

# Daniel Maclise's Representations of Irishness: His Drawings in John Barrow's *Tour round Ireland* (1836)

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In the latter half of the eighteenth century, Ireland was becoming an attractive destination for British tourists. Encouraged by the relative political and social stability and infrastructure improvements — the road and canal networks in particular — they sailed across the Irish Channel and explored the unfamiliar 'Sister Island'. This trend was spurred towards the end of the century by turbulence on and restricted access to the Continent occasioned by the French Revolution and other conflicts. The British thus turned their curious eyes to the western neighbouring country,<sup>1)</sup> and travel guides, travel narratives and topographical directories about Ireland dramatically increased in number, needless to say; many were in fact published in Dublin, which suggests that publishing was a lucrative industry in pre-Union Ireland.<sup>2)</sup> Some of these publications included illustrations of landscapes, cityscapes, seascapes, ruins and monuments, indicating that much of the contemporary interest in Ireland lay in its scenic beauty and architectural grandeur. Some of the books were practically designed as visual guides to Ireland and contained large numbers of scenic images; James Malton's *Picturesque and Descriptive Views of the City of Dublin* (1792–99) and Jonathán Fisher's *Scenery of Ireland* (1795) are typical examples.<sup>3)</sup> This cultural climate developed under the influence of the growing vogue for picturesque landscapes in Britain, and was closely associated with the growth of picturesquely illustrated topographical and geographical publications and travel books on England, Scotland and Wales.<sup>4)</sup>

Irish scenic beauty, both urban and rural, was thus brought to the fore towards the end of the eighteenth century, and this trend carried on into the next century; increasing numbers of landscape drawings were seen in geographical and travel accounts of Ireland in general, although most were by then published in London because of the decline of the Dublin publishing industry after the Union. The salient books including many illustrations of scenic beauty are Thomas Cromwell's *Excursions through Ireland* (1820) and James Norris Brewer's *Beauties of Ireland* (1825–26), along with the series of George Newenham Wright's guides, published in the 1820s and 1830s.<sup>5)</sup> All these owed much to George Petrie, a watercolour painter and archaeologist, who provided various visual images that were engraved or etched into books. The 1820s witnessed a dramatic expansion of geographical and travel books on Ireland accompanied by illustrations.

This phenomenon should be contextualized within the flourishing of Irish landscape art during this period. This burgeoning, according to Tom Dunne, owed much to the expansion of tourism in Ireland, British concerns over the ‘wildness’ and poverty of the country, and antiquarian interest in its Gaelic past. Visual representations of wild scenery were clearly pleasing to the ‘imperial gaze’.<sup>6)</sup>

Under this cultural climate, publications of personal narratives on travel around Ireland also proliferated from the mid 1820s onwards, leading eventually to the publication of *Ireland* — the comprehensive and definitive three-volume travel narrative and guide written by Mr. and Mrs. Hall (1841–43).<sup>7)</sup> The publications leading up to the Halls’ work indicate growing interest in Ireland as a sensible travel destination, and also in the Irish people and their lives at a time when controversy continued over Catholic Emancipation and the Poor Law. This period also saw wide recognition of literary works by authors with Irish connections. In addition to those who had already established their careers, such as Maria Edgeworth, Sydney Owenson, Charles Maturine and Thomas Moore, the Catholic Banim brothers and Gerard Griffin along with the peasant-born William Carleton attracted attention and directed British eyes towards the life of Irish peasants and labourers.<sup>8)</sup> Also, Thomas Crofton Croker and Samuel Lover influenced the development of British interest in the Irish oral tradition and antiquarian perspectives.

Thus the rise of personal travel narratives about Ireland after the mid 1820s occurred in a cultural climate where appreciation for Irish literature and the sense of ‘Irishness’ expressed through it was growing in Britain. In fact, most travel narratives written before the end of the 1830s were English and Scottish, a few Anglo-Irish, and none Irish; only a few were written by women. Some consist of illustrations, while others are composed only of narrative texts; most feature particular regions, and a few deals with nationwide tours. Among these travel narratives, John Barrow’s *A Tour round Ireland* (1836) is regarded as the first personal travel narrative accompanied by illustrations produced by a professional painter.<sup>9)</sup> Four full-page drawings are acknowledged as ‘drawn and etched by Daniel Maclise’, who worked in London and had already begun to make a name for himself. Strikingly, however, these drawings are not of beautiful scenery but rather depict the lives and cultural traditions of Irish Catholics. In the history of travel books on Ireland, Barrow’s book occupies a unique position. A close examination of the tension between the narrative texts written by a naïve young Englishman and the visual images produced by a rising Cork-born artist points up different perceptions of Irishness at a time when the British were developing an interest in Ireland and its people.

John Barrow (1808–98) travelled anticlockwise around Ireland from Belfast to Dublin between August and October 1835, when he was working for the Admiralty. *A Tour round Ireland*, which is composed of nineteen letters he wrote home, was swiftly published in the spring

of 1836. This publication should be considered as a rehash of Henry D. Inglis's personal travel narrative, *A Journey throughout Ireland*, which had been published at the end of the previous year.<sup>10</sup> Inglis, a professional Scottish travel writer, spent about six months starting in the spring of 1834 travelling clockwise around Ireland. His travel account was the first publication to cover such an expansive area of the country since Cromwell's more informative and comprehensive travel guide, *Excursions*, and was regarded as the most reliable one available towards the end of the 1830s; in 1838, the fifth and last edition was published. Barrow was keenly aware of Inglis's *Journey*, referring to this travelogue and comparing his own experiences and observations with Inglis's in Letter XII on Connemara.<sup>11</sup> Since Inglis's book did not include any illustrations, Barrow's might possibly have been designed, with the help of Maclise, to be visually appealing by the powerful conservative publisher John Murray.

The frontispiece and the other three full-page drawings inserted in the text were provided by Daniel Maclise (1806–70), although the work also includes another two dozen smaller illustrations, unnamed and mainly of geographical and architectural features. According to Nancy Weston, the Irish artist Maclise (in fact a Presbyterian of Scottish descent) was presumably introduced to the amateur writer Barrow by Thomas Crofton Croker, one of Maclise's patrons since the young artist started teaching himself painting in Cork.<sup>12</sup> In fact, Croker started working for the Admiralty in London after his father died in 1818 and before Barrow obtained a clerkship in 1824, and Barrow's father, Sir John Barrow, a Second Secretary to the Admiralty since 1804, had published a book through Murray in 1831.<sup>13</sup> Croker had already published two books through the same publisher: *Researches in the South of Ireland* (1824) and *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (1825). These publications spurred British curiosity in the south of Ireland, a remote, unfamiliar region where strong Irish cultural and literary traditions had been passed down for generations. Although the exact process leading to the publication of Barrow's *Tour* is unknown, the human network surrounding Croker certainly contributed to the production of this illustrated personal travel narrative published by Murray.

The reader of Barrow's *Tour* will first notice the frontispiece, *An Outside Jaunting Car in a Storm* (Fig. 1), which immediately suggests that Barrow's travel was hard and disagreeable and that conditions in Ireland were miserable. Maclise thus depicts Barrow's tour around Ireland in line with his critical English point of view, which is understandable since the publication was essentially targeted at British readers. The Irish might well have found the drawing rather distasteful, however, with its top-hatted traveller sitting sullenly on a carriage and holding an umbrella firmly in both hands, not only in a hopeless attempt to keep out of the driving rain but also maybe to hold the barefoot children following the carriage and nagging him for alms at bay. The local coachman looks morose and drowsy, and pays little attention to the horse, which plods its



**Fig. 1. An Outside Jaunting Car in a Storm**

way heavily along a muddy road in a desolate area. The drawing is depressing, and is clearly not calculated to appeal to those who pick up the book or inspire them to visit Ireland.

Throughout the narrative, Barrow repeatedly refers to the often torrential rain, complaining that his umbrella was useless against it and that his coat and boots were constantly wet through. He also mentions that he was continuously importuned for money and that he gradually started shunning beggars since he could not endlessly accede to their requests. The condition of the impoverished indigenous people is one of the main issues Barrow deals with in the travelogue. In this respect, Maclise reflects the writer's critical and negative views in his frontispiece and effectively conveys the essence of Barrow's experiences to the book's readers. As Weston remarks, however, 'if Maclise, catching Barrow's tone, is hard on Ireland', he is equally 'hard on the author'; certainly, the traveller looks considerably older than Barrow was at the time, and shows no compassion towards the poor children.<sup>14</sup> Since the author himself says that he often gave alms generously to children, there is certainly a discrepancy between the image conveyed by the frontispiece and the narrative.

A point to note here is that the scene portrayed in the frontispiece does not appear in the narrative, according to my investigation, so Maclise's drawing can be considered as his own design. By assembling a collection of negative aspects of Ireland in the frontispiece, he evidently wants to emphasise the distressed circumstances of the country. Amidst this fictionalized image, he sets an English traveller who appears to be indifferent to the misery surrounding him, thus creating a tension between the cold-hearted English traveller and the needy local Irish. Maclise skillfully expresses his defiance of the English gaze and indicates his own complex attitudes towards



Barrow's narrative.

Interestingly, at the bottom left of this disheartening illustration can be seen the word 'clishmu[a]claver', Scottish slang for 'gossip' or 'foolish talk'. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, this was not a common word, but it was current from the early eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century.<sup>15)</sup> Since no similar embellishments are to be found in the other three full-page drawings, 'clishmu[a]claver' was presumably intended by Maclise specifically for the frontispiece, indicating that he intended the term to refer to the whole book. The use of this Scottish-derived word may be due to Maclise's Scottish ancestry, but it aptly serves to convey Maclise's antipathy towards what he considered the empty prattle of a book produced by an Englishman, full of complaints about the weather and poverty of Ireland. Barrow's negative observations on Ireland are thus countered, which was unquestionably Maclise's intention in the frontispiece: inclusion of the term reveals Maclise's ironical attitude towards both the travelogue and the writer, and probably also towards English views on Ireland in general.

At the same time, 'clishmu[a]claver' can also be interpreted to refer to the frontispiece itself, representing a denial of the drawing, whereby Maclise damages the credibility of his own work. He may have been trying to dismiss his drawing as simply a representation of English attitudes towards Ireland and its depressing conditions, which would have been displeasing to Irish readers. Simultaneously, he might have wanted to stand back from his representation of the antagonism between the traveller and the local Irish and of his resistance to Barrow's narrative, which could well have irritated English readers. Maclise thus intentionally has the frontispiece incorporate both the English and Irish perspectives, expressing his acute awareness of the complicated relationship between the two peoples. And in order to avoid criticism from the both sides, he skilfully devises a way to negate his own drawing with the use of 'clishmu[a]claver'.

These observations should be further considered in connection with the portrayal of the traveller in two other drawings included in the book: *Swineford Car*, one of the unattributed illustrations (Fig. 2), and *The Funeral Procession of a Farmer*, one of the full-page drawings by Maclise (Fig 3).<sup>16)</sup> Both show a traveller dressed in black, similar to the one in the frontispiece; however, these two figures look younger and friendlier than the one in the frontispiece, and seem to correspond more closely to the Barrow portrayed in the narrative. The traveller in *Swineford Car* has his face turned to the coachman and appears to be listening to the talk of this local man, generating an atmosphere of enjoyment and conveying to the reader the pleasure of travelling. In *The Funeral*, the traveller, walking past the procession, lifts his top hat to pay his respects to the deceased and the mourners, demonstrating an amiable personality. Both of these figures, more like the real Barrow, exhibit a salient contrast to the aloof traveller in the frontispiece, even though the latter has a more decisive impact on the reader before he starts reading. By contrasting



**Fig. 2. Swineford Car**



**Fig. 3. The Funeral Proceesion of a Farmer**

these images of an agreeable traveller with the negative image conveyed by the frontispiece, Maclise further camouflages his critical attitudes towards Barrow's English colonial gaze.

The scheme Maclise carefully devised for visually presenting an English traveller in Ireland can be likened to the technique of 'retraction' — cancelling the message conveyed in the frontispiece in this case. This device is associated with the literary tradition of the 'palinode', in which a sentiment created and presented in a work is abruptly cancelled at the end.<sup>17)</sup> Maclise thus prepares an escape route for himself in case the frontispiece is criticised by the author or the publisher or, indeed, by the readers. Maclise's identity as an Irish artist is skilfully expressed in the illustration and should not be missed.

Maclise's Irish consciousness is also expressed in the other three full-page drawings inserted in the text. The second illustration the reader comes across is entitled *Interior of One of the Better Kind of Irish Cottages* (Fig. 4), which features a happy Irish family.<sup>18)</sup> Among all the drawings included in the book, only this one depicts Irish people in the domestic sphere. The viewer will be impressed by the unity of the family. The standing father is kissing the child he is carrying on his shoulders, and a toddler safely nestled within the leg framework of a chair laid on its back is clearly asking her father to lift her into his arms. Beside them, the mother is working at her spinning wheel by the light streaming in through the entrance, the other side of which can be seen bare mountain slopes. In the center, something is being cooked in a large pot hanging on a hook over a turf fire, which is being watched over by the dignified and sturdy grandmother, clearly the ruler of the roost; no grandfather is to be seen. An older child further back is taking care of a baby laid in a fine wicker bed. They are surrounded by birds and animals, the whole vividly portraying



**Fig. 4. Interior of One of the Better Kind of Irish Cottages**

the rural lifestyle of the Irish peasantry.<sup>19)</sup>

The drawing of this relatively blessed peasant family is inserted towards the end of Letter X (entitled 'Westport'), in which Barrow delivers a lengthy criticism of the misery and hunger endured by the Irish peasantry. He starts with an account of the 1831 famine in Mayo, in which he deplores the general destitution of Ireland, and then analyses the causes of the famine and discusses the measures taken to deal with it. His comments on the Irish poor end with a comparison between Irish paupers and other underprivileged peoples: 'There is no other country on the face of the earth where such extreme misery prevails as in Ireland. The negro slave, if only from interested motives, is well taken care of, — even the American Indian, the Esquimaux, the Hottentot, live and die in luxury, compared with this description of Irish paupers'.<sup>20)</sup> The analogy between the Irish destitute and Negro slaves is found in Chapter 10 of Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (originally published between November 1833 and August 1834); the Irish, described as 'the White-Negroes' and 'Poor-Slaves', are considered a strange sect obscurely positioned at the bottom of society.<sup>21)</sup> Carlyle describes the reality of their living conditions by quoting an excerpt from the 1830 travel account of Ireland by the English actor John Bernard (1756–1828). The excerpt describes the inside of a shebeen house near Sligo, which Bernard saw during his journey from Belfast to Sligo in 1783. The impoverished state of the indigenous Irish is thus strongly associated with the north-west of Ireland at the time of disputes over Catholic Emancipation and the Poor Law.

Barrow does not dare to discuss the enactment of the Poor Law itself. At the time when he was preparing this travel narrative for publication, the British were waiting to see whether the Poor Inquiry Commission, the so-called Whately Commission, would support legislation of an extensive poor law in Ireland in their upcoming third and final report. The Commission's inclinations were already known to the press by the end of March 1836, and it was not expected that an extensive poor law would be recommended.<sup>22)</sup> Barrow's book was published at the end of March,<sup>23)</sup> and the third report was eventually published in June. Barrow's position as a clerk for the admiralty might have prevented him from volunteering his own opinions on this controversial issue in early 1836.

It can thus be surmised that this young English traveller was reasonably conscious of the situation surrounding the Poor Law and the stern realities of the wild west. Ironically, his observations are embellished with Maclise's somewhat misplaced image of an Irish peasant family, and the reader naturally acknowledges a discrepancy between Barrow's description of the terrible circumstances of peasants and Maclise's image of a happy family. Barrow's narrative does not refer to this drawing, which indicates that neither the writer nor the publisher gave the artist any specific instructions to match the drawing to the narrative. It is possible that Maclise was simply

requested to produce a drawing of Irish peasants, which the publisher decided to insert into the ending section of 'Westport'. There was in fact little time to complete the writing and editing between Barrow's return to England on October 15th, 1835 and publication at the end of March the following year. Therefore, it is unlikely that Maclise had read the complete manuscript before starting work. During the tour, as mentioned in the narrative, Barrow met Maclise in the latter's hometown of Cork, where he must have been staying temporarily, as he was already based in London. Although the details of their meeting are not given in the narrative, Barrow remarks: 'I had the pleasure of meeting my friend Mr. Maclise, to whom I am indebted for the few characteristic etchings which embellish my little volume'.<sup>24)</sup> This suggests that before Barrow went to Ireland, the publisher Murray had already decided to publish his travel narrative with illustrations by Maclise, and that Maclise had already received the commission. This arrangement would have enabled the editing and publishing to proceed smoothly after Barrow returned home. Although tension exists between the visual image and the text, the reader is left with an impression of the strong association between the Irish peasantry and the Mayo region, and also with an appreciation of the visual images of the peasantry of this part of Ireland.

These impressions are deepened by the insertion of three other smaller illustrations of Irish cabins in the Mayo section of Barrow's narrative. No cabins are shown anywhere else in the book, which suggests that the reader is expected to find information on the peasants' housing in the section concerning this wild west of the country. The English appreciation of 'Irishness' was thus inextricably linked with the misery of the Irish peasantry in this specific region amidst the controversy over the Poor Law.

Nancy Weston argues that Maclise might have contributed a less wretched image of the Irish peasantry to counterbalance Barrow's negative description of the indigenous people.<sup>25)</sup> However, not knowing the exact context in which his peasant family drawing would be presented, Maclise may well have wanted to demonstrate his own distinctive sense of Irishness as an artist wishing to be appreciated by British readers, leading him to select the interior of a happy peasant family home. His attention was certainly not directed toward beautiful scenery, such as that in Killarney, which was frequently featured in earlier illustrated books. Maclise was well aware of the controversy surrounding the Irish Poor Law and took advantage of the widespread concern over the Irish peasantry to express his personal view of Irishness — the warmth and security of the peasant family in its proximity to nature and surrounded by birds and animals.

During this period, the lives of the indigenous people of the west of Ireland started to attract the attention of some contemporary artists. In the summer of 1835, the Scottish artist David Wilkie travelled around Connaught and, on the basis of the sketches he drew during the trip, eventually produced two finished paintings, *The Peep-O'-Day Boy's Cabin* (first exhibited in



1836) and *The Irish Whiskey Still* (exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1840). The title of the former refers to a Protestant sectarian group that was active in the late eighteenth century in the north of Ireland; however, the 1836 catalogue note remarks that it is set in the beautiful west of Ireland, and Wilkie originally called the picture *The Sleeping Whiteboy*. It depicts a woman in the center holding a rosary in her hand, and a male figure to her left with a white garment laid beside him. Wilkie was fascinated by Catholicism, and the painting bears interpretation in the context of the west of the country, although the confusion over the setting has led to controversy over the accuracy of the representation and the stance of the artist.<sup>26)</sup> Categorized as genre paintings, each shows the interior of an Irish peasant cottage. However, Wilkie's portrayal of the local Irish is not in line with the realism central to genre painting, but brings to mind rather 'bandit paintings from Italy and France and an academic genre of large-scale history painting'.<sup>27)</sup> The paintings are certainly characterized by an eerie atmosphere that evokes a sense of criminality and violence, both of which were readily associated by British Protestants with Irish Catholics after the 1798 rebellion and the Rockite Rebellion and its aftermath in the 1820s. The message conveyed by Wilkie's paintings contrasts dramatically with that conveyed by Maclise's 'Interior', which negates any sense of disturbance attached to the indigenous Irish. The image of the happy peasant family suggests the firm intention of an Irish artist to counter the unfavourable view Protestants held of Irish Catholics.

Another artist, William Evans, an English drawing-master at Eton, also travelled around Connaught, coincidentally at the same time as Wilkie.<sup>28)</sup> He went into Connemara beyond Galway and produced many watercolour paintings featuring this unfamiliar, remote region. He depicts peasants set in cabin interiors in 'Interior with a Woman Spinning, a Pot on an Open Fire', 'Interior, Woman and Girl Spinning at an Open Door', and 'A Girl Tending a Pot on an Open Fire', which are now part of a collection housed in the National Gallery of Ireland.<sup>29)</sup> Evans was a pioneer in publicly presenting images of the Connemara people based on first-hand experience of the picturesque country. Fortunately, he benefited from the complete opening earlier in the year of the new main route between Galway and Clifden after construction had been delayed for more than a decade. The scenically beautiful Catholic-dominated country thus became more accessible and appealing as a travel destination.<sup>30)</sup> From the middle of the 1830s, the peasantry in the Galway and Mayo region was reevaluated in a new aesthetic climate, and the Irishman Maclise's 'Interior' was at the cutting edge of this trend.

Visual representations of Irish rural interiors started to proliferate in the 1820s, as seen in the panorama given by Claudia Kinmonth, who analyses numerous paintings and drawings of this category.<sup>31)</sup> The inside of the Irish domestic space became visually known in Britain through images produced by artists who visited remote areas and depended on the hospitality of the local

people, thus gaining opportunities to observe closely the domestic lives of Irish Catholics.<sup>32)</sup> Travellers' observations of the local people in general had been available in textual form for several decades and, as the actor Bernard did, travellers conventionally provided accounts of impoverished peasants and labourers, and also of the beggars found throughout the country; poverty in Ireland is one of the most common topics dealt with in these travel accounts.<sup>33)</sup> When Maclise's image of the 'better kind' of Irish peasants is viewed in this context, his intention to visually present a different image of the Irish peasantry becomes clear.

The reader is undoubtedly fascinated by the physical intimacy between the father and infant in 'Interior'. In the visual images provided in Kinmonth's *Irish Rural Interiors in Arts*, none except this drawing includes a scene of kissing between a father and a child, although mothers are usually depicted in close physical proximity to their children, holding them and even breast-feeding them, as in Alfred Downing Fripp's *The Poachers Alarmed* (1844). Occasionally, the father is shown holding a child, as in the anonymous *Ardcara — Cabin of J. Donoghue*, which was included in *The Pictorial Times* (February 1836), and Erskine Nicol's '*Bliss*' *Condition, circumstance is not the thing, bliss is the same in subject or in king* (1864). However, the kissing of a child by a father shown in Maclise's drawing appears to be exceptional, and probably indicates Maclise's own view of a father's function or his ideal image of the father in a peasant family — intimately taking care of and protecting the family members under the same roof as the head of the family. In fact, this was not so easily attained; in the mid 1820s, the influx of seasonal labourers from Ireland to the British mainland was a serious social problem, and it featured in the arguments around the enactment of the Poor Law towards the middle of the 1830s. The patres-familias of western peasant families were commonly away from home in the winter, working on the mainland or in the Dublin area.<sup>34)</sup> Maclise's emphasis on the peaceful intimacy of a happy family can be interpreted to represent his idealised vision of the peasantry in the west and his firm resistance to the lingering conventional image of the indigenous Irish, i.e. of an impoverished and rebellious peasantry.

In contrast to 'Interior', the other two full-page drawings Maclise provided for Barrow's *Tour* are scenes of open-air gatherings, which are inserted in the section where the author describes his journey from Cork to Wexford in Letter XVII. In *The Funeral Procession of a Farmer* (Fig. 3), which appears first, the agreeable Barrow is depicted as a travelling stranger. The text explains that he encountered this procession near Kilmao[c]thomas, located between Dungarvan and Waterford, and that it was the largest-scale funeral procession he had ever seen. The connection between the narrative and the illustration is basically sound, but there are a few discrepancies. Barrow was not actually walking by himself in reality, as he is seen doing in the drawing. Also, although Barrow remarks that the two women sitting at each end of the coffin under the

canopy are supposed to be ‘keeners’, or professional mourners,<sup>35)</sup> the woman huddling in the front and showing her back to the viewer appears to be the widow and provides a stark contrast to the woman carrying out her mourning duties with exaggerated gestures. The point to be noted, however, is that while Barrow fails to provide sufficient explanation of this very Irish custom, Maclise’s drawing emphasises it and thereby impresses on the reader the importance of this religious custom.

Five pages later, the reader is presented with *A Patron Day: Sketch taken at Ronogue’s Well near Cork* (Fig. 5). This portrays another very Irish religious event, a pilgrimage to a holy well. As in the funeral scene, a great throng of Irish people can be seen in procession, this time seeking cures and the purging of their sins. Those depicted in the foreground range from a disabled young man and diseased old beggar, to a disabled father carrying two babies and accompanied by a mother and child, to a better-to-do family properly dressed; here again appears an image of a father diligently taking care of his children. In front of the enclosure in the middle, three priests can be seen preaching or giving blessings. This drawing is not at all associated with the author’s own experience during the tour; he simply inserts some explanation of this Irish custom on the basis of the information he obtained, referring in passing to Maclise and a sketch he made around 1826: ‘I believe a very general and just idea of one [of] those patron meetings may be collected from the clever etching of Mr. Maclise, which he sketched from an actual scene on a Patron day near Cork’.<sup>36)</sup> Since Barrow knew that the drawing would be inserted in this section, he spared one paragraph for the event, even though he did not know much about it and had little to write.

In fact, Barrow has already written a passage about a funeral procession he came across near



**Fig. 5.** A Patron Day: Sketch taken at Ronogue’s Well near Cork

Swineford, Co. Mayo in Letter IX, and also about a somewhat different type of Patron Day event, the annual pilgrimage to Mt. Clough Patrick on Reek Sunday, in Letter X.<sup>37)</sup> In the former, Barrow expresses his bewilderment at seeing a crowd of people blocking the road, and in the latter, after listening to the guide's explanation of the holy event, he expresses regret at missing it by a week. This whole arrangement suggests that the reader is only given visual information related to each event in the later depictions presented in the section on the south of Ireland. Since the Mayo section is embellished with 'Interior' and other smaller peasantry-related illustrations, the belated inclusion of the two full-size drawings appears acceptable. What should be noted, however, is the visual emphasis placed on topics connected with the Mayo and the Cork-Waterford areas, both of which the reader will associate with Irish Catholic cultural traditions.

In this connection, the significance of Croker's *Researches in the South of Ireland* and *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, both published by Murray, should not be neglected. The immense popularity of these works meant that the British readership was already familiar with the region as one with a long Irish tradition. This probably accounts for Murray's decision to include Maclise's *A Patron Day* illustration, which is based on an earlier sketch he made near Cork; Barrow appears not to have been consulted on its inclusion. Murray valued the authenticity and credibility of the original sketch of a traditional event handed down from generation to generation in the south. The publisher's control, exercised presumably for marketing purposes, over the texts and drawings is noticeable in the whole arrangement of the book.

Maclise, taking advantage of his familiarity with Irish Catholic traditions in the south, thus provided drawings of Catholic religious ceremonies, allowing the reader to enjoy the atmosphere of Gaelic culture and tradition. The impact of the two drawings surpasses that of the author's explanations of the ceremonies themselves, which certainly makes clear to the reader the difference in knowledge and background between the author and the illustrator. It is also interesting to note that Maclise actually emphasised the religious aspects of the Patron Day ceremony when he produced the finished illustration from his earlier sketch, as Nancy Weston points out.<sup>38)</sup> Maclise intends to show a well-organised event carried out by Irish Catholics in an orderly manner.

Thanks to Maclise's illustrations, Barrow's travel book was certainly more attractive and visually informative to British readers than it would otherwise have been; readers were unfamiliar with the domestic life of the Irish peasantry and the traditional religion-oriented ceremonies deeply embedded in the local community. The four full-page drawings interestingly present different tensions with the narrative text and the author's English viewpoint, which may well be a consequence of this new encounter between a travel writer and illustrator focusing on the indigenous people rather than on beautiful landscapes. When Maclise presents scenes of religious ceremonies, he clearly demonstrates his familiarity with the events, creating an atmosphere of

‘Irishness’ surrounding Gaelic traditions. His visual images overwhelm the author’s narrative. With his peasant family drawing, Maclise also reveals his closeness to the indigenous people. The physical closeness between the father and infant has a great impact on the reader, who may be bemused by the apparent discrepancy with the textual content. In contrast to the conventional image of Catholics as dangerous and threatening, and also of peasant life in Connaught as miserable, Maclise’s portrayal of domestic harmony represents both his resistance to the colonial gaze and his Irish appeal to the British readership. The frontispiece is intricately designed by Maclise himself so that his negative view of the English travelogue is not straightforwardly conveyed through the visual image. Using a palinode and the term ‘clishmu[a]claver’ anomalously, Maclise negates both the travelogue and his own drawing to round up his artistic work with a twist of Irish humour. An English travel narrative on Ireland is thus framed by the artist’s Irish perspective.

After working on Barrow’s travel book, Maclise contributed four drawings of Irish women to Leitch Ritchie’s *Ireland Picturesque and Romantic*, (1837–38).<sup>39)</sup> The other 35 images included in this personal travel narrative are landscape drawings by the landscape artist Thomas Creswick, and the contrasting qualities of the two artists are saliently demonstrated. Maclise is essentially a figure painter whose positioning of figures in particular settings lends them a certain atmosphere. This stylistic feature can also be seen in two illustrations of his included in the first volume of the Halls’ *Ireland*. The first appears in the section on Cork, and the second in the section about Waterford, both regions associated with Maclise’s illustrations in Barrow’s *Tour*.<sup>40)</sup> Since the Halls’ three-volume publication includes almost 1,400 illustrations, it is disappointing that only two of them are by Maclise. However, the volumes include many illustrations of Irish figures, even though landscapes predominate. Maclise can be regarded as an artist whose new style of drawings designed to accompany travel narratives cast the sad realities of Ireland in a gentler light.

This article includes the argument presented in my paper entitled “‘No picture drawn by the pencil — none by the pen — can possibly convey an idea of the sad reality’: Travel books and illustrated drawings in the early 19th century”, which was delivered, on 2 August, at the 2012 International Association of Studies of Irish Literatures Conference, held at Concordia University, Montreal. I wish to express my gratitude to Kevin O’Neill for providing me with valuable information about the visual materials, and also those who attended our session in the Conference (‘Text and Beyond Text: Print Culture, Illustration, Landscape’) for insightful suggestions. I would also like to thank T. D. Minton for his helpful comments on my English in this article. This research is funded by Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C), No. 23520330.

## Notes

- 1) Glen Hooper, *Travel Writing and Ireland, 1760–1860* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 1–3; William H. A. Williams, *Tourism, Landscape, and the Irish Character: British Travel Writ-*



ers in *Pre-Famine Ireland* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), pp. 7–14.

- 2) The following publications are noted. The titles and publication details are based on the first editions, and only the years of the later editions are added; the publishers of the later editions are commonly different from those of the first. The later editions tend to include more illustrated drawings. William Wilson, *Post-Chaise Companion: or, Travellers' Directory; through Ireland* (London: W. Faden & Dublin: William Wilson, 1784; 1786; 1788; 1793; 1794; 1803; 1805; 1814; 1815); William Hamilton, *Letters Concerning the Northern Coast of the County of Antrim: Containing a Natural History of Its Basaltes: with an Account of Such Circumstances as are Worthy of Notice Respecting the Antiquities, Manners and Customs of that Country* (London: G. Robinson & Dublin: Luke White, 1786; 1790; 1822; 1839); *The Hibernian Gazetteer; Being a Description of the Several Provinces, Counties, Cities,... and Fair Towns, in Ireland* (Dublin: Alex. Stuart, 1789); Francis Grose, *The Antiquities of Ireland*, 2 vols (London: S. Hooper, 1791; 1797); John Ferrar, *A View of Ancient and Modern Dublin, with Its Improvements to the Year 1796: To Which is Added a Tour to Bellevue, in the County Wicklow, the Seat of Peter La Touche, Esq* (Dublin: n. pub., 1796; 1807); W[ilia]m Wenman Seward, *Topographia Hibernica; Or the Topography of Ireland, Antient and Modern: Giving a Complete Ecclesiastical State of That Kingdom* (Dublin: Alex. Stewart, 1795; 1797); G[eorge] Holms, *Sketches of Some of the Southern Counties of Ireland, Collected during a Tour in the Autumn, 1797* (London: Longman and Rees; J. Cuthell; and Vernor and Hood, 1801). Maps of Ireland are often attached to the publications; however, the employment of maps is beyond the scope of the present article.
- 3) The publication details are: Malton, *A Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin, Displayed in a Series of the Most Interesting Scenes Taken in the Year 1791* (London: J. Malton, 1792–99); Fisher, *Scenery of Ireland: Illustrated in a Series of Prints of Select Views, Castles and Abbies* (London: J. Debrett, 1795).
- 4) The following publications by William Gilpin, which were repeatedly published, are typical examples: *Observations of the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales* (London: R. Blamire, 1782); *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, on Several Parts of England; Particularly the Mountains, and Lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland*, 2 vols (London: R. Blamire, 1786); *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1776, on Several Parts of Great Britain; Particularly the High-Lands of Scotland*, 2 vols (London: R. Blamire, 1789). Others include *Bowles's Post-Chaise Companion; or, Travellers Directory through England and Wales: Being an Actual Survey of all the Principal, Direct, and Cross-Roads both Ancient and Modern*, 2 vols (London: Carington Bowles, 1781; 1782); Francis Grose, *The Antiquities of England and Wales*, 8 vols (London: Hooper & Wigstead, 1772–76; 1783–97) & *The Antiquities of Scotland*, 2 vols (London: S. Hooper, 1789; 1797); Adam de Cardonnel, *Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland* (London: The Author, 1788; 1793; 1798); Henry Boswell, *Historical Descriptions of New and Elegant Picturesque Views of the Antiquities of England and Wales* (London: Alex. Hogg, 1786; 1795); Samuel Ireland, *Picturesque Views on the River Thames, from Its Source in Gloucestershire to the Nore; with Observations on the Public Buildings and Other Works of Art in Its Vicinity*, 2 vols (London: T. and J. Egerton, 1792; 1799); James Moore, *Twenty-five Views in the Southern Part of Scotland* (London: Thos. Macklin, 1794). In the early nineteenth century, the following comprehensive publication appeared: John Britton, *The Beauties of England and Wales; or, Delineations, Topographical, Historical, and Descriptive, of Each Country*, 18 vols. (London: Vernor & Hood, etc, 1801–15).

- 5) The publication details are: Cromwell, *Excursions through Ireland: Comprising Topographical and Historical Delineations of Each Province*, 3 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, etc., 1820); Brewer, 3 vols. (London: Sherwood, Jones, 1825–26). Wright’s guides include: *An Historical Guide to Ancient and Modern Dublin* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1821; 1825); *A Guide to the County of Wicklow* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1822); *A Guide to the Lake of Killarney* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1822); *A Guide to the Giants Causeway, and the North-East Coast of the County of Antrim* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1823; 1834); *A Topographical Dictionary of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1831–33); *Ireland Illustrated, from Original Drawings* (London: H. Fisher, Son & Jackson, 1831; 1833); *Scenes in Ireland: With Historical Illustrations, Legends, and Biographical Notices* (London: Thomas Tegg, 1834).
- 6) Dunne, ‘Towards a National Art?: George Petrie’s Two Versions of *The Last Circuit of Pilgrims of Clonmacnoise*’, in *A Shared Legacy: Essays on Irish and Scottish Art and Visual Culture*, ed. by Fintan Cullen and John Morrison (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 79–96 (pp. 80–81).
- 7) Hall, *Ireland: Its Scenery, Character, &c.*, 3 vols. (London: Jeremiah How, 1841–43).
- 8) The Banim brothers attained popularity through *Tales by the O’Hara Family*, published in 1825–26, and Carleton was acknowledged by Thomas Moore in his 1826 review article on Irish novels even before Carleton’s debut story, ‘A Pilgrimage to Patrick’s Purgatory’, appeared in *The Christian Examiner and Church of Ireland Magazine*. The advance of literary works by indigenous Irish writers into the British market was clearly recognized and sometimes disapproved of by literary critics. See Tetsuko Nakamura, ‘“Irish” Quest in Catholic-Oriented Novels of the 1820s and 1830s: The Banim Brothers and William Carleton’, *Journal of Irish Studies* 26 (2011): 38–51 (39–40).
- 9) Barrow, *A Tour round Ireland, through the Sea-Coast Counties, in the Autumn of 1835* (London: John Murray, 1836).
- 10) Inglis, *Ireland in 1834: A Journey throughout Ireland, during the Spring, Summer, and Autumn of 1834* (London: Whittaker, 1834).
- 11) Barrow, pp. 216–48.
- 12) Weston, *Daniel Maclise: Irish Artist in Victorian London* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), p. 92.
- 13) For John Barrow’s biography, see ‘John Barrow (1808–1898)’, in *National Portrait Gallery* <<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp00280/john-barrow>> [accessed 15 September 2012]. Sir John Barrow maintained his position as Second Secretary from 1804 to 1845 with an interval of about a year between 1806 and 1807. His 1831 publication through Murray is *The Eventful History of the Mutiny and Piratical Seizure of H. M. S. Bounty: Its Cause and Consequences* (London: John Murray, 1831).
- 14) Weston, p. 92.
- 15) ‘clishmaclaver’, *The Oxford English Dictionary* <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/34461?redirectedFrom=clishmaclaver#eid>> [accessed 25 September 2012]. This word is also used as a verb meaning ‘to gossip’.
- 16) *Swineford Car*, in Barrow, between p. 166 and p. 167; *The Funeral Procession of a Farmer*, between p. 346 and p. 347.
- 17) Interestingly, the device of the ‘palinode’, handed down from the middle ages, is employed by Irish-oriented novelists of Maclise’s contemporaries such as the Banim brothers and Carleton; an aspect of the presentation of Irish irony derived from this literary convention should be noted. See Nakamura, pp. 44–47.
- 18) Barrow, between p. 194 and p. 195.

- 19) The graphic arrangement of this drawing shows some conventions of the contemporary Irish rural interior. See Claudia Kinmonth, *Irish Rural Interiors in Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 57–58.
- 20) Barrow, p. 195.
- 21) Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, ed. by Kerry McSweeney and Peter Sabor, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 212.
- 22) Peter Gray, *The Making of the Irish Poor Law, 1815–43* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 104–05, pp. 112–15, pp. 118–23.
- 23) According to an advertisement which appeared in *The Standard* on 25th March 1836, Barrow's travelogue was published in London on 29th March, but presumably in Edinburgh on 25th March, as mentioned in an advertisement in *The Caledonian Mercury* on 31st March. Many advertisements refer to the inclusion of illustrations. One of the earliest review articles appears in the April issue of *The Quarterly Review. British Newspapers 1600–1900* <<http://find.galegroup.com/bncn/retrieve.do>> [accessed 25 September 2012].
- 24) Barrow, p. 334.
- 25) Weston, p. 94.
- 26) Fintan Cullen, *Visual Politics: The Representation of Ireland 1750–1930* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1997), pp. 121–25; Nicholas Tromans, *David Wilkie: The People's Painter* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 178–92. Tromans remarks, 'Wilkie's use of a misleading title in 1836 has confused interpretation of the picture ever since' (p. 191).
- 27) Vera Kreilkamp, 'Introduction', *Rural Ireland: The Inside Story*, ed. by Vera Kreilkamp (Chestnut Hill: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2012), p. 9.
- 28) Louisa M. Connor Bulman, 'Titian in Connemara: In the 1830s Enterprising English Artists in Search of Picturesque Novelty Discovered the West of Ireland — Among Them was William Evans of Eton', *Apollo*, 159 (2004), 45–53.
- 29) Forty-one watercolor paintings produced by Evans are exhibited in 'William Evans of Eton', Online Collection, National Gallery of Ireland <<http://onlinecollection.nationalgallery.ie/view/people/asitem/E/26?t:state:flow=271a0afa-091b-4807-9bc9-1b4d5201886a>> [accessed 8 October 2012].
- 30) Tetsuko Nakamura, 'Interrelated Travel Discourses on Connemara and Joyce Country in 1830s', *Journal of Irish Studies*, 25 (2010), 18–27 (pp. 18–20).
- 31) Kinmonth, *Irish Rural Interiors in Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).
- 32) Kinmonth, pp. 1–2.
- 33) Williams, pp. 175–82.
- 34) Gray, pp. 39–43, pp. 52–54.
- 35) Barrow, pp. 346–47.
- 36) Barrow, p. 351.
- 37) Barrow, pp. 159–60, pp. 183–84.
- 38) Weston, pp. 93–94.
- 39) Maclise, *The Irish Hood* (frontispiece) and *The Jew's Harp* (between p. 62 and p. 63), in the first volume (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1837); *A Lady of Prayers* (frontispiece) and *The Irish Jig* (between p. 190 and p. 191), in the second (1838).
- 40) Maclise, *The Wren Boys*, p. 24; *Tossing Pancakes on Shrove Tuesday*, p. 316.