La \textsuperscript{Réforme} 1 April 1848: 2; Le \textsuperscript{Charivari} 10 April 1848: 1; Le \textsuperscript{Siécle} 13 April 1848: 2; L'\textsuperscript{Univers} 22 April 1848: 1; Le Peuple constituant 30 April 1848: 2; La \textsuperscript{Réforme} 5 May 1848: 1; Le Peuple constituant 30 May 1848: 2; Le Peuple constituant 1 June 1848: Le \textsuperscript{Charivari} 2 June 1848: 2; 1; Le Peuple constituant 9 July 1848: 1,2; La \textsuperscript{Réforme} 12 July 1848: 1; La \textsuperscript{Réforme} 28 July 1848: 1; Le \textsuperscript{Siécle} 17 August 1848: 2; La \textsuperscript{Réforme} 24 August 1848: 1; La \textsuperscript{Réforme} 13 October 1848: n. pag.; L'\textsuperscript{Illustration} 23 September 1848: n. pag. See further citations in Chapter Four above.
been virtually effaced by disorganization, defeat, clerical reluctance to support militant options as policy, and popular hesitation and exhaustion. After August and September of 1848 when the last embers of radicalism flamed up into small uprisings in Ireland, it was clear that an Irish revolution was not to be a realistic possibility. Even Chartist radicalism, with which the Irish cause was often conflated as an anti-aristocratic liberation movement, had died down and merited only limited coverage in the French press after 1848. Thus, by the time that Courbet painted his L'Atelier de l'artiste: une allégorie réelle in 1854 and 1855, Ireland and all the other republican revolutionary movements that had looked to France for support in 1848 were practically extinguished. Within this context, the location of the figure of Louis-Napoléon across from “Ireland” in Courbet’s painting would have particular relevance for radical republicans remembering the revolutionary years. Indeed, at the time of the Exposition universelle of 1855 Napoléon III had only recently abandoned an ongoing dispute with England and other neighbouring northern countries over refugee asylum and the harbouring of radicalism, which the French emperor was convinced still represented a threat to his power when allowed to exist in pockets beyond French borders. It is thus because of the eventual demise of France’s own republic and its failure to aid foreign republicans in the liberation of their nations that Ireland is present in Courbet’s painting. However, instead of being

119 See Richard Davis 147-63 for an account of the complexities and developments in the Irish resistance to British rule as the Confederation and its progeny that surfaced after the revolution in France of 1848. Also see Chapter Four above.
120 Nowlan 214-15.
121 Louis-Napoléon’s own part in denying the principles of liberation had already been borne out when, in April of 1848, while in exile in Britain, he had taken the part of the bourgeoisie against the radical demands of the British working-class Chartists. On April 10 Louis-Napoleon had been among the many “propertied” citizens in Britain who had volunteered to police a Chartist demonstration from Kennington Common to London’s seat of Parliament at Westminster. [Palm 18; Clare Simmons, Eyes across the Channel: French Revolutions, Party History and British Writing, 1830-1882 Interdisciplinary Nineteenth-Century Studies ser. (Australia: Harwood Academic Publishers, 2000) 128-29.] The demonstration, which was ultimately intimidated by such official government force and so simply disbanded, had been initially inspired by the February 1848 revolution in Paris and the establishment of the Second Republic, and had been reported widely in the French press. [See Chapter Four above. Simmons claims that in 1848 the Chartists said they were following the French example in their plans for the Kennington Common rally. Also see Dorothy Thompson, The Chartists: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution (New York: Pantheon, 1984) 311.] See Chapter Four above.
122 After August 1848 there appears to be little or no mention of Chartist activity in the French press.
123 Louis-Napoléon had expelled a number of radical critics of his régime -- republicans and socialists - -following the revolutions of 1848. These political refugees were actively planning insurgencies from their new domiciles in England, the Channel Islands, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy. Napoléon III believed they were conspiring with those radicals still in France to create a new revolutionary movement. Palm 85-99. See Chapter Four above.
represented as a proud figure of republicanism -- for example, as a strong, nurturing and breast-feeding mother, as in Daumier's painted allegory of the French Republic in 1848\textsuperscript{124} -- Courbet represents Ireland as the pathetic and collapsed figure of a nursing pauper woman.

Of significance to this representation of Ireland as a failed republican movement is that the pauper woman, or "l'Irlandaise," sits directly below and in front of the image of a collapsed mannequin draped from a wooden support. The representation of the nude mannequin has been singled out by at least one art historian as a sign that Courbet discarded "outmoded "academicism."\textsuperscript{125} For others it is a mannequin associated with religious painting -- a crucified Christ or a martyred saint.\textsuperscript{126} Within the political context I have elaborated here, the image resembling a crucifixion could also register the role of the Catholic Church: while the Church had supported the popular and constitutional Repeal campaign led by Daniel O'Connell, the Catholic focus of this movement had offended many of the more radical Young Ireland element. Indeed, in the spring of 1848 the radical French newspaper, Le Peuple constituant, and even the more conservative press such as L'Univers, had registered an awareness of the strong role of Catholicism in Repeal and on Catholic hostility to the republican leanings of Young Ireland and its Irish Confederation.\textsuperscript{127} Perhaps this accounts for the figure of Ireland sitting remote and solitary -- isolated from contact with the other revolutionaries. In addition, as international commentators, were to argue, Ireland's Repeal Movement with its strong pro-Catholic as opposed to secular associations was too interested in gaining concessions from Britain for peasants who were Catholic (as opposed to Protestant), to be counted among the European radical nationalist or republican movements which crossed religious and class boundaries.\textsuperscript{128} (These commentators included the Republican leader of Young Italy, Mazzini, who was in France in 1848 and Britain in 1852.)\textsuperscript{129}

\textsuperscript{126} Benedict Nicolson 23, 25.
\textsuperscript{127} "Paris 5 Juin: Irlande," Le Peuple constituant 6 June 1848: 1. For the conservative press's assessment of Catholicism's relations with Young Ireland see L'Univers 22 March 1848: 2; L'Univers 6 April 1848: 1, 2; L'Univers 4 June 1848: n. pag.
\textsuperscript{128} Nicholas Mansergh discusses the fact that, in spite of broad European interest in Ireland in the press, such well-known liberal and republican nationalists as Italians Count Cavour and Giuseppe Mazzini, did not consider the Irish movement to be one of the legitimate European nationalisms of the day. This was based on several considerations, one of them the lack of a cosmopolitan outlook that
Thus, within a framework where Courbet's *L'Atelier de l'artiste: une allégorie réelle* functions as an allegory of the social and the political history of the seven-year span from 1848 to 1855, the demoralized pauper figure, "l'Irlandaise," could thus represent French poverty and a reprimand to Louis-Napoléon, as Hélène Toussaint suggests. But, in addition, the "Irlandaise" could also serve as an image of the failure of Britain as a model of modern economic success, with the figure of the pauper delivering a critique of the British treatment of members of its internal colonies, whether they be the impoverished worker classes in mainland Britain or the entire nation of Ireland. Equally important to Courbet's painting, I argue, is that the dejected image of the "Irlandaise" in rags and nursing an infant could also signal the disempowered status of Ireland and its failed revolutionary agenda in the years following 1848. Courbet's painting thus evokes the fact that the radical republican hopes of France and other European nations were briefly raised and then gradually disappointed by the 1848 Revolution and France's short-term Second Republic.

By exhibiting *L'Atelier de l'artiste: une allégorie réelle* at the Paris *Exposition* of 1855 then, Courbet confronted the modern citizen and viewer of the economic accomplishments of both Britain and the Second Empire with an alternate history of French and British productivity and trade. *L'Atelier* pictured issues around poverty, labour, revolution, and -- importantly -- liberationist and republican activism. Within this context Ireland served an important role. Irish poverty signaled the failures of Britain's industrial and imperial agenda, which were foregrounded so dramatically at the Paris World's Fair. But Irish poverty had also been the subject of analysis by French liberal and republican commentators over the past decade and a half. For Courbet it would seem that Ireland's ongoing poverty in 1855 and its unsuccessful revolution in 1848 could thus register the failure and current suppression of republican and radical movements under Napoléon III in France and in Europe as a whole.

would have seen the Irish movement as part of an international European movement for national liberation. These European nationalists saw social reform (land reform and the eradication of other religious-based inequities) rather than radical separation as the solution that most Irish desired. Mansergh 60-1, 65-80.

Toussaint 263-64.
Conclusion

This thesis opened with an analysis of George Cruikshank’s engravings for the 1845 London publication of William Maxwell’s History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798 with memoirs of the Union and Emmett’s Insurrection of 1803 and its circulation of a powerful stereotype of Ireland and the Irish in mid-nineteenth century Britain. My argument in Chapter One, that Maxwell’s and Cruikshank’s portrayal of Ireland and the Irish asserted English anxieties concerning both Catholicism in Ireland and Irish associations with the radical republicanism of France, had initially been stimulated by my investigation of Cruikshank’s imagery in my MA thesis: “Imaging the Body Politic: the Social and Symbolic Spaces of Citizenship in Maxwell’s History of the Irish Rebellion.” The focus of the present dissertation has emerged from a series of questions that I asked on the completion of that earlier study. If Maxwell’s and Cruikshank’s publication was first produced at a time when Daniel O’Connell’s Repeal movement sought to sever Ireland’s union with Britain, and when news of the devastation of the potato blight was being recognized in England and across Europe as a whole, what might reactions to these events be in France? In turn, if representations produced in Britain, like those of Maxwell and Cruikshank attested to anxieties about Catholicism and the influence of France on the British polity, were there corresponding texts and images produced in France that focused on Ireland as a way of referencing French concerns about Britain? As an art historian, I was of course familiar, at that time, with French artist Gustave Courbet’s 1855 painting, L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle déterminant sept ans de ma vie artistique et morale, and I knew that the painting included a figure of a destitute nursing mother that the artist had designated as “une Irlandaise,” and whom he also described as “un produit anglais” -- a product of England. Courbet’s painting with its destitute Irish

figure was exhibited outside of France’s *Exposition Universelle* of 1855 -- the display of the nation’s industrial achievements which had been designed to respond to Britain’s own celebration of progress and industry at the Crystal Palace in 1851. This led me to consider how in both Cruikshank’s engravings depicting the Irish rebellion and Courbet’s “allegorie réelle,” that figured a pauper designated as ‘Irish,’ the dynamic of exchange between Britain and France appeared to be central to the production of meanings in each. As a result, I opened up my research into the unexplored category of the transnational significance of Ireland at mid-century, the results of which are presented in this dissertation.

Having investigated in Chapter One how British fears that the ‘foreign’ aspects of Catholicism in Ireland and the threat of French republicanism posed significant dangers to the British Union, I have argued in Chapters Two, Three, and Four that these fears were indeed justified by French interest in and identification with Ireland. My research and argument in Chapter Two has shown that from 1839 and through the 1840s, France was very much concerned with Ireland’s past and current relationship to Britain. Thus, at the same time as Britain was being celebrated by liberals in Europe as a whole for both the liberties enshrined in its constitutional system, and its advances in industry and trade, in France, Britain’s status and reputation were undermined through references to Ireland and its Catholic population. As my research has demonstrated, commentators in France used the image of Ireland to argue for Britain’s long abuse and oppression of what in France was portrayed as an internal colony. In turn, the endemic starvation and poverty associated with the Irish Catholic peasantry, and with Irish emigrants to Britain’s urban centres, was taken up by French liberal and socialist writers in the 1840s to warn of the dangers of the emulation of Britain’s laissez-faire capitalism for France’s own working classes. Simultaneously, discussion of Britain’s treatment of the Irish served as a way of debating the merits of public charity and government welfare in France itself.

Chapter Three has shown how the liberal and moderate republican press during the period of King Louis-Philippe’s rule in the 1840s used visual satire not only to discuss the extent of poverty in Ireland and the devastation
of the Famine but also to negotiate the strict censorship laws controlling the
discussion of domestic issues under France’s July Monarchy. The abrupt
transformation of that visual image of Ireland as passive, impoverished and
emaciated following the February Revolution of 1848 in France is examined
in Chapter Four. While Ireland and the Irish are given a new agency in the
eyear months of the Second Republic, I have also traced out the comparative
disappearance of debates on Ireland following the summer of 1848 and
Ireland’s failed republican uprising, and the subsequent conservatizing
changes implemented under Louis-Napoléon.

The final Chapter Five functions as a “postscript” to my analysis of the
exchanges that characterized British and French representations of Ireland
through the decade of the 1840s. In examining the “Irlandaise” in Gustave
Courbet’s large 1855 painting, L’Atelier de l’artiste: une allégorie réelle
déterminant sept ans de ma vie artistique et morale, I considered the nursing
and destitute mother as a figure of exchange on a number of levels -- both
between England and France, and between “high art” and popular culture
practices. The painting was produced for Napoleon III’s Exposition
universelle in 1855 -- three years after his establishment of an increasingly
repressive empire which privileged liberal bourgeois values over the interests
of the working classes. This figure’s novel appearance in a large-scale painted
allegory -- as opposed to earlier representations in the texts and satires of the
more ephemeral print media -- led me to speculate on the meaning of the
deflected figure within the context of the international trade fair in Paris.
Further, the presence of the figure led me to argue that the destitute nursing
mother, both as a pauper and as “une Irlandaise,” served as a reminder of the
ultimately-failed republican revolutions of 1848, both French and Irish, and
the assertion of more conservative republican and imperial agendas in the
interim that led up to the Exposition.

At its broadest level, research for this thesis has revealed that during
the mid-nineteenth century Ireland served as an object of focus and sympathy
in France across several political constituencies. Consideration of this
phenomenon may help to explain why Maxwell’s History of the Irish
Rebellion of 1798 ... and Emmett’s Insurrection of 1803 was never published
outside of Britain. The kind of virulent anti-Irish and anti-French sentiments asserted by both Maxwell's narrative and Cruikshank's illustrations, was clearly at odds with French public opinion, suggesting the lack of a French market for this type of representation. But the popularity in Britain of the illustrated book -- registered by its re-publication through the decade following 1845 -- does point to the ongoing British need to manage anxieties over Ireland during a period which encompassed calls for repeal of the Union, the Famine, increasing demands for reform and extension of the franchise as part of Chartist working-class agitation in Britain, and finally, republican revolution in France in 1848.

It should be noted here that Irish republicanism in the mid-nineteenth century was represented in Britain as a radical position "contaminated" not only by associations with a French revolutionary history but by popular Catholicism. In fact, Daniel O'Connell's Repeal movement, with its popular base among Irish Catholics, was far removed from a radical republican nationalism founded on republican models in France. O'Connell's Repeal program called for a more conservative and constitutional solution: a negotiated independent parliament in Dublin to handle social reform relating to many Catholic grievances and domestic matters, with Ireland remaining loyal to the British Crown. From 1846 on, however, following the separation of more militant Young Ireland dissidents from Repeal, a more radical strain of independence-seeking emerged that was allied with calls for a secular -- as opposed to Catholic -- nationalism. In 1848, the advent in France of the Second Republic which provided a stimulus to such republican agitation in Ireland raised a new threat of Ireland's secession from Britain. In this new climate, and given the affiliation of Young Ireland's multi-denominational republican leaders with the Chartists and thus with working-class demands in both mainland Britain and in republican France, Cruikshank's images of the

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3 As noted in the Introduction and in Chapter One, the fourth edition was published in London in 1854 and the work was re-issued until 1903.

republican United Irishmen leaders of 1798, alongside images of a brutal and violent Irish Catholic people, would have been able to inflame fears in Britain about popular Irish unrest to new levels.

As a final point, the argument presented in this dissertation suggests a trajectory for further investigation. After the failure of the insurrection in Ireland in the summer of 1848, many of the Irish revolutionary leaders found their way to the United States, either directly or after periods of escape to or exile in France or Australia. Subsequently, the major support for Irish independence from Britain shifted from France to the United States, where so many Irish had emigrated during the Great Famine. What this suggests is the relevance of future research concerning how ongoing calls for reform in Ireland through the nineteenth century intersected with this changed role given France. For example, one would suspect that the uprisings and violence associated with the radical French Commune of 1871, along with the advent of France’s Third Republic in the last quarter of the nineteenth century would have exacerbated ongoing British concerns over Ireland’s continuing interest in republican independence. A critical analysis of British and French representations of Ireland in this later and significantly different period is a subject for future investigation.

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Appendix I: Ireland and the Irish in the Roman-feuilleton

The roman-feuilleton, a highly-popular new form of serialized fiction, with each narrative appearing in the mainstream press over the course of several months or longer, had been devised in France in the 1830s to increase sales through the marketing of fiction in a new and easily-consumable form.\(^1\) In the 1840s serialized narratives with an Irish theme arose in such diverse sites as the anti-government liberal and anti-clerical Le Courrier français, the conservative Catholic L'Univers and the pro-government Journal des Débats.\(^2\)

Irish narratives in the roman-feuilleton followed upon the overwhelming popular success of a serial novel by Eugène Sue, Les Mystères de Paris, that had been published in 1842 in the Journal des Débats.\(^3\) The story’s exploitation of the criminal adventures of the “savages” or criminal elements in Paris’ “low life” had produced a whole network of cultural spin-offs in the form of lithographs and caricatures, plays and little souvenir statuettes.\(^4\) Le Courrier français, which published “Les Mystères de Londres” by Paul Féval from December 1843 to September 1844, capitalized on the phenomenal success that Les Mystères de Paris had enjoyed in the Journal des Débats.\(^5\) The protagonist of “Les Mystères de Londres” was a disguised Irish gentleman, organizing, from London, a liberation conspiracy to free his country from the source of its distress, England.\(^6\)

It has been argued by several literary scholars that along with the roman-feuilleton’s production of suspenseful anticipation from one installment to the next, one of the most important features of the genre was that the serialized novel, released

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\(^2\) For Le Courrier français see 274-75; for L’Univers see 718; for Le Journal des Débats see 536 in Edgar Lyon Newman, Historical Dictionary of France from the 1815 Restoration to the Second Empire (New York: Greenwood P, 1987).

\(^3\) Quéffelec 20-21.

\(^4\) Green 55-56; Quéffelec 13-16, 20-21.

\(^5\) According to Quéffelec, Feval would become the “romancier en vogue” between 1850 and 1870, when he published many novels, mostly in serial parts. Quéffelec 44-45.

\(^6\) Guise 20; Quéffelec 20-21.
in short parts, had enough flexibility to keep abreast of current news.\(^7\) In this case it is impossible to see the production of "Les Mystères de Londres" without taking note that Daniel O'Connell, Member of Parliament in London and well-known to the French as *le Libérateur*, had recently attracted much attention in France as a consequence of both his "monster meetings" of Repeal supporters and as the result of the British government's charges of sedition against him.\(^8\) Given the coverage in the French press of both O'Connell and agitation in Ireland against the British crown,\(^9\) it is not surprising that the French publication of "Les Mystères de Londres" valorized the Irish hero and condemned the British enemy. Even the pro-government *Journal des Débats* published a dramatic narrative, "La Quittance de Minuit," set in Galway in Ireland from January to May of 1846.\(^10\) The story stressed the displaced but ancient nobility of a peasant Irish family divided over the best way to overcome a history of racial persecution by the "Saxon" overlord. The serial pitted the militant stand of the sons against the elderly father's more conciliatory and passive position on national liberation, which rejected violence for a legal means of resolution. The narrative appears to have taken advantage of the fact that the French were aware of the struggle between the radical elements of Young Ireland and O'Connell's Repeal movement with its emphasis on peaceful negotiation of constitutional change.\(^11\) The serialized fictional narrative, brimming with dramatic religious violence within Ireland, evoked the contemporary "Molly Maguires," a form of guerilla insurgency that could be

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\(^7\) Queffelec 18, 29-30.

\(^8\) See, for example, the widely-read journal, *L'Illustration*, and its prominent articles entitled "Troubles en Irlande," *L'Illustration*, 10 June 1843:3; and 24 June, 1843: n. pag. The *Punch* caricature of Daniel O'Connell published in the same French journal (*L'Illustration*, 27 January 1844 and described in Chapter Two above is further evidence of interest generated in Daniel O'Connell and Repeal at this time.

\(^9\) See Chapters Two and Three above.


\(^11\) The more radical and militant Young Ireland broke away from O'Connell's Repeal movement in 1846. See Richard Davis, *Young Ireland Movement* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan; Totowa NJ: Barnes & Noble, 1987); Kevin B. Nowlan *The Politics of Repeal: A Study in the Relations Between Great Britain and Ireland, 1841-50. Studies in Irish History, Second ser. 3* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Toronto, U of Toronto P, 1965). On French press coverage on the differences between the Repeal leadership and Young Ireland see the conservative *L'Univers*, 23 May, 1845: n. pag. The paper had noted a break between O'Connell and "Jeune Irlande" over several questions. In December of 1845 *Le Charivari* had taken up this issue in its satire of M. Trottman depicted at a Repeal meeting that breaks into violence in the series "M. Trottman en voyage." This rift was featured in "M. Trottman en Irlande," *Le Charivari* 12 December 1845: 3. In August of 1846 the more moderate mass-circulation paper *Le Siècle* had published news of the growing ascendancy of Young Ireland over Repeal. See "La Jeune Irlande," *Le Siècle* 6 August 1846: n. pag. Later that year under the heading "Irlande," *Le Siècle* 9 November 1846: n. pag., the paper reported a dispute over policy between Young Ireland and Repeal.
associated with Young Ireland’s promotion of militancy. The fiction also drew on the equally savage persecution of Catholics by Protestant Orangemen. The narrative thereby represented each of the opposing sides -- the militant Celtic youth and brutal Saxon troops -- as violently extreme and, therefore, ultimately unable to secure a victory. It is not surprising that a pro-government newspaper that by definition supported the policy of entente cordiale with England and which, though admiring of O’Connell, firmly backed the British Union, carried a story whose dénouement lay, not in a violent resolution, but in the unlikely romantic love and union between an Irish peasant woman of ancient noble lineage -- a Celt -- and a Saxon (English) army officer. This unlikely compromise was unmistakable as a metaphor for the inevitability of the Union between Ireland and England.

It is also significant that in another roman-feuilleton published slightly earlier, in 1845, by the conservative Catholic paper L’Univers and entitled “Les Chroniques de Château-Comber” the Irish peasant is shown to be severely abused by the Irish middlemen who act as land agents for the Protestant aristocratic classes. Not surprisingly, here it is the Irish Catholic religion which sustains the long-suffering “noble” Irish peasant and maintains order, thus suggesting a useful humanitarian, but “non-politicized,” role for the Catholic Church. While identifying with the people, the Irish Catholic clergy conforms in this narrative to the attitude of the conservative ultramontanist Catholic Church in France, which published the newspaper, L’Univers, in which this roman-feuilleton appeared. As Chapter Four of this thesis points out, Ultramontanists advocated a religious, rather than secular, function in society.

The roman-feuilleton with an Irish narrative represents both an exchange with England and a transformation of Ireland with relevance for French audiences. News of Irish hardship and oppression was transmitted from London, often by the English

12 As John O’Beirne Ranelagh points out sectarian violence involving the Orange Order started in the nineteenth century in order to ensure the Protestant advantage. A Short History of Ireland, second ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1994) 91. Ranelagh 79-80, describes the phenomenon of Catholic secret societies of peasants and farmers using brutal tactics to assert or reclaim their rights under the Penal Times of the eighteenth century. These movements were the precursors to the contemporary acts of agrarian violence known as “Molly MacGuires.”

13 “Les Chroniques du Château Comber,” L’Univers 27 June 1845: 1, 2; 28 June 1845: 1, 2; 1 July 1845: 1, 2; 2 July, 1845: 1, 2; 4 July 1845: 1, 2; 5 July 1845: 1, 2; 11 July 1845: 1, 2; 13 July, 1845: 1, 2; 18 July 1845: 1, 2; 19 July 1845: 1, 2; 25 July 1845: 1, 2; 26; 27 July 1845: 1, 2; 24 October 1845: 1, 2.

14 See Chapter Four above.
press itself, consumed in the French daily newspapers and then transformed in the same institutional site into suspenseful entertainment by the speculative demands of the market. It becomes clear through examination of these newspaper sites that, in the context of the roman feuilleton, Ireland and its pauperized population functioned as a form of cultural capital that served French interests. Nonetheless, it is also worth noting that the phenomenon of the roman-feuilleton in the Paris news media, while generally supportive of Irish complaints and demands for social justice from England, clearly revealed a broad support in mainstream French society for the continuation of the Union which linked Ireland to England.
France’s tradition of republican support for nations seeking liberty from aristocratic and monarchical régimes was given visual form during the Second Republic in two print allegories which also featured Irish figures. The first of these prints, entitled “République universelle, démocratique et sociale” (fig. 81), is dated 1848. It is probable that the print’s publication would have preceded Louis-Napoléon’s election as President in December of that year, when working class hopes of a republic resting on the collaboration of all parties -- at least, predominantly bourgeoisie and working-class -- were still alive. ¹ The second print, “Le Char de la Paix guidé par la France” (fig. 82), cannot be dated specifically, though it is accepted as having been produced during the Second Republic. ² The first, “République universelle, démocratique et sociale,” represents Ireland as part of a celebratory parade of European groups that includes Poland and Hungary, both of whose republican struggles had been highly visible in the French press, as Chapters Four and Five have noted. Each nationality in the image falls in behind its nation’s flag within an overall serpentine formation. The parade winds through a rural landscape bordered by an ocean where a modern, steam-powered vessel travels into the distance, implying an association of the social and political pageant with modern and progressive technology and trade. With the French flag at the front, the procession snakes through the landscape around a liberty tree and towards a summit in the foreground. Surmounted by an allegorical statue of the French Republic, the image suggests the relevance of French republicanism for a range of European nations. Dominating the crowd of celebrants from above, the central figure of Jesus Christ, surrounded by angels and martyrs, unifies the whole. A banner with the word “Fraternity” arches over Christ’s head, legitimizing the new pan-national order, that


unites European peoples of all nations and classes as at once republican and Christian.3

The second print, "Le Char de la Paix guidé par la France," depicts Ireland as an individualized male figure among an assembly of nationals from around the globe. In a crowd of waving celebrants in the middle-ground, among whose costumes can be identified those of a Turk, an Arab, a Greek, and an African, is an Irish figure with a distinguishing conical hat of the type associated with the Irish Catholic peasantry.4 The single Irish figure here represents one among those who cheer the progress of the classicized figures of France and Peace. The allegorical figures of Commerce and Abundance proceed in a chariot before them. By the image's reference to unity in national diversity in the welcoming crowd, along with the implications for cross-global traffic and exchange, the representation arguably evokes a future that is driven by the peaceful interests of unencumbered international free trade.

3 This Christian connection corresponds with the renegade Catholic socialists, a marginalized Ultramontanist group, who focused on the role of the workers in industrializing society. See Norman Ravitch, The Catholic Church and the French Nation 1589-1989. (London: Routledge, 1990). Significantly for these groups, who were suspicious of the church hierarchy, the sky is devoid of the representation of popes or a glorified Christ in spectacular and princely robes. Clearly, in 1848 Ireland and the Irish were being encoded optimistically within a kind of Eurocentric universalism as a victorious, emancipated republican nation.

4 See for example the caps worn by the Irish peasantry in Cruickshank's illustrations to W. H. Maxwell, History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798, with Memoirs of the Union, and Emmett's Insurrection in 1803 (London: Baily Bros., 1845).
fig. 2. Cham, “M. Trottman en Irlande” (1845). Lithograph. Le Charivari, 11 December 1845: 3.
fig. 3. [Caricature anglaise sur O'Connell]. L'Illustration. Engraving. 29 janvier, 1844.
(Irlande. — Jeune garçon et jeune fille de Cahera cherchant des pommes de terre.)

fig. 42. George Cruikshank, "Battle of Ross" (1844). Steel plate engraving. 10 x 14.6 cm. In William Hamilton Maxwell, History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798, with Memoirs of the Union, and Emmett's Insurrection in 1803 (London, G. Bell, 1903).
fig. 43. George Cruikshank, “The Rebels executing their Prisoners, on the Bridge at Wexford” (1844). Steel plate engraving. 10 x 14.6 cm. In William Hamilton Maxwell, History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798, with Memoirs of the Union, and Emmett's Insurrection in 1803 (London, G. Bell, 1903).
fig. 52. Francisco Goya, *The Third of May, 1808* (1814). Oil on canvas. 206 x 406 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid.
fig. 63. Cham, “M. Trottman en Angleterre” (1845). Lithograph. Le Charivari, 30 November 1845: 3.
fig. 64. Cham, “M. Trottman en Angleterre” (1845). Lithograph. Le Charivari, 1 December 1845: 3.
fig. 65. John Leech, “Rebecca and Her Daughters.” *Punch*, 5, July, 1843: 5.

"Il a faim... paresse!... moi aussi j'ai faim, mais je prends la peine d'aller dîner!"
fig. 72. Cham, "Lord Wellington cherchant à dissuader la jeune Irlande de suivre l’exemple du gamin de Paris" (1848). Lithograph. Le Charivari, 11 March 1848: 3.
fig. 73. Cham, “Un Voyageur Vexé” (1847). Lithograph. Le Charivari, 15 March 1848: 3.
fig. 74. Cham, “Revolution à la mode à la Grande Bretagne” (1848). Lithograph. Le Charivari. 19 April 1848: 3.
fig. 78. Cham, "Voyage de la Reine d’Angleterre en Irlande" (1849). Lithograph. Le Charivari, 20 August 1849: 3.
fig. 79. Gustave Courbet, Départ des pompiers courant à un incendie (1850-1). Oil on canvas. 388 x 580 cm. Musée de Petit Palais, Paris.
fig. 81. M.C. Goldsmid, “République universelle, démocratique et sociale” (1848) Lithograph. 310 x 447 cm. De Vinck archive, Cabinet des estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France.
fig. 82. Artist unknown, “Le Char de la Paix guidé par la France” (1848). Lithograph 180 x 300 cm. De Vinck archive, Cabinet des estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France.