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Forging Ireland: German Travel Literature 1785-1850

by

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Abstract

This study discerns the patterns of perception and the modes of representation that underlie the manner in which German travel writers portrayed Ireland and the Irish people between 1785-1850. The focus is on demonstrating how individual authors are indebted to common conceptual frameworks and conventions across the time period, such as the aesthetics of the picturesque and the sublime, the discourse surrounding the savage both noble and ignoble, as well as racial, colonial and national discourses. The analysis investigates how German observers 'make sense' of what they see in Ireland, and how explanations reveal predispositions, (mis-)appropriations and specific agendas which both inform and curtail explainability. Moving beyond an identification of stereotypes as such, the study shows that while authors conform to similar ways of presenting the 'new' and the 'other' to domestic audiences, the same tropes and stereotypes can be employed in very different ways, depending on the agenda of individual authors and their own predilections, as well as the historical and political moment in time. The study considers how German observers construct an Irish *Volk*, *Nation* and *Volksgeist*, whom they count as 'the Irish', and what criteria constructions of 'Irishness' are based on (linguistic, cultural, ethnic, racial criteria). The aim is to discern how a number of discourses combined to forge a sense of an Irish community or collective, no matter how disparate that collective might be. With the emergence of the nation state as a means for political organisation around 1800, whereby a congruency between culture, geography (borders) and political organisation emerged, the study considers whether German travel writers view Ireland as a potential political entity. Thus, rather than investigating how a nation imagines itself within its own discourse, the focus is on if and how an Irish nation is 'imagined' into being through outside observation.

1 Visiting Ireland: Introduction

Ireland as a travel destination did not come to the attention of German travellers until relatively late in the eighteenth century. Karl Gottlob Küttner's *Briefe über Irland an seinen Freund, den Herausgeber*, published in 1785, form the first autoptic German travel narrative on Ireland, i.e. it is an account which was written based on an actual visit to the country and is not a translation or compilation of existing travel narratives. By way of comparison, Germans had been visiting and writing about their travels to England since the fifteenth century,¹ while Scotland and Wales, much like Ireland, remained outside the scope of German travellers' itineraries until the late eighteenth century.² By 1850, however, around thirty first-hand German-language travel accounts on Ireland had appeared in print, a considerable sum considering there had been none just over six decades previously. The majority and the most comprehensive of these appeared between 1830 and 1850. This poses the question as to why Ireland could not excite the interest of German travellers until the late eighteenth century and what contributed to such an increase in attention between 1830 and 1850.

The role England played in shaping and influencing German perceptions of Ireland until well into the nineteenth century should not be underestimated. Every single German travel writer who visited Ireland between 1775 and 1850 visited England first, indeed, for many a trip to Ireland occurred almost "per Zufall, als eine Art Ergänzung für den vorgesehenen Reisebericht".³ At this time, Ireland was part of Great Britain, and since the Act of Union in 1801 the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and visitors would probably have expected Ireland to be a microcosm of conditions in Britain. It was, after all, England which captured the attention of many German travel writers and intellectuals. England symbolised "the best form of government, the most progressive economic policies, the best international posture, the most interesting literature, and even the most admirable human characteristics that one can justifiably speak of 'Anglomania'".⁴ England was perceived by many in the German-speaking lands as the most advanced, most industrial, most middle-class country in Europe. German political and economic life, on the other hand, was characterised by 'Kleinstaaterei' which prohibited the flourishing of trade and industry, as well as national

¹ See for example W. D. Robson-Scott: *German Travellers in England, 1400-1800*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1953.

² See for example Alison Hiley: *German-speaking Travellers in Scotland, 1800-1860, and Their Place in the History of European Travel Literature*. 3 vols. PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1985; for the Welsh context a project 'European Travellers to Wales' is currently being carried out collaboratively between Bangor University, University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, and Swansea University which looks primarily at German and French travel writing on Wales from 1750-the present day: <http://etw.bangor.ac.uk/welcome#sthash.EhxUtHgN.dpuf> [accessed on 15 April 2015].

³ Eda Sagarra: *Die 'grüne Insel' in der deutschen Reiseliteratur. Deutsche Irlandreisende von Karl Gottlob Küttner bis Heinrich Böll*. In: Hans-Wolf Jäger (ed.): *Europäisches Reisen im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1992, pp. 182-195, here p. 183.

⁴ Charles E. McClelland: *The German Historians and England. A Study in Nineteenth-Century Views*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971, p. 4.

integration, for which England was lauded.⁵ Ireland, on the other hand, had no obvious political, economic or cultural reasons to attract German visitors other than that it was a part of Britain. Contact between Ireland and Germany up until the late eighteenth century was sporadic. Therefore, for centuries Ireland was viewed through an English lens, as a “koloniales Anhängsel” of Britain.⁶ This is reflected in eighteenth-century German encyclopaedias, as well as entries in ‘Staatsbeschreibungen’, ‘Universalhistorien’ and ‘Reisehandbücher’ where, if they exist at all, accounts of Ireland are embedded into accounts of ‘Großbritannien’. Usually, Ireland is dealt with on a few pages, almost like an afterthought to the main article. This is evident in Anton Friedrich Büsching’s *Neue Erdbeschreibung* of 1760, for example, where the section on Ireland (although some fifteen pages) comes at the very end of a 176-page description of Great Britain, or indeed Matthias Christian Sprengel’s *Grundriss der Staatenkunde der vornehmsten europäischen Reiche* in which Ireland is dealt with on two pages within an article on Great Britain of about eighty pages.⁷ These accounts of Ireland drew their information from English and French sources. They usually take the form of a compilation of facts, figures, place names and statistics. Even well into the nineteenth century accounts which deal with Ireland are often included within works simply entitled, for example, *England im Jahre 1835*.⁸

Among the first book-length publications on Ireland in the German language were translations of two English travel narratives: Richard Twiss’s *A Tour in Ireland in 1775* and Arthur Young’s *A Tour in Ireland, with general observations on the present state of that kingdom* (1780), both published in German translation shortly after they first appeared in English.⁹ The preface to the German translation of Twiss’s travelogue is revealing. Having praised Twiss for his previous works on Spain and Portugal, the translator continues: “Es ist zwar nicht zu leugnen, daß gegenwärtige Reise durch Irrland, im Ganzen genommen, nicht so viel Merkwürdiges und Unterhaltendes in sich fasset, wie jene, allein, man würde sich sehr irren, wenn man die Schuld dem Verfasser zuschreiben wollte, da sie vielmehr dem Lande selbst bezumessen ist”. This reflects the idea that there were, it appeared, few reasons to attract German travellers to Ireland at this time. Furthermore, the translator states that “Dasjenige, was er [Twiss] von den natürlichen Seltenheiten, und andern Merkwürdigkeiten meldet, die Auszüge, die er aus irrländischen Schriftstellern anführet, die Anmerkungen, die er

⁵ Cf. McClelland: *The German Historians and England*, p. 4.

⁶ Andreas Oehlke: *Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1991, p. 32.

⁷ Anton Friedrich Büsching: *Neue Erdbeschreibung*, vol. 2: *Italien und Großbritannien*. Hamburg: Boyne, 1760, pp. 1308-1322; Mathias Christian Sprengel: *Grundriss der Staatenkunde der vornehmsten europäischen Reiche*. Halle: Hemmerde und Schwetschke, 1793, pp. 106-180; ‘Irrland’ p. 116f. For more examples see Gottlob Friedrich Krebel: *Die vornehmsten Europäischen Reisen [...]. Vierter Theil, welcher Reisen durch England, Schottland, Irrland, Spanien und Portugal enthält*. Hamburg: Herold, 1791.

⁸ Friedrich von Raumer: *England im Jahre 1835*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1836.

⁹ Richard Twiss: *Reise durch Irland*. Leipzig: Junius, 1777; Arthur Young: *Reise durch Irland nebst allgemeinen Beobachtungen über den gegenwärtigen Zustand dieses Reiches in den Jahren 1776, 1777 und 1778 bis zu Ende des Jahres 1779*. Leipzig: Junius, 1780.

theils zur Vertheidigung der Irrländer macht, dies alles giebt zu erkennen, daß er mit Aufmerksamkeit und ohne Vorurtheile gereiset sey".¹⁰ If, as the translator maintains, very few Germans had ever visited Ireland themselves, such a comment raises the question as to how a German audience should be the judge as to whether Twiss is prejudiced or not in his view of Ireland and its people. Contemporary reception of Twiss was, in fact, controversial. He presented quite an unflattering image of Ireland, for example labelling the inhabitants of Connaught 'savages' and making uncomplimentary remarks on Irish women. Indeed, his work provoked a number of satirical poems and stories, while many subsequent English travel writers actively distanced themselves from Twiss's views in their works.¹¹ Arthur Young was an agricultural economist. The focus of his Irish travelogue was on the state of agriculture and concomitant issues such as agrarian unrest, rental agreements and tithe payments. Young's German translator voices his surprise that a German domestic audience knows so little about Ireland: "Es ist zu bewundern, daß Irland ungeachtet seiner nicht gar weiten Entfernung, und ungeachtet des nicht unbeträchtlichen Handels, der aus Deutschland, wenigstens von Hamburg und Bremen, dahin geführt wird, uns noch so fremde zu seyn scheint. Unsere besten Erdbeschreibungen handeln von diesem Theil Europens nur ganz kurz, und in historischen und statistischen Schriften findet man ebenfalls wenig davon".¹² It appears, therefore, that Germans themselves were aware of just how little they knew about Ireland at this time.

Up until the publication of Karl Gottlob Küttner's *Briefe über Irland an seinen Freund, den Herausgeber* (1785, KGK), the German reading public had to rely on second-hand information, such as the works of Twiss and Young, among others. As the 'Vorwort' of Küttner's narrative matter-of-factly states:

Wir andern auf dem festen Lande konnten von Irland keinen andern Begriff haben, als den, den es den Engländern gefiel, uns davon zu geben, und denen wir aufs Wort glaubten, theils weil wir keine bessere Nachricht hatten, indem keiner, so viel als ich weiß, eine Reise in der Absicht dahin gethan hat, um es kennen zu lernen und etwas Zuverlässiges von ihm zu sagen; theils weil uns Irland, von langer Zeit her, gar nicht wichtig und bedeutend, und es uns daher gleichgültig war, ob das, was man von ihm erzählte, mit der Wahrheit übereinstimmte oder nicht. (KGK v)

This 'Vorwort' is not shy of criticising the mediated English view of Ireland Germans had to rely on due to lack of first-hand information. The beginning of German interest in Ireland embodied in Küttner's narrative and those who succeed him can initially be traced to two fields of interest, one intellectual, and one political: the emergence of the Ossian poems, and growing political interest in Ireland. The latter is indicated by Young's translator when he states that

¹⁰ Vorrede des Uebersetzers. In: Richard Twiss: *Reise durch Irland*, p. 3.

¹¹ Cf. Cal Hyland and James Kelly: *Richard Twiss's A Tour of Ireland in 1775* (London, 1776): *The Missing Pages and Some Other Notes*. In: *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/Iris an dá chultúr*, 13 (1998), pp. 52-64, here pp. 54-56.

¹² Vorrede des Uebersetzers. In: Arthur Young: *Reise durch Irland*, p. iii.

Young's observations of Ireland will be of interest, "da die irischen Angelegenheiten im englischen Parlamente in Bewegung kommen".¹³ This remark suggests some familiarity with immediate political events pertaining to Ireland, i.e. the agitation for an independent Irish parliament, which was granted in 1782. An appreciation of the importance of German commentary on Ireland can only be achieved by a brief outline of German interest in Ireland during the previous centuries. This provides a context to debates as they unfolded in the late eighteenth century.¹⁴

The beginnings of German-Irish relations can be traced to the early Middle Ages. In the seventh and eighth centuries the Hiberno-Scottish mission spread Christianity and established monasteries in German-speaking territories, but was by no means restricted to German lands as it carried out its work throughout central Europe. On account of these missionary works Ireland became known as 'Insel der Heiligen und der Gelehrten'.¹⁵ Medieval and early modern fictional references to Ireland can be found in Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan und Isolde*, in which Dublin is specifically mentioned as the capital city. Tristan visits Ireland in order to find a cure for a wound from a poisoned sword. The queen Isolde, endowed with magical powers, cures him and in return he becomes a tutor to the queen's daughter, also called Isolde.¹⁶ In the anonymous 'Volksbuch' *Fortunatus*, the portrayal of Ireland is particularly influenced by the image of the island of saints and scholars with numerous monasteries, convents, hermitages and St Patrick's Purgatory. Fortunatus receives a lucky purse from Fortuna and subsequently travels Europe as a knight with his Irish tutor and guide Lüpoldus. Together they visit Ireland where they enter St Patrick's Purgatory. Fortunatus's son Andolosia, who inherits the lucky purse as well as a magical cap which can take him to any place he wishes, also finds himself in Ireland on two occasions. On Andolosia's trips, Ireland is constructed as a wild and magical place, for example in an uninhabited forest he finds magic apples which cause horns to grow on his head. Because of its perceived remoteness, Ireland is described as being "gar nach am end der welt"; Ireland is considered so wild and isolated that one cannot travel any further

¹³ Vorrede des Uebersetzers. In: Arthur Young: Reise durch Irland, p. iiii.

¹⁴ German-Irish relations up until the eighteenth-century have already been dealt with in detail by Patrick O'Neill: Ireland and Germany. A Study in Literary Relations. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1985, pp. 16-44; Gisela Holfter: Erlebnis Irland. Deutsche Reiseberichte über Irland im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1996, pp. 18-32; Doris Dohmen: Das deutsche Irlandbild. Imagologische Untersuchungen zur Darstellung Irlands und der Iren in der Deutschsprachigen Literatur. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1994, pp. 18-26; Oehlke: Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts, pp. 15-30; Marcus Rau: Wer Irland gesehen hat, dem ist kein Zustand in Europa mehr bedauernswerth. Beobachtungen und Erfahrungen von Arthur Young und Johann Georg Kohl. Ein Vergleich. In: Otfried Dankelmann (ed.): Entdeckung und Selbstentdeckung. Die Begegnung europäischer Reisender mit dem England und Irland der Neuzeit. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1999, pp. 169-208, here pp. 170-176.

¹⁵ Cf. Rau: Wer Irland gesehen hat, dem ist kein Zustand in Europa mehr bedauernswerth, p. 173.

¹⁶ Gottfried von Straßburg: Tristan. Mittelhochdeutsch/Neuhochdeutsch. Nach dem Text von Friedrich Ranke mit Stellenkommentar und Nachwort, ed. and transl. by Rüdiger Krohn. 3 vols. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1980. Here vol. 1, v 7388-7402, v 6948ff.

west.¹⁷ In this sense, Ireland was considered to be on the edge of the world as one knew it in the early modern period.

Such images of a magical *terra incognita* are partially based on the works of antiquity by authors such as Strabon (68 B.C. – 19 A.D.), and partially on the writing of Giraldus Cambrensis (1146 – 1223). Strabon claimed that the Irish ate their deceased relatives and openly practised incest.¹⁸ Cambrensis's works *Topographia Hibernica* (1187) and *Expugnatio Hibernica* (1189) appeared during the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland. They served as "Rechtfertigung von Invasion und Unterwerfung der Nachbarinsel durch die englische Krone".¹⁹ Such works presented fantastical stories about Ireland and the 'wild' Irish. Customs, traditions, magic and marvels were detailed as Cambrensis gave priority to those stories which told of magical and pagan rituals. The first German-language book to deal exclusively with Ireland appeared in 1691: *Hibernia Vindicata* by Eberhard Werner Happel.²⁰ This work, which deals with the history and geography of Ireland, was not based on the author's own travels to Ireland, but, rather, draws considerably on existing works.²¹ Its author was well-known as a novelist, particularly of European historical novels, which have been described as a "peculiar mixture of novel, historical survey and anecdote".²² In one such historical novel, Happel presents an image of the Irish as wild, non-Anglicised barbarians who suffer from diarrhoea due to the damp climate. The Irish are also described as practising incest, adultery and, until recently, cannibalism. According to Patrick O'Neill, the Ireland of Happel's historical novels "remains the Island of Wonders of Giraldus Cambrensis".²³ Meanwhile, Happel's *Hibernia Vindicata* was the only book-length publication on Ireland in the German language until the translations of Arthur Young's and Richard Twiss's travel narratives. Just a few years later two more English travel narratives appeared in German translation: Thomas Campbell's *A philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland in a series of Letters to John Watkinson M.D.* (1777), and William Hamilton's *Letters concerning the Northern coast of the county of Antrim, in Ireland, containing a natural history of its basalts* (1786).²⁴ The translator of the former also notes how little Germans know of Ireland.²⁵ Against this background, it becomes even more

¹⁷ Fortunatus. Studienausgabe nach der Editio Principis von 1509, ed. by Hans-Gert Roloff. Stuttgart: Reclam, 2007, p. 59, 169.

¹⁸ Cf. O'Neill: Ireland and Germany, p. 17.

¹⁹ Rau: Wer Irland gesehen hat, dem ist kein Zustand in Europa mehr bedauernswerth, p. 171.

²⁰ Eberhard Werner Happel: *Hibernia Vindicata, Oder Des Britanischen Glücks-Wechsels Anderer Theil. Fürstellend, Das durch die siegreiche Waffen Königes Wilhelmi III. aus Groß-Britannien, So wohl tapffer als glücklich eroberte Königreich Irrland. Nebst dessen eigentlichen Ursprunge, Alter, Gelegenheit, Königen, Herrschaften, Fruchtbarkeit, Ländern [...]*. Hamburg: Wiering, 1691.

²¹ Cf. John Hennig: Some Early German Accounts of Schomberg's Irish Campaign. In: *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 3. 11 (1948), pp. 65-80, here p. 67.

²² O'Neill: Ireland and Germany, p. 42f.

²³ O'Neill: Ireland and Germany, p. 42f.

²⁴ Thomas Campbell: *Philosophische Uebersicht von Süd-Irland in Briefen an Johann Watkinson M.D.* Breslau: Löwe, 1779; William Hamilton: *Briefe über die nördliche Küste der Grafschaft Antrim, die natürliche Geschichte der Basalte und über einige Alterthümer, Sitten und Gebräuche dieser Gegen durch Herrn William Hamilton.* Leipzig: Weygand, 1787.

²⁵ Cf. Vorbericht des Uebersetzers. In: Thomas Campbell: *Philosophische Uebersicht von Süd-Irland*, no page number.

apparent just how dependent Germans had been on foreign language, mostly English sources of information on Ireland, as well as the kind of images these mediated to a German audience.

Apart from the lack of mutual political, economic and/or cultural interest between Germany and Ireland, another reason why Ireland remained outside the scope of German travellers' itineraries up until the eighteenth century has already been intimated in the early references to Ireland in German sources: Ireland's geographical position as an island on the western-most fringes of Europe. Even though Arthur Young's translator states that Ireland is not *that* far away from the German lands, those German adventurers who do make the trip detail the laboriousness as well as the dangers of sea travel in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Indeed, Küttner writes that the Irish Sea may well have hindered travellers from visiting Ireland. He describes "alle die Mühseligkeiten" of his 37-hour crossing from Wales to Ireland (KGK 3). In the first decades of the nineteenth century, Fürst Hermann von Pückler-Muskau who travelled to Ireland in 1828 (*Reisebriefe aus Irland*, 1830, HvPM 7) and Magdalena von Dobeneck (*Briefe und Tagebücher aus Frankreich, Irland und Italien*, 1843, MvD 40) are similarly displeased. The nineteenth century, however, was the century of steam. A cursory look at German travel narratives on Ireland shows consistent improvements in transportation, so that by 1844 the sea crossing was down to just six hours. To this, Jakob Venedey (*Irland*, 2 vols, 1844, JV1/JV2) exclaims "Gestern in London, ein Engländer, und heute in Dublin, ein Irländer. Es lebe der Dampf!" (JV2 1).

Developments in the genre of travel literature itself may also have contributed to increased German attention to Ireland. In the late eighteenth century, Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* (1768) influenced a new kind of travel writing with a focus on subjective and personal experiences as opposed to the factual, statistical descriptions typical of the encyclopaedic entries and 'Reisehandbücher'. Travelling and writing about travel were no longer the preserve of the upper classes, as rising middle-classes became more prosperous and travelled for educational purposes. During the *Vormärz* period, travel writing was often used to spread political ideas and encourage readers to compare and contrast conditions they read about in other countries with conditions in Germany, especially since political commentary was often only indirectly possible due to strict censorship.

Whether the possibility of easier and more frequent contact with the island on the western fringes of Europe changed German perceptions of Ireland as an unknown land is another matter. On the one hand, it could be argued that Ireland and the Irish people appeared familiar on account of their European ethnicity, Christian religion and the fact that Ireland belonged to one of Europe's oldest monarchies. On the other hand, the physical distance, the arduous journey despite improved transportation and especially Ireland's island

status – islands being connected with “Parradiessehnsüchten” since antiquity²⁶ – meant that, despite the growing number of first-hand accounts by German authors, it continued to be perceived of as ‘other’ and unknown. The Black Brunswicker army officer Friedrich Ludwig von Wachholtz (*Aus dem Tagebuch des Generals Fr. L. von Wachholtz*, 1843, FLvW) makes this obvious when commenting on a completely unrelated matter, namely the problem of German deserters in British military service in Ireland: “Wohin jene Ausreißer in einem vom Meere ganz umgebenen, vom Continente damals völlig abgesperrten, ihnen in Sprache und Sitte fremden Lande sich begeben konnten, war beinahe unbegreiflich” (FLvW 446). Despite the familiar surroundings of a British military base, it appears that Ireland could not have been more foreign to these German soldiers regarding language and culture. Meanwhile, some German authors describe the sea crossing as crossing a border into unknown territories (for example JV2 4). Johann Georg Kohl (*Reisen in Irland*, 2 vols, 1843, JGKR1/JGKR2) even describes it in an analogy to the stormy crossing in Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*, comparing Ireland to Prospero’s island of wonders:

wir [lagen] ruhig in Kingstown an Irlands Küste vor Anker [...], an der Küste Irlands, das man auf keine passendere Weise erreicht, als auf die, in welcher der König Alonso jene verzauberte Wunderinsel erreichte. Denn dieß *Erin*, dieß *Island of saints* (Insel der Heiligen), dieß *sacred Island*, diese heilige Insel, die Smaragd-Insel, wie sie in ältesten und neuesten Zeiten genannt wird, diese Feeen- und Hexen-Insel, wie man sie auch heute noch nennen könnte, [...], dieß Land so unendlich vieler im übrigen Europa unbekannter Ansonderlichkeiten, man kann es mit vollem Rechte eine Wunderinsel [...] nennen. (JGKR1 3f.)

Here it is obvious that the images of Ireland from previous centuries still had a hold on the German imagination, images which conjure up a world somehow exotic and ‘other’, indeed even supernatural. Yet, it is also a world of incongruities (saints versus witches and fairies), suggesting puzzlement on Kohl’s part at what he sees and experiences in Ireland. The term ‘Binnenexotik’ might be applicable to German perceptions of Ireland. Geographically, the island of Ireland is within European borders, it appears to be “nah und vertraut”, yet it is also consistently regarded as “fremd und unbekannt” by German observers due to its island status and the fact that it was not a common or convenient destination.²⁷ Even though Ireland belonged to Europe in a geographical and political sense, in a cultural sense it was perceived as unfamiliar, unknown and foreign; it was the exotic in a familiar setting. What was it that made Ireland and the Irish people appear so ‘different’ to German eyes?

While some of the authors mentioned above have been acknowledged for their contribution to projecting a view of Ireland to a German readership and excerpts from their narratives have been translated and anthologised, only a limited amount of material and only

²⁶ Cf. Holfter: *Erlebnis Irland*, p. 9.

²⁷ Holfter: *Erlebnis Irland*, p. 9.

selected aspects have become the subject of academic study.²⁸ The way in which Ireland and the Irish people have been framed, the criteria according to which they have been evaluated, and the reasons and implications of this process have not yet been comprehensively studied. According to Gisela Holfter and Hermann Rasche, German perceptions of Ireland and the Irish people are determined by “existing patterns and preconceptions”.²⁹ Yet, how exactly these existing patterns and preconceptions relate to overarching discourses, and whether and how they developed with changing historical and political circumstance, has not yet been systematically discussed. This thesis identifies the patterns which underlie how Irish nature is framed and how the Irish people are constructed in German travel literature from 1785-1850. In a further step, it examines how German observers try to ‘explain’ the conditions they meet in Ireland, i.e. the extremely impoverished socio-economic conditions of the majority of the population. The overall aim is to ascertain how a variety of discourses (aesthetic, racial, nationalist, among others) combine to forge an image, or images, of Ireland from without. Critical literature directly relating to how Ireland is represented in German discourse during this time period principally employs imagological methodologies. This includes the book-length works by Doris Dohmen and Andreas Oehlke. General descriptive overviews of individual authors and their works are given in articles by Eda Sagarra, H. R. Klieneberger, Paul O’Doherty, Eoin Bourke and Marcus Rau.³⁰

John Hennig can be seen as the pioneer in the field of Irish-German studies. Hennig’s numerous articles take a reception studies approach. He compiles topics thematically related to the general field of Irish-German studies from medieval times up until the present day, for example, the role Ireland plays in the chivalresque literature of medieval Germany, Goethe’s interest in Ireland as well the correspondence between the Grimm brothers and Thomas Crofton Croker.³¹ Of interest for the present study is his article ‘A Danish Student of Irish

²⁸ Johann Friedrich Hering’s account *Erinnerungen eines Legionärs* (1826) has been translated by Christopher J. Woods: Select Documents XLI. Johann Friedrich Hering’s description of Connacht, 1806-7. In: *Irish Historical Studies* 25. 99 (1987), pp. 311-321; English translations of excerpts from Pückler’s and Kohl’s narratives are included in Constantia Maxwell: *The Stranger in Ireland*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1954, pp. 265-295. Most recently Eoin Bourke has translated excerpts from a wide range of travel authors who visited Ireland between 1783-1865 in: *Poor Green Erin. German Travel Writers’ Narratives on Ireland from before the 1798 Rising to after the Great Famine*, ed. and transl. by Eoin Bourke. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 2011.

²⁹ Gisela Holfter and Hermann Rasche: German travel literature about Ireland: the saga continues. In: Jane Conroy (ed.): *Cross-Cultural Travel. Papers from the Royal Irish Academy International Symposium on Literature and Travel*. New York: Lang, 2003, pp. 459-468, here p. 463.

³⁰ Sagarra: Die ‘grüne Insel’ in der deutschen Reiseliteratur; H. R. Klieneberger: Ireland through German Eyes 1844-1957. The Travel-Diaries of Jakob Venedey and Heinrich Böll. In: *An Irish Quarterly Review*, 49. 196 (1960), pp. 373-388; Paul O’Doherty: Bäurischer Adel und edles Bauerntum: Hermann von Pückler-Muskau’s Reisebriefe aus dem Irland des Jahres 1828. In: Anne Fuchs and Theo Harden (eds.): *Reisen im Diskurs. Modelle der literarischen Fremderfahrung von den Pilgerberichten bis zu Postmoderne*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1995, pp. 455-469; Eoin Bourke: “Paddy and Pig” German Travel Writers in the “Wild West”, 1828-1858. In: *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 53 (2001), pp. 145-155; ‘The Irishman is no Lazzarone’. German Travel Writers in Ireland 1828-1850. In: *History Ireland*, 5. 3 (1997), pp. 21-25; Rau: Wer Irland gesehen hat, dem ist kein Zustand in Europa mehr bedauernswerth.

³¹ John Hennig: The Brothers Grimm and T. C. Croker. In: *The Modern Language Review*, 41. 1 (1946), pp. 44-54; Ireland’s Place in the Chivalresque Literature of Mediaeval Germany. In: *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 53C (1950/51), pp. 279-298; Goethes Irlandkunde. In: *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, 31 (1957), pp. 70-83.

Folklore', his only article relating to German travel literature on Ireland.³² This article considers the German-speaking Danish-born Knut Jognbohn Clement's contribution to Irish folklore studies based on his travel account *Reisen in Irland*, published in 1845. Hennig compiles a number of passages from Clement's narrative which deal with folklore, but he does not interpret these passages in relation to Clement's narrative as a whole. Clement's remarks on folk culture lend themselves very well to an investigation into the importance of cultural criteria in constructing a collective identity from without, something which forms an aspect of the present study. In his introductory remarks, Hennig also makes some very short, yet incisive observations regarding Clement's racial comments on the 'Celtic' Irish, as well as how Clement's view of Ireland is coloured by his Protestant upbringing. The present study does not take issue with Hennig's observations, rather it uses them as starting points for an examination of how racial as well as religious criteria are employed to differentiate between the observer and the observed, as well as within Irish society itself, not only in Clement's travel account but also in the accounts of his contemporaries. For the most part, Hennig's articles are primarily aimed at creating awareness of the existence of Irish-German relations and, subsequently, tracing and documenting them. Hennig is a positivist, however without a doubt he carried out pioneering bibliographic work.

Patrick O'Neill's volume *Ireland and Germany: A Study in Literary Relations* (1985) is heavily indebted to Hennig's reception studies work. In considering reciprocal literary relations from the Middle Ages to the present day, O'Neill examines the reception and impact of Irish literature on German literature and vice versa, the awareness of and interest in the respective other culture, and finally the development of a literary image of the other within each culture.³³ It is the latter aspect which is of interest to the present study. In the sections dealing with the Irish impact on Germany, O'Neill's work complements this study in his overviews of the historical contexts in relation to German awareness of Ireland. Apart from the two existing German images of Ireland from previous centuries (Ireland as the island of saints and scholars, or as an exotic island of wonders, inhabited by the 'wild' Irish), regarding the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century O'Neill comes to the conclusion that the German literary image of Ireland was further influenced by two main factors. Firstly, he states that the Ossian poems had a major impact on the German literary world. This, in turn, influenced German interest in all things Celtic, including Ireland. O'Neill presents numerous examples of how the Ossian poems influenced authors such as Herder and Goethe, thus contributing to German awareness of Ireland. According to O'Neill, Ossian's influence in the eighteenth century is most keenly felt in perceptions of Irish nature, which, he claims, is portrayed as a numinous landscape of wild

³² John Hennig: A Danish Student of Irish Folklore. In: *Béaloidéas*, Iml. 15. 1/2 (1945), pp. 251-256.

³³ Cf. O'Neill: *Ireland and Germany*, p. 9.

coastlines, precipitous cliff edges and lonely moors. O'Neill states that Küttner's travel narrative, as well as Young's, Twiss's and Hamilton's travel accounts, which appeared in German translation, are largely devoted to such a portrayal of Irish nature.³⁴

Secondly, O'Neill states that the image of Ireland in German literature was coloured by an interest in Irish politics, especially O'Connell and his various movements. This is reflected in the works of some members of the Young German movement, as well as articles from German Catholic journals. In general, however, O'Neill claims that the Ossian poems had a longer lasting impact on the German imagination than the political events of the mid-nineteenth century.³⁵ O'Neill states: "The enormous impact of Ossian [...] had ensured that almost the entire German reading public had consciously or unconsciously been exposed, directly or indirectly, to its influence – and had consequently, whether unconsciously or not, formed an impression of the Celtic world from which Ossian came".³⁶ This study does not seek to dispute the view that the appearance of the Ossian poems in Germany generally stimulated German interest in Ireland from 1760s onwards. Yet, O'Neill only fleetingly touches upon travel literature in his investigation. O'Neill briefly refers to Küttner's depiction of Irish nature as 'Ossianic', yet he gives no concrete references to Küttner's text to substantiate his claim. The question arises as to whether Ossian had as much of an influence on German travel writers who experienced the island first hand in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as it did on the likes of Herder and Goethe who read about Ireland and Irish topics from the safety of their studies. This forms one investigative thread in the present study.

Following the early reception studies work carried out by Hennig and O'Neill, the genre of travel literature received particular attention in three monographs which appeared within five years of one another: Andreas Oehlke's *Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (1991), Doris Dohmen's *Das deutsche Irlandbild: Imagologische Untersuchungen zur Darstellung Irlands und der Iren in der deutschsprachigen Literatur* (1994) and Gisela Holfter's *Erlebnis Irland: Deutsche Reiseberichte über Irland im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert* (1996). All very broadly utilise an imagological approach when analysing German images of Ireland. Within comparative literature, imagology is the study of literary images of the 'other', of foreign peoples and cultures. These images can be variously represented as prejudices, stereotypes or clichés which are formed as the result of perceived differences in ethnic, cultural and social traits. Imagology looks at the development, structure and influence of these images on how we perceive others and ourselves. In *Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19.*

³⁴ Cf. O'Neill: Ireland and Germany, p. 140.

³⁵ Cf. O'Neill: Ireland and Germany, p. 137.

³⁶ O'Neill: Ireland and Germany, p. 146.

Jahrhunderts (1991), Andreas Oehlke aims to investigate the conditions and origins for the development of a German image of Ireland in relation to social, economic, cultural and political conditions. German travel narratives of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but also encyclopaedia entries and German translations of Anglo-Irish literature, form the basis of his historical investigation into the factors which may have influenced the formation of particular images. At the outset he looks at the development of travel writing in the eighteenth century, at the different reasons people travelled and wrote about their travels, as well as at the conditions of travel. Of particular relevance to the current study are his chapters on the depiction of the Irish landscape, and the application of racial theory in the portrayal of the Irish people.

Oehlke highlights an aspect of landscape appreciation from the late eighteenth century which has received little attention from other scholars of German travel literature on Ireland, namely the influence of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century landscape painting on how travellers conveyed their impressions of Irish nature to domestic audiences. Oehlke outlines how landscape painting propagated an idyllic, Arcadian view of nature, which, in turn influenced the development of the English landscape garden, many examples of which were to be found in eighteenth and nineteenth century Ireland. Oehlke correctly identifies passages in which Irish nature and especially landscape gardens are presented in correspondence to the propagated landscape idyll of the time, but he does not interpret them regarding the overarching aesthetic discourses of the picturesque and the sublime. Furthermore, he does not seek to ascertain any development in the perception of Irish nature in general, other than to conclude that by the middle of the nineteenth century a change was taking place whereby natural beauty spots no longer drew as much attention as they had done in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. He does not provide any plausible explanation as to why this was the case. In her article 'Authentische Reiseerfahrungen und deren Fiktionalisierung: Irlandreiseberichte zwischen 1777 und 1850', Susanne Beyenburg-Weidenfeld, on the other hand, postulates that by the mid-nineteenth century presenting nature as a picture had become conventionalised and therefore travel writers did not dedicate as much attention to established natural beauty spots.³⁷ The current study attempts to place authors' depictions of Irish nature into their aesthetic context by showing that presenting nature as a 'picture' as well as labelling landscapes 'Ossianic' can be understood against the backdrop of the emerging aesthetics of the picturesque and the sublime. Taking Oehlke's and Beyenburg-Weidenfeld's commentary a step further, the present study seeks to trace how various 'ways of seeing'

³⁷ Susanne Beyenburg-Weidenfeld: Authentische Reiseerfahrungen und deren Fiktionalisierung. Irlandreiseberichte zwischen 1777 und 1850. In: Anne Fuchs and Theo Harden (eds.): *Reisen im Diskurs. Modelle der literarischen Fremderfahrung von den Pilgerberichten bis zu Postmoderne*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1995, pp. 428-442, here p. 438f.

developed in the first half of the nineteenth century not just to include new medial models such as the panorama and the diorama with which to arrange images, but also to ascertain how figures are framed and presented to readers.

A further aspect of Oehlke's investigation which complements the current study is his commentary on the role of pseudo-scientific racial theory in constructing an image of the 'Celtic' Irish. In relation to the period 1785-1850, this has been mentioned in passing by many, but systematically investigated by few.³⁸ Oehlke highlights how authors predominantly from the second half of the nineteenth century, but also Knut Jognbohn Clement and Johann Georg Kohl, employ phrenological and physiognomic criteria in their depiction of the 'Celtic' Irish. Oehlke concludes that racial characterisations of the Irish could be traced to "eine generelle sittlich-moralische Überlegenheit der anglo-germanischen Völker gegenüber den Kelten".³⁹ Oehlke compiles numerous examples but he does not seek to ascertain what agendas such depictions of the Irish might have served individual authors, other than to assert a sense of superiority of the observer over the observed. The present study endeavours to investigate the beginnings of the application of racial criteria in the first half of the nineteenth century, paying particular attention to the dovetailing of racial and religious criteria in the 1840s and how racial depictions may have reflected inner-German debates.

In some respects, Oehlke treads already trodden ground, for example in his evaluation of the reception of Anglo-Irish literature in Germany, something which O'Neill deals with in detail in his study. In other respects, as has been outlined above, Oehlke works in a purely compilatory fashion, listing quotations relating to the most visited tourist spots in Ireland, or to stereotypical characteristics of the Irish such as an alleged talkative, imaginative, hospitable, lazy, violent and superstitious nature. In general, it could be said that Oehlke does for German travel literature on Ireland in particular what Hennig does for Irish-German studies in general: he makes his readers aware that a not inconsiderable body of travel literature even exists and subsequently documents it by identifying general themes and grouping together authors and various quotations. Although it proves difficult to trace any development in German images of Ireland during the period under investigation, his monograph is an invaluable source of bibliographic information as well as general historical context.

Of the three authors Andreas Oehlke, Doris Dohmen and Gisela Holfter, Dohmen's *Das deutsche Irlandbild: Imagologische Untersuchungen zur Darstellung Irlands und der Iren in der deutschsprachigen Literatur* (1994) is most firmly embedded in the critical school of imagology.

³⁸ Cf. for example Dohmen: *Das deutsche Irlandbild*, p. 45, 70, 76, 89; Bourke: *Poor Green Erin*, p. 284, 335; "Paddy and Pig" *German Travel Writers in the "Wild West", 1828-1858*, p. 149ff.; Sagarra: *Die 'grüne Insel' in der deutschen Reiseliteratur*, p. 195.

³⁹ Oehlke: *Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, p. 303.

In her monograph, Dohmen analyses existing German images of Ireland and the Irish in German language literature in their origins, development and meaning over a period of some one thousand years, but with a focus on the late eighteenth century up to the present day. While Oehlke works thematically, Dohmen works chronologically. By examining their origins, Dohmen aims to de-ideologise German images of Ireland and to highlight the relativity of “imagotyper Denkmodelle”. By raising awareness of the genesis of prejudices, Dohmen believes that imagology can influence the non-literary world and help dismantle preconceptions of other peoples.⁴⁰

Dohmen analyses her body of literature, which consists of travel narratives as well as literary and journalistic works, from the vantage point of how we view ourselves and others, and accordingly form autostereotypical and heterostereotypical images. Unlike O’Neill, who focuses his investigation on German-language literary texts in the sense of fictional texts, Dohmen does not restrict herself to the fictional realm. Imagotypes, she states, can be found in both fictional and non-fictional texts. She examines individual authors whose works she takes to be exemplary of the respective time period. Like O’Neill, Dohmen identifies two basic German images of Ireland which reappear in slightly altered forms from the Middle Ages onwards. She, like O’Neill and Oehlke, also highlights the influence of Ossian on German perceptions of Ireland from the late eighteenth century onwards. She identifies the appearance of the Ossian poems, as O’Neill does, as a third phase in the development of a German image of Ireland, but one which complements the island of marvels and wonders image. Dohmen claims that “Ossianismus” and “Romantik” influenced the “Entwicklung eines positiven Irland- und Irenbildes aus dem klassischen Barbarenimage, das bis ins achtzehnte Jahrhundert die kontinentale Irlandwahrnehmung in ihren wesentlichen Zügen geprägt hat”.⁴¹ She finds evidence for this assertion in Küttner’s but especially Hermann von Pückler-Muskau’s travelogue, for example, claiming that the latter portrays a ‘positive’ image of the Irish people as ‘noble’ savages influenced by Ossian and categories she associates with romanticism such as originality and naturalness.⁴² On account of the broad scope of Dohmen’s work, conclusions such as this appear as oversimplifications of complex processes. It is questionable whether German travel writers simply cease to cast the Irish people ‘negatively’ as wild and savage on account of the advent of Ossian and ‘romantic’ categories, or whether they exclusively portray the Irish ‘positively’ as ‘noble’ savages in the aftermath of Pückler’s account. Indeed, the very notion of the ‘noble savage’, which is frequently mentioned by O’Neill and Dohmen as well as Gisela Holfter and others, is never adequately explained by any of these commentators as a

⁴⁰ Dohmen: *Das deutsche Irlandbild*, p. 192.

⁴¹ Dohmen: *Das deutsche Irlandbild*, p. 187.

⁴² Dohmen: *Das deutsche Irlandbild*, p. 58.

trope in its historical context and subsequently systematically applied to an examination of the source texts.⁴³ This forms an important aspect of the present study which questions the extent of the 'nobility' of those labelled Irish 'noble' savages by previous commentators.

While Dohmen correctly points out the importance of Britain in shaping German opinion on Ireland, she draws the conclusion that "Proenglische Autoren zeichnen durchweg ein negatives Irlandbild, proirische lehnen England vor allem wegen seiner Irlandpolitik ab und stilisieren den Engländer als negatives Gegenbild zum Iren. Diese Polarisierung ist kennzeichnend für die gesamte Irlandliteratur". Furthermore, she considers the influence of the observers' own confession on portrayals of Ireland and the Irish: "Während Katholiken durchweg die Kulturleistungen des irischen Katholizismus hervorheben und englische Irlandpolitik sowie die Unterdrückung der katholischen Kirche kritisieren, zeichnen Protestanten den vorgeblich aufgeklärten Norden als Vorbild für das 'papistische' Irland".⁴⁴ Again, the encyclopaedic nature of her work means that specific impressions and nuanced interpretations of individual authors' commentary are foregone in favour of generalisations on how individual authors confirm or reject stereotypical images and prejudices. The current study investigates whether 'pro-English' authors change their opinions on Ireland in the course of their journey, and indeed whether some even condemn British treatment of the Irish exactly because of their admiration for Britain. Secondly, a more nuanced interpretation of the role confession plays in shaping depictions of Ireland the Irish people is carried out.

A final aspect Dohmen touches upon which is of interest to the present study is the analysis of 'Volkscharakter' and the application of the terms 'Nation' and 'Volk' in an Irish setting. She rightly points out, for example, that some authors use a perceived English character as a foil for the characterisation of the Irish people, yet she often over-generalises constructions of an alleged Irish character as a simple equation of Catholicism, poetical nature and musical talent with 'Irishness'.⁴⁵ She does not attempt to problematise the ambiguous usage of the terms 'Volk', 'Nation' or 'Nationalcharakter' in German, and subsequently the difficulty of applying German criteria to Irish phenomena. This leads to undifferentiated readings of some of the source texts. The current investigation shows that the majority of authors differentiate not only between the Irish and English, but also within Irish society as well. It is not always clear how the terms 'Volk' and 'Nation' are applied, to whom they are applied and on what criteria they are based. Who are 'the Irish' and what makes them 'Irish'? The application of these ambiguous terms to Irish conditions is a facet of the present study,

⁴³ Cf. for example O'Neill: Ireland and Germany, p. 140f., 146; Holfter: Erlebnis Irland, p. 46, 49; Hermann Rasche: '...A Strange Spectacle...' German Travellers to the west 1828-1858. In: Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society, 47 (1995), pp. 87-107, here p. 96.

⁴⁴ Dohmen: Das deutsche Irlandbild, p. 189f.

⁴⁵ Cf. Dohmen: Das deutsche Irlandbild, p. 74f., 78ff., 86ff.

one which is evaluated systematically throughout the time period under investigation. As an imagological study, Dohmen's monograph nevertheless demonstrates the persistence of stereotypical images of Ireland and the Irish during the period investigated.

Gisela Holfter's volume *Erlebnis Irland: Deutsche Reiseberichte über Irland im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert* (1996) traces the popularity of Ireland, linked to a kind of "Inselsehnsucht", as a destination for modern German tourists and how this popularity is reflected in the medium of the travel narrative/travel guide in the twentieth century. To this end, she examines images of Ireland in German discourse in general, and travel narratives in particular "von den Anfängen der Beziehungen bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts"; a period of some one thousand years.⁴⁶ She rightly points out how, during different periods and for different reasons, German writers have found in Ireland a suitable projective foil for personal and collective wishes. The images of Ireland she identifies in earlier works provide the foil for the investigation of twentieth century material. Regarding the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Holfter sees two phases in the development of German perceptions of Ireland: "Eine deutliche Orientierung an England in der Zeit von 1785 bis ca. 1830" and "die von Gedanken der Romantik und einen starken politischen Interesse geprägte Zeit von 1830 bis 1850".⁴⁷ Holfter's thesis here more or less corresponds to Dohmen's assertion that a shift in perspective from a 'negative' to a 'positive' image of Ireland and the Irish people took place around 1830. A closer analysis of the source texts in this study will show that while a shift in perspective did indeed take place, it was neither a simple nor definitive change in perceptions, rather a process on account of new criteria entering the discourse.

According to Holfter, the impoverished conditions encountered in Ireland shock travel authors during the period 1785-1830, yet "nach den Ursachen wird nur selten geforscht – sofern nicht der Charakter der Einwohner als Begründung genannt wird".⁴⁸ The present study questions this finding by highlighting evidence of puzzlement and perplexity on the part of the majority of observers and how they subsequently try to make sense of conditions in Ireland. An alleged Irish character is but one way in which German travel writers 'explain' Ireland; they also consider economic policy, religious oppression, agricultural practise and the issue of absenteeism in creating and sustaining socio-economic conditions. In general, it should be noted that Holfter's chapter on travel writers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is meant as an "Einführungs- und Übersichtskapitel". As such, generalisations such as those highlighted above are inherent in such an undertaking and she acknowledges that a

⁴⁶ Holfter: *Erlebnis Irland*, p. 18.

⁴⁷ Holfter: *Erlebnis Irland*, p. 33.

⁴⁸ Holfter: *Erlebnis Irland*, p. 37.

detailed analysis of the travel narratives published between 1785-1850 was not possible within the scope of her intended investigation.⁴⁹

That German interest in Ireland was intensified by the political situation in both Ireland and Germany during the *Vormärz* period has been recognised by all commentators and given due consideration in, for example, Geraldine Grogan's monograph on Daniel O'Connell which traces the influence of O'Connell and his movement, both as a symbol and a working model, on the German Catholic movement, Karl Holl's dissertation on how O'Connell and the Irish question were discussed in German political publications between 1830 and 1850, Sebastian Stumpf's thesis which focuses particularly on how German political commentators externalised German problems onto Ireland, and Eoin Bourke's various articles which deal with individual authors' reactions to the Irish question.⁵⁰

For Holl and Grogan, travel writers play a very minor role in their analysis because very few of them would have been known as political commentators, with the main exception being Jakob Venedey. In general, Holl demonstrates how varied German public opinion on Ireland was, not least among German Catholics, whereas Grogan concentrates on enthusiastic Catholic reception of O'Connell and his movement, especially among the Catholics of the Rhineland. Bourke and Stumpf dedicate more attention to travel authors. For the most part, Bourke's commentary is devoted to summarising sympathetic German travel writers' views towards Ireland, for example Pückler's, Venedey's and Hartmann's opinions, to the almost complete exclusion of those who express less sympathetic views, such as the anonymous author of *Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes von Irland* (1835), Clement or Kohl. Stumpf provides a much broader range of travel writers' opinions in his discussion of German reactions to the Irish Question in the 1830s and 1840s. He offers in-depth biographies of those travel authors he examines in detail, sometimes over relying on biographies and personal motivations as explanations for all matter of commentary. Nevertheless, the biographical information on Clement, for example, provided valuable background information on this lesser-discussed travel writer.

⁴⁹ Holfter: *Erlebnis Irland*, p. 33.

⁵⁰ Geraldine Grogan: *The noblest agitator. Daniel O'Connell and the German Catholic movement, 1830-50*. Dublin: Veritas, 1991; Karl Holl: *Die irische Frage in der Ära Daniel O'Connell und ihre Beurteilung in der politischen Publizistik des deutschen Vormärz*. PhD thesis, University of Mainz, 1958; Sebastian Stumpf: *Ireland as a projection screen for German problems in Vormärz literature and journalism*. PhD Thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, Faculty of Arts, Department of German, 2006; Eoin Bourke: *England's backyard. Vormärz travel writers on the Irish question*. In: Detlev Kopp (ed.): *Wege in die Moderne. Reiseliteratur von Schriftstellerinnen und Schriftstellern des Vormärz*. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2009, pp. 217-228; Hermann von Pückler-Muskau and Ferdinand Freiligrath *zum irischen Zehntensystem*. In: Fritz U Krause (ed.): *Ich wanderte und wanderte – Es blieb die Sonne hinter mir zurück*. Detmold: Grabbe, 2001, pp. 284-301; Moritz Hartmann and *Irland*. In: Hubert Lengauer and Primus Heinz Kucher (eds.): *Bewegung im Reich der Immobilität. Revolutionen in der Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1849. Literarisch-publizistische Auseinandersetzungen*. Vienna, Cologne and Weimar: Böhlau, 2001, pp. 427-441; Daniel O'Connell: *Ein Riese unter Zwergen oder ein rechter Lump? Der irische Agitator in deutscher Vormärzperspektive*. In: Helmut Koopmann and Martina Lauster (eds.): *Vormärzliteratur in europäischer Perspektive I. Öffentlichkeit und nationale Identität*. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 1996, pp. 157-174; Thomas E. Bourke: *"Paddy wird vielleicht einen Bull machen" – Young German and Vormärz perspectives of the Irish Question*. In: Logie Barrow and Dirk Hoerder (eds.): *Arbeiterkultur und Industrialisierung*. Berlin: Argument, 1982, pp. 119-133.

The general consensus in Holl's, Grogan's, Bourke's and Stumpf's works is that some German commentators found conditions in Ireland to be comparable to those in Germany: the struggle for social equality, religious freedom and national cohesion. Some authors sympathise with Irish demands for religious emancipation and a measure of political independence, as they do with other oppressed peoples of Europe including the Poles and the Greeks. On the other hand, Holl and Stumpf recognise how other writers condemn what they see as a revolutionary leader in O'Connell because they reject dragging Catholicism into the political arena. Holl, Grogan, Bourke and Stumpf have acknowledged that on account of strict censorship in the German-speaking lands, commentary which criticised domestic conditions was often only possible by way of a discussion of non-German affairs, in other words, German commentary on Irish politics also reflects on and intervenes in inner-German debates regarding politics and religion. This view is not one which the current study seeks to refute, but, rather, to complement. German political interest in Ireland did not begin with the *Vormärz* period, although without a doubt this did form the highpoint of German interest in Irish politics. The political commentary of eighteenth century travellers and the attempts to 'explain' Ireland have been dedicated little attention. Oehlke briefly alludes to Küttner's commentary on the issue of legislative freedom attained by the Irish parliament in 1782 and the establishment of the Volunteers.⁵¹ Caspar von Voght's attempt at making sense of Irish conditions via an evaluation of the impending Act of Union has received no critical attention. Yet, Küttner and Voght provide a particularly eighteenth-century view on Ireland, the Irish people and the Irish question in how they apply enlightened ideals to issues such as religious intolerance and economic growth. Moreover, their views coloured by enlightenment thought are by no means restricted to the eighteenth century as echoes of, for example, the idea of the progressive perfectibility of man, can be found in works by authors of the first half of the nineteenth century. The current study hopes to expand the scope of the existing literature by including an evaluation of how eighteenth century authors 'explain' Ireland and how their views relate to their nineteenth-century successors.

By way of contrast to the existing critical literature, the questions raised by the present study are not so much concerned with the affirmation and/or rejection of certain images/stereotypes, but, rather, with how the identified images are framed using similar conceptual frameworks across individual narratives, and which purpose the images serve. Such frameworks include the aesthetic theories of the sublime and the picturesque, the trope of the savage and the discourse on the Celtic. That is not to say that stereotypes do not play an important role in coming to terms with the 'other'. Indeed, stereotypes provide a necessary

⁵¹ Cf. Oehlke: *Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, p. 42.

“Orientierungshilfe”,⁵² based on a reservoir of interpretive patterns which are part of a collective cultural inventory. Stereotypes help to simplify, generalise and thereby make sense of a complex reality; they fix manifold and changing experiences, thus simultaneously giving the observer the certainty to see through the ‘other’, to know the ‘unknown’. Furthermore, because they are often negative by nature, they can also create a feeling of superiority on the part of the observer.⁵³ Previous commentators such as Oehlke and especially Dohmen repeatedly underline how German travel writers in Ireland are beholden to stereotypes and existing images, therefore making “jede Möglichkeit zu einer vorurteilsfreien Sicht des jeweils anderen” impossible.⁵⁴ By contrast, Eoin Bourke claims that “the most reliable commentators are eye-witnesses who came to Ireland without any particular agenda, because with their lack of a basis for stereotyping they were capable of a fresh appraisal of Irish conditions”. He states of Pückler that “his mind was a clean slate” in relation to Ireland.⁵⁵ Observation, however, is never neutral, even when observers themselves claim to be free from prejudice. It is in the evaluation and modification of certain stereotypes that personal predilections and shifts in perspective as well as the intervention in the debates and discourses of the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century can be discerned. This study hopes to move beyond identifying stereotypes as such to seeing how they are employed and adapted, and the implications of this.

Structurally, the thesis is divided into eight main chapters. A loosely chronological approach has been endeavoured. Chapter Two ‘Framing Ireland’ considers how the aesthetics of the sublime and the picturesque provided observers with ‘ways of seeing’ and ordering nature. An examination of the extent to which authors adhere to certain aesthetic conventions is undertaken, conventions with which readers would have been conversant. These include framing devices such as panoramas and dioramas as well as compositional techniques familiar from painting. The chapter considers what overall image/images of Ireland emerge across the individual narratives. Whereas in landscape painting, figures were usually only included as staffage, in genre paintings and *tableaux vivants* human figures were the main subject matter. Chapter Three ‘Populating the Picture’ thus considers how genre paintings and *tableaux vivants* provided authors with categories according to which they could model narrative descriptions of smaller scenes. The extent to which the predominantly male authors employ these categories so as to maintain their distance from their predominantly female subjects is explored. These two chapters also trace the development in how picturesque modes of

⁵² Holfter: *Erlebnis Irland*, p. 14.

⁵³ Cf. Ulrike Stamm: *Der Orient der Frauen. Reiseberichte deutschsprachiger Autorinnen im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*. Cologne: Böhlau, 2010, p. 40ff.

⁵⁴ Dohmen: *Das deutsche Irlandbild*, p. 75; cf. also Oehlke: *Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, p. 10.

⁵⁵ “Paddy and Pig” *German Travel Writers in the “Wild West”, 1828-1858*, p. 145.

representation are employed, how they become conventionalised and to what extent authors criticise and engage with aesthetic conventions.

While the first two main chapters consider how authors convey their impressions of Irish nature and those they encounter in both urban and rural settings, the next chapters are concerned with how observers construct an image of the Irish people themselves and their alleged character, habits, behavioural patterns and cultural practises. Even though, on the surface, authors seem to have adopted different views of Ireland, the aim will be to identify how many of them are indebted to shared premises, including the trope of the savage, as well as racial, religious and political discourse. Chapter Four 'Constructing the Individual' considers how authors employ the trope of the savage in their attempts to convey an impression of the Irish people. This chapter highlights the various functions which the trope of the savage, both noble and ignoble, can fulfil in the construction of other peoples, and how similar observations can be interpreted in very different ways, depending on the individual author. Chapter Five 'Constructing the Collective' investigates the application of Herderian criteria of *Volk* and *Nation* in an Irish setting: to whom are the terms applied, who is included and who is excluded from the Irish *Volk* and *Nation*? How are ethnic, religious, cultural, geographical, historical and linguistic criteria applied in the construction of an Irish character? Furthermore, how do changing political circumstances inform perceptions? This chapter seeks to ascertain whether the application of cultural criteria in differentiating between *Völker* feeds into imaginings of 'Ireland' as a potential political entity. The overall aim of the chapter is to highlight just how ambiguous and contested the terms *Volk* and *Nation* are.

Chapter Six 'Racialising the Irish' traces the beginnings of the application of racial criteria in the depiction of an Irish collective from the 1820s onwards. This chapter outlines how new emerging academic disciplines such as physical anthropology and ethnology attempted to differentiate between peoples on the basis of supposedly scientific methods such as classifying the skull, facial features and general aspects of size, height and gait. These aspects, it was believed, gave clues to racial origin, which in turn was used to explain the behaviour, mentality and character of different peoples. This chapter considers the importance of the Anglo-Saxon dominance theory and the belief of some observers in Germanic superiority over those considered inferior, i.e. the Celts and the Slavs, in informing German travel writers' perceptions of the Irish and what agendas such depictions may have served.⁵⁶

Chapter Seven 'Changing Perspectives: The Emergence of Vormärz Rhetoric' outlines changing German views of Ireland and the Irish predominantly on account of new political

⁵⁶ Cf. Reginald Horsman: Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism in Great Britain before 1850. In: Journal of the History of Ideas, 37. 3 (1976), pp. 387-410.

criteria entering the discourse. This chapter aims to show that any change in perspective was a complex process in which not only political but also religious, cultural and racial criteria are deployed in conveying an image of the Irish collective. This is reflected particularly well in Chapter Eight 'Volkscharakter, Volksgeist and Völkerpsychologie' which highlights how, on account of the emerging discipline of *Völkerpsychologie*, a bundle of criteria, including class, political persuasion, personality or character type and cultural heritage join together to achieve a comprehensive, yet frequently contradictory profile of 'Irishness'. As in Chapter Five 'Constructing the Collective', the focus here in Chapter Eight is to bring out the often diametrically opposed views of an alleged Irish *Volksgeist* across and within individual narratives in order to highlight the very notion of a collective identity, as viewed from without, as a contested and ambiguous construct.

Finally, Chapter Nine 'Explaining Ireland' inspects how German authors attempt to make sense of Irish conditions. Many travellers display signs of puzzlement, indeed shock at conditions they encounter in Ireland. How can the lower classes have become so destitute given the abundance of Irish nature? How has it come about that there is such a striking contrast between the rich and the poor? Where is the urban middle class, the intermediary between the extremes? The manner in which German observers attempt to make sense of these conditions, for example through their evaluation of Irish politics, is the focus of the closing chapter. Here it is highlighted how commentary often pertains not only to Ireland but also to inner-German as well as pan-European political debates, thus underscoring how Ireland was increasingly placed within a European context. Throughout the thesis, consistent attention will be paid to how German admiration for Britain as well as British views of the Irish informed German opinions on Ireland. Furthermore, the question of whether and how the observers' own preoccupation with the German master-narrative of nation-building determines their conceptualisation of Ireland (as a potential nation) will be considered across chapters.

The analysis of the individual texts in light of the conceptual frameworks outlined above is by way of close-reading. For certain periods and/or topics individual authors form the basis of the discussion because their works are particularly good examples of certain perspectives. Regarding the texts chosen for the investigation, my focus is exclusively on non-fictional travel literature. By restricting my focus to the genre of travel writing I thereby restrict myself to the opinions of those who actually visited Ireland and had first-hand experience of the country. This approach is unique given that in previous discussions on the German image of Ireland a greater breadth of German-language discourse has been analysed, including works by authors who would only have known Ireland second-hand. I have considered all original published German-language travel writing of which I am aware for the period 1785-1850. This

includes around thirty works, ranging from book-length publications to travel narratives published as articles, as well as series of letters. These works stem from authors of diverse backgrounds. Their social profile is mainly that of the educated middle-class, including private tutors in the service of Anglo-Irish families, statisticians, ethnographers, merchants, doctors, historians and civil servants; there is also the odd aristocrat and political exile, as well as German soldier in British military service. Relevant biographical and historical information has been provided at the appropriate junctures. My understanding of the term 'travel literature' is in accordance with Peter J. Brenner's definition: travel literature refers to "die sprachliche Darstellung authentischer Reisen".⁵⁷ For this reason I have not included a travel book which predates Küttner's work, namely Johann Jacob Volkmann's *Neuste Reisen durch Schottland und Ireland vorzüglich in Absicht auf die Naturgeschichte, Oekonomie, Manufakturen und Landsitze der Grossen. Aus den besten Nachrichten und neuern Schriften zusammengetragen* from 1784, because as even the title suggests, there is no evidence that Volkmann ever visited Ireland. His work is a compilation of existing travel accounts available in German translation, for example he draws heavily on Young's *Tour in Ireland*. Finally, 1785 was chosen as the starting point for the investigation because it was the year in which the first 'authentic' German travel account on Ireland was published. 1850 was chosen as the end point of the investigation because it more or less marks the end of the historical period coined as the "Sattelzeit" by Reinhart Koselleck. "Sattelzeit" refers to the period between the late Enlightenment after the French Revolution up until the middle of the nineteenth century following the historical caesura marked by the Europe-wide March revolutions of 1848-49.⁵⁸ This was a formative period in modern European history: power structures within Europe underwent major changes following the French Revolution, democratic government provided new models in opposition to monarchies. The nation state emerged as a new model of political organisation. This project, therefore, focuses on how these seismic shifts in history and politics inform German views of Ireland.

⁵⁷ Peter J. Brenner: Einleitung. In: Peter J. Brenner (ed.): *Der Reisebericht. Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1989, pp. 7-13, here p. 9.

⁵⁸ Reinhart Koselleck: Einleitung. In: Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck (eds.): *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, vol. 1: A-D. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979, pp. xii-xxvii, here p. xv.

2 Framing Ireland

When late-eighteenth-century travellers visited foreign places and attempted to communicate their impressions to domestic audiences, they adhered to certain conventions, utilised specific modes of perception and integrated their descriptions into generic and narrative categories such as the picturesque and the sublime. Aesthetics equipped observers with ways of seeing, ordering and presenting new content to readers, while framing devices such as genre pictures, living pictures, panoramas, dioramas and moving panoramas provided observers with an inventory of medial models along which to arrange the images. Structurally and intellectually, nature was one of the first things a travel writer would deal with when visiting new lands. In the eighteenth century, the aesthetics of the sublime and the picturesque provided “new theories for appreciating nature” and “emphasised the emotional effects of objects on people”.¹ Such aesthetics could be applied to both landscape and other objects, such as people in a landscape setting. In an Irish context, many German observers sought out picturesque scenes in nature; in their representations they utilise framing devices and the compositional techniques familiar from painting. Figures in a landscape setting are often presented as idealised and removed from everyday reality by inserting them into compositions known from the antique and the pastoral. It becomes evident that observers arrived in Ireland armed with specific preconceptions. Oftentimes, they found exactly what they were looking for, but not always. When confronted with scenes which did not correspond to the picturesque or the sublime, observers reached for other ways to conceptualise their impressions. Indeed, they even critiqued scenes which did not correspond to their expectations. Some ways of seeing became conventionalised, such as the framing of Irish nature as a picture using commensurate compositional techniques. This chapter considers the ways in which German travellers to Ireland between 1785 and 1850 compose individual scenes and pictures within their respective narratives and how this informs an overall image/images of Ireland.

The interest in landscape description and appreciation in general in the eighteenth century can initially be traced to the belated influence of seventeenth-century landscape artists such as Claude Lorraine, Jakob Ruisdael and Nicolas Poussin.² These artists did not aim at an *imitatio* of nature, rather they depicted landscapes composed from different elements, such as tree-covered hills, individual groups of trees, winding pathways or waterways, roaring wild streams, man-made architectural elements, especially ruins, and also human figures such

¹ Melanie Wood and Alan Callender: *The Aesthetics of Travel. The Beautiful, the Picturesque and the Sublime*. Catalogue for an Exhibition at the Newcastle University Library's Special Collections, May-September 2004. Newcastle: Newcastle University Library, 2004, p. 3.

² Cf. William Williams: *Tourism, Landscape, and the Irish Character. British Travel Writers in Pre-Famine Ireland*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012, p. 21.

as farmers and peasants as well as mythological figures.³ These artists employed compositional techniques which followed classical models. Landscape scenes were always contained by framing devices, such as mountains in the background. Individual elements should interact in such a way that they formed a complete unit, thereby creating a harmonious relationship between the parts and the whole. Finally, the arrangement of masses in relation to distance should be dramatic yet harmonious. The task of classical landscape painting was “durch Studium und Erfindung die Natur im Gemälde auf das Ziel zu bringen, auf das sie angelegt war“, i.e. the perfection of nature through art.⁴

Such scenes were often based on idealised Arcadian-type landscapes in which man lived in unison with nature. They depicted secluded spots which appeared to be untouched by humans, somewhat eerie and yet idyllically pleasant and pleasing.⁵ In keeping with the geographic origin of an Arcadian-type landscape, southern landscapes corresponded to this ideal. The French artists Claude Lorrain and Nicolas Poussin spent most of their working life in and around Rome and this is reflected in their work. Jakob Ruisdael, on the other hand, was a Dutch landscape painter of the same period who applied Arcadian principles to northern objects in his paintings of the woodland and coastal areas around Haarlem and Amsterdam. The work of all three artists is characterised by how they are carefully arranged compositions that do not aim at a true pictorial record of reality. Landscape elements and light sources are arranged to produce contrast and variety.

The use of the term ‘picturesque’ to describe nature can be traced to this enthusiasm for landscape painting. ‘Picturesque’ implies that a scene might be viewed and appreciated as if it were a picture, although the term did not originally refer to landscape but could denote any “kind of scenery or human activity proper for a painting”.⁶ The close affinity between literary descriptions of nature and landscape painting is underlined by the use of the term ‘landscape’ itself. Historically, it was a specialist and technical term of the artist which was applied to the painterly representation of a scene from nature, and was subsequently applied to literary descriptions of nature.⁷ German travel writers to Ireland expressly describe Irish nature as if it were a picture, a painting, even an art gallery full of paintings. Visiting Ireland in 1794, Caspar von Voght describes a rainbow scene as “ein ruhiges Bild” (‘Schilderung von Irland’, 1796, CvV 579), while Edmund Heusinger describes the ocean as a “großartiges Bild”

³ Cf. Oskar Bätschmann: Landschaftsmalerei. In: Horst Albert Glaser and György M. Vajda (eds.): Die Wende von der Aufklärung zur Romantik. Epoche im Überblick. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2001, pp. 515-541, here p. 522.

⁴ Bätschmann: Landschaftsmalerei, p. 523.

⁵ Cf. Andreas Oehlke: Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1991, p. 130.

⁶ Malcolm Andrews: The Search for the Picturesque. Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989, p. viif.

⁷ Cf. Rainer Gruenter: Landschaft. Bemerkungen zur Wort- und Bedeutungsgeschichte. In: Alexander Ritter (ed.): Landschaft und Raum in der Erzählkunst. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1975, pp. 192-208, here p. 196.

(*Europäische Bilder*, 1841, EH 359). Touring Ireland in 1828, Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau depicts his impressions on the road along the Bay of Kenmare as an art gallery full of paintings: along the way “bilden sich bei jeder Wendung geschlossener und eben deshalb schönere Gemälde” (*Reisebriefe aus Irland*, 1830, HvPM 140). In this description, the importance of a contained scene similar to the classical compositional techniques of landscape painting is evident. Further examples can be found by Knut Jongbohn Clement who visited Ireland in 1838 (*Reisen in Irland*, 1845, KJC 131), Pückler (HvPM 88), Karl von Hailbronner (*Cartons aus der Reiseummappe eines deutschen Touristen*, 1837, KvH 294f.), Johann Georg Kohl whose journey took place in 1842 (*Reisen in Irland*, 2 vols, 1843, JGKR1 432) and Jakob Venedey who toured Ireland in 1843 (*Irland*, 1844, 2 vols, JV2 295), among others. These few examples provisionally illustrate how dominant the idea of describing nature as a picture was at that time.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century the interest in describing and appreciating landscape was expanded by philosophical and popular writings on the sublime and the picturesque, which emphasised the subjective element of the observer.⁸ Nature and landscape, previously experienced as a reflection of a divine and/or rational world order, now became the place for subjective experience and perception.⁹ The aesthetics of the picturesque and the sublime provided observers with ways of seeing and representing nature that, according to classical aesthetics of beauty, would otherwise have been perceived as wild, barren and desolate. According to Edmund Burke’s treatise *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, the qualities of beauty include smoothness, variety of parts which, however, appear to meld together, as well as clear, bright colours. In terms of size, beautiful objects should be comparatively small and “of a delicate frame”.¹⁰ While the qualities of beauty are perceptible, the sublime was a “state of mind” and not the “quality of any object”.¹¹ It was a subjective dual experience of awe and terror, delight and horror, in the mind of an observer who was confronted by vast, dramatic, infinite, obscure, dark and/or awe-inspiring and exceedingly beautiful objects such as those presented by nature. A narrow pass between vast, towering mountains, ragged cliff edges, thundering waves crashing against the shore – such scenes had the potential to overwhelm the imagination, but the observer was not presented with any sort of physical danger, thus producing a sense of delight in the face of such might. The initial effect of the sublime on the mind is astonishment, while admiration, reverence and respect are inferior effects according

⁸ Cf. Williams: *Tourism, Landscape, and the Irish Character*, p. 22.

⁹ Cf. Erdmut Jost: *Landschaftsblick und Landschaftsbild. Wahrnehmung und Ästhetik im Reisebericht 1780-1820*. Freiburg/Breisgau: Rombach, 2005, p. 14f.

¹⁰ Cf. Edmund Burke: *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. London: Dodsley, 1757, p. 103f.

¹¹ Wood and Callender: *The Aesthetics of Travel*, p. 17.

to Burke. Feelings of awe and admiration, however, can give way to those of terror as the imagination becomes overwhelmed. The world of the sublime is one in which objects cannot be contained and confined; such vastness and indistinctness render the mind unable to act or to reason. Man becomes aware of his inability to comprehend and control nature through “restrictive language and scientific laws”.¹² Immanuel Kant expanded on Burke’s notion of the sublime in that he argued that the observer was able to transcend feelings of powerlessness. On the one hand, one’s inability to comprehend the enormity of a sublime experience shows the inadequacy of the imagination. On the other hand, the ability to identify a sublime experience as singular but with a super-added thought of its totality and thus transcend one’s confinement demonstrates the superiority of man’s cognitive powers.¹³

Towards the latter half of the eighteenth century, picturesque theory became a third category alongside the beautiful and the sublime. The picturesque was a way of seeing, essentially “seeing with the eyes of painters”.¹⁴ It was based on describing and depicting objects and landscapes which were pleasing through the artistic principles of contrast, and which broke symmetry and provided for variety.¹⁵ The picturesque was associated with subjects which were broken, irregular, rough, disorderly, ruined, aged or in some way exotic.¹⁶ Just as seventeenth-century landscape painters such as Lorrain did not aim at an *imitatio* of nature, the picturesque as an aesthetic category did not strive for a true representation and critical observation and recording of objects. Rather, from its very beginnings, the picturesque contained an illusionistic moment. As a mode of seeing, the term implied the logical reduction of reality to those moments which lent themselves to a picturesque way of seeing.¹⁷ The ideal was a subjective and selective way of seeing that prized naturalness, originality and unconventional beauty. In his treatise on the subject, Uvedale Price maintained that the picturesque was “much less obvious” and “generally less attractive” than the beautiful or the sublime.¹⁸ Although the picturesque and the sublime encompass some of the same elements, a difference between the two may be suggested in the fact that the term picturesque implies that a scene might be viewed and appreciated as if it were a picture, i.e. nature was contained within a frame. In this context, David Punter’s observation is useful: “The Picturesque [...] represents the movement of enclosure, control, the road which moves securely and fittingly into the countryside, the comforting flanking of the ‘side-screen’ hills [...], the ego’s certainty

¹² Wood and Callender: *The Aesthetics of Travel*, p. 17.

¹³ Cf. Immanuel Kant: *Kritik der Urteilskraft*. Werkausgabe, ed. by Wilhelm Weischedel, vol. 10. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1974, p. 165.

¹⁴ Uvedale Price: *Essays on the Picturesque, as compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful (1794-1798)*, vol. 1. London: Mawman, 1810, p. xiii.

¹⁵ Cf. Wood and Callender: *The Aesthetics of Travel*, p. 13.

¹⁶ Cf. Williams: *Tourism, Landscape, and the Irish Character*, p. 26.

¹⁷ Cf. Friedrich Wolfzettel: *Malerisch/pittoresk*. In: Karlheinz Barck et al. (eds.): *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe. Historisches Wörterbuch in sieben Bänden*, vol. 3: *Harmonie-Material*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 2010, pp. 760-790, here p. 761.

¹⁸ Price: *Essays on the Picturesque*, p. x.

about the world it can hold and manage”.¹⁹ Control and containment replace the vastness and infinity of the sublime.

For German observers of the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century, Ireland presented them with nature in many forms: mountainous regions and coastlines were potential sublime landscapes while the cultivated, landscaped estate gardens provided endless picturesque scenes. Landscapes which were perceived as wild and eerie were sometimes linked to an Ossianic atmosphere. Some German travellers felt transported to other worlds by wild and uncanny Irish landscapes in which they often believed to perceive spirits and ghosts. Picturesque scenes were provided for by landscaped gardens; rugged mountain scenes and other ‘untamed’ nature also fitted a picturesque mode of seeing. By examining how impressions of how Irish nature are framed, it can be discerned how dominant the picturesque and the sublime were as ways of seeing and perceiving landscape, and how they, to a large extent, determined the images of Irish nature conveyed to domestic audiences.

2.1 Picturesque Ireland: Compositional Techniques and Subject Matter

The picturesque was a way of categorising the external world, as opposed to the sublime where the individual interacted with nature by negotiating internal and external limits. When a scene is perceived as picturesque, it is implied that it fulfills “some pictorial prescription in terms of subject-matter or composition”.²⁰ In terms of composition, viewing points, perspective, frames, back-, middle- and foreground as well as colour were important factors. Indeed, observers compose their verbal landscape descriptions by using the compositional techniques of landscape painting and the vocabulary of the artist. Observers firstly had to ‘find’ a picturesque scene; they had to seek out the best viewing point from which to frame their picture and they constantly search for and lead the reader to specific vantage points. Visiting Ireland in the years 1783 and 1784, Karl Gottlob Küttner finds “eine dreyßig Meilen weite Aussicht” from the top of a hill (*Briefe über Irland an seinen Freund*, 1785, KGK 274), while Caspar von Voght, describing a park, informs his reader “Man hat eine der schönsten Aussichten, wenn man aus dem Holze, das den See versteckt, heraus tritt” (CvV 593). Hermann von Pückler-Muskau even goes out of his way to find the best views, climbing mountains and hills, and taking paths less travelled: “Ich verließ hier die Straße und folgte einem Fußsteig im Dickicht, der mich zu einer sehr schönen Aussicht führte, wo am Ende der langen Schlucht die

¹⁹ David Punter: *The Picturesque and the Sublime. Two Worldscapes*. In: Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (eds.): *The Politics of the Picturesque. Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 220-239, here p. 226.

²⁰ Andrews: *The Search for the Picturesque*, p. vii.

Türme von Arklow, wie in Rahmen gefaßt, erscheinen” (HvPM 34, see also 42, 45 for similar examples). Here, Pückler is rewarded not just with a beautiful view but also a ready-made frame for the townscape. For the anonymous author of *Skizzen aus Irland* who travelled to Ireland in 1832 (*Skizzen aus Irland*, 1838, Sal), the battlements of a castle provide a good viewing point (Sal 14). Heinrich Brockhaus, whose journey took place in 1836, and Karl von Hailbronner inform their readers that the best viewing point for the Giant’s Causeway is from the sea and not from the shore (*Aus den Tagebüchern von Heinrich Brockhaus*, 1884, HB 322, KvH 295), while from the city walls and the church tower of Derry, according to Clement, one has “große herrliche Aussichten in die Täler, auf die See und auf die Kliffe und Berge” (KJC 35). From these examples it is evident that viewing points from heights were preferred – mountains, towers and hills. Finding a suitable viewpoint from which to appreciate nature was the first step towards a picturesque way of seeing.

Malcolm Andrews points to the difficulties some tourists endured when trying to place themselves at specific points in order to enjoy landscape, and notes that “much of the Sublimity arose from the sense of difficulty, even peril, in negotiating a way into the landscape”.²¹ To a certain extent the same can be said for the picturesque. For example, Voght describes his difficult descent of a slippery pathway to the Giant’s Causeway in order to view it from the shore, where he is rewarded for his efforts by “das herrliche Schauspiel” (CvV 577). Pückler wishes to climb atop a ruin, which proves dangerous because of the loose stones, in order to get a better view of the landscape around him. At the top he finds “Die Aussicht ist aber des Versuches wert” (HvPM 82). In these two examples there is never any real sense of danger. The adventure to gain access to specific viewing points seems only to add to the picturesque experience. As already mentioned, Pückler goes to great lengths to reach specific vantage points. On one particular occasion the report of the adventure to the top of a mountain is twice as long as the description of the view itself from this viewing point (HvPM 20f.). In these examples, observers ‘make’ the ‘object’, Ireland, by climbing it.

The search for such viewing points is directly linked to how authors present verbal landscapes using the compositional techniques of painting: the standpoint is inseparable from the perspective.²² A frame was paramount because the picturesque depended “on the character of boundaries” and “can never be infinite”.²³ Voght’s depiction of the Giant’s Causeway, for example, is enclosed to the left by the foothills and cliffs of Portrush, and to the right by the Causeway jutting out into the sea. Further compositional techniques include the

²¹ Andrews: *The Search for the Picturesque*, p. 219.

²² Cf. Brigitte Bender: *Ästhetische Strukturen der literarischen Landschaftsbeschreibung in den Reisewerken des Fürsten Pückler-Muskau*. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1982, p. 85.

²³ Walter J. Hipple: *The Beautiful, the Sublime, and the Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1957, p. 211.

arrangement of angular and sloping elements, as well as the lighting effect of colours.²⁴ The diagonal rows of basalt columns form a large bay, the profile of which is “wunderlich gezackt”; single columns are strewn about, others are half-broken or lie askew. The rising sun illuminates the scene and the play of light on water is emphasised as the waves refract the rays of the sun in their swelling mass, revealing all the colours of the rainbow (CvV 577). Voght finds the scene almost too powerful: “Malerischer sah ich nie das Meer: die Szene ist fast immer zu groß. – Ihre Extension schadet der Intensivität der Wirkung” (CvV 578f.). The effect the scene has on the observer suffers because of its vastness. In this the importance of containment for the picturesque as opposed to the sublime is underlined.

Heinrich Brockhaus utilises further compositional techniques in that he details the fore-, middle- and background of a lake scene from his view point on a boat. The middle ground is taken up with a waterfall decorated with picturesque ivy, in the foreground is a small, pleasant little island, while the background is formed by houses and splendid mountains (HB 320). Other framing devices for pictures include branches of trees and hedges as well as holes in walls and roofs, for example Kohl catches appealing views of the Killarney Lakes where the hedgerows, fences and walls allow the passer-by to glance through them (JGKR1 279). These examples underline how German observers imposed a particular way of ordering the world onto Irish nature; Ireland seems only to be a product of predispositions, conventions and efforts, subjected to and therefore made experientiable by familiar conventions taken from painting.

In the late eighteenth century the panorama picture as an art form became popular. The panorama was a transportable circular painting which depicted a painterly impression of a scene from a high standing point/point of view.²⁵ According to the Brockhaus *Bilder-Conversations-Lexikon* of 1839, one of the most important elements of the panorama was “durch zweckgemäßen Gebrauch von Perspektive, Farben und Licht es dahin zu bringen, daß solche Gemälde, begünstigt von einer angemessenen Aufstellung, dem Betrachter im Ganzen, wie im Einzelnen eine möglichst täuschende und so naturgetreue Anschauung gewähren, daß er sich selbst auf den Standpunkt des Malers versetzt glaubt”.²⁶ There seems to be some disagreement in the research literature as to whether literary descriptions of panoramic landscapes in travel writing influenced the emergence of the panoramic picture as an art form,

²⁴ Cf. Bender: *Ästhetische Strukturen der literarischen Landschaftsbeschreibung*, p. 85.

²⁵ Cf. Gert Sautermeister: *Reiseliteratur als Ausdruck einer Epoche*. In: Gert Sautermeister and Ulrich Schmid (eds.): *Zwischen Restauration und Revolution 1815-1848*. Munich and Vienna: Hanser, 1998, pp. 116-150, here p. 124.

²⁶ Panorama. In: Brockhaus *Bilder-Conversations-Lexikon*, vol. 3. Leipzig, 1839, p. 392.

or whether observers modelled their perception of landscape on panoramic paintings.²⁷ Erdmut Jost and Albrecht Koschorke make a claim for the former.²⁸ According to Jost, by 1800 the panorama of natural scenes, mediated through travel literature, already had a twenty year tradition.²⁹ In the context of German travel literature on Ireland, it is not possible to ascertain which emerged first since panoramic descriptions of nature are not evident before the late 1820s. In any case, panoramic portrayals of nature, be they literary or pictorial, influenced how German travel writers conveyed their impressions of Irish nature to domestic audiences: Pückler (HvPM 21, 82) and subsequent observers present panoramic views of the Irish landscape, including Clement (KJC 78, 140, 169, 435) and Moritz Hartmann (MH 20f.).

Early in the nineteenth century, technical innovations in the fine arts led to the development of the moving panorama and diorama. These advances spawned new ways of seeing and describing in the literary world. Whereas the panorama was one single, fixed painting, the moving panorama was a long roll painting consisting of separate, yet thematically linked scenes which was moved in front of the audience by way of a special apparatus, thereby creating the illusion of continuity.³⁰ The diorama, invented by Louis Daguerre and Charles Marie Bouton in 1822, consisted of a large canvas painted on both sides. An illusion of atmospheric changes was achieved by varying the amount and direction of light falling on the screen.³¹ Moving dioramas presented the audience with a sequence of pictures with sophisticated changes of light in scenes which incorporated billowing fog, moving clouds, foaming waterfalls, thunderstorms and the sunrise/sunset.³² The moving panoramas and dioramas focused on the most important highlights of a scene, i.e. they were selective and composed from both real and imaginary elements and often depicted historical alongside contemporary events.³³ Gerd Sautermeister points out how travel literature was both influenced by and had to keep up with such technical innovations, and ultimately had to compete with them in order to attract the reading public. The (technically produced) movement and variety of the portrayed objects, the panoramic prospect and the dioramic variety of a landscape as well as its contrastive or transitional play of light stimulated travel authors to reproduce such effects in their narratives, and they become essential elements of how landscape impressions are relayed to the reader.³⁴

²⁷ Cf. Jost: *Landschaftsblick und Landschaftsbild*, p. 15 and Steffan Oettermann: *Das Panorama. Die Geschichte eines Massenmediums*. Frankfurt/Main: Syndikat, 1980, p. 8.

²⁸ Albrecht Koschorke: *Die Geschichte des Horizonts. Grenze und Grenzüberschreitung in literarischen Landschaftsbildern*. Frankfurt, 1990, p. 162.

²⁹ Cf. Jost: *Landschaftsblick und Landschaftsbild*, p. 17.

³⁰ Cf. Erkki Huhtamo: *Global Glimpses of Reality. The Moving Panorama, a Forgotten Mass Medium of the 19th Century*. In: *Art Inquiry. Recherches Sur les Arts*, 4 (2002), pp. 193-228, here p. 193.

³¹ Cf. Huhtamo: *Global Glimpses of Reality*, p. 207.

³² Cf. Oettermann: *Das Panorama*, p. 26.

³³ Cf. Huhtamo: *Global Glimpses of Reality*, p. 209.

³⁴ Cf. Sautermeister: *Reiseliteratur als Ausdruck einer Epoche*, p. 125f.

Pückler presents Irish nature in a dynamic fashion to his audience. The first example discussed here shows the influence of dioramic transitions of light, while the second the influence of the moving panorama. Having climbed an artificial ruin atop a mountain (point of view/perspective), Pückler enjoys a panoramic view of the surrounding countryside. On two sides the eye wanders over the almost immeasurable plain; on the other two sides lies Lough Corrib. Pückler details the middleground of this picture: the lake meanders inland like a river and its waters gradually disappear into the lofty mountains between narrow mountain passes. The mountains of Clare and in the remote distance the dark, romantic mountains of Connemara form the background. The frame is “zu beiden Seiten des geöffneten Himmels dichter Regen, [...], der rundum jeden Blick in die übrige Welt verschloß“ (HvPM 82). What stands out about how Pückler depicts his impression of the scene is the detailed description of the lighting. Every object and every landscape needs a characteristic lighting to reveal an impression of its distinctiveness on the observer.³⁵ Lighting can emphasise, adjust and blur objects. Indeed, Pückler notes on another occasion, “Nichts gibt fernen Gegenständen eine größere Klarheit und ein verklärteres Licht” as the most pleasing light from the sun flashing out from behind black clouds (HvPM 37f.). This suggests that Pückler wants his objects to be in some way distorted, i.e. he does not strive for a true pictorial record of reality. Brigitte Bender notes that the ideal lighting effects in the Biedermeierzeit were the popular sun rises and sun sets.³⁶ Pückler captures how the light of the setting sun illuminates this scene:

Grade hier ging die Sonne unter, und die Natur, die meine Liebe zu ihr gar oft vergilt, zeigte mir diesen Abend eines ihrer wunderbarsten Schauspiele. Schwarze Wolken hingen über den Bergen, und der ganze Himmel war umzogen. Nur da, wo die Sonne jetzt eben hinter dem dunkeln Schleier hervortrat, erfüllte sie die ganze Bergschlucht mit überirdischem Lichtglanz. Der See funkelte unter ihr wie glühend Erz, die Berge aber erschienen wie durchsichtig im stahlblauen Schimmer, dem Brillantfeuer ähnlich. Einzelne stockige Rosenwölkchen zogen langsam in dieser Licht- und Feuerszene, gleich weidenden Himmelsschäfchen, über die Berge hin, während zu beiden Seiten des geöffneten Himmels dichter Regen, in der Ferne sichtbar, herabströmte [...]. Dies ist die Pracht, welche sich die Natur allein vorbehalten hat und die selbst Claudes Pinsel nicht nachahmen könnte. (HvPM 82)

The movement and dioramic variety of the landscape with its contrastive and transitional play of light is unmistakable: the overcast sky, the emerging sun from beneath the dark veil filling the ravine with light, the mountain coming into view, the clouds which move across the sky and over the mountains, and finally the gathering and breaking storm and heavy rain. The specific lighting of the scene is nuanced in its tonal value and changes the appearance of the objects: the dark ravine becomes filled with an ethereal radiance, the lake sparkles like molten metal while the mountains appear transparent in a steel-blue glimmer. Pückler finds nature

³⁵ Cf. Bender: *Ästhetische Strukturen der literarischen Landschaftsbeschreibung*, p. 90.

³⁶ Cf. Bender: *Ästhetische Strukturen der literarischen Landschaftsbeschreibung*, p. 90.

harmonious and complete in itself. The comment that even Claude's paintbrush could not imitate the scene shows that here nature does not need to be corrected and perfected by art, even though it is initially subjected to the same aesthetic criteria as an art object.³⁷

The second description from Pückler depicts a boat journey along the bay and into Cobh harbour. Here Pückler describes not just one single picture like that of Lough Corrib, but a series of individual pictures, each one contained in its own right but forming one continuous 'canvas' as he sails past:

Ein Teil dieser ohngefähr eine Viertelstunde breiten Bucht bildet für Cork, von der Meerseite, eine der schönsten Entreen in der Welt! Beide Ufer bestehen aus sehr hohen Hügeln, die mit Palästen, Villen, Landhäusern, Parks und Gärten bedeckt sind. Auf jeder Seite bilden sie, in ungleicher Höhe sich erhebend, die reichste, stets abwechselnde Einfassung. Nach und nach tritt dann, in der Mitte des Gemäldes, die Stadt langsam hervor und endet auf den höchsten Berge, der den Horizont zugleich schließt, mit der imponierenden Masse der Militärbaracken. So ist der Anblick von der See aus. Nach Cove zu verändert er sich öfters, nachdem die Krümmungen des Kanals die Gegenstände anders vorschieben. Die eine dieser Aussichten schloß sich ungemein schön mit einem gotischen Schloß, das auf den hier weit hervorspringenden Felsen mit vielem Geschmack von der Stadtkommune erbaut worden ist. Durch die vortreffliche Lage gewinnt es nicht nur an Bedeutung, sondern es erscheint, wenn ich mich so ausdrücken darf, wie natürlich dort. (HvPM 206f.)

The ever changing perspective as he sails along requires a dynamic rather than a static realisation of the landscape. He follows the coast and then the curves of the channel – the waterway acts as a guide which allows the landscape to develop by degrees before the eyes of the observer, all the while being contained by natural frames on either side which develop as he moves through the landscape. Only the characteristic elements of the scene are mentioned, i.e. villas, parks, gardens and the military barracks (in the nineteenth century Cobh was an important British naval base). The final picture is bounded by a gothic castle which appears organic in this landscape. This remark hints at how manmade elements are perceived as a 'natural' part of the landscape, here because of their picturesque qualities as rough and ruined objects. The anonymous author of *Skizzen aus Irland* also describes sailing into Cobh harbour as a sequence of pictures, however in a much less detailed, dynamic fashion (Sal 3).

As Pückler's boat turns into the narrow bay of Cobh, he establishes the frame of the picture: to the left a high coast covered with houses and gardens, to the right the rocky island Arboul. The bay in the middleground is filled with liners and frigates as well as two deportation ships; in the background the town of Cobh rises up built on steps on the mountain (HvPM 208). Again, only the characteristic and essential elements are mentioned and in Cobh these were marine buildings and ships. Pückler pays particular attention to the lighting in describing the

³⁷ Cf. Bender: *Ästhetische Strukturen der literarischen Landschaftsbeschreibung*, p. 97.

contrast the setting sun creates between light and shade. The sea and the ships appear perfectly black in the shadow created by the mountain, while the evening rays pour a glory of light over the town. Contrast within a landscape, be it between the gigantic and the idyllic, between steep, wild and/or barren stretches and lush vegetation, or between light and shade contribute to the overall effect of the picturesque.³⁸ Another technique borrowed from painting but applied here is the geometrical structuring of the picture. The half-circle of the rainbow functions as a second framing device which contains the middleground within its arch. The geometrical form of the circle and the half-circle is one of the most frequent geometric figures in landscape descriptions and is considered one of the most perfect geometric forms.³⁹ The rainbow contributes to a sense of balance and natural harmony between the high jagged coastline and the more traditionally beautiful curved shape of the half-circle. Finally, the transitional light of the sun as it appears from behind black clouds is detailed, as are the various metallic colours of the sun reflected in the water and windows. What is evident from Pückler's presentation of his impression of Cobh is his complete detachment from that which he observes. He mentions military buildings and even deportation ships, but they are subsumed under the picturesque to form a composed and complete picture. Pückler does not reflect on the political implications of Cobh as a military naval base and the deportation ships which transported the Irish to penal colonies in Australia and the Americas. The gothic ruins are also not linked to any specific history or setting, rather they seem to perfectly fulfil Pückler's search for the picturesque given his comment that they appear to be part of the natural landscape.

One of the most detailed panoramic landscape descriptions is by Moritz Hartmann, whose visit to Dublin in 1850 occurred towards the end of the period under examination ('Briefe aus Dublin', 1873, MH). In many ways, the manner in which he presents the Dublin coast to his reader is a culmination of the techniques and framing devices discussed thus far. He describes a panoramic view stretching from Howth Head in the north to Bray in the south using the compositional techniques of the painter, and he incorporates dioramic contrast and transitions of lighting. Reaching the top of a hill, the entire Killiney Bay suddenly opens up before him. The steep amphitheatre of hills and mountains geometrically construct and enclose the scene. The description is structured in such a way that there is a continuous movement upwards: the mind's eye is drawn from the sea below, up along the hills and mountains and finally into the distance to the Wicklow Mountains which enclose the scene. The tops of the bare mountains glow in the bright, burning sun shine, while colour and tonal range receive particular attention: the deep blue of the sea, the increasing brightness of the

³⁸ Cf. Bender: *Ästhetische Strukturen der literarischen Landschaftsbeschreibung*, p. 74.

³⁹ Cf. Bender: *Ästhetische Strukturen der literarischen Landschaftsbeschreibung*, p. 88f.

hues the higher they are, the soft rosy light which gradually transforms itself into shimmering yellowish gold, the incandescent sunshine and the dark blue and black of the mountains.

Hartmann notes a lack of habitation and vegetation on the hills near the shoreline; “Trotzdem macht Alles den Eindruck tiefen Friedens”. He concludes his panoramic description with the comment that it would not be difficult to imagine villas, vineyards and even olive and almond groves on the slopes, and in the middle of this paradise cheerful and happy people, all of which would easily inspire such beautiful pictures like those by Léopold Robert (MH 21). This suggests that Ireland is almost deprived of a character of its own; that it exists only in relation to conventional standards of beauty. Louis Léopold Robert was a Swiss artist of the early nineteenth century who was known for his genre paintings of idealised everyday Italian life. His works “blend Neo-classical rigour with Romantic sentimentality and subject-matter”.⁴⁰ Hartmann is obviously reminded of idealised Arcadian-type Southern landscapes, and according to Andreas Oehlke, this points to the extent to which “die vorgefundene Landschaft dem propagierten Landschaftsideal entsprach”.⁴¹ Yet, the scene Hartmann renders obviously lacks many elements of such a landscape. This suggests how observers imposed certain ideals and preconceptions onto nature. In contrast to Pückler, Hartmann’s mode of seeing is not completely detached from what he observes. He repeatedly inserts comments of a political nature, for example that the Wicklow Mountains are “die Heimat der Revolution” (MH 20). In this, Hartmann pursues a specifically political agenda which will be explored in the final chapter ‘Explaining Ireland’. Here, the fact that he includes such commentary shows how the conceptualisation of a landscape as picturesque and idyllic no longer occurs for its own aesthetic sake and, in Hartmann’s case, has become highly politicised. It simultaneously shows how a picturesque way of seeing has become a standard yardstick and point of departure for the pursuit of other concerns.

In these examples, for the most part, nature is perceived to be in and of itself already complete and perfect. Many authors discern harmony within Irish nature. In this, the influence of landscape painting is evident not just in the already discussed compositional arrangement of verbal landscape descriptions, but also in the subject matter itself deemed suitable for a picture. The Arcadian landscape was the ideal landscape of the Enlightenment period and “ein Zeichen für ein in der Wirklichkeit angestrebtes Harmonieideal” which found expression in the English landscaped garden.⁴² Ivy-clad ruins were another element of such a landscape which

⁴⁰ William Hauptman: Robert, Léopold. Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online. Oxford University Press. Available at: <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T072366> [accessed 28 May 2014].

⁴¹ Oehlke: Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen, p. 137.

⁴² Andrea Siegmund: Die romantische Ruine im Landschaftsgarten. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2002, p. 114.

pleased the picturesque eye. By examining these elements of subject matter, it may be ascertained what function and what effect such an idealised presentation of Irish landscape may have had on the reader.

In his impression of the Glen of Dargle, Voght depicts Irish nature in terms of the paradisaical:

Alles ist unglaublich, das Ganze und das Detail. [...]. Kühn und doch sanft, groß und doch so ruhig! Da müssen die Nymphen der Grotten den Hirten belauschen, der, unbewußt seiner Begeisterung, hohe Lieder singt. Wie sanft muß in diesen kühlen Schatten das müde Haupt, des Unglücklichen hinsinken an den Schooß der allerliebenden Mutter; hier, oder nie, muß der innre Sinn des Edeln sich unsterblich fühlen im Einklang mit der harmonischen Natur. (CvV 622f.)

Striking here is the harmony between the parts and the whole, an element of classical aesthetics of beauty. Contradictions are subsumed and the world 'makes sense'; there is no chasm between the moral compass of the observer (edel) and the moral quality of nature (harmonious). Irish nature is presented as a magical, timeless place linking it to an antique, pastoral ideal when it is imagined as the home of nymphs and shepherds. Pückler also perceives of harmony within Irish nature, harmony brought about through contrast. He describes the very pleasant change from travelling through a terrible ravine and then into a charmingly idyllic valley (HvPM 31). He presents the vale as a paradise in which the basic elements of a *locus amoenus* are present: trees/forest, running water and a grassy meadow.⁴³ On another occasion he claims that the mountains, water and trees are arranged in such a pleasing manner, "daß die wohltuendste Harmonie daraus entstand" (HvPM 135). For both Pückler and Voght, this sense of harmony in nature indicates an order that is organic, one that has not been imposed by man. Harmony stands for a unity between subject and object; the world is intelligible.

Numerous observers discern lushness and abundance in Irish nature. Voght describes ivy-clad trees, arbutus trees, dense forests thick with foliage, as well as various plants of Southern origin which are as indigenous in Ireland as in Montpellier (CvV 608f.). Other authors also mention palm trees and laurel bushes (Sal 13). What appeals to the observers is the contrast between wild yet lush nature. Such contrast not only reminds them of Mediterranean landscapes (for example KGK 125, CvV 609, MH 21), but also transports observers away from the present to a place of timelessness. Brockhaus is so uplifted by all the beauty which surrounds him that he believes he could just as well be on the Mediterranean seaboard somewhere between paradisaical Genua and Nizza as in Ireland (HB 319). The same sense of timelessness pervades Venedey's impressions of a lush valley: "Nirgend sah ich bis jetzt so

⁴³ Cf. *locus amoenus*. In: Margaret C. Howatson (ed.): *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, p.345.

schöne Gegensätze so mild ineinander verschmolzen. Wer hierher an einem reinen Sommerabende versetzt würde, möchte an die schönsten Gegenden des Südens und wahrlich nicht an das nordische Irland denken" (JV2 203f.). Venedey's evocation of the landscape takes him away not only from the present but also to a landscape setting which promises peace, quiet and plenty, or at least he projects this image onto the landscape. The common demoninator in all of these portrayals is the stylisation of Irish nature as an idyll; the journey through the Irish landscape is presented as a journey "in die zeitlose Natur und in vergangene Zeitalter".⁴⁴ The image of Ireland presented by these authors is one of a paradisiacal place which appears to be temporally, spatially and politically removed from any social realities. The impression of abundance overcasts any possible findings of poverty and destituteness; the evocation of harmony renders all social criticism spurious. This presents a paradox in a country where social, economic and political problems were rife in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Rough and ruined objects which break up monotonous landscapes were sought out by observers because such items were admired for their rugged contours and dilapidated masonry as objects of artistic and aesthetic pleasure. In depicting ruins as part of a picturesque landscape, there is a similar movement of presenting Irish nature as removed and detached from everyday life. Ruins were valued for their aesthetic effect in completing a picture. The narrator in *Skizzen aus Irland* observes how "Mehrere Ruinen im Gesichtskreise vollenden das Malerische der ganzen Landschaft" (Sal 15, for similar examples see HB 321 and HvPM 236). If there was one thing which could increase the picturesque effect of ruins it was ivy. Voght describes how thick, creeping ivy on the ruins of an abbey had smoothed out all the edges giving the building "ein malerisches Ansehen" (CvV 606). He is especially enthusiastic about the aesthetic possibilities ivy presents and praises "die magische Wirkung des Epheus, ein Gewächs das man nicht kennt, wenn man es nicht hier gesehen hat" (CvV 620). Ivy fulfils many picturesque tasks. It breaks symmetry and smoothness, but equally creates smoothness in a way that brings about contrast and variety where there would otherwise be only smoothness or only roughness. The smoothing out of surfaces can also be understood as an act of creating harmony, carried out by nature itself. Furthermore, ivy creates light and shade, forms patterns and decorates trees, ruins and roofs.

Ruins which heightened the effect of the whole and completed a picturesque scene were often praised as suitable subject matter for landscape painters, as was Irish nature in general (see KGK 275, CvV 613, JGKR1 294, JV2 363). In the ruins of an abbey, Brockhaus even comes across two painters working on a magnificent sunset and he claims that the abbey is

⁴⁴ Sautermeister: Reiseliteratur als Ausdruck einer Epoche, p. 127.

more than worthy of the artists' study because "aus ihr ließen sich die köstlichsten Bilder machen" (HB 321). Kohl writes that a painting of Irish ruins would form a deserving side piece to Ruisdael's graveyard paintings (JGKR1 303). All of these ruins are perceived by the observers as objects pleasing to the picturesque eye. They are undifferentiated ruins not associated with either the time or space in which they are found, rather they are appropriated to fulfil a specific aesthetic project.

The similarities in approach to the Irish countryside straddle many decades and are especially evident in the works of Karl Gottlob Küttner and Johann Georg Kohl. Their observations, made almost sixty years apart, point to an inherent paradox in labelling ruins as picturesque: they provide suitable subject material because they correspond to the aesthetics of the rough, ruined and broken, but, as briefly mentioned above, ruins also simultaneously and explicitly link nature to the past and are symbols of history. "The 'classic', 'learned' response would see the ruin primarily as a moral emblem of mutability; the later [picturesque] response would be less inclined to interpret than to indulge random melancholic associations or admire the rugged contours of broken masonry and the mixed tints of lichen and moss".⁴⁵ Irish nature in general and Irish ruins in particular make such an impression on Küttner that he presents Ireland as *the* country for landscape artists:

Irland ist das Land für den Landschaftszeichner. Das was man *the face of the country* nennt, das heißt, die großen Formen und Massen, als Berge, Hügel und Felsen, der Lauf der Flüsse, kurz alles, worauf der Mangel des Anbaus keinen Einfluß hat, ist vielleicht nirgends so schön als in Irland und in der Schweiz: und hierzu kommt noch in Irland die ungeheure Menge von Ruinen, als Kirchen, alten Thürmen, Capellen, Abteyen, Klöstern und zum Theil auch zerstörten Schlössern und Häusern, die alle mit dem schönsten Epheu reich bewachsen sind. (KGK 275f.)

Whereas the Italian pastoral speaks of care and cultivation, here Küttner accuses the countryside of being neglected when he notes the lack of cultivation. While those elements which are not affected by the neglect are compared to Switzerland, the Alps being the archetype of sublime and picturesque nature in the eighteenth century, it is suggested that Irish nature does not completely fulfil its aesthetic potential in terms of the cultivated pastoral ideal. Nevertheless, ruins heighten the picturesque effect and in this instance there are two categories of ruins: buildings which, through the passage of time, have fallen into ruin and castles and houses which have been subject to destruction. On another occasion, Küttner details the source of many of the destroyed buildings in Ireland:

An dem einen Ende der Stadt zeigen sich am Ufer des Flusses, die ehrwürdigen, mit Epheu verwachsenen Trümmer eines großen Schlosses, das Richard Strongbow erbaute, und das, fast sechshundert Jahre nachher, Cromwell zerstörte. [...]. Einen andern weit größern Ueberrest

⁴⁵ Andrews: *The Search for the Picturesque*, p. viii.

einer ehemaligen Abtey sieht man nahe bey der Brücke; ein schöner Gothischer Ueberrest, der auf einem grünen Hügel steht, und der auch Cromwellen [...] seine Vernichtung schuldig ist. Ich fand diese Trümmer so schön, daß ich nachher verschiedene male ansetzte, sie zu zeichnen; fand aber nie Zeit genug darzu. (KGK 69)

In this example, ruins are a product of political circumstance; however Küttner does not dwell on Cromwellian history at all, rather he sets himself in relation to the object. Even though the ruin is the emblem of a bygone culture, here it has been 'given back' to nature and released. As "entpragmatisiertes geschichtliches Zeugnis für ästhetischen Genuß", the ruin demonstrates "die Rückverwandlung von Kultur in Natur".⁴⁶ The fact that ruins in an Irish context are symbols of a history of conquest and colonisation and a culture destroyed does not hinder Küttner's enjoyment of them as objects of aesthetic pleasure since the ruins have been returned to nature. The comment that all the ruins are thickly clad with the most beautiful ivy (KGK 275) shows the perception of ruins as organic elements interwoven into the very fabric of nature itself. While this could refer to a healing character of re-naturalisation, an alternative vision for the ills of Irish society, it is evident elsewhere in Küttner's narrative, especially in relation to his views on Irish politics, that this is not his intent here. Rather, Küttner's comments seem to be more akin to the wallowing of the enchanted traveller.

In an Irish context, a further layer of meaning in relation to ruins is discernable since many ruins were 'new' ruins, i.e. dilapidated but lived in cottages as well as recently abandoned houses of emigrant families or those who were evicted by their landlords. These ruins did not just link nature to the past but also to the here and now. This link between nature and the present is inherently problematic. The aesthetic and the social converge, and yet one seems to cancel out the other. For example, Kohl notes how the most miserable cottages are often decorated with the most lush and abundant ivy which would be worthy of a noble ruin (JGKR1 89). He even postulates that if it were not for the ivy, some cottages would fall apart. Such lush vegetation serves to conceal what actually stands behind it: "Elend". Critics describe the "oddly double-edged relation" of the picturesque to time, history and the social: "On the one hand, time and mutability are essential to, and indices of, picturesque decorative effects; on the other, the Picturesque has been presented as resolutely ahistorical in its deflection of socially consequential interpretations of favoured aesthetic objects such as ruins".⁴⁷ This is evident in the examples presented here. Ruins are presented as ahistorical, as fulfilling some part of a pictorial prescription. With the case of Küttner the historical, of Kohl the social and

⁴⁶ Wolfzettel: *Malerisch/pittoresk*, p. 786 and 783.

⁴⁷ Stephen Copley and Peter Garside: Introduction. In: Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (eds.): *The Politics of the Picturesque. Literature, Landscape, and Aesthetics since 1770*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 1-12, here, p. 6.

economic meaning of ruins is clear, but even with this recognition, ruins are appreciated for their aesthetic value alone.

A kind of paradox emerges, a “peculiar circularity” in depicting the countryside as picturesque.⁴⁸ When Irish nature is presented as suitable subject matter for landscape artists, observers do so because they believe to have found scenes which correspond to a landscape ideal familiar to them from paintings, i.e. composed landscapes which were not based directly on actual landscapes. The paradox becomes more complex in instances where observers claim that, since nature is perfect, it would be impossible for the painter’s brush to imitate it, let alone that they as observers could adequately describe it. Nevertheless, they still attempt to and find a means to describe the indescribable. Comparisons provide one vehicle for description, for example to Italian landscapes (HB 318), or other landscapes which would have been familiar to a domestic audience (KvH 294f., EH 413). Voght resorts to hyperbole and exclamation in trying to convey an idea of just how green and beautiful the Irish countryside is: “Was ich durch die Phantasie der Künstler in ein Bild zusammen gedrängt, was ich in der Natur schöpferisch aufgestellt gesehen hatte, daran wollte ich denken, um zu vergleichen; umsonst, nichts hat in meiner Seele je dahin gereicht...” (CvV 622, see also 613 for a similar example). Yet, Voght finds a means of expression in the form of a string of adjectives.

For those who discern harmony and perfection in Irish nature, the landscape painter becomes superfluous and nature herself takes on the role of artist who has created perfect scenes. Voght praises nature for composing an endlessly diverse landscape out of only rocks, bushes, trees and water, a landscape which has an astounding effect on his mind (CvV 622, see also 612 for another example of nature as artist). Clement admires the mountains in Killarney because of how the setting sun throws a particularly pleasing light on them “und sie noch viel schöner gemalt, als sie in ihrer gewöhnlichen Pracht erscheinen” (KJC 133). Nature is also frequently perceived as producing “Schauspiele” or spectacles, with numerous examples to be found in the works of Küttner (KGK 8, 11), Voght (CvV 577, 588), Pückler (HvPM 82, 105, 172), Hailbronner (KvH 297), Heusinger (EH 418), Kohl (JGKR1 250, JGKR2 304, 312, 367) and Venedey (JV2 359). The abundance of examples not only demonstrates how dominant the perception of nature as artist/producer was, it also casts nature as an agent, a living and acting entity. This presents a contradiction in that, here, nature is ascribed an existence in her own right, but elsewhere nature exists only in the observer’s ‘frame’. The idea of nature producing spectacles dates back to the sixteenth century and is connected to the idea of nature as stage and the observer as spectator.⁴⁹ Nature is perceived as a theatrical space, takes on different

⁴⁸ Andrews: *The Search for the Picturesque*, p. vii.

⁴⁹ Cf. Florian Nelle: *Künstliche Paradiese. Vom Barocktheater zum Filmpalast*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005, p. 106f.

roles and brings together different scenes and terrains in a brief period of time.⁵⁰ Kohl notes: “Der Sturm führt manche interessante Schauspiele an dieser Küste herbei, wie wir bald sehen werden” (JGKR2 304), i.e. nature presents continual scenes to the spectator, and the observer is cast as spectator rather than a participant in the unfolding theatrical scene. This underlines how the observer remains separate from what he sees; he is passive and distant. On the one hand this might suggest that the traveller is no longer in control of his surroundings. Rather than imposing a way of seeing onto nature, nature appears to impose a sense of order over the spectator and reduce him to a by-stander as opposed to the creator of such pictures. Pückler, for example, discerns a connection to the Almighty Creator himself who reveals his power and might through spectacles of nature (HvPM 105). The role of the observer as spectator might imply a certain level of detachment; nature is a canvas, a stage, which provides entertainment for the traveller who is merely ‘passing through’, on his way from one place to the next, never stopping to consider anything in more detail.

2.2 Imperfection, Improvement, Perfection

Commentators became so conversant with picturesque aesthetics that they would also confidently critique nature which did not correspond to their ideal. All of nature, both natural and man made, could be subjected to this way of seeing. The Irish countryside was both imaginatively and physically subjected to improvement, with the evidence of the latter in the estate parks of the gentry. Here, nature had already been manipulated and ‘improved’ along picturesque lines by the owners, i.e. observers no longer had to find and select viewing points and elements from which to compose a scene since they were presented with ready-made ‘pictures’ at every turn in the park.

When nature did not correspond to preconceptions, it becomes evident just how much of a formative influence aesthetic discourse had on shaping tastes and perceptions. One complaint was the lack of trees in Ireland. Küttner perceives the bareness as taking away from the appeal of a landscape (KGK 116). The author of ‘Auszug aus einem Schreiben aus Irrland’ (1787, ASI 159), Pückler (HvPM 63) and Kohl (JKGR1 308) make similar comments. For Kohl, a landscape without any foilage lacks variety; there is no pleasant contrast between green meadows, pleasing rivers and tree-covered mountains (JGKR2 174). He even warns the reader not to trust “den romantischen Schattierungen der Landkarten”. Maps show great diversity of terrain which appears to be immensely enticing, but in reality the shaded map is deceptive

⁵⁰ Cf. William T. Hendel: Theatrical Representation of Landscape in Rousseau’s *La nouvelle Héloïse*. In: *Paroles gelées*, 21. 1 (2004), pp. 47-52, here p. 47f.

because Irish mountains are completely bare from top to bottom and mostly covered in bogland (JGKR1 263).

Apart from a lack of trees, flat landscape was generally perceived as displeasing to the picturesque eye. For Kohl and Pückler, lakes bounded by flat land are unappealing because there are no surrounding mountains to reflect in their waters (JGKR1 134, 30), or because picturesque views only present themselves from one side of the lake (HvPM 140). Even ruins and old buildings were not always perceived as fulfilling their picturesque task; some lacked any sort of charm (Sal 14) or special qualities (JGKR1 105). On such a bare plain, the ruins of one particular castle do not bring about any romantic effect for Pückler because the scene lacks “nur *einen* unterbrechenden Strauch” (HvPM 103, cf. also 214). Agriculturally-productive land was also deemed unpicturesque. What is lacking for all of these observers, it appears, is a sense of variety and contrast. The author of *Skizzen aus Irland*, for example, depicts one of the lakes of Killarney as less picturesque because its shores are flat and cultivated; “nur nach Süden hin werden sie kühner und wilder” (Sal 15). For Pückler, a ruined castle in the middle of a ploughed field is too unfavourable to create any sort of picturesque effect (HvPM 227). Kohl, on the other hand, claims that a flat plain can only please the eye through its careful cultivation (JGKR1 339). Kohl labels a stretch of countryside as one of the most uninteresting scenes, “denn es entbehrt sowohl den Anblick schöner Naturscenen, als den sorgfältiger und fleißiger Menschenwerke, wodurch die schmucklosen Ebenen zu entschädigen pflegen” (JGKR1 27). In general, eighteenth century picturesque aesthetics repudiated images of labour and agriculturally cultivated landscapes.⁵¹ “Moral, and picturesque ideas do not always coincide. In a moral light, cultivation, in all its parts, is pleasing; the hedge, and the furrow; the waving cornfield, and rows of ripened sheaves. But all these, the picturesque eye, in quest of scenes of grandeur, and beauty, looks at with disgust.”⁵² By contrast, Kohl’s presentation of the Irish countryside reflects changing perceptions and a move away from a purely aesthetic to a more moral and socially conscious view of nature, whereby scenes of agriculture and industriousness were indicators of progress in the nineteenth century.

Where Irish nature was perceived as non-picturesque and uninteresting, it was often the sight of landscaped park land which broke the monotony and provided contrast for the traveller (cf. Friedrich Ludwig von Wachholtz, *Aus dem Tagebuch des Generals Fr. L. von Wachholtz*, 1843, FLvW 443 and Magdalena von Dobeneck, *Briefe und Tagebücher aus Frankreich, Irland und Italien*, 1843, MvD 44). For Voght, the appearance of a landscaped garden is especially pleasing to the eye because he has not seen one for such a long time and

⁵¹ Cf. Andrews: *The Search for the Picturesque*, p. 9.

⁵² William Gilpin: *Observations, Relative Chiefly To Picturesque Beauty*, vol 2. London: Blamire, 1792, p. 44.

“n’en deplaise MM Knight und Price, sie schien uns sehr lieblich” (CvV 586). Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price were English theoreticians of the picturesque and here Voght explicitly and instantly conveys his impressions of this park just by mentioning their names. Pückler finds Irish cottages to be miserable beyond all description and the appearance of the landscape meagre *“bis man sich dem Gute meines Freundes nähert, wo die Natur freundlicher wird”* (HvPM 63). In all of these observations, parks are appreciated for their aesthetic value and depicted almost like an oasis in the desert.

Picturesque aesthetics were closely related to landscape garden theory. The idea behind estate parks was to modify and ‘correct’ actual nature according to the dictates of the picturesque in a way that the remodelled nature would appear natural, and transitions between ‘pictures’ or ‘scenes’ should appear gradual.⁵³ The English landscape garden replaced the symmetrical grid layout of the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century formal Baroque gardens with a more ‘natural’ design that aimed to imitate Arcadian landscapes. Garden designers were inspired by the classical landscapes of the likes of Lorrain, Poussin and Salvator Rosa. Just as landscape painting was composed from different elements, so, too, was the landscape garden an artificial composition of different objects made to look as though they might occur naturally in a given setting. Artificial lakes and hills, constructed rock formations and specially-planted trees were carefully arranged, while Greek temples, gothic ruins, Palladian villas, hermitages, pyramids, bridges, triumphal arches and grottos decorated the garden.⁵⁴ By directly applying the compositional conventions of painting to the layout of gardens, the distinction between art and nature became increasingly blurred.⁵⁵ In 1843, Johann Georg Kohl comments on the close connection between landscape painting and park enthusiasm when visiting Wicklow: *“Ich begreife vollkommen, daß man in England für die Ruisdaels und Hobbemas so ungeheure Preise bezahlt, da eigentlich jeder englische Parkbesitzer sich auf’s Eifrigste bestrebt, ein guter Schüler dieser Künstler zu sein und Baumgruppen in der Wirklichkeit so zu schaffen, wie sie dieselben auf der Leinwand darstellen”* (JGKR2 94). Meindert Hobbema (1638-1709) was a student of Jakob Ruisdael (1628-1682), who focused on woodland and water scenes and, as Kohl points out, it was exactly this which made these paintings so popular with landscape gardeners.

It was in the English landscaped park where all the ‘imperfections’ of nature had been ‘corrected’. Indeed, some observers claim that a landscape had even been created by the park owners where there was previously none. From around the mid-eighteenth century, the type of the English garden becomes part of a theoretically and conceptually defined paradigm of the

⁵³ Cf. Wolfzettel: *Malerisch/pittoresk*, p. 779.

⁵⁴ Cf. Hans von Trotha: *Der englische Garten*. Berlin: Wagenbach, 2011, p. 7f.

⁵⁵ Cf. Andrea Siegmund: *Die romantische Ruine*, p. 68.

picturesque. The important elements of this concept of garden design included the transfer of impressions and ideas of pictures onto the concrete vision, and selection and revaluation of reality according to criteria taken from painting. Emphasis was placed on the affective moment of direct interaction with nature. Further elements included the unity of impression as well as striking colours.⁵⁶

From 1730s onwards, in both England and Ireland, landscaped gardens were created. By the middle of eighteenth century, the English Garden Tour had already been established, whereby visitors and especially continental visitors toured English parks. They subsequently began to design landscape gardens in their home countries.⁵⁷ In the second half of the eighteenth century the first parks modelled along the English landscaped garden design were created in Germany. Wörlitzer Park was developed from 1769-1773 under the reign of Fürst Leopold III. von Anhalt-Dessau. The garden architect Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell was responsible for many of the English landscaped gardens in Germany, for example Park Schönbusch in Aschaffenburg (early 1780s) and the English Garden in Munich (from 1789).⁵⁸ Furthermore, between 1779 and 1785 Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld's *Theorie der Gartenkunst* was published, in which he advocates the English landscape garden and gives a theoretical overview for a German-speaking audience.⁵⁹ Thus, the years of the very first German travel account on Ireland (1783 and 1784) correspond to the beginnings of the creation of English landscape gardens in Germany. Karl Gottlob Küttner dedicates two lengthy passages to conveying an idea of an estate park to his readers, "da man das auf dem festen Lande nicht kennt" (KGK 14). Even though the English Garden Tour had been established in England, for a general German-speaking audience in the 1780s the idea and layout of an English landscaped garden would still have been relatively unknown. Subsequent German visitors and readers of the nineteenth century, however, would have been more familiar with the aesthetics of English landscaped gardens, i.e. it would have been something they could identify with. In both England and Germany the landscape parks were open to the public from the very beginning.⁶⁰ This was generally not the case in Ireland, where only visitors of certain social standing and continental tourists would be admitted entry. Among the parks visited most frequently in Ireland by German observers were Powerscourt estate which was redesigned along the new style 1731-1741, Curraghmore estate and Bantry House, the grounds of which were laid out circa 1750 and 1790 respectively.

⁵⁶ Cf. Wolfzettel: Malerisch/pittoresk, p. 782.

⁵⁷ Cf. Hans von Trotha: Der Englische Garten, p. 17.

⁵⁸ Cf. Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen: Park Schönbusch, Aschaffenburg. Available at: http://www.schloesser.bayern.de/deutsch/garten/objekte/as_pom.htm [accessed on 9 April 2014].

⁵⁹ Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld: *Theorie der Gartenkunst*. 5 vols. Leipzig: Weidmann, 1779-1785.

⁶⁰ Cf. Hans von Trotha: Der Englische Garten, p. 23.

When articulating their initial impressions of estate parks, Küttner, as well as Voght (CvV 608), Pückler (HvPM 18f., 50, 146f.), Dobeneck (MvD 44), Clement (KJG 134), Kohl (JGKR1 164) and Venedey (JV2 363f.) express pleasure and delight at the realisation of a landscape ideal. This is important because some of these authors also use Irish nature in general and parks in particular as a springboard to critique political, social and economic circumstances in Ireland. Küttner provides the following depiction of the variety and contrast in the constantly changing prospects:

So wie man sich vom Hause entfernt, kommt man bald in eine Allee, bald in ein Wäldgen von Nußbäumen, bald an eine Grotte im dicken Gebüsch, bald an eine Hütte, welche der Schäfer, oder an eine andere, welche der Kuhhirt bewohnt; oder an den Maierhof, oder auf eine Anhöhe, von der Sie viele Stunden weit auf den Sure sehen können [...]. Doch hat man die weiten Aussichten sorgfältig vermieden, und ein Theil des Parks wechselt immer so mit dem andern ab, kurz, er ist so angelegt, daß Sie das Ganze nur hin und wieder übersehen können. (KGK 16)

Vast, infinite views of the whole are carefully avoided – containment was one of the key elements distinguishing the picturesque from the sublime which, according to Küttner, has been carefully implemented in this cultivated landscape. In order to create a sense of ‘natural’ containment, Küttner explains that what at first glance appears to be a wilderness around the boundary of the park is not natural, but a kind of forest which has been specifically planted there. Another ‘natural’ border which contains individual sections of the park is formed by a wide stretch of water which looks like a river but is actually an artificial canal (KGK 14f.). For Küttner, the park makes the impression of “Freyheit und Wildheit” on him, even though everything is actually carefully manipulated and controlled to bring about exactly this impression (KGK 17), and herein he perceives the accomplishment of the park: “Ohne Unterlaß entdeckte ich etwas Neues und Anziehendes, oder ich komme der Kunst auf ihre Spur, in Partien, wo ich zeither bloß Natur ahndete. Wenn die Kunst so fein versteckt ist, so versichere ich Sie, lieber Freund, daß sie sehr liebenswürdig ist, zumal wenn alles so sehr ins Große geht, wie hier” (KGK 21, cf. also 273). The accomplishment of this park is that art is finely and seemingly unnoticeably integrated into nature.

This observation is repeated by numerous subsequent German travellers in Ireland (cf. for example HvPM 34, 18f., Sal 15, JGKR1 163). Important for these observers is that nature still makes an impression of wildness. Kohl, for example, perceives of an enticing balance between the elegance and beauty of art, and the powerfulness and magical charm of nature in an estate park. Here, the original and wild character of a steep slope has been preserved; this “wilde Partie” stands in contrast to the “Culturseite” where the shrubberies, flowers and an orchard are located (JGKR1 163). Pückler not only discerns a pleasing balance, but the absolute

harmonious union of art and nature. Art is discernible only in the most perfect harmony. Otherwise, it appears to vanish into pure nature, therefore not one extra tree or bush shows itself than has been put there by design. The views and paths are wisely husbanded and present themselves as organic and inevitable. The result is endless variety for the observer. “Jede mögliche Varietät im Gebiet des Schönen [wird] hervorgebracht” (HvPM 146). The influence of classical aesthetics is clear: Pückler perceives a harmonious relationship between parts (individual decorations on the house) and whole (well-constructed nature of the building) when moving the estate house into view. Picturesquely interrupted by scattered groups of trees, the house is labelled as “altertümlich pittoresk”, a deceptive imitation of true antiquity. Just as the owner had intended, however, it is a new building made to look old. This reveals the fixation with furnishing picturesque ‘prospects’ with artificial ruins and old buildings. It also reveals the impulse to not just improve nature but to create picturesque scenes from scratch, so to speak. This is underlined by Pückler’s praise for the landlord who created this park “aus dem Nichts” (HvPM 149), i.e. the landlord is perceived as having not just improved, but created *and* perfected nature, as imposing order on an empty and wild landscape. The perceived harmony which results from the imposition of order creates a unity between subject and object; just like Irish nature labelled harmonious, the world of landscaped gardens is appealing because it is intelligible.

The English landscaped garden was meant to promote the importance of the individual subject and his interaction with nature; it was a theatre of the imagination and feelings.⁶¹ According to Wolfzettel, the picturesque is always a perspective, subjective way of seeing, “das im kontemplativen Akt ein inneres Ergriffensein und ästhetischen Selbstgenuß mit erbaulichen Zügen impliziert”.⁶² Küttner labels the estate park as so beautiful, so romantic and so tailor-made for a sensitive heart, that he knows hardly any other places “die angemeiner in Phantasien wiegen oder die Einbildungskraft mehr zur Schwärmerey reizen könnten” (KGK 22). Such surroundings remind him of the story of Heloise. Here he seems to be referring to *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1761), epistolary novel written by Rousseau. The novel is based on the love story between Saint-Preux, a middle-class private tutor, who falls in love with Julie, the daughter of an aristocratic family. The pair never marry, however, because of their different social stations. Küttner imagines the park as “der Wohnsitz zweyer Liebenden, die, abgesondert von der Welt, sich selbst genießen wollen” (KGK 189). In Küttner’s eyes, the park is an asylum, a poetic and romantic paradise. Indeed, this is how Saint-Preux perceives Julie’s garden, where he is struck by the illusion that the garden is completely natural.⁶³ For Saint-

⁶¹ Cf. Florian Nelle: *Künstliche Paradiese*, p. 14.

⁶² Wolfzettel: *Malerisch/pittoresk*, p. 778.

⁶³ Cf. Hendl: *The Theatrical Representation of Landscape in Rousseau’s La Nouvelle Héloïse*, p. 50.

Preux, the garden is a “Zufluchtsort [...], an den er sich von der künstlichen gesellschaftlichen Ordnung [...] zurückziehen kann”.⁶⁴ Pückler’s depiction of the estate park in Kenmare also indicates the affective element of the picturesque. He perceives beauty as never being displayed nakedly, but sufficiently veiled so as to leave enough room for the play of the imagination. According to Pückler, a park should awaken just as many new feelings and thoughts as it expresses (HvPM 146). Küttner and Pückler thus create an image of Irish landscaped nature as a place of escape which, together with the perception of Irish nature as a Southern, Arcadian idyll, feeds into an image of the Irish landscape as exotic.

German travellers correspondingly praise those whose efforts have brought about the improvement and even perfection of nature. Pückler, Küttner, Dalem, the author of *Skizzen aus Irland*, Clement and Kohl all enthuse about the good taste of the landlords and the efforts they have invested into the Irish countryside, especially in making the wilder and more barren areas into beautiful, cultivated parks (HvPM 49, KGK 116, JMD 468, SaI 15, KJC 134, JGKR1 162). Pückler, for example, believes that nature’s gifts have been wisely exploited by the landlord (HvPM 49), while Kohl praises the landlords for their taste in where they build their big houses and estate parks: “Die Briten (die Irländer eingeschlossen) verstehen es besser als irgend eine Nation, sich einen schönen Fleck für einen Landsitz auszusuchen und sich in seiner Nachbarschaft ein kleines Eden zu schaffen” (JGKR1 162). Indeed, as constructed nature, the landscaped garden was seen as the expression of the productive capabilities of the subject and no longer in reference to God as creation, as was the case in the Baroque period.⁶⁵ It seems to be this understanding of landscape as a product of artful creation against which the observers’ praise of the landlords can be understood. From a touristic point of view, William Williams points out that the landlords in Ireland invested in “the country’s infrastructure of roads, market towns and inns, gradually opening up many parts of the countryside to visitors”.⁶⁶ Estates themselves were the first tourist attractions and Williams describes how “estate tourism” developed, something which was already taking place in Britain at that time in the form of the English Garden Tour. Furthermore, since many of Ireland’s natural beauty spots could only be accessed through estate lands, landlords “literally organised the ground for tourists” by opening up their properties to visitors.⁶⁷ Dalem, Voght, Clement and Pückler comment on the various facilities that were in place at the times of their visits. Indeed, Voght is surprised by the number of amenities he finds in Killarney:

Es ist wirklich überraschend, hier in einer wilden Ekke Irlands Anstalten für den angenehmen Genuß des Sees zu finden, die man nirgends in Europa antrifft; bequeme Chaloupen von

⁶⁴ Andrea Siegmund: Die romantische Ruine, p. 73.

⁶⁵ Cf. Andrea Siegmund: Die romantische Ruine, p. 69.

⁶⁶ Williams: Tourism, Landscape, and the Irish Character, p. 8.

⁶⁷ Williams: Tourism, Landscape, and the Irish Character, p. 9.

verschiedener Grösse; erfahrene Schiffer, denen man sich bei manchen gefährlichen Stellen der Schifffahrt auf diesem See sicher anvertrauen kann; zwei recht gute Waldhornisten, die auch allerlei andere Instrumente spielen; kleine Canonen, um das Echo zu hören; Lusthäuser auf den Inseln, wohin man sein Frühstück und Mittags-Essen auf diesen Walfahrten, die immer den ganzen Tag dauern, bringen lassen kann. Der Lord Kenmare, dem der größte Theil der Gegend um den See und des Sees selbst gehört, hat dieses alles eingerichtet. (CvV 605)

These 'wild' parts of Ireland were made accessible and equipped with the services required by the tourist, all thanks to the landlord. Dalem, Pückler and Clement similarly note various tourist amenities including summer houses, benches strategically placed at particular viewing points and pathways built through forests and over mountains (JMD 461, HvPM 30, 50, KJC 134). From an aesthetic and touristic point of view, the landlords created landscaped park land and the infrastructure for tourism to take place in the first place. Estate parks, however, also carried ideological and political meaning. The English landscape garden was more than just the fulfilment of an aesthetic ideal, it was meant to symbolise the freedom of the individual and his subjective interaction with nature, something which Küttner and Pückler discern as being successfully realised in Irish estate parks. Unlike the baroque gardens, of which the stern geometry was meant to reflect the strict regulated power of the absolutist monarchy, the landscaped garden with its 'natural' design was supposed to be a symbol of liberalism and democracy open to everyone, a place where social status was not important and individual interaction with nature was given room to develop. German travellers commend Irish landlords because of how they have embraced and implemented such principles. Yet, this appears problematic and contradictory since the estate parks in Ireland were generally not open to the public; they were the reserve of the upper classes. Pückler and Venedey are the only two authors to comment on this, but in Pückler's case it never seems to detract from the aesthetic pleasure to be had in the park. Comments which praise landlords for cultivating wild and barren nature, for 'creating' landscape, reveal the political ideology on the part of the observers as well as the observed, namely that the results justify the means; considerations of beauty supercede considerations of social justice. In this light, it would appear that no fault is found in the system of landlordism itself. Although German travellers point out miserable social conditions and even criticise landlords on occasion, they do not seem to find it contradictory that, regarding aesthetics, landlords implement principles of the Enlightenment, but fail to do so in other respects.

2.3 The Irish Sublime and Ossian

The aesthetics of the sublime enabled “tourists to aestheticize and enjoy the wilder aspects of Ireland”.⁶⁸ Scenes were termed picturesque because they fulfilled specific criteria in terms of subject matter and composition. The sublime, which “existed alongside and incorporated the picturesque”, was a “state of mind” rather than the “quality of any object”.⁶⁹ The picturesque relied on boundaries to contain the objective world, while vastness and obscureness could occasion feelings of the sublime; the individual interacted with nature negotiating internal and external limits. During the Romantic period, the sublime was accompanied by a spiritual, contemplative, transcendental reaction to nature: “Der Bereich des Erhabenen ist die – religiös erfahrene – Natur”.⁷⁰ In an Irish context, when nature is described as sublime it is often linked to an Ossianic atmosphere. According to Wolf Gerhard Schmidt, evocations of nature in the Ossian poems are closely connected with the emerging discourse of the sublime.⁷¹ Ossianic landscapes were characterised by the wildness of the natural landscape, essential elements of which included the turbulent ocean, a rugged, rocky shore, an overcast sky, a blustering storm, the pale face of the moon over barren, mountainous slopes, raging currents of water, fog-covered lakes and lonely moors.⁷² Schmidt identifies specific passages from the Ossian poems in which landscape descriptions share affinities with the Burkean sublime in terms of terror, obscurity, vastness, infinity, magnificence as well as light and darkness. He even postulates that a “locus ossianicus” developed which aesthetic depictions of landscape were modelled on in works up to and including those by Caspar David Friedrich.⁷³ Despite the controversy regarding the origin of Ossian and the originality of the poetry, Ossianic landscapes appear to have influenced how German travellers convey their experiences of the wilder parts of Ireland. The impact of Ossian was twofold. Firstly, it can be discerned in terms of the content of a sublime scene, e.g. stormy seas, bleak mountains and/or lonely moors, and secondly, in how nature can be suggestive of and transport the observer to other worlds and other times.

On one occasion, Caspar von Voght evokes the sublime in describing the flow of a terrible torrent under an old bridge. He conveys how the waterway narrows and turns just before a precipitous rock face of vast dimensions which juts out of a forest “in wilder Maiestät” and protrudes into the clouds (CvV 609). Greatness of dimension, the perpendicular rock face, its rugged and broken surface are indicators of the sublime. The stillness and

⁶⁸ Williams: *Tourism, Landscape, and the Irish Character*, p. 24.

⁶⁹ Wood and Alan: *The Aesthetics of Travel*, p. 17.

⁷⁰ Wolfzettel: *Malerisch/pittoresk*, p. 783.

⁷¹ Cf. Wolf Gerhard Schmidt: *James Macphersons Ossian, zeitgenössische Diskurse und die Frühphase der deutschen Rezeption*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003, p. 132.

⁷² Cf. Astrid Grewe: *Ossian und seine europäische Wirkung*. In: Klaus Heitmann (ed.): *Europäische Romantik II*. Wiesbaden: Athenaion, 1982, pp. 171-188, here p. 177.

⁷³ Cf. Schmidt: *James Macphersons Ossian*, pp. 140-149 and p. 350.

quietness in such a setting conjure up ideas of the mystical. Voght imagines the place to be the home of the nymph Echo, thus reconnecting it to antique mythology and evoking classics, therefore incorporating the sublime-like depiction into his narrative of otherwise more harmonious landscapes.

The development of the sublime coincided with the discovery of the sentimental subject who finds in nature the preferred place of encounters with the self.⁷⁴ This is reflected in both Pückler's and Venedey's presentation of their experience of Irish nature. Pückler terms an awful ravine as a "wilde Naturszene". The scene begins with a gothic castle which rises out of the surrounding woods, the walls of which are blackened from smoke. Then he is plunged into a glen; the surrounding cliff faces close in on him and a storm picks up. Suddenly, the path is closed off by a powerful waterfall (HvPM 30f.). Apart from the vastness of the masses of rock, their irregular contours, the obscurity caused by the branches which block his vision and the element of the terrible brought about by the raging torrent, other elements indicating the sublime include the colour, sound, and the suddenness of the waterfall. According to Edmund Burke, colours considered productive of the sublime are somber and dark, while the noise of a raging torrent is counted as an acoustic effect of the sublime. Finally, suddenness awakens a sense of danger which causes one to be on guard.⁷⁵ Yet, there is never any real sense of danger on Pückler's part, rather feelings of awe and admiration at the magnificent cascade, the lesser effects of the sublime, when he perceives an otherworldly presence behind the force and might of the waterfall.

By moonlight, wild Irish nature has a more powerful effect on Pückler's mind as he imagines his surroundings becoming uncanny and even magical. He describes the thought-provoking stillness and the sweet yet awful loneliness of the night (HvPM 32). This is akin to the delightful horror of the Burkean sublime, while night-time and darkness in general are more conducive of sublime feelings since night can conjure up notions of indefinable apparitions and ghosts.⁷⁶ This magical, fantastical atmosphere is also reminiscent of an Ossianic landscape full of apparitions where the ghost in the storm and in the wilderness increase the sublimity of the depiction of nature.⁷⁷ While Pückler does not claim to perceive ghosts here, on another occasion he does and goes as far as to render his portrayal of nature "in den wüstesten Gebürge von Irland" (HvPM 178) according to the literary model of the 'Schauerromantik' as he invokes the devil: Pückler feels captivated by the superstition of the mountains and thinks only of Rübezahl, the fairys and the evil ones, of incantations and

⁷⁴ Cf. Schmidt: James Macphersons Ossian, p. 136.

⁷⁵ Cf. Burke: A Philosophical Enquiry, p. 64f.

⁷⁶ Cf. Burke: A Philosophical Enquiry, p. 42f.

⁷⁷ Cf. Schmidt: James Macphersons Ossian, p. 98.

apparitions so that the atmosphere becomes increasingly eerie. On the mountain top, a terrible storm rages. Fog and dusk make everything appear obscure. In-between states such as twilight, frequent settings in Ossian, provide the perfect backdrop for Pückler to invoke spirits. He calls out his incantation three times, then turns around to see a limping figure approach him (HvPM 152ff.). The elements of a 'Schauerromantik' are present, i.e. the melancholy and longing, wandering mountains alone at night, twilight, the storm, the fascination with evil and the incantation of the devil. But Pückler does not furnish his 'Schauerromantik' with the ritual and outcome of the original, i.e. hysteria, madness and even suicide. Instead, Pückler portrays the scene with mild tones of self-mockery. The incantation of the devil alludes to the scene in the Wolf's Glen from Carl Maria von Weber's opera *Freischütz*.⁷⁸ In general, Pückler links many of his experiences of nature to works and authors associated with the genre of the gothic novel, including Ann Radcliffe, Walter Scott, Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué und E. T. A. Hoffmann. In so doing, Pückler integrates experiences of the strange and the overpowering into existing categories derived from his own cultural sphere (*Freischütz*), or from more general cultural conventions such as the sublime and the gothic novel. This serves to both emphasise strange, supernatural sensations but also to concurrently domesticate and contain them in that they can be linked to familiar conventions.

Venedey also relates some of his ideas of wild Irish nature by way of literary reference. He explicitly links Irish nature to Ossian when he claims that the surrounding nature reminds him of "die schönsten Sagen nordischer Einbildungskraft" (JV2 284f.). This calls to mind Herder's view of Ossian as the Homer of the North. Even Venedey is inspired by sublime Irish nature: "Aber ich dachte nicht an Irland, sondern an Wunder und Märchen, wie sie die schönen, schauervollen Abende meiner Jugend belebten. Da fehlte Nichts, der verzauberte Palast lag hinter diesen wilden Büschen und Bäumen und die Bettlerin, die das Thor bewachte, war – wenigstens die erste Hofdame der unglücklichen Prinzessin, die in dem Palaste nach Erlösung schmachtete" (JV2 293). In this sense, youthful experience is cited as more genuine, more powerful, than the experience of the present. Indeed, in reality, amidst the wild, overgrown bushes and trees are the dilapidated remnants of a park gate – a sign for Venedey of the landlord's neglect of his estate as an absentee landlord.

Dobeneck and Heusinger, two authors who succeed Pückler, convey their interpretation of nature with more concrete reference to the Irish setting. Dobeneck, who visited Ireland in 1832, refers to "die Zaubermärchen der Vorzeit und Irin's Barden" which drift past her, as well as the wind playing in the treetops like "die Töne sanft verklingender Harfen" (MvD 44f.). Although she initially offers a pleasant episode of picking unknown flowers while

⁷⁸ Sautermeister: Reiseliteratur als Ausdruck einer Epoche, p. 136f.

the imagination conjures up magical tales and fading music, alone and at twilight in the dark woods, Dobeneck feels overwhelmed by the trees which appear more gigantic as they enclose her, and she must escape. She seems to be overcome by an irrational fear since there is no physical threat of danger. This was the essence of the Burkean sublime – that it seized hold of the mind before the mind was able to consciously respond.⁷⁹ By referring to a mysterious and vague “Vorzeit”, Dobeneck implies timelessness or the depths of time. It appears that she has internalised stereotypes regarding Irish lore and the bardic tradition; she is effectively engaging in role play to demonstrate immersion. This, in turn, confirms stereotypes of Ireland as in some way mysterious and mythical, and transmits this image to a domestic audience. The manner in which she relays her encounter in the woods marries the universal (sublime) with the specifically Irish (“Irin’s Barden”).

Edmund Heusinger also conjures up notions of a vague and mysterious past being contained in the present. Furthermore, Irish nature possesses a religious, divine quality. Heusinger’s portrayal of the Giant’s Causeway is at times very similar to Karl von Hailbronner’s rendering of the same. It seems plausible that Heusinger might have based his description on Hailbronner’s. The grottos of the Causeway have a powerful effect on Heusinger’s imagination as they are deserted by humans, the terrible bleakness being their eternal guest. Only in the summer months might the echoes of oar strokes enliven this ‘temple of nature’. The basalt columns of the grottos symbolise creation in all its splendour for Heusinger and through them he can worship the highest being (EH 417). He describes the melodies produced by the sound of falling drops of water like the song of the spirits which whisper into his ear. Such music fills his soul with the “Entzücken heiliger Schwermuth”. The comparison with the flutes of the organ playing the Ambrosian song of praise and especially with the Aeolian harp convey Heusinger’s perception of the sublime and divine in nature. For Pückler (HvPM 105), Dobeneck (MvD 75) and Brockhaus (HB 320), Irish nature also possesses a religious spiritual quality. The Giant’s Causeway has a similar effect on Dobeneck as it does on Heusinger: “Ich muß unwillkürlich in diesen Felsen die Größe des ewigen Baumeisters anstaunen” (MvD 75). Lore and a mysterious past, and in these examples religion, imply different explanations for similar experiences. The idea of the sublime, of nature as a revelation of the splendours of God’s creation, are universalising, whereas Irish fairy lore and the bardic tradition are particularising.

Just as Dobeneck marries the universal with the specific, so too does Heusinger. The divine yet melancholic aspect of nature and the ‘musica universalis’ are linked to present suffering of those on the island of Ireland:

⁷⁹ Cf. Williams: *Tourism, Landscape, and the Irish Character*, p. 24.

Gleich schmerzlicher Sphärenmusik rauschte es durch die immer dunkler werdenden unermeßlichen Hallen. Es war, als ob die grüne Insel hier ihren schmerz-zuckenden Mund öffnete, um das namenlose Leid ihrer armen Kinder zu beklagen, als ob Fingal im Chore mit den Geistern der Felsen und Gewässer dem irischen Volke das Sterbelied sänge. (EH 419)

These are not the comments of a stereotypical wallowing of the enchanted traveller. Pain and suffering are Irish; the uncanniness and melancholy as components of the sublime have a concrete source in current conditions on the Emerald Isle. That Ireland once enjoyed better times is evident in the mention of Fingal, allegedly Ossian's father and one of the heroes of the poems. On another occasion, when aboard a boat off the Irish coast, Heusinger refers directly to Ossian. The night-time wind breathes such plaintive tones "als wären es des blinden Barden melancholische Harfenklänge, mit denen er den Fall seines Vaterlandes betrauerte" (EH 357). In this sense, a mysterious past is contained in the present; a past which speaks of anguish and misery because in the poems, the bard Ossian laments the passing of an era.

Clement presents a unique case regarding the sublime and the picturesque in that he 'downgrades' the Irish landscape from the sublime to the 'merely' picturesque. He compares Irish and Scottish landscapes to show that while Irish nature may be wild and picturesquely pleasing, it is inferior to the sublimity of Scottish nature. The wilderness of the West of Ireland is not as wild and unyielding as that of Harris and Lewis in the Hebrides or the stone desert of Sutherland in the northern Highlands. He claims that the character of the beauty of the Scottish Highlands "ist ein andrer und dermaßen mit dem Erhabenen und Großartigen veronnen, daß schwerlich die Natur irgend eines andern europäischen Landes mit der hochländischen der Albanach verglichen werden kann" (KJC 131). The reason why the Irish landscape is compared unfavourably to the Scottish landscape appears to be Clement's bone of contention over the origin of the Ossian poems. He explicitly links Scotland and not Ireland to Ossian when he compares the sublime appearance of Staffa and Fingal's Cave to the picturesqueness of the Giant's Causeway (KJC 81). While the poems may have had their origins in Ireland, it was amongst the sea-faring Celts of west Scotland that they developed "zur blühenden Sagenpoesie" and have now become the sole property of the Scottish Highlanders (KJC 434). Clement appears to be in dialogue with other German travel writers here in that he he firmly casts Ossian as Scottish, thereby belittling Ireland's claim to a mythical, lore-filled past evident in previous portrayals linked to Ossian. Even though Ossian was indeed received in Germany as Scottish rather than Irish, Dobeneck's and Heusinger's evocation of the poet seems to be based on the idea of a generic Celticness propounded by Herder in that the poems were viewed as belonging to all Celtic peoples. Clement, on the other hand, is at pains to highlight the 'Scottishness' of the poems by detailing specific features of Scottish nature and linking them to particular episodes in the poems.

In relation to English, French and German language travel literature on Ireland from 1777-1850, Susanne Beyenburg-Weidenfeld claims that “Überraschenderweise fassen sich viele Reisende bei den Beschreibungen [der Landschaft] relativ kurz.” Even though all travellers visit popular tourist destinations, only few, according to Beyenburg-Weidenfeld, place depictions of nature at the centre of their travel narratives. Many travellers, she states, make do with labelling nature in accordance with the then aesthetic using terms such as ‘sublime’, ‘beautiful’, ‘picturesque’ or ‘erhaben’, ‘wild’, ‘romantisch’ and ‘lieblich’. Furthermore, she claims that the beauty of nature often occasioned speechlessness, which relieved observers of the task of trying to convey an idea of the scene before them.⁸⁰ These statements do not give a true picture of at least German-language travel writing on Ireland since in many travel narratives descriptions of landscapes are highly detailed. For some authors more than others, landscape descriptions are one of the main focuses of their narratives. The likes of Küttner, Voght and Pückler can be understood within the tradition of sentimental travel, i.e. subjective experiences and personal opinions of the surroundings take precedence over factual rendering of population numbers and/or topographical detail. The variety of examples of nature scenes termed picturesque from all of the authors highlight the eclecticism of the aesthetic in that it was used to describe nature both tamed and untamed, both wild and harmonious. Ria Omasreiter writes: “Unter dem Begriff des Pittoresken ließ sich alles subsumieren, was den herkömmlichen Idealen des Klassizismus, des Rationalismus, und der Zivilisation diametral entgegengesetzt war”.⁸¹

Furthermore, landscape descriptions do not have to be based only on popular tourist spots, but any landscape that might be perceived as sublime or picturesque. For German observers at least, rather than making do with labelling nature as picturesque, sublime or ‘romantic’, they actively seek out the picturesque. They impose a way of seeing and ordering the world onto Irish nature, and they engage in aesthetic debates on what constitutes the picturesque. This is not only evident when authors critique nature which does not correspond to their ideal, it is also apparent when authors identify the limitations of the picturesque, for example in the idealisation of nature. Kohl represents a dissenting voice in applying the picturesque as the standardised yardstick. He stylises himself as an anti-tourist and enters into dialogue with other travel writers, criticising their exaggerated mode of portraying scenes of nature. He takes such writers to task. Nature, he claims, is almost everywhere more beautiful than words can ever convey and as a travel writer, it is his task to present landscapes relative

⁸⁰ Susanne Beyenburg-Weidenfeld: Authentische Reiseerfahrungen und deren Fiktionalisierung. Irlandreiseberichte zwischen 1777 und 1850. In: Anne Fuchs and Theo Harden (eds.): Reisen im Diskurs. Modelle der literarischen Fremderfahrung von den Pilgerberichten bis zu Postmoderne. Heidelberg: Winter, 1995, pp. 428-442, here p. 435f.

⁸¹ Ria Omasreiter: Travels through the British Isles. Die Funktion des Reiseberichts im 18. Jahrhundert. Heidelberg: Winter, 1982, p. 226.

to other landscapes. He continues: “Die Natur ist in ihrer steinigen, holzigen, erdigen Realität schön genug, und wir haben gar nicht nöthig, sie durch eine Lüge in das Reich der Phantasmagorie hinüberzuheben. Vielmehr kommt es darauf an, es zu versuchen, dem entfernten Leser durch Aufzählung der einzelnen oft schwer darstellbaren Züge ein treues Bild zu geben” (JGKR1 290). With one sweep he debunks a subjective, picturesque way of seeing, and this is not the only occasion he criticises effusive landscape descriptions (cf. for example JGKR2 57f.). Even dissenting voices such as Kohl, however, find it difficult to deviate from the dominant form of discourse, in that he, too, resorts to the conventional technique of presenting nature as picture. When observers claimed to be dumbstruck by the beauty of Irish nature, they did find means to present it to their readers in ways which attempted to combine genuine wonderment with familiar tropes.

It is evident that where landscape description occurs, it adheres to certain forms and conventions. This is revealing regarding ‘frames’ and the expected reception by a domestic audience; it also is revealing in terms of denying Irish nature uniqueness by subsuming it into aesthetic conventions. Ireland appears to be a product of predispositions, moulded to fit into the ‘frame’ imposed upon it; it seems only to exist in relation to preconceived ideals and standards, or as a vehicle enabling imaginative journeys into the self. Even when authors marry the universal (sublime and/or religion) with a sense of something which might be termed particularly Irish (lore, Ossian), this seems to be linked to a generic Celticness which overlays the concretely Irish, Scottish or Welsh.

3 Populating the Picture

It is noteworthy that in all of the scenes discussed thus far, human figures have not featured. Such scenes must have conveyed an impression of picturesque Irish nature as completely devoid of human habitation. Moritz Hartmann ('Briefe aus Dublin', 1873, MH) is the only observer to mention human inhabitants; however they were fictitious figures whom he imagined might populate the landscape he perceives as a potential Southern idyll (MH 21). On his train journey to the coast, however, he does include actual figures:

Die Nähe des Meeres wirft seinen Glanz zurück auf die Hügel, die Bäume und Büsche neigen und beugen sich im Morgenwinde, kreisende Möven streichen uns über den Weg [...] – über den Wassern begegnen sich die Klänge der Sonntagsglocken aus Kingstown und Dublin – in den Gärten zwischen Büschen und Lauben sitzen Väter, Mütter und Kinder beim Frühstück und schwingen uns zum Gruße Hüte und Tücher [...]. [...] wir gleiten sacht und langsam durch all die Schönheiten hin. (MH 17)

There is a sense of peace and tranquillity teamed with domestic harmony in this scene. In terms of the eighteenth century picturesque and the study of landscape painting, figures were introduced as staffage, as subordinate figures used to animate a scene.¹ This corresponds to the employment of figures in Hartmann's description in that the figures do not possess individuality, character or expression. Picturesque tastes usually favoured peasants, beggars, wayfarers and gypsies rather than diligent workers. William Gilpin makes this distinction clear: "In a moral view the industrial mechanic is a more pleasing object than the loitering peasant. But in a picturesque light it is otherwise".² Just like agricultural land, so too were productive workers displeasing to picturesque tastes. While Hartmann's figures are not peasants or beggars, they are also not industrious farm hands and they very much complement the idyllic nature of the scene as a whole.

Every single German observer in Ireland comments on the multitudes of beggars and peasants they encounter, and yet in the numerous examples discussed thus far, they never figure in portrayals of Irish nature labelled as picturesque. James Buzard's term "strategic omission" appears relevant in this context as it points to how the picturesque was a highly selective way of seeing: "Everyday features of the visited place (populations included) either fell cleanly away from the visitor's view or arranged themselves as part of the spectacle".³ It seems that in an Irish context German observers preferred to omit rather than arrange human staffage to fit their mode of seeing. Another possible explanation is that the sheer depth of the

¹ Cf. Malcolm Andrews: *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989, p. 25.

² William Gilpin: *Three Essays. On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape*, 2nd edn. London: Blamire, 1794, p. 137.

³ James Buzard: *The beaten track. European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800-1918*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1993, p. 188.

widespread poverty in Ireland left observers questioning the moral implications of portraying emaciated and half-naked peasants and beggars as picturesque staffage among rich natural beauty. Landscape, however, was not the only subject matter which could be presented as picturesque. As Buzard points out, by the 1820s the concept of picturesqueness “had outgrown the landscape studies of its eighteenth-century origins, broadening its applications to include cities and their inhabitants and extending its range of metaphors as well, taking as models not only landscape painting but also such related visual arts as drama and *tableaux vivants*”.⁴ *Tableaux vivants*, literally ‘living pictures’, were an art form which combined painting/drawing with theatre. They consisted of actors arranged to form specific scenes, for example scenes from historical events, in a kind of still life.⁵ Genre painting formed another category according to which authors could model narrative descriptions of smaller scenes. Genre paintings are snapshots which depict human figures of a certain social class going about their daily business in the private, public, social or economic sphere. They detail facial expressions and gestures, clothes and accessories.⁶ Johann Georg Kohl (*Reisen in Irland*, 2 vols, 1843, JGKR1/JGKR2) recommends genre painting as a source of information for travellers in foreign countries when he visits an exhibition in Ireland: “Die Maler jedes Landes – besonders jetzt, wo die Genremalerei so sehr an der Tagesordnung ist – stellen doch so viel Ethnographisches, Geographisches, Klimatisches, Sitten und Volkswesen Charakterisirendes in ihren Gemälden dar, daß jemand, der dieß zu seinem Studium gemacht hat, die Gemäldegalerieen überall als eine Hauptquelle benutzen muß und selbst die unbedeutendsten Ausstellungen nicht verschmähen sollte” (JGKR1 345). At the exhibition he visits in Cork, genre paintings function to give a succinct insight into political, social and economic life in Ireland in the 1840s: portraits of Daniel O’Connell, Father Mathew, the mayor of Cork, as well as emigration scenes to America, Irish fishermen and a few mountain and bog scenes. By depicting episodes from everyday life, genre paintings were meant to capture some of the qualities believed to be typical of those observed, be it a professional, an ethnic or a racial group. German observers, too, hoped to evoke characteristic elements of those they placed in the genre and/or living picture frame. In such portrayals, figures were not included as staffage as in landscape painting, but were the main subject of the picture.

⁴ Buzard: *The beaten track*, p. 187.

⁵ Cf. Jan-Christopher Horak: *Tableaux vivants*. In: *Lexikon der Filmbegriffe*: Universität Kiel. Available at: <http://filmlexikon.uni-kiel.de/index.php?action=lexikon&tag=det&id=804> [accessed on 8 May 2014].

⁶ Cf. Florian Vaßen: *Die literarische Skizze. Anschaulichkeit und Offenheit als Weltsicht in Aufklärung und Vormärz*. In: Wolfgang Bunzel, Norbert Otto Eke and Florian Vaßen (eds.): *Der Nahe Spiegel. Vormärz und Aufklärung*. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2008, pp. 265-280, here p. 269.

3.1 Visualising the Irish People

Caspar von Voght ('Schilderung von Irland', 1796, CvV), Hermann von Pückler-Muskau (*Reisebriefe aus Irland*, 1830, HvPM), Karl von Hailbronner (*Cartons aus der Reisemappe eines deutschen Touristen*, 1837, KvH), Jakob Venedey (*Irland*, 2 vols, 1844, JV1/JV2) and Moritz Hartmann depict peasants, beggars and the lower classes in general as figures of genre paintings. One distinguishing feature is the ever increasing interaction between observer and observed. This interaction can sometimes serve as an impulse for the spectator to revise his initial picturesque depiction. Conversely, it can confirm his impressions, or, indeed, it can remain contradictory in that despite the insight into the harsh lives of the impoverished, the viewer still presents the subject of his gaze in an idealised manner.

Voght presents peasants as picturesque and in this he fixes the children as objects of an aesthetic gaze in a sacred Italianate painting:

Unter diesen Lumpen, in diesen räucherichen Hütten von Erde, wächst eine schöne Generation auf und eine zahlreichere als irgendwo in der Welt. Alle sind arm; nichts verhindert daher die Ehe. Cartoffeln und Milch haben sie, so viel sie wollen. Ihre Kinder essen den ganzen Tag. Nichts schöner, nichts gesunder, nichts fröhlicher, als diese Kinder; so als Albano sie mahlte oder Corregio, wenn er Engel darstellte. Oft ganz nackt, meistens ohne Hemd, immer nur mit einigen Lumpen halbbedeckt, sind diese kleinen Engel zum Küssen schön. Und so ist die ganze Generation, fast keine häßlichen Frauen und sehr viele äusserst schön; viele schöne Jünglinge. (CvV 591f.)

Antonio Allegri da Correggio (?1489-1534) was an Italian Renaissance painter of illusionistic frescoes, altarpieces and mythological subjects. Innocent cherubs feature prominently in his works.⁷ Francesco Albani (1578-1660) was an Italian Baroque painter of altarpieces, frescoes and cabinet pictures famed for his idyllic landscapes and small mythological pictures.⁸ Albani was highly praised for his vivacious portrayal of "putti" – plump, naked young boys, such as cupids, cherubs or angels. By comparing the half-naked Irish children to the angels of such Renaissance and Baroque artworks, Voght's description not only idealises poverty but elevates the living conditions and lives of the poor to a kind of exotic paradise removed from 'civilisation', and removed from reality, for "putti" lay no claim to being realistic depictions of real boys. These healthy, beautiful children are also happy; their mental disposition matches their physical wellbeing. Their state of undress seems to seal their picturesque fate in Voght's eyes. He implies that despite their lack of clothing and dreary living conditions, this generation has been blessed in many other ways: marriage, plentiful food as well as beauty and happiness in general. It appears that considerations of beauty supercede considerations of social and

⁷ Cf. John T. Paoletti and Gary M. Radke: *Art in Renaissance Italy*. New Jersey: Pearson, 2005, p. 429.

⁸ Cf. Catherine R. Puglisi: *Albani, Francesco*. Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online. Oxford University Press. Available at: <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T001466> [accessed on 8 May, 2014].

economic realities. The presentation of this scene as picturesque becomes more striking when compared to a very similar scene which appears just shortly beforehand. It contains essentially the same elements, but it is by no means picturesque: “In einer Hütte [...] sahen wir Kartoffeln liegen. Die Frau nöthigte uns herein. Um den Heerd standen Steine worauf die Kinder sassen, ein schmutziges Bett daneben, und einige Borte für Küchengeräthe. Hinter dem Bette lag Haberstroh für die sieben Kinder, worunter ein Säugling war. Ein Kessel voll Kartoffeln mit etwas Salz diente zu ihrem Frühstück, und zum Mittagsessen Haberbrei in Milch gekocht, [...] zuweilen auch wohl Fleisch. Die Kinder waren in Lumpen und schmutzig” (CvV 574). This description comes across as factual. Voght reports what he sees. The children wear rags and their living conditions are dirty. Yet the scene does not seem to affect Voght aesthetically or emotionally. One difference between this scene and the previous one is that here Voght interacts with the subjects of his gaze and he reports what is said. The woman complains that their landlord is always absent. She and her neighbours would have nothing against the French coming because things could not get any worse than they already are (CvV 574). Here, Voght suggests that these peasants are up-to-date with current affairs and even international politics. It may well be for this reason that Voght does not, or indeed cannot, subject them to an idealising way of seeing because they live in the ‘real’ world. The comparison of the two scenes highlights how a picturesque way of seeing was a highly subjective, selective and removed way since, otherwise, the two scenes contain essentially the same elements and both have the *potential* to be equally picturesque, but are not presented in that way.

Voght creates an ensemble of further genre paintings while travelling through the countryside. There is an emphasis on the contrast between the beauty of the peasants and their dirty living conditions. The description is telling because it is inserted towards the end of a landscape depiction of a *potential* paradise: “Ich habe nie ein Land gesehen, das aus lauter so sanft gewölbten Hügeln besteht, als diese Insel. Wie schön könnte sie seyn!” (CvV 586) In Voght’s eyes, the aesthetic potential of this landscape is not fully realised. On the one hand, this is evident when he comments that the scene would be more beautiful if a dozen trees stood next to the little huts (CvV 592). On the other hand, money, time and taste in terms of landscape garden aesthetic need to be invested: “Der Weg schlängelte sich durch Hügel und Thal. Welch ein Garten, wenn noch einige Millionen Pfund Sterling auf die Cultur angewendet würden!” (CvV 586). Even though Voght finds uncultivated, wild nature aesthetically pleasing regarding the sublime-picturesque, he always sees the potential for a more idyllic, cultivated, charming Arcadian landscape in wild nature. This may explain his tendency to model the inhabitants of this landscape setting as figures who have just stepped off the canvas of one of Correggio’s or Albani’s paintings. This potential of the landscape is projected onto its

inhabitants and this seems to be at the heart of his juxtaposition between the beauty, energy and vibrance of the lower classes and their dirty living conditions and clothing:

Nebenwegs sahen wir den ganzen Tag durch, elende Häuser mit der schönsten Bevölkerung. Manche Hütten mit sieben Kindern an der Erde um einen Kartoffeltopf und ein Schwein mitten unter ihnen; bald darauf eine andere mit einem Duzend vor der Thüre um eine Schüssel Brommelbeeren malerisch gruppiert; mit unter formte eine reinlicher gekleidete Frau (vielleicht machte ihre Schönheit, daß wir ihre Kleidung vergassen), die aus dieser Hütte hervorging, einen auffallenden Contrast mit der Armuth und dem Schmutz alles dessen, was sie umgab. (CvV 593f.)

The description is an ensemble of genre paintings of the lower classes carrying out everyday tasks and chores. It seems that Voght believes that the inhabitants have potential and deserve a better lot: they are vibrant, energetic, beautiful people living in dirty, filthy conditions. Conversely, it seems to be exactly the dirt and the filth which bring out the beauty of the people and make them appear so picturesque to Voght. This is apparent when he comments: “Auf dem Wege nach Limerick sind die Bauernhäuser besser und die Pachtungen grösser; minder Elend aber minder und nicht so hübsche Einwohner” (CvV 603). It is implied that abundant nature can sustain these peasants (CvV 593), but this potential of nature and landscape remains somewhat problematic exactly because of how Voght presents it to his readers. Nature needs human interference (money, time, manipulation according to aesthetics). The fact that this potential can only be realised in the form of a landscaped garden implies that the lower classes will always be excluded from this paradise. Moreover, it implies the improvement of nature in aesthetic and not necessarily agricultural and economic terms; therefore the lower classes would still not benefit from it. Furthermore, that the children are compared to well-nourished angels and the women are portrayed as picturesque beauties conveys the idea that these peasants do not have it all that bad anyway. They have plenty to eat and nothing hinders marriage. Subjecting the inhabitants in a landscape setting to an aesthetic gaze and fixing them within a picturesque frame both highlights their plight caught in a potential paradise but simultaneously aestheticises their social and economic situation thereby underplaying the realities of such an existence. If these peasants *did* benefit from agriculturally more productive land, the children would no longer be running around half-naked like Italianiate “putti”, while the women might appear as more ‘average’ beauties if they were dressed in neat, clean clothes (as indeed they are on the road to Limerick), i.e. dirt and poverty, the very conditions which provide contrast and variety – key elements of the picturesque – would no longer be present.

From Voght’s example it is clear that presenting peasants as picturesque can idealise poverty and efface the realities of such an existence. For Voght, the peasants fit into the landscape. For Pückler, placing the lower classes in a landscape setting can enliven a scene and

heighten the overall aesthetic effect. This is illustrated by the examples of the woman making hay and the young boy who serves as a tour guide in Glendalough. Having reached his chosen viewing point, Pückler finds the prospect enhanced by a charming young woman humbly making hay. Pückler places the young woman in the foreground of the 'picture':

Die natürliche Grazie der irländischen Bauernweiber, die oft wahre Schönheiten sind, ist ebenso überraschend als ihre Tracht oder vielmehr ihr Mangel an Tracht, denn ohngeachtet es recht kalt auf diesen Bergen war, bestand doch die ganze Kleidung der jungen Frau vor mir aus nichts als einem weiten, sehr groben Strohhut und, *wörtlich*, zwei oder drei Lappen aus dem gröbsten härnen Zeuge, die ein Strick unter der Brust zusammenhielt und unter welchen sie die schönsten weißen Glieder mehr als zur Hälfte zur Schau trug. Ihre Unterhaltung war, wie ich schon bei andern bemerkt, heiter, neckend und witzig sogar, dabei ganz unbefangen und gewissermaßen frei, doch würde man sich sehr irren, wenn man sie deshalb auch für leichtfertig hielte. (HvPM 21)

The first impression is that Pückler's description is focused on the physicality and sensuality of the woman. Indeed, in any other setting or rendered in a different manner, the comments on her lack of clothing and half-exposed limbs might be received as almost pornographic. Half-naked and naked children could be framed as angels, while nudity in general was acceptable in pictures of antique or pastoral subjects because of connotations of innocence. Such subjects were removed from the usual social reality, which is how Pückler portrays this woman. He finds her in a wilderness on the peak of a cold mountain. Her seclusion from the rest of the world is reinforced on different levels. She is cut off from the industrial scene below, where Dublin appears "wie ein rauchender Kalkofen in der grünen Ebne", as well as from civilisation in general in the bay. Furthermore, Pückler details his laborious journey to even get to his viewing point, indicating its seclusion. Striking about the scene is that the woman is actually concurrently close to 'civilisation' and yet far removed from it. Pückler seems to deliberately pick out the industrial elements in the backdrop to provide a sharp contrast to the figure and her activity in the foreground.

Unlike Voght, Pückler interacts with the object of his gaze. She is individualised by her cheerful, witty and uninhibited speech (even though we do not know what they actually speak about). However, this inhibition in no way implies that she should be understood as immoral. On the contrary, in her chasteness and disinterestedness, she is made representative of her class. If one of these women should stray from the path of virtue, then she rarely does so out of considerations of gain (HvPM 21). This description is not only characterisation but *moral* characterisation. As such, it indicates a development in the eighteenth-century picturesque whereby figures in a landscape "were, except for their costumes, interchangeable. Their features were often purposely indistinct so that they could not suggest any moral or individual

qualities”.⁹ Pückler’s figure is at home in her landscape, as indeed Voght’s figures are. Even though Voght does not endow his peasants with specific individual qualities, the half-naked children are morally characterised as the picture of innocence and purity. In both descriptions, the figures are part of nature because they, like nature, are moral and chaste. In this light, natural order is beautiful despite social misery.

From Pückler’s perspective, a landscape without such ragged peasants might lose some of its appeal. He describes his tour guide while visiting Glendalough as enhancing the ‘romantic’ effect of the spectacle:

Dieser Cicerone war ein hübscher, wie gewöhnlich halbnackter Knabe von elf Jahren und seine Kleidung ein erwähnenswerter Echantillon irländischer Toilette. Er trug den Leibrock eines erwachsenen Mannes, dem, außer verschiedenen transparenten Stellen, anderthalb Ärmel und der eine Rockschoß fehlten, während der andere, wie ein Kometenschweif, hinter ihm auf der Erde schleifte. Halstuch, Weste und Hemde waren, als gänzlich unnütz, beseitigt. Dagegen nahmen sich die Rudera von ein paar roten Plüschhosen recht stattlich aus, obgleich weiter unten nur barfuß Beine daraus hervorguckten. Diese Gestalt über die Felsen wie ein Eichhörnchen klettern zu sehen und dabei von Tommy Moore und Walter Scott singen zu hören war gewiß charakteristisch. Als er mich nach der Höhle führte, wo die Passage etwas glitscherig war, rief er: “Oh, das geht sehr gut, hier habe ich Walter Scott auch hingebraht, der mit seinem lahmen Fuß auf die schlimmsten Stellen hinkletterte. Der konnte gar nicht weg davon kommen.” Und nun rezitierte er schnell vier Verse, die Scott oder Moore – ich erinnere mich nicht mehr welcher – auf die Höhle gedichtet. Diese Menschen hier passen so vortrefflich zu dem wilden, mit Ruinen des Erdbodens wie seiner Bewohner bedeckten Lande, daß ohne sie gewiß das Ganze einen großen Teil seiner romantischen Wirkung verlieren würde. (HvPM 39f.)

The figure of the eleven-year-old boy is conveyed in an almost comical manner. His appearance and behaviour is termed ‘characteristic’; he forms an integral part of the wild and ruin-dotted landscape. It seems that such a figure is characteristic for what Pückler expects to find in this setting: folklore, naturalness, genuineness, a world he is already familiar with from the works of Thomas Moore and Walter Scott. Indeed, the mention of Moore and Scott evokes a vague notion of authenticity, of the rootedness of art and literature in national and regional substrates. Moore was responsible for writing lyrics for a number of existing Irish melodies, some of the most popular being ‘The Last Rose of Summer’ and ‘The Meeting of the Waters’. According to Oehlke, Moore’s *Irish Melodies* – which experienced considerable success in German translation¹⁰ – celebrated the wild and austere beauty of the Wicklow mountains as well as the Lakes of Killarney, thereby greatly contributing to the popularisation of the Irish landscape.¹¹ Similarly, Walter Scott is credited with popularising scenery of the Scottish

⁹ William Williams: *Tourism, Landscape, and the Irish Character. British Travel Writers in Pre-Famine Ireland*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012, p. 53.

¹⁰ Thomas Moore: *A Selection of Irish Melodies*. Published in eight numbers. London: Power, 1808-1837. German translations include: *Irische Melodien, Volksweisen u.a. Poetische Werke, deutsch von Theobald Oelkers*. 4 vols. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1839; *Irische Gesänge*, transl. by Wilhelm Cornelius. Berlin and Stralsund: Cornelius, 1841.

¹¹ Cf. Andreas Oehlke: *Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1991, p. 112.

Highlands.¹² In general, his works are viewed as promoting a Scottish bardic tradition and Scottish culture and heritage.¹³ In this sense, literary works (art) are responsible for forming preconceptions and certain images, images which spectators such as Pückler then seek out and find confirmed in reality. He is party to the ultimate 'romantic'/folkloric experience, in that he literally follows in the footsteps of Walter Scott and is brought to exactly the cave where either Moore or Scott had composed some verse, i.e. he believes to find himself in the world of a poem. In turn, Pückler disseminates 'characteristic' images of genuineness and naturalness which correspond to existing literary ones – and the circle continues (cf. HvPM 126, 251 for further 'characteristic' figures). Furthermore, it appears paradoxical that this boy, a 'natural' part of such a landscape, should recite literary works which are supposed to be based on the folklore, culture and traditions of the very boy who recites them. If he were a truly authentic figure in this landscape setting, he would not need to stylise himself on fictitious accounts of his very own life and culture. This raises questions as to the degree to which the Irish lower classes actually internalised the images projected onto them in literature, as well as to the degree to which they 'played the part' for tourists. A complex web of stylisation and self-stylisation becomes visible, an adherence to preconceptions and established (generic) modes of imposing order and meaning on encountered scenes. Nature and its inhabitants cannot, it seems, be viewed independently of literary or artistic interpretations and constructions.

Karl von Hailbronner also finds poetic picturesque peasants in Glendalough, the same place where Pückler meets his 'characteristic' eleven year old tour guide. As in Pückler's case, the picturesque effect is heightened by his interaction with the figures. Deep in a romantic gorge surrounded by wild mountains, the seven churches of Glendalough form a picturesque prospect. Hailbronner spends a long time exploring ruins overgrown with moss and ivy when, all of a sudden, an old man dressed in a black, threadbare and ragged suit, mouldered hat and ripped shoes hurries past him into one of the ruins. "Diese mysteriöse Erscheinung lenkte unsere Aufmerksamkeit von den todten Ruinen zu den lebendigen". Hailbronner and his party follow him:

wir folgten diesem antiken Originale über die Felsen [...] und bemerkten nun eine Violine, die zwischen den herabhängenden Frackschößen des Alten hervorschaute. Wir sprachen ihn an, und sogleich sammelte sich aus den benachbarten Hütten eine Menge neugieriger Irländer. Der alte Mann war einst wohlhabend gewesen, nun aber durch die Landesverhältnisse so herabgekommen, daß ihm nichts mehr geblieben, als seine Geige. Er spielte das herrliche Nationallied der Iren: Remember thee! von Thomas Moore, einer der rührendsten Gesänge, die ich je gehört. Die Irländer sangen mit, und eine eigene Stimmung bemächtigte sich unser

¹² Cf. Christopher MacLachlan: Sir Walter Scott and Scotland. In: Daniel Hahn and Nicholas Robins (eds.): The Oxford Guide to Literary Britain and Ireland, 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 276-77.

¹³ Cf. Andrew Lincoln: Walter Scott and Modernity. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007, p. 4f.

mitten unter den Leiden dieses unglücklichen Volkes, auf den Trümmern seiner einst so glänzenden Hauptstadt. (KvH 286f.)

This old man is equally as shabbily dressed as Pückler's guide, however there is something much more sombre, melancholic and even mysterious in how Hailbronner presents the old man and his fellow countrymen and women. This atmosphere is brought about by the transfer of the sublime-picturesque from the past, the ruins of the seven churches, to the present, and the rags of the old man. In this transfer, Hailbronner invests in the present some of the spiritual and mysterious qualities of the Irish past, and he does so via Thomas Moore, i.e. the past needs help to come alive or live on; the past is a construct just like the countryside. This contrast between past and present is heightened by the fact that the scene takes place not just among any ruins, but on the site of Ireland's former spiritual capital, Glendalough. Both Pückler and Hailbronner actively seek out interaction with the figures they frame in a landscape setting; neither remain in the role of detached observer. It is exactly this which brings about the sublime. The sudden appearance of the Bardic Ossian figure, the unexpectedness of his actions breaking into song as well as the effect of the chorus, all combined in such a setting bring about a sublime atmosphere. It is also indicative that Hailbronner should seek out such a place, since he claims that one must venture into the valleys, onto the mountains and into the huts in order to find "das Volk" because only here in the countryside can one see how the people live and what they must endure (KvH 284). In other words, he visits Wicklow and Glendalough specifically with the intention to experience the people in their own habitat, so to speak, and the figures he finds in this landscape setting by no means disappoint.

Jakob Venedey's depiction of figures in a landscape setting differs from the preceding examples in that the subjects of his pictures are exclusively female, and not unlike Pückler's woman making straw, Venedey's female figures are also characterised by their exposed limbs. He conveys one scene in terms of the dioramic variety of ever-changing play of light on the mountain, the shore and the lake (JV2 358). As he steps out of a woodland, Venedey comes across "ein wunderliches Bildchen" of a group of women bathing:

Das Kichern und Jubeln einer Menge Badender verrieth, daß dieselben dem schönen Geschlechte angehörten. Es war eine Lust, ihnen zuzuhören und zuzusehen, wie sie im Wasser spielten und jauchzten. Nach einer Weile kamen sie Alle – etwa 3 bis 400 Schritte von uns – ans Land. Es war eine Cabanne da, aber Eine für zehn Weiber. Und nicht Eine wollte den Vorzug haben. Sie Alle zogen das Badehemd diesseits der Cabanne aus und ein anderes an. Und das in so artigen Stellungen: die Eine hingehockt, die Andere das nasse Hemdchen unter der Brust zusammenhaltend, während sie das trockene überzog; die Dritte es wieder anders einrichtend; Alle aber ungefähr wie Venus im Bade. Ich wußte nicht mehr, was sagen, was denken. O, du unschuldige Unschuld! Aber es war doch ein wunderliches Bildchen, und wenn ich ein Zeichner wäre, würde ich eine Skizze beilegen. (JV2 359)

Venedey describes the composition of the various figures in the foreground of his picture: one crouched down and another one holding her shirt under her breasts. There is more nudity than in what Pückler describes, but also here nudity is made acceptable. The women could have protected their modesty but they did not because nudity seems in no way anathematic to modesty, natural morality and propriety, like paradise before the Fall. Yet, Venedey likens the women to Venus who was anything but innocent. She was the embodiment of sexuality; Venus depictions are deliberately alluring. Therefore, the women are presented as both innocent and enthralling, as modest and moral, yet sexually enticing. At first, Venedey thinks he might have imagined the scene, then wonders if the women were actually nymphs and goddesses, but then decides this could not be the case in such a Christian country. He comes to the conclusion: “es war eine Teufelerscheinung, eine Antoniusversuchung für mich armen Sünder Jacobus. Ja, und nur das erklärt die Cabanne, die der Sache als Neckerei noch größeren Reiz gab. Das ist es” (JV2 359f.). Yet, Venedey always remains watching rather than removing himself from ‘temptation’. He casts the women as “Teufelskinder”, however these women are not temptresses deliberately since they do not know they are being watched. Therefore, any connotations of a sexual or religious nature (temptation as a divine test) rest solely with the spectator who shows himself very aware of this fact by making uncomfortable jokes about the vision.

Venedey has the pleasure of viewing another very similar genre picture, this time framed by the window of the house in which he is dining: “Zwanzig Schritte vor meinem Fenster zogen sich drei Schöne aus, badeten im Hemdchen und kamen dann wieder ans Ufer, um sich *in conspectu omnium* anzuziehen. [...] Dabei kam Allerlei an’s Tagelicht, und wenn ich ein Apelles wäre, so könnte ich aus dem, was ich hier sah, eine complete Venus, – etwas dick und plump, aber nichts weniger als häßlich, zusammensetzen. Ich habe ein halb Duzend Genreskizzen in mein Tagebuch eingetragen, die ich gelegentlich einem meiner malenden Freunde in Paris einhändigen werde” (JV2 378f.). This time Venedey refers to Apelles, the ancient Greek painter whose Aphrodite Anadyomene was considered a masterpiece in the ancient world and whose pose is thought to be reflected in several later sculptures of Aphrodite wringing water from her hair.¹⁴ There is a tendency here to present the peasant women as both innocent and nubile, as was at play in the previous example from Venedey. It seems that he wants to turn Irish innocence into pornography in his constant attention on women in various states of undress. Yet, he concurrently tries to underplay this by representing the peasants according to criteria of classical beauty and by labelling the vision painterly. Furthermore, his vision is structured by a window, a classical framing device which

¹⁴ Cf. Paul Harvery: Apelles. In: Margaret C. Howatson (ed.): The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, p. 42.

suggests order and structure as well as detachment, i.e. the window forms a strategy not to get too close to the objects of his gaze as it allows him to retain the position of someone able to appreciate the 'picture' before him. The window frame also literally 'frames' the picture, it creates an excerpt from a totality and thereby creates a 'composition'. In his lodgings the next morning at breakfast, Venedey again enjoys the same beautiful prospect, this time not just of three but dozens of women bathing (JV2 379). Rather than admit to his guilty pleasure, he endeavours to present his conduct as that of detached art connoisseur rather than something less noble.

Venedey also makes beggars the subject of his genre pictures. In the following description he idealises poverty:

Als ich über die Brücke ging, traf ich auf ein Bildchen, ein Meisterstück eines großen Malers. In einer Ecke saß eine alte Bettlerin in Lumpen, orientalisches zusammengehockt. Mit der linken Hand hielt sie ein Pfeifchen im Munde, die rechte ruhte offen auf dem Schoße, Almosen herausfordernd. Das Gesichtchen hatte zwei kleine rothe borsdorfer Aepfelchen auf den Wangen; die Augen waren halb zugeschlagen, der Mund blies freundlich, gottvergnügt die Tabakwolke in die Luft hinaus. Wenn ich das Glück malen wollte, ich würde diese Bettlerin, so wie sie da saß, zum Modell nehmen. Aber freilich schreckte ich dann doch wieder vor diesem Gedanken wie vor einer Art Gotteslästerung zusammen, als ich an einem Bäckerladen vorbeikam und hier Kleien- oder Häckselbrod sah, wie mir nie welches vorgekommen; – als ich ein paar Häuser weiter auf die rechte Seite hin ausweichen mußte, weil auf der linken alte Schafslungen und stinkende Kalbsköpfe zum Verkaufe aushingen. (JV2 60f.)

Having framed the beggar as picturesque-idyllic, Venedey cannot sustain such an impression when he is confronted with the materiality of poverty. Even though he thematises his moral dilemma of framing poverty as picturesque since obviously the realities of such an existence are not as glorious as the detached image an observer may 'paint' for himself, he seems to do so half-heartedly. He is more than capable of swiftly moving on from the issue and compartmentalising it. Immediately after questioning if he had not committed blasphemy, he opens the next paragraph with the statement: "Es war Zeit zum Essen", and he gives a description of the delicious hot food waiting for him at his guest house. By framing the scene as a genre picture, Venedey aesthetically, emotionally and within his narrative structurally contains and fixes it. This allows him to swiftly move on to another topic; he evades any discussion about the realities concealed by the appearance of the beggar.

On another occasion he describes a group of beggars as "die seelenvergnügten Götter und sind auch fast so unschuldig und nackend". He can take "ein frohes Andenken aus diesem 'elenden und unglücklichen' Lande mit nach Hause" because of the impression they make on him (JV2 286). Venedey's entire framing technique reads like a repudiation of the judgement contained in the stereotypical reference to Ireland as the 'poverty-stricken and unhappy country': Ireland and its people might be poor, but unhappy they most certainly are not.

Venedey obviously does not take his own charge of blasphemy to heart. Even though some sort of socio-economic reality tries to creep into the picture frame, overall it never disturbs or overwhelms the narrative.

In making peasants and beggars the subject matter of genre paintings, Moritz Hartmann not only depicts a young couple as a genre picture but he individualises them, interacts with them, and the young girl is not just labelled a picture, but she *is* a picture, i.e. she is the subject of a genre painting by an English artist which Hartmann viewed in an exhibition in London that season. Just as Pückler was already acquainted with the 'characteristic' figures he would meet amongst the ruins of Glendalough, so too has Hartmann already encountered the subject of his picture before he even arrives in Ireland.

On Kingsbridge in Dublin Hartmann finds a pretty prospect: the most exquisite-looking couple, a young man aged around nineteen and a young girl of about sixteen, leaning against the rail on the bridge, both looking down into the depths of the river beneath them. The young man is tall and slim, with a pale face, a boldly aquiline nose and a broad forehead. He has blue eyes and thick black hair which falls on his shoulders, while his very plain and utterly tattered linen shirt reveals a slight but muscular figure. His female companion, however, is described in much more detail and her beauty shines through her ragged, tattered and dirty clothing:

Alles an ihr war zerpflückt und zerrissen; das Mäntelchen, unten ganz ausgefrant, starrte von Schmutz, der Hut war voll Löcher, die mit Blumen und Blättern verstopft waren. Das aschblonde Haar lag halb zerzaust auf der ungewaschenen Stirn. Aber mitten durch all den Schmutz drang der Strahl unendlich rührender Schönheit. Das Rehaug blickte sanft und mild, die kleine, doch etwas gebogene Nase sprach von Geist und Verstand, der etwas breite Mund mit vollen Lippen ließ eine Reihe glänzender Perlzähne sehen, und Kinn und Wangen waren trotz Noth und Elend noch sanft gerundet. [...] Das Mäntelchen, das sie über die Schultern geworfen hatte, um sich bequemer an das Geländer zu lehnen, ließ eine schöne zarte Brust sehen, die sich durch die zerfaserte Hülle eines schwarzseidenen Tuches weiß und glänzend hervordrängte. Die Hand, die das Kinn stützte, obwohl gebräunt, war lieblich anzusehen, und um den schmalen und kleinen Fuß, der nackt in abgetretenen Schuhen stak, hätte sie manche deutsche Herzogin beneidet. – Endlich gab sie ihre nachdenkliche Stellung auf, nahm dem Jungen seine rothe, kecke Mütze an und strich ihm die schwarzen Locken von der glänzenden Stirn. (MH 33f.)

The influence of physiognomics is evident here in how Hartmann reads the girl's countenance as an indication of a gentle and intelligent spirit. Despite hunger and misery, despite sunburnt complexions and rags caked in dirt, the poignant beauty and perfect physiognomy of the girl shines through as Hartmann perceives "Amor und Psyche als irische Bettelkinder verkleidet" (MH 34). Amor or Cupid embodies the antique personification of physical desire. It seems that by offering mythological analogies, Hartmann seeks to cushion the immediate sexual evocativeness of the vision of full lips, naked feet and tender breasts pushing through the young girl's blouse. Furthermore, the Psyche and Cupid analogy suggests sexual inexperience

like Psyche's before she is made Cupid's wife. Hartmann seems to hint at this here by describing the girl's mild, timid behaviour, by casting her as unaware of her own beauty as well as evoking an affectionate scene between an innocent young couple, perhaps trying to further ameliorate the overt sexual connotations. Hartmann's impression, however, is quickly shattered: the girl approaches him with the softest smile not to beg but to offer her services as a prostitute. Had the girl, named Juddy, never approached him or had she not noticed that she was being watched (Hartmann explicitly points out that she knows she is being watched; MH 34), then he might never have learned the truth behind the picture. But Hartmann does not allow the innocent, uplifting genre picture to stand and in so doing impresses upon his reader that appearances can be deceptive; life is *not* a painting. He is shocked by the encounter, he sadly shakes his head in response: "Sie fragte mich – ich will die Frage nicht wiederholen. Ob es der Bruder oder Geliebte war, den sie verließ, um an mich diese Frage zu stellen – ob es der Bruder oder Geliebte war, der ihr ruhig nachsah und ruhig das Resultat abwartete – es ist gleich schrecklich" (HM 34). Yet, Hartmann's reaction, the shock and disappointment, appear disingenuous given that very early on in his narrative he declares: "Alle Weiber gehören der Prostitution an". He states that most Irish women are beautiful or at least appear to have mild features, "aber desto schrecklicher ist die Schrift, welche das Laster auf diese feinen Gesichter gezeichnet hat" (MH 7). Hartmann then claims that hunger and nothing else gives women their beautiful appearance (MH 8). This appears contradictory. They would not be working as prostitutes if they were not hungry, and if they were not hungry they would not be perceived as beautiful. These statements seem to be part of a construct, of trying to make sense of the inexplicable. Hartmann does not want to admit that he must find these women attractive. Perhaps by likening Juddy to Psyche he can convey both an impression of her gentle innocence as well as presenting her as sexually desirable while suppressing his own desire as it surfaces in his first impression of her as attractive.

Even though Hartmann claims to be shocked when he finds out that Juddy is a prostitute, the portrayal of his encounter with her still maintains an air of innocence and something exotic and otherworldly. In a physical sense, he is afraid to touch her hand when he gives her a shilling, "so arg starrte das ganze Geschöpf von Schmutz" (MH 34). It is not that Hartmann is repulsed by the dirt, rather it seems that he wants to retain an idea of her otherness; he refuses to get too close. This is especially clear when Hartmann meets Juddy again, this time she is to be his guide through the slums of Dublin so he can get to know her friends and the "Volk" in general (MH 36). He realises why Juddy appears so familiar to him. She is the original of the 'Irish Girl' which impressed art connoisseurs at the last London exhibition (MH 37). Juddy explains how a gentleman from London used her and others in a pub as models for his painting. Hartmann enthusiastically tells her how popular she is in London.

The technique of the genre painting to describe scenes from everyday life seems to have reached its ultimate conclusion in this anecdote: Juddy is no longer just verbally framed as a painting and perceived as suitable subject matter for a picture, but she already is the object of a real life painting, however the painting in the London exhibition is quite a different painting to Hartmann's presentation of her. Here, she is flesh and blood, she is the original rather than a representation; in real life she is a prostitute struggling to survive. According to Beyenburg-Weidenfeld, "die 'eigentliche' Begegnung" between Hartmann and Juddy "hat damit schon außer Landes stattgefunden. Hartmanns Versuch, die malerische Idylle zu brechen, geschieht nur halbherzig".¹⁵ Hartmann's encounter with the 'picturesque Juddy' took place in London. Hartmann, just like the London gentleman artist, can impose a particular way of seeing onto his subjects according to popular conventions to fulfil expectations (Juddy as the subject of a genre painting, Juddy as an innocent yet desirable Irish Psyche), but Hartmann also presents another version of Juddy, i.e. the 'real life' Juddy.

During the excursion into the slums, then, Juddy's existence as prostitute seems to be completely forgotten as she takes on yet another role. This time she is a story teller and mediator of Irish traditions and customs such as a wake, which Hartmann also incidently describes as a picture: "Wir traten heran und sahen durch die zerbrochenen Scheiben. Auf dem Tische lag die schöne Leiche eines Mädchens, das in der Blüthe der Jahre heimgegangen war" (MH 54). Through Juddy, he experiences 'authentic' everyday life of the lower class: "die malerischen Gruppen" of women smoking their pipes (MH 38), or scenes of Irish dancers which are "so ächt irisch" (MH 39). Here, authenticity is dually mediated, through Juddy and through the broken window panes. Meanwhile, Hartmann can never fully suppress the sexual undertones. When he tells Juddy how popular the painting of her in London is, she asks if she would please the London gentlemen to which Hartmann "[...] schwieg verblüfft und hatte nicht das Gewissen" his "bejahende Ueberzeugung auszusprechen" (MH 37). Even though Hartmann highlights the socioeconomic circumstances of Juddy and the lower classes in general, he still idealises them to a certain extent. In Juddy's case, he does not even need to idealise her since her portrait has already been committed to canvas for a much wider audience than Hartmann's readers. Juddy fulfils different roles and through her, authenticity is relativised numerous times. As guide/mediator she has a double pre-existence as a picture and as an earlier encounter of a very ambivalent variety.

Further artistic techniques familiar from conceptualisations of landscape were also applied to how people were rendered in both urban and rural settings, for example by way of

¹⁵ Susanne Beyenburg-Weidenfeld: Authentische Reiseerfahrungen und deren Fiktionalisierung. Irlandreiseberichte zwischen 1777 und 1850. In: Anne Fuchs and Theo Harden (eds.): Reisen im Diskurs. Modelle der literarischen Fremderfahrung von den Pilgerberichten bis zu Postmoderne. Heidelberg: Winter, 1995, pp. 428-442, here p. 439.

moving panoramas as well as living pictures. Pückler and Heusinger capture scenes from Irish life using the bedroom window of their respective hotels. Pückler relays an episode taking place on the street outside: an old woman sits on the ground chewing an apple and smoking her pipe contentedly, while closer to the house a man in rags entertains passers-by with his antics assisted by his monkey. Pückler describes the loud screams and shouts of the passers-by who stop to watch the man and monkey ensemble. The spectators then start to partake in the drama until eventually the man tries to escape from the crowd with his monkey by literally running out of the frame of the picture. His audience follow him; they then take out their shileilas and “ehe man sich’s versieht, endet die Verfolgung in einem allgemeinen Gefecht der Verfolger” (HvPM 304f.). This ‘truly Irish’ scene is a drama played out on the street/stage before Pückler’s eyes, the main player is the artist with his monkey, and the artist’s audience become actors who also take part in the drama since they are no longer satisfied with just watching, overcome by a “Darstellungswut”. It is a play within a play. Initially, the framing technique suggests an immobile, static image, i.e. condensation into a picture; then dynamicisation occurs in the movement of the crowd and the prolonged human interaction; finally, elusiveness is suggested in how the man and monkey move out of the frame. This indicates unfixability and even incomprehension; the technique employed by Pückler is inept in fully capturing the scene. The world, it seems, cannot always be contained by the representational conventions imposed upon it.

While Pückler conveys the scene from his bedroom window in terms of a one-act play, Heusinger describes a moving panorama of living pictures which scroll past his window while he remains in situ. The panorama is conveniently provided for by a parade as part of a folk festival, a more than fitting opportunity to determine in how far the life of the people has changed or improved since Heusinger’s last visit (*Europäische Bilder*, 1841, EH 385). It is no accident that he should chose this occasion to provide a panorama of Irish life since people from all classes of society would have gathered together from both the town and the countryside in one place. The first picture is that of men and women of all age groups streaming out of a pub in the early hours of the morning. This scene provides Heusinger occasion to describe the attire of the people. The next picture is that of a bag-pipe player surrounded by a group of unkempt, mischievous-looking boys, the next picture focuses on the local men and how they interact with the village beauties (EH 386). The stage remains the same, i.e. the street, but the panorama scroll keeps rolling: pick pockets set to work as the crowd grows, carriages roll past filled with different types including a musician, a priest and old women smoking pipes, men sitting twos and threes on horses trot past, while for Heusinger “das so überaus lebendige Bild wurde noch um ein Großes dadurch erhöht, als [...] die wahrhaft glänzenden Equipagen der englisch-irischen Aristokratie, und die Blüthe der

vornehmen jungen Welt zu Pferde, von einer reich betreßten Dienerschaft begleitet, über die Bühne dahin brausten". A shadow, however, is cast "über das sich vor meinen Augen entrollende Gemälde" by the beggars, the blind and the lame. Heusinger briefly considers the "Schauder erregendes Elend" but swiftly moves on, finishing the description of the moving picture by bringing the reader back inside the room from which he views the scenes, signalled by Heusinger's direct speech to the waiter as to the occasion of the parade (EH 391f.). This is an effective device and very similar to that previously discussed where Venedey interrupts his description by turning to his meal: abortion and evasion of the poverty that they have just witnessed. If anything, for Heusinger the beggars and disabled are living compositional devices. He describes them as "Schatten", shade providing contrast and depth in a pictorial, compositional sense. The beggars function as staffage to complete the picture. Their compositional function is analogous to their social one as presented in the panorama. They are like the underbelly of Irish society who live in the shadow of the aristocracy; the mere presence of the destitute makes the appearance of the upper class all the more magnificent. Since Heusinger does not comment on any of this, it would suggest that he is only concerned with creating aesthetically pleasing, contrasting pictures for his readers, to heighten the effect of the whole by completing the unrolling canvas with misery and poverty followed by glamour and elegance.

Heusinger fully exploits the technique of the living panorama picture and stage/drama to bring together many aspects of Irish social, cultural and economic life. This allows the spectator, as well as the reader, "to view everything deemed worthy of seeing within a markedly limited space and length of time".¹⁶ Since the pictures keep moving, Heusinger never has to go into any detail on any one particular aspect. This comes close to a "panoramisation of vision",¹⁷ a mode of perception in which particular views have "lost their depth, becoming part and parcel of the same panorama world surrounding them and constituting a painted surface everywhere".¹⁸ Yet, Heusinger's unrolling canvas is not fully akin to Dolf Sternberger's concept of panoramisation of perception because Heusinger's pictures still possess depth and detail of description, even if not depth and detail of reflection on those subject to the observer's gaze.

¹⁶ William T. Hendel: Theatrical Representation of Landscape in Rousseau's *La nouvelle Héloïse*. In: *Paroles gelées*, 21. 1 (2004), pp. 47-52, p. 49.

¹⁷ Buzard: *The beaten track*, p. 189.

¹⁸ Dolf Sternberger: *Panorama of the Nineteenth Century*, transl. by Joachim Neugroschel. New York: Urizen Books, 1977, p. 46.

3.2 Breaking the Idyll

From the 1830s onwards, other observers take issue with conventions of depiction and of construction of meaning. Friedrich von Raumer (*England im Jahre 1835*, 2 vols, 1836, FvR1/FvR2), for example, does so by providing his readers with the satire of a genre painting, while Johann Georg Kohl (*Reisen in Irland*, 2 vols, 1843, JGKR1/JGKR2) chooses a progressive, educational scene as the subject of his picture. The attempt to break the picturesque idyll is evident in the scenes authors chose to present as genre pictures; it is also evident in how the genre pictures are integrated into their respective narratives on the wider issues to which they pertain. These genre sketches are not stand-alone snapshots of a detached observer who records scenes while looking out of his coach or bedroom window and then swiftly moves on to the next picture or other topics. Knut Jongbohn Clement (*Reisen in Irland*, 1845, KJC) and Kohl use genre pictures to comment on social, economic and political conditions.

In his discussion on Irish emigration in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Clement details to where and how many Irish emigrate, as well as the reasons behind emigration (KJC 190f.). In the middle of this discussion, he inserts a description of a very touching emigration scene:

Ein Kindlein von einigen Wochen alt ward über den Steg an Bord getragen – es war die Zeit der Abfahrt – und eine Frau von 80 Jahren aus derselben Familie führte man auch hinüber, ihr Kopf nickte und sie ging bei einem Stock in das Fahrzeug hinein, welches bestimmt war, sie nach einer neuen Heimath zu bringen. Ich stand auf dem Auswanderschiff und betrachtete alle, so wie sie über den Steg kamen, und mehrere von den Auswandern standen an Bord und weinten sehr und sahen unverwandt das Ufer und die lieben Berge an. Plötzlich geschah ein Ereignis von der ergreifendsten Art. Es war eben eine Familie angekommen, derer Glieder sich nun trennen sollten. Es waren deren wohl mehr als 12, einige sollten übers Weltmeer, andre zurückbleiben. Alle weinten laut und wollten einander nicht lassen, sie umarmten sich lange und küßten sich innig mit großen Schluchzen. Bald riß sich der eine, bald ein anderer los und eilte über den Steg und blieb dann an Bord am Eingang weinend stehen und blickte noch einmal und immer wieder die Seinen an und die theuren Hochlande. [...] Die ganze eine Seite des Schiffs war Eine Trauer, Ein lautes Weinen. Ein Mann war darunter, welcher so laut und schrecklich weinte, wie ich nie einen Mann habe weinen sehen. (KJC 192)

Clement asks one of those emigrating as to why so many are leaving and is told that they cannot afford to pay the high rents demanded by the landlord. Clement appears deeply affected by the scene. He claims to be reminded of his own feelings of home sickness; he empathises with these people even though the reasons for their and his stay abroad are very different. This effect of the scene is underlined by its composition and Clement's perspective as spectator. He is standing on the emigrant ship observing everyone as they come on board, i.e. he is 'inside' the picture himself, he views the scene from the perspective of an Irish emigrant on board waving goodbye to those left behind on land rather than as detached outsider viewing from afar. In a significant contrast to previous examples, Clement offers an

analogy not with figures from Greek mythology but from his own life experience. This demonstrates an act of sharing, of empathy between observer and observed rather than a deliberate effort not to get too close to the figures of the picture. Subsequently, Clement continues the discussion on emigration, detailing the cottages that are abandoned as whole families emigrate, as well as exact numbers of Irish emigrants to Canada and the United States. Clement's genre picture serves to give a human face to the facts and figures he furnishes his reader with.

Kohl's "ächt irisches Genrebild" of a hedge school is embedded within his commentary on education in Ireland and on the status of the English language in particular (JGKR1 260). He describes a touching scene of a crowded classroom:

Das Schulgebäude war eine mit Rasen gedeckte Lehmhütte, ohne alle Fenster und ohne alle weitere Bequemlichkeit. Die kleinen Schulkinder saßen alle so gut als möglich in ihre Lumpen gehüllt an der offenen niedrigen Thür der Hütte und hielten alle ihre kleinen Bücher in der Richtung zur Thür hin, um das dadurch eindringende spärliche Licht aufzufangen. Viele Kleine saßen oder lagen auf dem Boden. Hinter ihnen saßen einige auf ein paar Bänken, die sie aus Bretern zusammengestückt hatten, und dahinter standen einige Große, die wieder zwischen den Köpfen der Vordermänner mit ihren Büchern zum Lichte hervorlangten. Der Lehrer [...] saß mitten unter dem Haufen.

In einem Skizzenbuche über Irland wäre dieß Bild wesentlich gewesen, und es that mir unendlich leid, daß ich kein Daguerreotyp bei mir hatte, um es sogleich auf einer Platte zu verewigen. (JGKR1 258f.)

Even though there is a practical explanation as to why all the children are bent towards the light of the door, Kohl links this to the "Licht der geistigen Aufklärung". In an Irish context, the English language is "der Träger und der Inbegriff aller Cultur". If there is any trace of a picturesque idyll in the genre picture, it is to be found not in the poverty, lack of clothing and nourishment of the young children, but in how they appear "recht munter, frisch und heiteräugig bei diesem Studium", i.e. learning the English alphabet. It could be argued that the manner in which Kohl frames this scene comes close to what John Ruskin would a decade later term the 'higher picturesque'. In his 1856 study *Modern Painters*, Ruskin advocated an ethical response to scenes of poverty and decay.¹⁹ Kohl writes elsewhere: "Solchen Dingen nachzuspüren, gewährt dem Menschenfreunde einen höheren Genuß als der Anblick von 'scenery' und 'mountains'" (JGKR2 35). "Menschenfreund" is a term relating to an enlightened agenda regarding the concern for social and ethical issues, whereas describing scenery and mountains is engagement with the tourist gaze and beautifying conventions of representation. Kohl is very clear here in his sideswipe at those who might see themselves as enlightened travellers. Clement's genre picture of emigration also anticipates Ruskin's 'higher picturesque'

¹⁹ Cf. John Ruskin: Of the Turnerian Picturesque. In: *Modern Painters* (1856). In: E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (eds.): *The Works of John Ruskin*, vol. IV. London: George Allen, 1904, p. 19-20.

in that Clement genuinely seems to empathise and engage with the subjects of his gaze. “The lover and practitioner of Ruskin’s higher picturesque absorbs but transcends the surface Picturesque: s/he manifests a largeness of sympathy, a communion of heart with the subject in view”, and this indeed seems to be at the core of how Clement frames his impressions.²⁰

It has become evident that imposing a picturesque way of seeing functions to distance the observer from what he observes; even when spectators interact with the subjects of their gaze and gain an insight into their lives, as Venedey and Hartmann do, they still often see what they want to see, as Buzard puts it: the spectator “sees everything but is implicated in nothing”.²¹ The empathy shown by Clement, on the other hand, appears to be an act of self-implication. Friedrich von Raumer also engages with aesthetic conventions by taking issue with subjecting the lives, costumes and customs of the Irish lower classes to a picturesque way of seeing. He provides a satire of a genre picture:

Der Wagen hielt früh Morgens vor einer Hütte, die man, wenns beliebt, Haus nennen kann. Eine Sau, die irländische Sphinx, lag mit dem Hintertheile noch in schwarzem Moder vergraben, während sie ihr Vordertheil auf beide Pfoten stützte und mir eine sehr merkwürdige Rede hielt. [...] Gleichzeitig öffnete sich die Thüre, und, wie Alcestis aus der Nacht des Erebus, trat die überkühn drappirte oder nicht drappirte Hausfrau in den Vordergrund, drehte die Hintern ihrer holden Kleinen über die Schwelle und ließ sie thun, was sie nicht lassen konnten. Diesen Morgengruß verstehend, verließen zwei Ferkel ihre ernste Mutter und eilten zu ihren Gespielen. Das Mädchen hob sich etwas in die Höhe, sah zwischen die Beine hindurch und gab Acht auf die eigenen Thaten und die Hülfleistungen des Ferkels. Der Knabe blieb ungestört in seiner niedergekauerten Stellung, und drehte nur gleichgültig den Kopf um. Sobald das Ferkel in bekannter Weise für Herstellung der Reinlichkeit gesorgt hatte, sprang er zu dem Knaben und bot ihm den Bruderkuß, der auch nicht zurückgewiesen wurde. Diese Scene aus dem goldenen Zeitalter fesselte meine Aufmerksamkeit so, daß ich fast den Familienvater übersehen hätte. Er saß zur Seite auf einem Haufen von Torfkrümeln, war, das legitime Hosenloch verfehlend, mit dem Beine irrthümlich durch ein größeres, revolutionaires und radicales hindurchgefahren, und hatte nun seine größte Noth, unter Conservirung der Lumpen, auf den rechten Weg zurückzukehren. Ich hoffe, unsere Meister in der sogenannten Genremalerei werden diese Naturschilderung für die nächste Kunstaussstellung benutzen, den Stoff veredeln und mir für meine pittoresken Andeutungen wenigstens eine Copie ihrer Kunstwerke zukommen lassen. (FvR2 414)

From the very beginning of the description, Raumer’s intentions are clearly indicated with the phrase “wenn’s beliebt”, which undermines any pretence that this will be yet another ‘typical Irish’ picturesque scene. The depiction turns into a test of aesthetic conventions: Raumer includes the details of defecation (on their own doorstep!). Such bodily functions were common in discursive portrayals of the disgusting, an aesthetic diametrically opposed to the picturesque, the sublime and the beautiful. Portrayals of the human body that include the discharge of bodily fluids such as blood and excrement are registered as “ekelhaft auf dem

²⁰ Malcolm Andrews: The metropolitan Picturesque. In: Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (eds.): The Politics of the Picturesque. Literature, landscape and aesthetics since 1770. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 282-298, here p. 289.

²¹ Buzard: Off the Beaten Track, p. 190.

ästhetischen Index".²² Raumer's light-hearted language and the manner in which he conveys the scene do not in any way match the subject matter of his genre picture. By making such details the focal point, he is poking fun at other travel writers who would frame similar scenes as picturesque in that they would conveniently and completely ignore less pleasing details in favour of others. The satire is underlined by the references to antique mythology. The woman is likened to the Greek mythological princess Alcestis, reemerging from the underworld having sacrificed herself for her husband. In the Irish context, such a comparison is farcical given Raumer's description of the husband who struggles to keep his rags in place. The pig is likened to the mythical sphinx guarding the entrance who presents travellers with a riddle before they may pass. In the households of the poorest, the pig was indeed a kind of guardian in that it was used to pay rent when the family could not afford to do so; the pig was a safeguard against complete destitution. As the Irish sphinx, however, is no ferocious, merciless lion of mythology, rather a filthy domestic sow, such a comparison appears comical. The satire works by evoking alternative, conventional and beautified modes of depicting the same subject matter. The effect is thus achieved by way of contrast which exposes as fabricated the contrastive foil and draws attention to what to Raumer appears to be the essence of the scene – the illustration of conditions is anything but idyllic.

On another occasion, Raumer claims that he cannot take aesthetic pleasure from ruins in a landscape setting because of what surrounds them: "Man zeigte mir Ruinen alter Burgen; wie konnte ich mich aber ihrer erfreuen, da ringsum die wüsten ganz eingestürzten Hütten umherlagen und lauter die Noth der Gegenwart, als jene die Größe der Vergangenheit bezeugten" (FvR2 423). Raumer consciously chooses his material; he casts his stance as a socially ethical one and therewith dismisses other representational choices as unethical, such as the concentration on ruins to the complete exclusion of surrounding squalor:

Über Limerick kehrte ich, durch fruchtbare Gegenden, langweilige Torfmoore und wüste Gemeineweiden unter stetem Regen nach Dublin zurück. Begnügt Euch mit dieser trockenen Aufzählung, und wollt Ihr Naturbeschreibungen, so leset das noch einmal, was ich im vergangenen Jahre fast um dieselbe Zeit aus der Schweiz über die großen Naturscheinungen schrieb. Mich beherrscht nur Ein Gedanke, ich kann keinen andern fassen und festhalten, der, des unbeschreiblichen Elends so vieler Tausende! In England suchte ich vergeblich nach Elend, und fand alle Klagen einseitig und übertrieben: hier erreichen keine Worte das, was mit entsetzlicher Wahrheit in die Augen springt. Man muß diese Häuser gesehen haben; – nicht Häuser, sondern Hütten; nicht Hütten sondern Höhlen, meist ohne Fenster oder Öffnungen, derselbe Eingang, derselbe winzige Raum für Menschen und Schweine. Diese frisch, glatt und wohlgenährt, jene in Lumpen gehüllt, oder vielmehr mit Bruchstücken von Lumpen hie und da behangen, in einer Weise, wovon man sich keinen Begriff machen kann. Wenn ich die wohlhabenden Leute in den Städten abrechne, so sah ich an Tausenden von Irländern keinen

²² Winifred Menninghaus: Ekel. In: Karlheinz Barck et al. (eds.): Ästhetische Grundbegriffe. Historisches Wörterbuch in sieben Bänden, vol 2: Dekadent-Grotesk. Stuttgart: Metzler, 2010, pp. 142-177, here p. 149.

ganzen Rock, kein ganzes Hemd, keine ganze Hose; sondern Alles zerrissen und wie zerrissen!
(FvR2 422)

It is with this passage that the satire and derision of fixing poverty in a picturesque frame makes its full impact on the reader. Descriptions of picturesque and sublime landscape become interchangeable; through the composition and choice of subject matter, the picturesque becomes universal rather than specific – and thereby random. Raumer's framing of people in a landscape setting pinpoints and attacks the inadequacies of picturesque aesthetics. He registers his shock at the depth of destitution which points to poverty as an aesthetic problem, i.e. how is poverty to be conceived of when it is not/cannot be subjected to the picturesque. This becomes imperative in an urban setting where observers walk the streets and encounter the slums of the poorest of society.

3.3 Aesthetics and the City

As Malcolm Andrews notes: "In the open spaces of the countryside, the destitute and disaffected could be distanced in the spectator's view: they did not seriously disturb the security or the economy of the classes from which the picturesque tourists generally came. Such detachment became harder to maintain in the metropolitan context".²³ For some spectators, the urban poor cannot be idealised as antique, pastoral or mythological figures because they exist in the midst of 'civilisation'. Despite his picturesque women and children of the countryside, Voght displays signs of aesthetic reservation in portraying the urban poor of Belfast. He writes: "Nirgends gibt es so pittoresk scheußliche Bettler, so zerlumpte Menschen" (CvV 572). Andreas Oehlke interprets this as a derailment of the picturesque and therefore an isolated case.²⁴ Oehlke appears to imply that Voght's juxtaposition of squalor with picturesqueness is accidental. Yet, the combination of picturesque and ugly could be deliberate. Happy, innocent, picturesque peasants correspond to the moral compass of the spectator and it appears that this is what Voght expected to find everywhere in Ireland. What he finds in the city, however, is quite different: hideous beggars who are "unglücklich, mürrisch, gierig, bettelhaft, und versoffen" in no way correspond to his preconceptions, or his moral compass. Other observers including Küttner, Clement and Philipp Andreas Nemnich (*Neuste Reisen durch England, Schottland und Ireland, hauptsächlich in Bezug auf Produkte, Fabriken und Handlung*, 1807, PAN) also conceptualise urban poverty as ugly and disgusting. Poverty is conceived of as an aesthetic problem when, on the one hand, faced with the beautiful Georgian houses and squares, wide regular streets and neoclassical architecture, but

²³ Andrews: *The metropolitan Picturesque*, p. 287f.

²⁴ Cf. Oehlke: *Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen*, p. 133.

on the other hand in their immediate vicinity, the slums, beggars, rags and excrement-filled streets of the poor.

The majority of German observers who visit Irish cities such as Dublin, Cork and Limerick are impressed by the architecture, town planning and parks. The length, breadth and regularity of the streets, the simplicity of the buildings and how the boutiques are decorated in Dublin all remind Küttner of London (*Briefe über Irland an seinen Freund*, 1785, KGK 35). Küttner details specific elements such as one building where the massive dome is supported by Corinthian columns on either side, or the parliament building which he describes as a masterpiece of excellent architecture with its portico and twenty Ionic columns which support it (KGK 46). Subsequent authors also present Dublin and other Irish cities by way of comparison to London in terms of regularity of design, layout and magnificent buildings (PAN 659, JFH 100, HM1 177f., CO 361f., WH 395, MvD 41, FvR2 409, KvH 280, KJC 146, 319, 441f., EH 401f., JV2 10, FC 58f.). For these observers, Irish cityscapes were perceived as pleasing because of the neoclassical style, in London and Dublin (and other colonial cities of the British Empire) specifically the Palladian style of the Georgian period. Georgian town planning and architecture embodied elements of classical aesthetics with balance, regularity, order, measure, proportion and symmetry as key elements. On a visual level, German observers could aesthetically identify with what they saw, in the same way as the parks of the Anglo-Irish were aesthetically familiar. Travellers would have been conversant with neoclassical architecture from continental Europe and with the Palladian style from London; the physical cityscape of Dublin and other Irish cities was essentially not new to them. Another aspect which Küttner mentions is the rejuvenation of the city centre by the government and various dedicated interest groups: old houses are torn down, the streets are re-laid in a regular, symmetrical fashion and new houses are erected (KGK 44). Küttner is probably referring to the 'boom period' in the Irish economy when the political situation (Grattan's Parliament, 1782-1800) attracted many Anglo-Irish families to Dublin (as opposed to London or elsewhere) who had magnificent city residences built there.

By way of contrast to the dominant practice of conceptualising the cityscape as classically beautiful, Pückler and Heusinger seek out more picturesque qualities in terms of irregularity, variety and contrast. While Pückler recognises the pleasing symmetrical layout of Dublin and its impressive buildings (HvPM 7), it is Limerick which he describes in detail:

Limerick ist die dritte Stadt in Irland und von einer Art, wie ich Städte liebe – alt und ehrwürdig, mit gotischen Kirchen, bemoosten Schloßruinen geziert; mit dunkeln, engen Straßen und kuriosen Häusern aus verschiedenen Zeitaltern; einem weiten Fluß, der sie der ganzen Länge nach durchströmt und über den mehrere altertümliche Brücken führen; endlich wohlbelebten Marktplätzen und einer freundlichen Umgegend. Eine solche Stadt hat für mich etwas Ähnliches mit einem natürlichen Walde, dessen dunkle Schatten auch bald hohe, bald niedrige,

vielfach gestaltete Baumgassen darbieten und oft ein Laubdach, gleich einer gotischen Kirche, bilden. Dagegen gleichen moderne regelmäßige Städte mehr einem verschnittenen französischen Garten. Jedenfalls sagen sie meinem romantischen Geschmacke weniger zu. (HvPM 119)

Pückler's use of the term "romantisch" suggests that he might be ironising himself. In any case, when compared with Clement's framing of Limerick city below, it also highlights two very different ways of seeing. Indeed, in the 1820s Limerick's Newtown Pery area was as much a Georgian quarter as Dublin's Merion Square. Newtown Pery was built according to "a north-south rectangular grid, [...] along the axis of a great central street", therefore Pückler must refer to the old, medieval city.²⁵ He does not mention anything of the Georgian face of Limerick, or indeed of those who inhabit the city.

Heusinger's presentation of Dublin in 1841 unites the old and the new to compose a picturesque whole. He describes the ruins and rubble, the old buildings covered in quaint carvings with high gables and unsteady looking oriels and balconies which threaten to fall on the passer-by. Despite the physical danger presented by the unsafe structure, such a prospect, according to Heusinger, would fill a historian of antiquity with delight as well as provide an author of novels with a wealth of material from which to create stories (ED 401). Here, Heusinger refers to the affective element of the picturesque and its power on the imagination. Such buildings provide a stark contrast "mit dem überaus schönen Anblicke [...], den die malerischen, mit Gruppen der schönsten neusten Gebäude bedeckten Ufer des lieblichen Flusses darbieten, dessen Windungen man hier in weiter Entfernung verfolgen kann, bis der sich allmählig erhebende Waldgrund des schönen Phönix-Parkes die Fernsicht endlich schließt" (EH 403). Unlike Pückler, Heusinger does not completely ignore one face of the city in favour of the other. Yet, in both examples, there is no mention of those who inhabit the scene, something which seems odd enough for a landscape setting, but in an urban centre it clearly highlights the picturesque as an artificial and stylised mode of perception and representation, especially given the attention the beggars and the poor receive from other observers.

Heusinger's and Pückler's framing of Irish cityscapes are striking exceptions to the prevailing practice of depicting the city as classically beautiful. For Heusinger, the picturesque unites the magnificent architecture with the dilapidated and impoverished buildings, the one provided contrast and variety to the other. For almost every other observer, however, the extremes of wealth and poverty, of the beautiful and the ugly in close proximity do not belong together and cannot be united in a single frame. Küttner discovers slums where excrement and dirt assail his senses. Beautiful parks and squares alternate with filthy and unhygienic streets

²⁵ Eamon O'Flaherty: Three towns. Limerick since 1690. In: Howard Clarke (ed.): Irish Cities. Cork: Mercier, 1995, pp. 177-190, here p. 182.

(KGK 44). He observes that there only seems to be “zwey Classen von Menschen [...], Reiche und Arme! Alle Gassen wimmeln von Kutschen, Chaisen und Sänften, mit und ohne Kronen, von reitenden Bedienten und Liveren; ich sehe Pracht, Eleganz, gemahlte Wappen etc. und – arme, kothigte, elend gekleidete Leute” (KGK 165). Küttner tries to find a balance, something to reconcile the reality of what he sees with his idealised views of the Irish rural peasantry that he had encountered earlier, ultimately something to form a ‘picture’ that cannot be purely picturesque anymore. It is the effect of the incessant presence of beggars, however, which make this mode of seeing impossible for Küttner:

Die Stadt Dublin wird täglich verschönert [...]. Man mag aber die Stadt so sehr verbessern, als man will, so werde ich mich doch nie an den entsetzlichen Anblick gewöhnen, den die ungeheure Menge von Bettlern darbietet. Man ist nirgends vor ihnen sicher, so bald man zu Fuße geht, und es gibt Gassen, in denen sie einen Schaarenweise anfallen. Der schönste Spaziergang, den ich jemals im Inneren einer Stadt gesehen habe, St. Steven’s-Green, ist für mich, aus dieser Ursache, der lästigste Weg, den ich kenne. (KGK 164)

Küttner is faced with an “unassimilierbare Andersheit” which gives rise to a “Krise der Selbstbehauptung”.²⁶ He feels under attack at every turn in the city, be it on the streets or even in the park. Stripped of his usual mode of transport and exploring the city on foot, physically he cannot remain detached from what he observes, which has emotional and aesthetic implications. This is evident in his comment that the hordes of beggars do not just look ugly against a classically beautiful cityscape in general, but that their mere presence denies Küttner’s prerogative to take aesthetic pleasure in the park. This confirms the picturesque as an aesthetic based on class and social relations. The pleasures of the picturesque were available “principally to the leisured connoisseur élite” in that they were the ones who created and consumed it.²⁷ However, as Küttner experiences, and despite the high walls of the park which served as physical boundaries between social classes, they could not always control, contain and insulate from that which might disturb the pleasures of the picturesque.

For Nemnich and Clement, the contrast between the beautiful and the ugly/disgusting is personified in the figure of the ugly woman. In the aesthetics of disgust, the figure of the appalling old woman often embodies all that is tabooed.²⁸ Nemnich finds female figures in the Dublin slums whom he renders in this very manner:

Scheußlichere Kreaturen von Physiognomie und Anzug, den ich nicht zu beschreiben wage, lassen sich kaum denken. Sie scheinen müssig und unbeschäftigt zu sein. Im Grunde sind sie es keineswegs; denn ihre Hände haben vollauf zu thun, um Jagd auf Ungeziefer zu machen, womit ihr ganzer Körper besäet ist. Es ist, als ob sie etwas Behagliches darin finden, und als ob ihnen ohne diesen Reiz, etwas entgehen würde. An dieser fast undenkbaren Vorworfenheit, ist das

²⁶ Winfried Menninghaus: Ekel. Theorie und Geschichte einer starken Empfindung. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1999, p. 7.

²⁷ Andrews: The Search for the Picturesque, p. 236.

²⁸ Cf. Menninghaus: Ekel. Theorie und Geschichte einer starken Empfindung, p. 16.

leidige Whiskey-Saufen, fast allein schuld. Die Elenden werden dadurch zu allen Geschäften unfähig, und leben in einer unablässigen Betäubung. Das weibliche Geschlecht ist diesem meist vergifteten Getränk am stärksten ergeben, und ihr dadurch ganz verzerrtes Gesicht, hat alles Ansehen von Menschheit verloren. In Vergleichung mit der Liberty in Dublin, ist St. Gile's in London, ein wahres Paradies zu nennen. (PAN 659)

By labelling these women physically repulsive, Nemnich tries to convey his disgust. Normally women are the measure of the beauty of a race, as evidenced by previous examples in which women are often the focal point of picturesque scenes. Furthermore, the influence of physiognomics is evident in how Nemnich links physical appearance ("scheußlich") to moral character ("Verworfenheit"). The appearance and character of these people correspond to their surroundings. The streets of the Dublin slums appear "widrig" and offend "auf das schändlichste, durch ihre Unreinlichkeit, den Geruch sowohl, als das Auge" (PAN 658f.). In his attempt to express the levels of filth, dirt and destitution, Nemnich reaches for a drastic comparison: St Giles in London. St Giles was an "infamous Rookery", London's "most notorious slum" in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Britain. The London parish "became such a byword for filth and squalor that the phrase 'a St Giles cellar' literally signified the lowest depth of abject poverty." Many Irish immigrants took up residence in the slum which became known as "Little Dublin" or "the Holy Land".²⁹ The artist William Hogarth produced several etchings of life in St Giles, including *Gin Lane* (1751) and *First Stage of Cruelty* (1751). Indeed, Nemnich's description of the alcoholic tendencies of the women bears a resemblance to Hogarth's etching *Gin Lane* which depicts a half-naked inebriated woman who lets her baby slip out of her arms and fall to its death at the door of the 'Gin Royal'. Hogarth was popular in educated German circles³⁰ and was popularised amongst others by Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, professor of experimental physics in Göttingen.³¹ Therefore, Nemnich's readership would have been familiar with what St Giles embodied, as well as with pictorial descriptions of it from Hogarth's work. Thus, even when the scene conveyed by the traveller is no longer picturesque, the wish to evoke a visual impression of it can still take place via art.

Clement also renders an old beggar woman in terms of the disgusting and repulsive, however, the shock factor evident in how Küttner and Nemnich convey their experience to the reader seems to give way to a kind of acceptance given the perceived excessiveness of the disgusting. In the the old part of Limerick city, incidentally the very part of the city which

²⁹ Maeve Kennedy: London parish's descent from glamour to grime charted in exhibition. In: The Guardian, Monday 16th May 2011. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2011/may/16/london-parish-glamour-grime-rookery-exhibition> [accessed on 7 October 2013].

³⁰ William Hogarth's artwork is mentioned by the anonymous author of 'Auszug aus einem Schreiben aus Irland' (1787, ASI): "Ueberhaupt werden in England und Irland Künstler und Kunstwerke vielmehr, als Wissenschaften und gelehrte Arbeiten geschätzt. Die Freunde von Hogarth dürfen bald einen neuen Zuwachs zu seinen bisher bekannt gemachten Werken hoffen. Der Irrländische Graf Charlemont, das Haupt der Volontärs, besitzt von diesem grossen Künstler ein Original-Gemälde, das ich in dem Hause des Grafens gesehen habe, und jetzo in London nachgestochen wird" (ASI 158).

³¹ Georg Christoph Lichtenberg: Ausführliche Erklärung der Hogarthischen Kupferstiche mit verkleinerten aber vollständigen Copien derselben von E. Riepenhausen. 13 vols. Göttingen: Dieterich, 1794-1833.

Pückler constructs as picturesque, Clement finds a concentration of all the poverty and destitution he has hitherto witnessed in Ireland (KJC 204). According to Clement, in the new part of Limerick there is much elegance and wealth, while in the immediate surroundings there are vast and prosperous estates. On the other side of the Shannon, however, are the slums. Clement informs his readers: "dorthinüber muß nicht, wer nur genießen will". He describes "die Hütten und Höhlen des Elendes und Jammers und grauenvolles menschliches Weh und Leid" (KJC 205). Some people are often only a living skeleton "in Ungeziefer vergehend". An old beggar woman is viewed as a living personification of deprivation and emaciation:

Ich war im Begriff, die nächste Umgebung Limericks, welche nicht besonders schön ist, zu betrachten, als ich eine arme alte Frau an einem Steinwall elendiglich hocken sah, sie war in lauter unreinen Lumpen verkrochen und befreite sich, anscheinlich ohne Scheu, von den Feinden und Feindinnen ihres Leibes. Ich trat hinzu, um das menschliche Unglück in einer andern Gestalt zu sehen. Sie war gelblich und abgezehrt, die Noth sprach aus jeder Falte ihres Angesichts, als hätte in 70 Jahren ihres Daseins keine einzige Freude ihre Seele besucht, sie schien der Welt schon völlig abgestorben zu sein und alles Leid der Erde tragen zu können, sie hub ihre Augen auf und warf einen grämlichen Blick auf mich, und während sie dieses that, zuckte und schabte sie sich hin und her in ihren Lumpen, denn ihr ganzer Leib war ein einziges Jucken und Brennen. Scheu vor mir half nicht, sie war gezwungen zu thun, was sie that, ihre Lumpen hingen offen herab, und drinnen wimmelte Ungeziefer unzählig wie Sand, ihre Daumen waren unaufhörlich an einander thätig, und ihre Nägel waren roth und voll von Blut. Das ist das entsetzliche Elend, das unter glänzenden Kronen liegt. Hier wird man jeden Wunsch zu leben vergessen. (KJC 205f.)

Clement's wish to get closer appears crude, even voyeuristic. He does not seem to be as repulsed as Küttner and Nemnich had been by what they witnessed. The description calls to mind Raumer's satire of a genre picture which was still amusing to the reader because it was done in a light-hearted manner. Clement's portrayal, however, is not tempered by humorous devices such as likening pigs to sphinxes, rather it is characterised by an air of resignation. Even those elements of disgust associated with the senses, such as the sight of disfigurements of the body as well as the crawling and swarming of parasites, no longer shock the spectator.³² A paradox lies in the fact that both Nemnich's and Clement's ugly women are framed as being full of this excess of life in the vermin that assail their bodies and rags, yet they are all but dead to the world – physically they are alive but mentally and intellectually they are corpses. Furthermore, while Nemnich presents the lower classes as depraved and therefore in some measure personally responsible for their fate, Clement directs his criticism at governance.

Many subsequent observers are initially impressed by the wealth and splendour of Dublin, but also immediately struck by the destitution in its midst (CO 361f., WH 395, FvR2 409, KvH 280, KJC 146, 319, 441f., EH 401f., JV2 10). Hailbronner describes poverty in Dublin as "gräßlich" (KvH 281) and Venedey captures his impressions of the Dublin slums by claiming "es

³² Cf. Menninghaus: Ekel. Theorie und Geschichte einer starken Empfindung, p. 30.

juckt Einen nur vom Ansehen" (JV2 11). Yet, most authors who succeed Küttner and Nemnich no longer focus on descriptions of destitution in aesthetic terms. Clement's statement on jeweled crowns gives a hint as to why this might be the case. The formulation with its reference to the symbol of political power indicates that, as well as being an aesthetic problem, poverty becomes increasingly perceived as a social, moral and above all a political problem.

It appears that Küttner, Voght and Nemnich went to urban centres expecting to find culture and civilisation. This seems to be at the heart of why urban poverty presents them with an aesthetic challenge. Poverty in a rural setting is 'easier' to handle because it is less concentrated and obtrusive; it is integratable into a picturesque depiction, evidenced in the examples from Voght of the angel-like children, Pückler and his 'characteristic' tour guide and Hailbronner's Ossian-type figure in the sublime-picturesque mountain setting. In the countryside, there were things that could and did occupy the observer because they were pleasurable and fitted into their arsenal of predispositions – ruins, ivy, lush vegetation – but this was not the case in the city where there was no ivy, green sweeping hills or vales and mountains to reconcile the stark contrasts and (aesthetically ugly) clashes between rich and poor.

In conclusion, it is manifest that the dominant manner in which travel writers populated their pictures was by applying a picturesque way of seeing to figures in a landscape setting but also to figures in urban settings. As in landscape descriptions, compositional techniques and framing devices, as well as theatrical techniques such as the panorama, diorama and living pictures provided authors with ways to structure their scenes and thereby render them as both evocative and meaningful. It appears that nature and those who inhabit it cannot be viewed independent of artistic and literary conventions, for example by using figures and composing scenes which corresponded to ones the spectator was already familiar with from literature or painting. Even when observers were generally aware of the realities behind the imposed picture frames, they still found something picturesque in what they saw and ways to idealise poverty. The manner in which Pückler, Venedey and Hartmann frame their female subject matter is striking: they make nudity and the sexualisation of their subjects acceptable because they associate the subjects with classical models and archetypal symbols, thus carrying out an act of sanitisation. The extent to which they suppress the sexual connotations varies. Pückler's presentation of the woman making hay seems to be the most 'harmless', it is done in a lighthearted manner and he interacts with his subject. Venedey, on the other hand, seems to consciously and deliberately employ the antique analogy in order to make his fascination with Irish women acceptable by removing them from their social reality, while

Hartmann obscures Juddy's existence as a prostitute and tries to play down the latent sexual aspect of their encounter. All three examples utilise similar techniques of stylisation which produce similar effects of detachment, sanitisation as well as the fixation of their subjects in an artistic, composed frame in a very deliberate manner, and all for a common reason: to 'ban' encounters of a too intimate nature, the fear of getting too close, of acknowledging the realities of poverty and destituteness. This reveals very intricate mechanisms at play in encounters and depictions of female subjects.

A clear departure from and criticism of picturesque modes of representation is evident in Clement's, Kohl's and Raumer's genre pictures. This can be traced to a shift in priorities: the socially and ethically aware stance of the philanthropist emerges who favours scenes suggesting progress and improvement in the lives of the lower classes rather than engaging in beautifying and aestheticizing nature and its inhabitants. Such an observer might even place himself in the picture, viewing it from the perspective of one of the described figures, thus conveying empathy. Other observers show signs of shame at their own detachment and reprimand their response to destitution. Some commentators even evoke conventions in a bid to distance themselves from the beautificatory tendencies in such conventions, i.e. they engage with genre conventions and expectations in a bid to sharpen their criticism and draw attention to conditions as they really are. In spite of the purported closeness, many mechanisms enable observers to keep their distance – frames such as hotel and bedroom windows, pre-existing representations in the form of literary and artistic works as well as the act of sanitising depictions characterised by desire and repulsion, and finally self-deprecating ways of avoidance by recourse to Greek mythology are among the methods spectators employ in order to maintain their distance.

4 Constructing the Individual

One of the complexes of travel literature as a genre is “das Problem der Erfahrung und literarischen Darstellung des ‘Fremden’”.¹ According to Peter J. Brenner, “Die Konfrontation mit dem Fremden stellt erhebliche Anforderungen an den Reisenden”.² In the confrontation with the ‘new’ in terms of nature, aesthetics and literary categories provide a means of framing, ordering and understanding. Nature, landscape, cityscape and those in each setting can be experienced and portrayed within an aesthetic framework. In constructing an image of the individual people themselves, of their appearance, dress, behavioural patterns and character, observers apply ethnic, religious, cultural, geographical, historical and linguistic criteria.

The term ‘Fremde’ can refer to the ‘foreign’ or ‘other’ in terms of other countries viewed as geographically distinct, for example the island of Ireland as a geographical entity separate from mainland Europe. ‘Fremde’ can also refer to peoples regarded as culturally ‘other’ based on perceived difference in customs, appearance, ethnicity, history, language and behaviour. The ‘other’ can be a source of fascination, inspiration or of fear; it can be respected, idealised or seen as inferior. “Das Fremde” is “als ein Relationsbegriff zu bestimmen”, meaning that it is defined by the relation between the self and the ‘other’, the observer and the observed. In this sense, the construction of difference, of the ‘other’, stems from and relates to the observer and their own cultural and historical sphere of reference. The image of the ‘other’ created in travel narratives is, from the outset, subject to predispositions which stem from the observer’s own cultural sphere. Therefore, travel narratives can reveal information not only about the foreign culture and the people under observation, but also about the observer’s source culture and their cultural self-image. The relationship between the self and the ‘other’ informs both the observers’ perception as well as the manner in which they present their impressions.³ These modes of perception and presentation depend on a number of individual and social factors which are all subject to historical change and development: “Sie sind bestimmt durch den sozialen Status der Reisenden und durch Einbindung in die Mentalität gesellschaftlicher Gruppen; sie hängen wesentlich ab vom technischen und organisatorischen Standard der Verkehrsmittel; und schließlich werden sie geprägt von persönlichen Dispositionen des Reisenden, die sich kristallisieren in seinem Bildungsstand, seinen Vorkenntnissen, seinen Interessen und seiner allgemeinen Wahrnehmungsfähigkeit. Diese

¹ Peter J. Brenner: Der Reisebericht in der deutschen Literatur. Ein Forschungsüberblick als Vorstudie zu einer Gattungsgeschichte. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990, p. 19.

² Peter J. Brenner: Die Erfahrung der Fremde. Zur Entwicklung einer Wahrnehmungsform in der Geschichte des Reiseberichts. In: Peter J. Brenner (ed.): Der Reisebericht. Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1989, pp. 14-49, here p. 14.

³ Cf. Peter J. Brenner: Die Erfahrung der Fremde, p. 15f.

vielfältig ineinander verflochtenen Bedingungen der Fremderfahrung lassen sich nur in der Interpretation des konkreten Falles erschließen.“ That is to say that even if two travel writers visited the same place at the same historical moment in time, while they might report similar experiences to their domestic audience or make similar observations, they might present and interpret these in very different ways because of the multifarious aspects at work which influence how they view and experience the ‘other’. For this reason, when considering German authors’ depictions of the Irish people, biographical information on individual observers is a necessary requisite for understanding their construction of the target cultures. These individual and social conditions which inform the view of the ‘other’ are complemented by historical information because “so individuell sich einerseits die Form der Fremderfahrung im Einzelfall darstellt, so sehr ist sie andererseits eingelassen in großflächige historische Prozesse, die ihr einen unüberschreitbaren Rahmen vorgeben”.⁴ The boundaries between the self and the ‘other’ cannot be definitively determined, rather, they unfold in the course of historical and societal developments. The period 1785-1850 saw much political, economic, cultural and social change in both the German-speaking world and Ireland.

The Enlightenment is the cultural and philosophical movement most associated with the eighteenth-century which resulted in intellectual and social changes based on the application of analytic reason, empiricism, common sense and natural law. The Enlightenment placed emphasis on the critical faculties and aimed at promoting scholarship and the sciences. In Germany, religious ritual and doctrine were questioned which gradually led to secularisation, the separation of the individual from the authority and dogma of the Church. The absolutism of rulers was also questioned. This led to the advocacy of religious tolerance as well as the demand for the emancipation of the individual. The eighteenth century witnessed the rise of the new, educated, reading middle class (*Bürgertum*) public and authors. Literature, journals, publishing and reading aided the emancipation movement of the middle classes as a means to gain self-esteem and articulate human demands. “A powerful convention had come into being: the convention that ideas and humanity were equally accessible to educated men and women and that human beings were judged by their intellectual and humane qualities, not by birth or social rank”.⁵ The middle classes were the motor of culture and change in the eighteenth century. They ascribed importance to the notion of virtue as well as morality.⁶ Virtue included the idea of civic virtue, i.e. an emphasis was placed on work and

⁴ Peter J. Brenner: *Die Erfahrung der Fremde*, p. 27f.

⁵ Barbara Becker-Cantarino: *German Literature in the Era of Enlightenment and Sensibility*. In: Barbara Becker-Cantarino (ed.): *German Literature of the Eighteenth Century. The Enlightenment and Sensibility*. Rochester/NY: Camden House, 2005, pp. 1- 32, here 23.

⁶ Cf. W. Daniel Wilson: *Eighteenth-Century Germany in its Historical Context*. In: Barbara Becker-Cantarino (ed.): *German Literature of the Eighteenth Century. The Enlightenment and Sensibility*. Rochester/NY: Camden House, 2005, pp. 265-284, here p. 268.

contributing to society, and thus the common good. According to Becker-Cantarino, the Enlightenment was characterised by a distinctive optimism, by a belief in universal human progress and in the inherently good, and therefore educable nature of human beings.⁷ 'Bildung' and 'Erziehung' were key terms to enlightened thinkers in their belief in progressive perfectibility. Reason and common sense were paralleled by an emphasis on feeling and the emotions. 'Empfindsamkeit' or sensibility referred to both morality and emotion; it denoted tender, refined feelings and a display of sympathy for suffering. Sensibility, "in alliance with true virtue, was man's moral sense; a sympathetic heart showed the genuine human quality of empathy and stood for the belief that mankind was not innately self-serving, but benevolent".⁸ In this sense, sensibility could complement enlightened reason.

According to W. Daniel Wilson, democratic government, as developed in vastly differing forms in the United States and France, was the logical consequence of Enlightenment thinking: "Inherited privilege and power were anathema to rationalist thought", which valued hard work, education and individual responsibility for one's actions and one's fortune over social rank.⁹ In a general sense, American attainment of independence from Britain (1776) and the outbreak of the French Revolution (1789) had a great impact on eighteenth-century Europe. Both influenced democratic, liberal and nationalist ideologies. One of the most important historical-political developments of the period under investigation was the emergence of nationalism as an ideology in both Germany and Ireland, as indeed in the rest of Europe. The French Revolution spread the ideals of the fundamental political rights of the individual as enunciated in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and contained in the revolutionary slogan 'Liberty! Equality! Fraternity!'. Successive constitutions were drawn up by revolutionary assemblies and representative government was introduced. Furthermore, France showed what powerful forces could be realised when a people is roused by loyalty to a national ideal and united under a government chosen by the people. According to Breunig and Levinger, many of the fundamental features of modern nationalism have their roots in the French Revolution, for example the idea of popular sovereignty, equality between members of the nation and a government elected by the people. In breaking with the 'old regime', France provided new models, thus inspiring nineteenth-century liberals and nationalists, providing them with political programmes.¹⁰

Enlightened cultural and intellectual thought as well as revolutionary historical events determined the content and modes of reporting, and influenced how the observed is

⁷ Cf. Barbara Becker-Cantarino: *German Literature in the Era of Enlightenment and Sensibility*, p. 1 and p. 7.

⁸ Cf. Barbara Becker-Cantarino: *German Literature in the Era of Enlightenment and Sensibility*, p. 11.

⁹ Cf. W. Daniel Wilson: *Eighteenth-Century German in its Historical Context*, p. 271.

¹⁰ Cf. Charles Breunig and Matthew Levinger: *The Revolutionary Era, 1789-1850*, 3rd edn. New York and London: Norton, 2002, p. xiv and p. 207.

constructed in German travel narratives on Ireland. Indeed, the backdrop of revolution in the late eighteenth century seems to have served as a contrast to the imposition of picturesque harmony on all the contradictions already discussed in the chapter 'Framing Ireland'. The modes which observers utilise in their attempt to represent the social and human 'other' include the discursive construct of the savage, the focus on folk culture as well as colonial, racial and national configurations of the other. In conveying an image of the individual, authors employ the trope of the savage both noble and ignoble. It becomes apparent that enlightened ideals of individual responsibility for one's lot in life, as well as the importance of the work ethic are behind the commentary of some authors, while other authors shift the emphasis from individual responsibility to the role of governance for creating and maintaining impoverished conditions. Furthermore, the representation of an Irish collective, as opposed to the individual, is subject to the ways in which observers employ terms such as *Volk*, *Volkscharakter* and *Nationalcharakter*. The use of these terms undergoes change and will be discussed in the following chapter. Thus, various ways of constructing difference emerge, between the individual observer and the observed as well as within the observed group (who is the Irish *Volk*?), creating various images of the Irish people and, indeed, 'Irishness'.

4.1 Savages both Noble and Ignoble

The term 'barbarian' – as well as similar pejorative terms including 'wild', 'savage' and 'uncivilised' – was used by European explorers to describe people they encountered overseas, peoples of different skin colour, physiognomy, customs, religions and political organisation, when the observer could not come to terms with the encounter with the cultural 'other'. Such terms are employed in a relational oppositional manner, i.e. they are antonyms for what one considers oneself to be.¹¹ Binary oppositions such as civilised/barbarian, cultured/wild and human/bestial seek to suppress ambiguity and to assert a sense of superiority on the part of those using such terms, who inevitably position themselves on the right side of the equation. While it might be expected that these terms would be used in the descriptions of non-European overseas inhabitants, it might be a surprise that a people of obviously European ethnicity, Christian religion and living in one of Europe's oldest monarchies (i.e. the British) would be labelled as such by fellow Europeans. And yet, many German-speaking visitors to Ireland employed just those categories to describe parts of the population on the island of Ireland. What was it that made these people appear so 'different' to German eyes and what

¹¹ Cf. Urs Bitterli: Die 'Wilden' und die 'Zivilisierten'. Grundzüge einer Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte der europäisch-überseeischen Begegnung, 2nd edn. Munich: Beck, 1991, p. 367.

are the reasons and implications of portraying parts of the Irish population as savage and barbaric?

Urs Bitterli notes how the oppositional attributes barbarian/civilised has played an important role throughout history. In ancient times, the Greeks regarded the Scythians as rough and wild because of their mode of living, their customs and physique, while the Romans viewed the Germanic tribes as barbaric. In the Renaissance, the Italians stigmatised the Frankish as well as the Germanic peoples as wild and cultureless. According to Bitterli, the disparaging characteristics that ancient and medieval 'civilised peoples' ascribed to those they viewed as barbaric re-emerge almost unchanged in the vocabulary used by seafarers during the European age of exploration and later during European colonial history in their judgment of overseas inhabitants: they were often described as rough and uncouth, apathetic and deceitful, animalistic, wild and dissolute, living without law and order.¹²

The perception of others by both ancient and modern authors as wild and barbaric, however, was not always characterised solely by pejorative connotations. Some descriptions included latent praise and sometimes a hint of longing for the 'other' way of life. Bitterli outlines how the simple and modest life of the Scythians was also regarded as positive because unnecessary luxuries were avoided (Strabon), or how the Germanic peoples, despite harsh living conditions, eternal winter and gloomy skies, were not perceived of as unhappy because, according to Seneca, "There is no unhappiness for those whom habit has brought back to nature".¹³ In this sense, barbarianism, viewed in and of itself as an undeveloped, backward state of existence, can also be regarded as containing latent positives, and 'barbaric' characteristics such as uncouthness, apathy or indiscriminate sexuality can overlap with and coexist alongside their positive counterparts such as vitality, openness and sensuality. In this context, the foreign and the 'other' are sources of fascination and encounters with them could produce feelings of both aversion and affection. The 'other' exerts a fascination which veered between the extremes of attraction and repulsion; the common denominator was the exotic. Exoticism might well be considered one of the dispositions at play when German travellers attempt to make sense of 'the Irish'.

The cliché of the savage is closely connected to the cliché of the 'noble savage' as it developed in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Traits attributed to the 'noble savage' can be directly traced to the characteristics attributed to barbarians. Simplicity and modesty are complementary to primitivism; innocence and lack of prejudice take the place of childish

¹² Cf. Bitterli: *Die 'Wilden' und die 'Zivilisierten'*, p. 368-370.

¹³ Seneca: *Dialogues and Essays*, transl. by John Davie with an Introduction and Notes by Tobias Reinhardt. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 47.

stupidity and apathy; indolence is revalued as quiet contentment, lawlessness as natural harmony of existence; animal instincts are re-interpreted as carefreeness, a feeling of great happiness and enjoyment in life. The lack of arable agricultural land and personal property results in the absence of jealousy, and promotes the virtue of hospitality.¹⁴ Evident is that while similar traits might be noticed, they are interpreted in very different ways.

Native Americans, Africans or Tahitians were often stylised as representatives of a state of the natural lost to modern man. Cast as 'noble savages', they represented an ancient developmental stage of humanity which Europeans had surpassed in terms of culture and civilisation. It was believed that in this developmental stage, man lived in unity with nature and was free of those consuming passions such as jealousy, avarice, ambition and craving recognition which made the life of 'civilised' man into a dangerous and gruelling existence.¹⁵ These 'noble savages' could be held up to represent what one is not, but also what one used to be and what one might once again become, an aspirational alternative to contemporary life which was important for the Enlightenment critique of civilisation. This critique implied that the process of civilisation generated degeneracy; the unspoiled youthful civilisatory stage of the savage provided an idea of what mankind was like before 'corruption' by, for example, power, greed and religion. Exoticism thus served as a vehicle for social critique. Indeed, according to Bill Ashcroft, the concept of the 'noble savage' arises in the eighteenth century "as a European nostalgia for a simple, pure, idyllic state of the natural, posed against rising industrialism and the notion of overcomplications and sophistications of European urban society. This nostalgia creates an image of other cultures as part of Rousseau's criticism of the failure, as he viewed it, of modern European societies to preserve and maintain the natural innocence, freedom and equality of man in a 'natural' state".¹⁶ As a relational term, the concept of the 'noble savage' functions as a kind of mirror which Europeans held up to their own society and showed them what they were not. As Ashcroft notes, the trope of the 'noble savage' produces an apparently positive oversimplification of the 'savage', expressed as an idealised stereotype, rather than typecasting the observed as a debased and inferior stereotype of the savage. This is evident, for example, in how European explorers to the South Seas downplayed or even covered up those aspects of Tahitian life which might disturb the ideal of the 'noble savage' such as the fact that Tahitian society was not a classless one, or the custom of child sacrifice.¹⁷

¹⁴ Cf. Urs Bitterli: Die 'Wilden' und die 'Zivilisierten', p. 371.

¹⁵ Cf. Urs Bitterli: Die 'Wilden' und die 'Zivilisierten', p. 378 and p. 381.

¹⁶ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin: Noble Savage. In: Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (eds.): Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts. London and New York: Routledge, 2007, p. 192f.

¹⁷ Cf. Urs Bitterli Die 'Wilden' und die 'Zivilisierten', p. 387.

The discursive construct of the 'noble savage' evolved from the encounters between European explorers and non-European natives. As a discursive construct in fictional and non-fictional texts, it is usually associated with the 'New World' of the European age of exploration.¹⁸ The trope of the savage both noble and ignoble provides different paradigms for conceptualising the 'other': on the one hand, the 'other' can be regarded as the scary, uncivilised, inferior barbarian which the observer can either overcome or leave alone, can try to make contact with or can distance himself from. On the other hand, the 'other' can be conceptualised along the lines of the inoffensive, content savage, the 'other' can be idealised as representing an exemplary state of harmony and therefore held up as an alternative model for Europeans to critique their own culture and civilisation. However, this exemplary state of harmony can also be viewed as solely due to a favourable environment, for example in the South Seas, and therefore perceived as unachievable in Europe. In this sense, the idealised stereotype is unattainable and more a kind of enticing fantasy or form of escapism, the construction of which one can appropriate and utilise as a mouthpiece for all sorts of matters which may have little, if anything, to do with those it supposedly pertains to.

Within the context of the late Enlightenment, it might seem surprising to find such categories employed in inner-European travel writing. German commentators view the living conditions, dress and characteristics of the majority of individuals in Ireland as different, backward, uncivilised and even savage, and yet at the same time the very same conditions and characteristics might be idealised and praised. In this sense, Ireland and its people are viewed as somehow different, yet comparable to the observer in terms of European ethnicity and Christian religion. Systematically applying the criteria of noble/ignoble savagery is a first attempt to understand German observers' construction of the Irish people in these travel narratives. In constructing an image of the majority of the Irish people, commentary usually focuses firstly on physical evidence, on housing, clothing or appearance, and secondly on 'character', that is on perceived traits, customs and traditions. Oftentimes the latter is deduced from the former. Throughout the period and despite changing historical and political circumstances, there appears to be some physical constants which almost every author comments on: the design of rural Irish dwellings, the perception of dirt as well as the attire of rags. By bringing together observations on these topics it can be shown how, although the objects of observation apparently hardly changed, the perspectives changed. This, in turn, sheds light on shifting interests. The question is how similar observations can result in very

¹⁸ Cf. Manfred Gsteiger: Vom 'edlen Wilden' zum 'homme naturel'. In: Horst Albert Glaser and György M. Vajda (eds.): Die Wende von der Aufklärung zur Romantik 1760-1820. Epoche im Überblick. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins, 2001, pp. 649-662, here p. 656.

distinct evaluations, the methods and purpose of which are sometimes quite divorced from the actual realities in Ireland.

4.2 Savages, Social Inequality and Middle-Class Sensibilities

The living conditions of the Irish lower classes warrant commentary from almost every single observer. During the period, it is probably fair to assume that the vast majority of non-land owning rural Irish lived in small cottages or cabins, often along the roadside or grouped together in villages. William Williams details that, according to the 1841 census, 40 % of Ireland's population lived in the poorest types of dwellings, the "fourth-class" single-room stone or mud cabin. Normally, in such a dwelling an entire family would live together with their livestock. A further 37 % lived in "third-class" dwellings, cabins of two to four rooms, often made of mud.¹⁹ German accounts from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century suggest that, physically, little changed or improved in the design and condition of these dwellings. According to historian Alan Gailey, there was little improvement in rural Irish housing until the famine had done away with many of the mud cabins.²⁰ In describing the exterior and interior of usually fourth-class cabins (many visitors took a look inside), German observers are shocked by conditions they regard as primitive.

Karl Gottlob Küttner (*Briefe über Irland an seinen Freund*, 1785, KGK) describes the rural cottages as miserable (KGK 70, 72). He provides the first and one of the most detailed descriptions of a single-room mud cabin, many of which he finds on the estate where he is tutor:

Ich bin mit Fleiß in verschiedene dieser Hütten gegangen, die auf diesen weitläufigen Gütern zerstreut liegen. Denken Sie sich eine niedrige Mauer von Leim ins Gevierte, oben mit dünnen Balken belegt, welche mit Stroh behangen sind: so haben Sie die ganze Wohnung des größten Theils der niedern Landleute. Der Boden ist in diesen Hütten manchmal mit Steinen belegt, gewöhnlicher aber ist die bloße Erde. Aeusserst selten ist in diesen kleinen, engen Hütten eine Abtheilung; die ganze Hütte macht gewöhnlich nur ein Zimmer aus, in welchem die ganze Familie wohnt, schläft, kocht, sich wärmet, und alles ihr Hausgeräthe hat. Ein kleines Fenster, theils mit Glas, theils mit Papier versehen, gibt weniger Licht, als die Oefnung der Thüre, welche man gewöhnlich offen läßt. Ueber der Stelle, wo das Feuer gehalten wird, ist in manchen dieser Hütten ein gemauerter Schornstein; in vielen aber gar nichts, und da mag der Rauch selbst sehen, was er für einen Weg findet, den er denn gewöhnlich zur Thüre hinaus nimmt, wenn er die Oefnungen im Dache, die nicht selten sind, nicht groß genug findet. (KGK 88f.)

There is a degree of criticism in this description since it is implied that the inhabitants make no effort to improve their homes by simple measures such as building a separate chimney,

¹⁹ Cf. William Williams: *Tourism, Landscape, and the Irish Character: British Travel Writers in Pre-Famine Ireland*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008, p. 89f.

²⁰ Cf. Alan Gailey: *Changes in Irish Rural Housing, 1600-1900*. In: Patrick O'Flanagan, Paul Ferguson and Kevin Whelan (eds.): *Rural Ireland. Modernisation and Change 1600-1900*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1987, pp. 83-103, here p. 97 and p. 100.

covering up the bare earth or making partition walls, especially since the animals often live together with the family (KGK 89). It is implied that these hut-dwellers are lacking ingenuity and resolve, they are complacent and accept their situation. The cohabitation with animals suggests closeness to nature, yet the image conveyed here is far from idyllic. Küttner notes the filth and dirty conditions in both urban and rural settings on many occasions (KGK 36, 40, 44, 69, 143). On the attire of the lower classes, he comments that the common man is “wenig und schlecht bekleidet” and walks around barefoot (KGK 90), implying a lack of care for his outer appearance, just as he does not care for or bother with his domestic sphere. Küttner describes the appearance of the lower classes as sickly, deformed and somewhat wild: they are not as tall, well-formed or of such a pleasant colouring as the English lower classes.

Despite the mild climate, he terms the Irish complexion as close to the darker complexion of Mediterranean peoples, but the Irish do not possess their vitality, liveliness and spirit. The dark Irish complexion, Küttner continues, “fällt eher ins Gelbe, oder in eine Schattirung, die noch schlimmer ist”. The contemporary beauty ideal is evident behind such a comment. According to prevailing taste of the time, a fine, pale, white complexion which had not been subjected to outside work under the sun was deemed to be the desirable beauty ideal.²¹ This yellowish complexion, however, indicates a hybrid, unresolved status of Irish peasants in Küttner’s eyes: they are neither European nor non-European, neither dark nor white. A yellow complexion appears puzzling as it indicates an unclear developmental *and* ethnic position. This indescribable complexion of the Irish lower classes has numerous causes: climatic conditions, their “elende Kost”, their “armseligen, ungesunden Hütten” as well as the smoke and dampness which fills their huts. Evident here is the Enlightenment scientific inclination to discern natural parameters such as climate, environment and life-style in order to explain physical and mental variation. Küttner also states: “Das äusserste Elend, in dem sie leben, der Druck der Armut, [...] prägt in ihr Gesicht die Ausdrücke von Trägheit, Erschlaffung, Erniedrigung und thierischer Sinnlichkeit” (KGK 224f). What Küttner portrays here is not naturalness of state before degeneracy but a state akin to post-degeneracy: ‘Erschlaffung’ is *the* symptom of impurity, hybridity, contagion, and, paired with the yellow skin complexion, indicates even more severe civilisatory confusion.

Küttner refers to an apparent indolent nature of the Irish on numerous occasions (KGK 56, 164, 203). Although he recognises that external conditions play a role in creating the circumstances in which the lower classes live, he also claims that the common man would rather live this way than have to work to improve his situation (KGK 56). This statement is key

²¹ Cf. Andreas Oehlke: Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1991, p. 168.

to understanding Küttner's viewpoint: the Irish lower classes might appear animalistic and lethargic, their living conditions primitive, but Küttner believes that the common man is "nichts weniger als unglücklich. Im Gegentheil, seine Lage scheint ihm zu behagen; er ist unthätig und gibt sich nicht die geringste Mühe, durch bessere Anbauung des Landes seinen Zustand zu verbessern" (KGK 90). Here, indolence is complemented by quiet contentment. This poses the question as to whether the Irish peasant can be helped, or indeed, whether he deserves to be helped. Küttner's comments almost imply a vindication of the landlords' treatment of their tenants – the landlords were, after all, Küttner's employers. His viewpoint becomes explicit in his subsequent portrayal of the Irish peasant: the peasant apparently knows no envy since his neighbour lives just like him and the rich are too far beyond his sphere of reference for him to even imagine himself at their level of wealth. According to Küttner, the peasant never thinks of comparing his lot to his landlord's situation (KGK 90). He never feels like he is lacking anything because he makes do with what little he has, never steps outside his sphere, lives his carefree life day in day out and truly enjoys what he has. Furthermore, Küttner claims that the restricted soul of the peasant is not receptive to cultural stimuli, refinement is completely alien to him and he has absolutely no idea of all the things which make the 'cultured' unhappy. He does not specify exactly what makes the refined, cultured classes unhappy, but it might be that he is referring to conditions such as world-weariness and love sickness. Implicit in this is the notion that refinement and an elevated, developed cultural state always comes at a price. In Küttner's eyes, the lower classes are lucky that they are spared the unhappiness caused by refinement. He ultimately believes that they are better capable of attaining a state of true happiness than the wealthy. Such a peasant works his day away and allegedly does not think of anything else apart from what he is doing presently:

Seine Einbildungskraft ruht unthätig, und wenn er des Abends nach Hause kommt, schmecken ihm seine Erdäpfel weit besser, als mir das auf Silber getischte Nachtessen, zu dem ich keinen Appetit habe. Sein Schlaf ist ruhig, heiter und erquickend, denn er hat sich nicht überessen, und seine Seele, die nicht wie die meinige, rege ist, erhitzt seinen Körper nicht. Sein Leben ist gewissermassen thierisch, aber er ist nicht unglücklich. Er hat wenig Genuß von Seiten seiner Seelen-Kräfte; aber tausend Dinge, durch die unser feineres Gewebe duldet und abgenagt wird, machen auf ihn nicht den geringsten Eindruck. Ist er so glücklich, seine Erdäpfel noch mit einer andern Schüssel zu vermehren, so hat er etwas, das der Reiche und der Große sich nie verschaffen kann; letzterer hat in seinen Vorraths-Kammern alles, was er wünscht, folglich hat er kein Verlangen zu befriedigen. (KGK 93f.)

Küttner uses himself as a comparison to the situation of the peasant Irish – a strategy which is indicative of a kind of reversed criticism of his own culture and a critique of civilisation in general: simplicity and modesty are more desirable than refinement, which is almost like a civilisatory evil. Desire and ambition corrupt, while modesty is pure and innocent. That Küttner can say that the Irish peasant enjoys his potatoes much more than he enjoys his own evening dinner, or that the peasant sleeps better than him because he has not over-eaten, is

conjecture on Küttner's part since he simply cannot know how the lower classes feel when they come home to a dirty cottage after a day's work. Indeed, his comments constitute an act of wishful thinking, for otherwise he would have to acknowledge that his 'Gemälde' is a symptom of something fundamentally wrong. His comments are also a projection (if I am miserable, I am more miserable because even those apparently far worse off seem to be happier), as well as an avoidance of analysis of what brings about such living conditions, i.e. his conclusions are 'convenient'. Apart from his excursion into the cottages on the estate, he has no direct experience of living the conditions he praises, and even comments himself that he knows little about the lower classes (KGK 54). This predisposition is based on the ideal of the 'content savage' who is, by way of contrast to the observer, seen as being satisfied with very little and having the ability to truly appreciate what he has.

It becomes evident that Küttner appropriates the trope of the 'content savage' in his portrayal of the Irish to make poverty and social inequality acceptable to his readers. He claims that the Irish peasant is oblivious to the wealth and elegance which surrounds him on the estate, again an assumption he makes based on conjecture. What the Irish peasant seems oblivious to appears obvious to Küttner, i.e. the extremes between excessive wealth and excessive poverty. And yet, despite what above appears to be a reverse criticism of civilisatory attainment is anything but: Küttner praises "die Pracht", "den guten Geschmack" and the "Wohlstand, Bequemlichkeit, überflüssiger Raum" (KGK 54) which he finds in all of the houses of the aristocracy. More than anything, he is impressed by the splendour and wealth of the Anglo-Irish. He admires the Italian ornamentation, rooms decorated with marble and mahogany, copies of famous paintings, as well as the diverse and well prepared foods served on silver and deserts on porcelain. He fully acknowledges the vast discrepancies between the two classes, and even the landlords' position as colonialists both in Ireland and abroad (this will be commented on in more detail in chapter 9), and yet it is not his aim to criticise the aristocracy. On the contrary, it seems that he wishes to justify their position in society:

Ich habe mancherley Betrachtungen darüber angestellt, wenn ich auf den weitläufigen Gütern des Grafen spazieren reite, oder fahre, und die Menge von elenden, oft nur halb gekleideten Menschen sehe, die mit entblößtem Haupte da stehen, wenn der glänzende Wagen, oder das stolze Pferd, vor ihnen dahin fliegt. Welch ein Unterschied! Die einen leben im äussersten Ueberflusse, wohnen in prächtigen Sälen, kleiden sich in die besten Stoffe, raffiniren über ihre Tafel, und setzen die vier Welttheile in Contribution, um ihren Sinnen zu schmeicheln. Den andern fehlt es an allem; sie nähren sich mit Erdäpfeln und Buttermilch, oder mit bloßem Wasser; denn oft können sie die letzte nicht erschwingen. Und doch bin ich fest überzeugt, daß unter diesen Elenden mancher ist, der wahrhaft glücklicher ist, als irgend jemand von uns. (KGK 92)

Instead of causing upset, even outrage among his readers that European, white, Christians should be perceived as living as deprived, hungry and savage-like peasants while surrounded

by excessive wealth, Küttner constructs them as 'placid savages'. They are content in and ignorant of their misery. Unlike the 'noble savage', who might display some agency and moral compass, these peasants are passive. Their morality lies in the fact that they are untouched by any 'official' moral expressions such as dress code. As if to further convince his readers that action is not really required to help the lower classes and that everyone is happy with the status quo, he questions the religious belief which many impoverished people cling to, namely that what one lacks in this world will be compensated for in the next. Ultimately, he believes that already in the here and now there is "unendlich mehr Compensation [...], als man insgemein glaubt" (KGK 92). Küttner's secularised stance is apparent here. Even though he argues that action is not needed, he still defines poverty in a way internal to this world, i.e. as something open to manipulation and change rather than something immutable. His secular, enlightened point of view is evident in the belief in the possibility of improvement and progress. Applied to an Irish context, he insinuates that if the Irish lower classes were unhappy with their impoverished situation, they would do something about it themselves or at least seek change, but they are content, and therefore no one need to worry or be appalled that a handful of the population live in magnificent splendour while the majority cannot even afford to clothe and feed themselves.

In the end, even Küttner concedes that these 'content savages' probably also have some true worries. He does not want to suggest that anyone would ever want to switch places with them (KGK 94). The Irish peasantry is not exemplary of an achievable alternative for those 'corrupted' by civilisation, culture and refinement, rather his employment of the trope is an appropriation, an act of wishful thinking. Andreas Oehlke's interpretation of Küttner's portrayal of the Irish peasantry requires some clarification. He maintains: "Auf Clonea [estate] wird Küttner [...] mit den sozialen Mißständen, etwa den elenden Lebens- und Wohnverhältnissen der irischen Landbevölkerung, konfrontiert, verliert sich aber dabei in obskuren Ansichten der 'Bedürfnislosigkeit und Glückseligkeit' der unteren Stände".²² Küttner's 'obscure views' of inoffensive savages serve a function not dissimilar to descriptions of the 'noble savage' of the 'New World', i.e. idealisation of the 'other' and a projection of the observer's own ideals. This act of wishful thinking, however, cannot be sustained in an urban setting. There, Küttner cannot idealise the urban poor because they exist in the midst of 'civilisation'; they cannot be portrayed as removed as their rural counterparts (KGK 164). In a rural setting, particularly from a perspective dominated by the big house, mechanisms can take hold which resemble the framing of the Irish peasantry as 'picturesque', namely the

²² Oehlke: Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen, p. 39.

projection of ideals of contentment onto them and by interpreting their passivity as blissful acceptance.

When Küttner presents the Irish as lazy – for example he claims they would rather do absolutely nothing than spend their time reading (KGK 56) – or attributes excessive dirt and filth on the streets to the lack of police control, or implicitly criticises the lack of care taken in domestic matters, his own social, cultural and economic background as a middle-class, enlightened citizen who prizes tidiness and orderliness, as well as diligence, education, improvement and progress, are apparent. Küttner studied theology, philosophy and languages at Leipzig University and subsequently travelled much of mainland Europe as well as Scandinavia in his capacity as a private tutor. It was also as a private tutor to an Anglo-Irish family that he came to Ireland in the years 1783 and 1784.²³ Küttner's narrative betrays the criteria according to which he presents the lower-class Irish to his readers. The narratives of other travellers reveal slightly altered points of view, which are partially explained by their particular background, circumstance and status. For Johann Meerman von Dalem (*Nachrichten von Großbritannien und Irland*, 1789, JMvD) and Caspar von Voght ('Schilderung von Irland', 1796, CvV) the apparent lack of care of the domestic sphere, the indolence and the carelessness of the lower classes is interpreted as contempt for improvement, progress and civilisation in general. Although Dalem was a Dutch aristocrat and scholar, he studied history and ancient classics in Leipzig and Göttingen. Between 1774 and 1800 he undertook travels to England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Switzerland, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Poland and Russia. He visited Ireland in 1774 and 1784.²⁴ Caspar von Voght was a businessman and philanthropist from Hamburg. Between 1771 and 1775 he travelled to Spain, France, England and Italy. He inherited his father's business which ensured a comfortable income. This allowed him to spend his time on an estate he bought in Flottbeck near Hamburg, which he laid out along the lines of an English park. He travelled to Ireland in 1794 while on a three-year sojourn in England. Upon his return to Hamburg he set up a model farm based on ideas collected in England. He was especially known during his lifetime as a social reformer who transformed the welfare system of Hamburg. He was subsequently called to Berlin, Paris and Vienna to help reform their welfare systems. Reports on his work were published in Scotland and England. He was made into a *Reichsfreiherr* for his work in Vienna.²⁵

²³ Cf. Friedrich Ratzel: Küttner, Karl Gottlob. In: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, vol. 17. Munich: Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1883, pp. 443-444.

²⁴ Cf. Martijn van der Burg: Meerman, Johan, heer van Dalem en Vuren. In: Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland, vol. 12. The Hague: Huygens, 2013, pp. 496-503.

²⁵ Cf. W. Sillem: Voght, Caspar von. In: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, vol. 40. Munich: Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1896, pp. 161-166.

Like in Küttner's narrative, a degree of criticism is evident in Voght's description of Irish dwellings. Inside the cottages there are stones for chairs, straw for beds and a few shelves for kitchen utensils, while the children who live there are dirty and dressed in rags (CvV 574). It seems that Voght suggests that the lower classes make no effort to keep their homes and what little possessions they have, as well as their children, clean, neat and tidy. Meanwhile, regarding the construction of the cottages, Dalem describes the miserable method of construction as not being comparable to anything else he has ever seen before (JMvD 455). Voght, on the other hand, does find a point of comparison which explicitly reveals his viewpoint: he describes how the Irish tear down and rebuild a mud cabin in just a day and claims that such 'temporary huts' are only one step above those of the Tartars (CvV 594). Such a comment reveals Voght's frame of reference in which itinerancy, evidenced by make-shift accommodation, is indicative of a low civilisatory stage. Bitterli also notes that if an observer wished to emphasize the barbarity of a people, a comparison to the nomadic Tartars was often viewed as a fitting yardstick.²⁶

This ostensible indifference towards domesticity and basic needs is reflected in Dalem's observation on the dress code of the Irish lower classes. Dalem is shocked by the bare-footed, half-naked state of the majority of the people:

Dublin [...] verliert unendlich, wenn man es von Seiten seiner Einwohner betrachtet. Ich getraue mir kaum, die Unreinlichkeit, Faulheit und Armuth des niedrigen Theils des Volkes zu beschreiben, weil ich befürchte, daß man mir, was ich sage, nicht glauben werde. Wenn ich auch nicht daran denken wollte, daß der größte Theil der Weiber und Kinder und selbst nicht wenig Mannspersonen barfuß laufen, so wird man sich doch kaum vorstellen können, daß unter der Regierung des Brittischen Ministeriums und in der vornehmsten Stadt nach London unter den Besitzungen des Königs, wenigstens zwey Drittheile der Einwohner wie Bettler gekleidet, mit siebförmig durchlöchernten und mit den vielfarbigsten Flecken geflickten Rücken herumgehen, an denen nichts mehr Bewunderung verdient, als die Kunst dessen, der sie trägt, wie er es nemlich dahin bringen kann, daß sie nicht beim An- und Ausziehen in Stücken zerfallen [...]. Der Wohlanstand verbietet mir, von den Unterkleidern das geringste mehr, als so viel zu sagen, daß sie den Oberkleidern vollkommen gleich sind. (JMvD 449f.)

The dirt, laziness and poverty, the all but naked state of the majority of the population offend middle-class sensibilities of cleanliness, orderliness and decency. What is even more offensive to Dalem is that those who call themselves 'middle class' are dressed no better (JMvD 450). The indecent dress of the Irish lower and middle classes also encompasses a national dimension when Dalem holds up German and French women as praiseworthy examples of those who make an effort with their outward appearance:

Einen auffallendern Contrast kann man sich nicht denken, als wenn man [...] die Irländer mit den Bewohnern, besonders aber mit den Bewohnerinnen von Deutschland und Frankreich vergleicht, die für einen schönen Rock, das erste Bedürfnis in ihren Augen, ihren letzten Pfennig

²⁶ Cf. Bitterli: Die 'Wilden' und die 'Zivilisierten', p. 370.

gerne missen und die härteste Arbeit thun und den nagendsten Hunger ausstehen, wenn sie sich nur gut kleiden können. (JMvD 451f.)

Evident in this comment is the view that being poor is no excuse for dressing oneself in rags. Implied in the formulation about “härteste Arbeit” is not a criticism of priorities but an optimism in the work ethic and thus the possibility of self-improvement. Dalem interprets the Irish attitude as “Gleichgültigkeit gegen alles Unanständige” (JMvD 451). Furthermore, German and French women do not just settle for a decent dress, but will do with nothing less than a beautiful dress. This implies a level of cultural and aesthetic ambition on their part which, for Dalem, is completely lacking in the Irish. Important here is that Dalem’s contentions transcend class and social conditions. He alleges a ‘national’ defect, one that sits deeper than individual circumstances and conditions.

Voght and Dalem also ascertain a deceitful nature in the Irish. They see a link between material deficiency and moral depravity. For Dalem, despite the friendly, obliging demeanour of the Irish towards the stranger, such a character is not to be trusted. The Irish possess an incomprehensible ability in telling lies if there is something to be gained from it. Poverty makes them eager for money, especially if they can acquire it without much work or effort (JMvD 483). Voght identifies similar traits: “Bettelei und Gierigkeit nach Geld” as well as “Kriechende Schmeichelei, List, Lügen” (CvV 572, 651). Unlike Dalem, Voght makes his claims based on his interaction with the lower classes. He declares the Irish to be a deceitful and miserable people because of how they all band together to deceive and swindle the traveller (CvV 579). His comment on the “honette Armuth” of the Scottish highlanders in comparison to the “liederliche” poverty of the Irish (CvV 573) reveals the influence of the trope of the content savage on his perception of the poor based on his experience in Scotland, i.e. that the poor must be happy in their poverty because to him they appear satisfied with what little fate has given them, and even hospitable. It is apparent that Voght arrived in Ireland entrenched in such preconceptions. Applying the same criteria to the Irish as he had to the Scottish Highlanders, however, has very different results: these peasants are characterised by dissolution and greed.

A further trait related to the savage is indolence, something which has already been implied in the examples discussed thus far. Dalem’s observation on the lying Irish constructs them not only as greedy and cunning, but also as lazy since they are regarded as not valuing the rewards that result from hard work. When the Irish do work, Dalem claims they do not work more than is absolutely necessary to survive. He believes it an obscenity to spend daily earnings on pleasure and amusement (for example alcohol) rather than on basic needs such as clothing (JMvD 451). Voght makes similar observations, for example when he relates how a peasant who has managed to gather together a sum of money pockets the money rather than

improving his land. If he has a considerable amount saved, he even leaves his occupation and squanders his savings (CvV 581). Voght is scathing and sweeping in his criticism of such behaviour: “Eitelkeit allenthalben. [...] Nichts thun, nicht reicher werden wollen, ist der allgemeine Sinn. [...] alles ist schmuzig, leichtsinnig, witzig, inconsequent, beissend, grausam, elend und lustig, alles wird halbgethan, alle wollen höher hinaus” (CvV 615f.). On another occasion he claims: “Sie verachten Fleiß, Sparsamkeit und alle die Seegnungen, die unausbleiblich aus der vollkommenen Sicherheit des Eigenthums entstehen” (CvV 581f.). Both Dalem’s and Voght’s comments reveal their cultural, social and political frame of reference: the middle-class, enlightenment ideal of individual responsibility within society and improvement of one’s own conditions as a general imperative. Furthermore, a Protestant work ethic is also behind their comments, a work ethic which prizes diligence and industriousness. The formulation “höher hinaus” reveals Protestant scorn for the expectation of reward without the input of hard work. The Protestant work ethic described by Max Weber is based on the (Calvinist) belief that input (investment of labour and energy) and output (wellbeing, affluence) must be congruent for the world to make sense, i.e. the symmetry of input and reward is an intelligible, integrative part of a world-picture based on logic, cause and effect.²⁷ Voght views Irish society, on the other hand, as a decadent and deteriorating culture; “witzig” and “listig” imply a lack of earnestness, thus revealing Voght’s moral compass. That the Irish will not work more than is absolutely necessary to make enough to survive irritates the likes of Dalem and Voght because a hard-working ethic have obviously not yet become a virtue in Irish society where work is not viewed as an end in itself. This also seems to be behind Philipp Andreas Nemnich’s observations on the dissolute Irish whom he describes as lacking an entrepreneurial spirit (*Neuste Reisen durch England, Schottland und Ireland, hauptsächlich in Bezug auf Produkte, Fabriken und Handlung*, 1807, PAN 607). That hard work and industriousness are economic and moral virtues which children should also partake in, is evident in Voght’s comment that there is no lack of work in one city even for women and children (CvV 572). The Irish attitude towards work appears an obscenity to these observers given the various industries and possibilities to make a living in places such as Belfast and Dublin (JMvD 451, CvV 572). The Irish, because of their supposed lazy constitution, are portrayed as lacking initiative to really improve their lot for the long-term, rather than wasting their money on momentary pleasures. They lack any sense of personal responsibility for contributing to the social and economic conditions in which they live. This view might also be linked to the Protestant mind-set of the authors in that, in general, Protestants believe that divine grace has to be earned through individual achievement. Therefore, in order to be saved,

²⁷ Cf. Max Weber: *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*. Vollständige Ausgabe, ed. with an introduction by Dirk Kaesler, 3rd edn. Munich: Beck, 2010.

there is no room for idleness; one must work to the best of one's ability at all times and constantly strive for improvement and accomplishment.²⁸ This seems to be at the heart of Voght's and Dalem's commentary.

In these observations, the Irish are presented as deceitful, animalistic, dissolute, lazy and careless, however, on other occasions in their narratives both observers describe the Irish as the happy poor more akin to inoffensive savages. Dalem claims that sometimes one sees the healthiest, most beautiful people emerge from the sad, smoke-filled cottages, and a swarm of half-naked children running around the house seems cheerful and joyous (JMvD 482). Similarly, Voght notes ragged-clad people living in smoky huts who appear beautiful, happy and healthy, or a woman whose beauty makes Voght forget that she, too, is clothed in rags (CvV 591-593.). Such impressions presented as a series of genre pictures are indebted to the picturesque, as discussed in chapter three 'Populating the Picture'. Yet, these comments appear ambivalent given Voght's previous construction of the Irish as greedy and dissolute, as well as "unglücklich, mürrisch" (CvV 575). It could be argued, firstly, that most of the comments on the greedy, lazy Irish are towards the beginning of his narrative, whereas these comments appear later after he has spent some time in the country, so it could be that he is revising his opinion, and this is what Oehlke has argued: "Voght [...] wertet bei seinem Eintreffen in Irland, noch recht voreilig und rasch. Beim längeren Verweilen im Lande aber fällt das Urteil zunehmend milder aus – vor allem scheint ihm die Schönheit der irischen Landschaft mit der Insel versöhnt zu haben – ja er zeigt sogar Verständnis für die bedrängte Lage der Iren und schließt seinen Bericht mit einem ganzen Katalog von Maßnahmen, um den Mißständen im Lande abzuhelpfen".²⁹ However, even after such encounters and towards the end of his narrative, he still characterises the Irish as lazy and dissolute (CvV 597, 615, 650). Another possible explanation is that, as already discussed in the previous chapter, he seeks to project the potential of the landscape onto the people in order to convey a sense that there is, after all, something redeemable in the Irish. In this sense, beauty indicates potentiality. The attribution of traits to a national character is thereby modified if morally less endearing characteristics can be improved through education. In the last section of his travelogue, Voght's viewpoint on the imperative of the improvement of social and economic conditions through education is evident, i.e. the Irish can be made into 'good' citizens, they can be educated to appreciate the rewards which come from hard work as well as to learn to love domestic comforts (CvV 651), i.e. he is obviously a proponent of enlightened ideas such as "die

²⁸ Cf. Sebastian Stumpf: Ireland as a Projection Screen for German Problems in Vormärz literature and journalism. PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2006, p. 71.

²⁹ Oehlke: Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen, p. 157f.

Idee der Perfektibilität”, “die Idee der Volksaufklärung” and “die Idee des Nutzens”.³⁰ Yet, Voght entraps himself in aporias since the prospect of improvement invalidates the admiration of noble contentment in spite of, or because of, adverse circumstances: these peasants have plenty to eat, their dreary living conditions do not seem to have any detrimental effect on their health or general wellbeing. If anything, it appears that Voght has finally found what he was looking for all along: the content poor akin to the honest Scottish Highlanders, and despite his personal experience with the lower classes in Dublin and elsewhere, he does not want to let go of this preconceived ideal. His construction of the Irish as dissolute savages is based on personal experience, perhaps also on ill encounters with service providers in Ireland, however his construction of the Irish as content is based on supposition as he has no direct contact with these particular peasants. When he does have direct contact with other peasants they are portrayed in a very different manner (CvV 574).

Dalem’s comments on the indecency of the attire and on the laziness and indifference of the lower classes are made in urban settings, whereas the happy and healthy half-naked peasants are rural dwellers. This seems to reflect the disposition that the rural poor must be happy. In Voght’s case, on the other hand, many of the comments on the depraved Irish are made in both urban and rural settings. Even though Dalem is shocked by how the lower classes could be dressed in such rags and believes this to be a sign of carelessness towards indecency, the nakedness of their rural counterparts seems to be regarded as something intrinsic to the perceived beauty, health and happiness. The portrayal of the lower classes as content and inoffensive thus serves different functions for each of these observers, i.e. to fulfil a kind of fantasy, a projection, or to make poverty and social inequality acceptable to a domestic audience. Both varieties of framing the Irish are based on very similar observations on laziness, simplicity and ignorance, but these are used for distinct purposes.

4.3 Colonial Configurations of the Savage

In general, in European colonial history the trope of the savage was enlisted to assert a sense of superiority on the part of the coloniser over the colonised and often to justify the colonial project as a whole. Bill Ashcroft notes: “The term ‘savage’ has performed an important service in Eurocentric epistemologies and imperial/colonial ideologies”.³¹ During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was strong sympathy for Britain as a colonising power. This, in

³⁰ Gerhard Kurz: “Aber lassen Sie doch hören, wie vernünftig diese Vernunft...” Perspektiven der Aufklärung in Deutschland. In: Anselm Maler (ed.): Europäische Aspekte der Aufklärung (Deutschland, England, Frankreich, Italien, Spanien). Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1998, pp. 13-24, here p. 15.

³¹ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin: Savage. In: Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (eds.): Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts. London and New York: Routledge, 2007, p. 191-193, here p. 192.

turn, would have determined views of their colonial subjects. In general, it seems justified to speak of Anglophilia in certain German circles based on admiration of Britain's overseas empire, as well as for political, economic and cultural reasons. There were already religious (Protestantism), economic (Hamburg/London) and dynastic connections (Hanoverian dynasty) between Germany and England. In terms of culture, Britain was admired on account of its garden design as well as its literature. Furthermore, Britain was held up as a model of a progressive, industrialised society: "Das Fundament der modernen Welt wurde in England, der Geburtsstätte der industriellen [...] Revolution, gelegt".³² Finally, Britain was admired for its constitution, its parliamentary democracy and advanced civil rights.

In a German-Irish context, German Anglophilia undoubtedly influenced German perceptions of Ireland and the Irish. Voght, for example, the merchant from the Hansaetic city of Hamburg, the centre of German Anglophilia, was probably already very much influenced and impressed by England. His two trips there served to reinforce this: one thinks of his estate in Flottbeck modelled after the English landscape garden, or his model farm, also based on an English concept. It is Dalem who 'lets slip' his surprise at the appearance and living conditions of those who live "unter der Regierung des Brittischen Ministeriums und in der vornehmsten Stadt nach London unter den Besitzungen des Königs" (JMvD 449). Dalem is palpably shocked that the admired nation of Britain could allow such conditions to prevail on their doorstep. It seems implicit that both Dalem and Voght hold the British responsible at least to some degree for the deterioration they witness in Ireland. While Voght and Dalem make some attempt to reconcile their Anglophilia with what they see in Ireland, other German observers conceptualise the Irish as savages and in so doing appear to justify the British colonial project in Ireland. These observers use their admiration for Britain as a pretext to disparage the Irish people. The British, they believed, would do something to alleviate the impoverished situation of the Irish lower classes if at all possible, but for these observers, the Irish cannot be helped. Thus, for some "England served practically as a looking glass through which German spectators began to visualize Ireland".³³ Amongst those who viewed Ireland in this way were Johann Friedrich Hering (*Erinnerungen eines Legionärs*, 1826, JFH), a Hanoverian army-surgeon serving in George III's German legion. He spent a year stationed in the small village of Dunmore in County Galway from 1806 to 1807.³⁴ Friedrich Ludwig von Wachholtz (*Aus dem Tagebuch des Generals Fr. L. von Wachholtz*, 1843, FLvW) was also a German officer, but served in the so-called Black Brunswickers who entered English service in 1809 after the campaign against

³² Gert Sautermeister: *Reiseliteratur als Ausdruck einer Epoche*. In: Gert Sautermeister and Ulrich Schmid (eds.): *Zwischen Restauration und Revolution 1815-1848*. Munich and Vienna: Hanser, 1998, pp. 116-150, here p. 129.

³³ Walter T. Rix: *Ireland as a Source of German Interest in the Early Nineteenth Century. From Politics to Literature*. In: Wolfgang Zach and Heinz Kosok (eds.): *Literary Interrelations*, vol. 1: *Reception and Translation*. Tübingen: Narr, 1987, pp. 21-32, here p. 21.

³⁴ Cf. Christopher J. Woods: *Select Documents XLI. Johann Friedrich Hering's description of Connacht, 1806-7*. In: *Irish Historical Studies* 25. 99 (1987), pp. 311-321, here p. 311.

Napoleon in Northern Germany had failed. Wachholtz's company was ordered to travel to Fermoy, Cork, in August 1810.³⁵ Magdalena von Dobeneck (*Briefe und Tagebücher aus Frankreich, Irland und Italien*, 1843, MvD) was the daughter of Paul Johann Anselm Ritter von Feuerbach, a prominent German legal scholar. She came from a distinguished family of scholars and scientists. At the age of seventeen she was married to the judge Ludwig von Dobeneck. In 1830, she met the Italian violinist and composer Niccolò Paganini and divorced Ludwig von Dobeneck, only to be jilted by the composer. It was as a 24-year-old divorcee that she travelled to Ireland in 1832 in her capacity as governess to the nine-year-old "Miß Emily" (MvD 31) and resided on Thomas Knox's, Earl of Ranfurly's estate in Dungannon, Co. Tyrone.³⁶ The identity of the anonymous author of *Skizzen aus Irland* (1838, Sal) remains unknown. The writer travelled to Ireland in 1832. Like Küttner and Dobeneck, he resided on the estate of an Anglo-Irish landlord. While not all of these observers were necessarily pronounced Anglophiles, least of all Dobeneck, they conceptualise the Irish as savages, thus revealing colonialist attitudes as well as the influence of viewing the Irish through an English lens. By looking at how comments on living conditions, appearance and dress of the lower classes are framed, a common colonialist perspective is revealed, whether consciously or unconsciously pursued by the authors.

On numerous occasions, Hering mentions the small, miserable cottages in which poor, badly dressed and wretched looking people live (JFH 100-103). He describes the appearance and behaviour of the Irish lower classes in more detail as he and his troop march into Dunmore:

Die Menschen, welche aus den niedern Erdhütten hervor kamen, erschienen dumm und stumm, die Torfmoore vergrößerten sich, und sogar die kleinen Karren hörten hier gänzlich auf. [...] Bei unserer Ankunft am Ziele [...] sahen wir bald, daß unter dem schönen Nahmen des Ortes nur einige zwanzig kleine, steinere Häuser und Erdhütten verborgen waren. [...] Wir wurden von einem Schwarme Neugieriger begafft, die, in wahre Lumpen gehüllt, sich scheu umher sahen, und an den Nägeln kaueten. (JFH 104)

This encounter between Hering and the Irish is staged like an encounter between explorers and inhabitants of the 'New World'. These people are subjected to a colonial gaze. On another occasion Hering mentions that the housemaid in the house where he stayed spoke only Irish – therefore, even though she has a voice, he cannot understand her (JFH 103). Here, the inhabitants are completely mute, they appear stupefied to Hering, implying an inferior intellect and lack of communication skills. They are also portrayed as timid and self-conscious, unable to comprehend what they see. The encounter is cast in terms of an explorer/native, coloniser/colonised binarism. Wachholtz uses similar vocabulary when he describes how,

³⁵ Cf. Eoin Bourke: Poor Green Erin. German Travel Writers' Narratives on Ireland from before the 1798 Rising to after the Great Famine, ed. and transl. by Eoin Bourke. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 2011, p. 84 and p. 86.

³⁶ Cf. Bourke: Poor Green Erin, p. 179.

because of his uniform, beard and military paraphernalia, he draws a lot of attention from a swarm “von gaffenden Bettelvolk” (FLvW 445). Implicit is Hering’s and Wachholtz’s stance as superior. Hering also asserts his superior status by employing the textual strategy of mockery/sarcasm. When describing the simplistic Irish mud cottages, he refers to such living conditions as “edifying” – straw for the humans as well as animals to sleep on, a few household objects in one corner and the family who squat around the turf fire in the middle of the hut (JFH 105). His sarcastic tone is also evident when he describes the celebrations for St. John’s Eve/Midsummer:

Das Johannesfest ward sehr prächtig gefeiert, d. h. man machte in der Mitte des Ortes ein Feuer von Torf und Knochen, die mehr qualmten und übel rochen, als eine lustige Flamme gaben; und um dieses Feuer hüpfte die liebe Jugend nach einer elenden Geige oder Sackpfeife, den Wilden ähnlich, ihren Tanz. (JFH 107)

This is the first time that the word ‘savage’ has been used; in previous commentary this remained largely implicit. Everything Hering encounters in Ireland he compares to English standards. In this the civilised/uncivilised binarism is again evident: the poor-quality clothing of the lower classes (JFH 101), Irish cattle, Irish inns and Irish markets are poles apart from their English counterparts (JFH 100-102). He claims that in England there are no miserable-looking cottage dwellers of the type he encounters in Ireland. Dublin is not as wealthy as London (JFH 100), Irish horse-racing lacks the elegance which characterises English horse-racing, and the horses themselves are not as well built as their English counterparts (JFH 108). The common man in Ireland is characterised as a coward compared to his English counterpart (JFH 107). Everything which is perceived as cultured and civilised is English, such as the good food, wine and comfortable living quarters (JFH 103), whereas everything which is backward is Irish: in the countryside there are no vehicles with four wheels, no coaches and no mail cars, no proper farm machinery such as a plough, and on the one occasion Hering does see a plough he notes it has no wheels (JFH 102-08). Instead of rope, the Irish use straw to lead their miserable horses and donkeys (JFH 104). In the barracks where he is stationed he describes the only things that are “typically Irish” are the tables and chairs. By “typically Irish” Hering means that they look as if they were thrown together on the spot (JFH 105). Upon returning to England, Hering states:

Hier bemerkte man recht den Unterschied zwischen England und Irland, wenn man an schönen Sonntagen die elegante Welt auf den Spaziergängen sah. In Irland Genügsamkeit bei Armuth; in England der größte Luxus bei Reichtum, und wenig Unterschiede im Aeußern der verschiedenen Stände, während der gemeine Irländer dem Wilden gleicht. (JFH 116)

It is obvious from such comments that Hering held England in high esteem. Indeed Holfter writes that for Hering, England was “das Sinnbild der Freiheit und Hoffnung” in comparison to his native electorate of Hanover which had been occupied by French troops in 1803. She points out how in England, Hering often compared conditions there to those in Germany, a

comparison which generally proves favourable for England. In Ireland, however, the comparison with Germany is missing completely; England has become the exclusive point of reference.³⁷

In discussing Hering's epistolary account of Ireland and the Irish, Christopher J. Woods notes that "As a medical man he had long periods of leisure and was better disposed than most to consider the world objectively. His mind was unusually free of preconceptions about Ireland, which he describes to his relative with freshness and originality, and his only purpose was to report what happened to him whilst away from home, whether pleasant, unpleasant, or merely noteworthy".³⁸ Whether Hering was "unusually free of preconceptions about Ireland" or not, is questionable since observation is never neutral. He clearly picks up on similar motifs to others, for example viewing Ireland through an English lens and portraying the living conditions and appearance of the Irish as uncivilised. Woods continues by saying that Hering was "a great Anglophile" but "no intellectual": "There is no evidence in his *Erinnerungen* that he ever read anything about Ireland. Open-minded and tolerant, he had no distinctive philosophical view on the country. He did not write for public consumption [...]. Like other visitors from the continent, he had different discernment because his mind was unencumbered with the intellectual baggage of the English-speaking world".³⁹ In claiming tolerance and a lack of preconceptions on Hering's part, it is possible that Woods means that Hering's comments are 'uncensored', i.e. crude and spontaneous. In that case, Hering would allow insights that other, more cautious commentators deny; he might be seen to express what they are thinking. However, casting the Irish as wild does not suggest a lack of bias. Perhaps Hering never consciously formed an opinion on Ireland before his sojourn there through private study or otherwise, but his account of a wasteland inhabited by a stupefied and mute people reveals his innate sense of superiority, as well as his prejudice in concentrating on very crude and obvious impressions. He contributes to cementing general clichés of the Irish as savage as well as to the presentation of the Irish as 'others'. He clearly constructs Ireland as a wilderness: he describes marching through desolate peat bogs as though they were "ein anderes Sibirien. Man sah, soweit das Auge reichte, nichts als große bemooste Steine, und hier und da eine schwarze Erdhütte" (JFH 103). Dunmore is described as a forlorn place in a remote corner of the earth, "diese Einöde" (JFH 109, 106), and the surrounding area is, like the inhabitants of Dunmore, mute as there are no ringing of church bells and no sounds of nature to be heard: "Im Monath Juni gab es zwar einige gute und warme Tage und Abende, aber die Natur blieb öde und stumm. Kein Duft von Blumen und

³⁷ Holfter: *Erlebnis Irland. Deutsche Reiseberichte über Irland im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1996, p. 35f.

³⁸ Woods: *Select Documents XLI. Johann Friedrich Hering's description of Connacht, 1806-7*, p. 312.

³⁹ Woods: *Select Documents XLI. Johann Friedrich Hering's description of Connacht, 1806-7*, p. 313.

Bäumen, kein Sumsen der Insecten, kein Schlagen der Nachtigall war zu bemerken" (JFH 107). The only noteworthy buildings or inhabitants of Dunmore are the barracks, the Anglican Church, the Anglican parson and the local landlord – types Hering would have been familiar with from England. These are perceived as symbols of civilisation. Describing the landscape outside the places dominated by English influence as desolate and mute constitutes colonialist rhetoric – this was an empty landscape before the colonisers arrived, and indeed still is except for the presence of English military, religious and administrative institutions. In this sense, Hering is anything but "unencumbered with the intellectual baggage of the English-speaking world" as he clearly views Ireland through an English colonial lens.

Like Hering, the anonymous author of *Skizzen aus Irland* depicts the Irish landscape outside of the influence of perceived signifiers of civilisation (in this case the estates of the Anglo-Irish landlords) as a wild and barren wasteland; those who inhabit it are cast as savage and even animalistic. In this "Einöde" there is nothing but barren mountains for as far as the eye can see, and the whole area is "unfraglich eine der ödesten und wildesten von Irland" (Sal 7). It is a "bevölkerte Wüstenei" (Sal 8) where the mud cottages are seen as indicative of the primitive and uncivilised state of those who inhabit them. Such lodgings appear to be more like occasional dwellings for shepherds rather than the regular dwellings of whole families:

Die Gegend ist hier ziemlich dicht mit Bauernwohnungen übersät, die ich Hütten nennen möchte, wenn dieß Wort nicht dem Leser den Begriff von Behausungen vorführen würde, die im Vergleiche mit jenen Erdlöchern als Palläste bezeichnet werden müßten. Die Mehrzahl derselben ist im buchstäblichen Sinne aus den stehengebliebenen Wänden oder Terrassen der Torfstriche ausgehöhlt, und von oben dann bloß mit einem Dach von Rasen oder Binsen bedeckt. Nur bei sehr wenigen bemerkte ich Thür oder Fenster, oder selbst nur ein Rauchloch; kurz Alles, was ich sah, konnte höchstens für die erste Stufe herauftagender Cultur gelten. (Sal 8)

These Irish dwellings intimate a state even long before evolutionism for this author, yet his description also reflects theories of 'savages' in a child-like stage of development. The closeness to the ground serves a similar function as itinerant provisional dwellings and Tartar analogies. Underlining the perceived primitiveness, the observer not only calls them "Erdlöcher" but also "Morasthöhlen". The term "Höhle" portrays an image of the animalistic and is a motif connected with savagery. According to the writer, the appearance and demeanour of those who inhabit such dwellings corresponds to that of their miserable surroundings (Sal 8). The surrounding land is partially arable, but completely neglected, barren and wild, implying an indolent nature of those who inhabit this landscape.

It seems that peasants living on or in the vicinity of the estates of their landlords enjoy a better quality of life. Only when leaving the "inhabited wasteland" does the observer note: "Die ersten Zeichen eines bessern Zustandes der Einwohner bemerkten wir auf den Ländereien des seitdem verstorbenen Herrn Leader" (Sal 16). The cottages of the peasants who live close

to the estate are still basically the same square constructions described by others: low walls made out of stone, roofed with straw and rushes with just one door. Even the measurements are the same. According to Hering such cabins are six to eight feet high (JFH 105), and according to the author of *Skizzen aus Irland* they are around seven feet in height (Sal 30). However, there are significant improvements to this basic construction: the stones are cemented with lime, the exterior and interior walls have been cleaned up and whitewashed, on the roof there is a brick chimney which has also been painted white, while there are in total three windows as well as a partition wall inside the cottage which divides the bedroom from the kitchen and living quarters. In the bedroom there is an actual bed big enough for two people, as well as an oak table, wardrobe and a few stools. There is even an attic over the bedroom and, finally, the cottage is clean (Sal 30f.). Despite the vast improvements in living conditions, the observer still presents his impressions of the cottage as that of a below-standard dwelling which obviously does not meet his criteria for an acceptable human dwelling: there is *only* one door, the windows are small and *not very numerous* because on the front wall there are *not more than three*. The observer continues to use qualifying adverbs such as “only”, as well as comparisons with a presumably imaginary cottage which has four windows, more than one door and two rooms, to depict these cottages and their inhabitants as just as primitive as their rural counterparts. Yet, it was exactly these kinds of cottages which could become the focus of the ‘Irish Picturesque’ in other portrayals of Irish life, as indeed they did little over a century later in the art works of Paul Henry. Despite the fact that they have remarkably better living conditions than those who dwell in the bog, there appears to be no difference in the alleged level of culture and civilisation of these inhabitants. It seems that throughout the narrative, the author is at pains to portray the landlord as the single most important beneficial influence who looks after his uncivilised and wild tenants as best he can. In this light, it seems that the author is justifying not colonialism but feudalism, i.e. the necessity of authority for those who cannot govern themselves. He advocates enlightened feudalism by invoking landlords’ responsibilities towards their subjects, who are cast as needing, respecting and indeed loving their landlords, like disobedient children who look to the paternalistic figure.

The author of *Skizzen aus Irland* talks to and lets the ‘natives’ speak, whereas Dobeneck, like Hering, presents the Irish as mute and incomprehensible. Their dwellings are perceived as “die Hütten roher Wilden” (MvD 43). Their appearance is equally savage: “Etliche Männer, in braunem Frack, halfen mühselig den Pflug ziehen, platte Gesichtsbildung, unförmlichen Mund und Lippen, rothe, struppige Haare und fletschende Zähne – aber dort jener Jüngling, und dieser Kreis von Frauen, welche edle, wilde Gestalten!” (MvD 44). Even though Dobeneck labels these people ‘noble savages’, the features she outlines are, in

conventional physiognomic categories, signs of the ugly and the hideous rather than the noble – flat, formless and unkempt features. The perception of ‘noble savages’ is also not borne out by other descriptions of physical appearance, for example the wretchedly poor are described as “ein Ausbund von Häßlichkeit” (MvD 50), or as hunched over “Jammergestalten” (MvD 51), of an “an Geist und Körper verkrümmerten Geschlechts” (MvD 84). These claims suggest the opposite of the ‘noble savage’ and even a degree of physical and intellectual degeneracy.

Dobeneck’s attempt to make contact with the Irish is cast in terms of an encounter between explorer and native. She describes a group of women sitting in front of a dreary hovel who cradle their dirty children in their laps. Dobeneck enters the hovel and greets the woman inside, but the woman is so startled by the visitor that she goes pale and quickly exits the hut. Meanwhile, a girl hides in the corner behind a bundle of straw. Dobeneck’s efforts to befriend her are also in vain (MvD 52). Like the natives Hering encounters, these people are cast as mute. They are also attributed other traits including timidity and the shyness of the explored in how they attempt to evade attention. Dobeneck describes another scene in which agricultural workers receive their evening meal along with wine and beer, to which they scream “wilde Vivats in ihrer Art und Sprache” (MvD 51). These workers’ wild screams are just as unintelligible to Dobeneck as Hering’s housemaid who only spoke Irish. Verbal expression is deemed as a civilisatory attainment; uncontrolled emotions in joy over alcohol, on the other hand, indicate a lack of affect and control.

Dobeneck claims that the impoverished conditions she meets in Ireland pain her too much to describe them in detail. This unspeakability topos gives the impression of something beyond depictability, something too horrid or too beautiful to be evoked. One such example is the sight of a funerary procession which causes her to become upset because of its meagreness: “Die Männer trugen einen unbedeckten, frisch gezimmerten Sarg – keine Blume, kein Kreuz! Die Häupter waren düster zur Erde gesenkt, und stumm und in größter Eile bewegte sich der Trauerzug. Da drückte ich mich in die Ecke des Wagens und konnte der Thränen mich nicht enthalten. Irland erschien mir in der Gestalt einer armen Waise, die unerzogen sich selbst und ihrem Elende überlassen bleibt” (MvD 84). Behind Dobeneck’s tears is colonialist rhetoric constituting natives as orphans who cannot be left to their own devices and who require colonial nurture in order to become civilised. There also seems to be a religious element in her characterisation of a degenerate people who need to be ‘saved’ when she believes it to be “eine besondere Fügung Gottes” that Quakers “in Mitte eines an Geist und Körper verkrümmerten Geschlechts, gleichsam als Lichtpunkte in der irischen Finsterniß, angesiedelt leben” (MvD 84). The Biblical metaphor of bringing light into the darkness adds a religious dimension to the colonialist project. The Irish are perceived not just as wild, savage

and uncivilised but also non-Christian. It is indeed noteworthy that when Dobeneck mentions anything about religion it is either, as in this instance, about the charity of the Quakers towards the Irish (MvD 84) or in connection to the religiosity of the Anglo-Irish which very much appeals to her, for example how they strictly observe Sundays as a day of prayer (MvD 56f.). Only once does she mention that Catholics even exist in Ireland (MvD 88). Similarly, Hering views the Anglican Church as a sign of civilisation in a wilderness, and only on one occasion does he note the existence of a Catholic church (JFH 106). In Hering's case it should be noted that before Catholic Emancipation (1829) there would indeed have been very few Catholic churches in Ireland. Catholicism as practised under the Penal Laws (laws dating back to the seventeenth century imposed against those, i.e. Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters, who did not conform to the state Anglican Church) would not have been comparable to splendid baroque Austrian Catholicism, for example. In general, however, the lack of churches, as well as other signs of Catholicism such as shrines, might indicate spiritual neglect for the likes of Dobeneck regardless of the variety of confession. From this perspective, there is a double impulse to 'civilise' – to civilise the uncivilised savage as well as to spiritually 'enlighten'. Such missionary activity based on the analysis of heathenness of colonial subjects is very much part of the colonial project.

4.4 The Violent Savage

An aspect of the savage trope which emerges repeatedly throughout the period is that of an alleged violent and lawless nature. Voght claims that the Irish are cruel and violent (CvV 581, 597, 616). Dalem maintains that they are hot-tempered: "Geschickt bey der mindesten Beleidigung Feuer zu fassen, sind sie sehr zu Schlägereyen geneigt, die manchmal in Grausamkeit ausarten" (JMvD 484). Similarly, Heinrich Meidinger, who visited Ireland in 1820 and 1827 (*Briefe von einer Reise durch England, Schottland und Irland im Frühjahr und Sommer 1820, 1821*, HM1; *Reisen durch Großbritannien und Irland, 1828*, HM2), describes the Irish as hot-tempered and violent: "Der gemeine Mann ist gutmüthig, aber auch sehr reizbar, und im Zorne zu Grausamkeiten geneigt, wovon häufige Mordthaten die Belege liefern" (HM2 161, see also HM1 181). The anonymous authors of *Skizzen aus Irland* and *Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes von Irland* (1835, DGZI) dedicate much of their commentary to recording such incidents of violence and murder which they utilise to underscore "die rohe Wildheit der Iren" (Sal 68). The portrayal of the Irish as vicious could be read as commentary on current political events in Ireland, implying that these 'savages' are not ready to partake in matters of governance normal to a 'civilised' society. These events included the granting of Catholic Emancipation in 1829, which meant that Catholics were eligible for most offices of

state and could be elected to parliament, among other concessions. Following this victory, Daniel O’Connell, leader of the Catholic Association, set up the Repeal Association in 1830 which aimed to restore the independent Irish parliament which had existed before the Act of Union, now with the full participation of Catholics.

The author of *Skizzen aus Irland* gives an account of an election day which was contested between two pro-Emancipation and three anti-Emancipation candidates in 1826. In theory, it appears that he is sympathetic towards demands for Catholic Emancipation, however in practise, his depiction of voting day itself shows the Irish to be fierce and wild: fights quickly break out and the authorities allow “dem nationalen Hang zu Raufereien und Boxkämpfen ziemlich freien Lauf” (Sal 59). He describes how the “Volk” treat election day like a festival or market day, i.e. an excuse for “Branntwein, Tumult und Schläge” to which they need no invitation (Sal 54), despite the fact that the majority of them do not even have the right to vote. The observer regards the Irish as generally lawless and guileful as well as aggressive when he details an incident of sectarian violence whereby Catholics in the surrounding area utilise the election campaign in Cavan to stage an attack on their Protestant neighbours in the knowledge that all police and military force are busy elsewhere. “Das kampflustige Volk” spread the word to the surrounding towns, and even counties, that a revenge attack will take place on the Protestants for celebrating the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne with an Orange Order parade through a predominantly Catholic area. “Der ganze Kampf wurde mit einer Brutalität geführt, von der man in Deutschland, Gott sey Dank, keinen anschaulichen Begriff hat, und die in ganz Europa wohl schwerlich ihres Gleichen findet” (Sal 67). The observer clearly sees Ireland as deviating from European norms.

While the observer depicts the Irish as rough and vicious in their behaviour on election day, he acknowledges that such violence has political and sectarian motives. On the one hand, it is “Parteiaufregung” as well as “Rauflust” which result in “wild gemachten rohen Massen” (Sal 59); on the other hand, the reasons are sectarian, “die feindliche Partei” are the Protestants. Recreational violence, however, serves as definitive proof that the Irish belong to an inferior cultural level. The authors of *Skizzen aus Irland* and *Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes von Irland* refer to faction fighting as an example of recreational violence. Historically, the term denotes “pitched battles between feuding bands at fairs and other public gatherings”.⁴⁰ It was the Catholic lower classes who engaged in this kind of violence and it is also mentioned by other contemporary observers (cf. HvPM 69). Factions could consist of a family who would fight against another family. A faction could also be made up of members of

⁴⁰ Paul E. W. Roberts: Caravats and Shanavests. Whiteboyism and Faction Fighting in East Munster, 1802-11. In: Samuel Clarke and James S. Donnelly (eds.): *Irish Peasants. Violence and Political Unrest, 1780–1914*. Madison/WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983, pp. 64-101, here p. 66.

a certain parish or district who would fight against another district, using stones as well as weapons known as shillelaghs. These were wooden sticks which were hardened with fire and often one end was filled with lead. Both authors report that factions come to blows at every possible occasion, even on church ground (DGZI 8). The reason for hatred between the factions is often unknown to those involved (Sal 83f., DGZI 3). These people will fight against their neighbours and co-workers, those with whom they otherwise live and work in peace, just because they belong to the opposing faction (DGZI 3). This kind of fighting has “nur einen rein lokalen, keineswegs aber einen allgemeinen politischen Charakter” (DGZI 8). Fighting is carried out for the sake of fighting and with a cruelty that shows the senselessness of those who participate: they kill their opponents “durch Steinwürfe oder mit Knitteln” even when they are retreating from the battle field (DGZI 5). Such gratuitous fighting, i.e. fighting without purpose, allegiance or logic, and excessive brutality presents itself as the reverse side of investment and industriousness which garner proportionate rewards.

A refusal to fight for whatever reason results in being labelled a coward. In this, the author of *Skizzen aus Irland* finds evidence of archaic conditions as well as archaic modes of conflict resolution. Hierarchies are established and social prestige is won through the application of violence and only violence: “Wie unter allen rohen Völkern”, in Ireland to be labelled a coward is considered “fast für die größte Schande [...]. Besonders einen ‘Feigling’ würde [...] ein irischer Bauer weit weniger auf sich sitzen lassen, als einen ‘Dieb’ oder andere Namen, die Verbrechen einschließen” (Sal 122). The author reports that one man would rather die than live in shame of being called a coward (Sal 131). That being labelled a coward is considered worse than being called a thief shows a complete lack of respect for the norms of a ‘civilised’ society organised around respect for the law and the common good. These people still live according to “Faustrecht” rather than according to the “Gesetz” or civil law (DGZI 3). This is proof for the author that if these people were to govern themselves, complete anarchy would reign. Such people, it is clearly implied, should at all costs not be entrusted with any measure of participation in law-making and governance since they show absolutely no respect for the existing law.

4.5 Changing Perceptions of the Savage

It is apparent that by the 1830s, the parameters of perception are changing. While the trope of the savage is still employed to conceptualise the Irish, it is evident that political criteria increasingly inform the observers’ gaze, such as the events surrounding Catholic Emancipation of the late 1820s and the foundation of the Repeal Association in 1830. As Jane Conroy notes

in her paper on French travel literature on Ireland from the same period, “Transitions are rarely simple, datable occurrences”.⁴¹ In general, however, the early 1830s mark a turn in German perspectives of Ireland and the Irish. This change in perspective manifests itself in Fürst Hermann von Pückler Muskau’s letters from Ireland (*Reisebriefe aus Irland*, 1830, HvPM). Apart from changing political circumstances in both countries (from 1815 national and liberal tendencies against the Restoration gathered momentum in Germany), another important criterion is the reception of Irish folk culture, of *Volkspoesie*, *Volkslieder* and *Märchen*, which could be interpreted as signs of an uncorrupted and authentic people.

The influence of features which could be loosely related to literary Romanticism on the German image of Ireland in travel writing has been emphasised by several commentators.⁴² Gisela Holfter and Andreas Oehlke, for example, link the interest in “Nationalcharakterisierungen” as well as in folktales and folk culture to Romanticism. However, it must be acknowledged that an interest in Irish folk culture is not evident until the early 1830s with Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau’s *Reisebriefe aus Irland* representing the first real awareness, reception and transmission of Irish fairy and folktales. The common denominator which all commentators (Patrick O’Neill, Gisela Holfter, Andreas Oehlke, Hermann Rasche and Terence Brown) link to the Romantic movement is the ideal of content primitives. Holfter maintains that in Pückler’s narrative “Die überkommene Vorstellung von den irischen Barbaren wandelt sich zu der von den ‘unverdorbene[n] Unschuldigen’”. She also points to Dobeneck’s description of the Irish as “edle, wilde Gestalten” (MvD 44), stating that this description “markiert deutlich den Übergang von den noch bei Küttner vorkommenden negativen Schilderungen zu dem in der Romantik positiv besetzten Begriff des edlen Wilden”.⁴³ Similarly, Hermann Rasche states: “The traditional notion of the ‘Irish barbarians’ has now [with the appearance of Pückler’s narrative] changed into one of ‘uncorrupt innocence’”.⁴⁴ The ‘noble savage’ is a trope of the Enlightenment, connected to a kind of idealistic exoticism which does not play much of a role in ‘Romantic’ thought. Furthermore, the previous discussion has shown that Küttner’s portrayal of the Irish as content innocents *and* barbarians is not necessarily ‘negative’. Going beyond labelling portrayals as ‘negative’ and/or ‘positive’ the discussion has shown the agenda behind Küttner’s conceptualisation of the Irish as content primitives. Indeed, he is not the only one who uses the trope to pursue a specific purpose. The

⁴¹ Jane Conroy: Changing Perspectives. French Travellers in Ireland, 1785-1835. In: Jane Conroy (ed.): Cross-Cultural Travel. Papers from the Royal Irish Academy International Symposium on Literature and Travel. New York: Lang, 2003, pp. 131- 142, here p. 139.

⁴² See for example Patrick O’Neill: Ireland and Germany. A Study in Literary Relations. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1985, p. 129; Holfter: Erlebnis Irland, p. 46; Oehlke: Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts, p. 113f.; Hermann Rasche: ‘...A Strange Spectacle...’ German Travellers to the west 1828-1858. In: Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society, 47 (1995), pp. 87-107, here p. 96; Terence Brown: Saxon and Celt. The Stereotypes. In: Wolfgang Zach and Heinz Kosok (eds.): Literary Interrelations, vol. 3: National Images and Stereotypes. Tübingen: Narr, 1987, pp. 1-10, here p. 2.

⁴³ Holfter: Erlebnis Irland, p. 46 and p. 49.

⁴⁴ Hermann Rasche: ‘...A Strange Spectacle...’, p. 96.

very same can be said for Pückler – his employment of the trope goes beyond providing a positive or negative image of the Irish to fulfilling specific functions and revealing certain political tendencies. Certainly, the reception and popularisation of Irish folk- and fairytales in Germany through the likes of Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies* published from 1808 onwards in English and subsequently translated into German,⁴⁵ as well as the German edition of Thomas Crofton Croker's *Irische Elfenmärchen* (1825) contributed to an image of the Irish as a simple and innocent people in line with Romantic ideals of originality and genuineness, and akin to the propagated ideal of content primitives, however, they in no way first created this image. What is new is the 'discovery' and upgrading of Irish cultural heritage based on the Romantic interest in the 'Volkstümliche' and in the idea of a 'Volksseele'. In this sense, the notion of primitive savages coalesced with the Romantic search for the natural, the unspoilt and the uncorrupted. Pückler's portrayal of the Irish marks a change in perspective not because the 'negative' conceptualisation of the Irish as barbarians has turned into a 'positive', 'Romantic' conceptualisation of the Irish as uncorrupted innocents, but, rather, because he is one of the first to almost unreservedly convey an image of the Irish lower classes as innocent, content, trustworthy and honest, and he is the first German travel writer to transmit information on Irish folk culture to a domestic audience. The two go hand in hand.

Pückler describes how, despite the rags, the dirt and the poverty, the Irish appear to be in permanent good spirits (HvPM 13). He claims that he often sees numerous groups of children naked, just as God created them, joyfully playing in the dirty streets (HvPM 70), or describes a half-clothed twelve-year-old boy as happiness personified (HvPM 104). He is convinced that the Irish beggars and lower classes are content in their poverty no matter how down-beat and miserable their outward appearance and their living conditions, no matter how malnourished and physically deprived they appear, since they show no signs of melancholy in their open and friendly faces (HvPM 14f.). One such example is a young man who runs alongside the traveller's horse for hours on end, holds it when he dismounts and carries out any service he can. When he receives payment he is not just satisfied with every penny he gets, but he is also full of gratitude (HvPM 15). Alongside the perceived feeling of contentment in life, Pückler also depicts the Irish as generous and hospitable. He is informed by his mail coach companion that "Hungern und Lachen" constitute the fate of the majority of the Irish. And yet, even though these people do not earn enough money to feed themselves and their families, they will always spare something for visitors (HvPM 104f.).

⁴⁵ Thomas Moore: A Selection of Irish Melodies. Published in eight numbers. London: Power, 1808-1837. Translated to German in: Kleine Gedichte von Byron und Moore, transl. by Carl von Killinger. Berlin: n.p., 1829. See O'Neill: Ireland and Germany, p. 328f. for a complete list of all of Moore's works which were translated into German.

The supposed content disposition of the people does not just contrast to the domestic and social sphere, for example the cottages which are “über alle Beschreibung jämmerlich” (HvPM 63), of which the better ones would not even be deemed suitable as outhouses by German farmers (HvPM 94); their disposition also provides a stark contrast to those monotonous, bare and dreary parts of the Irish landscape which yield little produce for the people to live off. One such area is described as “einförmig und kahl”, however Pückler finds

das zerlumpte, Kartoffeln essende Volk gleich lustig und vergnügt. Es bettelt zwar beständig, aber unter Lachen, mit Laune, Witz und drolligen Worten, ohne Zudringlichkeit wie ohne Rancune, wenn es nichts erhält. Auffallend ist gewiß bei dieser großen Armut die ebenso große Ehrlichkeit dieser Menschen – vielleicht entsteht eben eine aus der andern –, denn der Luxus macht erst begehrllich, und der Arme entbehrt das Notwendige oft leichter als der Reiche das Überflüssige. (HvPM 103f.)

“Witz”, “Lachen” and “Laune” receive a diametrically different interpretation than by previous commentators. Voght took them as signs of disengagement, a lack of earnestness and an inability for perfection (CvV 615f.). Furthermore, “ohne Rancune” diametrically contrasts to the charges of thievery and gratuitous deviance made by Voght and Dalem (JMvD 483, CvV 572, 651). Pückler maintains that the lack of arable agricultural land and personal property results in the absence of jealousy and envy. On further numerous occasions he emphasises the honesty of the Irish peasantry. On his way to visit Daniel O’Connell in Derrinane, for example, Pückler comments how easy it would be to be robbed since he travels alone and hardly ever meets anyone else in the countryside. However, the poor but good-natured people never harbour thoughts of theft and greet the passer-by respectfully (HvPM 158, cf. 35, 175 for further examples).

Such images of the Irish reveal Pückler’s wish for a simple, pure and idyllic state of the natural. This is also evident in his description of a fair which contains vulgar, disgusting images of drunkenness and ugly people. He describes how people dance to the point of exhaustion while others lay about drunk, screaming and shouting. He observes an excessively drunk and horribly ugly couple who leave the fair on horseback. Yet, Pückler is delighted by the tenderness and attention they pay one another despite their state of inebriation. The woman’s behaviour has an air of affectionate intimacy and, according to Pückler, would have been becoming of a more attractive woman. Pückler concludes: “Tadle mich nicht über die gemeinen Bilder, die ich Dir vorführe. Sie sind der Natur näher verwandt als die übertünchten Wachspuppen unsrer Salons” (HvPM 49). Here, Pückler seeks out images of the ‘natural’ and utilises these to critique his own culture. On another occasion, when he cannot find a room at an inn and has to make do with a small antechamber where he sleeps on straw, he describes the experience of living in such simplistic dwellings euphorically: the simple meal of tea, butter, toast and eggs is excellent. Moreover, his hunger makes it taste even better. He

enthuses: “Ich kann Dir nicht sagen, wie angenehm mir dieses Leben ist! Mit allen Entbehrungen fühle ich mich doch wahrlich hundertmal mehr á mon aise als encombriert und belästigt von tausend unnötigen Bequemlichkeiten. Ich bin frei wie der Vogel in der Luft, und das ist ein hoher Genuß” (HvPM 40). That Pückler can say he enjoys such a life despite all its privations reveals escapist tendencies on his part since his one night spent sleeping on straw is enjoyed as a novelty brought about by coincidence, rather than forced upon him by social and economic circumstances. If anything, it adds to his tourist ‘experience’ rather than giving him any real insight into the everyday lives of the lower classes. Even though Pückler presents images of the Irish which appear to critique his own cultural sphere, this does not seem to be done in a consequent manner, i.e. he does not hold up the Irish as representatives of an achievable alternative for his own society.

Such characterisations are diametrically opposed to corresponding aspects of previous portrayals of the Irish as deceitful, cunning, vain and cruel by Voght and Dalem, for example. There may also be implicit political undercurrents to one of Pückler’s descriptions when he emphasises the isolated, patriarchal life and uncorrupted nature of the lower classes:

Ein gutmütiges Volk wohnt hier, nicht in Dörfern vereinigt, sondern einzeln im Gebürge zerstreut, und führt, unverdorben vom Gewühl der Städte, ein patriarchalisches Leben. [...] Die Bedürfnisse dieser Leute sind gering; Torf zum Feuern dürfen sie holen, wo es ihnen gutdünkt, Gras für ihre Kühe ebenfalls in den Sümpfen, und Fische zur Nahrung liefert ihnen das Meer, mehr als sie bedürfen. (HvPM 188)

The use of the term “unverdorben” is key in this statement. Pückler seems to be suggesting that the Irish are capable of looking after themselves as their needs are few and fulfilled by nature. While Dobeneck implies that the ‘orphan’ Irish need guidance and tutelage, and the authors of *Skizzen* and *Darstellung* imply that the barbaric Irish are hardly capable of being entrusted with any sort of political task, Pückler seems to be suggesting that the Irish do not require colonial rule because they do just fine by themselves, uncorrupted by civilisation. In this sense, the content savage is idealised as representing an exemplary state of harmony, but, moreover, it also reflects changing political perspectives which implicitly serve as a critique of colonialism, a critique which quickly becomes explicit.

Pückler’s conceptualisation of the Irish lower classes is, at times, ambivalent. There are numerous observations which portray the lower classes as wild and uncivilised, for example in a genre scene “des hiesigen Volkslebens”. Pückler states: “In vieler Hinsicht ist diese Nation wirklich noch den Wilden zu vergleichen” – because of the general lack of clothing of the common man even on festival days, the inability to resist alcohol as long as one has enough to afford it, the wild “Nationalkämpfe mit dem Shileila” which break out in a matter of seconds for no apparent reason, as well as the thirst for revenge carried on for generations because of

some insignificant insult. On the other hand, he notes the uninhibited, happy carefreeness of those who never worry about tomorrow, the harmless, happy disposition which forgets all privations, the good-natured hospitality which will share even the last piece of food, the friendliness towards strangers and the natural ease of conversation. According to Pückler “alles sind Züge eines nur halb zivilisierten Volks” (HvPM 69). In this sense, the Irish lower classes might be innocent, good-natured and content, but they remain not fully developed to European standards in Pückler’s eyes. This contradicts the contention made above that Pückler believes that they can govern themselves. His ambivalence is further underlined when he goes into more detail on the wild “national fights”, i.e. faction fights. He describes how a man is so drunk that he falls on his head but nobody takes particular note of the occurrence. Pückler believes that this must be completely normal behaviour. He states that the skull of the Irish seem to be of a more solid nature than other peoples’ skulls probably because the Irish are used to the blows of the shillelaghs from a very young age (HvPM 142). Pückler attributes skull quality to environmental influence, and he does so in order to poke fun at the Irish. His comments on the wild Irish become more disparaging when he is accompanied by an incessant hoard of beggars while visiting the ruins of an old abbey:

Ich besuchte diese Ruine in sehr zahlreicher Begleitung. Ich sage nicht zuviel, wenn ich Dir versichere, daß aus der ganzen Gegend wenigstens über zweihundert halbnackte Individuen, zum Drittel Kinder, sich um meinen nachgekommenen Wagen schon seit dem frühesten nichtstund versammelt hatten und nun unter Vivatgeschrei mich alle bettelnd umringten und Mann für Mann durch die Ruinen, über Trümmern und Kratzbeeren treulich begleiteten. Die sonderbarsten Komplimente schallten zuweilen einzeln aus der Menge heraus, einige riefen sogar: “Es lebe der König!” Als ich bei der Zurückkunft ein paar Hände voll Kupfer unter sie warf, lag bald, von alt und jung, die Hälfte im Straßenkot, sich blutig schlagend, während die andern schnell in die Branntweinschenke liefen, um das Gewonnene sogleich zu vertrinken. (HvPM 78)

Pückler’s attitude towards the beggars is very different from his encounter with the “Betteljungen” of the streets of Dublin (HvPM 13f.). He does not just press a few coins into their hands, rather he throws a few handfuls of copper among them as if they were animals. Indeed, on a separate occasion he writes that he carries copper with him, “um sie wie Körner an die Hühner zu verteilen” (HvPM 58). The reaction of the beggars at the ruins takes on bestial qualities as they fall to the dirty ground to fight each other to a pulp over the few coins. These beggars do not add to the effect of the ruins, rather they detract from it. Yet, it seems that when Pückler perceives of the Irish in terms of the bestial, he does so not necessarily to portray the Irish as inherently savage, but, rather, to critique the political circumstances which have led to manifestations of such behaviour. Here, for example, he exclaims that the behaviour of the beggars is symptomatic of the neglect and oppression experienced under the English government. Along with the previous comment on how the Irish seem to manage just fine by themselves, this is indicative of political persuasions of the *Vormärz* entering German

discourse on Ireland for the first time. Pückler ascribes savagery to colonialism, and this is important because it presents colonialism as the problem and not the solution. He claims: "Ich habe hier aktenkundige Dinge vernommen und Elend gesehen, das nie während der Leibeigenschaft in Deutschland erhört worden ist und in den Ländern der Sklaverei kaum seinesgleichen finden möchte" (HvPM 44). Colonialisation and misgovernance have made the Irish into the impoverished animalistic creatures who fight each other black and blue over a few pennies, whereas in those areas where the Irish remain relatively untouched by 'civilisation' and English influence, they appear to be more than capable of looking after themselves.

In conclusion, the trope of the savage fulfils an important function in the construction of other peoples; it can also be employed to very different ends. All varieties of framing the Irish, both as content or as lacking ingenuity and resolve to improve their situation, are essentially based on very similar observations on laziness, simplicity, humour and ignorance, which are interpreted differently by individual authors. Some conceptualisations of the Irish as savage reveal a common colonialist lens which is closely linked to English views of Ireland. It seems that authors both unconsciously and quite deliberately justify the English colonial project in Ireland by casting the Irish as savage. The depiction of the Irish as lawless and guileful simultaneously indicates how political criteria influence the perception of the Irish, in this case to show them as incapable of assuming any sort of political responsibility. Pückler's descriptions of the Irish reflects the changing political circumstances (the emergence of the ideas of the Young Germany movement; in Ireland the beginning of the 'Daniel O'Connell' period in Irish history) in a different way than the authors of *Skizzen* and *Darstellung*; colonialism results in savagery, rather than in 'civilising' the ostensible 'savage'. While constructing the Irish as savage appears as typecasting rather than individualising, this seems to be the only way German observers could 'make sense' of what they experienced. The various descriptions of the Irish lower classes reveal a degree of puzzlement on the observers' part – how can a people be content in poverty? Why do they not strive for improvement? This is especially evident in narratives from the late eighteenth century. It appears that all of the descriptions from Küttner to Pückler display a lack of criteria according to which these writers can fully comprehend what they encounter as well as their overriding impulse to categorise, to 'cope' with the strange phenomena. The Irish are obviously not the same as the 'noble savages' of the 'New World' because the Irish are passive, they do not carry out any heroic deeds. The majority of commentators stylise them as European counterparts of the 'noble savages' of the Wild West, Pacific or Africa, with characteristic differences: there are few life and death situations in the Irish countryside that would require a peasant to carry out the noble deeds of a Sudanese warrior such as attacking a lion, thereby proving himself as a

warrior and perhaps protecting his village (moral nobility). The portrayals of the Irish as placid, inoffensive savages fulfils a function similar, on occasion, to descriptions of 'noble savages' of the 'New World'. Yet, it is the diametrically opposed dispositions of passivity and contentment which make the Irish special and which feed into a sense of the Irish 'other'.

5 Constructing the Collective

Johann Gottfried Herder “used the concept of an irreducible ‘folk spirit’ to counter the universal individualism of the Enlightenment philosophers. For him, the spirit of a people manifested itself in its culture, i.e. its language, customs, and mores; history represented the continuous development of individually different, but structurally similar nations which together formed a harmonic and pluralist universe”.¹ German travel writers searched for evidence of an Irish *Volksseele* in culture and customs. Who exactly are regarded as Irish and what makes them ‘Irish’ for German-speaking observers, as opposed to ‘Scottish’ or ‘English’ or indeed ‘German’? In Herderian terms, it was believed that the *Volk* best embodied the authentic nature of a *Volkscharakter* or *Volksseele*. According to Hans Adler, the term *Volk* in the Herderian sense is “vorab ein [...] soziologisch differenzierender Begriff”. The *Volk* encompasses all social strata, yet the profile is defined in politically significant ways: “Einerseits ist ‘Volk’ weder Adel noch höherer Klerus. Es ist andererseits aber auch nicht die Masse der sozial Deklassierten. Als soziale Schicht scheint Herder an städtisches Bürgertum, Handwerker und Bauern zu denken. [...] Im soziologisch-deskriptiven Sinne ist das ‘Volk’ der dritte Stand”.² It is the manner in which the *Volk* expresses itself which differentiates it from the educated upper classes, from the academics and philosophers:

Immer die Sache, die sie sagen wollen, sinnlich, klar, lebendig, anschauend: den Zweck, zu dem sie reden, unmittelbar und genau fühlend: nicht durch Schattenbegriffe, Halbideen und symbolischen Letternverstand (von dem sie in keinem Worte ihrer Sprache, da sie fast keine *abstracta* haben, wissen), durch alle dies nicht zerstreut, noch minder durch Künsteleien, sklavische Erwartungen, furchtsam schleichende Politik und verwirrende Prämeditation verdorben – über alle diese Schwächungen des Geistes seligunwissend, erfassen sie den ganzen Gedanken mit dem ganzen Worte, und dies mit jenem. Sie schweigen entweder, oder reden im Moment des Interesse mit einer unvorbedachten Festigkeit, Sicherheit und Schönheit, die alle wohlstudierten Europäer allezeit haben bewundern müssen, und – müssen bleiben lassen. Unsre Pedanten, die alles vorher zusammen stoppeln und auswendig lernen müssen, um alsdann recht methodisch zu stammeln; unsre Schulmeister, Küster, Halbgelehrte, Apotheker und alle [...] diese gelehrten Leute, was wären die gegen die Wilden? Wer noch bei uns Spuren von dieser Festigkeit finden will, der suche sie ja nicht bei solchen; – unverdorbn Kinder, Frauenzimmer, Leute von gutem Naturzustande, mehr durch Thätigkeit als Spekulation gebildet, die sind, wenn das, was ich anführte, Beredsamkeit ist, alsdann die einzigen und besten Redner unsrer Zeit.³

The *Volk* is untouched by the trappings of ‘civilised’, academic and philosophic life, by refinement and ‘high’ salon culture. The categories of the uncorrupted and the pure connect to the organic, the innocent and the natural, for example in a moral respect, which informed images of beauty and harmony (between man and nature) in pictorial theory and practice

¹ Egbert Klautke: *The Mind of the Nation. Völkerpsychologie in Germany, 1851-1955*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2013, p. 3f.

² Hans Adler: *Weltliteratur – Nationalliteratur – Volksliteratur. Johann Gottfried Herders Vermittlungsversuch als kulturpolitische Idee*. In: Regine Otto (ed.): *Nationen und Kulturen. Zum 250. Geburtstag Johann Gottfried Herders*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1996, pp. 271-282, here p. 272f.

³ Johann Gottfried Herder: *Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker*. In: *Von deutscher Art und Kunst. Einige fliegende Blätter*. Hamburg: Bode, 1773, pp. 3-70, here p. 39f.

discussed in the chapters 'Framing Ireland' and 'Populating the Picture'. The category of idealisation might also be useful here, i.e. the idealisation of those regarded as innocent. According to Herder, the *Volk* possess a nature which is undisturbed by abstract ideas and philosophies. The *Volk* deals with everyday 'real' problems rather than philosophical conundrums remote to their reality. The *Volk* possesses a good deal of common sense given by nature and not by education or philosophy. Furthermore, the *Volk* speaks its own *Muttersprache* which it inherits from its forefathers and passes on to the next generations. It is through its *Muttersprache* that its culture is transmitted. Precisely these "ursprünglichen Fähigkeiten" are destroyed "durch zivilisatorischen Fortschritt und durch kulturelles Raffinement".⁴ Herder holds up those peoples whom he considers as having preserved such qualities as an example, a critical corrective to his contemporary society. It is in literature that Herder sees a means to counteract the alienation and cultural corruption of his time, however, not in the abstract literature of academics and philosophers, rather in the literature of the people.

Herder believed that the literature of the people, grounded in a common language, has a unifying function. Only through inherited (and inheritable) language can a people express their culture; indeed culture thrives in and through language. He criticises how, in his time, literature has become a discourse in and of itself, calling it a "Buchstaben-, Metaphern-, Allegorien- und Versgeschäft [...], geregelt und schön statt lebendig und bildend".⁵ In earlier times, Herder alleges, poetry was sung or recited by poets, it was not essentially a written discourse, rather an authentic oral tradition passed down through the generations. Poetry expresses "die ganze Seele der Nation".⁶ Herder's "Poesiebegriff" refers not just to poetry but folklore, songs, dance and music. These art forms constitute the earliest evidence of when "eine Nation sich ihrer Herkunft vergewissert und so ihre Identität gewinnt". Such works are "der intimste Zugang zur Eigenart eines Volkes",⁷ a "treues Abbild ihrer Denkart, Empfindungen, Seelengestalt".⁸ In this sense, the application of cultural criteria as a means of differentiation between the observer and the observed, and also as a means of differentiation *within* Irish society along Herderian lines forms an important line of enquiry in investigating constructions of Irishness.

⁴ Hans Adler: *Weltliteratur – Nationalliteratur – Volksliteratur*, p. 274.

⁵ Hans Adler: *Weltliteratur – Nationalliteratur – Volksliteratur*, p. 275.

⁶ Johann Gottfried Herder: *Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität*. In: Johann Gottfried Herder: *Herders Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. by Bernhard Suphan, vol. 18. Berlin: Weidmann, 1877-1913, p. 58.

⁷ Hans Dietrich Irscher: *Poesie, Nationalität und Humanität bei Herder*. In: Regine Otto (ed.): *Nationen und Kulturen. Zum 250. Geburtstag Johann Gottfried Herders*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1996, pp. 35-48, here p. 35.

⁸ Johann Gottfried Herder: *Vorrede. Alte Volkslieder*. In: Johann Gottfried Herder: *Herders Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. by Bernhard Suphan, vol. 5. Berlin: Weidmann, 1877-1913, p. 81f.

As outlined previously, England was a source of inspiration and admiration for many continental Europeans in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Perceptions of England and the English influenced perceptions of Ireland and the Irish. At this time, Ireland was part of the British Empire – therefore the way to Ireland usually led to and through England. Indeed, every single German observer who visited Ireland during the period had already spent time touring England. Apart from comparing conditions they met in Ireland to home conditions, observers more frequently compared the conditions and people they met to those they had just left behind in England. Caspar von Voght expresses his surprise when he lands in Ireland: “Es wird äusserst schwer sich an die gänzliche Verschiedenheit dieser beiden Völker zu gewöhnen. – Dieselbe Sprache und nur eine Entfernung von vier Stunden, und doch sogar nichts ähnliches im Charakter und den Sitten!” (CvV 585) Similarly, Dobeneck exclaims: “Welch ein Unterschied, England und Irland!” (MvD 43) Wilhelm von Horn writes that “Tausendfach ist über die Nationalverschiedenheiten gesprochen und geschrieben worden” (WvH 394) between the Irish and the English. Comparisons between the two are also often inextricably linked with perceived difference *within* Irish society. It has become apparent that many observers ascertained difference between the upper and lower classes in Ireland along the dividing lines between British and Irish. Until now, examples have been presented within which this difference has manifested itself primarily in socio-economic terms, i.e. difference between social classes in terms of the extremes between wealth and poverty. In a Herderian sense, the majority of the people, i.e. farmers, traders, craftsmen and the urban middle classes, represent the *Volk* as opposed to the aristocracy and clergy. In an Irish context, however, many German observers unanimously sense an absence of a genuine urban middle class to which they count themselves (KGK 165, CvV 569, PAN 602, MvD 50). This makes Irish society appear different since there is no intermediary between extreme privilege and extreme poverty.

In any case, the conceptualisation of difference within Irish society goes beyond socio-economics. On the face of it, there was nothing extraordinary about the political and economic situation in Ireland in the eighteenth century in that, as Ian McBride points out, “rule by a tiny group of privileged landowners was the basis of the social structure right across the continent, and the assumption that landed property translated into political power was universal”.⁹ In Ireland, however, the division within society was historically also a religious, ethnical and cultural one: those who owned the majority of landed property and who governed the country were the descendants of various waves of English and Scottish plantations. In this light, it is all the more interesting to investigate if and how German observers conceptualise difference

⁹ Ian McBride: Eighteenth Century Ireland. The Isle of Slaves. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2009, p. 113.

within Irish society and how they attempt to apply Herderian criteria in their construction of the 'Irish'. In order to understand the specific historical context, a brief historical outline of both the Irish and German contexts appears necessary to explain the political, social and economic situation in both Ireland and Germany in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

In eighteenth-century Ireland, the 'Protestant nation' made up of the Protestant ruling elite dominated political and economic life. Also known as the ascendancy, these wealthy large estate owners, Anglican clergymen and other professionals were the descendants of English settlers who received land confiscated from Roman Catholic landowners by the English crown during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their position as the ruling class was cemented by the Penal Laws imposed against those who did not convert to the Established Church. This affected the Catholic majority, as well as Protestant dissenters such as Presbyterians, in that their civic, religious, political and economic activities were severely restricted, for example they were not allowed to vote or to become members of parliament. A number of Catholic Relief Acts were passed in the last decades of the eighteenth century which repealed some of the Penal Laws (1778, 1782 and 1792/3). By 1793, many concessions had been made, however the issue of greater political emancipation for Catholics, i.e. that they might not only be allowed to vote but also to become members of parliament, was not realised until the Roman Catholic Relief Act was passed in 1829.

William Williams outlines the position of the upper class in Irish society compared to the English upper class in English society: "On the surface, English and Irish estates would have looked much alike. Socially and politically, they were nonetheless quite different. While the English aristocracy was not always popular at home, it was at least English and played a significant role in defining the national identity. In Ireland the display of the aristocratic self proved more complicated. While the English estate with its park lands and gardens proclaimed itself separate from the local community, in Ireland the estate stood apart from the nation".¹⁰ According to historian Thomas Bartlett, the Protestant Irish, even though forming a minority of the Irish population, often claimed to be the 'Protestant nation', or even the 'Irish nation'.¹¹ Historians often trace the beginnings of Irish nationalism to the late eighteenth century. Some refer to the movement for legislative freedom which manifested itself in Grattan's parliament (made up exclusively of Protestant Irish members) as "colonial nationalism".¹² Another forerunner to Irish nationalist ideology was the Society of the United Irishmen under Wolfe

¹⁰ William Williams: *Creating Irish Tourism: The First Century 1750-1850*. London: Anthem, 2011, p. 50.

¹¹ Cf. Thomas Bartlett: *The Catholic Question in the Eighteenth Century*. In: *History Ireland*, 1. 1 (1993), pp. 17-21, here p. 17.

¹² Donnchadh Ó Corráin: *Nationality, Nation, Nationalism*. In: Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Tomás O'Riordan (eds.): *Ireland 1815-1870. Emancipation, Famine and Religion*. Dublin: Four Courts, 2011, pp. 226-229, here p. 227.

Tone who led the Rebellion of 1798. The United Irishmen were inspired by the example of the American colonies and the French Revolution. Wolfe Tone, like many other prominent United Irishmen members, was a Protestant professional. Their aim was to achieve an Irish Republic which would be based on non-sectarian, inclusive politics. The rebellion was unsuccessful and had as an immediate effect the passing of the Act of Union.¹³ Thus, while the Irish Protestant ruling elite and professional classes dominated political and economic life in the late eighteenth century to the almost complete exclusion of the Catholic majority (until 1793 at the latest), it was also among the Protestant minority that the first stirrings of patriotism appeared in Ireland in the sense that Ireland could achieve self-government.

According to Donnchadh Ó Corráin, nationalism in Ireland in the sense that all its members should struggle to achieve its independence and serve it, is an ideology of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as it is elsewhere in Europe. In creating a cult of the nation, nationalism draws on diverse sources including myth, legend, religion, history, culture, art, language and literature. Irish nationalists drew on the accomplishments of the early medieval Irish church and the idea of Ireland as a holy island.¹⁴ As a result of the beginnings of Irish nationalism in the eighteenth century, two traditions arose in the nineteenth century: firstly, nationalism expressed through constitutional and non-violent methods, for example in O’Connell’s Repeal movement founded in 1830, and secondly nationalism expressed through revolutionary and violent means which strove for an independent Ireland. During the first half of the nineteenth century, this strand manifested itself in the Young Ireland movement of the 1840s.

Concurrently in Germany, the French Revolution, the French Revolutionary Wars as well as the Napoleonic Wars (1789-1815) led to a reawakening of dormant nationhood and an aspiration towards political unification of the German lands. During this time, the French took control of the Rhineland. In accordance with ‘le Code Civil’, the French constitution of 1802, social reforms were introduced in the Rhineland including the abolition of feudalism, encouragement of freedom of religion, emancipation of the Jews, as well as allowing the middle classes to partake in bureaucracy and government. Following Napoleon’s defeat of Prussia in 1806, the Prussian administration saw the need to introduce a series of reforms to bring it in line with reforms in other European states. The main aim was to modernise its structures and institutions.¹⁵ The citizens were involved in public life through the introduction of self-government based on a class society of the nobility, middle classes and peasants (as

¹³ Cf. Christine Kinealy: Politics and administration, 1815-70. In: Donnachadh Ó Corráin and Tomás O’Riordan (eds.): Ireland 1815-1870. Emancipation, Famine and Religion. Dublin: Four Courts, 2011, pp. 19-32, here p. 19.

¹⁴ Cf. Ó Corráin: Nationality, Nation, Nationalism, p. 226f.

¹⁵ Cf. Ilja Mieck: Preußen von 1807 bis 1850. Reformen, Restauration und Revolution. In: Otto Büsch and Karl Erich (eds.): Handbuch der preußischen Geschichte. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992, pp. 3-292, here pp. 19-21.

opposed to the nobility, clergy and middle classes). The abolition of serfdom took place in 1807. The Prussian economy was liberalised through these reforms in the countryside as well as through the reform of industry, thus removing barriers to the economy and imposing free competition in an open market. By the end of 1813, the German campaign against Napoleon was successful and the *Franzosenzeit* in German states came to an end. During the years of political uncertainty and Napoleonic rule, those in the German lands sought ways to define and assert a sense of self, a German identity. For (universalist) enlightenment ideas and (pan-European) aesthetic conventions, the emergence of the political ideology of nationalism in general meant a redefinition in art and literature. This manifested itself for example in the popularity of *Volkslieder*, as well as tales and legends which were enlisted to serve a sense of a collective identity in both Germany and Ireland respectively.

Another important aspect of political life in Europe in the late eighteenth century was the emergence of the 'masses' as a political force on account of the French Revolution. In an Irish context, this manifested itself in the Catholic Emancipation movement of the late 1820s and the Repeal movement of the 1830s and 1840s, both under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell. The formation of the Irish as a collective was brought about through indigenous, charismatic leadership and popular mass organisations which galvanised the support of the majority of the Irish people to a common ideal. Mass movements like these did not emerge in the German lands, however. Following the defeat of Napoleon, in 1815 European statesmen met at the Congress of Vienna to re-order Europe, as well as to repress revolutionary ideals spread by the French Revolution. Immediately after 1815, the atmosphere in the German lands was restorative, one of enforced tranquillity. This atmosphere was characterised by the *Biedermeier* concentration on private life and domesticity. In a political climate marked by censorship and control, the politically disenfranchised educated middle classes had to search for outlets to explore political ideas. In other words, political debate was in many ways clandestine, arguments were often couched in works or treatises on matters which, at first glance, may not have appeared especially subversive or political. In Ireland, by way of contrast, political life was dynamic and momentous; it took on overtly public forms such as the monster rallies and mass meetings of the Catholic Emancipation and Repeal Association. Such large public gatherings created a sense of unity among the members as well as a visibility of their respective causes, the likes of which would have been unimaginable in the German-speaking lands.

Therefore, there were similarities as well as differences in political-historical events of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Ireland and Germany. While on the face of it, the political and economic situation in Ireland may have initially appeared comparable to that

of many other European countries in that economic and political power was solely in the hands of a small elite, the position of the aristocracy within Irish society was perhaps not typical of other European countries. The concrete situation in Ireland, the distribution of political power as well as the relationship with Britain must have been hard to comprehend and integrate into German travellers' own political categories, travellers who would have been used to very different social and political circumstances, for example a far less decisive role played by confession. The emergence of nationalism as an ideology was a common denominator, however it manifested itself differently in both countries. In light of the significance of emerging nationalist tendencies in both Germany and Ireland from the late eighteenth century, as well as ethnic, religious, cultural and economic difference within Irish society, the following considers whom German observers viewed as the 'Irish' and if they considered Ireland a potential nation. Did German observers pick up on and explain difference within Irish society beyond socio-economic terms? How were the German concepts of *Volk*, *Nation* and *Nationalcharakter* applied in an Irish setting, to whom were they applied, and on what criteria are they based, for example religion, language, culture, ethnicity? Furthermore, does the perception of an Irish collective develop over time with changing political circumstances? Finally, do new criteria enter the discourse, such as the 'discovery' of Irish folk culture?

5.1 An Irish *Nationalcharakter*, the Protestant Nation and the Union

Karl Gottlob Küttner (*Briefe über Irland an seinen Freund*, 1785, KGK) refers to different classes in Irish society: the "Pöbel", "das gemeine Volk" (cf. for example KGK vi, 72, 164, 219, 224), the middle classes (e.g. KGK 165) and "die vornehmern Stände" (e.g. KGK 224). Yet, on another occasion he claims there to be only two classes in Ireland "Reiche und Arme" (KGK 165). The use of the term "Pöbel" towards the end of the eighteenth century is usually "klar abwertend für Unbildung, schlechten Geschmack und grobes oder ungezügelttes Verhalten".¹⁶ This corresponds to how Küttner uses the term when he describes "die Wildheit und Ungezähmtheit eines elenden und ausgelassenen Pöbels, der bey jeder größern oder geringern Veranlassung sich immer als Pöbel zeigt und keine Schranken kennt" (KGK VII). Towards the end of the eighteenth century, there was a tendency to exclude the *Pöbel* "aus dem zunehmend positiv konnotierten 'Volk'".¹⁷ For Herder, for example, *Volk* and *Pöbel* were not identical.¹⁸ However, this does not always seem to be the case with Küttner, who sometimes

¹⁶ Reinhart Siegert: Der Volksbegriff in der deutschen Spätaufklärung. In: Hanno Schmitt, Rebekka Horlacher and Daniel Tröhler (eds.): Pädagogische Volksaufklärung im 18. Jahrhundert im europäischen Kontext: Rochow und Pestalozzi im Vergleich. Berne: Haupt, 2007, pp. 32-56, here p. 36.

¹⁷ Siegert: Der Volksbegriff in der deutschen Spätaufklärung, p. 37.

¹⁸ Cf. Adler: Weltliteratur – Nationalliteratur – Volksliteratur, p. 272.

uses the term *Pöbel* when simply referring to the majority of the population. More frequently he uses the term “das gemeine Volk” to refer to the bulk of the population. “Das gemeine Volk” together with the (lacking) middle classes, possess the most “national” traits or characteristics for him:

Ich bedaure oft, daß ich nicht mehr Gelegenheit habe, Leute aus dem Mittel- und niederen Stande zu sehen. Unter diesen findet man immer am meisten Nationales; da hingegen die Höhern, und überhaupt alles, was *gens du monde* und *gens de bonne compagnie* genennt wird, in der ganzen Welt bis auf einen gewissen Grad einander gleicht. (KGK 97)

According to Dohmen, in this context the term “Nationales” appears to signify a conglomeration of supposedly typical characteristics which are innate to a people who live in a certain region, characteristics which have only been preserved where they have not yet been changed by contact with ‘civilisation’.¹⁹ “Erziehung und Gesellschaft”, Küttner maintains, mould people into a particular type whereby the rough and sharply marked edges and contours are polished away. Education, refinement and culture streamline manners and appearance. When Küttner refers to “die Höhern” he appears to be referring in this instance to the land-owning classes of the Protestant Ascendancy. It is not clear whether he includes the affluent urban professional and commercial classes also associated with the Protestant Ascendancy. Before Marx and other social theoreticians, the term class was in any case a vague one. In Ireland, the social situation was perhaps slightly more complex than in most German-speaking lands. In Ireland, the perceived lack of a middle class of tradespeople, professionals and clergy was due firstly to the association of the clergy and educated professionals with the Protestant Ascendancy, and secondly to the fact that Catholics, because of the Penal Laws (i.e. no educational opportunities), were unable to develop a middle-class profile. Therefore, those who would normally have been associated with the middle class (professionals, clergy) in German-speaking lands, may have, in an Irish context, been associated more so with a privileged upper class. Yet, on another occasion, Küttner clearly distinguishes between the landed upper class, “Lords”, those who only spend “den Sommer auf dem Lande”, and an urban middle class which includes, for example, “der Mann von Kentnissen”, and finally “die niedern Classen” (KGK 264). Therefore, Küttner’s use of upper class appears to refer to the landed Protestant Ascendancy.

Küttner compares what he terms the upper class of Ireland to that of England. In Ireland, the upper class is considered friendlier and more sociable (KGK 32, 103, 223), upper class women as more naïve and lively (KGK 223). In general, however, the upper class of Ireland are basically like the social elite of any other country. The men dress exactly like the

¹⁹ Cf. Doris Dohmen: Das deutsche Irlandbild. Imagologische Untersuchungen zur Darstellung Irlands und der Iren in der Deutschsprachigen Literatur. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1994, p. 41.

upper class of England (KGK 143), while the women's fashion is more or less the same as that of any upper class of continental Europe (KGK 145, 223). Küttner praises "den Reichthum, die Eleganz und den guten Geschmack in Zimmern und Hausgeräthe, die Vortrefflichkeit der Tafel und Mannigfaltigkeit, den guten Stil der Bedienten, die Ordnung im Garten und Park, und die auf Natur und Schönheitsgefühl gegründete Anlage in den Ländereyen" as completely on a par with the standards of the upper class of England (KGK 211). Implicit in his description of what makes the Irish upper class similar to the English upper class is equally what makes the Irish upper class dissimilar to other classes: by inference, members of other classes must be of a rougher manner and not as educated or refined. This is summed up in the following:

Gehe ich endlich in die neuesten Zeiten der Irischen Geschichte, so finde ich einen Theil dieses Volks in Armuth und Barbarey; den andern reich, civilisirt, aufgeklärt und nach ausländischem, allgemeinem Schnitte geformt. Die Großen bereisen, so wie die Engländer, das feste Land von Europa, und bringen Kunstwerke und Gemälde aller Schulen herüber. (KGK 263)

Küttner here refers to the one *Volk* consisting of two parts, the impoverished and barbaric versus the civilised and wealthy part of the *Volk*. In this light, he does not seem to employ the term in the sense that *Volk* refers to the majority of the people who do not have access to formal education, as opposed to the enlightened and educated minority. For Küttner, the Irish *Volk* consists of two separate groups differentiated by wealth, possessions, manners, taste, education and civility. To establish the nuances of the concept of *Volk*, as well as the subsumption of all classes under it, requires a consideration of what else separates the classes and thus cannot be counted as essential components of the definition of the Irish *Volk*.

Küttner employs religious, linguistic and physical criteria to further differentiate between the classes in Ireland. According to Küttner, historical and political circumstances (Penal Laws, land confiscations) have resulted in two "Nationen" with two separate religions:

Auf diese Art entstunden in Irland so zu sagen zwey Nationen, deren die eine immer ansehnlicher ward, sich immer mehr und mehr aufklärte, mit dem übrigen Europa und besonders mit England in Verbindung stand, indessen die andere immer abnahm. Und obschon die Katholiken noch jezt den zahlreichern Theil der Nation ausmachen, so sind sie doch bey weitem der schwächere. (KGK 80)

Küttner's use of "Nation" here suggests that, on the one hand, two separate nations have emerged in Ireland, yet, on the other hand, the two are part of the same "Nation". According to Zedler's *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (1740), the term "Nation" means "seiner eigentlichen und ersten Bedeutung nach, so viel, als eine vereinigte Anzahl Bürger, die einerley Gewohnheiten, Sitten und Gesetze haben". Other meanings, however, were also possible, for example "Nation" could also mean "so viel, als ein gewisser Stand".²⁰ In the latter sense, "Nation" could serve as a synonym for class. This seems

²⁰ Nation. In: Johann Heinrich Zedler (ed.): *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, vol. 23. Leipzig and Halle: Zedler, 1740, pp. 901-903, here p. 901f.

to apply to Küttner's contention that two "Nationen", i.e. two classes have emerged in Ireland, on the one hand the "Protestantischen Iren", while the weaker, other part of the nation consists of "Papisten", Catholic majority. Yet, the notion of "Nation" meaning class is not applicable to his contention that the two "Nationen" are part of the same "Nation". This signals that Küttner's use of the term is unclear; the alignment of German terms to Irish phenomena is confused and contradictory. There is no clear sense of nationhood here.

Küttner further distinguishes between the "Nationen", which seems in the following to correspond to class, based on physical appearance. He describes the upper-class men as healthy, "starke, ansehnliche, wohlgebildete Körper" (KGK 223) while "das gemeine Volk" is described as not being "so lang, noch so wohlgewachsen, noch von so schöner Farbe" (KGK 224). "Der gemeine Mann" is also not as well dressed or clean (KGK 143f.). Küttner here uses the term "der gemeine Mann", which, according to Reinhart Siegert, is more or less neutral in the eighteenth century compared to the term *Pöbel*.²¹ In any case, Küttner regards the physical appearance between the upper class and "das gemeine Volk" to be so great, "daß man sie für ein anderes Volk halten möchte" (KGK 224). Such a statement indicates uncertainty and shows how the specific Irish phenomena defy the concepts. The problematics of applying German terms to an Irish context become visible.

Küttner also pursues differentiations based on linguistic criteria. He claims that "der größte Theil der Nation" (three quarters) has its own language (Irish) but that "unter Leuten vom Stande" there is hardly a single person who understands it. The native language of the upper class is English. Küttner's use of the term "Nation" here seems to refer to one single "Nation" which consists of a majority and a minority. He comments that he met very few people who could hold a conversation in Irish (KGK 236), which has to do with his sphere of contact. He describes the Irish language as guttural and "äusserst unangenehm fürs Ohr" (KGK 144f.). English is a civilised, cultivated language, while Irish is barbaric and uncultivated:

Die Sprachen gesitteter Nationen ändern freilich ohne Unterlaß. Der Engländer braucht schon ein Glossarium, um seinen Spencer zu verstehen, und den Chaucer kann niemand mehr lesen, als Leute, die von der Sprachkunde Profession machen. Sobald es ästhetische Schriftsteller in einer Sprache gibt, so wird raffinirt; man bildet aus und ändert, und nach etlichen Jahrhunderten entsteht so zu sagen eine andere Sprache. Ganz anders aber ist es mit Sprachen, in denen wenig oder gar nicht geschrieben wird, diese bleiben im Munde des Pöbels, pflanzen sich unverfälscht und unverändert Jahrhunderte lang fort, und der Enkel drückt sich in seinem engen Ideenkreise gerade so aus, wie sein Grosvater. (KGK 233).

According to Küttner, the languages of "uncivilisirter Völker" always remain unchanged throughout history, mainly because they are passed down orally. The terms "unverfälscht" and "unverändert" appear to be viewed here in a pejorative manner. This also seems to be the

²¹ Siegert: Der Volksbegriff in der deutschen Spätaufklärung, p. 36.

case when Küttner comments on the “purity” of the Irish language as it has not been influenced by other languages (KGK 236) and he seems to equate purity with barbarity: “Wenn ich zeige, daß die Irische Sprache keine Veränderung erlitten hat, so zeige ich zugleich auch, daß sie sich in ihrer barbarischen Ursprünglichkeit erhalten [hat]” (KGK 237). It seems here that the perception of the ugliness and unpleasantness of the Irish language equates barbarity. However, the term “Ursprünglichkeit” permits, indeed even suggests a different evaluation, namely that of the genuine and authentic in accordance with Herder. Categories such as authenticity, oral culture and protection from the influence of ‘civilised’ refinement and unifying education were important for Herderian evaluations of a people, their culture and language. Yet, it remains ambivalent as to whether Küttner evaluates along these lines: Irish is the barbaric language of the uncivilised, uneducated majority, the *Pöbel*. This reasoning might suggest that the use of an ugly language is part of what makes them *Pöbel*.

Doris Dohmen claims that Küttner’s image of Ireland is “maßgeblich durch den Ossianismus beeinflusst”.²² She finds evidence of this in how Küttner enters into a lengthy debate on Ossian, citing for example Küttner’s claim that Ossian was “ein irischer Barde und Held, der im Norden von Irland lebte, und dessen Namen, durch die Tradition sich bis heut zu Tage unter dem Volke erhalten hat” (KGK 256). The categories Dohmen associates with the Ossian mode include the idea of the poems being a literary embodiment “eines Naturstandes”, of a people close to nature who possess an authentic culture passed down through their own language, a culture which has not been done away with by civilisation, education and refinement.²³ Although Küttner appears to accept the category of purity and authenticity, he still associates the language with backwardness. Furthermore, Küttner’s criteria also encompass dynamism, i.e. he is in tune with “progress”, literary “progress” when he cites English authors such as Chaucer whose work can no longer be understood by the common man in England. He also cites German texts such as the fifteenth-century *Reineke Fuchs* which, he maintains, is completely unintelligible to a German speaker of the eighteenth century unless he has studied such texts. The Irish-speaking majority, on the other hand, can still understand manuscripts which were written two thousand years ago because their language has not developed (KGK 232). Such comments on literature and written language in both England and the German-speaking lands reflect the improvement of mankind. Yet, it appears an aporia of Enlightenment thinking to favour both categories (authenticity *and* literary “progress”), categories which are fundamentally incompatible. Another example of the influence of Ossian for Dohmen is Küttner’s landscape description, yet, as was argued elsewhere, Küttner’s conceptualisation of Irish nature has much more to do with landscape

²² Dohmen: Das deutsche Irlandbild, p. 41.

²³ Dohmen: Das deutsche Irlandbild, p. 28.

garden theory and the picturesque, than with Ossian and the sublime. While Küttner is without a doubt an Ossian enthusiast, this does not necessarily weigh positively for his image of the Irish *Pöbel*, rather his lengthy discussion on Ossian has a rather different background and implications.

It seems contradictory that on many other occasions Küttner actually praises the Irish language and Irish antiquity: he believes that Irish probably has many similarities “mit dem Celtischen, z. B. mit dem Originale von Ossian” (KGK 115). He claims that Ossian did exist and was an Irish rather than a Scottish hero. Macpherson’s Ossian poems, Küttner maintains, are invention, however remnants of original poems relating to Ossian can be found in Ireland among Irish speakers (KGK 256). Küttner offers several other pieces of ‘proof’ of Ireland’s antiquity, for example he asserts that Celtic was the language of all Asian peoples. He believes to be able to discern similarities between Irish and other languages, coming to the conclusion that Celtic is the origin of all languages and Irish is the purest form of Celtic languages (KGK 320, 358, 360). It becomes apparent, however, that Küttner clearly delineates between Old Irish (dating from the sixth to tenth century) and the Irish spoken in the eighteenth century: “Ich muß erinnern, daß wenn ich hier von der Irischen Sprache rede, nicht die verdorbene Sprache gemeint ist, die das gemeine Landvolk gegenwärtig spricht, (eine Sprache, die erst seit 700 Jahren nach und nach entstanden ist) sondern die Alt-Irische, in der man schrieb, und in der alte Manuscripte, die man noch hat, abgefaßt sind” (KGK 347). In his promotion of the Gaelic past as opposed to the Gaelic present, Küttner pursues a specific agenda regarding the two classes in Ireland.

Dohmen claims that Küttner is convinced of an Irish “Volkscharakter” and it would indeed appear that he believes in the existence of one, however, what exactly constitutes such a character is not clear. According to Dohmen, Küttner’s main interest in Ireland is to achieve a “Charakterisierung des ‘typischen Irischen’” by way of a comparison between the English and the Irish, and yet she never actually gives any examples of what Küttner considers to be ‘typically Irish’, probably because Küttner himself never really explains what constitutes an Irish national character either.²⁴ When he compares the Irish to the English it is either in relation to the upper classes, for example to show how the Irish upper class live just like the English upper class (KGK 211), how they differ in manners (KGK 32, 223), or in relation to the lower classes to show how they are poorer than the English lower classes (KGK 144) – none of which approximates the definition of a “national” character. The ostensible laziness of the Irish appears to be a characteristic common to both classes (KGK 56, 103); therefore, this cannot be considered a national characteristic in the way Dohmen understands the term. While Dohmen

²⁴ Dohmen: Das deutsche Irlandbild, p. 40 and p. 42.

claims that that which could be termed “typically Irish” is Küttner’s main interest in Ireland, understood as manifesting itself amongst the lower and middle classes, quite the opposite seems to be the case. The “Vorwort” makes explicit where Küttner’s sympathies and interests lie:

Nicht die Wildheit und Ungezähmtheit eines elenden und ausgelassenen Pöbels, der bey jeder größern oder geringern Veranlassung sich immer als Pöbel zeigt und keine Schranken kennt; sondern der wiederauflebende Muth des bessern Theils der Nation gefällt uns, wir sehen mit Aufmerksamkeit und Theilnehmung ihrem Streite zu, und erwarten mit Verlangen den Ausgang ihres Schicksals. (KGK VII)

While it should be noted that the “Vorwort” was not written by Küttner himself, rather by his editor, the view that the “better part of the nation” is of more interest than the “Pöbel” is borne out by Küttner’s narrative. It seems that the “better part of the nation” encompasses those parts of the ascendancy working for more autonomy from Britain. It might also refer to those Protestant professionals who were members of the Irish Volunteers, alongside the land-owning class. The author states that Ireland remained a country of little importance until a few years ago when, on account of the American Revolutionary Wars, “der niedergedrückte Geist des Volks wieder erwachte” and partially shook of the English yoke (KGK VII). The Irish Volunteers took advantage of the American Revolutionary War to assert pressure on the otherwise preoccupied British government to grant legislative freedom to the Irish Parliament (granted in 1782). In this sense, it is suggested that “the better part of the nation”, consisting of both land-owning and professional Protestants, should forge the nation.

It is against this backdrop that the upgrading of the Old Irish language and Irish antiquity can be understood. As Patrick O’Neill points out, Küttner’s lengthy discussion on them is his conscious attempt “to set the emergent Anglo-Irish nation against the backdrop of a magnificent Gaelic past”.²⁵ The partisanship for the “better part of the nation” is therefore set in a specific context of rivalry to lay claim to, or locate oneself in a lineage and a glorious past. Lesa Ní Mhunchaile outlines that in the late eighteenth century, the ascendancy began to forge an identity for themselves. In Britain, the ascendancy were often subjected to the slur of barbarity which had erstwhile been reserved for the Gaelic Irish only. Thus, they wished to challenge this slur. A divergence between Protestant Ascendancy and English interests also occurred in the late eighteenth century on both a political and economic level as the ascendancy sought political autonomy as well as free trade between Ireland and England, thus fostering an increased sense of an “Irish” identity among the ascendancy. In order to historically root their community in Ireland, they appropriated native Gaelic culture. Protestant antiquarians appropriated the Gaelic Irish bardic tradition, for example, as ‘evidence’ of pre-

²⁵ Patrick O’Neill: Ireland and Germany. A Study in Literary Relations. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1985, p. 83.

Christian Gaelic cultural sophistication and civilisation. They claimed these bards as their ancestors.²⁶ This is why Küttner stresses the Irish provenance of Ossian who was presented as the civilised pre-Christian par excellence. It is also for this reason that Küttner goes into such detail on ancient Irish history and on Old Irish, all the while carefully removing “the common people” from taking any place in this version of Irish history. It seems that *Volk* and *Nation* are not universal terms here, but subordinated to an agenda. The agenda shows contestation of claims to “Irishness” and thus, on the part of all groups living in Ireland, the first signs of defining oneself as a *Nation* or *Volk*. Küttner’s use indicates that the Irish specifics were hard to translate into German (Enlightenment) categories since the quest for purity and originality, and the current confusing picture in Ireland were difficult to integrate. In contesting who could lay claim to what, contradictions abound.

Dohmen claims that Küttner’s description of those who live “im äussersten Überflusse” (KGK 92) serves as a counterpart to the description of Irish poverty, “die auf Erwecken von Sympathien für Irland und den irischen Patriotismus zielt”. As an example, she draws on Küttner’s description of an Irish dwelling quoted in full in the previous chapter, claiming that his description has no pejorative character.²⁷ However, the very fact that Küttner casts the contemporary lower class’ language as corrupted, as an inferior form of the original, and that he spares the privileged upper classes from criticism, illustrates where his sympathies lay. Küttner’s appropriation of the inoffensive savage fits into his overall agenda of legitimising the position of the ascendancy in Ireland and their claims to greater legislative freedom. If anything, he shows that the lower classes are content in their poverty, rather than trying to awaken sympathy for them. Dohmen’s thesis is unsound because when she speaks about “irischen Patriotismus”, she apparently suggests that Küttner strives to awaken sympathy for the poor of Ireland, for the Catholic lower classes. Furthermore, she claims that Küttner’s “positive Irlanddarstellung erscheint besonders bemerkenswert, weil er trotz persönlicher Überzeugung von der Superiorität des Protestantismus über den Katholizismus die englische Irlandpolitik scharf kritisiert und um Sympathien für Irland wirbt”.²⁸ While Küttner does recognise misgovernance and is critical of English policy in Ireland as well as the mistreatment of Catholics (KGK 77f.), he is not appealing to his readers for sympathy for Catholic Ireland. Eda Sagarra similarly claims that Küttner appeals “für ein positives Bild der Iren bei seinen Lesern, ohne die negativen Eindrücke zu verwischen”, but does not differentiate this to say which ‘Ireland’ he is portraying in a positive light.²⁹ What Dohmen fails to point out is that

²⁶ Cf. Lesa Ní Mhunghaile: Anglo-Irish Antiquarianism and the Transformation of Irish Identity, 1750-1800. In: David Valone and Jill Bradbury (eds.): Anglo-Irish Identities 1600-1800. Lewisberg/PA: Bucknell, 2008, pp. 181-198, here pp. 181-186.

²⁷ Dohmen: Das deutsche Irlandbild, p. 43.

²⁸ Dohmen: Das deutsche Irlandbild, p. 43f.

²⁹ Eda Sagarra: Die ‘grüne Insel’ in der deutschen Reiseliteratur. Deutsche Irlandreisende von Karl Gottlob Küttner bis Heinrich Böll. In: Hans-Wolf Jäger (ed.): Europäisches Reisen im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. Heidelberg: Winter, 1992, pp. 182-195, here p. 188.

when Küttner speaks of the “Geist des Patriotismus” (KGK 103) in Ireland, when he speaks of an Irish “Nation” in a political sense, he is referring Protestant Irish patriotism and to a nation based on the power of the Protestant ruling elite. Finally, his “Keltophilie”, much like his “Ossianismus”, do not have any real bearing on his construction of an image of the majority of the Irish population and a national character common to all inhabitants of the island, rather they are appropriated to legitimise emerging Protestant Irish claims.³⁰ Any idea of “Nationales” pertaining to the middle and lower classes, or indeed any clear notion of *Volk* and *Nation* remain vague.

Like Küttner, both Caspar von Voght (‘Schilderung von Irland’, 1796, CvV) and Johann Meerman von Dalem (*Nachrichten von Großbritannien und Irland*, 1789, JMvD) distinguish between the classes in Ireland (JMvD 482, CvV 603). For Dalem, this difference is discerned chiefly in economic terms; otherwise, it does not manifest itself in linguistic or religious terms. As already noted, the dress of the lower classes encompasses dirty rags full of holes, but Dalem is shocked that the clothes of those he would consider as middle-class to be much the same (JMvD 450). The elegance and splendour of the upper class appears all the more magnificent in comparison to the meagreness “des gemeinen Mannes” (JMvD 252). Dalem attempts to avoid value judgements here, unlike Küttner when he uses the term *Pöbel* to describe majority of the Irish people. According to Dalem, splendour and refinement are evident in the dress of the upper class which is completely English, as are the quality and preparation of the food served, the social life as well as the general living conditions of the upper class in Ireland (JMvD 452f.). Linguistic criteria are applied to differentiate geographically within Ireland rather than socially between classes: “In den nördlichen und östlichen Provinzen wird Englisch, in den westlichen und südlichen dagegen die alte Irländische Sprache gesprochen. Die Menschen von den niedrigen Volksclassen aus beyden Gegenden verstehen einander nicht” (JMvD 484). In this sense, the English language is not exclusively connected to the upper class elite, as Küttner claims, but is spoken by all classes in specific areas. Voght makes similar observations (CvV 574f.). Regarding physique, Dalem sees little difference between the classes; ‘the Irish’ in general are considered “größtentheils schön, wohlgebaut und stark” (JMvD 482). In mentioning “Der allgemeine Charakter der Nation”, Dalem appears to be alluding to a supposed character of all the inhabitants of Ireland. Here, *Nation* seems to refer to the sum of people living in a specific region who share characteristics and customs. The character of this *Nation*, he alleges, is more French than English: ‘The Irish’ are cast as lascivious, hot-tempered, loving amusement, as being suited to working but not inclined towards it, vain, careless and indifferent towards cleanliness and attire. Furthermore,

³⁰ Dohmen: Das deutsche Irlandbild, p. 44.

it is claimed that 'the Irish' are greedy and deceitful, showing flattery towards strangers for personal gain. They are cast as prone to exaggeration, especially regarding stories about themselves and their country, and finally given over to alcoholic tendencies (JMvD 482ff.). Dalem's assertion that the Irish are more like the French seems to be based on clichés such as loose morals, rather than on any notion of Celtic bonds between the Gauls and the Irish. Even though exaggeration was noted as a trait of 'primitive' peoples which contributed to a sense of authenticity in that they express themselves spontaneously and in an unpremeditated manner, here exaggeration and flattery are linked to a vain and deceitful nature.

Dalem highlights further characteristics, which he explicitly declares as common to all classes in Ireland, by way of comparison to an alleged English character. In Ireland, for example, both the "common man" and the upper classes are good at verbally expressing themselves: the former possess fine conduct and language while the latter display their "Wohlredenheit" and "Lebhaftigkeit" in their speeches in parliament which are just as good as speeches in the London parliament (JMvD 487). Dalem even maintains that in those areas of Ireland where English is spoken, a purer form of English has been preserved than amongst the common man in England because in Ireland it is "eine neu angelernte Sprache" (JMvD 484). The category of purity suggests an evaluation in accordance with Herderian criteria of authenticity, yet, it here refers to the uncorruptedness of a language spoken as a foreign language which does not align itself with Herder's belief that a *Volk* can only express itself and its culture through its *Muttersprache*. It is unclear as to if and why Dalem would wish to cast aspersions on the English character or cast the English language as spoken in England as 'corrupted', but he continues his comparison by maintaining that because of their "Natur" (JMvD 442), the Irish are more talented actors than the English. This seems to imply an expressiveness and eloquence linked to oration, something which Herder praised in the spontaneous expression of the 'savage'. In this sense, an alleged English character is used as a foil against which to determine an Irish character. For Dalem, the classes in Ireland might be distinguished by socio-economics, but they are united by shared traits and a shared living space. This, in turn, feeds into the conceptualisation of an Irish character. Yet, his characterisation still remains ambiguous because, on the one hand, he claims that the upper-class Irish dress, socialise and live just like their English counterparts, yet, on the other hand, he maintains that 'the Irish' in general, i.e. all classes, are distinguishable from 'the English'.

Küttner and Dalem visited Ireland in 1783/1784 and 1774/1784 respectively. Between their and Caspar von Voght's visit in 1794, the situation which determined the observer's gaze had changed. The beginning of the French Revolution in 1789 saw the Third Estate seize power from the monarchy, the passing of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, the

abolition of feudalism as well as the proclamation of the Republic. Furthermore, Ireland itself was not left untouched by revolutionary events. The Irish Volunteers had been set up during the American Revolution to defend Ireland against the threat of invasion by the French, who had entered the American Revolutionary War on America's side. The Volunteers also asserted pressure on the British government for legislative independence. By the 1790s, certain members of the Volunteers had become more outspoken in their demands. The Society of United Irishmen had its foundation in the Belfast Volunteers. The Society was founded in 1791 in Belfast, soon followed by the establishment of a similar society in Dublin. Wolfe Tone and other prominent members were Protestant (both Anglican and Dissenter) middle-class professionals and trades people, who aimed for parliamentary reform, equality for Irish Catholics and Presbyterians, and ultimately to end British rule in Ireland. Willing to use physical force, Wolfe Tone sought military aid from French revolutionaries in 1796.³¹ The question arises as to whether these completely changed circumstances have repercussions for the understanding of *Volk* and *Nation* in Voght's narrative. Does he conceive the potential for revolution in Ireland as a struggle of one nation against another? Or does he consider it a struggle of one class or estate against another in the sense of the estates in France?

When Voght speaks of an Irish *Nation* he appears to refer to the majority of the population, separate from the aristocracy: "Allenthalben wo der privilegirte Reiche und Adliche lebt, geht, fährt, ist alles vortreflich, nur wo die Nation, wo der Mensch des Landes eigentlich lebt, sieht man den Contrast des Mangels und Elends" (CvV 603). An Irish *Nation* is also defined by religion. In discussing parliamentary concessions towards Catholics, Voght writes that the Catholics *are* the *Nation* (CvV 626). In describing the characteristics of the Irish Catholic *Nation*, Voght compares them to the French, like Dalem. Voght writes:

Es ist sonderbar, welche auffallende Aehnlichkeit alle diese Irländer mit einigen Provinzen des ehemaligen Frankreichs haben. Die Religion, die Armuth, die leichte Nahrung, die Indolenz der Vornehmen, die Unmöglichkeit sich Recht gegen sie zu verschaffen, ist dieselbe. Schwazhaft, lustig, unzuverlässig, lebhaft, pralerisch, nachlässig, leichtsinnig, grausam mit dem Vieh, zerlumpt waren jene wie diese, und kein Volk ist reifer zur Revolution! (CvV 597)

Voght's observation not only encompasses notions of character, but also overt political commentary in comparing the Irish to the pre-revolutionary French of some regions. Voght claims that Ireland is ripe for revolution, thus implying the revolutionary impetus of liberty and equality. Yet, he also seems to imply that these lazy and unreliable people could be easier to incite than stable and steadfast people. Thus, the political commentary shifts; less sympathy is shared with the rabble in light of the deterioration of revolutionary ideals into Jacobite terror. While there were some parallels between Ireland and France in that the United Irishmen were

³¹ Cf. Robert Brendan McDowell: The Protestant Nation (1775-1800). In: T. W. Moody and F. X. Martin (eds.): The Course of Irish History. Dublin: Mercier, 1994, pp. 232- 247, here pp. 238-242.

influenced by revolutionary ideals, especially democracy as a form of government, the situation in Ireland was also quite different than in France. While French revolutionaries were mostly middle class fighting against the aristocracy, i.e. their struggle was an internal one between the estates, the Irish configuration was more complex. Both liberal Protestant professionals and members of the Protestant Ascendancy were campaigning against the British government, i.e. it was not a struggle of the classes or estates but between governments, indeed between the British and a potential Irish nation. Yet, Voght appears to cast the potential for revolution in Ireland as a struggle between classes. He claims that it is impossible for “diese Irländer” to obtain justice from the nobility. On a separate occasion he reports about a conversation in which his interlocutors, a group of peasants, complained “daß nichts zu verdienen und ihr Lord immer abwesend sey: sie hatten nichts dawider, daß die Franzosen kämen, schlechter könne es ihnen nicht gehen” (CvV 574), again suggesting a struggle between the classes. Such comments underscore the difficulty of applying familiar criteria to an unfamiliar context: the majority of the Irish and French may have shared a common religion and, in Voght’s eyes, a common character, however the Irish *Nation*, in the sense that Voght employs the term as the Catholic majority of the population, did not and could not play a role in these events as their civic and political rights were curtailed even beyond 1793 (Catholic Relief Act). Furthermore, Voght himself comments that in Antrim the Dissenters are considered “sehr republicanisch”, “Die Catholiken nicht, seitdem sie das Recht erhalten haben, in den Städten bürgerliche Nahrung zu treiben, zu advociren, und auf länger als 19 Jahre Land zu miethen” (CvV 580f.). That is not to say that Catholics did not support parliamentary reform and further emancipation, rather that the situation was more complex than a cursory comparison to France, such as Voght makes, might suggest. Finally, the revolutionary United Irishmen movement strove to unite the classes and religions in Ireland, rather than stage an internal struggle between them.

For the most part, Voght ascribes the perceived traits of laziness, lack of industry and carelessness, among others, in the Irish ‘character’ to political and historical circumstance, and therefore reversible when circumstances are changed (CvV 581). Despite Voght’s claims that “diese Irländer” are ready for rebellion, it is not meant in the sense that they might form a potential nation based on a common character, shared ancestry, culture and religion. On the contrary, Voght believes that “diese Irländer” can only be ‘improved’ by a complete union with Britain (CvV 650, 626). Voght here propounds a variation of the trope of the ‘white man’s burden’, i.e. his stance presents itself as colonial. This viewpoint is directly related to how England was viewed by many in Germany, Voght included, as the most advanced, most industrious, most middle-class country in Europe. The main recipients appear not just to be the rabble but also the lazy and irresponsible aristocracy of Ireland. In this light, for Voght, all of

the Irish would only gain by strengthening the connection to Britain. Thus, in advocating political union, it appears that Voght evades the question of who the Irish *Volk* actually is and how it is defined, since he now states that all of those living in Ireland would benefit. Yet, in colonialist literature, colonisers often “gift” a continent, or conquered land, to itself; i.e. without British tutelage, Ireland would not have any form of self-awareness or self-consciousness. In this sense, the Irish have the British to thank for having any sense of self in the first place.

Overall, Küttner’s, Dalem’s and Voght’s commentary underscore the ambiguous nature of the terms *Volk*, *Nation* and *Volkscharakter* in the German language, and therefore the difficulty of applying unclear terminology to a complex Irish context. There is no consensus as to who the Irish *Volk* actually is across these narratives: on the one hand, the *Volk* can refer to the majority of the population, i.e. the middle and lower classes, on the other hand, it consists of the impoverished and barbaric *and* the civilised and wealthy classes. The use of the term *Nation* is similarly incongruent. Finally, there is no sense of an Irish *Volkscharakter* in the Herderian sense pertaining to the majority of the population and determined by culture, customs and language. On the contrary, all three observers discern characteristics common to all classes (indolence, irresponsibility) which cannot be understood as national characteristics if the national character is to be discerned among the middle and lower classes only.

5.2 The ‘Discovery’ of Irish Folk Culture

Despite the fact that ‘Ossianismus’ was at its height in the 1770s and 1780s, from the perspective of German visitors to Ireland it does not seem to have played much of a role in the conceptualisation of an Irish *Volk* in the late eighteenth century in the Herderian sense that cultural criteria (lore, music) forge a sense of a collective identity. Küttner’s engagement with the Irish language and ancient sagas shows how *Volk* and *Nation* could be instrumentalised to serve a specific agenda. It was only in the first decades of the nineteenth century that a more general and consistent Herderian influence seems to have filtered down to travel writers in Ireland in the sense that the *Volk* embodies the authentic nature of a *Volkscharakter* which is expressed through culture, language and customs. It is not until the late 1820s that Irish folk culture is, for want of a better word, ‘discovered’ by German travel writers. This, accompanied by changing historical circumstances such as the Catholic Emancipation and Repeal movements, contributed to new ways in which the Irish people were conceptualised.

The discovery of the Celtic in the German-speaking world was occasioned by James Macpherson’s translation and publication from 1760 onwards of a cycle of epic poems

featuring the third-century supposedly Scottish bard Ossian. The old and blind narrator Ossian wanders a countryside “drowned in eternal mist” singing the deeds of his tribesmen. In the poems, Macpherson emphasises the revolt of the heart over the mind, of sentiment over reason. He also illustrates the uprightness of primitive man. The heroes of the poems are “the northern counterpart of the noble savage”; they are brave, noble, loyal, just and honest.³² The verse is characterised by short, simple and concise sentences, while some poems are fragments, abruptly cutting off, thus leaving the reader and his imagination to supply the ending.³³

The publication and subsequent translation of Macpherson’s version of the poems into many European languages occasioned a wave of enthusiasm among European authors and literary critics.³⁴ Especially in Germany, Ossian fell on fruitful ground. Translations of fragments of the poetry by Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Johann Gottfried Herder, Gottfried August Bürger and Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz appeared in Germany from 1762. The first complete translation was published 1768-69. The translator was the Viennese poet Michael Denis. Herder, who had already busied himself with *Volkslieder* before the appearance of Macpherson’s Ossian poems, found many of his ideas on *Volkslieder* and ‘primitive’ peoples reflected in the poetry. In the poems, the bard as a poet-performer transmits a home-grown mythology orally, especially through song. There is an emphasis on authenticity over imitation. The poems conformed to Herder’s idea that language has a primarily emotional origin, and that poetry, as humanity’s earliest form of expression, is essentially the expression of emotion. Furthermore, the poems promoted the idea that the creative process of poetry temporarily helps humans transcend their rational faculties. The language of supposedly ‘primitive’ people lends itself to poetry because such people naturally speak in metaphors. According to Herder, they communicate spontaneously, unreservedly and without premeditation, often in an exaggerated manner. Herder praised the genuine eloquence or “Beredsamkeit” of Ossian, the “expressive energy”, because it issues directly from the whole man – body, heart and mind are in unison.³⁵ He described the Ossian poems as genuine “Volks poesie”, as “*Lieder des Volks, Lieder eines ungebildeten sinnlichen Volks*”.³⁶ As “*Volksdichtung*” the poems belonged to “dem ganzen galischen Völkerstamm” and were hailed as an expression of their “*Volksseele*”.³⁷

³² Henry Okun: *Ossian in Painting*. In: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 30 (1967), pp. 327-356, here pp. 328-329.

³³ Cf. Howard Gaskill: *Ossian, Herder, and the Idea of Folk Song*. In: David Hill (ed.): *Literature of the Sturm und Drang*. Rochester/NY: Camden House, 2003, pp. 95-116, here p. 98.

³⁴ Cf. Andreas Oehlke: *Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1991, p. 104.

³⁵ Gaskill: *Ossian, Herder, and the Idea of Folk Song*, pp. 101-103.

³⁶ Johann Gottfried Herder: *Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker*, p. 8.

³⁷ Johann Gottfried Herder: *Homer und Ossian*. In: *Die Horen*, 4. 10 (1795). Tübingen: Cotta, pp. 86-107, here p. 90.

The enthusiasm for Ossian in the German-speaking world is linked to the growth of Sentimentalism, or *Empfindsamkeit*, which developed in reaction against the rationalism and reason promoted by Enlightenment thinkers. Sophisticated, polished prose, the logical progression of ideas, rules and strict forms could not, it was maintained, express depth of feeling and elevated emotion, which were associated with abruptness, fragmentariness, rapid leaps from one idea to another, and broken expression. The influence of Ossian is evident in literature, music and fine art. Goethe's *Werther*, for example, exemplifies the culture of feeling influenced by Ossian, while the spontaneous writing style of the protagonist Werther echoes the style of the poems.³⁸ Resonances of Ossian are also found in Philipp Otto Runge's paintings for Friedrich Ludwig Æmilius Kunzen's opera *Ossians Harfe* (1799).

Even though the origin of the figure of Ossian was disputed and the authenticity of the poems questioned upon publication, they greatly influenced the 'discovery' of the Celtic in German discourse and even led to the foundation of Celtic Studies as an academic discipline in Germany.³⁹ Legends, tales and sagas which had been passed down the generations by word of mouth, as well as music and dance were all subsumed under the term *Volksdichtung*. The influence of Ossian is evident, for example, in Pückler's search for folklore and the portrayal of the Irish as representatives of an ancient oral and musical culture, as well as in Dobeneck's portrayal of the Irish, which will be discussed below. This is a new aspect in the construction of the Irish people. It is especially noteworthy because, as already noted, Ossian was at the centre of debates in literary circles in the 1770s and not so much in the 1820s. Dohmen asserts: "das deutsche Irlandbild wird in der zweiten Hälfte des [achtzehnten] Jahrhunderts vorrangig durch ossianische Schwärmerei bestimmt". She claims the influence of Ossian to be most evident in landscape descriptions, whereby those characterised by wild, untamed nature, stormy seas and cliffs scenes as well as dark, overcast skies are manifestations of the influence of Ossianic landscapes.⁴⁰ Yet, there is very little evidence of the influence of Ossian and the sublime on how Irish nature is framed in the late eighteenth century, except for one small passage from Voght. In general he, as well as Küttner, seem to have preferred cultured and cultivated landscapes rather than wild and untamed ones. Oehlke makes a similar statement relating to nineteenth-century landscape descriptions, claiming "das deutsche Irlandbild des 19. Jahrhunderts [trug] deutlich "ossianische" Züge". He maintains that the influence of the Romantic movement is discernible in the strong sensitisation for the immediate experience of landscape. Ossian, he maintains, influenced this 'new' conception of landscape based on

³⁸ Cf. Gaskill: *Ossian, Herder, and the Idea of Folk Song*, p. 105.

³⁹ See for example Franz Bopp: *Über die celtischen Sprachen von Gesichtspunkt der vergleichenden Sprachforschung*. Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1838; Johann Kaspar Zeuß: *Grammatica Celtica*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1853.

⁴⁰ Dohmen: *Das deutsche Irlandbild*, p. 30.

evocations of nature dominated by cliffs, wild seascapes and ivy-clad ruins in the poems.⁴¹ The Ossian poems were closely connected with the emerging discourse of the sublime in the mid to late eighteenth century, i.e. the idea of individual interaction with nature and the negotiation of internal and external limits was not necessarily a 'new' conception of nature in the nineteenth century, rather something those associated with the Romantic movement picked up on and developed. Nevertheless, Oehlke is accurate in claiming that observers of the nineteenth century display clear signs of Ossianic influence in their landscape descriptions, evident for example in Pückler's narrative.

It is noteworthy that Ossian in general has not exerted more of an obvious, overt influence on German perceptions of Ireland and the Irish people in travel literature up until the late 1820s. Previous to Pückler, there are very few observers who comment on Irish music and folklore. Voght mentions a tale explaining why there are no fish in a lake – because the Irish fought their customary pitched battles on fair days and their blood flowed into the water killing all the herring. It is obvious, however, that this is not a fairy tale and that Voght speaks in the spirit of the Enlightenment: "Ich könnte mich mit allen Legenden aussöhnen, die einer so menschenfreundlichen Nutzenwendung fähig sind" (CvV 584). The practical application for Voght is the warning against senseless violence given that a lake which at one time would have yielded 100,000 herring in day is now devoid of fish. Regarding an Irish musical tradition, Küttner gives his readers an impression of the bagpipes, a 'national' instrument of Ireland:

Dieses musikalische Instrument ist dieser Nation besonders eigen; hier ist es eigentlich zu Hause und präsidirte sonst bei allen Tänzen, Lustbarkeiten und Festen. Man hat gewisse National-Arien und Tänze, die darauf gespielt werden, und wornach die Landleute noch jetzt bisweilen tanzen; wiewohl sie, wenigstens hier herum, mehr in Trägheit und Schläfrigkeit zu leben scheinen, als Neigung zur Freude, Heiterkeit und Belustigung zu haben. Indessen steht dieses Instrument noch immer in Ehren, und ich fand letzthin einen Land-Edelmann, der es nicht nur sehr gut spielte, sondern wirklich zur Würde eines musikalischen Instruments erhoben hatte. (KGK 202f.)

The idea of the 'national' here is not associated with the *Volk*, or suggestive of the pure and authentic. Küttner's praise that the "Land-Edelmann" can play everything on the instrument "nach regelmäßiger Musik" (KGK 204), i.e. from sheet music, therefore adheres to conventions of European music and a written rather than an aural tradition. Hering, as already discussed, mentions that the young people dance "nach einer elenden Geige oder Sackpfeife, den Wilden ähnlich" (JFH 107), thus presenting some music as barbaric and uncultivated. In an article on Irish music from the *Encyclopädie der gesamten musikalischen Wissenschaften* (1836), the author claims that the Irish people have no talent whatsoever for music:

Haben die Irländer noch etwas eigenthümlich Musikalisches, so ist es ihre Volksmusik, die, in der Regel, den natürlichen Ausdruck von Schmerz und Melancholie an sich trägt [...]. Einer

⁴¹ Oehlke: *Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, p. 106.

harmonischen Durchbildung sind die Irländer bis auf den heutigen Tag unfähig geblieben. Ihre Harmoniker sind Engländer. Melodien von eingebornen irischen Tonkünstlern sind kaum geeignet, von einem Baß begleitet zu werden. Man versuche es, einen solchen dazu zu setzten, und man wird sich bald von der Wahrheit des Gesagten überzeugen. Der alte keltische Charakter klebt ihnen selbst noch jetzt an. Von ihrem sechsten zu siebten Tone ist das Intervall eines halben, von dem siebten zum achten aber das eines ganzen Tones. Der Engländer geht so weit in seinem Spott über die Armseligkeit der wirklich irischen Musik, daß, wenn er in einer seiner Nationalopern ein lustiges Kammermädchen oder eine alte weibliche Thörin auftreten läßt, ihr gewöhnlich ein *irish song* zu singen giebt, das immer das größte Gelächter in den Häusern erregt. Ja zum Sprichwort ist dieser irische Gesang dort geworden, und hier kann daher auch diese kurze Notiz über den Zustand der wirklich irischen Musik vollkommen genügen, wenn wir sie mit der wiederholten Bemerkung schließen, daß alle wirklich musikalische Kunst in Irland, jetziger Zeit, rein englisches Eigenthum, englischen Charakters ist.⁴²

Even though the author acknowledges Irish folk music and sees it as an expression of a kind of collective consciousness (as does Dobeneck), therefore implying a collective spirit of the people, indeed a Celtic character, he views it as inferior to English music. Firstly, Irish folk music does not lend itself to the kind of accompaniment typical of English music. Secondly, the modes of Irish music differ to those of classical and art music – this is what the author refers to when he notes the intervals between notes in scales of traditional Irish music. According to the author, earlier commentators on Irish music also noted that the Irish only use four or five notes in their traditional airs. This probably refers to the so-called gap scales, whereby old Irish melodies are based on pentatonic scales, as were the folk melodies of other European countries, as opposed to the diatonic scales of classical music.⁴³ Both the accompaniment (contrapoint of bass line) and the difference of scales have as a common denominator that they are in contravention of European rules of harmony. This links to descriptions of the Irish language, by Küttner for example, who maintained that the Irish spoken by the lower classes is guttural and unpleasant for the ear (KGK 144f.). It also generally links to the supposed unruly and unpredictable personality of the Irish: harmony is order, Irishness is anarchy.

Heinrich Meidinger (*Briefe von einer Reise durch England, Schottland und Irland im Frühjahr und Sommer 1820, 1821*, HM1) is the only observer before Pückler who compliments traditional Irish folk music. His comment reflects a shift in perspective: “In der Musik sind die Irländer von alten Zeiten her berühmt. Ihre Lieder und Gesänge haben einen eigenthümlichen Reiz, voll Ausdruck und Empfindung. In England kommen dieselben immer mehr in Aufnahme, besonders diejenigen vom Dichter Thomas Moore verfaßt, dessen Zartgefühl und rührende Innigkeit alle Herzen ergreift” (HM1 180). In the place of the expression of pain and melancholy, Irish music is now viewed as revealing charming and moving emotion and feeling. Meidinger’s observation gives a clue as to what changed in German circles – the reception of Thomas Moore, whose *Irish Melodies* were translated into German in the 1820s. According to

⁴² Irland – irländische Musik. In: Gustav Schilling (ed.): Encyclopädie der gesammten musicalischen Wissenschaften, oder Universallexicon der Tonkunst, vol. 3. Stuttgart: Köhler, 1836, pp. 747-748.

⁴³ Cf. William H. Grattan Flood: A History of Irish Music. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1905, p. 32.

James Kidd, Moore's *Irish Melodies*, as well as his other musical works, established him "as a songwriter, performer, and (to English high society) the palatable face of Irish nationalism".⁴⁴ It seems that German travel writers found Moore palatable, too. Although this cultural acceptability, even harmlessness, of Moore in English circles appears incongruent given the political nature of his works, it seems to be based on the form and presentation of his musical works. Moore translated traditional Irish airs into English in an effort to disseminate Irish folk culture to a British, and indeed an international audience: "Made consumer-friendly by Thomas Moore's lyrical adaptations into English, and sweetened by his musical collaborator Sir John Stevenson's symphonic arrangements, the *Irish Melodies* [...] became a consumable [...] artefact of Irishness for a British consumer class". To make the melodies even more appealing, Moore incorporated the "alluring continental harmonies of Haydn, Händel, Geminiani and Corelli", i.e. he adhered to familiar European musical conventions, thus carefully balancing "a seductive Otherness with signs of 'civility'".⁴⁵ Patrick O'Neill claims that Moore's reception in Germany was characterised by a definite sense of Moore's Irishness: "from the publication of *Captain Rock* and the *Irish Melodies* his Irishness was clearly established, and [...] his patriotic fervour could seldom – in the twenties and thirties at any rate – be doubted. [...] his patriotism was appealingly conveyed through images of minstrel boys, persecuted nobility, and ancient harps hanging with broken strings".⁴⁶ Such images are almost picturesque, just like the folly ruins in landscaped gardens, i.e. it could be argued that Moore disseminated a sanitised Irishness. Finally, according to Oehlke, Moore's popularity in Germany was given a further boost by German Catholics because of their enthusiastic reception of his travel work *Travels of an Irish Gentleman in search of a Religion* in the wake of Emancipation, as well as his works on Irish history.⁴⁷ The German context here is the so-called *Kölner Katholizismusstreit* which was spectacularly controversial in Germany and led to the imprisonment in 1837 of the Catholic Bishop of Cologne, Clemens August von Droste-Vischering. In this sense, Moore was viewed not just as a champion of the people, but as a champion of Catholicism.

A further impulse for the reception of Irish folk culture came in 1825 when the Grimm brothers translated Thomas Crofton Croker's *Irische Elfenmärchen*. This made Irish folktales

⁴⁴ James Kidd: Moore, Thomas 1779-1852. Irish poet, songwriter, playwright, journalist, historian and biographer. In: Christopher John Murray (ed.): *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era, 1760-1850*, vol. 2. London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2004. pp. 757-758, here p. 757.

⁴⁵ Karen Tongson: The Cultural Transnationalism of Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies*. In: *repercussions*, 9. 1 (2001), pp. 5-31, here p.7f.

⁴⁶ O'Neill: *Ireland and Germany*, p. 146.

⁴⁷ Thomas Moore: *Travels of an Irish Gentleman in search of a Religion*. London: Longman, 1833; *Wanderungen eines irländischen Edelmannes zur Entdeckung einer Religion*. Cologne: DuMont Schauberg, 1834. Regarding Moore's history works, see for example the translation of Moore's *The History of Ireland*, 1835: *Die Geschichte von Irland*, transl. by August Schäfer. Würzburg and Leipzig: Stahel, 1835.

accessible to a wide German reading public because it presented the tales in a popular format.

The Grimm brothers wrote in the forward to their translation:

Wer noch Sinn hat für schuldlose und einfache Poesie wird sich von diesen Märchen angezogen fühlen, sie haben einen eigenthümlichen Beigeschmack, der nicht ohne Reiz ist und kommen aus einem Lande, an das wir gewöhnlich nur in wenigen und gerade nicht erfreulichen Beziehungen erinnert werden. Gleichwohl wird es von einem Volke bewohnt, dessen Alterthum und frühe Bildung die Geschichte bezeugt und das, wie es zum Theil noch in der eigenen Sprache redet, auch lebendige Spuren seiner Vorzeit wird aufzuweisen haben, wovon der hier dargestellte Glaube an überirdische Wesen vielleicht eins der besten Beispiele abgibt.⁴⁸

Striking are the different definitions of links to an imagined, constructed and idealised past: history, on the one hand, bears witness to Ireland's antiquity and learnedness. The people themselves, their language and customs, on the other hand, are living clues to a collective, idealised past. Although the Grimm brothers cast such tales as Croker's *Elfenmärchen* as "schuldlos" and "einfach", the mention of "überirdische Wesen" suggests a supernatural dimension which is not necessarily linked to innocence and simplicity. Innocence and simplicity could, however, also refer to the naïve and unequivocal belief among the peasantry in fairies. It could also allude to the style and language, as well as the authentic nature of the poems. This is highlighted by the Grimms in their *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen*: "Bei den *Iren*, wo die Quelle noch reichlich fließt, hat Crofton Croker zuerst die Bahn gebrochen. Der Inhalt seiner Sammlung ist echt und auf eine geschickte Weise sind in die Erzählung seltsame, kühne aber lebendige Anschauung verrathende Redensarten, Bilder und Gleichnisse des Volks eingewebt".⁴⁹ In this sense, the manner in which the *Volk* expresses itself is genuine, spontaneous, sharp and vivid, rather than polished and premediated, just as Herder exalted the language and manner of expression of the 'primitive' peoples. Furthermore, for the Grimms, as for Herder, language and customs of the *Volk* reveal their inner world.

Thus, it appears that it was not until the 1820s that the seeds sown by Ossian in the eighteenth century finally began to sprout and show their influence on the perception of the Irish as a poetical and musical people with a natural tendency for story-telling. This must, of course, be set into relation to cultural trends in Germany: "man entdeckt Volkslieder, Sagen und Märchen [...], man [wendet] sich dem eigenen Volk, Staat und Geist zu, entdeckt die großen Denkmäler der Vergangenheit im Mittelalter".⁵⁰ In Germany, the possible regeneration of the people through 'Volkslieder', tales and sagas, as well as the rediscovery of medieval literature is based on the search for the true essence of the people in a time of political uncertainty and Napoleonic rule. Indeed, according to Walter T. Rix, the Grimm brothers "played a significant role in the formation of the idea of a German nation state". Rix claims

⁴⁸ *Irische Elfenmärchen*, transl. by the Brüder Grimm. Frankfurt/Main, 1987, p. 9f.

⁴⁹ Brüder Grimm: *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen*, vol. 1. Göttingen: Dietrich, 1850, p. XLVIIIf.

⁵⁰ Hans-Jürgen Schmidt: Einleitung. In: Hans-Jürgen Schmidt (ed.): *Die deutsche Literatur in Text und Darstellung. Romantik I*. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1986, pp. 9-19, here p. 16.

that the Grimm brothers saw in Ireland that which “might also constitute the German nation: an imaginative language, a rich past, and an interesting mythology. [...]. Following Herder, they made it their aim to document the creative force of the people”.⁵¹ Achim von Arnim, Clemens Bretano and Joseph Görres also published anthologies of German folktales. In this sense, Ireland appears to have served as a source of inspiration. This represents a very quick shift from the scorn to admiration of Irish culture. It is within this context that the German reception of Irish folk culture can be examined to investigate if and how language and literature become factors in the identification, description and evaluation of a presumed Irish *Nationalcharakter*.

5.3 Folk Culture and an Irish *Nationalcharakter*

In Pückler’s narrative, the idea of the ‘national’ is predominately linked to the *Volk*. For example, he perceives a national folk culture which contributes to the idea of a national character. For Pückler, Irish folk culture encompasses tales, music and dance. He declares of the Irish: “Kein Volk ist poetischer und mit reicherer Phantasie begabt” (HvPM 79). *Volk* refers here to the lower classes, who, according to Pückler, love story-telling (HvPM 238). He recounts various tales, for example how a child was stolen by the fairy queen or how the Lakes of Killarney were formed, among many others (HvPM 80f, 129f., 182f., 195f.). The superstition of the Irish and their belief in such stories surprises Pückler. He declares “das eben gibt den Märchen dieses Volkes einen so verführerischen Reiz, dass man selbst davon angesteckt wird” (HvPM 191). The fairy tales are made more appealing to the reader because Pückler uses narrative figures to relay fairy tales, i.e. he lets the characters he meets talk and what they recount are not just passed down stories but supposedly personal experiences with “the good people, wie man sie in Irland nennt” (HvPM 79). In this way, Pückler confers an air of authenticity, indeed uniqueness and spontaneity on the fairy tales he relays in his narrative, thus distancing himself from collections, anthologies and literarisation of folktales.

His search for the characteristic and the authentic is also evident in his judgement of Irish music. He claims that the Irish *Volk* are passionate lovers of singing and dancing (HvPM 238). He portrays his impression of the appearance of a blind bagpipe player as “wirklich sehr originell”, his instrument is “ursprünglich”, “einfach” and peculiar to Ireland. Of the melodies the piper plays, Pückler notes: “Ich ließ mir die ältesten irländischen Melodien aufspielen, wilde Kompositionen, die gewöhnlich traurig und melancholisch wie die Gesänge der

⁵¹ Walter T. Rix: Ireland as a Source of German Interest in the Early Nineteenth Century. From Politics to Literature. In: Wolfgang Zach and Heinz Kosok (ed.): Literary Interrelations, vol. 1: Reception and Translation. Tübingen: Narr, 1987, pp. 21-32, here p. 30.

slawischen Völker anfangen, zuletzt aber dennoch in einem Gigg, dem irländischen Nationaltanz, oder einer kriegerischen Musik endigen" (HvPM 276). Pückler terms the bagpipe player as "ein wahrer Repräsentant irischer Nationalität" (HvPM 276). This appears to be based on the categories of authenticity, simplicity, spontaneity (the piper abruptly stops playing mid-melody because the sober, daytime atmosphere is not conducive to bringing out the true tones of the bag pipes), as well as an idealised past and a certain measure of dignity. The latter aspects are evident when Pückler casts the blind bagpipe player as a noble figure akin to the heroes of Ossian, indeed like the blind poet Ossian himself. According to Pückler, this bagpipe player can trace the origin of his tradition to remote antiquity. His skill is highly polished, his air noble and graceful. Yet, Pückler states that his appearance is tragicomic since such bagpipe players are slowly fading away; they are the last representatives of an ancient tradition and culture (HvPM 255), just as Ossian was the last of his tribe. Allied to nineteenth century Ireland, this implies that just at the moment when German travellers 'discover' Irish folk culture is also the moment of its decline. Furthermore, such a comment implies that, since the piper is cast as a true representative of Irish nationality, the Irish nation itself must also be in decline.

Pückler deduces national characteristics of the Irish *Volk* by way of comparison with other peoples. The lower classes are considered more patient than their English neighbours, although they have been degraded and humiliated "durch lange Sklaverei" (HvPM 15). Pückler finds no trace of English brutality in their behaviour. Overall, he claims the Irish are more like the French based on notions of liveliness, joviality, humour and good-naturedness. The latter two traits are regarded as "wahre Nationalzüge der Irländer" (HvPM 49). Furthermore, Pückler claims that the Irish possess "alle Natürlichkeit" of the Italians. The comparisons between the Irish, and the French and Italians appear to be based on the idea of a lively 'Southern' character, as opposed to an implied sober, upright and earnest 'Northern'. Pückler claims that the Irishman has others to thank for "seine Fehler" but himself alone to thank for "seine Tugenden". To round off his characterisation, Pückler states that "bei aller seiner Roheit" the Irish possess "die Biederkeit und poetische Gemütlichkeit der Deutschen" (HvPM 176). It is obvious that, although Pückler views the Irish as still somewhat wild and uncivilised, his criterion is uniqueness as such and not quite what this uniqueness consists of. Yet, a paradox lies in how he requires analogies to many different countries to describe this uniqueness.

That the upper and lower classes in Ireland belong to two different social spheres seems to be a given not worth mentioning in Pückler's narrative. In his characterisation of the upper class Irish, it is evident that Pückler is more concerned with critiquing the British upper class than with emphasising difference between the classes in Ireland. On many occasions, he

does not seem to differentiate between the Irish and British upper class at all; his appraisal of the former immediately leads to criticism of the latter. When visiting an upper class family in the west of Ireland, for example, he describes his displeasure at having to listen to the lord's daughters playing the piano, implying that they possess little talent. This leads him to comment that in England music is only "Modesache" and that there is no nation in Europe, "die Musik besser bezahlt und die weniger versteht und genießt" (HvPM 65). In contrast to the naturally talented and skilful piper who represents originality, uniqueness and tradition, the Irish and English upper class are regarded as lacking any innate talent for music. The ability to play the piano, for example, is an acquired competency learned in the name of fashion, rather than a talent reflective of a unique character and ancient tradition.

Pückler links the ostensible ignorance of the upper class (cf. HvPM 65, 79) to confession. He asserts that the Catholic *Volk* are much better educated than their Protestant upper class counterparts. Catholic children especially are "sorgfältig unterrichtet" and can at least read, while Protestant children are often "höchst unwissend" (HvPM 170f.). This also applies to his portrayal of Catholicism and Protestantism in general in Ireland. Pückler criticises the piety of the upper class Irish and English. He expresses his belief that the English Protestant service lacks poise and genuineness (HvPM 66f.) compared to the Catholic mass which always conveys "etwas Ganzes" and has "eine Art antiker Größe, welche imponiert und befriedigt" (HvPM 286, 284). The Protestant congregation is entertained "nur von Wundern, Schweinen und bösen Geistern" while the Catholic sermon is "nur rein moralisch und praktisch" (HvPM 286). Catholic priests are viewed as "ohne alle Bigotterie" and very tolerant (HvPM 172), whereas in Protestant upper class circles Pückler is shocked by the exterminatory fantasies of one particularly racist Orangeman. Only by means of an Irish rebellion and its suppression by armed British forces can the British government be finished with the Irish once and for all, according to this Orangeman (HvPM 99). In general, Pückler's overall depiction of the Protestant upper class versus the Catholic lower classes turns colonial stereotypes on their head, such as binary opposites of coloniser/colonised, civilised/primitive, educated/ignorant and advanced/backwards. Here, the Protestant upper class is cast as uneducated, intolerant, and aggressive, while the lower class is shown to be civilised, educated, tolerant and without prejudice. Eoin Bourke notes: "By inverting auto- and hetero-image, Pückler undermines the colonialist tactic of stereotyping the English as principled and educated, the Irish as underhand and ignorant (and therefore incapable of self-rule), Protestantism as rational, Catholicism as obscurantist".⁵² In this sense, Catholicism is a decisive criterion in the construction of an Irish national character. The qualities Pückler relates to Catholicism are concomitant to those he

⁵² Eoin Bourke: England's backyard. Vormärz travel writers on the Irish question. In: Detlev Kopp (ed.): Wege in die Moderne: Reiseliteratur von Schriftstellerinnen und Schriftstellern des Vormärz. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2009, pp. 217-228., p. 219.

attaches to the character of the Irish *Volk*: tradition, genuineness and links to an ancient past. Catholicism seems to appear naturally more moral and practical to Pückler than Protestantism because Catholic worship possess something “durch Alter und Konsequenz Ehrwürdiges” (HvPM 286), i.e. it has direct links to ancient traditions.

The conceptualisation of an Irish national character hinges on the very notion of difference between the upper class Irish/English and lower classes. On the one hand, it appears that an alleged English character forms a foil against which to contrast an Irish national character, however, this also works in reverse: it is obvious that Pückler highlights certain aspects of a supposed Irish character to criticise the upper class English. Although Pückler, like many of his contemporaries, was generally impressed by all things English, not least of all by landscaped parks, his experiences in England prior to his trip to Ireland served to alter his opinion. The main reason behind Pückler’s trip to England was, in fact, to search for a wife whose money would save his own estate in Muskau since he had bankrupted himself with his extravagant plans for landscaped parks. His plans were no secret to those in high society, and he was not always welcomed into aristocratic circles.⁵³ It may be on account of this disappointment, even anger, that he frequently criticises the upper class of England in his letters from Ireland. In any case, from the very beginning of the narrative Ireland and England are constructed as complete opposites, while the Irish upper class are identified with the English upper class. Pückler ascribes the similarities between them to “die tyrannischen Erfordernisse englischer Bildung, die sehr allgemein in den drei Inseln wirken”. On account of this, he states that the reader will note “daß ich gar oft Irländer und Engländer nur unter dem letzten Namen vereinige. Ich sollte sie eigentlich Britten oder, nach der neueren Orthographie, Briten nennen” (HvPM 303). Pückler seems to be picking up on the same argument Küttner made, i.e. that education and refinement mould members of the upper class in a uniform manner.

Yet, at times, Pückler clearly constructs difference, rather than similarity, between the Irish and English upper class. Upper class Irish women, for example, are considered friendlier and less petty than their English counterparts. He portrays the Irish upper class as independent of mind and behaviour, whereas the English are cast as dependent on convention and public opinion. Pückler states: “Durch eigne Beobachtungen läßt sich der Engländer weit weniger leiten, als man denkt. Immer schließt er sich an eine Partei an, mit deren Augen er sieht” (HvPM 18). In this light, it would appear that in relation to education and socialisation the Irish upper class is similar to their English counterparts, however, the Irish upper class have still

⁵³ Cf. Heinz Ohff: *Der Fürst der deutschen Literatur*. In: Hermann von Pückler-Muskau: *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, ed. by Heinz Ohff. Berlin: Kupfergraben, 1986, p. xii.

retained something of an 'Irish' character in their friendliness and independence. Indeed, on occasion Pückler clearly suggests the idea of an Irish character as applicable to all classes of Irish. In the company of one particular upper class Protestant family, he states that the mother and her two daughters "zeigen eine charakteristische Nationalität, haben auch Irland nie verlassen" (HvPM 303). On the back of all his criticism of the upper class in Ireland, he now views these upper class women as possessing a characteristic nationality – but only in those who have not allowed themselves to be completely subjected to a tyrannical education and only in those who have remained in Ireland. Furthermore, it is clear that he is referring to a general Irish character or identity rather than, like Küttner, a specifically Protestant Irish identity, because it is the very same characteristics associated with the lower classes which constitute the characteristic nationality in these upper class women: simplicity, modesty, naturalness and an innate talent for music. The daughters are "sehr originell, die eine im sanften, die andere im wilden Genre" (HvPM 302f.). The contrasting impression the girls make on Pückler is reminiscent of the contrasts discerned in Irish folk music, on the one hand wild and war-like, on the other hand plaintive and calm. Pückler states that "Diese Mädchen haben eine unerschöpfliche, gar nicht englische, aber echt irländische Grazie und Lustigkeit" (HvPM 305). Pückler views these Protestant upper class women as sharing a national character with the lower classes based on notions of the authentic and the genuine. This is also evident in the following passage in which Pückler describes his stay in the castle of an upper class family where hunting, eating and drinking are the order of the day: "Du wirst Dich über das etwas gemeine Leben verwundern, das ich hier führe – und aufrichtig gestanden, ich selbst wundere mich darüber, aber es ist genuin das heißt bei den Leuten echt natürlich und nicht etwas Angenommenes – das hat immer eine Art Reiz, wenigstens für mich" (HvPM 255). It seems that on such occasions Pückler discerns an Irish character which transcends social and economic boundaries; a character which combines and reconciles contradictions and is truly genuine. Furthermore, this configuration also transcends religious boundaries, boundaries which previously seemed so decisive. This appears a paradox. The overriding criteria for Pückler appear to be authenticity and genuineness, which, it is implied, cannot be completely done with either by institutionalisation or organised religion. In this light, certain confessions, i.e. Catholicism, are more aligned to a sense of the authentic and the genuine. Therefore, religious, but also linguistic criteria do not play a decisive role in this configuration of 'Irishness'.

At first glance, there appear to be many similarities between how Pückler and Dobeneck conceptualise an Irish character transmitted through culture. Like Pückler, Dobeneck's evaluation of folk culture presents an image of the innocent, natural and naïve. She describes Irish folk music, for example, as follows:

Eben tönt über den See herüber, wie jeden Morgen so auch heute, meine liebe Hirtenflöte, mit dem sehnsüchtigen Liede: *I give thee all, I can no more!* Ich lausche, den Athem anhaltend, und schleiche näher an's Fenster. Alles ist wieder still. *I give thee all* – so tönt es in mir fort und fort. Auch ohne idyllisch gesinnt zu sein, finde ich, daß in den Tönen einer solchen einfältigen, irischen Querpfefe sich wirklich eine rührende Wahrheit ausspricht. Weg mit den brillanten Pariser *soirées musicales!* (MvD 77)

'I give thee all, I can no more!' is from Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies*. Dobeneck finds the melody pleasant and moving, the simple tin whistle reveals modesty and authenticity. She is so impressed that she sends her father a copy of the text and music of some of the *Melodies* in her letters home (MvD 80). Dobeneck even includes clear instructions on how the melodies are to be sung, *à mezza voce*, i.e. in accordance with classical musical conventions. She ostensibly critiques Paris salon culture, yet it is obviously not meant as a serious criticism. Rather, like Pückler at times, Dobeneck seems set on critiquing the upper class Irish and English for being uncultivated and uneducated according to her own standards. On one occasion she even mocks a lady "des ersten Ranges" for asking whether the musical notes in Germany are the same as in England (MvD 71). She maintains that the upper class Irish and English have no talent for music. She depicts a young Irish lady who 'picturesquely' sits at the piano and sings "eine himmelschreiende Arie". Dobeneck writes that the English may be talented at mechanical and steel works but "trotz ihrer affectirten Liebe für die Musik, sind und bleiben sie doch ihr Stiefkind" (MvD 71). This reveals another shift in perspective. Whereas the likes of Voght, Dalem and Heinrich Meidinger (1827) praise the English for their booming economy and industry, Dobeneck's comment reveals a perception of industrialisation and civilisation in opposition to artistic and musical talents. Implicit in this is the idea that musical ability cannot be learned – it is something innate, an immutable characteristic. Among the lower classes who are untouched by industrialisation and urbanisation, Dobeneck finds a natural talent for music:

Also nicht in den Salons, wohl aber in irischnen, schottischen und englischen Hütten suche ich die Musik, ich meine die Volksmelodien, deren Wiege die Natur ist, jene heiligen Stimmen voll Sehnsucht nach dem Ewigen, jene in Töne verkörperten Gedanken und Gefühle einer kindlichen Einfachheit! Ich bemerkte, dass die öfters hüpfende, tänzelnde Volksmelodie des Irländers, reduziert auf eine ernste, ruhige Begleitung, dennoch wehmüthigen Ausdrucks ist. (MvD 71)

This reveals Dobeneck's perception of a spiritual aspect to music, as well as a sense of longing and yearning, here yearning for eternity. While the Irish, Scottish and English lower classes combined are believed to possess folk melodies inspired by nature, Dobeneck detects in the Irish and Scottish folk melodies "Offenbarungen von einem innern, unbewußten Seufzen nach endlicher Erlösung" (MvD 72). Here, Dobeneck perceives of a collective desire of the Irish and Scottish which is unconsciously expressed through their music, i.e. she presents the "Volksmelodien" as reflecting the character of the people and their desire for salvation. However, she equally praises God for endowing impoverished peoples with such musical

ability. She regards this as a form of spiritual compensation for their worldly suffering: “Von dem Gedanken an irische Volksmusik, komme ich unwillkürlich auf das Gebiet der Kunst selber, von dieser auf Ihre Lieblinge, und da preise ich die schaffende Gewalt und Güte Gottes, die einen armen Menschen schon in dieser Welt reichlich ausstattet” (MvD 78). This remark is very similar to Küttner’s observation that in the here and now there is already a lot more compensation for the impoverished lower classes than one is inclined to believe (KGK 92). Even though Küttner’s stance is clearly a secularized one and Dobeneck’s a decidedly religious one, what they are trying to do is basically the same, i.e. not to outrage and disgust their readers with too much talk of poverty and misery.

It is obvious throughout her letters that Dobeneck makes no distinction between the Irish and English upper class (for example MvD 50, 57). This is evident at a ball when she claims that the upper class are vain, uncultivated and uneducated. She compares their way of life to the Turkish regarding their love of alcohol, “ihre gewöhnliche Geistes- und Körper-Trägheit, ihr Gleichmuth, ihre Gefühllosigkeit, dann ihr uncultivirter Sinn für die Musik”. Dobeneck continues “Ist es nicht sogar begreiflich, daß der Engländer durch steten innigen Verkehr mit dem Orient etwas Orientale werde, nämlich im Wohlleben?” (MvD 50) Through the comparison to Orientals and Turks, the Irish and English upper classes are cast as culturally and racially degraded. In this configuration, it appears that Dobeneck does not follow the same agenda as Pückler when he shows the upper class to be ignorant and uneducated to highlight alleged virtues in the lower classes. Dobeneck’s depiction of the upper classes seems to have more to do with the construction of her own persona in her letters as the cultivated, multilingual and musically schooled continental European who finds herself mentally tortured by such an unrefined people.

Even though she claims not to be so inclined (MvD 77), Dobeneck’s idyllic disposition contributes to creating an idealised vision of the authentic, simple character of the *Volk*. Her conceptualisation of a shepherd boy (perhaps the same shepherd boy who plays the wooden flute) illustrates this:

Längs dem Hügel, auf schmalem Fußpfade seh’ ich einen Hirtenknaben, der seine Heerde nach Hause treibt; er kommt näher, grüßt mich und ich ihn wieder; da geh’ ich mit ihm weiter, und frage ihn mancherlei: was treibst Du denn zu Hause? Kannst Du lesen, und was liest Du? ‘Die Bibel!’ sagte ernst und lächelnd der Knabe, dabei klopfte er dem nachtrabenden Hammel derber auf den Rücken, grüßte noch einmal, und verschwand seitwärts im Gebüsch [...]. Die Erscheinung des Hirtenknaben, seine bedeutungsvolle Antwort ist dem Strudel, wie er mich jetzt umgiebt, völlig entgegen; doch nur um so tiefer ist der Eindruck, den ich dadurch empfangen; ich beneide sein Loos, ach! Und fühle wie eine nie zu stillende Sehnsucht am Mark des Lebens zehrt! (MvD 44f.)

What Dobeneck wishes to escape from, the whirl of events which surround her, is no more than a reference to courtly life and the busy social calendar of the family she works for as a

tutor. Her perception of the shepherd boy must be based on wishful thinking. She explicitly contrasts her perception of his life, a quiet life consisting of Bible study, living close to and making a living from nature, in musical terms a quiet “Andante”, to the hustle and bustle of estate living which she terms an “Allegro vivace” (MvD 47). As Malcolm Andrews notes, “pastoral was a means of escaping imaginatively from the pressures of urban or courtly life into a simpler world, or, one should say, into a world which had been deliberately simplified as a contrast to the social complexities of the city”.⁵⁴ It is also noteworthy that, even though Dobeneck has a few encounters with the native Irish, this is the only time that any of them speak. What is most striking about this particular description, as well as Dobeneck’s comments on Irish music, is that they are completely out of kilter with her representation of the Irish as savage, wild, ugly, degenerate, mute and shy. Her enthusiastic reception and representation of traditional Irish music as the touching embodiment of childlike simplicity, authenticity and a collective Irish consciousness does not in any way match her depiction of those who produce such music. She seems to separate the representation of Irish culture from the representation of those who produce it, the presentation of her encounter with the shepherd boy *in nature* from her encounter with the lower classes in their own homes where they desperately try to evade attention. In a way, what she does here is comparable to Küttner’s evaluation of the Irish language: old Irish melodies, like Old Irish, are pure and uncorrupted, whereas those who transmit this culture are corrupted and crude, just as modern Irish of the eighteenth century is an ugly and unpleasant language according to Küttner. Overall, it appears that Dobeneck is highly competent in compartmentalisation and evasion of reality. She constructs the world of Irish folk culture as a world of escape from her ‘stressful’ and ‘tiresome’ life, a world which stands in contrast to ‘unrefined’ courtly life in Ireland and England. Yet, Irish music is considered an expression of a collective Irish character; by associating one component of society (the upper classes) with a different nation (England), the character of the *Volk* becomes the national character.

5.4 Folk Culture and the ‘Wild Irish’

In comparison to previous observers, Pückler and Dobeneck depict an Irish character embodied in the *Volk* (although not exclusively in Pückler’s case), and transmitted through culture. In their eyes, an Irish character exemplifies something which refinement and ‘civilisation’ do away with; Irish culture represents a kind of alternative to their own and English culture and society. The anonymous author of *Skizzen aus Irland* (1838, Sal) also views

⁵⁴ Malcolm Andrews: *The Search for the Picturesque. Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989, p. 5.

Irish folk culture as an expression of a collective character. The author of *Skizzen*, who visited Ireland in the same year as Dobeneck (1832), utilises his first-hand experience of a wake to give an authentic sketch of a typically Irish custom. This is similar to Pückler and Dobeneck in their constant search for the authentic in Irish culture. However, what stands out about this description is the double perspective which runs through the scene. On the one hand, the observer lets the 'natives' speak. He recounts the tales they tell by way of direct speech, as well as allowing the readers to see how the 'natives' *see themselves* and how they construct their own sense of an Irish identity. On the other hand, he inserts commentary which distances him from what is being said. His overall depiction of an Irish character remains somewhat ambivalent. He shows respect, even admiration for their culture and traditions, yet, at times, he also casts it as somewhat crude.

The author is especially curious to attend the wake because he had heard of something similar in the Scottish Highlands, but never had a chance to learn more about the tradition (Sal 30). His attendance causes quite a stir among the locals who react curiously to his presence:

ich hörte eine Alte, die gerade das Feuer schürte, in sehr mitleidigem Tone halblaut sagen: "Der arme Franzos, gewiß hat er kein Wort Englisch." Da sie und die Uebrigen jedoch hierüber bald beruhigt waren, und obendrein noch erfuhren, daß ich so gut zur Capelle gehe wie sie, so trat bald eine gewisse zutrauliche Stimmung ein, die wir bei der Gesprächigkeit und einem gewissen natürlichen Tact, welches beides man fast überall bei dem irischen Landvolk findet, sehr leicht für unsere Zwecke benutzen konnten. (Sal 32)

The assumption that the foreigner must be a Frenchman is probably linked to the favourable image of the French as allies of the Irish in certain circles. While it appears that the lower classes are portrayed as somewhat naïve in assuming the author is French and does not understand them, as a people they are seen as trusting and talkative. In depicting the Irish lower classes as possessing a natural kind of tactfulness, he implies a sense of appropriateness which enables them to speak to someone of a far superior education and standing, which is quite an accolade indeed. In this light, their certain measure of naivety, their tactfulness and trusting nature are presented as traits of a genuine, unaffected people. It is noteworthy that religion forms a point of identification between the observer and the observed, yet the observer seems to maintain a certain distance. He makes no secret of the fact that he uses the occasion to gain direct contact to the lower classes, thus providing him with the opportunity of experiencing Irish culture first hand. He thus utilises the occasion to pursue the ethnographic gaze as part of the colonial gaze. His aim, it appears, is to objectify the subject of observation.

Having been accepted into the company of the lower class, the author can now be party to the ultimate folk experience: after describing some customs surrounding the wake "ein theilweises Gespräch" ensued, "das bald, wie bei allen diesen Wachen regelmäßig geschieht, in ein Geschichtenerzählen überging" (Sal 33). It is evident that the author is

anxious to emphasise how 'typical' and 'characteristic' such traditions are. The first story is recounted in detail by way of direct speech. The narrator, a local farmer by the name of Micaul Sheehan, apologises to the author in advance about the nature of the story. He believes that since the author is not an English man he will not be offended by it, rather he will experience "wie dumm die Englischen sind, so klug sie sich dünken" (Sal 34). The story is about Mr Crosby, a very much admired former Irish landlord, who had two English gentlemen as guests. Much impressed by Mr Crosby's hospitality, one of the gentlemen finally picks up the courage to ask him if there are really such creatures as "wilde Ireländer". Mr Crosby found such a question so amusing that he decided to play a trick on the two gentlemen. He informed them that in the mountains the savage Irish are as numerous as hares and can be caught by traps. Eager to see such an "Irish savage", they ask Mr Crosby to lay such a trap. The following day, he has his servant come in and announce that an "Irish savage" has been caught. The trick continues with a local shepherd, known for only shaving once a year, is instructed to act the wild man in front of the English gentlemen:

als die Thüre aufging, sprang der Kerl splinterfaden nackt mit gräulichen Gebärden ins Zimmer. Sie hatten ihm eine große Holzkette um den Leib gelegt, woran vier Mann hinten halten mußten; aber Simon schrie auf Irisch, das die Engländer natürlich nicht verstanden, als ob er närrisch wäre oder zu viel Pottern im Kopf hätte, und arbeitete mit so viel gewaltiger Hanthierung gerade auf die beiden los, daß sie aus Leibeskräften schrien, man sollte ihn doch hinaus bringen. Dieß geschah denn am Ende auch; aber ich glaube wahrhaftig, die beiden Gentlemen zittern noch, wenn sie von dem wilden Ireländer hören; denn der alte Herr ließ sie getrost am andern Tage nach England zurückreisen, ohne ihnen hinter die Hecke zu helfen, und ich will gehängt seyn, wenn die nicht allenthalben ihren Eid drauf geben, daß sie selbst einen wilden Ireländer gesehen haben, der wie ein Waldmensch oder ein, nun wie heißt's, wie ein Türk ausgesehen hat. (Sal 35f.)

Striking about this story is that the Irish lower classes themselves are given the word; the story the farmer relays depicts an Irish landlord making fun of the English gentlemen. This shows the lower classes to be aware of how they are portrayed by the English; it portrays them not as ignorant primitives, but as those savvy of the world outside of their immediate sphere of contact. A strange coalition is created whereby the Irish are objectified but with relish (inverted mimicry in that Mr Crosby takes on the Irish point of view) so as to expose the colonial gaze for what it is: a construct. There seems to be self-criticism on author's part for selecting this anecdote. This is evident in the author's reaction, or more so his lack of reaction, in that he makes no comment on it whatsoever. Implicit in this is the programme of not falling into the same trap.

The observer consequently notes some of the comments made by the lower classes about the English, and his tone is disparaging. He states: "Als die Lachmuskeln der Gesellschaft wieder zu Ruhe gekommen waren, ging es von allen Seiten über die Engländer her, und den Spöttereien mischten sich manche Bemerkungen über die Zwangsherrschaft der Sassenachs

bei, welche von eben nicht freundlichen Wünschen und mitunter von derben Flüchen begleitet wurden" (Sal 36). These are peasants with political views; the comment on the tyranny of the "Sassenachs" (Gaelic Irish for the English people) is overtly political. The author's implicit distancing from such comments is evident in his disapproving tone when he speaks "von derben Flüchen" that the Irish wish upon the English. His disapproval becomes explicit when he states that, following the story of the wild Irish, he and his companion "indessen für heute des Capitels der Dorfpolitik gern entrathen gewesen wären, so wußte Penrose eine andere Geschichte hervorzulocken, die dießmal aus dem Feenreich entlehnt war" (Sal 36). That English rule over Ireland is described as village or local politics immediately precludes any thoughts of 'national' politics, let alone English-Irish relations being of any importance on a wider, European scale. The comment is quite belittling and damning in a topic which could come very close to the traveller who is clearly associated with the intruders. Ireland is viewed as a province of England; the political views of the lower classes as the petty provincialism of a people whose attention can be easily diverted away from their ostensible political grievances by the mention of fairies! "Sobald jedoch die 'kleinen Leutchen' einmal auf dem Tapet waren, folgte ein Märchen dem andern, und jeder Erzähler wußte, wie sich von selbst versteht, sich auf so gute Gewährsleute zu berufen, daß, außer höchstens zweien, Niemand unter den Anwesenden dem geringsten Zweifel Raum geben konnte" (Sal 36). The double perspective and the distance created between the observer and observed is again evident in that while the Irish believe their own stories, the author and his companion are not taken in by them. Yet, the mock-elaborate formulation "dem geringsten Zweifel Raum geben" reveals some recognition that the assembly themselves did not believe everything; that they considered believing the supernatural subject matter as part of a game of acceptance and adherence to cultural norms.

By way of contrast to how the lower classes are portrayed, the upper class are cast as rational and grounded, for example they do not pretend to believe in or sit around reciting fairy tales. There are, however, also similarities: the hospitality, benevolence and welcoming nature of both are emphasised on numerous occasions (Sal 4f., 16). The upper class are presented as paternalistic towards their tenants. The writer describes, for example, how affectionate the country folk are towards their landlord (Sal 28). At the wake, the parents are very pleased that the landlord's son Penrose has come along, and has even brought a foreign gentleman with him (Sal 31). Penrose receives the first slice of bread and a cup of tea because, as one of the family members says, it is because of his father, as landlord, that these people have anything to eat at all. "Diese buchstäbliche Anwendung des irischen Sprüchworts hatte etwas Charakteristisches, das einen angenehmen Eindruck bei mir zurückließ" (Sal 32). Again, a sense of the genuine shines through in these depictions of the behaviour of the lower classes. On the one hand, it could be argued that in presenting the Irish country folk as affectionate

towards their landlord, the author provides a justification of colonialism – justified and supported by no less than the ‘natives’ themselves. On the other hand, there does not necessarily seem to be derogatoriness in his tone here. He is impressed by the characteristic friendliness, by the literal application of the Irish proverb of the man who gives the bread has the right to the first slice, and since he is not present his son receives it (Sal 32). The observer portrays a sense of a collective character of a people which is unreserved, unmediated, a character which acts not on impulse but on instinct. It seems in these comments that the Irish *Volk* embody the innate goodness of mankind.

The relationship between landlord and tenant/lower classes is also noteworthy in the story about the savage Irish. The former landlord, Mr Crosby, is described as a Protestant and a priest, “aber er war ein redlicher Mann und ein rechter Irländer”. The narrator, the local farmer Micaul Sheehan, claims that were he still alive today he would obligingly pay him the tithe, just as well as he refuses to pay it to the “Orangeman” who has taken his place, even if it means he will be evicted. Mr Crosby gave to the poor what he took from the rich, whereas Micaul Sheehan says of this new landlord (who is not Penrose’s father): “– dem Neger ist’s Geld ans Herz gewachsen, und das nennt er seine Religion!” (Sal 34). It is noteworthy that both the former and present landlord are members of the Protestant upper class but while the one, a Protestant clergy man, is described as “a true Irishman”, the other is described as a greedy Orangeman who only cares about money – even though both of them collected the tithe. Here, the lower class are portrayed as constructing their very own sense of ‘Irishness’. The criteria they base their evaluation on does not necessarily seem to include religion or ethnicity but traits such as honesty, charity and hospitality. The lower classes do not view Mr Crosby or Sir Lucius, Penrose’s father, or it seems even the Orangeman, as ethnically different. Thus, a distinction between Irish (which here subsumes upper class Irish) and English is created, but not between the upper and lower class, or Catholic and Protestant.

The author confirms the kind-hearted nature of Sir Lucius which the lower classes attest to. He claims the reason why there is little agrarian unrest in the area is because of the ‘good’ landlord and his family (Sal 28). The author casts Sir Lucius in a particularly favourable light when he notes that the area around Limerick has the special advantage of being plagued by absenteeism even less than other areas. Sir Lucius and his neighbouring landlords reside on their estates in Ireland where they tend to their tenants and not only cultivate the land (Sal 16) but invest money in it to make it aesthetically pleasing (Sal 15). He also shows Sir Lucius’s respectful nature towards his tenants and their customs when he describes a wake to the author:

ein Gebrauch, der Ihnen vermuthlich unbekannt seyn wird, denn meines Wissens findet man ihn nur auf unserer Insel und in den Bergen von Schottland. Sobald jemand gestorben ist, versammeln sich die Verwandten und Freunde Abends in dem Hause und bringen bis zum Begräbniß jede Nacht mit den Hintergebliebenen zu. Manchmal geht es toll genug bei diesen Wachen her, und besonders die sogenannten Freunde treiben oft ein Wesen, das nach unserm Gefühl schlecht in ein Todtenhaus paßt. Mitunter wird dem Whiskey, ohne den es niemals abgehen darf, so stark zugesprochen, daß es arge Boxereien und blutige Gesichter setzt. Dergleichen ist jedoch dießmal nicht zu besorgen. (Sal 29f.)

Sir Lucius clearly sets up boundaries between 'them' and 'us'. Yet, this distance is maintained with a good dose of respect and recognition that difference does not automatically equate inferiority. The cultural boundary is replicated by real, physical borders: the tenants live outside the confines of the estate and do not share the same physical space. The reader knows from the author's portrayal of the wake that the peasants would probably have been very honoured if the landlord had attended, as they are more than honoured that his son attends. Overall, it seems that Sir Lucius and his class share common traits with the lower classes: both are hospitable, genial, good-natured and possess a sincere, authentic nature. While Dobeneck clearly associates the Irish upper class with a different nation, in *Skizzen* they do not seem to be associated with or equated with the English upper class. This, therefore, suggests that all classes of Irish, irrespective of religion, share a common character. Yet, the author never comments on the 'Irishness' of the upper class and he seems to underscore difference in terms of culture and religion, for example in the tradition of the wake itself. The narrative clearly suggests that the lower classes, the *Volk*, best embody the national character.

Evident from the various constructions of 'Irishness' and an Irish national character is that the categories of *Volk* and *Nation* are contested. The *Nation* can invariably refer to a group of people who share a common culture, language and living space, or to a social class. The *Volk* does not necessarily constitute the *Nation*. English and German usage of these terms is not congruent. In both languages, the categories of *Volk* and *Nation* remain ambiguous; sometimes they are based on idealism and wishful thinking in casting the *Volk* as 'pure' and 'authentic' because of the belief that they have not been 'corrupted' by the trappings of 'civilised', academic life in contrast to observer's own sphere. On other occasions, the categories of *Volk* and *Nation* are subordinated to serve a specific agenda. Frequently, the terms are applied in a contradictory manner within the same narrative. This imprecise usage is a reflection of the difficulty in applying German criteria to Irish phenomena, where historical and political circumstance had created complex configurations which often did not fit into existing categories. It is also apparent that constructions of 'Irishness' by German travel writers could be both inclusive and exclusive depending on the individual observer, as well as the particular historical moment in time. All classes might be assigned a common 'Irish' character,

while the *Volk* might be regarded as best embodying this alleged character. Conversely, one part of the nation might be associated with another nation, thus the *Volkscharakter* becomes the *Nationalcharakter*. Observers might also be selective and anachronistic in their appraisal of an 'Irish' character; old Irish melodies and Old Irish are evidence of a rich folk culture, but the present-day *Volk* are corrupted. Striking is that language does not play any major role in the conceptualisation of an Irish character. Some authors mention the existence of an Irish language, yet that the Irish *Volk* have retained a unique *Volkscharakter* without the retention of their *Muttersprache* does not appear an aporia in Herderian terms to German travel writers. Finally, it is evident that political criteria are also applied in the conceptualisation of an Irish character. Authors take sides in inner-Irish as well as Irish-English conflicts, such as the impending Union between Great Britain and Ireland as well as the pursuit of Catholic Emancipation. Observers raise points of social injustice, or political and historical circumstance that clearly blame those in power for shortcomings in a presumed Irish *Nationalcharakter*.

6 Racialising the Irish

Whereas the concept of ethnicity refers to the discernment of human variation based on the application of cultural criteria as well as a perception of common ancestry whether real or imagined, the concept of race assumes of a “humanity divided into fixed, genetically determined biological types”.¹ Firstly, the notion of race supposes that human kind is divided into immutable natural types, recognisable by physical attributes that are transmitted ‘through the blood’ and allow distinctions to be made between ‘pure’ and ‘mixed’ races. Secondly, the term intimates that the intellectual and moral behaviour of human beings, as well as individual personality, ideas and capabilities, can be related to racial origin. Knowledge of that origin is supposed to provide an explanation of the behaviour.²

In the first half of the nineteenth century, racial criteria as a means of constructing difference emerged in the new disciplines of ethnology and anthropology. Already in the late eighteenth century, a shift in scientific interest “from the universal human species to the classification of different varieties and, ultimately, different races” was discernible.³ Immanuel Kant, in his *Beobachtungen über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen* of 1764, is believed to have been the first to use the term ‘race’ in “the sense of biologically or physically distinctive categories of human beings”.⁴ Kant, however, insisted that despite the existence of different races, all people belong to the same ‘Stamm’ or species.⁵ In the development of racial theory in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, difference could be understood as cultural and visual. Ethnologists turned to cultural, historical and philological sources in their attempts to discern markers of cultural and linguistic difference, while others employed supposedly scientific methods to classify the skull, the eyes, form of nose, hair, size, height as well as gait as giving clues to racial origin. In the early nineteenth century, the French anatomist Georges Cuvier postulated the existence of three different ‘races’: the white, the yellow and the black. This typology proved influential because it was based on a hierarchal structure which influenced works such as Charles Hamilton Smith’s *The Natural History of the Human Species* (1848), Robert Knox’s *The Races of Man* (1850), Count de Gobineau’s *Essai sur l’inégalité des Races humaines* (1853) as well as Josiah Clark Nott and George R. Gliddon’s *Types of Mankind* (1854). During the first half of the nineteenth century, the debate on the causes of variation

¹ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin: Ethnicity. In: Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (eds.): Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts. London and New York: Routledge, 2007, pp. 75-79, here p. 75.

² Cf. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin: Race. In: Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (eds.): Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts. London and New York: Routledge, 2007, pp. 180-187, here p. 180.

³ Reginald Horsman: Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism in Great Britain before 1850. In: Journal of the History of Ideas, 37. 3 (1976), pp. 387-410, here p. 391.

⁴ Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin: Race, p. 182.

⁵ Cf. Peter J. Brenner: Die Erfahrung der Fremde. Zur Entwicklung einer Wahrnehmungsform in der Geschichte des Reiseberichts. In: Peter J. Brenner (ed.): Der Reisebericht. Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1989, pp. 14-49, here p. 23f.

between humans was still very much a debate between descent and environment. It was with the dominance of the biological sciences in the late nineteenth century that “descent emerged as the predominant model”.⁶ German travel writing on Ireland up until 1850 reflects the emergence of the debate between descent and environment as well as the emergence of race theory in explaining human variation regarding both physical appearance and behavioural patterns. This is discernible in two ways. Firstly, the application of racial criteria in constructing the Irish as racially a ‘Southern’ European people, and secondly, in the construction of the Irish as a Celtic people.

In 1825 in his medicinal travel narrative, Carl Otto (*Reise durch die Schweiz, Italien, Frankreich, Großbritannien und Holland: mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Spitäler, Heilmethoden und den übrigen medicinischen Zustand dieser Länder*, 1825, CO) frames the Irish and their national character as completely opposite to the English and Scottish character. According to him, the Irish are “ungezwungen, leichten Sinnes und sehr lustig”. These traits have been ascribed to the Irish on previous occasions (for example by Caspar von Voght, CvV 581 and Hermann von Pückler-Muskau 597, HvPM 49). But Otto attributes this perceived lively and carefree nature to racial origins: “Dieses ist kein Wunder, denn die Irländer sind südlicher, phönicischer oder spanischer, Abkunft” (CO 361). This is the first time that racial criteria have been applied in the construction of the Irish. Heinrich Meidinger (*Reisen durch Grossbritannien und Irland vorzüglich in topographischer, kommerzieller und statistischer Hinsicht: Neuestes Handbuch für Reisende durch die drei vereinigten Königreiche England, Schottland und Irland*, 1828, HM2) also uses racial criteria to explain character when he claims: “Die Irländer, wie alle Völker südlichen Ursprungs, sind im Ganzen munter und mit wenigem zufrieden” (HM2 188). So does Johann Martin Lappenberg (‘Irland’, 1844, JML) who describes the character of the Irish as “der Charakter eines südlichen Volkes” and claims the Irish have a “sehr regsame Phantasie, große Leidenschaftlichkeit und ein[en] unglaubliche[n] Leichtsinn” (JML 18). Implicit in such comments is the self-image of the commentators. If the Irish are perceived as a ‘Southern’ people then this implies that the individual observers see themselves as the opposite, as belonging to the ‘Northern’ peoples of Europe; and if the Irish are cast as passionate, lively and carefree, then this constitutes the contrast to a phlegmatic, calm, rational, organised and earnest ‘Northern’ European self-image.

Furthermore, not only harmless traits previously associated with the trope of the content savage are reconfigured as racial, but also less endearing ones associated with the ignoble savage, including negligence, recklessness, pride and a measure of violence and fierceness. Meidinger, for example, claims that the Irish, as a ‘Southern’ people, are proud of

⁶ Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin: *Race*, p. 182.

their glory and deeds of past times, just like the French. But the Irish are also “sehr reizbar, leidenschaftlich und grausam, wie aus den vielen schauderhaften Mordthaten protestantischer Pächter [...] zu ersehen” whereby whole families are often murdered in cold blood (HM2 188). Meidinger is here likely referring to agrarian unrest which took place mostly in the south of Ireland in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Knut Jongbohn Clement (*Reisen in Irland oder Irland in historischer, statistischer, politischer und socialer Beziehung*, 1845, KJC) also repeatedly perceives of a violent Irish temperament as racial in origin (KJC 150, 309, 340). In this view, history or political/religious oppression are not viewed as bringing about such violent tendencies, rather immutable characteristics. Furthermore, Meidinger’s explicit comment on the religious denomination of those murdered (Protestant farmers) and the inference that Catholic tenants are the culprits might indicate a belief that certain types are more susceptible to certain religious denominations. In such a world view, a people who display ‘Southern’ traits such as a passionate, excitable and irrational nature are more likely to be predisposed to Catholicism which was viewed by some as obscurant, superstitious and showy in its ceremonies.⁷

What is also new in this racial configuration of the Irish is the focus on physiognomy, on genetically inherited physical features. While previous authors sometimes give physical descriptions of the Irish (KGK 224, JMvD 482, HvPM 256f.), there is no general consensus on a ‘fixed’ Irish ‘type’. Otto, Meidinger, Magdalena von Dobeneck and Clement, however, are unanimous in their perception of the Irish as possessing a ‘Southern’ physiognomy. Clement and Meidinger claim that ‘southern blood’ reveals itself in physical appearance (e.g. KJC 309, HM2 196). For Otto, a ‘Southern’ physiognomy is not pleasing to the eye: “Sehr unangenehm ist aber der erste Eindruck, den die irländischen, länglichen Gesichter, mit groben und hässlichen Zügen, auf den Fremden machen” (CvO 361). Magdalena von Dobeneck’s physical description of the Irish is also unflattering (*Briefe und Tagebücher aus Frankreich, Irland und Italien, mit einem kleinen Anhang von Compositionen und Gedichten*, 1843, MvD 44, 50, 54). The Irish, she alleges, are of Spanish origin, and she gives a historical grounding for this:

Die Phönizier vermischten sich [...] mit der Urrace der Kelten. Früher lebten sie, in den Gegenden der spanischen Küste, im Verkehr mit den Irländern. Auch kam eine Colonie Spanier herüber in ihr Land, und ihre ältesten Religionsgebräuche deuten darauf hin, daß celtische Stämme Irland bevölkerten. Auf ihren Hügeln und Ebenen liegen noch die zerstreuten Ueberreste ihres Götzendiensts. (MvD 54)

⁷ Cf. Dieter Richter: Das Bild der Neapolitaner in der Reiseliteratur des achtzehnten und neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. In: Hans-Wolf Jäger (ed.): *Europäisches Reisen im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1992, pp. 118-130, p. 125.

This is one of the first references in German travel literature to the Celts as a racial grouping in Ireland, one which could provide a broader basis for perceived racial relations between the Irish and their Southern European counterparts.

Like the savage/civilised dichotomy, racist thinking is imbued with the “impetus to draw a binary distinction between ‘civilised’ and ‘primitive’”, and obsessed with the “necessity for the hierarchization of human types”.⁸ Implicit in such racist conceptualisations is the superiority of one’s own race. Thus, race thinking is closely linked to the savage/civilised binary in asserting the inferiority of the observed. The comparisons discussed above are mostly quite superficial in nature, however they all attest to the notion of an Irish character or type conceptualised according to racial criteria. Subsequent observers, specifically Knut Jongbohn Clement and Johann Georg Kohl, go into much more detail when grounding their racial construction of the Irish in terms of a Celtic/Germanic dichotomy.

6.1 Celtic and Germanic Ireland

Both Knut Jongbohn Clement and Johann Georg Kohl (*Reisen in Irland*, 2 vols, 1843, JGKR1/JGKR2; *Land und Leute der britischen Inseln. Beiträge zur Charakteristik Englands und der Engländer*, 1844, JGKL) apply racial criteria in their depiction of the Irish: they use terms such as the ‘Irish’ Irish or the Celtic Irish whom they construct in direct opposition to the Anglo-Saxon/Germanic English and Scottish. The nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of the Anglo-Saxon racial superiority theory. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Anglo-Saxon period had been lauded by the English as a golden age of freedom with representative institutions and a thriving primitive democracy, used to defend popular liberties and freedoms of the time in England. This praise of Anglo-Saxons as a freedom-loving people was non-racial. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, a belief in Anglo-Saxon freedom had been “transformed into a rationale for the domination of peoples throughout the world. [...] Anglo-Saxon liberty was by 1850 transformed into a racist doctrine”.⁹ According to Reginald Horsman, proponents of the Anglo-Saxon dominance theory underscored links between the Anglo-Saxons and the Germanic peoples. It was claimed that freedom was brought to England by Germanic tribes from the forests of Germany. The Anglo-Saxons were a Germanic people, it was alleged, with racial links to the Germans as well as the Scandinavians, who were also supposedly descended from Germanic tribes.¹⁰ The concern with racial lineages and purported heritage reflect debates on national identity and uniqueness in the nineteenth

⁸ Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin: *Race*, p. 181.

⁹ Horsman: *Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism in Great Britain before 1850*, p. 387.

¹⁰ Cf. Horsman: *Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism in Great Britain before 1850*, p. 388f.

century on both the British Isles and in the German lands. According to John S. Ellis, “In the Victorian mind, the Germanic invasions of the Dark Ages provided national foundation myths for both the ‘Teutonic’ English and for their ‘Celtic’ neighbours in Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Victorian Anglo-Saxonists extolled the virtue of England’s Teutonic racial roots while denigrating the inferior character of the Celtic Other”.¹¹ The claims of Anglo-Saxon superiority were bolstered by the work of ethnologists, phrenologists, comparative philologists, historians and linguists of the early nineteenth century whose work provided ‘proof’ of the physical, mental and cultural superiority of the Anglo-Saxons over other races, often tracing linguistic and racial roots to a prehistoric Indo-European past. Furthermore, the increasing power of Great Britain and the United States, as well as the spread of the English language and English institutions across the globe within the British Empire, fed into the doctrine that the Anglo-Saxons were a race destined for greatness.¹² In these various discourses of the early nineteenth century, racial superiority was assigned to the Germanic Anglo-Saxon whose outstanding traits were a purported love of freedom, independence and liberty. It was alleged that the Anglo-Saxon was moderate in political matters, law-abiding, adept at exercising self-control and of a stable nature. On account of his Germanic heritage, the Anglo-Saxon was ostensibly practical, unimaginative, sober and thorough.¹³ In order to define and underscore the alleged superiority of the Anglo-Saxons, other races were cast as inferior, not least of all the immediate neighbours and indeed cohabitants of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain – the Celts. In his *The Races of Men* Robert Knox, for example, claimed that the Celtic character was an amalgam of “Furious fanaticism; a love of war and disorder; a hatred for order and patient industry; no accumulative habits; restless, treacherous, uncertain: look at Ireland”.¹⁴ Such a view of the Celtic character was already to be found among Anglo-Saxonists in the 1840s and provided an important foil to the supposedly superior Germanic Anglo-Saxon character.¹⁵ The Celt was ascribed characteristics such as emotionality, irrationality, instability, indolence, a lack of discipline, perseverance, and self-control. Such traits, it was claimed, found their political expression in the Celt’s predisposition towards anarchy, revolt and despotism; the Celt was allegedly lawless and wild, therefore making him unsuited to the institutions of government.¹⁶ By constructing the Celts in this way, the perceived physical, cultural and political superiority of the English over the Irish could be given a racial justification.

¹¹ John S. Ellis: *Celt versus Teuton. Race, Character and British National Identity, 1850-1918*. In: Joachim Fischer, Pól Ó Dochartaigh and Helen Kelly-Holmes (eds.): *Irish-German Studies. Yearbook of the Centre for German-Irish Studies, 2001/2002*. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2004, pp. 13-27, here p. 13.

¹² Cf. Horsman: *Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism in Great Britain before 1850*, p. 390, 399.

¹³ Cf. Ellis: *Celt versus Teuton. Race, Character and British National Identity*, p. 16.

¹⁴ Robert Knox: *The Races of Men. A Philosophical Enquiry Into the Influence of Race Over the Destinies of Nations*, 2nd edn. London: Renshaw, 1862, p. 26.

¹⁵ Cf. Horsman: *Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism in Great Britain before 1850*, p. 399.

¹⁶ Cf. Ellis: *Celt versus Teuton. Race, Character and British National Identity*, p. 16f.

German travel writers in Ireland such as Kohl and Clement take up this view of a belief in Anglo-Saxon racial superiority in how they conceptualise the Irish people. Kohl, for example, claims that Leinster in the east of Ireland is more advanced and civilised in terms of agricultural practise, economy, culture, customs and language because it is the part of Ireland closest to England and most under English influence. Here, everything 'Irish' (language, culture, customs) has been wiped out and "englisches Wesen ist an ihre Stelle getreten" (JGKR1 23). In the west, however, there is the greatest poverty, barbarity and superstition because this is where the Celtic Irish live. Connaught and the mountainous Connemara were the dominant place of refuge of the old Celtic Irish, who were driven from the east of the country by English settlers. In the west of Ireland, Irish is still spoken; English, the language of civilisation and culture, is hardly understood by the Celtic Irish (JGKR1 111). In this sense, the east/west divide corresponds to a civilised/savage dichotomy.

Another aspect of the Anglo-Saxon dominance theory extolled in the first half of the nineteenth century was the claim that the Lowland Scots and the Irish Ulster Protestants were part of the Anglo-Saxon race.¹⁷ In the case of Scotland, the Lowlanders had been sufficiently assimilated into the Anglo-Saxon world through language, culture and religion to be counted as Anglo-Saxon, while the Ulster Protestants were the direct descendants of English and Scottish planters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who had preserved their language, religion and customs on Celtic Irish soil. This is reflected in how Clement perceives of racial divisions within Ireland. He describes the west of Ulster, and of Ireland in general, as "das irische Irland" and "der wilde Westen Irlands" (KJC 111). The inhabitants of Donegal are more Irish than in other parts of Ulster, they also speak Irish. They are the remnants of history (KJC 57). Here, Clement is referring to the Plantation of Ulster under King James I, whereby Scottish and English settlers were given lands in east Ulster. Whereas for Kohl the racial divide between east and west is between the Anglo-Saxon English and the Celtic Irish, Clement constructs the racial divide along somewhat different lines: the Germanic Ulster Scots and the Celtic Irish. The east of Ulster is populated by "ein von den schottischen Niederlanden entstammtes Volk" whose Germanic idiom has replaced the dialect of the ousted natives (KJC 65f.). In this sense the racial divide is simultaneously a linguistic one.

A further element which fed into the idea of Anglo-Saxon and hence Germanic superiority was anti-Catholic thought. In some eighteenth- and nineteenth-century circles, a particular aversion and superstition towards Catholicism abounded. Catholicism was viewed by some as 'aufklärungsfeindlich' and anti-modern. In a German-Irish context, anti-Catholic thought often led to a misconstrual, even ignorance of the situation in Ireland. Goethe's

¹⁷ Cf. Ellis: Celt versus Teuton. Race, Character and British National Identity, p. 16.

comments just days before Catholic emancipation was granted in April 1829 serve as an example of the sentiments of some Germans towards Catholicism. He claimed that in the case of Catholics all precautions are useless: “Der päpstliche Stuhl hat Interessen, woran wir nicht denken, und Mittel, sie im Stillen durchzuführen, wovon wir keinen Begriff haben. Säße ich jetzt im Parlament, ich würde auch die Emancipation nicht hindern, aber ich würde zu Protokoll nehmen lassen, daß wenn der erste Kopf eines bedeutenden Protestanten durch die Stimme eines Catholiken falle, man an mich denken möge”.¹⁸ Goethe’s comment echoes suspicion towards Catholic movements in general: where Catholics agitated, for example for emancipation, some sort of conspiracy theory was assumed behind which the Holy See stood, rather than a fight for equality or other causes. Goethe’s mistrust towards Catholic movements as well as his bias towards Britain is evident in the following remark, made just a few days later when emancipation was once again the topic of conversation:

Recht klar über den irländischen Zustand werden wir aber doch nicht, denn die Sache ist zu verwickelt. So viel aber sieht man, dass dieses Land an Übeln leidet, die durch kein Mittel und also auch nicht durch die Emanzipation gehoben werden können. War es bis jetzt ein Unglück, dass Irland seine Übel alleine trug, so ist es jetzt ein Unglück, dass England mit hineingezogen wird. Das ist die Sache. Und den Katholiken ist gar nicht zu trauen. Man sieht, welchen schlimmen Stand die zwei Millionen Protestanten, gegen die Übermacht der fünf Millionen Katholiken, bisher in Irland gehabt haben, und wie z. B. arme protestantische Pächter gedrückt, schikaniert und gequält worden, die von katholischen Nachbarn umgeben waren. Die Katholiken vertragen sich unter sich nicht, aber sie halten immer zusammen, wenn es gegen einen Protestanten geht. Sie sind einer Meute Hunde gleich, die sich untereinander beißen, aber, sobald sich ein Hirsch zeigt, sogleich einig sind und in Masse auf ihn los gehen.¹⁹

Goethe’s remarks on the fate of the Protestant farmers in Ireland were not completely unfounded. He is most likely referring to incidents of agrarian unrest carried out in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Secret societies of tenant farmers such as the Whiteboys and the Ribbonmen terrorised landlords, sometimes even murdering them, to protect Catholic tenants against evictions. Reports of agrarian violence were often exaggerated in the British press, which may well have been the source of Goethe’s information: according to Eoin Bourke, Goethe’s diatribe against Irish Catholics reads very similarly to lead articles from the *London Times* in the run up to emancipation.²⁰ Goethe misconstrues historical circumstance when he portrays the Anglo-Irish Protestants as the oppressed, while innocent Britain is being dragged into Irish affairs. Already an elderly man of eighty years when he made these remarks, researchers discern a degree of confusion and senility in Goethe’s other conversations and

¹⁸ Goethe in conversation with Clemens Wenzeslaus Coudray on 3 April 1829. In: Johann Peter Eckermann: Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens. 1823-1832. Zweiter Theil. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1837, p. 98.

¹⁹ Goethe in conversation with Johann Heinrich Meyer on 7 April 1829. In: Johann Peter Eckermann: Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens. 1823-1832. Zweiter Theil. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1837, p. 111.

²⁰ Cf. Eoin Bourke: Ein Riese unter Zwergen oder ein rechter Lump? Die irische Agitator in deutscher Vormärzperspektive. In: Helmut Koopmann und Martina Lauster (eds.): Vormärzliteratur in europäischer Perspektive. Öffentlichkeit und nationale Identität. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 1996, pp. 157-174, here p. 163.

works.²¹ Nevertheless, Goethe ascribes to Catholics traits such as deceptiveness and a violent, argumentative and quarrelsome nature very much in the style of German anti-Catholic discourse of the time. Manuel Borutta outlines that the dichotomisation of Catholicism and modernity existed long before the *Kulturkampf* of the 1870s. Since the Enlightenment “war der Katholizismus [...] aus der europäischen Geschichte und Zivilisation ausgeschlossen und als rückständig, statisch, exotisch, primitiv oder barbarisch mit fernen Räumen und fremden Kulturen außerhalb Europas assoziiert, verglichen und gleichgesetzt worden”.²² Within the German lands in the run up to unification, Catholicism was viewed “als eine ‘innere Kolonie’, die es zu zivilisieren galt, um den universalen Fortschritt zu garantieren und die kulturelle Nationsbildung zu vollenden”.²³ The association of Catholicism with marginality and non-European spaces, on the one hand, and with the internal other and colonialism, on the other hand, provided fertile ground for racial discourse. Anti-Catholic thought paired with the already discussed Anglophilia which continued into the nineteenth century become important tenets of emerging racial discourse by mid-century.

Both Kohl and Clement construct the Celtic Irish in direct opposition to the Anglo-Saxon English and Germanic Scots using binarisms such as intelligence/ignorance, orderliness/disorderliness and industriousness/unindustriousness. By constructing the Celts in this way, the perceived physical, cultural and political superiority of the English over the Irish could be given a racial justification. In the case of German commentators on Ireland, the propounded superiority of the Germans over those considered ‘inferior’, such as Slavs, could equally be given a racial justification. This reflects the search for a *German* national identity. Furthermore, ethnic relations between the Germanic and Celtic peoples were highly contested in the run up to unification in 1871 as commentators tried to forge a common German identity for their projective nation. In their attempts to prove ethnic and cultural descent of German-speaking central Europe through ‘scientific’ and literary-historical methods, some commentators claimed that Germanic ancestry was Germanic, others claimed it was Celtic, and yet others claimed Germanic ancestry was both Germanic and Celtic.²⁴ Patrick O’Neill notes that the supposition of a Celtic origin of the Germans had been quite common throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Küttner even makes a reference to the Celts and Germans as having common ancestry (KGK 389).²⁵ All these various elements

²¹ Cf. Benjamin Bennett: “Über allen Gipfeln”. The Poem as Hieroglyph. In: Simon Richter and Richard A. Block (eds.): *Goethe’s Ghosts. Reading and the Persistence of Literature*. Rochester/NY: Camden House, 2013, pp. 56-76, here p. 74.

²² Manuel Borutta: *Antikatholizismus. Deutschland und Italien im Zeitalter der europäischen Kulturkämpfe*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010, p. 48.

²³ Borutta: *Antikatholizismus*, p. 109.

²⁴ Cf. Florian Krobb: On the Misappropriation of Origins. Wilhelm Raabe’s *Celtic Bones* and 19th-Century German Celtology. In: *Germanistik in Ireland 10* (2015), p. 123-139, here p. 124.

²⁵ Cf. Patrick O’Neill: *Ireland and Germany. A Study in Literary Relations*. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1985, p. 78.

feed into racial conceptualisations of the Irish in Kohl's and Clement's narratives. In order to further understand their individual perspectives a brief look at their biographies is necessary.

Knut Jongbohn Clement was born on the North Frisian island of Amrum. A linguist and historian, he studied in Kiel, Copenhagen and Heidelberg. In his work, Clement was concerned with stressing the importance of Schleswig-Holstein and especially the Frisians as a minority in Denmark. He published many books on the matter, including *Schleswig, das urheimische Land des nichtdänischen Volkes der Friesen und Angeln und Englands Mutterland, wie es war und wie es ward. Eine historisch-ethnologische Denk- und Beweisschrift* (1861). He was awarded a Danish scholarship to carry out his studies on comparative languages in Northern Germany, Northern France, the Netherlands, England, Scotland and Ireland. This enabled him to travel to Ireland in 1838.²⁶ Walter T. Rix suggests that Clement chose Ireland as the sole destination for his journey to provide a corrective to the growing and uncritical German enthusiasm for Ireland "by an extremely realistic description", by which Rix seems to mean a critical account.²⁷ Although Clement travelled to Ireland in 1838, his travel narrative *Reisen in Irland oder Irland in historischer, statischer und sozialer Beziehung* was only published in 1845. His narrative contains up-to-date information on political events in the mid-1840s as well as reference to works which appeared in the meantime (for example KJC 240f.). In his racial conceptualisation of the Irish, Clement compares the Irish to the Jews and the Slavic peoples on many occasions, and pronounced anti-Catholicism is also evident in his account.

Johann Georg Kohl, a middle-class Lutheran with a mercantile background, was born in Bremen and known during his lifetime as a travel writer, geographer and ethnologist.²⁸ In 1830, he went to Courland as a private tutor and travelled throughout the Baltic region, Russia and Poland. His published writing on these areas proved so successful that he decided to become a professional travel writer.²⁹ Kohl subsequently toured extensively in Europe as well as North America. Following his years of travel he returned to Bremen where he became the city librarian. His journey to Ireland took place in 1842 and the following year the two volumes of *Reisen in Irland* appeared. His experience in Eastern Europe provide him with many points of comparison to conditions in Ireland. In these two volumes evidence of a racial construction of the Irish can be traced, however his racist mode of thinking is clearly detectable in another work he published relating to Ireland just one year later in 1844: *Land und Leute der britischen Inseln. Beiträge zur Charakteristik Englands und der Engländer*. Kohl's two volume travel

²⁶ Cf. Eoin Bourke: Poor Green Erin. German Travel Writers' Narratives on Ireland from before the 1798 Rising to after the Great Famine, ed. and transl. by Eoin Bourke. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 2011, p. 284.

²⁷ Walter T. Rix: Ireland as a Source of German Interest in the Early Nineteenth Century. From Politics to Literature. In: Wolfgang Zach and Heinz Kosok (eds.): Literary Interrelations, vol. 1: Reception and Translation. Tübingen: Narr, 1987, pp. 21-31, here p. 27.

²⁸ Cf. Bourke: Poor Green Erin, p. 355.

²⁹ Cf. Wilhelm Wolkenhauer: Kohl, Johann Georg. In: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, vol. 16. Munich: Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1882, pp. 425-428, here p. 426.

narrative and his *Land und Leute* provide sometimes contradictory conceptualisations of the Irish because, while the latter work is undoubtedly coloured by a racial characterisation of the Irish people, the former constructs the Irish as an oppressed people who are trying to assert their sense of self. For this reason, Kohl is examined both in this section and the subsequent chapter on *Vormärz* rhetoric as he contributes to both ways of imagining the Irish.

6.2 Physiognomy and Phrenology

For both Kohl and Clement, the difference between the Germanic Ulster Scots/English and the Celtic Irish is evident in appearance alone. This reflects the emergence of physiognomy and phrenology, “newly founded sciences which judge character and temperament from the features of the head and face, the body and the extremities”.³⁰ Clement describes “die echtirische Physiognomie” as ugly. While in Germanic Ireland one finds strong, well-built people with fair hair, fair skin and blue eyes, in ‘Irish’ Ireland one finds “Das reinkeltische Geschlecht [...] ohne äußere Vorzüge”, smaller in build with a yellowish complexion, black hair and dark eyes. Irish women are especially ugly with fat ankles and nothing distinguished or refined in their features. According to Clement, out of a population of eight million Irish people, he believes seven million to be ugly (KJC 302f.). Given that women are usually the measure of the beauty of a race, Clement’s observations are very derogatory. While he admits that poverty, an environmental factor, does little to promote health and beauty, it is racial descent which is made responsible for physical ugliness. The purely Celtic physiognomy is described as “eine ganz eigenthümliche und von der englischen und der rein germanischen sehr verschieden” in that it is somewhat indescribable, stark, lacking the defined, angular form and expressions of the Germanic countenance (KJC 303). It is at this point that physical descriptions of the Celtic Irish turn into an analysis of their character and mental faculties; in this exercise the influence of physiognomics becomes evident. Clement claims that one can judge the character of the Celtic Irish straight away in their facial features. The Celtic expression is strange and uncanny; it possesses “etwas Wildes, Unstütes, Verstecktes und Schleuniges, nichts von germanischer Offenheit, Ehrlichkeit und Festigkeit” (KJC 303). Beautifully defined noses and mouths are linked to honesty, openness and steadfastness, whereas the Celtic Irish countenance is likened to the rough and coarse Slavic countenance in the Prussian Slavic lands, “wo die Menschennase eine auffallend häßliche Form hat und ein

³⁰ Martin Müller: *The view of German and English Social Scientists on the Irish in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Hamburg: Institute of Geography, Hamburg University, 1995, p. 1.

wahrer Fleischklumpen ist" (KJC 304). Such a formless physiognomy, he claims, is indicative of malleability and instability.

The perceived characteristics of fickleness, wildness and dishonesty readable from Celtic Irish faces are also interpreted as a manifestation of the character of a people who have been enslaved and mistreated for a long time. Clement claims one can see this in the expressions of individuals and how their eyes and tongue reveal a certain degree of defensiveness. He claims that the features of a slave never have the traits of a free man. Clement carries his musings so far as to claim a striking similarity between the dark eyes of the Celts with the form and expression of a pig (KJC 303f.). He asserts that the Irish are becoming more and more animal like: "*Paddy und Pig* sehen einander ja gar zu oft an, warum sollten sie einander auch in den Augen nicht ähnlich sein können" (KJC 120). In such a conceptualisation, the Irish are perceived as no better than the beasts of the field; they were never of a higher, nobler kind. Yet, Clement's comments also intimate the influence of environmental and historical factors in moulding character when he refers to the mistreatment of the Irish by their subjugators. In this matrix, it would appear that both environment and descent play a role in producing character.

For Clement, the Celtic Irish are physically inferior to the Germanic peoples in terms of build and perceived beauty, as well as morally inferior in terms of their supposed cunning and dishonesty. Furthermore, their alleged intellectual inferiority is given a scientific basis when Clement claims that the Celtic Irish possess "zurücktretende Organe, kleine ausdruckslose Stirn" (KJC 304). Clement is here alluding to the pseudoscience of phrenology. The premise of phrenology according to Franz Joseph Gall, who began writing his principle work on the subject in 1809 in French, was "the art of reading the inherent mental capacities and moral inclinations of people from the shape and contours of their skulls".³¹ Gall believed that he had empirically discovered twenty-seven organs in the human brain, which he claimed embodied basic traits from the instinct to reproduce (No. 1), to greed (No. 7) and musicality (No. 17), as well as tenacity (No. 27) and belief in God (No. 26). He theorised that the brain was the seat of all human faculties, and that individual mental faculties were located in specific areas of the brain. Strong development of these organs was reflected externally in nodules on the skull.³² Gall therefore believed he had established a direct relationship between aspects of character and the physical form of the skull. Clement's idea that certain parts of the external skull

³¹ Richard T. Gray: *About Face. German Physiognomic Thought from Lavater to Auschwitz*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004, p. 58. See Franz Joseph Gall: *Anatomie et Physiologie du système nerveux en général et du cerveau en particulier avec des observations sur la possibilité de reconnaître plusieurs dispositions intellectuelles et morales de l'homme et des animaux par la configuration de leurs têtes*. 4 vols. Paris: Schoell, 1810-19.

³² Cf. Erwin H. Ackerknecht: Gall, Franz Joseph. In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 6. Munich: Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1964, p. 42.

displayed enlargements or indentations clearly refers to such phrenological theory, whereby for him the sloping, receding areas indicate that a particular organ or organs were less developed. Furthermore, in physiognomics in general, the physical size of the forehead was believed to be an indication of a person's mental or cognitive capacity, whereby it was claimed that the bigger, higher and more arched the forehead, the greater the intelligence.³³

In this context, it is not surprising then that Kohl's description of the Celtic Irish as displaying a low forehead and round head compared to the Germanic English high brow and oval head is also immediately linked to mental faculties and questions of character (JGKL 148f.). Unlike Clement, however, Kohl utilises phrenological theory to explain every aspect of the Celtic Irish character, from perceived traits of liveliness and goodwill to quarrelsomeness and destructiveness (JGKL 149ff.). He claims that phrenologists have proven that the shape and size of Celtic Irish skulls show enlarged organs of perception. The organs of perception were believed to be located at the orbitofrontal cortex at the bottom of the forehead just above the eye sockets. Kohl cites phrenologists, who claim that enlarged perceptive organs indicate a lively conception of physical objects as well as a superficial relationship between objects. Kohl alleges that phrenologists have also proven that the forehead of the Celtic Irish slopes rapidly and that the top section of the forehead with the organs of reflection is exceedingly small, and certainly a lot smaller than in Germanic peoples. The organs of steadfastness and reliability are claimed to be extremely inadequate, as are the organs of cautiousness. This, for Kohl, explains why the Irish are so rash and imprudent; why they do not worry about the future but only about the present day. The formation of their skull also indicates that the Celtic Irish lack a love of orderliness, tidiness and methodical industriousness (JGKL 151).

Kohl asserts that the perceived lively and excitable nature of the Celtic Irish is superficial and does not correlate to a lively inner mind, thus implying a level of intellectual inertia. This is traced to the oversized organs of perception and the underdeveloped organs of reflection at the top of the forehead. Kohl claims that Celts can learn foreign languages and assume foreign customs much more easily than Germanic peoples. He alleges that the Irish in England are distinguished by their ability to speak French well, their social adeptness as well as their ability to grasp new concepts very quickly. The Germanic English and Germans, on the other hand, are slower at understanding new things, more cautious in learning, and stiff and inept in social situations. However, the Celts, he alleges, do not learn through careful, slow and diligent study. Furthermore, they apparently do not retain their knowledge, unlike those of Germanic racial descent (JGKL 226); the Celts' intelligence is then a superficial one. Kohl also invokes the phrenological theory that the skull, and therefore the brain of Germanic peoples is

³³ Gray: *About Face*, p. 45f.

generally bigger than that of Celtic peoples. The comment on learning languages belittles this activity as more of a primary function which can be acquired through imitation without really having to understand how a language works, just as young children acquire rather than learn language through systematic study. Moreover, it implies that this kind of superficial intelligence means that the Celts as a people are easier to subjugate politically because they can quickly adapt to foreign customs and languages.

Further characteristics are explained using phrenological theory. For example, the organs associated with respect, veneration, devotion and lack of reflection are identified as disproportionately large in the Irish which explains for Kohl why the Irish are such willing followers of their political leaders and priests (JGKL 151). Finally, quarrelsomeness and destructiveness are evident in how the long and narrow Irish skull stretches out far behind the ears. This explains all of the violent acts which the Irish have carried out during their revolutions and continue to carry out (JGKL 164f.).

According to phrenological and physiognomic discourses, the character traits associated with physical features were presumed to be innate, present from birth, and therefore immutable. In the nineteenth century, phrenology was accused of being deterministic, “of setting limits to the freedom of the individual”. The traits and “characterological features identified by physiognomics or phrenology are [...] a priori givens that have a defining impact on the individual beyond any acts of will, consciousness, or rational choice. This appeared not only to go against accepted precepts of human choice and self-determination, but also to undercut the enlightened philosophy of progressive perfectability”.³⁴ While Voght, for example, is clearly a proponent of this enlightened philosophy, Clement states that “Paddy ist unwandelbar derselbe wie er immer war” (KJC 310), thus contradicting earlier intimations of the influence of environmental factors. By utilising the theories of physiognomics and phrenology, Kohl and Clement find an apparatus to bolster their attitude of Germanic superiority over the Celts in an intellectual, moral and physical sense which pervades their respective narratives. In this, both pre-empt Joseph Arthur Comte de Gobineau’s *Essai sur l’inégalité des races humaines* (1853-1855) and the concept of intrinsic inequality espoused in it, an inequality which cannot be rectified by education or civic improvement.³⁵

³⁴ Gray: *About Face*, p. 59 and 64.

³⁵ Cf. Bourke: *Poor Green Erin*, p. 328.

6.3 Celtic and Germanic character

Apart from physiognomics and phrenological theory, Clement and Kohl also base their conceptualisation of the Celtic Irish on their everyday experiences. The outer appearance of Irish urban centres, for example, is discerned as reflecting the character of their inhabitants. In Limerick, 'the English town' is characterised by its cleanliness, orderliness and well-maintained buildings, whereas 'the Irish town' is full of dirt, disorder and ruins (JGKR1 145). Kohl claims that "die germanischen Völker die reinlichsten von Europa sind" and it is the Germanic English who have made this virtue "zum perfectesten und comfortablesten Zustande" (JGKL 228f.). This reflects elements of the Anglo-Saxon racial superiority theory in that the English, some commentators maintained, best embodied Germanic characteristics.³⁶

Clement notes a modest and reserved nature in the appearance of the city of Belfast. He believes there to be little pomp and grandeur in its buildings or outer appearance. The houses, streets and squares are built according to their purpose; the buildings show uniformity in their simplicity (KJC 72). Clement attributes this to the fact that "Der germanische Mensch in Großbritannien hat weit weniger Neigung, zu prunken, als der festländische, woher er seinen Ursprung hat" (KJC 70). By way of contrast, cities in 'Irish' Ireland feature a variety of buildings, irregular design and layout, as well as overwhelming levels of dirt and filth (KJC 72). Just as Kohl implies (JGKL 228f.), Clement unequivocally states that poverty is no excuse for unhygienic, dirty and disorderly living conditions: "Wo ein ganzes Land in Armuth liegt", he writes, "da kann man am wenigsten erwarten, daß der Mensch reinlich lebt, wo so viel Millionen schmutzige Lumpen den Menschen am Leibe hangen, wie viel Schmutz wird da in ihren Häusern, Hütten oder Höhlen sein" (KJC 175). It is evident here and in Kohl's narrative that, while there may have been major political changes in Ireland since the late eighteenth century, some things seem not to have changed at all. Observations on untidy, disorderly and dirty conditions is one such aspect. What is different to earlier comments is how such observations are framed: "die Kelten [sind] von jeher ein unreinliches Volk gewesen [...], es wäre also ein Wunder, viel Reinlichkeit in dem armen Irland zu finden" (KJC 175). Clement, like Kohl, puts conditions down to an alleged racial disposition, to immutable characteristics, but it is not Clement's, or indeed Kohl's goal to excuse the Irish, rather to highlight their inferiority. Clement is obviously disgusted with the levels of hygiene, even in the hotels he stays in. The Irish, however, apparently do not notice the dirt, "sie essen nur darauf los" (KJC 175). He continues his diatribe against the dirty Celts, which is unparalleled in German commentary on Ireland of the period:

³⁶ Cf. Horsman: *Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism in Great Britain before 1850*, p. 392.

wenn man [...] die hunderttausend kothigen Hände, hunderttausend gelben ungewaschenen Gesichter, die hunderttausend in Lumpen, welche jeden Augenblick vom Leibe fallen wollen und von Nasenschmutz und anderm Schmutz glänzen, umherschleudernden Menschen erblickt, so muß man Alles was man von Geschmack und Gefühl, Ekel und Widerwillen in sich spürt, gänzlich ersticken und abstumpfen, und mit Gewalt und Festigkeit die Vorstellung in sich einprägen, daß es eigentlich gar keinen Schmutz in der Welt gebe, sondern daß das nur Einbildung und Empfindelei sei, denn sonst könnte man in Verzweiflung kommen, wenn man auf seinen Reisen durch Irland von einem Wirthshaus in das andre muß. [...] Was in Schmutz geboren wird, frißt Schmutz, so geht es Kelten im Westen und Slawen im Osten. (KJC 176)

According to Eda Sagarra, German observers often linked this “Schmutzerlebnis” to a perceived racial hierarchy. She makes the observation that authors either ideologised the experience of dirt/filth as a strike against the petty bourgeois smugness of the English or used it as proof of an innate hierarchy of races and cultures.³⁷ She makes the latter comment in reference to Johann Georg Kohl, and it would seem that it equally applies to Clement. Both Kohl and Clement establish a racial hierarchy which places the Celts and the Slavs side by side (JGKL 229f.); both propound Germanic superiority. Yet, in Clement’s diatribe, he appears to come back to environmental reasons, i.e. if one is born into filthy conditions one will continue to live that way; nurture rather than nature is to blame.

As noted above, Clement interprets the modest appearance of Belfast as a manifestation of the reserved Germanic Scottish character. The tendency to boast and flaunt, on the other hand, is mostly attributed to the Celtic Irish:

Den Hang zum Großthun und Prahlen haben die Kelten von jeher mit einander gemein gehabt. [...] Auch die Irländer haben eine sehr starke Neigung dazu, und sie macht sich vielfach bemerklich. Daß der Irländer gern den Großen spielt, merkt man auch an dem Dubliner und Corker Kaufmann, welcher sich Fuhrwerk und Landhaus anschafft, sobald er etwas mehr erworben hat als er auf einmal verzehren kann. Dann setzt er sich ruhig nieder [...] und lebt von seinem Gelde. Dann aber fängt der Engländer und der Schotte erst recht an, sein Geschäft im Großen zu treiben. (KJC 144)

Clement’s comments are strikingly similar to what Voght observed almost fifty years previously when he described how a peasant who has managed to gather together a sum of money pockets it rather than improving his land, and if he has a considerable amount saved he even leaves his occupation and squanders his savings (CvV 581). Voght refers to such behaviour as evidence of vanity in the Irish character (CvV 615). The basis for Clement’s observations differ very little from Voght’s, i.e. whether peasant or business man, the Irish are perceived as vain, conceited and wasteful with their resources, and given to egotistical behaviour. The only difference is that for Clement such behaviour can be explained by knowledge of racial origin, whereas for Voght it is evidence of the lack of an enlightened system of values in Ireland.

³⁷ Cf. Eda Sagarra: Die ‘grüne Insel’ in der deutschen Reiseliteratur. Deutsche Irlandreisende von Karl Gottlob Küttner bis Heinrich Böll. In: Hans-Wolf Jäger (ed.): Europäisches Reisen im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. Heidelberg: Winter, 1992, pp. 182-195, here p. 195.

From the above passage it is also evident that for Clement there is a direct link between a modest, unpretentious nature and economic success. The business men of the linen industry in Belfast display “den schottischen Speculations- und Unternehmungsgest”.

According to Clement, they are hardworking business men, while the business men in cities in ‘Irish’ Ireland dedicate as much time to their pleasures as to their business (KJC 72). Clement claims that the Celt is less suited to acquiring property and retaining it because of his vain and boastful nature (KJC 151). The Celtic Irish’s lack of enterprise has a direct influence on the economic prosperity in ‘Irish’ Ireland which manifests itself in the appearance of Irish cities (poverty, dirt, beggars, bad living conditions) and the behaviour of their inhabitants. Clement holds Belfast up as an example to ‘Irish’ Ireland:

In Belfast wohnen viele vermögende und reiche Leute. Die Stadt sieht den großen englischen und schottischen Manufactur- und Handelsstädten ähnlicher, als den irischen Städten, man sieht wenig Armuth da, wenig Schmutz, fast keine irischen Kathen und Bettler, die Vorstädte sind nicht irisch, Alles ist thätig, nichts faullenzt [...], die Nützlichkeit scheint hier vorzugsweise die Menschenhand geleitet zu haben [...], einzelne Schönheiten der Baukunst fehlen auch in Belfast nicht, aber der mercantilische Geist blickt doch aus allen Straßen und Winkeln Belfasts hervor. Die Stadt sieht also gar nicht aus, als läge sie in Irland [...]. (KJC 72)

Clement is explicit in pointing out that human diligence, industriousness and hard work are responsible for making Belfast into an important centre of industry, and that this Germanic work ethic has material consequences on the lives and well-being of the inhabitants.

Furthermore, this prosperity is seen as a manifestation of a ‘seafaring’ Germanic spirit. He claims that Belfast is similar to manufacturing and industrial cities in Great Britain, “wo der seegermanische Geist in tausend Gestaltungen seine unermeßliche Schöpferkraft an dem Volksleben abprägt” (KJC 72). This, by way of contrast, highlights the lack of a creative and risk-taking streak in the Celtic Irish: the Celtic Irish are geographically as well disposed as their Germanic neighbours in Great Britain to exploit their coastal position for both economic (fishing industry) and political purposes (‘discovery’ and colonisation of new lands), and yet the Celts never took to the seas. It is the north Germans who are the real maritime people in the history of mankind (KJC 128). Evident here is Clement’s supremacist stance and belief in the superiority of the sea-faring Northern Germanic peoples, something which he propagated in much of his work. Kohl also emphasises the geo-political importance of Ireland on the edge of Europe. He speculates that the Irish should have been the first to discover America. However, the unambitious Celtic Irish did not make use of their geographic position, “und erst als der germanische Völkerstrom über sie hinbrauste, wurden sie auf die andere Seite des atlantischen Oceans mit fortgerissen” (JGKR1 313). Kohl’s comments serve not only as a justification of Germanic English rule in Ireland, but also claims it to be a necessity in terms of civilisation and progress for the backward, indolent and unadventurous Celtic Irish.

In general, Kohl's conceptualisation of the Celtic Irish is based less on a boastful nature like Clement's, and more so on the perception of a lively, carefree people who make do with very little. Therefore, the Irish do not strive for more in terms of economic progress or domestic and political improvement. However, both Clement and Kohl come to very similar conclusions. Control of body movement is central to how Kohl distinguishes between an English and an Irish man: an Irishman can be recognised by his communicative and intrusive behaviour (JGKL 171). This is down to the difference between the Celtic and Germanic temperament, whereby the Celt is characterised by a certain exterior liveliness and excitability, while Germanic peoples are characterised by a strong streak of phlegm, i.e. a calm, stolid, apathetic temperament (JGKL 226f.). For Kohl, it appears that this cheerful, energetic nature means that the Irish are less encumbered by worries:

Man könnte denken, daß der Himmel dem Irländer diese gute Laune, diesen leichten Sinn, diese Sorglosigkeit gegeben habe, um ihm seine drückende politische Lage erträglich zu machen. Alle gedrückte Nationen [...] erfreuen sich einer gewissen Leichtfertigkeit und eines gewissen Mangels an Ernst und an Tiefe des Gemüthes, [...] ich sage, man könnte so denken, wenn nicht eben der größte Theil der Leiden des Irländers gerade aus diesem Leichtsinne selbst hervorginge. (JGKL 172)

In this sense, carefreeness is reframed as carelessness. In economic terms this manifests itself in how the Irish do not strive to improve their economic status: the poorest people are simply thankful to God for having just enough to eat and otherwise they dally and dance their time away. Furthermore, the Celtic Irish are wasteful with what little resources they have. What some might interpret as a great sense of charity because the Irish willingly donate to those worse off than them, Kohl sees as a lack of perseverance to accumulate any great sum of money that could be put towards industry (JGKL 172). Kohl acknowledges that the Irish are capable of hard work when he discusses those who emigrate to England each summer to work on the harvests. However, this is only a seasonal occurrence and not innate industriousness (JGKL 195). The Germanic English, on the other hand, are by nature demanding and not easily satisfied. This is the impulse which drives their industry forward (JGKL 172). A desire to, and enjoyment in, work are lauded as Germanic qualities, whereas the Celtic Irish are, despite their exterior liveliness, lackadaisical and indolent. They lack the inner stimulus for diligence and industry (JGKL 227). This careless and easily satisfied nature also manifests itself in how the Irish live. Unlike Germanic people, Celts do not feel the striving towards comfort and homeliness (JGKL 228). They do not improve their living conditions, nor do they have any idea that rags are an eye sore (JGKR2 22).

For Kohl, just as for Clement, the Germanic Ulster Scots mediate how the Irish could be if one could do away with their Celtic indolence, carelessness and wastefulness and replace it with a different spirit (JGKR1 182). When he crosses the border from Leinster into Ulster, the wretched, miserable and neglected Irish cottages disappear. They are replaced with orderly,

decorated, neat and tidy cottages and gardens, as well as tidy cultivated fields (JGKR2 248). This is evidence that he has entered the territory of the Scottish settlers. Even though the Celtic Irish and Germanic Scots share the same space, in Kohl's eyes the diligent Germanic spirit has made much more of conditions.

It is obvious from these comments that both Kohl and Clement, while they acknowledge it (JGKR1 111, KJC 57), do not take political and historical circumstance into consideration when making such claims. Both are more than aware that the Ulster Scottish settlers, for example, were given the better land in east Ulster, while the native Celtic Irish were driven to the remotest, least fertile parts of Ulster. Large-scale English plantations beginning in the sixteenth century 'planted' loyal Protestant English subjects on land confiscated from the Gaelic Irish in Leinster and Munster where the topography of the landscape lends itself much more to cultivation than in Connaught. Indeed, by the time of Cromwell's campaign in Ireland in the 1650s, the Gaelic Irish were given the choice of going 'To Hell or to Connaught', as the saying went at the time. Meanwhile, Dublin and the surrounding land known as 'the Pale' had been under direct control of the English king for centuries. This area was the focal point of English rule in Ireland. Furthermore, Eoin Bourke points out that Kohl "omits to mention the Ulster Custom, which at the time of Kohl's visit was already widely practiced if not yet written into law and contributed to a far greater degree of rural wellbeing than existed in the more southern provinces".³⁸ The Ulster Custom refers to the informal tenant rights which included security of tenure so long as the rent was paid in full as well as the freedom to sell the right of occupancy to any new tenant of whom the landlord approved.³⁹ The inhabitants of what Clement and Kohl construct as Celtic Ireland to the west and south-west may have shared the same geographical area with the inhabitants of Germanic Ireland to the east and north, however, the topography of the landscape and the political circumstances each were subjected to were by no means equal. Apart from the Ulster Scots, Kohl also holds up the fortunes of a group of German immigrants in Ireland, the Palatines, as 'proof' that Irish poverty, misery and filth is largely self-inflicted and that the Irish

bei mehr Fleiß, Industrie und Energie sich auch ganz anders herausarbeiten könnten. Es ist in Irland immer ein gewöhnlicher Gegenstand des Streites zwischen den Freunden der Iren und den Anhängern der Engländer, zwischen den Celtomanen und den Anglomanen, ob das Unglück und die Armuth Irlands allein den Engländern und ihrer Tyrannei, oder zum größeren Theil auch der Indolenz und Schlaffheit des irischen Charakters zuzuschreiben sei. Jene mitten zwischen den Iren und auf demselben Boden und unter denselben politischen Einflüssen und Verhältnissen blühenden Deutschen scheinen diese Frage nicht sehr zu Gunsten der Celtenfreunde zu entscheiden. (JGKR1 153)

³⁸ Bourke: *Poor Green Erin*, p. 412.

³⁹ Cf. Alvin Jackson: *Ulster Custom*. In: John Cannon (ed.): *A Dictionary of British History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 942.

Again, Kohl chooses to ignore the historical and political fact that, while the Palatines may have shared the same geographical space as the Irish, they were not subject to the same political conditions. Their settlement was planned and financed by the British government. Following the Nine Years' War, the Palatine of the Rhine had suffered greatly, thus some inhabitants looked to emigrate to English colonies. In 1708, the first settlers arrived in New York, while hundreds of families were sent to Ireland 1709-1710. In the hope of strengthening the Protestant element in Catholic Ireland, the British government ensured that these settlers were accommodated by landlords as tenants. The landlords received substantial subsidies to this end. From the very beginning, therefore, the Palatines were privileged tenants who enjoyed much better treatment than the Irish, for example they often paid less rent than Irish tenants.⁴⁰ Thus, Kohl as well as Clement, attribute the prosperity of the Ulster Scots and the German Palatines on Irish soil to their Germanic constitution; the fact that they enjoyed privileges is not offered as an explanation. Hence, the attribution of economic 'success' is explained solely from racial heritage rather than historical-political circumstance.

Another binarism used in the construction of the Celtic Irish and the Germanic Ulster Scots/English is that of ignorance versus intelligence. Clement claims that intelligence, be it an entrepreneurial spirit or academic intelligence, is predominantly a Germanic trait (KJC 151). He emphasises that life in Belfast is not just mercantile but also academic. The inhabitants read diligently from the various libraries, while there are also many academic societies. On the other hand, he claims: "Nacht und Nebel gleich, liegt Geistesfinsterniß und Unwissenheit über Irland, vornemlich dem irischen Irland ausgebreitet" (KJC 111). Clement is outspoken in his assertion that the Celtic Irish are ignorant and stupid (KJC 36, 57, 134, 146, 147, 151, 170, 179, 187, 206, 212, 271, 286, 324). He makes a point of asking someone in almost every town he visits 'general knowledge' questions, such as the history of the area, the names of various buildings or the population size, and repeatedly comes to the same conclusion.

According to Clement, the Irish are ignorant also of their own history. He alleges that they have sunken so deep into ignorance that they have forgotten their past altogether, for example he does not meet a single Irish person who can tell him anything about the origin or history of the round towers. What he hears about the towers "ist künstlichen und neueren Ursprunges, welche durch Patrioten, Geistlichkeit und Penny Magazine unter die Leute gekommen ist" (KJC 41). Here Clement criticises the 'invention' of myths about the past, which could link to Irish attempts to create a collective identity. In the nineteenth century in particular, the age of historicism, history was viewed as an important component in the definition of identity and illustration of a sense of self. The invention of myths, especially

⁴⁰ Cf. Patrick J. O'Connor: *People Make Places. The Story of the Irish Palatines*. Limerick: Oireacht na Mumhan, 1989, p. 15 and p. 21f.

founding myths, was not peculiarly Irish. Simultaneously, in the German lands, Germans were engaging in the construction of a meaningful past for their present purposes; the mythologisation of the *Befreiungskriege* was underway. Yet, Clement is not criticising what the Germans themselves are engaged in; he criticises what he perceives as disinterest and insufficient investigation in an Irish context. When the Germans claimed Charlemagne to be the patron of German unification, they knew that he existed; the Irish, on the other hand, have no evidence for the basis of their claims, according to Clement. He states: “Das Volk [...] ist unpoetisch und sagenlos, sie wissen nichts von alter Zeit. Es ist bei einem Volk wie bei einem Einzelmenschen kein Fortschritt in Civilisation, wenn es seine Vergangenheit vergißt, sondern ein Versinken in Rohheit. Das ganze irländische Volk geht erinnerungslos in seine Gegenwart hinein” (KJC 91). Where there is written evidence of an Irish history, for example the various annals, Clement claims that these, too, are empty and meaningless. They are misconstrued, convoluted and obscure (KJC 64). According to Clement, “die Irländer sind immer unter der Fuchtel gewesen [...]. Geschichte, d. i. ein Leben eigener Thaten haben sie nicht und nimmer gehabt, ihre Geschichte ist Despotenwille, pharaonisch, herodianisch, tiberianisch, neronisch. Sie nennen sich in ihrer keltischen Eitelkeit und Prahlucht die *first flower of the Earth and first Gem of the Sea*, und ihre Blume ist verdorret, und ihre Perle haben sie vor die Säue geworfen, und ohne zu sehen, wie dorr ihr Dasein ist, müssen sie nun von ihren Säuen leben” (KJC 113f.). In Clement’s eyes, Irish history is one of subjugation: in pagan times the Irish were at the mercy of their own tyrants, then the Danes for three centuries, followed by Papish Roman despots and John Bull (KJC 114). Irish history is primarily one of despotism, not on the part of the oppressors, but on the part of the Irish themselves. It is implied that they willingly subject themselves to despotic leaders, evident from Clement’s reference to Herod, Nero and other rulers from antiquity, as well as the Catholic Church. In his reference to pearls, Clement suggests that Ireland enjoyed better times in the past or there was some positives in her history, however, her flower became wasted and withered away. Clement appears to see some historical justice in that the Irish are punished by history for their complacency and resignation.

6.4 Race and Religion

For both Clement and Kohl, the respective characteristics ascribed to the Celts and the Germanic peoples are also inextricably linked to religion, as if the latter had been tailored to the particular characteristics of the former. The perception of a geo-racial divide is simultaneously a religious one. From the very beginning of Clement’s narrative, there is a dovetailing of religion and ethnicity in his construction of ‘Irish’ Ireland and Germanic Ireland:

“Von der ulsterschen Ebne, wo die Presbyterianer wohnen, in das hochkatholische, das irische Irland hinein” (KJC 111), or “Aus dem Dunkel Donegals heraus kommt man mit den alten Bergen in Tyrone und Derry hinein, und läßt nach und nach die Wildnisse und die Armuth und das Irische und das Pöpstliche immer mehr hinter sich” (KJC 65). A similar motif is evident with Kohl when he describes Northern Ireland where the Scottish settlers live as the Presbyterian Ireland full of hardworking Presbyterians (JGKR2 248f.), while the ‘real’ Irish Catholics live in the west and south of Ireland (JGKR1 130). In general, the confounding of religion and ethnicity was common practise among nineteenth-century scientists (historians, anthropologists, ethnographers and geographers), particularly those Germans who took the so-called ‘English’ or colonialist view of Ireland, which set out to establish both the physical and intellectual superiority of the colonisers over the colonised.⁴¹

For Clement, the modest appearance of Belfast is also evidence of the Presbyterian spirit: simplistic and self-effacing. There are many Presbyterian churches, but they are plainly and unpretentiously decorated (KJC 70). Meanwhile, the public face of Catholicism is equated with a vain Celtic nature. The ruins of an abbey, for example, make quite an impression on Clement:

Die Ruinen von Dunbrody-Abtei verkünden dem Fußgänger schon den Pöpismus von New Ross [...]. Ich habe nie ein Gebäude der Art anderswo gesehen. Die Ruinen liegen großartig und prächtig da und sind von ungeheurer Größe. [...] ich stieg auf die Mauern und in den verödeten Räumen umher, und das Pöpstthum trat in seiner monstrosen Größe mir vor Augen, Alles ist breit und weit, Alles ragend und mächtig, und jeder Theil der Ruinen zeugt von der Fülle, woraus das ungeheure Gebäu sich einst erhob. (KJC 270)

It could be argued that there is even a hint of awe on Clement’s part in the presence of such impressive, even daunting ruins. Yet, the contrast between the unadorned Presbyterian churches in Belfast and the imposing ruins of this Catholic abbey is clear. For Clement, this display of splendour forms a legacy that present-day clergy also aspires to. He details for example the fine ceremonial dress of a bishop with all his golden accoutrements, as well as his well-built and healthy appearance. The bishop’s appearance forms a marked contrast to an emaciated and hungry beggar who stands next to him (KJC 171f.).

Clement further conflates Celtic descent with Catholicism when discussing the ignorant manner in which the bishop behaved when Clement entered into a theological discussion on the issues of celibacy and the Virgin Mary. Clement maintains that the bishop became so agitated he banged his fists on the table. He surmises “Es war zu erkennen, daß dieser Bischof von Limerick nicht geeignet sei, die Irländer weniger unwissend zu machen” (KJC 171). According to Clement, the Catholic clergy are narrow-minded, prejudiced and conceited. They

⁴¹ Cf. Müller: The view of German and English Social Scientists on the Irish in the 19th and 20th Centuries, p. 4.

are even held responsible for making the already obtuse Irish “noch viel dummer und unwissender” (KJC 281). Clement believes that they have a terrible influence on the Irish people (KJC 279f.). Their aim, according to Clement, is to keep the Irish in this state of ignorance so that they can remain in control of their minds (KJC 151).

The polarisation continues: Ulster is the main province in Ireland as a result of the Germanic spirit, Protestant insight and industriousness (KJC 66). The practical and rational Presbyterians utilise available resources to promote industry and economy, whereas the superstitious Catholic Celts will leave buildings and old abbeys go to ruin or will not disturb fairy mounds for fear of reprisal from the ‘little people’ (KJC 311f.). “Dicke, tiefe, undurchdringliche Unwissenheit [...] liegt begründet im Papstthum und in der keltischen Art” (KJC 153). Clement argues that the Celtic element has only survived so long in Ireland because it has been supported by Catholicism, which, he claims, is related to and corresponds to the Celtic nature (KJC 292). According to Sebastian Stumpf, this harsh assessment reflects a deep-rooted mistrust towards Catholicism that was common throughout the Protestant North of Germany.⁴² Indeed, Clement’s conceptualisation of the Irish as a confounding of religion and ethnicity can be understood against his own Protestant background and consequent identification with the Presbyterians in Ireland. Thomas Nipperdey outlines what might be referred to as a Protestant work ethic or “the different mental disposition characteristic of Protestants” in Germany: “They possessed a certain spiritual asceticism, with a strong emphasis on work, scholarship and performance, planning and saving, and a distaste for the simpler pleasures of life, like playing cards. Protestant restlessness combined with an ethos which held poverty to be scandalous, and wealth the basis of honour”.⁴³ It is clear that Clement staunchly adhered to such a creed when he decries the Catholic Celtic nature in Ireland for its perceived idleness, ignorance, the slovenliness of those who do not bother to improve their living conditions, the showy character, the wastefulness, everything which embodied the polar opposite to a Protestant outlook on work, but also individual responsibility for one’s lot in life. This becomes especially important if one considers the differing beliefs on salvation between Catholicism and Protestantism, and specifically the Presbyterianism with which Clement identifies, because he would have believed in the doctrine that salvation is by grace through faith alone. Catholics have recourse to absolution, confession and can derive solace in a hierarchy which includes ordained priests and bishops. The Catholic clergy function as mediators between man and God, they are appointed through sacrament. Thus, responsibility for the spiritual wellbeing of the flock is delegated and ceded to them.

⁴² Cf. Sebastian Stumpf: Ireland as a Projection Screen for German Problems in Vormärz literature and journalism. PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2006, p. 68.

⁴³ Thomas Nipperdey: Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck: 1800-1866, transl. by Daniel Nolan. Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1996, p. 179.

Presbyterians, on the other hand, are among a congregation of equals, they have no mediator and they stand alone before God. "Presbyterians must somehow convince God that, for all their inherent sinfulness and insurmountable imperfections, they are at least trying to live by the dictates of 'simul iustus et peccator' in the [...] hope that he may eventually be considered just about worthy on the day of judgement. [...] if Presbyterians are to be redeemed, there is absolutely no room for dalliance or idleness in their lives, for they must prove against all the odds that they are deserving of divine grace. Thence their pronounced desire to distinguish themselves and their emphasis on individual responsibility and success". In this light, individual achievement defines our worthiness in the eyes of God, and in order to be saved one must work to the best of one's ability at all times and constantly strive for improvement and achievement. As Stumpf contends, "righteousness, efficiency, sobriety and, above all, industry became the hallmarks of Presbyterian striving, thus lending worship a very concrete and practical edge that was to facilitate their eventual economic dominance throughout the world".⁴⁴ It is exactly this mind-set which is at the heart of Clement's conceptualisation of the Irish and summed is up in the following:

Der schottische Mensch verliert seine Natur auf keinem Fleck auf Erden, sie geht mit ihm nach den Enden der Welt, bleibt ihm treu von der Wiege bis zum Sarge, und prägt in alle seine Werke den Stämpel ihrer Gediegenheit ein. So weit als Englands Wimpel wehen, sieht man Schotten treu und muthig, still und sinnvoll ihren Berufen nachgehen, ihr Character ist weit und breit geachtet, und in ihren Erfindungen und Unternehmungen ist außerordentlich viel Gelingen. Ihre puritanische Lehre, ihr Abscheu vor Papstthum und Finsterniß und ihre Liebe zu echter Freiheit, welche kein leeres Geschrei und kein Schein und Schimmer ist, hat sie bei ihrem festen, klaren und wahren Sinn zu dem besten und glücklichsten Volk gemacht. (KJC 65f.)

Another element here is the focus on 'true' freedom. Clement explicitly sees the Catholic Church in Ireland as holding the Celtic Irish unfree, keeping them in a state of enslavement which somehow compounds the servitude in which they are held by their colonial masters and landlords *as well as* by their own racial nature. It is implied that the cry for freedom from the likes of O'Connell is but empty words because the Celtic Irish will still not be free from the dominating rule of the Catholic Church. "Schotten sollten diese Insel bewohnen, sie würden ein andres Irland daraus machen" (KJC 180) is Clement's summary of his supremacist and staunch Presbyterian convictions.

Unlike Clement, Kohl observes few outward traces of Catholicism. His expectations of finding "bilderdienstbeflissene Katholiken", statues, shrines and holy crosses dotted around the countryside are disappointed (JGKR1 382). He does, however, just like Clement, link a perceived Celtic Irish nature with Catholicism, and a Germanic English and Scottish nature with

⁴⁴ Sebastian Stumpf: Ireland as a Projection Screen for German Problems, p. 71.

Protestantism. This is evident in his evaluation of the Temperance movement (founded in 1838 to promote total abstinence) and its leader Father Mathew.

According to Kohl, Protestants consider the question of abstinence in a sober, simple and reasonable manner. They believe that temperance is an admirable and truly Christian virtue whereas intemperance is an immoral, shameful vice. Yet, they also believe that wine and other alcoholic drinks can and should be enjoyed in moderation. They are good for the mind and the body, therefore it is unnecessary to pledge to total abstinence. Irish Catholics, however, demand absolute abstinence because they do not have reign over their passions as Protestants do (JGKR1 131). Kohl maintains that the temperance movement appeals to certain Irish Catholics because they already possess a measure of fanaticism and superstition. Once they decide to support something, they dedicate themselves to it wholeheartedly and unreservedly. Some Catholic Irish even turn the Temperance movement into intemperance of another kind: excessive passion is evident in how they celebrate their meetings with loud, tasteless music, extravagant, garish speeches and conclude with noisy dancing late into the night. Pictures of Father Mathew are even specially printed on their teacups and saucers at the tea parties/temperance meetings (JGKR1 206-214). Similarly, the manner in which Father Mathew is spoken of by some members proves to Kohl that the enthusiasm for temperance is a manifestation of the Catholic Celtic spirit: he is hailed as a miracle man ascribed with the ability to heal the sick, lame and blind (JGKR1 131f.). Those who receive the medal of temperance from him believe it to have magical powers (JGKR1 209). Kohl uses such observations to support his view that, while temperance in itself is good and virtuous, some Irish Catholics treat it with their usual over-zealous nature. Like Clement, Kohl amalgamates religious and ethnic arguments:

Die Irländer waren wie für den Katholicismus geschaffen, welcher phantastische und poetische Gefühlsmenschen weit mehr ansprechen muß als der ernste und in seinen äußeren Formen prosaische Protestantismus. Jener verlangte Alles, was der Irländer in hohem Grade besitzt, blinden Glauben, Hang zum Wunderbaren und Mangel an Untersuchungseifer. Die Irländer hätten ihr ganzes Wesen ändern müssen, wenn sie dem Katholicismus hätten entsagen sollen. Sie blieben daher mit den übrigen celto-romanischen Nationen auf der Seite des Papstes stehen, und ihre und ihrer germanischen Nachbarn Wege gingen [...] in verschiedenen Richtungen auseinander. (JGKL 203f.)

The view of race defined by behavioural characteristics is evident here, as is the reservation towards perceived superstition and magic associated with Catholicism by a middle-class Protestant. According to Kohl, Protestantism is more inclined to industriousness and enterprise (JGKL 193). Everything about the Celtic Catholic nature goes against Kohl's Protestant work ethic.

While it appears generally plausible from their construction of the Celtic Catholic Irish that both Kohl and Clement justify English rule over Ireland based on their belief in Protestant

Germanic superiority over the Catholic Celts, Clement does not seem to follow this line of argument. On the one hand, the influence of descent versus environment on the Irish character, appearance and living conditions is still quite ambivalent in his narrative. On the other hand, Sebastian Stumpf argues that Clement effectively had no material reason to side with England other than the vague idea of ethnic brotherhood. Indeed, on one occasion in his narrative Clement comments that the English have never shown good will towards their Germanic brothers (KJC 332). Even though Protestantism may be the only objective bond which united him with England, Clement makes a clear distinction between Anglicanism, which he likens more to Catholicism because of its hierarchal structure, the wealth of the clergy and the decadence of Anglican ceremonies, and Presbyterianism, a more 'democratic' form of Christianity to which he aligns himself. Therefore, Stumpf argues that Clement's anti-Catholic and racist outbursts are a by-product of his own faith. The seed to Clement's supremacist thought, Stumpf continues, has its roots in Lutheran ethics: "it becomes increasingly apparent that Protestant attitude is deemed to be more positive and determined, implying that it is more suited to survival and must therefore be the creed of the fittest".⁴⁵ In Clement's eyes, it would appear that some kind of a divine distinction is manifesting itself in the physical world between the regressive Catholic Celts and the progressive Presbyterian Germanic Ulster Scots.

There can be no doubt that both Kohl and Clement are convinced of the existence of a specific Irish character which they define according to race and religion. The equation of the two, it has been maintained, sets both Clement and Kohl up "as proto-racists and Social Darwinists before their time".⁴⁶ While some previous eighteenth-century observers were convinced Anglophiles, Anglophilia takes on decidedly racial tones when authors propound Germanic Anglo-Saxon superiority over the Celtic race. The specific English-Irish context could function as a case study for Germanic dominance over a supposedly inferior race. This could serve particular agendas in the search for and construction of a *German* national identity. Anglo-Saxonists underscored their Germanic origins as well as a common cultural and linguistic heritage with the German *Volk*.⁴⁷ The Germans, therefore, could lay claim to the Anglo-Saxon English as part of the greater Germanic world. This seems to be in the background in Kohl's narrative, especially when Slavic peoples and Jews are enlisted as comparisons, because they serve the purpose of underlining Germanic superiority both on the British Isles *and* on mainland Europe. Indeed, Kohl believes that the Celts and the Slavic peoples not only share similar characteristics, but they are also united by the fact that they have a common conqueror and ruler, namely the Germanic race: "Der germanische Stamm ist seit dem Untergang des römischen Reiches der

⁴⁵ Sebastian Stumpf: Ireland as a Projection Screen for German Problems, p. 72.

⁴⁶ Sebastian Stumpf: Ireland as a Projection Screen for German Problems, p. 77.

⁴⁷ Cf. Horsman: Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism in Great Britain before 1850, p. 392.

Beherrscher Europas. Sein Geist bildet die Seele des europäischen Völkerlebens seit 14 Jahrhunderten. Er warf im Westen die celtisch-romanische, im Osten die slavische Welt in Trümmer und baute auf diesen Trümmern eine neue Welt". He claims that both Celts and Slavs never formed a great empire; they remained subjected to the Germanic giant (JGKL 217). The alleged inability of the Celts to maintain stable statehood is a common trope in racist discourse.⁴⁸ Throughout the many attacks on Germanic lands, the Germanic people always maintained their independence. In this context, Kohl enlists the symbolic German oak, which he describes as indestructible with a history reaching back thousands of years, and around which all of its offshoots are scattered in full bloom. Offshoots of the Germanic oak refer to Germanic states of Europe, to which Kohl counts Franconia, the Batavian states, the Swiss republic, German parts of Slavic areas, the Anglo-Saxon empire in Great Britain and the Scandinavian kingdoms. The symbolic German oak was "a patriotic icon of bravery, power, and strength [...] intended to facilitate the yearned-for national unity in the light of territorial fragmentation and political dissension".⁴⁹ Kohl's espousal of Germanic national unity and Germanic superiority has as a correlative the opposition to Celtic Irish ventures for greater national independence when he says that it would be better "wenn sie [die Iren] [...] ihrer anti-sächsischen Repeal [...] entsagten" because in Kohl's eyes, the Celtic Irish are destined to be an appendage of the Germanic world (JGKL 236).

What Kohl espouses here is a belief in the right of the Germanic core to expand into adjacent territories, to incorporate fringes into the centre. The idea of German expansion, especially into the East, was not uncommon in nineteenth-century German discourse.⁵⁰ In this, Kohl appears to preach a kind of universalism. On other occasions in his narrative, he propounds a doctrine of ethnic fusion of the inferior Celts into the Germanic empire (JGKL 210). This could be linked to the idea advocated by comparative philologists and German nationalists of Teutonic greatness and destiny; the Germanic peoples were destined to regenerate Europe through the infusion of Germanic blood with other races.⁵¹ The idea of cultural assimilation of ethnic minorities into German society was one tenet of nation-building discourse before German unification. Another tenet of this discourse was the opinion that races remained unchanged throughout history, and therefore were unchangeable. In this view,

⁴⁸ Cf. Andreas Oehlke: *Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1991, p. 263.

⁴⁹ Johannes Zechner: *Politicized Timber: The German Forest and the Nature of the Nation 1800-1945*. In: *The Brock Review*, 11. 2 (2011), pp. 19-32, here p. 20.

⁵⁰ See for example Kristin Kopp: *Germany's wild east. Constructing Poland as colonial space*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012.

⁵¹ Cf. Horsman: *Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism in Great Britain before 1850*, p. 399 and p. 402.

minorities, both racial and religious including the Jews, Catholics and/or Slavic Poles, were to be subdued.⁵²

Constantia Maxwell claims that in Kohl's first work on Ireland (*Reisen in Irland*) his "opinions must always be treated with respect, for they are those of a well-educated and much-travelled individual who is singularly free from prejudice".⁵³ Marcus Rau maintains in relation to *Reisen in Irland* that Kohl saw himself "meist als neutraler Beobachter".⁵⁴ Although in *Reisen in Irland*, Kohl's racial configurations of the Irish are not yet as pronounced as in his *Land und Leute*, there can be no doubt that, while he may be well-educated and much-travelled, he and indeed Clement are not free from prejudice. Both Clement and Kohl serve as a case in point of how observation is never neutral: constructing the Irish from without is a perpetual political, social, historical and cultural process subject to the conditions and preconceptions of the observer and the society from which he originates.

⁵² Cf. Ellis: Celt versus Teuton. Race, Character and British National Identity, p. 19.

⁵³ Constantia Maxwell: The Stranger in Ireland. London: Jonathan Cape, 1954, p. 295.

⁵⁴ Marcus Rau: Wer Irland gesehen hat, dem ist kein Zustand in Europa mehr bedauernswerth. Beobachtungen und Erfahrungen von Arthur Young und Johann Georg Kohl. Ein Vergleich. In: Otfried Dankelmann (ed.): Entdeckung und Selbstentdeckung. Die Begegnung europäischer Reisender mit dem England und Irland der Neuzeit. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1999, pp. 169-208, here p. 191.

7 Changing Perspectives: The Emergence of *Vormärz* Rhetoric

As already noted, the late 1820s generally mark a turning point in how German observers conceptualise the Irish people. This is evident in how cultural criteria are applied in the construction of an Irish character, as well as in the application of political and religious criteria: for the first time the Irish Catholic lower classes are conceptualised as intelligent and capable. While this was by no means a widespread portrayal of the Irish lower classes in the first three decades of the nineteenth century in German travel literature, it nevertheless is a reflection of how events in both Ireland and Germany fed into political imaginings of the Irish people. Furthermore, it is an indication as to how constructions of the Irish would change over the succeeding two decades. Central to this changing perspective were Daniel O’Connell, the Catholic Emancipation movement and the Repeal Association. When Catholic Emancipation was granted in 1829, it was a victory for O’Connell and the Association. The morale of Irish Catholics increased as a result of the removal of the taint of inequality.¹ O’Connell set up the Repeal Association to run along the same lines as the Catholic Association had been run. Mass meetings, or monster meetings, were the characteristic device of the Repeal Association. 1843 was known as the Repeal year: more than forty monster meetings were held. The point of such mass demonstrations was to show the will of the majority of the Irish people to instigate political change by peaceful means. These events provided German political commentators with material aplenty which they could use to highlight and criticise domestic conditions. Following the defeat of Napoleon and the Congress of Vienna in 1815, revolutionary and nationalist ideas spread by the French Revolution were actively suppressed in the German lands. As Nipperdey states, “man wollte eine Ordnung des Gleichgewichts, und man wollte eine Ordnung, die nicht auf Freiheit und Selbstbestimmung der Völker, sondern auf der Legitimität von Staaten und Dynastien beruhte”.² To this end, in 1819 under the *Karlsbader Beschlüsse*, the liberal and nationalist student associations, *Burschenschaften*, were banned. Liberal university professors were removed from their posts. Furthermore, government censorship was introduced and strictly upheld until 1848. Political argument in print was, therefore, frequently only possible by way of discussions of external affairs. Thus, according to Patrick O’Neill, “the struggle of the Poles against Russia, that of the Greeks against the Turks, and that of the Irish against the English were all viewed with considerable interest by thinkers of every shade of meaning in contemporary Germany”.³ Some Young German writers showed great interest in Ireland in the struggle between the oppressed and the oppressors. They

¹ Cf. J. H. Whyte: *The Age of O’Connell 1800-1847*. In: T. W. Moody and F. X. Martin (ed.): *The Course of Irish History*. Dublin: Mercier, 1994, pp. 248-262, p. 255.

² Thomas Nipperdey: *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866. Bürgerwelt und starker Staat*. Munich: Beck, 1983, p. 89.

³ Patrick O’Neill: *Ireland and Germany. A Study in Literary Relations*. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1985, p. 131.

utilised portrayals of Irish misery and injustice to political ends in the German political arena.⁴ The liberal-minded writers of the Young German movement and the representatives of the literary *Vormärz* were supporters of constitutional rule, the unification of Germany, freedom of press, religious freedom as well as the emancipation of women. They often used popular formats such as letters, travel narratives, journalistic texts and novellas in order to reach the reading public. Their aim was the politicisation of literature and political change. On 10 December 1835, the works of the Young German movement were banned by the authorities in the Deutscher Bund. They were accused of attacking “die christliche Religion auf die frechste Weise”, of degrading “die bestehenden sozialen Verhältnisse” and of destroying “alle Zucht und Sittlichkeit”.⁵ In the 1840s, some representatives of the literary *Vormärz* radicalised their opinions, for example Ferdinand Freiligrath whose book *Mein Glaubensbekenntnis* appeared as the political manifesto of democratic opposition to restoration and resulted in his exile. Freiligrath composed two poems on Ireland, ‘Die irische Witwe’ and ‘Irland’.⁶ The former criticises landlordism in Ireland while the latter poem was written during the famine and criticises English policy of exporting Irish produce while countless Irish starved.⁷ Other important figures of the 1840s included Georg Herwegh, Georg Weerth and Lüdwig Börne. Weerth was a correspondent for the *Kölnische Zeitung* in London. He composed a number of poems on Ireland including ‘Ein Sonntagabend auf dem Meere’, ‘Mary’, ‘Deutscher und Ire’ and ‘Gebet eines Irländers’.⁸ The first three poems praise Irish efforts for repeal against oppressive England, while the last poem expresses Weerth’s disappointment at the failure of the repeal movement.⁹ Although the March Revolution of 1848 saw the establishment of the *Frankfurter Nationalversammlung* which aimed to draw up a constitution for the foundation of a united Germany, the efforts of the revolutionaries were quashed by Prussian military in 1849 and their achievements were reversed in all German states by 1851.

German interest in Ireland during the *Vormärz* period was intensified by the confessional element. While the Irish Catholic movement gained momentum from 1820s, in the German states political Catholicism was simultaneously emerging. In the German lands there were Protestant states with large Catholic minorities, especially the Catholic Rhineland under Prussian administration since 1815. The state tried to suppress the influence of the Catholic Church in the Rhineland. All state positions and offices were open only to Protestants.

⁴ Cf. O’Neill: Ireland and Germany, p. 162.

⁵ Alexander Miruss (ed.): Diplomatisches Archiv für Deutschen Bundesstaaten. Dritter Theil. Leipzig: Renger, 1848, p. 397.

⁶ Ferdinand Freiligrath: Die irische Witwe. In: Freiligraths Werke in sechs Teilen. Erster Teil. Berlin: Bong, 1909, pp. 62-66; Irland. In: Freiligraths Werke in sechs Teilen. Zweiter Teil. Berlin: Bong, 1909, p. 111ff.

⁷ Cf. Doris Dohmen: Das deutsche Irlandbild. Imagologische Untersuchungen zur Darstellung Irlands und der Iren in der Deutschsprachigen Literatur. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1994, p. 93f.

⁸ Georg Weerth: Ein Sonntagabend auf dem Meere, Mary, Deutscher und Ire, Gebet eines Irländers. In: Weerths Werke in zwei Bänden, vol 1. Berlin-Weimar, 1980, pp. 23-26, pp. 58-60, p. 62f., p. 63f.

⁹ Cf. Dohmen: Das deutsche Irlandbild, p. 92f.

Tensions came to a head in 1837 when the archbishop of Cologne, Clemens August von Droste-Vischering, was arrested and imprisoned. This followed a dispute between the church and state regarding the education of children from mixed marriages. The previous archbishop, Ferdinand August von Spiegel, in his subservience to the Prussian government, made a secret agreement with the Prussian administration regarding mixed marriages which went against ecclesiastical marriage laws. His successor, Clemens August von Droste-Vischering, soon came into conflict with the government. As a result, he was arrested in November 1837 and imprisoned for two years. It was in light of these events that the Catholics of the Rhineland in particular, and German Catholics in general, found a point of comparison with conditions in Ireland. O'Connell was popular in German circles because, as Gisela Holfter points out, even though there were several individual movements in Germany often subsumed under the term *Vormärz*, there was no single outstanding figure like O'Connell.¹⁰ Eoin Bourke states that O'Connell "stellte etwas dar, das im beengenden deutschen Kleinstaatenwesen gar nicht erst in Erscheinung zu treten vermochte, nämlich einen extrem energischen und beredsamen Volkstribun, der eine riesige und hingebungsvolle, regional weitgestreute und sozial breitgefächerte Gefolgschaft hinter sich hatte und Massenkundgebungen von einer halben Million zusammenzutrommeln imstande war".¹¹ Through the Catholic Association and the Repeal movement, O'Connell for the first time mobilised the Irish masses into a cohesive unit. This, in turn, contributed to awareness of the Irish people among European observers. Equally, there is a current in the formation of German nationhood which is confessional; this became evident in the dispute in Cologne and erupted again in the 1870s after German unification in the *Kulturkampf*.

According to Andres Oehlke, during the era of O'Connell there were more publications in Germany about Ireland than during the remainder of the nineteenth century put together. These publications included newspaper reports, articles in encyclopaedias and political journals, as well as individual treatises on the Irish question. The opinion on O'Connell ranged from celebrating him as a national Liberator and Catholic leader of his people to a vicious demagogue depending on the political dispositions of individual authors.¹² The interest in Ireland is also reflected in German travel literature on Ireland which experienced a steady increase in the number of publications from 1830 to 1845 with new travel narratives appearing almost every year within that fifteen year period. By the mid-1830s at the latest, there was an

¹⁰ Cf. Gisela Holfter: Friedrich Engels im Kontext der deutschsprachigen Irlandrezeption im 19. Jahrhundert. In: Marx-Engels Jahrbuch 2011. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012, pp. 28-48, here p. 34.

¹¹ Eoin Bourke: Ein Riese unter Zwergen oder ein rechter Lump? Der irische Agitator in deutscher Vormärzperspektive. In: Helmut Koopmann und Martina Lauster (eds.): Vormärzliteratur in europäischer Perspektive. Öffentlichkeit und nationale Identität. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 1996, pp. 157-174, here p. 168.

¹² Cf. Andreas Oehlke: Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1991, p. 78f.

awareness of Ireland and the Irish people in German discourse unparalleled to previous decades.

Yet, even before the 1830s there is evidence of recognition, if not of the political, then the dire socio-economic conditions which the Irish lower classes are forced to endure in German travel literature. Many observations focus on the physical, mental and moral consequences of poverty. Whereas in conceptualisations of the Irish as content savages the lower classes are presented as unaware of and happy in their poverty because they know no better (for example Küttner, 93f.), or in constructions of the Irish as ignoble savages as ignorant and inferior needing to be civilised (for example Hering, 104), in these conceptualisations there is an emphasis on how poverty leads to degradation and humiliation rather than poverty being interpreted as a hallmark of a carefree, ignorant or deprived and indolent people. These constructions of the Irish are not necessarily 'positive' or 'negative'. They are the views of medical men who discern the causes of what might otherwise be viewed as morally reprehensible behaviour (alcoholism, prostitution) in social and economic circumstance, rather than seeing such behaviour as a sign of collective character. Their language is frank and factual when they discuss prostitution, venereal diseases and life in the work houses. While the authors of these travel narratives may not be directly linked to politicised *Vormärz* persuasions, they nevertheless pre-empt the indignation of later authors at the socio-economic conditions of the Irish lower classes. While heightened sensitivities to living conditions and public welfare in Germany at the start of industrialisation, as well as migrancy, emigration and the uprootedness of rural populations after poor harvests and food shortages from the late 1810s form the domestic background for German attention paid to social conditions, the debate on Poor Laws and the introduction of the work houses in Ireland in 1820s and 1830s form a political backdrop to the increasing focus on pauperism at German travellers' destination. In 1838, the Irish Poor Law Act was passed into law. It was closely modelled on the 1834 Poor Act for Wales and England, which was based on the belief that poverty was the fault of the individual and therefore was to be treated severely. Furthermore, in Ireland the conditions for the provision of relief were purposely made harsher than in England and relief was only available via the work house. Those who entered the work house were classed as paupers and put to work in exchange for shelter and food.¹³

The medicinal travel narratives of the 1820s record details with frankness. Even though they are written with a view to conveying medical and scientific knowledge, they also contribute to conveying an image of the Irish lower classes. For example, the claims that the

¹³ Cf. Christine Kinealy: The Poor Law. In: Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Tomás O'Riordan (eds.): Ireland 1815–1870. Emancipation, Famine and Religion. Dublin: Four Courts, 2011, pp. 24-25, here p. 24f.

lower classes are dissolute is briefly touched upon in these travel narratives in reference to prostitution, a new aspect in the debate on moral depravity. Carl Otto (*Reise durch die Schweiz, Italien, Frankreich, Großbritannien und Holland: mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Spitäler, Heilmethoden und den übrigen medicinischen Zustand dieser Länder*, 1825, CO) recognises a link between poverty and prostitution when discussing the foundation of the Female Penitents Asylum by John Dillion. The founder believed that poverty rather than an innate inclination towards immoral behaviour led so many women to this kind of lifestyle (CO 419). Friedrich Wilhelm von Oppenheim ('Darstellung der Heilanstalten Dublin's', 1826, FWvO) also discerns a link between poverty and prostitution when he describes conditions in Lock Hospital, an institution for women suffering from venereal diseases:

Von der Sittenverderbniss und der Armuth der niedern Klasse, liefert dieses Hospital die sprechendsten Beweise. Ich fand hier eine Menge Mädchen zwischen vierzehn und sechzehn Jahren, die aus Müssigang und Hang zur Liederlichkeit, zum Theil aber auch von ihren Müttern aufgefordert und gezwungen wurden, Priesterinnen der Wollust zu werden, um sich einen dürftigen Unterhalt zu verschaffen. Ausserdem fanden sich hier zwei Kinder von sieben und acht Jahren, welche die Unschuld an der Stirn, das Gift am Körper trugen, das ihnen ein paar elende Wollüstlinge, bei Befriedigung ihrer viehischen Lüste beigebracht! (FWvO 50)

Oppenheim records these details with drastic frankness, rather than with a more clinical register which might be expected of a medic. While Oppenheim may discern an inclination towards dissipation, he also later comments that, even if the institute succeeds in providing cures for the women and they, in turn, do not want to revert to their old way of life, they are often forced back into prostitution since they have no way of providing for themselves (FWvO 52). It is not necessarily the women and children who are innately immoral, rather social and economic circumstances bring about such activity. Furthermore, there is clear indignation that even children are subjected to sexual mistreatment. When Moritz Hartmann encounters the prostitute Juddy in 1850 he, too, notes that many women are forced into prostitution as they have no other means of survival. Otto and Oppenheim clearly view prostitution within the social and economic framework from which it emerges.

Another shocking portrayal of the physical and mental consequences of material deprivation is the description of life in a house of industry in Otto's narrative. The houses of industry were established in the eighteenth century by the Irish parliament and were similar to the work houses of the 1830s: state-run institutions for the poor where they were put to work. However, as is evident from Otto's description, the houses of industry became more than just a shelter for the destitute. Inside the building, Otto sees completely naked mentally-ill inmates who are subjected to the downpours of rain in the open courtyard. Women sit on the bare, cold earth with only a bundle of straw in their cell, while abandoned prostitutes are crawling with every imaginable vermin. All of these inmates are bound by heavy chains. They work only when they are being watched, and all sleep in the one room, the sick and the healthy, the good

and the bad, the crazy and the sound of mind. The treatment of the inmates is worse than animalistic: Otto describes an insane man who is bound to a stone of 300 pounds weight which he drags behind him amid terrible howling and convulsive attacks, all to the amusement of the other internees. The inmates hardly ever receive medical attention, “kein Wunder also, dass 138 Menschen hier dem schrecklichsten Schicksal, allen moralischen und physischen Uebeln Preis gegeben sind, denen niemand abzuhelpen sucht!!” (CO 401f.) Otto’s outrage as a medic and as a human being is evident here. The passage conveys a condemning portrayal of the mistreatment of the most vulnerable in society.

In *Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes von Irland* (1835, DGZI) a similar tendency towards social reportage is also evident. Here, the author translates a section of a report on the collection of the tithe. The report contains seven eye witness accounts on the living conditions of tenants. The language is factual and unemotional, for example the nakedness of the people is noted repeatedly but it would seem without any effect on the observer (DZI 136). It seems that the author of *Darstellung* wishes to convey a fact: that despite the nakedness and hunger of these people, the collector does not hesitate in taking what he can in lieu of payment for the tithe. While Otto, Oppenheim and the author of *Darstellung* do not deduce overtly political conclusions from their observations, the material they assemble has a tangibly political dimension. Here, social deficiencies are highlighted in such a concrete way that the question regarding responsibility and the lack of action against such conditions arises automatically and naturally. Otto and Oppenheim do not make any explicit accusations regarding these matters, however subsequent observers including Friedrich von Raumer and Heinrich Brockhaus do.

7.1 Reconfigured Comparisons: The Animalistic and European Peripheries

In the 1830s, conceptualisations of the Irish people in travel narratives by Friedrich von Raumer (*England im Jahre 1835*, 2 vols, 1836, FvR1/FvR2), Heinrich Brockhaus (*Aus den Tagebüchern von Heinrich Brockhaus*, 1884-87, HB), and Karl von Hailbronner (*Cartons aus der Reisemappe eines deutschen Touristen*, 1837, KvH), who visited Ireland in 1835, 1836 and 1837 respectively, are characterised by their almost singular focus on poverty. There is a distinct indication that not the people themselves are at fault, rather poverty has been caused from without by history and politics. In this configuration, the Irish are depicted as downtrodden, humiliated and degraded. The parameters of comparison do not necessarily change, what changes is how these points of comparison are evaluated and appropriated to serve a different agenda (other than agendas of racism and savagery): the Irish are likened to animals not to portray apparent inferiority, but to highlight the conditions they live in and how they are

treated. The Irish are compared to those on the peripheries of Europe including Poland not to underscore perceived racial inferiority to a superior race, but to denounce their oppression. In this matrix, the influence of the rhetoric of the *Vormärz* period becomes evident in how the English are cast in terms of tyrannical, egotistical, exploitative oppressors, the Irish as the innocent, exploited and helpless oppressed.

The almost exclusive focus on the lower classes in these three narratives is reflective of not only political but also generic trends. The genre of travel literature itself was undergoing developments during the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. Travel narratives from the likes of Küttner and Dobeneck the tutors, or Pückler the aristocrat can be seen within a tradition of travel as privilege and luxury reserved for the upper class or for those who had to travel for occupational purposes. During the *Vormärz* period, however, the privilege of travelling and writing about travel was democratised, much to the joy of the reading public who enthusiastically consumed the increasing numbers of travel narratives, thus making travel literature into one of the most popular genres of the period.¹⁴ Coinciding with the widening of participation was a shift in the function of travel writing: fewer personal observations and reflections are evident. There is less emphasis in the manner of grand tour on art, beauty and stimulus for self-improvement, and more emphasis on the scientific gaze as well as the interest in specifics. Authors now served as channels of information rather than being the subject of the narrative. Nonetheless, personal inclinations and areas of interest still remain visible. Eberhard Mucha points out that the content of such travel narratives during the *Vormärz* period was characterised by a mixture of “Naturbetrachtung, Völkerkunde und Politik”.¹⁵ In 1830, Karl Immermann commented: “Noch tiefer greift das Reisen in den Zustand der jetzigen Menschen ein”. The reasons for what he terms the “Reisewut” of his time are “zum Teil wenigstens Nachwirkung der politischen Stürme”.¹⁶ Peter Brenner also draws attention to the political element when he states that travel writing of the period served to disseminate political ideals.¹⁷ The politicisation of German writing on Ireland is evident from the late 1820s onward.

A brief look at the biographies of Raumer, Brockhaus and Hailbronner offers further insight into the factors which determined their conceptualisations of the Irish people. Raumer was a historian who came from a newly ennobled Prussian bureaucratic family. Following his studies at Halle and Göttingen, he entered the Prussian civil service in 1801, but in 1819 he

¹⁴ Cf. Christina Ujma: Einleitung. In: Detlev Kopp (ed.): Wege in die Moderne. Reiseliteratur von Schriftstellerinnen und Schriftstellern des Vormärz. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2009, pp. 13-30, here p. 13.

¹⁵ Eberhard Mucha: Die Formen der jungdeutschen Reiseliteratur. PhD Thesis, Freie Universität Berlin, 1953, p. 143.

¹⁶ Karl Immermann: Memorabilien. In: Karl Immermann: Werke in 5 Bände, ed. by Benno von Wiese, vol. 4: Autobiographische Schriften. Frankfurt/Main: Athenäum, 1973, pp. 355-547, here p. 423f.

¹⁷ Peter J. Brenner: Der Reisebericht in der deutschen Literatur. Ein Forschungsüberblick als Vorstudie zu einer Gattungsgeschichte. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1990, p. 441.

decided on an academic career and became Professor of Legal Science and History at the University of Berlin. While many of his scholarly works were widely-read and critically acclaimed, some works caused controversy, including *Polens Untergang* (1832), as well as works on Prussia such as *Über die preußische Städteordnung, nebst einem Vorwort über die bürgerliche Freiheit, nach französischen und deutschen Begriffen* (1828). These treatises brought him into conflict with the Prussian ministry. Furthermore, his speech on religious intolerance at the Akademie der Wissenschaften in 1847, which was attended by Friedrich Wilhelm IV, led to his resignation from the Akademie. He had also resigned from the Prussian Censorship Board in 1831. He was elected to the Frankfurt parliament in 1848. In the 1850s he was a member of the first chamber of the Prussian parliament.¹⁸ Raumer travelled to Ireland in August 1835 following a visit to England. Even before arriving in Ireland, he had studied Catholic Emancipation in detail, following parliamentary debates on Irish matters including the Poor Law and the Repeal of Union in Westminster.¹⁹ Geraldine Grogan believes that Raumer's writings reflect the fact that although he was a loyal Prussian subject, he was not afraid to question the actions of the authorities. Furthermore, she maintains that Raumer believed intensely in the concept of just government and in the need for improved social conditions for the lower classes.²⁰ This interest is indeed evident in his travel account on Ireland.

Karl von Hailbronner was an officer in the Bavarian army who had a country seat at Leitershofen near Augsburg. He was presumably of Catholic background, although very little is known about his life.²¹ He travelled extensively through northern and southern Europe, Egypt, Palestine and Syria, publishing his travel accounts in three volumes. Heinrich Brockhaus was the son of the Leipzig publisher Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus, founder of the same liberal publishing house which published Raumer's works. As "Mitkämpfer gegen Nachdruck und Zensur", Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus often had difficulties with censorship.²² Heinrich Brockhaus began work in the publishing house aged fifteen, and took over the running of the publishing house at twenty years of age after his father died. Under Heinrich Brockhaus, "nahm [die Firma] eine glänzende Entwicklung, der Name Brockhaus wurde zum Begriff in der ganzen Welt".²³ Heinrich Brockhaus himself did not enjoy any advanced school or university education. Nevertheless, he dedicated his life to reading and learning. He travelled widely in Europe, North Africa and the Orient, learning seven modern languages. In 1848 he was a

¹⁸ Cf. Geraldine Grogan: *The noblest Agitator. Daniel O'Connell and the German Catholic Movement 1830-50*. Dublin: Veritas, 1991, p. 140f.

¹⁹ Cf. Eoin Bourke: *Poor Green Erin. German Travel Writers' Narratives on Ireland from before the 1798 Rising to after the Great Famine*, ed. and transl. by Eoin Bourke. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 2011, p. 234.

²⁰ Cf. Geraldine Grogan: *The noblest Agitator*, p. 141.

²¹ Cf. Bourke: *Poor Green Erin*, p. 260.

²² Annemarie Meiner: *Brockhaus, Friedrich Arnold*. In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 2. Munich: Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1955, p. 623.

²³ Annemarie Meiner: *Brockhaus, Heinrich*. In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 2. Munich: Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1955, p. 624.

member of the Frankfurt parliament and ten years later he participated in the preparatory negotiations in the founding of the *Nationalverein*.²⁴ Brockhaus travelled to Britain and Ireland in 1836. He kept a hand-written diary, excerpts from which were later published by his grandnephew Rudolf Brockhaus in 1884. In England, he stayed in Friedrich von Raumer's London home and was introduced by him to O'Connell, before travelling to Ireland in July 1836.²⁵ Although all three observers come from different social and religious backgrounds, their critical attitudes towards governments and authorities in general, both at home and abroad, is a common denominator between them.

Raumer, Brockhaus and Hailbronner portray the lower classes as physically, morally and mentally degraded. They frame their commentary in terms of animalistic comparisons, for example Raumer and Hailbronner describe the mud cabins as "Höhlen" on numerous occasions (FvR 425, KvH 287). Furthermore, all three observers emphasise that if people are treated like animals, they become like animals, i.e. unable to enjoy the benefits of culture and education. In terms of animal comparisons, the Irish are most often compared to pigs. The oft-noted prominence of pigs in dwellings appears to have predestined them as a comparison to their human cohabitants. Brockhaus writes that the pig is actually the master of the house. He states that any given family is physically worse off than their resident pig: pigs are fed and treated better than humans because they are used to pay the rent (HB 317). Hailbronner (KvH 287) and Raumer (FvR 422) make similar comments. That humans and animals share a communal living space is often viewed as an indication of backwardness by other observers, for example Küttner. Clement even claims that the Irish look like pigs because they spend so much time together (KJC 303f.). For Raumer, Hailbronner and Brockhaus, on the other hand, animals and humans are herded together and forced to share space. Humans are thus subjected to conditions which might be appropriate to the unfeeling beast but not to those who possess emotions, dignity and a sense of self.

Raumer makes the comparison to animals not just literal but also political when discussing the term 'tenants at will', a legal arrangement which stipulated that tenants did not have any security on land they rented. Raumer ponders how to translate the term for his German-speaking audience:

Wegjagbare? Ein schwerfälliges, unbequemes Wort. Leibeigene? Aber in den alten Tagen der Leibeigenschaft bestand diese vielmehr darin, daß man die Leibeigenen festhielt, und keineswegs, daß man sie fortjagte. Ein ehemaliger Leibeigener ist ein Freiherr, verglichen mit dem jetzigen vogelfreien *tenant at will*. Warum also nicht (nach Analogie mit dem Wilde) das Wort übersetzen in Jagdbare? Nur der Unterscheid schwächt die Analogie: daß für Hasen, Hirsche und Rehe wenigstens eine Schonzeit eintritt, wo ihnen niemand Gewalt anthun darf,

²⁴ Cf. Meiner: Brockhaus, Heinrich, p. 624.

²⁵ Cf. Bourke: Poor Green Erin, p. 254.

während jene *tenants* Jahr aus Jahr ein jagdbar sind, und gejagt werden. Und wollte einer sein Lager vertheidigen (wie man es Dachsen und Füchsen vergönnt), hier heißt es Rebellion! (FvR2 395f.)

Raumer is plainly criticising the institutions which allow the tenants at will to be treated worse than wild animals. In another stark comparison, he maintains that animals can almost look down on the Irish with pride because they do not endure so much misery. He makes this comment following his attempt to discern whether Irish women are beautiful or not. He claims he is hardly in a position to judge. If one were to take the fairest of English maidens and put her in an Irish hovel for a season, feed her water and potatoes, dress her in rags, expose her tender skin to the rays of the sun and the downpours of rain, let her walk around barefoot collecting dung from the road with her delicate hands and have only a pig as a companion, he asks if the passer-by would recognise her “wenn dies Jammerbild aus seiner Höhle hervorkriecht und ihm den dürren Arm bettelnd entgegenstreckt” (FvR 425). Yet, these are the physical conditions the Irish are subjected to on a daily basis.

In order to underscore the plight of the emaciated Irish, Raumer draws attention to elements which distinguish humans from animals. While the beasts of the field might be unaware that they live in filthy conditions, for humans such a life can lead to intellectual and spiritual debasement. Raumer considers the mental repercussions of the physical degradation described above: “keine tröstliche Erinnerung aus der Vergangenheit, keine erfreuliche Aussicht in die Zukunft, sondern nichts als Elend, den Geist dumpf, stumpf und dumm machendes Elend der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft” (FvR 425). For Raumer, such stifling misery is made worse because he perceives an innate cheerful disposition among the Irish, especially the children. After just a few short years, however, through the fault of society and government, these people are so used up and worn out that even the animals of the field can look down upon them (FvR 425). Raumer is unambiguous in apportioning blame. There is also an element of Christian outrage that one people could treat another people in such a physically and mentally demeaning manner. This becomes explicit when he criticises the English government for their lengthy parliamentary debates on how much the salary of Anglican priests in Ireland should be, priests who might only have a handful of parishioners, “während Tausende hier kaum wissen, daß sie eine Seele haben, und von ihrem Körper nur, daß er ein Ding ist, das da hungert, dürstet und friert!” (FvR 424). Raumer condemns what happens at a policy-making level and what the reality is really like. He engages with priorities, erecting not qualitative criteria such as class and standing, but quantitative criteria – majority of population – as the overriding principle of political action. His travel narrative is distinguished by his ability to integrate poverty in theory into his considerations of poverty in practise: before he goes to Ireland he reads up on Irish poverty and quotes parliamentary

debates on the proposed Poor Law Act. He believes the state has responsibility to mitigate poverty and dedicates a whole chapter to 'Armenwesen' which theorises poverty. His actual trip to Ireland, however, is characterised by his utter shock at what he witnesses.

Brockhaus is even more outspoken when he outlines moral degradation which results from dire poverty (HB 316). This manifests itself, for example, in the excessive consumption of whiskey among the lower classes. If a passer-by gives alms to the poorest, he should not be surprised to find that, instead of using the donation to buy bread or other essentials, the unfortunate will probably seek out the nearest public house "und betrinkt sich, so sich und sein Elend vergessend. Das ist der Fluch des Elends" (HB 317). Here an excuse and understanding are offered – this differs considerably to when alcoholism is attributed to racial dispositions, to an innate deficiency and moral weakness. Excessive alcohol consumption is viewed by Brockhaus as perhaps the only form of escape from impoverishment. Human emotions, even the desire to forget, to drown out sorrows, distinguish humans from animals. Brockhaus is thus foregrounding the human side of these victims of immiseration by reevaluating their behaviour.

Brockhaus continues to foreground the human, emotional side when he states that the Irish possess an innate sense of humour in the midst of adversity (HB 317). This is not, however, presented in a compensatory manner in that since the lower classes have such a disposition they will be just fine, or in terms of the content savage, i.e. too primitive to realise their poverty. Rather, it is presented in a way that should illicit sympathy from the reader: how can a people who display such innately good qualities have become so degraded and humiliated? Indeed, he asks why the Irish do not come upon the idea of committing a proper crime so they can be imprisoned where they will at least be clothed and fed (HB 317). Raumer thinks the exact same when he considers the "gemästeten Spitzbuben und Galgenschwengel" in English prisons: he is amazed at the "Kraft der Sittlichkeit" in Ireland, "daß nicht das ganze Volk nach England wallfahrtet und stiehlt, um ein neues glücklicheres Leben zu beginnen". He asserts "Seit ich Irland sah, bewundere ich Geduld und Mäßigung des Volks" (FvR 423f.). Even in 1828, Pückler believed it a wonder that not more Irish 'turn bad' (HvPM 258). Given such perceived inner characteristics versus outer circumstances, Brockhaus writes:

Das Herz blutet einem, wenn man sieht, dass hier Menschen, die Ebenbilder Gottes, wie wir uns gern nennen, leben, aber auch nur leben, in der steten Sorge für das Nöthige der thierischen Bedürfnisse zu keinen höhern Empfindungen gelangen können, wie ihnen alles, was das Leben schmückt und ziert, stets fremd bleibt. Soll ein solches unglückliches Wesen, das von der Kindheit bis zum Alter nur Elend kennt, auch noch dem Schöpfer für seine Existenz danken? Man kann zweifeln, grübeln, ob es der Liebe, die wir sonst in der Schöpfung ja überall erkennen, entspricht, dass so viele Unglückliche ohne ihre Schuld sich quälen, so viel leiden müssen [...]. (HB 317).

The key term in Brockhaus's commentary is "ohne ihre Schuld". Brockhaus questions the moral values of a society and system of governance which allows humans to be treated in such a way. Love, the cardinal moral virtue, seems to have been abandoned. The reference to God's creation indicates that religion is the ultimate moral system in Brockhaus's world view. The political expression and implementation of morality is (social) justice, which is the key word in his next comment when he states that "wahre Ungerechtigkeit in irgendeiner Weise hier stattfindet, dass es ein die Menschheit entehrender Zustand ist, dass geholfen werden muss, das ist mir nur zu klar" (HB 317). Yet, faced with indescribable conditions, Brockhaus is at an utter loss: "aber wer versteht diese Fragen zu lösen?" (HB 318). Like Raumer, Brockhaus is confounded by his theoretical beliefs, and the realities he is confronted with: a chasm opens between his principles on justice and morality, and practical measures, i.e. the question of translating insight into action given the immenseness of privation in Ireland.

Raumer and Brockhaus utilise the analogy to animals to show that even though the Irish lower classes are obviously not like the dumb beasts of the field because they possess emotions, i.e. they are aware of the environment in which they live, they are forced not only to live with animals but to treat their pigs even better than their own children, just to ensure the survival of the family. Such observations signal a shift in German conceptualisations of the Irish people. They reveal the influence of concurrent political debate in that observers look beyond questions of character to questions of environment and governance to explain what they see in Ireland. Both Raumer and Brockhaus firmly place responsibility on the shoulders of the government.

Comparisons between the Irish and those living on European peripheries are also enlisted by Raumer, Brockhaus as well as Hailbronner, most frequently to Poland but also to Southern Italy. Andreas Oehlke believes that the southern character of the Irish landscape probably occasioned such comparisons, for example Dublin Bay was often compared to the Bay of Naples.²⁶ Yet, there appears to be more than a similarity in landscape attached to Italy as a yardstick for poverty. In the early nineteenth century, Italy was still probably the most popular travel destination. In Italy, poverty stood out because of the contrast to the splendours of art and architecture from Rome to Renaissance – hence travellers looking for beauty noticed ugliness all the more. South of Rome (Naples in particular, but also Sicily) appeared sufficiently 'other', i.e. non-European, so as to apply an ethnographic gaze and frame inhabitants as objects. All of these factors form a backdrop to Raumer's comments. He is shocked at the appearance of the lower classes on the streets of Dublin: "gegen diese Jammer- und Schreckbilder ist alles Bettelhaftes, was ich in der Schweiz, dem Kirchenstaate und selbst in

²⁶ Cf. Oehlke: *Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, p. 274.

Südtalien sah, nur ein geringer Anfang" (FvR 409). On another occasion, he witnesses a mother pick up the discarded skin of a gooseberry and put it into her child's mouth. To this he exclaims "Seit Fondi im Neapolitanischen war mir nichts Ähnliches vorgekommen" (FvR 412). In his medicinal travel narrative of 1832, Wilhelm von Horn (*Reise durch Deutschland, Ungarn, Holland, Italien, Frankreich, Großbritannien und Irland: in Rücksicht auf medicinische und naturwissenschaftliche Institute*, WvH) uses "sicilianische Armuth" as a point of comparison to frame his experience of beggars in Dublin (WH 395), as does Brockhaus (HB 315). Such comments imply that Southern Italy is the ultimate comparison in terms of impoverished circumstances, a yardstick with which contemporary readers would have been familiar with. This suggests that Irish conditions were worse than in Italy, even beyond comparison and comprehension. The Italian comparison was concretised with reference to nakedness. Brockhaus, for example, notes that Irish beggars are all but naked. While there may be poverty in Italy just like in Ireland, here there is no mitigating mild climate which makes dwellings and clothing almost superfluous, and makes it possible for people to live off very little (HB 316). Poverty appears worse in Ireland than it does in Italy because it is not tempered by a favourable climate. Hailbronner also claims that in Italy, the half-naked state of the people is not as noticeable because of the warm climate; therefore, being half naked does not seem so disturbing there. Hailbronner's indignation at the penurious conditions in Ireland manifests itself in his misconstrual of the origin of the term 'Whiteboys'. He believes the British mockingly nickname the Irish 'Whiteboys' because of their nakedness and exposure to Ireland's cold, northern climate, thus resulting in their pale skin. Hailbronner hopes that this derisive nickname will rebound harshly "auf diese tyrannischen Egoisten" (KvH 281). The 'Whiteboys' were, in fact, a secret society so called because of the white garments they wore when engaging in agrarian unrest.²⁷ Hailbronner's misinterpretation of the term allows him to make his point all the more forcefully: the British are not just cast as tyrannical oppressors, but also arrogant egoists.

Such political statements in relation to the construction of the Irish lower classes are more explicit in regards to comparisons between the Irish and Eastern Europeans, especially the Poles, which focus on the perceived common motif of political oppression, as well as the poverty which such conditions produce. Similar to the 'Irish Question' in British politics following the Act of Union, there was also the 'Polish Question' in European and international politics following the partition of Poland in the late eighteenth century. Poland was partitioned between the Russian Empire, the Austrian Empire and the Prussian Kingdom.²⁸ Gabriela Brudzyńska-Němec notes that the November Uprising of 1830 and the Polish-Russian war of

²⁷ Cf. Bourke: *Poor Green Erin*, p. 261.

²⁸ Mieczysław B. Biskupski: *The History of Poland*. Westport: Greenwood, 2000, p. 22.

1831 were viewed as “ein folgenreicher Krieg der Prinzipien [...], indem die konstitutionell-liberale Welt mit der autokratisch-konservativen Übermacht rang. Die Verknüpfung des polnisch-russischen Konflikts mit den gesamteuropäischen Mächteverhältnissen verschaffte der polnischen Revolution einen breiten Widerhall und löste in vielen europäischen Ländern eine Welle der Sympathie für die Freiheitskämpfer aus”.²⁹ In Germany, too, certain circles sympathised with Poland. German enthusiasm was driven, firstly, by the politically motivated solidarity of the “Freiheitsfreunde” who, following the July Revolution of 1830, saw themselves as a community which transcended borders and was directed against autocracy. Secondly, enthusiasm was driven by the negative image Russia had in Germany at that time. Events in Poland shocked and dismayed German liberals; Russia was cast as the paradigm of a despotic ruler. As a result, the Poles were celebrated as fighters of and martyrs for freedom.³⁰ For some observers, these events were comparable to events in Ireland. Like many Eastern Europeans, the Irish had lost their political independence to their more powerful neighbours. The majority of the land was in the hands of a few, mostly foreign, owners. The socio-economic situation of the lower classes was characterised by a suppressive dependence on the landlord. Most of the important positions in society such as those in business, education and governance were filled by foreign civil servants.³¹ Finally, Irish agitation was directed against an international oppressive system, i.e. social conditions were propped up and maintained by a political system that stood to benefit from it, a system which would not cede any of its powers and was unwilling to engage in reform.

The anonymous author of *Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes von Irland* (DZI 106), Pückler and Hailbronner all enlist Polish comparisons. According to Pückler, both the Sorbs and the Irish are oppressed by a foreign nation and are revolutionary (HvPM 238). For Hailbronner the Irish “Höhlen der entsetzlichsten Verarmung” outdo “alles an Elend [...], was ich selbst in Polen und Rußland angetroffen hatte” (KvH 287). These dwellings are evidence of the oppression and exploitation of the lower classes by their “Zwangsherren” the landlords who demand the tribute be paid from what little the tenants have. Hailbronner exclaims his disbelief that such conditions could abound under an administration so philanthropic as the English one (KvH 288). Hailbronner the Anglophile is sorely disappointed at British governance of Ireland. Because of this admiration, he seems to imply that the British government should

²⁹ Gabriela Brudzyńska-Němec: Polenbegeisterung in Deutschland nach 1830. In: Irene Dingel and Johannes Paulmann (eds.): Europäische Geschichte Online, Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte. Mainz, 2010, pp. 1-14, here p. 1. Available at: <http://ieg-ego.eu/de/threads/europaeische-medien/europaeische-medienergebnisse/1830er-revolution/gabriela-brudzynska-nemec-polenbegeisterung-in-deutschland-nach-1830> [accessed on 9 April 2014].

³⁰ Cf. Gabriela Brudzyńska-Němec: Polenbegeisterung in Deutschland nach 1830, p. 1f.

³¹ Cf. Oehlke: Irland und die Iren in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts, p. 277f.

do better in Ireland. The question as to why they have failed Ireland equally arises from this statement. This latter point will be explored further in 'Explaining Ireland'.

Edmund Heusinger also enlists a Polish comparison to convey his impression of the Irish and their living conditions. His travel narrative *Europäische Bilder aus den Land- und Seefahrten eines Britischen Militärs* (1841, EH) is based on his time spent in British military service over two decades previously as well as his trip to Ireland which probably took place in 1840 or 1841. He perceives of the Irish as possessing a sense of hope which contrasts to their living conditions. Despite the monotonous diet of potatoes and buttermilk, the Irish are "lustig mit ihrer Hoffnung, und [sie] hungern geduldig, weil sie hoffen, und lassen sich hängen, weil sie nie aufhören zu hoffen. Ich behaupte, es giebt nächst Polen und Italien kein romantischeres Land, als Irland mit seinen Hoffnungen, seinen Kartoffeln, seinem Whisky und seinen Galgen" (EH 356). The juxtaposition of "sich hängen lassen", which implies idle passivity and lameness, and patient hope indicates that Heusinger ridicules this projection of any improvement into the future. It is this sense of hope, then, which prevents the Irish from taking action. Although Heusinger does not state it, this might be related to Catholicism regarding the idea that the prime of the hereafter stifles the present. This would be reinforced by the comparison to Poland and Italy, two predominantly Catholic countries. To Heusinger, hope is frivolous and hence amusing like the gallows, i.e. it is melodramatic but ultimately empty. By placing the peripheries of Ireland, Poland and Italy in the same matrix, Heusinger sets Ireland in a European context, but he also ridicules the 'romantic' idea of hope which the people of these lands harbour.

In *Reisen in Irland* of 1843, Kohl compares the Irish to a number of those on Eastern European peripheries including Hungary, Estonia, Lithuania, Livonia, Walachia, Russia, Serbia, Bosnia and the Crimea. He recalls how he pitied the Latvians because everything about their household was so simplistic, basic and needy. He then exclaims that he could have saved his sympathies because he did not realise there were other people in Europe who were subjected to worse living conditions. Having been in Ireland, Kohl claims that even the poorest Lithuanians, Estonians and Finnish live quite respectably and decently. 'Paddy', Kohl maintains, would feel like a king if one were to put him into the clothes and homes of these people and serve him their daily meals. Kohl continues his catalogue of comparisons with the Tartars of the Crimea who are pitied as poor and often portrayed as barbaric and wild. To this, Kohl exclaims:

Aber, mein Gott! die Leute sehen doch wie Leute aus. Sie haben doch eine Form und Façon und regelmäßige nationale Kleidung, nette, wohlhaltene und reinliche Hütten! [...] Die Irländer kommen einem dagegen ganz ohne Form und Façon, ganz aus Rand und Band vor. Außer Lumpen haben sie keine Nationalkleidung. Ihre Wohnungen sind nicht nach einem allgemeinen

nationalen Systeme gebaut und geordnet, sondern wie von Zufall gestaltet. Ihre ganze Wirthschaft scheint regel- und gesetzlos zu sein. (JGKR1 177f.)

Kohl's formulation "Form und Façon" is striking. It suggests that there is nothing distinctive about the Irish, nothing which sets them apart from other peoples. This is reinforced by his assertion that the Irish have no national costume other than rags. Even the Tartars have "Form und Façon", thus they have an identity, a distinct collective character. The Irish have no traditions or well-defined forms in relation to, for example, household objects – as a chair an Irishman will sometimes use a real chair, then a block of wood, the next time a barrel, depending on what objects he finds at his disposal. Being so utterly destitute means that the Irish cannot keep up "mit den Ansprüchen der Nationalität" (JGKR1 178). Thus, Kohl offers understanding towards the Irish; their lack of distinguishing markers is a result of their immiseration. For Kohl, Ireland's uniqueness lies in the fact that there simply is no parallel to their situation elsewhere on earth.

In his effort to communicate levels of Irish destitution, Kohl establishes hierarchies with Eastern Europeans and the Tartars at the lower end of the scale. His argument appears to be heading in the direction of racist thinking whereby non-Germanics are allocated a lower rung on the developmental scale. The hierarchy is then extended to include the wild savages of the tropics when he states: "Wer Irland gesehen hat, dem ist kein Zustand in Europa mehr bedauernswerth. Ja es kommt ihm selbst der Zustand der Wilden erträglich und begreiflich vor" (JGKR1 175). Racist thinking and *Vormärz* engagement are not mutually exclusive, rather for Kohl the one can complement the other. In order to highlight the physical deprivation the Irish lower classes are subjected to, Kohl draws on the discourse of the savage, enlisting the Native American Indians and African peoples to underscore why even these savages have it better than the Irish. In the case of the tropical savages, Mother Nature caters for them: they are naked but at least they have the sun to warm their bodies. In Ireland, on the other hand, the people live in a damp, cold climate without any proper clothing. The needs of the Native American Indians are also better catered for. As hunters, at least they can hunt and eat quality meat. If there is a famine they are able to fast like wolves, but when they have food they eat in abundance. The Irish, on the other hand, live off nothing but potatoes. Kohl perceives this as inhumane because the human digestive system is designed to process different types of food; otherwise there are only some animals who, like the Irish, live off a single plant (JGKR1 179). Couched in this argument is also the question of ownership. Native American Indians must have access to land and wild animals in order to hunt them, whereas the Irish have access to only their little potato patch while the ownership of the land is in the hands of a few who use it to their own benefit (money, beautification of nature), rather than to the benefit of the people. This is also implied in the continuation of Kohl's argument. He

maintains that the Native American Indians live in poverty and misery but they do not wish for anything more because they do not know any better. The implication here is that the Irish do know better: they see their landlords' life of abundance every day.

While the above comparisons have dealt with the levels of privation, a new dimension is added when Kohl compares the Irish to the Russians. He states that the Russians, like the Irish, are enslaved. This aspect relates to forms and degrees of bondage which fits in with the topic of tenants at will previously mentioned by Raumer. The Russians, Kohl asserts, often find themselves in the bondage of harsher masters than the Irish, yet they generally live and eat as they wish. There is no trace of Irish mendicancy to be found. Moreover, the Russians, Kohl claims, feel happy in their enslavement because they do not long for freedom, whereas the Irish constantly bite at their chains and try to tear them apart (JGKR1 177). In this sense, Kohl implies that the Russians have become accustomed to their bondage; they no longer know or wish for any better. In contrast, the Irish are involuntarily beholden to their masters.

In all of these comparisons, Kohl implies that while the Irish might physically be worse off than those he places at the lowest ends of his developmental scale, what sets the Irish apart is their intellect:

Die Irländer [...] sind nicht solche in brutale, empfindungslose Ergebenheit versunkene Sklaven. Sie haben ein großes Gefühl für die Freiheit und empfinden daher das Drückende des Jochs um so mehr. Sie sind eine intelligente Nation und wissen das Unrecht, welches ihnen die mißgestalteten Gesetze ihres Vaterlandes anthun, wohl zu erkennen. Dabei haben sie keine solche zähe, thierische Hottentottenconstitution, und giebt es Hunger in ihrem Lande, so sterben sie auch vor Hunger und leiden hundertfache Noth – und endlich haben sie, damit sie all ihr Elend und ihre Noth noch besser verstehen, erkennen und durchempfinden, den größten Luxus, den vollkommensten menschlichen Zustand, den die Welt bisher noch gesehen hat, den eines englischen Landeigenthümers, vielfach vor Augen. (JGKR1 179f.)

Here Kohl combines his argumentative threads. He makes explicit what was previously implicit. The Irish are not viewed as less developed than wild tropical savages, Native American Indians or Eastern Europeans. The Irish possess an innate sense of justice and morality, they are aware of their plight. This links Kohl to Raumer and Brockhaus who foreground the emotional, intellectual aspects of Irish impoverishment. Raumer and Brockhaus underscore what distinguishes the Irish from animals, Kohl what distinguishes them from those he views as racially, culturally or intellectually inferior. The opinion that the Irish have a distinct feeling for freedom also pervades Jakob Venedey's perception of the Irish.

7.2 A Freedom-Loving Oppressed People

Jakob Venedey travelled to Ireland at the height of the Repeal movement in 1843; his two-volume travel narrative *Irland* (JV1, JV2) was published the following year. Described by Karl Wippermann as “ein eifriger Burschenschaftler, ein begeisterter Schwärmer für deutsche Einheit und Freiheit, wie für die verbotenen Farben schwarz-roth-gold”, Venedey was a liberal democrat from Cologne.³² In 1832 he joined the Southern German Liberal movement as well as the *Deutschen Preß- und Vaterlandsverein*, an organisation of German publicists, intellectuals and politicians which aimed to support the freedom of press in Germany as well as the unification of the German states. Venedey took part in the Hambacher Fest where demands were made for national unity, freedom and democracy in opposition to the Restoration of the German Confederation. Thereafter, he became editor of the liberal oppositional journal *Wächter am Rhein*. On account of these activities, Venedey was arrested in 1832, however he managed to escape to France where he continued to be politically active, for example he joined the emigrant organisation *Bund der Geächteten*. In 1834, he became the editor of their journal *Der Geächtete*. He also became a foreign correspondent for respected German newspapers including the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* and the *Kölnische Zeitung*. It was as a result of his journalistic work that he travelled to England and Ireland in the early 1840s on behalf of the Brockhaus publishing house.

By the time Venedey travelled to Ireland in 1843, he had already been in political exile for a decade. This plays a role in his construction of the Irish: “If his visit to Ireland had proved so profound an emotional experience for Venedey, it was, as he himself emphasises, because there he met warmth of heart, kindness and hospitality again after ten lonely years of exile, and that among people who were fighting and suffering in the same cause of freedom, for which he had sacrificed his home and happiness”.³³ Venedey portrays the English character as cold, unwelcoming, unfriendly, egotistical, calculating and self-interested so as to obtain a contrasting foil against which to present the Irish as a welcoming, friendly, selfless and most of all oppressed but freedom-loving people who are undergoing a process of political and cultural maturity. Indeed, he states: “Ich denke, das kalte England [...] ist die beste Folie der irländischen Art” (JV1 76). For Venedey, the Irish and the English are two completely different “Völker, Nationen, Racen, auf den Namen kommt es wenig an” (JV1 362). He is convinced of national characters which manifest themselves in behavioural patterns, culture and customs. His characterisation of the Irish is based around English/Irish binarisms such as cold/warm-

³² Karl Wippermann: Venedey, Jakob. In: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, vol. 39. Munich: Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1895, pp. 600-604. The following summary is based on information contained in Wippermann's article.

³³ H. R. Klieneberger: Ireland through German Eyes 1844-1957: The Travel-Diaries of Jakob Venedey and Heinrich Böll. In: An Irish Quarterly Review, 49. 196 (1960), pp. 373-388, here p. 374.

hearted, unfriendly/welcoming, reason/emotion, self-interest/selflessness and egotistical/altruistic.

Venedey enthusiastically describes how he befriends some supporters of Repeal on the way to one of their meetings. He goes into great detail on how they obliged him with lemonade and oranges, brought him to O'Connell's house and showed him the way to the Repeal meeting. Venedey describes "diese Einzelheiten" in detail because they are "charakteristisch für Irland". He maintains that in the six months he spent in England he hardly ever became as friendly with anyone as in the two hours he spent with these two Irish people (JV2 27). Venedey praises the hospitality and friendliness of the Irish on numerous occasions (JV2 74, 75, 77, 80, 107, 129, 132, 139, 311, 314, 356, 389). His enthusiasm turns to effusions when he exclaims: "Ich möchte es von den Dächern ausrufen: Kommt nach Irland, ihr Alle, die ihr ein gesundes Herz habt, das von den Schlägen des Geschickes wund wurde; kommt her, hier könnt ihr es pflegen und heilen" (JV2 132). Ireland, it seems, is like a form of therapy. Ireland is also a field for activism, a reminder of what the political struggle and his political idealism is all about because it is done in the service of humankind which presents itself in Ireland at its most genuine and best.

Venedey characterises the English man as a calculating, ruthless egoist who is only interested in making money. Those around him who cannot keep step are left behind because an Englishman never thinks of helping out his neighbour (JV1 363f.). An Irishman, on the other hand, always selflessly puts others first and thinks of his own needs last, for example even those who have very little themselves share what they can with their neighbours (JV2 312f.). Venedey recognises that the virtue of charity has its positive and negative consequences. The positive consequences include a sanguine disposition in times of hardship and affliction, a positive outlook for the future as well as trust in other people because of their charity. The downside is that the Irish are not suited to match the Englishman's risk-taking and indefatigable drive to make money (JV2 315). Although Venedey may recognise that a charitable disposition does not lend itself to industry, he signals that economic success is not the only measure by which to judge a people. He claims that such a thirst for wealth has moral consequences: in England he saw "des Bösen, des Schlechten so viel" (JV1 viii). The implication is that Britain's wealth and prestige is based on corrupt morals. Venedey does not state explicitly what he bases his allegations on, but he may be referring to the large industrial cities of Manchester and Liverpool and the exploitation of the working classes. He believes that there is a justice at work in that, as money-making egotists, the English will never be satisfied with what they have. In general, Venedey feels ill at ease around such people who judge others according to how much money they are worth, rather than according their feelings and

hearts. In Ireland, on the other hand, his faith in humanity is restored when he sees how the lower classes look out for one another. Connected to the egotistical/altruistic binarism is Venedey's assertion that while the English act out of self-interest, the Irish must have "ein höheres Anregungsmittel als seine Persönlichkeit", "eine andere – höhere, schönere – Ursache" to spur him to action (JV1 366). An Englishman, because of his reasonable and rational nature, shows no understanding of concepts such as human dignity or the "ewigen Grundsätze der Freiheit". The Irish, on the other hand, can be easily won over "für eine schöne Idee", for example if one man suffers for what he believes in, his neighbours will join him in his cause. The Irish will strive towards a common goal. For Venedey, the idea of freedom finds its concrete and political manifestation in the Repeal movement. The Irishman is "offenherzig und ergeben, voller Hoffnung" in agitation for reform for his "Vaterland" (JV2 27), for the collective good, unlike an Englishman who is driven only by self-interest.

Venedey is confounded by the apparent chasm between outward physical living conditions, and the cheerful disposition of Irish beggars and the lower classes in general. He describes his first evening in Dublin when a lame beggar approaches him. Venedey gives him a little something. The beggar's reaction offends Venedey: the beggar limps away singing happily. Venedey is offended "weil die Bettler elend und wir nicht dran gewöhnt sind, daß sie in Noth – lachen und froh sein können. Wo wir dies sehen, denken wir unwillkürlich an Heuchelei". However, it becomes clear for Venedey that the beggar is not being insincere in his behaviour when moments later he dismisses another beggar who, to his surprise, turns away singing a cheerful song even though she goes away empty handed (JV1 ix). He perceives of Irish beggars as very eloquent in how they make a plea to the passer-by: "sie haben lange Phrasen bereit, es fließt wie Honig von ihren Lippen, sie wollen interessieren". These are not the down-trodden figures of previous narratives. On the contrary, in their faces Venedey sees so much health, self-contentedness and equanimity that despite the rags and the dirt, he begins to doubt the seriousness "der wortreichen Noth" (JV2 13f.). Their misery, it seems, is further diminished by their verbosity. They are "glücklich in ihrem Unglücke" (JV2 11f.). As previously noted, Venedey idealises beggars and frames them in terms of the picturesque (JV2 60, 286). While he is not the first observer to do so, his construction of the Irish as the happy poor has decidedly different connotations than, for example, Küttner, Voght or Pückler. On a general note, Eoin Bourke believes this puzzlement may have been semantic: "In the German language the same word – 'Elend' – was used to denote both 'poverty' and 'misery', which either came from or led to an equation of the two conditions in the German mind and caused confusion when they encountered people who suffered from the one but not the other".³⁴

³⁴ Bourke: *Poor Green Erin*, p. 114.

Such an explanation may partly explain previous portrayals, however, there are also specific agendas at work. Pückler's perception of the Irish as happy despite their miserable appearance and living conditions, for example, can be attributed to the search for the uncorrupted, the innocent and the natural. In Venedey's construction of the Irish as "glücklich in ihrem Unglücke" there appears to be an intentional and decidedly political agenda which is not evident in previous constructions of the happy poor.

Venedey's agenda is evident in how he compares and contrasts the behaviour of Irish beggars to their English counterparts. This can be understood as a reflection of how he depicts the English character in general. Unlike Irish beggars who appear self-content and healthy, English beggars look like "die gefallene Größe". English beggars know they are poor; they carry the "Spuren des Berufes zu Besserem mit unverkennbaren Zügen auf der stolzen Stirn schreiben". They are silent. In this sense, English beggars display signs of pride, an arrogant non-acceptance of their situation, whereas Irish behaviour signals acceptance. This might suggest that happiness and contentedness, characteristics reminiscent of the content savage of previous narratives, prevent the Irish from taking action and assuming responsibility for their own fate. Venedey claims that in England the sight of such silent, arrogant misery is the opposite to the image of beggars portrayed in Pierre-Jean de Béranger's song 'Les gueux'. Béranger was a popular French songwriter of the nineteenth century who describes the beggars of Paris with the lines: "Oui, le bonheur est facile / Au sein de la pauvreté".³⁵ This is how Venedey frames the Irish beggars: they are witty, clever, cheerful, live joyfully and are carefree (JV1 x). According to Venedey, "Jeder englische Bettler trägt den Fluch Gottes auf der Stirn, jeder irische hat einen Strahl des Mitleidens eines gnädigen Richters in allen seinen Zügen. Jene sind elend, bodenlos elend, selbstbewusst elend, – diese meist nur arm" (JV2 14). For the English, poverty is shameful, a disgrace to and a reflection of the individual, whereas for the Irish poverty is pitiable and excusable; the Irish delegate responsibility for their fate to God, whereas the English see themselves as personally responsibly. This is similar to Clement's comparison of the Presbyterian and Catholic spirit regarding views of poverty and individual responsibility. Yet Venedey does not seem to condemn the Irish for their apparent acceptance and inaction. Rather, he distinguishes between poverty and misery when he alleges that the one does not always accompany the other, and that physical and spiritual deprivation are very different things. The English beggars are utterly destitute and self-consciously miserable; they do not accept their fate and therefore perform their misery. The Irish, on the other hand, are physically poor, but not poor in spirit. Indeed, Venedey even counteracts claims by the likes of

³⁵ Pierre-Jean de Béranger: 'Les gueux'. In: Alphonse de Lamartine, Casimir Delavigne and Pierre Jean de Béranger: Le Parnasse français du dix neuvième Siècle. Oeuvres poetiques d'Alphonse de Lamartine, Casimir Delavigne et Pierre Jean de Béranger. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1832, p. 280.

Küttner that poverty equals ignorance when he states: “Selig – Selig sind die Armen, die Einfältigen – und es ist nicht nöthig, grade dumm zu sein, um in Einfalt zu leben. England ist bodenlos unglücklich – mit dem bodenlos armen Irland verglichen” (JV1 x). Venedey even claims “Kein Lord in England, der nicht den Bettler in Irland um sein Glück beneiden dürfte” (JV1 x). To prove his point, he tells the Irish folk tale called *The Wish*: “Jeder [hat] eine Minute [...], in der seine Wünsche erhört werden. Paddy wünschte ein Lord zu sein, und war vierundzwanzig Stunden so elend wie nie vorher, und kann von Glück sagen, – daß Alles nur ein Traum war” (JV2 12). Venedey seems to be consciously playing with the term ‘elend’ as denoting physical poverty and actual misery. He adds: “Ein irländischer Bettler [...], wie ich deren Hunderte in den Straßen Dublins liegen und sitzen sah, würde sich eine Kugel durch den Kopf jagen, sich in seines Palastes Thor aufhängen, wenn er nur acht Tage ein Lordleben führen müßte” (JV2 12). Venedey presents the Irish as, on the one hand, fully aware of the poverty they live in, they see wealth all around them on the streets of Dublin and they have even learned to ‘play’ with their poverty by reciting prayers to elicit sympathy (JV2 14, 384). And yet, on the other hand, they would rather commit suicide than subject themselves to English customs and etiquette as a lord, to a materially much better life. Venedey appears to be idealising fatalism in the vein of the placid savage: the Irish would rather be poor than deny their national identity. Yet, it is unclear as to whether the beggars themselves are aware that they are happy in the name of Irish identity or whether Venedey projects his own wishes onto them. It may well be the latter given his effusions about Irish friendliness and his own political activism.

Kohl notes a very similar trait in the Irish in how they will do anything to avoid the workhouse despite the fact that conditions inside are much better than what they are otherwise used to. He notes how comfortable newly built prisons are in Ireland and, just like Hailbronner and Raumer, he wonders why the Irish poor do not commit a crime just to get into prison where they will be much better clothed, fed and sheltered. However, unlike Hailbronner and Raumer, who believe the “Kraft der Sittlichkeit” (FvR 423) to be the reason, Kohl sees their refusal to voluntarily enter the work house or to become criminals as an indication of the Irish will to freedom. Like Venedey, he sees the Irish as being willingly poor, as *choosing* poverty and freedom of spirit over a materially better life subject to direct English control. Venedey and Kohl attribute individual and collective agency to Irish passivity which forms them into a political entity and hence a potential nation: even in their apparent lethargy, there is an expression of political choice. These authors thus shift emphasis; they attach different meaning to the observed and this has political implications.

When comparing a newly-built prison to a typical Irish mud cottage, Kohl claims that it would not be an exaggeration to say that an Irishman would be taken out of hovel and placed in a palace for committing a grave crime. At home as an honest man Paddy only eats watery potatoes, while as a criminal he can get two pounds of bread daily as well as sweet milk. The prisons even have the luxury of a drying room and Kohl asks: "Wo hat Paddy wohl in seiner Hütte ein solches 'hot closet'? Ja hat er überhaupt nur Wäsche auf seinem Leibe?" However, Kohl believes there to be no danger whatsoever that more Irish will commit crimes just so they can live a comfortable life in prison because "die goldene Freiheit [ist] doch selbst in den Augen des Hungrigen ein schönes Ding, daß im Allgemeinen durch das bessere materielle Leben in den Gefängnissen eine Sehnsucht nach ihnen nie zu befürchten sein wird" (JGKR1 362). In general, Kohl perceives of the Irish as constantly striving to preserve their freedom and to maintain control over what few things they can control. Even where the Irish build their huts serves as proof of this: a beggar woman lives in a cottage which lies completely 'off the beaten track'. The Irish, according to Kohl, like to live a little wild and prefer the pathways to their houses to be rough because "es giebt ihnen dieß mehr Unabhängigkeit". This is especially the case since the road-levelling and building works carried out by the government all over the island have sprung in to action: the only way to preserve their independence is by building their cottages as far away from these new roads as possible on rough and unlevelled terrain. They *choose* to live in the wilderness; they are fully aware of their impoverished circumstances and that they could be greatly improved if they would willingly subject themselves to English measures of improvement in road building, work houses and corrective institutes. For Kohl and Venedey, freedom and liberty are the common denominators to the Irish character. For Kohl, this incorporates endurance and closeness to nature. Again, it is unclear as to how much of this is to be understood as a projection of Kohl's own ideals.

Just how bent the Irish are on preserving their freedom of spirit is illustrated in relation to the workhouses (JGKR2 140). Kohl believes that the beggars will never exchange "ihre bettelhafte Independenz" for the "sorgenlosere Beschränktheit" of the work houses (JGKR2 36). Apart from Kohl's belief that it is almost impossible to make living conditions inside the workhouse worse than outside of it, he maintains that the workhouses are not as successful in Ireland as they are in England because of the Irish character:

Die Irländer sind von Haus aus durch ihre Natur, wie durch ihre Gewohnheit, ein wanderndes Volk und lieben den Wechsel. Der Irländer würde lieber durch die ganze Welt wandern, um sich Beschäftigung zu suchen, als, so lange er noch im Besitze seiner Gesundheit und seiner Kräfte ist, die Disciplin eines Arbeitshauses erdulden. Gefängnis und Einschließung jeder Art ist dem Irländer noch viel verdrießlicher als dem Engländer. Daher würde er, selbst wenn er auch in einem Arbeitshause viel besser situirt wäre, als er es sich in seinem eigenen Hause verschaffen könnte, doch nie in dasselbe eintreten, außer in dem Falle der äußersten Noth, und gewiß wird er darin keinen Augenblick länger bleiben, als diese Noth dauert. (JGKR2 145)

Kohl's attributions of characteristics evoke a state akin to that of a nomadic people, thus linking the Irish to peoples 'lower' on the ladder of civilisatory attainment. Yet, these traits are given a certain dignity, which in turn links this view to the stereotype of the noble savage. Even though Kohl maintains that the poor should learn "Disciplin und Ordnung" and be made used to work, thus winning their golden freedom (JGKR2 146), he still attaches a degree of self-respect to their current behaviour. This unites the Irish as a collective while simultaneously distinguishing them from other peoples.

7.3 Signs of (Moral) Improvement in the People: Temperance and Repeal

While Irish objections to English measures of improvement (roads, corrective institutions) are viewed as a means of resistance to English rules and culture, the Irish are observed as more than willing to dedicate themselves to improvements initiated by Irish leaders. The temperance and repeal movements are seen as a manifestation of cultural reawakening and moral improvement with political implications: from without, they feed into imaginings of the Irish people as forming a potential nation. The traits which these movements promote are regarded as a prerequisite for the attainment of political independence: self-control and acceptance of law and order.

Venedey sees the popularity of Father Mathew's temperance movement and the oath of abstinence as a clear sign of progress in a people who are otherwise known for their alcoholic tendencies. According to Venedey, alcohol had a detrimental effect on the moral culture of the Irish people, it "entnervte [...] das irische Volk, nahm ihm allen höhern moralischen Werth und ließ es oft bis zum Thiere herabsinken" (JV2 235). He postulates that alcohol was put in place of the sword by Ireland's rulers to demoralise the people. The Irish, however, slowly began to view alcohol as a source of their slavery and a barrier to their liberation (JV2 235). For Venedey, the popularity of the temperance movement is a direct result of the present cultural state of the Irish who are emerging "in Masse aus dem Zustande der Barbarei, in dem sie England so lange zu erhalten gesucht hatte" (JV2 237). It is clear that abstinence is viewed as more than just an improvement in the moral culture of the Irish people, for example Venedey claims that there are less and less people in Irish prisons because a reduction in alcohol consumption has resulted in a reduction in crime (JV2 26), rather abstinence is presented as a pre-requisite for political change. Learning "sich selbst beherrschen [...] ist der Samen, aus dem die Freiheit gezogen wird" (JV2 26). Venedey even claims that having read the travel narratives of Pückler, Jean-Gabriel Capo de Feuillide (*L'Irlande*, 1839) and Gustave de Beaumont (*L'Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse*, 1839) he

finds less poverty than he had expected in Ireland and directly links this to the influence of Father Mathew. Venedey claims “gerade in diesem Besserwerden liegt der Keim der Freiheit. Ich fing nachgerade an ein selbständiges Irland zu glauben an” (JV2 67). Venedey ascribes the Irish a degree of agency, autonomy and control. These are factors which constitute the body politic, which facilitate civic responsibility.

Another vital step on this road linked to self-control is getting used to law and order. This is brought about in part by the temperance movement, but moreover by O’Connell and the repeal movement. At a monster meeting, for example, Venedey describes the pleasure of observing the expectant crowd as they wait for O’Connell because of the “Art von Ordnung und Regel” which naturally seems to manifest itself. He describes how the various rows of people arrange themselves in an orderly fashion while waiting for O’Connell to appear, “und die ganze Zeit herrschte die tiefste Ruhe und Ordnung, fast mehr Stille, als sonst bei ähnlichen Gelegenheiten thunlich ist” (JV2 28f.). Venedey repeats his praise and amazement at how orderly and quiet O’Connell’s audiences behave on numerous occasions (JV2 138, 140, 188). He maintains that O’Connell and his peaceful agitation for the repeal of the Act of Union, teamed with the Temperance movement, are transforming the Irish into a peace-loving, temperate and orderly people. There is less violence, less faction-fighting and a great reduction in the number of secret, revolutionary societies thanks to the work of the two movements, as well as the newly established Repeal police and Repeal courts set up specifically to deal with local incidents. The Irish exercise self-control and adherence to the law not in the name of a vague notion of a love of freedom, but in the name of the collective which is defined by its own rules. The idea of an unofficial self-government, with its own laws and own manner of enforcing these laws, was not entirely dissimilar to the unofficial Frankfurt Parliament of 1848. For Venedey, the Repeal police and the Repeal courts “sind unabweisbare Belege für das allmähliche Mündigwerden der Irländer” (JV2 188). They show that Ireland “endlich zur Gesetzreife herangewachsen ist” (JV2 191). In German political discourse, “Mündigkeit” is linked to the franchise; in an Irish context it implies that the general population are ‘ready’ for political responsibility. Venedey states this explicitly when he maintains that the Repeal courts prove to the world that the Irish are “im Stande, ihre eigenen Angelegenheiten zu ordnen, und würdig sind, mit der Verwaltung derselben beehrt zu werden” (JV2 191). Yet there is an aporia at the heart of Venedey’s commentary:

Ein Volk, das sich selbst beherrschen und regieren lernt, kann sicher sein, daß es nicht lange mehr unter der Herrschaft eines andern stehen wird. Die Repealpolizei und Gerichte sind ein Beweis, daß die Irländer sich in gewisser Beziehung nachgerade aus sich selbst heraus ‘germanisieren’ – wie ich’s nennen möchte – d.h. an Gesetz und Recht gewöhnen. (JV2 188)

On the one hand, he claims that the love of freedom, the carefree and unsteady nature makes the Irish who they are, and yet only the abandonment of these characteristics and the gradual assumption of 'Germanic' traits enable the Irish to become politically independent.

While Venedey praises the effects of the Temperance movement in Ireland and sees its development and popularity as a sign of progress, he would consider it a worrying occurrence in other contexts because a reasonable and strong man does not need to swear an oath of abstinence, rather he already knows how to control himself (JV2 240f.). In this light, temperance is acceptable only as an interim measure. Self-control without enforcement from without by the likes of the temperance movement is the ultimate goal; collective responsibility is viewed as a step towards personal responsibility. That O'Connell is not a teetotaler is not seen as hypocritical, rather Venedey praises O'Connell for knowing self-control (JV2 44). Venedey stresses that Ireland's situation is in some ways unique, therefore temperance appears quite natural there:

In Irland erklärt sich das Gelübde ganz von selbst. Das Volk war durch 700 Jahre Mishandlung und Misregierung entartet, zur Brutalität hinabgesunken. Nach und nach kam es wieder zu einem höheren Bewußtsein, edleren Wollen und Streben. Und so kamen Augenblicke, wo es sich aus eigenem Antriebe von der moralischen Sklaverei des Trunkes zu befreien suchte und sich selbst und freiwillig Gelübde auflegte. (JV2 241)

Venedey again stresses the idea of agency. He seems to be suggesting that the same recipes for liberation cannot be applied everywhere, i.e. each country has to follow their own path to political emancipation. Where less than a decade earlier, observers such as Brockhaus, Raumer and Hailbronner perceived of the Irish as living in the depths of misery and poverty, unable to raise themselves up intellectually and culturally, Venedey perceived major changes in that the Irish lower classes are presented as agents of their own political destiny.

Kohl makes similar observations on the Temperance movement and its influence on the Irish people. As already discussed, he views the manner in which some members devote themselves to abstinence and the way in which Temperance meetings are conducted as signs of intemperance rather than temperance, signs of how Irish Catholics act in their usual fanatical and passionate manner. However, on the other hand, Kohl also recognises the positive effects of the Temperance movement on the people after only four years: improved health, more peaceful homes, reduced spending on alcohol and increased affluence are clearly visible effects of abstinence. Less immediately obvious effects include increased desire for education, improvement in education of children and as a result of the *Volk* in general, as well as an increase in feelings of independence and freedom which will lead to the emancipation of the Irish (JGKR1 225). Just like Venedey, Kohl makes a direct link between moral improvement

and political independence: he too claims that making a people dependent on alcohol is a trusted way to enslave them. The Irish, however, are now learning self-control:

Nur der Nüchterne beherrscht sich selbst, und es wird daher ein independenter Sinn unter den bisher sehr unterwürfigen Irländern sich bilden. Sie werden mehr Achtung vor sich selbst gewinnen und daher auch dieselbe Achtung von Anderen fordern. Die Intelligenz und die Kenntnisse, die ebenfalls Kräfte sind, und der verbesserte Vermögenszustand, der gleichfalls eine größere Unabhängigkeit gewährt, werden dann jenen independenten Sinn und jenes [...] Freiheitsgefühl noch vermehren und somit in Folge dessen auch eine freiere politische Verfassung zu Wege bringen. (JGKR1 226)

Kohl's comment not only implies independence from Britain but also liberal constitutionality in general. For Kohl, it is not O'Connell's agitation for Repeal which will bring about the political reform sought after, rather it will be the change in the Irish national character towards "anderen Sitten und Gewohnheiten", a change brought about by the self-control promoted by temperance. When the Irish national character has been transformed into a sober, reasonable, educated and affluent character, then "ist alsdann die Sache gewonnen und steht für immer fest" (JGKR1 226f.). Venedey's and Kohl's depictions of the Irish character are very similar on this point in that they both claim that essentially Germanic traits (e.g. love of freedom, independence, liberty, moderation in political matters, abiding by the law, self-control, stability) are what the Irish need to develop and are in the process of developing in order to attain their freedom. In so doing, the German authors apply the standards and norms from their own cultural, social and religious sphere and praise their objects of observation for aiming for them, too. Temperance and repeal show to the world that the Irish are capable of handling their own affairs, of organising themselves, of agitating peacefully and of adhering to the law, whereas for decades they were perceived of as given over to excessive alcohol consumption which was often linked to violent behaviour.

Overall, Venedey's construction of the Irish in the early 1840s is one of a people eagerly looking to a future in which they will no longer suffer oppression and degradation at the hands of their neighbours. While he recognises improvements in Ireland, Kohl, on the other hand, is generally not as optimistic as Venedey. Kohl believes that the Greeks under Turkish rule had more hope of a better future than Irish have. The Turks only occupied military camps and fortresses in Greece, whereas the English have made such deep roots in Ireland "daß man nicht daran denken mag, auf welche Weise man dieß Alles rückgängig machen könnte" (JGKR1 182). Yet, Kohl's analogy is revealing: the Greeks officially gained independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1832. In this sense, while Kohl appears doubtful that the Irish can completely undo the English conquest of Ireland, he, like Venedey, views the Irish as a collective entity with a specific identity.

7.4 Nachrevolutionäre Misere

Immediately following Venedey's visit to Ireland in 1843, rapid social, economic and political changes were to take place, and they were not the changes Venedey or Kohl expected. After 1842 opposition to O'Connell grew within the Repeal Association through more radical members including Thomas Davis and Gavan Duffy. As a result, the Young Ireland movement was founded by these and other young politicians who had been supporters of O'Connell but became frustrated, especially following O'Connell's bowing to the government when they banned a monster meeting in Dublin in late 1843. Even though O'Connell did not go ahead with the meeting in Clontarf he was arrested, charged with conspiracy and sentenced to one year in prison. He served three months and was released following an appeal to the House of Lords, of which Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach gives an eye witness account in his travel narrative from 1844.³⁶ J. H. Whyte claims that these events served as a turning point for the Repeal movement and that slowly it lost impetus as dissensions broke out.³⁷ The Young Ireland movement, influenced by the Young Germany movement and the revolutionary atmosphere across Europe, was associated with the weekly newspaper *The Nation*.³⁸ The movement carefully considered how an Irish parliamentary party should function in the House of Commons, as well as the importance of the land question for the rural masses. However, what set the Young Ireland movement apart from its predecessors was that some of its members advocated complete separation from England and the use of physical force. John Mitchel was the greatest advocate of such measures. By supporting the use of violence he revived a tradition which had subsided since the failure of the 1798 Rebellion. According to Whyte, the Young Irelanders did not achieve much more than O'Connell had, for they quarrelled among themselves, then plunged into a rebellion in 1848 which was neither planned nor successful. However, in the long run, the Young Ireland movement was to influence later generations in many ways and Whyte sees them as one of the greatest, if unintended, effects of the Repeal movement.³⁹ Meanwhile, in 1847 O'Connell died at the age of 72 at the height of an entirely different event which was ravaging the whole of Ireland and which also left its mark on Irish society for decades to come: the Great Famine.

The Great Famine took place between the years 1845 and 1850. It was caused by the potato blight, a disease which destroyed the potato crop. In an Irish context, the results of a potato crop failure were catastrophic: as often noted by observers, the potato was the main

³⁶ Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach: *Reise nach England* 30. Mai-8. September 1844. In: Jacob von Gerlach (ed.): *Aufzeichnungen aus seinem Leben und Wirken 1795-1877*, vol 1. Schwerin: Bahn, 1903, pp. 390-409.

³⁷ Cf. J. H. Whyte: *The Age of Daniel O'Connell*. In: T. W. Moody and F. X. Martin (eds.): *The Course of Irish History*. Dublin: Mercier, 1994, pp. 248-262, here p. 261.

³⁸ Cf. Dohmen: *Das deutsche Irlandbild*, p. 53.

³⁹ Cf. Whyte: *The Age of Daniel O'Connell*, p. 262.

food stuff of the population. Indeed, in his travel narrative published in 1847, but based on his journey to Ireland in 1845, Anton Schütte (*Reise nach Derrynane und Besuch bei Daniel O'Connell*, AS) quite matter-of-factly states that if the Irish die of hunger it is because they lack potatoes. The subtext to this comment is his indignation at the export of foodstuffs including meat and butter from Ireland to England during the famine years (AS Nr. 149, 1186.). Ida von Hahn-Hahn (*Von Babylon nach Jerusalem*, 1851, IvHH) was an eye witness to several small-scale rebellions in the winter of 1847 as flour was forcefully removed for export from local bakers and millers. She notes the derisive tone of *The Times* in articles sneering at Ireland's affliction in which they wish "den 'Kartoffelessern' Glück, daß der Mangel an ihrer Lieblingsnahrung sie dazu veranlassen werde, künftig Fleisch zu essen" (IvHH 177f.).

The reason for the popularity of the potato as a foodstuff was down to the fact that not only is it nutritious, but also the yield of a potato crop for a given piece of land is higher than that of any other crop. In a country where over two-thirds of the population depended on agriculture for a livelihood and yet most families farmed extremely small holdings (some as little as quarter of an acre, while around 45% rented holdings of less than five acres), it is not hard to see how and why the Irish became dependent on the potato.⁴⁰ A potato diet, as E. R. R. Green notes, was one of the reasons for the rapid increase in the Irish population: estimated to be two million around 1700, on the eve of the famine it was around 8.5 million. Green notes a number of reasons which made the successive potato crop failures of the late 1840s such a catastrophic event for the Irish. The most obvious was, of course, the immediate potato blight, but there were also contributory social, economic and political conditions in Ireland at the time including the over-dependency on the potato crop, the structure of the agricultural system (subdivision of land holdings, absenteeism), high unemployment and the response of the English government to the famine which exacerbated the disaster. Initially, the Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel was swift to take action and deliver relief. However, the succeeding Whig government under Lord John Russell, previously in charge of the 1833 Royal Commission which recommended the setting up of work houses in Ireland, was a proponent of the economic system of *laissez faire*. Thus, a policy of non-intervention was followed. As a result, the burden to provide aid fell entirely on the work houses which could not meet the demand of the starving masses. In January 1847 the government was forced to abandon their policy of non-intervention and provide direct relief. February 1847 was, according to Green, one of the worst months of the famine: the winter was unusually harsh and hordes of starving people crowded into the towns and cities to seek relief. Typhus, dysentery, scurvy and hunger oedema (starvation) were widespread. By the end of the famine years in 1850, the population

⁴⁰ Cf. E. R. R. Green: *The Great Famine (1845-50)*. In: T. W. Moody and F. X. Martin (eds.): *The Course of Irish History*. Dublin: Mercier, 1994, pp. 263-274, here p. 267 and p. 272. The following is based on information contained within Green's article.

had been reduced to around 6.5 million. It is estimated that around one million died and a further one million emigrated.

There are very few eyewitness German observers of Ireland during the famine years. In fact, there appear to be three accounts excluding Anton Schütte, who, although he travelled to Ireland in 1845, does not appear to have witnessed famine-related events. Ida von Hahn-Hahn briefly mentions her travels in Ireland in late 1847/early 1848, but her brief reference to conditions is incidental to her purpose of detailing her own personal religious journey and conversion to Catholicism. The seventeen-year-old Franz Arnold Cöllen (*Reise-Album vom 15. bis zum 22. Lebensjahre, 1849*, FC) happened to find himself travelling from Dublin to Cork in 1847 where he boarded a steam ship bound for America. He provides a very brief description of his impressions of the Irish at the height of the famine. Moritz Hartmann ('Briefe aus Dublin', 1873, MH) is the only German-speaking author who writes in any detail on Ireland at this time during his visit to Dublin in 1850, where he witnessed the immediate aftermath of the famine, as well as of the failed rebellion of 1848, also known as the Famine Rebellion or the Young Irelander Rising.⁴¹

Born in the Bohemian village of Duschnik to German-speaking Jewish parents, Hartmann grew up in this bilingual, Catholic-dominated cultural environment of Bohemian German-Austria.⁴² In Prague, he met members of the Young Bohemia movement and wrote for the Prague-based journal *Ost und West* to which many Young Bohemia members contributed. The programmatic aim of the journal was to bring together German and Slavic literary opinions with Bohemia as the meeting point between East and West.⁴³ Hartmann became known as a writer for his collection of poetry titled *Kelch und Schwert* published in Leipzig in 1845 which, by mistake, made it to book shops before it was forbidden by the strict censorship of the time. The book glorified the Hussites and was located "firmly within the ambit of Hartmann's Bohemic patriotism".⁴⁴ As a result of this book, Hartmann went into exile. In Brussels he met Jakob Venedey and as a companion of Venedey's, Hartmann quickly gained access to circles of like-minded people in Ireland. When the 1848 March revolution broke out in Prague, it was a bitter experience for Hartmann because growing nationalist tendencies separated the German from the Czech rebels.⁴⁵ For Hartmann, freedom was more important than nationality: "Die Nationalität ist am Ende doch nur die Sache des Gemüts, des beschränkten Gemüts, die

⁴¹ Cf. T. W. Moody: Fenianism, Home Rule, and the Land War. In: T. W. Moody and F. X. Martin (eds.): *The Course of Irish History*. Dublin: Mercier, 1994, pp. 275-293, here p. 275.

⁴² Cf. Erich Kleinschmidt: Revolutionäre Spiegelungen. Zu Moritz Hartmanns *Reimchronik des Pfaffen Maurizius* (1849). In: Harmut Kircher and Maria Klačnska (eds): *Literatur und Politik in der Heine-Zeit. Die 48er Revolution in Texten zwischen Vormärz und Nachmärz*. Cologne, Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 1998, pp. 185-203, here p. 187.

⁴³ Cf. Eoin Bourke: Moritz Hartmann, Bohemia and the Metternich System. In: Detlev Kopp and Hans-Martin Kruckis (eds.): *Goethe im Vormärz*. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2004, pp. 353-371, here p. 358.

⁴⁴ Bourke: Moritz Hartmann, Bohemia and the Metternich System, p. 360.

⁴⁵ Cf. Herta Blaukopf: Moritz Hartmann (1821-1872). In: *Literatur und Kritik*, 315. 16 (1997), pp. 99-106, here p. 103.

Freiheit ist die Sache des Geistes, des allumfassenden Geistes".⁴⁶ He seems to suggest nationality as a narrow, subjective category subordinate to a more general idea of freedom. Hartmann made himself a candidate for the Frankfurt Parliament and represented the district Leitmeritz. Like Venedey, who was elected to the Frankfurt Parliament for Hessen-Homburg, Hartmann sat on the extreme left and advocated the "Republik, Abschaffung des Adels und Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker. Sein Bekenntnis zur deutschen Nation war mit dem Verzicht auf jedwede Unterdrückung anderer Nationen verbunden".⁴⁷ The rejection of oppression of other nations also reveals itself in how he portrays the Irish. Even though Austria recalled its members of parliament in April 1849, Hartmann still went to Stuttgart and participated in the so-called Rumpfparlament, thus ensuring two further decades in exile. He fled to Switzerland and England. It was from here that he undertook his trip to Ireland in 1850. In the following years he moved from country to country, earning a living by writing for the *Kölnische Zeitung*, among other papers and journals.

Evident in Hartmann's body of work, which includes novels, poetry and travel narratives, is his sympathy for the oppressed: the Hussites, the Jewish citizens of Prague, the Czech peasantry suppressed by the largely German landlords, the Huguenots, the Poles, and in the case of Ireland the Catholic lower classes. "Jedes Land", Hartmann once wrote,

wird mir erst dann lebendig, wenn ich es mir mit gewissen Helden seiner Geschichte bevölkere, und ich bereise es, wie man einen Roman liest, immer in Begleitung des "leidenden" Helden, indem ich alles oder das meiste, das ich sehe und erlebe, auf ihn beziehe. Dass diese Helden meiner Reiseromane oder Romanreisen meist die Unterdrückten des Landes sind – das ist so mein Geschmack, meine Sympathie. In Irland waren es Robert Emmet und die Katholiken, im südlichen Frankreich sind es Roland, Jean Cavalier und die Protestanten.⁴⁸

That Hartmann's Irish hero is Robert Emmet rather than Daniel O'Connell, for example, is significant: Emmet led the 1803 Rebellion for which he was accused of high treason and executed. Emmet subsequently became a popular figure among Irish nationalists who supported similar measures such as rebellion to attain political goals. From this alone it is clear where Hartmann's sympathies lie. His visit took place two years after the failure of 1848 revolutions "in der Stimmung nachrevolutionärer Misere", and exile.⁴⁹ From Switzerland he travelled to England in the hope of building a new life for himself, however, this was not to be. He found the English "wirklich borniert – sie sind es in politischer, sozialer und religiöser Beziehung – die ganze Nation besteht nur aus Schichten".⁵⁰ This, as well as his acquaintance

⁴⁶ Hartmann quoted in Otto Wittner: Moritz Hartmanns Leben und Werke. Ein Beitrag zur politischen und literarischen Geschichte Deutschlands im XIX. Jahrhundert, vol. 1: Der Vormärz und die Revolution. Prague: Koch, 1906, p. 199f.

⁴⁷ Blaukopf: Moritz Hartmann, p. 103.

⁴⁸ Quoted in Rudolf Wolkan: Vorwort. In: Briefe von Moritz Hartmann, ed. by Rudolf Wolkan. Vienna, Berlin, Leipzig and Munich: Rikola, 1921, p. 24f.

⁴⁹ Hubert Lengauer: Nachgetragene Ironie. Moritz Hartmann und Heinrich Heine. In: T. J. Reed and Alexander Stimmlark (eds.): Heine und die Weltliteratur. Oxford: Legenda, 2000, pp. 77-103, here p. 79.

⁵⁰ Brief an Karl Varnhagen von Ense. In: Briefe von Moritz Hartmann, ed. by Rudolf Wolkan, p. 39.

with Ireland through his personal contact with Venedey, influenced his decision to travel to Ireland. The Ireland Hartmann visited in 1850 stood at an extremely low point in its history. Hartmann aptly places a slightly modified quotation from *Romeo and Juliet* (Act 5, Scene 1, Lines 71-74) at the beginning of his book which captures the mood in Ireland and his perception of the Irish people:

Famine is in thy cheeks,
Need and oppression starveth in thy eyes,
Upon thy back hangs ragged misery,
The world is not thy friend, nor the world's law. (MH, no page number)

The image conveyed here of a starved, oppressed, miserable and abandoned people is in stark contrast to the images Venedey portrayed only a few years previously.

Both Hartmann and Franz Arnold Cölln struggle to find adequate expressions to convey their impressions of the appearance of the Irish lower classes. Cölln describes “dem Hungertodt nahe, [...] abgezehrten Geischer”, women and children mustering their last strength to beg for alms. Typhus fever is so widespread that the living can barely bury the dead. Cölln attempts to describe the horrific conditions he encounters:

Da lag eine Masse dieser halbverhungerten Geschöpfe auf einem Rasen außerhalb des Dorfes [...], ohne Nahrungsmittel, ohne Bedeckung, Arznei oder Pflege, Lebende und Tode nebeneinander gereiht, – ja uns wurde erzählt, wie man am vorigen Tage eine todte Frau der Verwesung nahe in ihrer Hütte gefunden, auf deren Leichnam noch ihr kleines Kind beschäftigt gewesen sich Nahrung aus der todten Brust zu ziehen, und könnte ich ähnlicher Schreckbilder welche hier täglich vorkommen noch mehrere zeichnen, gehe aber darüber hinweg, da sie auf der einen Seite unglaublich, auf der andern herzerreißend sein würden. (FC 60f.)

Cölln describes seeing all this misery and starvation as “die bitterste Stunde meines Lebens”. Hartmann is similarly dumbstruck by what he encounters in Dublin. Indeed, his description of the starving, miserable masses on the streets and in the slums of Dublin is the most drastic of any German observer in Ireland. In particular, he takes those previous observers to task who depict the poor as happy in the name of an Irish identity, essentially glorifying poverty, because for Hartmann there is nothing romantic or idyllic about dying of starvation and the concomitant diseases of famine. His disdain for such idealised images of the impoverished Irish is evident in his language. He describes the beautiful tale of the Persian king who wished to wear the shirt of the happiest man alive only to find that the happiest man had no shirt as “ein doppeltes Märchen, ja ein Hohn”. Hartmann’s indignation is clear: “Diese ausgehungerten, verthierten Gestalten sind so weit gekommen, dass sie überhaupt keines Glückes mehr fähig sind; rachitisch geboren, wachsen sie hungernd auf und sterben an der Auszehrung” (MH 7). Hartmann’s language is reminiscent of, but much more drastic than Raumer, Brockhaus and Hailbronner who use comparisons between the Irish and animals to underscore the destitute conditions the Irish live in. Here, however, the Irish are no longer just *like* animals, they have

become inhuman “verthierte Gestalten”. Hartmann even speaks of the “Verkommensein der menschlichen Race” in Ireland (MH 3). These people live in dwellings of which Hartmann reports: “Wir würden unser Vieh nicht in einen solchen Stall stellen” (MH 36). The starved look on with envy at horses who have food sacks fixed to their heads. These people are perceived as hopeless and resigned. Beggars lie about, silently stretching out their hand, many have even given this up and just lie there motionless, eyeballing the fine dress of the passer-by (MH 8). They are nothing like the beggars Venedey or Pückler meet, rather they are not even able to speak or move, let alone to engage the passer-by with eloquent and long phrases (cf. JV2 14). Death is their daily companion. Hartmann frames the wake of a young girl who died in the prime of youth in the form of a genre picture (MH 54f.). In so doing, he makes it clear to his readers that such occurrences are just another part of daily life for the starving masses. Even his companion, the beggar Juddy, who is a good friend of the deceased, is largely unmoved by the scene before her, she “ging fast so ruhig und kalt, wie sie gekommen war” (MH 55). Hartmann is quite literally unable to verbalise his impressions and this unspeakability topos indicates something too horrid to be put into words:

Ich habe viel gesehen in böhmischen Dörfern und Judengassen, ich bin auch in Schlesien gereist und in jenem Theile Westphalens, wo die Reichen so fromm sind; auch hatte ich immer Phantasie genug, mir das Gesehene verzehnfacht zu denken, wenn ich in Reisebeschreibungen von irischem Elend las. Aber wenn meine Phantasie auch alles früher Gesehene ver Hundertfacht auf einander gehäuft hätte zu einem Alpengebirge von Elend, sie hätte das nicht erreicht. (MH 8f.)

Comparisons to other impoverished peoples with whom the reader would have been acquainted no longer suffice. Hartmann is clearly critical of those who idealise poverty under any circumstances because the idea that a people would willingly *choose* such a life, that they would rather be poor and starve than subject themselves to life in English corrective institutions, is for him nothing short of a mockery. For Hartmann poverty is never a choice, rather it is caused by external circumstances. This is evident especially when he recounts his conversation with a man who reports that, having stolen a small boat, he never in any way tried to defend himself when arrested, “denn im Gefängniß bekam ich zu essen”. For this small crime he spent three years in prison and since his recent release “hungerte [er] wieder” (MH 43).

Hartmann does, however, observe something “sehr originell” in the Irish people, they are a “sonderbares Volk [...], in jeder Beziehung verschieden von allen kontinentalen Völkern” (MH 7). Against a backdrop of physical dirt and emaciation, he perceives not of an innate cheerful disposition like previous observers but an inner purity. Hartmann modifies a common comparison of the Irish to the Lazzaroni of Naples, the poorest of the lower classes, when he claims that the Irish share some similarities to them, “doch ist es gutmüthiger, naiver und trotz der Verderbnis, die ihm das Elend nothwendig eingeimpft hat, auch reiner” (MH 7). This sense

of inner purity seems to refer to moral righteousness. Hartmann asserts that an Irishman is “kein Lazzarone von Natur” because he will willingly work to earn his daily bread. An Irishman works “mit Heiterkeit und sträubt sich gegen die verthierende Anstrengung, die der Engländer verlangt” (MH 7). Hartmann makes the English responsible for the “Verkommensein der menschlichen Race” (MH 3) in Ireland and for making the Irish into animalistic creatures. He views the Irish as justified in their refusal to work like animals in English factories and condemns the unequal distribution of labour whereby millions “am Pfluge, an den Maschinen, in den Minen verdumpfen und zu Grunde gehen, damit einige Wenige in gänzlicher Unthätigkeit dahinschwelgen können”. What the English see as economic backwardness and Irish indolence when they refuse to work fourteen hours a day, Hartmann frames as deliberate, almost heroic resistance against exploitation, alienation and reification (Verdinglichung).⁵¹ Hartmann constructs the Irish as martyrs, however not necessarily to the cause of nationalism, but as “Märtyrer der Wahrheit und Freiheit” (MH 8); this is a manifestation of their perceived inner purity: “Die Natur, welche die Wahrheit ist und welcher der Irländer nahe steht, sträubt sich in ihm gegen diese Ausbeutung und Verdampfung” (MH 8). Purity refers to an innate moral compass, not in terms of sexual ethics but in terms of social justice. This links Hartmann to those, for example Hailbronner, who saw justice and its arm the law as the basis for emancipation. The Irish are portrayed as being close to nature, and simultaneously as naive, and therefore closer to the truth, whereas with industrialisation the English have interfered with and destroyed nature.

Hartmann’s construction of the Irish must be understood against the backdrop of his own revolutionary activities. As Dohmen points out, after his exile he projects his political hopes and aims onto Ireland, and it can be added, onto the Irish, whom he depicts as martyrs of freedom and truth.⁵² However, in other respects, Dohmen’s interpretation of Hartmann’s representation of the Irish seems to completely miss the political aspect. She claims that his characterisation of the Irish is analogous to how he frames the Irish landscape (see the chapter ‘Framing Ireland’): “Das märchenhafte, südländisch wirkende Irland wird von freundlichen und phantasievoll-lebhaften Menschen bewohnt, denen das den Engländern zugeschriebene spekulative Nützlichkeitsdenken fremd ist”.⁵³ While Hartmann perceives of the Irish as a friendly, lively, story-telling people when he encounters Juddy and her friends, he stylises this world of story-telling as a counter-world into which the Irish escape from their everyday misery. Otherwise, there is little trace of a fairy-tale like manner in how Hartmann constructs

⁵¹ Cf. Bourke: Moritz Hartmann und Irland, p. 439.

⁵² Cf. Dohmen: Das deutsche Irlandbild, p. 97.

⁵³ Dohmen: Das deutsche Irlandbild, p. 96.

the Irish. He views the Irish as resigned, hopeless and abandoned. The only thing which can help them is violent revolution, not peaceful agitation for reform.

Striking about the changes in how the Irish are constructed is the fact that from 1820s, German conceptualisations slowly build up to an acknowledgement of the impoverished circumstances the Irish lower classes live in, then to a recognition that such socio-economic conditions are caused from without, finally culminating in depictions of the Irish coloured by nationalist tendencies. Within just a few short years, however, these are replaced by images of the Irish as completely destitute and hopeless. Meanwhile, none of these views go uncontested: racial configurations concurrently emerge which portray the Irish as an inferior race, their alleged backwardness and stupidity being attributed to their racial origin. It is noteworthy that Anglophilia never completely disappears: in racial representations it is evident in how the English and Scottish are counted as belonging to the superior Anglo-Saxon Germanic race in comparison to the Celtic Irish. Meanwhile, in Venedey's and Raumer's narratives, for example, there is still a latent struggle between their overall admiration for the British government system and its specific manifestation in Ireland. Many German liberals of the *Vormärz* period held England in high esteem, not least of all Venedey. Consequently, Geraldine Grogan believes that Venedey "experienced personal conflict, which was caused by his natural admiration for the British system of government and abhorrence at what that very government was doing in Ireland". According to Grogan, Venedey struggled to come to terms with this for years before his visit to Ireland, and this struggle is played out in the articles he wrote for the *Kölnische Zeitung*,⁵⁴ while towards the end in his travel narrative it is clear that he views the Irish as the victims of English oppression and colonisation.

During the entire period under investigation, i.e. from 1785-1850, there does not seem to have been such an array of opinion as well as such rapid change in perspectives in how the Irish are constructed as during the 1840s. The politicisation of writing during the *Vormärz* period is evident in how observers such as Venedey and Hartmann in particular, but even Kohl, who is not usually noted for his political commentary, depict the Irish. Indeed, as Karl Holl points out, Kohl was first and foremostly an ethnographer.⁵⁵ He was no political activist of the mettle of Venedey or Hartmann. And yet, the majority of the observers discussed here perceive of the Irish as a down-trodden, oppressed and poverty-stricken people, slowly trying to raise themselves up out of their poverty and oppression. By the time Hartmann arrives in Ireland, he believes actions and not words are what is needed for the Irish to attain their freedom. After O'Connell's death and the failure of the European-wide 1848 revolutions,

⁵⁴ Geraldine Grogan: *The noblest Agitator*, p. 145.

⁵⁵ Cf. Karl Holl: *Die irische Frage in der Ära Daniel O'Connell und ihre Beurteilung in der politischen Publizistik des deutschen Vormärz*. PhD thesis, University of Mainz, 1958, p. 115.

Ireland as a reference point, a kind of projective foil for the debate of domestic issues, no longer plays much of a role for the German-speaking world of the nineteenth century. This is evident from 1845 with the sharp decrease in the number of German travellers visiting Ireland. Indeed, it is surprising how little attention Ireland receives from German travel writers during the famine. While there was without a doubt plenty to keep German political thinkers busy at home in the run up to the 1848 revolutions, it seems that the demise of O'Connell marks the end of an era of German interest in Ireland, even though the famine and the British government's response to it could possibly have served political agendas in highlighting the fate of oppressed peoples in Europe. It is clear that Hartmann already stands at the beginning of a new era in Irish and in German history. In Ireland, the days of peaceful agitation in the style of O'Connell were over. The second half of the nineteenth century was dominated by Fenianism, the pursuit of complete separation from England by the use of physical force, as well as by Home Rule and the Land Wars. While such events might still have been viewed with interest by a nation heading for political unification, from the 1870s following unification, Germany under Bismarck was concerned with quite different matters including the *Kulturkampf* and the founding of overseas protectorates. Thus, German and Irish political paths went in quite different directions.

8 Volkscharakter, Volksgeist and *Völkerpsychologie*

It is evident that in the 1840s there are various and often competing constructions of Irishness. What is clear, however, is that observers such as Knut Jongbohn Clement (*Reisen in Irland oder Irland in historischer, statistischer, politischer und socialer Beziehung*, 1845, KJC), Johann Georg Kohl (*Reisen in Irland*, 2 vols, 1843, JGKR1/JGKR2; *Land und Leute der britischen Inseln. Beiträge zur Charakteristik Englands und der Engländer*, 1844, JGKL) and Jakob Venedey (*Irland*, 2 vols, 1844, JV1, JV2) purport a sense of a discernible, distinct and summative Irish national character. Kohl's and Clement's construction of the Irish is based on race and religion, while Venedey's conceptualisation mainly on political criteria: Irish society is split between the oppressed and the oppressors, between those who support and those who oppose Repeal.

When these authors speak of 'the Irish', they invariably refer to the lower and middle classes, even though class issues are no longer explicitly thematised, unlike in the narratives from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Clement only once mentions the lower classes as being the 'real' Irish (KJC 341); only on two occasions he refers to an upper class in Ireland (KJC 262, 357). Sebastian Stumpf believes that the fact that class issues are never really raised by Clement may also have to do with his own lowly background.¹ Like Clement, Kohl does not present difference within Irish society based on class, rather on racial and religious criteria. Unlike Clement, while he discerns difference within Irish society between the Celtic Irish and the Germanic Ulster Scots and the Saxon English, he ascertains an Irish character common to all inhabitants on the island of Ireland, regardless of religion, racial origins or social standing. He claims that in all of the various ethnic input into the Irish population, the Celtic element dominates. While the inhabitants of Connaught call the inhabitants of Leinster 'Saxons', Kohl claims that this differentiation is only used within Ireland itself, whereas in England everyone living in Ireland is seen as Irish. Even though a Leinster Saxon may have retained the English language and some English customs, he has, according to the English, taken on many Irish characteristics so that he can no longer be counted as Saxon (JGKR1 112). Kohl's considerations on an Irish *Nationalcharakter* correspond to this English view:

Freilich sind Alle, welche auf Erins Boden leben [...], in gewisser Beziehung sammt und sonders Irländer und sympathisiren nothwendiger Weise für das Vaterland, welches sie entweder als Colonisten betraten, oder von alten Zeiten her bewohnten. Die alten ursprünglichen Celten, die neuhinzugekommenen Engländer und Schotten, die Katholiken, die Presbyterianer, die Hochkirchenmänner, die armen Tenants, die Kaufleute, die großen und adeligen Landlords, sie sind alle Irländer geworden oder von jeher gewesen. (JGKR2 276)

¹ Cf. Sebastian Stumpf: Ireland as a Projection Screen for German Problems in Vormärz literature and journalism. PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2006, p. 73.

For Kohl in 1842, it is geographical criteria which make those who live on the island of Ireland Irish: despite the different 'Abstammung' of the inhabitants they all share a common 'Vaterland' and 'Wohnplatz' distinctly separate from all other countries. Their frequent contact with one another in their common living space means that their "Stammverschiedenheit" has been balanced out and has given "ihnen allen einen gemeinsamen Nationaltypus, den wir den irischen Nationalcharakter nennen können und an dem sie alle mehr oder weniger participiren" (JGKL 143). He claims that in all these various elements "der celtische Urtypus" is the most dominant. The traits which are described as 'Irish' are of Celtic origin. According to Kohl, this Celtic "Nationalgeist" has crept over all the other "Volkselemente" (JGKL 144). While it would seem that class does not play any role in this configuration of Irishness and their collective mental spirit, he claims that the *Volksg Geist* is more evident among the lower than upper classes:

Unser Boot war in zwei Abtheilungen gebracht. In der hinteren saßen in zwei Reihen von Sitzen, welche Kirchenstühlen glichen, die vornehmen Leute einander andächtig gegenüber. In der vorderen aber hockten auf langen Bänken schwatzend und schmauchend, die Kerry- und Tipperary-Männer, die Temperance-Leute, die Wundergläubigen, die Feeen- und Gespensterfürchtigen. Ich überwand das Bisschen schmutzige Aeußerlichkeit, die es unter ihnen gab, der Knospe der Volks-Psyche wegen, deren Inneres sich unter ihnen mehr als unter jenen aufthut (JGKR1 141).

The influence of Herderian thought is evident, i.e. that the lower classes, through their culture and customs, best embody the spirit of a people. The emerging discourse on *Völkerpsychologie* should also be taken into account in a discussion of *Volksg Geist*. *Völkerpsychologie* was the field which attempted to underlay Hegel's general idea of *Volksg Geist* with scientific material derived from those disciplines that merged during that very time such as anthropology, ethnography and human or cultural geography. This has to be seen in a scientific context that attempted to impose systematics, taxonomies and an encyclopaedic view on the various phenomena of an increasingly global, and complicated, world. While the term itself was only coined later by Moritz Lazarus, approaches and explanations foreshadowing the methods and rhetoric of the later school of *Völkerpsychologie* are visible in travel narratives of the period under discussion here.²

Venedey's conceptualisation of the Irish is based primarily on perceived difference between the Irish and the English. However, he also presents difference within Irish society based on the application of various criteria: religion, ethnicity, class and political leanings. His discernment of difference within Irish society is complex because he seems to constantly revise his opinion. While he makes a geo-ethnical-religious distinction between the English Protestant north and the Irish Catholic south of Ireland, he also ascribes a common 'northern'

² Cf. Moritz Lazarus: Über den Begriff und die Möglichkeit einer Völkerpsychologie. In: Deutsches Museum. Zeitschrift für Literatur, Kunst und öffentliches Leben, 1 (1851), pp. 112-126.

English character to all those, Catholics and Protestants, living in the northern counties, and a common 'southern' Irish character to all those living in the rest of Ireland (JV2 110f.). Meanwhile, on another occasion he describes everyone living on the island of Ireland, whether Catholic or Protestant, as Irish (JV2 252). What is obvious from these comments is that confession appears to play an important role in his discernment of Irishness and an Irish character.

In contrast to Kohl's and Clement's construction of difference within Ireland whereby they distinguish between 'Irish' Ireland in the south and the west, and 'English'/'Scottish' Ireland in the north, Venedey calls northern Ireland not 'English' Ireland but 'Irish' England. In this view, northern Ireland is the "*fort detaché* Englands gegen Irland" where "Alles, was ich sehe und höre, ist englisch und ich kannte es längst, ehe ich hierher kam" (JV2 393). Religious criteria contribute to differentiating between a 'northern' and a 'southern' character. Venedey describes Louth as being "auf der Grenze zwischen dem katholischen und protestantischen Irland". Even here on the border he notes variance in the character of the people. The Irish of the south are warm-hearted, friendly and enthusiastic followers of their hearts. At a Repeal meeting in Dundalk, on the other hand, Venedey regards the crowd as "sehr roh und ungebildet". These people do not, according to Venedey, understand O'Connell, "der kältere Norden ist dem heißen Süden unzugänglich". They are unaffected by his speech, restless and inattentive, unable to stand still for even a second, unlike their southern counterparts who adhere to a sense of order. According to Venedey, the practical consequences of Repeal attract these "kalten Nordländer". O'Connell presented these clearly and urgently, so "daß endlich die ganze Masse mit ihm dachte und fühlte" (JV2 110f.). "Die ganze Masse" lacks the southern poetical instinct; therefore they could only 'understand' O'Connell once he had pressed the right buttons, i.e. their pockets. The mention of Richard Cobden, advocate of free trade, serves to underscore Venedey's depiction of cold, egotistical northerners interested only in money. However, these borderland Repealers are Catholic; yet Venedey constructs all of them as possessing an English character. It appears that geographical proximity to the Protestant English north has influenced the character of northern Catholics. In this sense, it is not strictly religious criteria which is applied in the conceptualisation of the Irish, rather a sense of cultural absorption, assimilation, indeed cultural osmosis based on geographic proximity. This, in turn, contradicts any notions of ethnic essentialism and implies the possibility of change which essentialism denies. This is highlighted by Venedey's perception of southern and northern Catholics at worship. In the south, he perceives of Catholics as wholeheartedly devoting themselves to their worship. He sees "ein Volk von Millionen, Alt und Jung, Arm und Reich, Hoch und Niedrig, im Gottesglauben auf die Knie sinken und für des Volkes Heil und Zukunft beten. Und das riß mich mit nieder, [...] ich zweifelte nicht einen Augenblick an

dem tiefen Glauben Aller, die neben mir knieten und beteten. Und der Glauben macht glauben" (JV2 275). It seems that what other observers consider "Fanatismus des unwissenden Katholiken" (JML 83, cf. also HM2 205), is regarded as warm-hearted and deep devotion by Venedey. The cold northern Catholics, however, lack this enthusiasm for their religion: "Die Kirche war so unpoetisch, der Geistliche eine so prosaische Erscheinung, der Gesang so schlecht, daß wirklich viel Glaube dazu gehörte, um hier fromm zu werden" (JV2 353). In this sense, alleged national characteristics such as being poetical, warm-hearted, ardent and enthusiastic are important.

However, that is not to say that northern Catholics are viewed as 'un-Irish' by Venedey because he considers them as having a more English than Irish character. On the contrary, on another occasion he describes the Catholics of northern Ireland as "die erbärmlichen Reste der einst von Land und Gewerbe vertriebenen Ureinwohner", while the Protestants are the descendants of the English and Scottish settlers planted in Ireland in order to Anglicise the country (JV2 355). Because of political, historical and geographic circumstance, the Catholics of northern Ireland are perceived as having assumed English characteristics: "mürrisch", "scharf", "ernst", they are silent (JV2 385). In a conversation with a northern Irish farmer, Venedey has a hard time trying to assign labels: "Er war ein rüstiger Mann und sah so rührig und ernst aus, als ob er ein Engländer wäre". However, once he engages the farmer in conversation, Venedey can state: "ein Bauer, Katholik und Repealer" (JV2 357). Class (profession), confession and political persuasion conflict with personality and hence alleged ethnic markers here. In general, Dohmen's claim that Venedey's conceptualisation of the Irish as opposed to the English character is "überwiegend konfessionell begründet" and that "die Protestanten gelten als Verstandes-, die Katholiken als Gefühlsmenschen" is not entirely accurate because, as shown here, the Catholics of northern Ireland are anything but "Gefühlsmenschen".³ The discernment of an Irish national character is based on alleged national traits which are not necessarily linked to any supposed traits of each religious denomination.

It appears that Venedey distinguishes varying degrees of 'Irishness'. The most 'Irish' are those who live in the west of Ireland: "Connaught ist das reinste irische Blut". The people he meets here are characterised by their friendliness, by pride in their station in life in that, unlike the English, they do not constantly strive to get ahead of their neighbour. They show respect for one another, again unlike the English who never think of helping out their neighbour. They are also Catholics, but what seems to make them even more 'Irish' is that they are "Repealer mit Leib und Seele" (JV2 61). It seems the one constant in Venedey's construction of Irishness is whether a person supports Repeal or not, because for him to be

³ Doris Dohmen: *Das deutsche Irlandbild. Imagologische Untersuchungen zur Darstellung Irlands und der Iren in der Deutschsprachigen Literatur.* Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1994, p. 71.

Irish means to support Repeal. While on such occasions it appears that Venedey draws the distinguishing lines according to political and ethnical criteria, his perception of Irishness is, on other occasions, quite inclusive: while he recognises that the Catholics might be the native Irish, he claims that everyone in Ireland, “ob Katholiken oder Protestanten – alle Irländer sind” (JV2 252). The majority of supporters of Repeal might be Catholic, but not all Catholics support Repeal and not all Protestants are anti-Repeal; indeed according to Venedey, Irish Catholics are very tolerant towards Protestants and welcome them into the Repeal movement – only the Catholic priests are castigated as intolerant (cf. JV2 66).

Another yardstick which Venedey applies on his scale of Irishness is class. Although it does not play as big a role as in eighteenth-century views of Irishness, it is still applied by Venedey in a few instances in line with Herderian ideas: “In den irländischen Bauern hat sich die altirische Art am reinsten erhalten. Ihr Charakter ist der Typ des Volkes” (JV2 311). Venedey considers the lower classes as the most patriotic (JV2 105), they are the ones who Venedey regards as “offenherzig und ergeben, voller Hoffnung” for their “Vaterland” (JV2 27), who sacrifice themselves for the cause of freedom, whereas the upper classes, both Catholic and Protestant, “haben [...] selten viel Geschmack am Martyrthum”. For this reason, “Das Bauernblut und die Bauerngefühle” embody “echt irisch-demokratisches Wesen” (JV2 218). As a Catholic, a landlord and a professional, O’Connell himself seems to transcend the various criteria; hence, for Venedey, he can become “der vollkommenste Irländer, den es gibt, der klarste Ausdruck des irischen Nationalcharakters” (JV2 52). Venedey is not the only one to praise O’Connell as the personification of an alleged Irish national character as Kohl and Clement also construct him in this way. Venedey is the first German observer to mention anything of a Catholic upper class in Ireland. Furthermore, his commentary here points to *Völkerpsychologie*, i.e. a bundle of criteria, including class, political persuasion, personality or character type, are cast as a unity; the elements support and vindicate each other and the individual elements join together to achieve a comprehensive profile.

According to Dohmen, while Venedey is convinced “von der Existenz nationaler Eigenarten” she makes the following statement about Moritz Hartmann (‘Briefe aus Dublin’, 1873, MH) who visited Ireland in 1850: “Wenn Hartmann auch von der Existenz einer nicht genau bestimmten irischen ‘Eigenart’ überzeugt zu sein scheint, sind Begriffe wie ‘Volkscharakter’ oder ‘Volksseele’ für seine Sicht auf Irland eher bedeutungslos, da die Lage der Insel und ihrer Bewohner vorrangig als Folge der politischen Zustände gedeutet wird”.⁴ This appears to be an accurate appraisal. While Hartmann considers the Irish a “sonderbares Volk [...], in jeder Beziehung verschieden von allen kontinentalen Völkern” (MH 7), it is not entirely clear what makes them different. The only obvious thing which sets the Irish apart

⁴ Dohmen: Das deutsche Irlandbild, p. 72 and 96.

from other peoples is their culture, discussed below. An aspect of distinction within Irish society is revealed when Hartmann asks: “sind wir wirklich nur da, um zu arbeiten? oder sind wir vielmehr da, um zu leben?” (MH 7f.). In this sense, difference within Irish society is constructed in terms of rich and poor, between those who reside in wide streets and squares, and those who create such wealth and live in conditions incomparable to anything Hartmann has ever witnessed (MH 8f.). Religion, ethnicity and geography do not play any role in this conceptualisation of Irishness. While terms such as *Volkseele* and *Volksg Geist* may not be appropriate to categorise the ideas which determine his narrative, Hartmann still considers the Irish as being somehow unique by the application of cultural criteria. Clement’s, Kohl’s and Venedey’s positions, in contrast, can productively be analysed under the guiding aspects of the emerging discourse of *Völkerpsychologie* which attested to the idea of a *Volksg Geist*.

8.1 Culture and *Völkerpsychologie*

Völkerpsychologie can be described as the investigation of “the psychological aspects of groups of people living in communities bound by common language, myths and customs”.⁵ As an emerging discipline in the mid-nineteenth century, proponents of *Völkerpsychologie* “attempted to synthesize the empirical knowledge about the history and development of civilisation that had been accumulated during the nineteenth century, and tried to construct an academic discipline that would reflect the rapid political, economic and cultural changes of their contemporary society, and explain these in a comprehensive way”.⁶ Its roots can be traced to German idealism. According to Rainer Diriwächter, the philosophies of Hegel, Herder and Herbart can be said to have influenced the development of *Völkerpsychologie*.

Völkerpsychologie as established in the mid-nineteenth century shared Herder’s “belief in national progress as much as the assumption of a harmonic plurality of the different nations that constituted mankind”.⁷ Wilhelm von Humboldt’s views on language are also believed to have had an influence, i.e. the idea that every language has a unique form, reveals a particular *Weltanschauung* and shapes our relationship to the world.⁸

In 1860, Moritz Lazarus, a psychology professor, and Hajim Steinthal, a philologist, published the introductory article ‘Einleitende Gedanken über *Völkerpsychologie*, als Einladung zu einer Zeitschrift für *Völkerpsychologie* und Sprachwissenschaft’ in their newly established

⁵ Rainer Diriwächter: *Völkerpsychologie*. The Synthesis that never was. In: *Culture and Psychology* 10. 1 (2004), pp. 85-109, here p. 88.

⁶ Egbert Klautke: *The Mind of the Nation. Völkerpsychologie in Germany, 1851-1955*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2013, p. 1.

⁷ Klautke: *The Mind of the Nation*, p. 4.

⁸ Cf. Diriwächter: *Völkerpsychologie*, p. 86.

journal *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*.⁹ In this, they defined the collective spirit or *Volksgeist*, as opposed to the individual's spirit, as "das, was an innerer Thätigkeit, nach Inhalt sowohl wie nach Form, allen Einzelnen des Volkes gemeinsam ist; oder: das allen Einzelnen Gemeinsame der inneren Thätigkeit".¹⁰ Lazarus and Steinthal proposed that the spirit of an individual should be considered as part of a society or community. While they defined membership of a race as being based on 'objective' criteria such as skin colour and physiognomy, membership of a *Volk* is based on subjective standards:

der Begriff Volk [ist] gar nicht vom leiblichen, zoologischen Gesichtspunkt aus gebildet [...], sondern von einem geistigen. [...] Der Begriff Volk beruht auf der subjectiven Ansicht der Glieder des Volkes selbst von sich selbst, von ihrer Gleichheit und Zusammengehörigkeit. [...] Race und Stamm bestimmt auch dem Menschen der Forscher objectiv; das Volk bestimmt sich der Mensch selbst subjectiv, er rechnet sich zu ihm.¹¹

The definition of *Volk* in this context links to discussions of will and agency elsewhere; one actively determines his or her belonging to a *Volk*. In order to be able to study the psychological aspects of a *Volk*, the collective mental life had to be objectified, i.e. the manifestation of subjective processes brought about by 'togetherness' have to be identified and studied in objective content.¹² This objective content could be found in language, religion, art, literature, science, customs, culture, laws and history.¹³ The historical aspect was especially important for the emerging discipline. By understanding the historical forces which underpin collective life through "eine Analyse der Geschichte" and "eine Synthese der Völkerpsychologie", one would discover the very nature of a *Volksgeist*.¹⁴ Lazarus and Steinthal were succeeded by Wilhelm Wundt who published a ten-volume study on *Völkerpsychologie*, which Egbert Klautke describes as the most comprehensive contribution to the field. Wundt was the best known 'folk psychologist'.¹⁵ Although *Völkerpsychologie* as a discipline was not established until after the period under investigation here, one can still trace evidence of it in 1840s in relation to how observers discern an Irish *Volksgeist*.

⁹ Moritz Lazarus and Hajim Steinthal: Einleitende Gedanken über Völkerpsychologie, als Einladung zu einer Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft. In: *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* 1. 1 (1860), pp. 1-73.

¹⁰ Lazarus and Steinthal: Einleitende Gedanken über Völkerpsychologie, p. 29.

¹¹ Lazarus and Steinthal: Einleitende Gedanken über Völkerpsychologie, p. 34f.

¹² Cf. Diriwächter: *Völkerpsychologie*, p. 91.

¹³ Cf. Lazarus and Steinthal: Einleitende Gedanken über Völkerpsychologie, p. 1.

¹⁴ Moritz Lazarus: Einige Synthetische Gedanken zur Völkerpsychologie. In: *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* 3. 1 (1860), pp. 1-94, here p. 2.

¹⁵ Cf. Klautke: *The Mind of the Nation*, p. 2.

8.2 An Irish *Volksgeist*

Kohl, Clement and Venedey regard language/literature and music as revealing an Irish *Volksgeist*. For Hartmann, the ostensible Irish 'Eigenart' is expressed through music and folk literature. In parallel to Clement, Kohl also views the Irish as inventing a past for themselves, however, he sees this not so much as evidence of Celtic conceitedness and boastfulness, but as a *völkerpsychologisches* problem which reveals the inner mental world of the Irish.

For Clement, an Irish *Volksgeist* is a manifestation of the Celtic *Volksgeist*. What is striking is that he at times appears to be greatly impressed by the evidence of Irish folk tradition which is not what one would expect given his construction of the Celtic Irish as an inferior race, comparable to the Slavs and the Jews. According to Clement, the more remote a people live, "desto sagenvoller der Volksgeist" (KJC 59). Language is representative of the collective spirit of a whole race and not just one *Volk* (KJC 216f.). Clement seems impressed at how Celtic languages have survived along the western seaboard of Europe. Scottish and Irish Gaelic have endured as the purest forms of the ancient Celtic language as a result of isolation and the protection of natural borders such as mountains and bodies of water (KJC 233). Another element which has ensured the preservation of Irish in particular, and Celtic languages in general, lies in the very nature of the language itself, its nature which has survived "die Schicksale der Erde seit Jahrtausenden":

sie ist auf den Lippen ihres Volks, das unaufhörlich an seine Felsen geschmiedet liegt, wie ein Hieroglyph aus Aegyptenland, in den Niederungen Schottlands und Englands gehört, ist sie in ihrer orientalischen Erscheinung den Mumien vom Nil im Museum zu Leyden zu vergleichen, wunderbar, räthselhaft, unauflöslich, als wollte sie die Erde nie verlassen, unnachahmlich, zeichenvoll, sie ist wie der Jud aus Kanaan, welcher selbst nach tausendjährigem Leben unter Germaniens mächtigen Völkern sein morgenländisches Gepräg nicht verliert. (KJC 218)

It seems that Clement constructs the Celtic Irish in regards to their language as the exoticised other, a kind of European Oriental. Indeed the Oriental reference could link to the eighteenth-century discourse on the Oriental origins of Irish language and culture by antiquarians such as Charles Vallancey. Although his theories were later discredited, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries "Celtic antiquity served as a European link to the Orient [...]. For many, the Celt preserved an image of Europe's barbaric past, [...] of Europe's own progress from barbarism to civility. The Irish served as lifelines to antiquity and other 'remote' cultures".¹⁶ This Celtic Oriental discourse illuminates Clement's perception of Celtic languages as exotic and mysterious. He constructs an Irish *Volksgeist* which is transmitted through language, the Oriental origin of which is evident from its form, colour and sound, as well as how it is spoken quickly, loudly and at the back of the throat. Clement states that the language has "ein wildes

¹⁶ Joseph Lennon: Antiquarianism and Abduction. Charles Vallancey as Harbinger of Indo-European Linguistics. In: *The European Legacy. Toward New Paradigms*, 10. 1 (2005), pp. 5-20, here p. 7.

und leidenschaftliches Element in sich, nicht die Ruhe und Geduld der germanischen [...] sie ist nicht die Sprache des Sinnens und Denkens, sondern des Gefühls, und eignet sich mehr für Musik und Poesie als die germanische" (KJC 219). In Ireland and Scotland Clement finds not only the remnants of this ancient language but also of "Naturmusik" which is not clothed "in fremden und ausländischen Verzierungen". Those who have retained an ear "für die ungelehrten Lieder der Natur", for tones and sounds the flowing melody and piercing emotion of which strike the heart and excite participation as well as sympathy, unlike flat modern music, will find such melodies in Ireland (KJC 299).

Clement's evaluation of Celtic languages and music contains a critique of modern culture, as well as modern man, who, like modern music, appears shallow because of his adherence to what is popular and fashionable. Nature, however, "worin die Töne der Gottheit verborgen schlafen, läßt nichts Unnatürliches in ihr Heiligthum" (KJC 156). The preoccupation with naturalness, the connection between nature and God, as well as the contemplative effect of nature on the collective creative spirit of a people reveal the influence of Romantic thought on Clement. He seems to readily admit that Germanic languages are not suited to this kind of poetry and music. Indeed, he even claims that in this respect the poetic and emotional Celtic Irish and Scottish are a step ahead of their industrial-minded Germanic English overlords: no amount of steam engines will ever equal such poetical talent (KJC 156f.). The characteristics he usually derogatorily attributes to the Celts are now considered representative traits of a people who possess in their culture "etwas Unvergleichliches und Unaussprechliches": instead of stupidity and ignorance, the Celtic Irish are now cast as being of a simplistic nature, their hot-temperedness is now replaced with emotion and passion, their restlessness and wildness are now viewed as intrinsic elements to their music and poetry which express their "innerstes Wesen" (KJC 158).

The application of Herderian criteria is evident here, for example Herder claimed that seas, mountain ranges and rivers are the most natural boundaries of lands, people, languages and customs. Clement applies this in his contention that Celtic languages have been preserved by natural boundaries. Furthermore, the claim that seclusion promotes the preservation of a *Volksgeist* is also to be found in Herder's work. Herder made this point in relation to the Jewish people: "Je eingeschlossener sie lebten, ja oft je mehr sie bedrängt wurden, desto fester ward ihr Charakter".¹⁷ This simultaneously adds another dimension to the discernment of an Irish *Volksgeist*, that the more oppressed a people are the more pronounced their character becomes. Clement finds evidence of this in Irish music and poetry. He states that Celtic

¹⁷ Johann Gottfried Herder: Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit. 3. Teil. 12. Buch. VI: Weitere Ideen zur Philosophie der Weltgeschichte. In: Johann Gottfried Herder Werke in zehn Bänden, ed. by Martin Bollacher, vol 6. Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1989, p. 507f.

languages reveal “die Klagen eines dem Schmerz erliegenden, aufgelösten und verwaisten Volks” (KJC 219). It is noteworthy here that Clement asserts the Celts are an abandoned people, as Dobeneck also claimed that the Irish are like abandoned orphans in need of some paternalistic care. However, Clement’s configuration of abandonment has different undertones to Dobeneck’s:

Gesellt sich Gram und Wehmuth über politische Leiden, als über verlorne Volksfreiheit, dazu, so wirkt Alles dieses vereint das Wildromantische in der Nationalmusik. Die verlorne Freiheit seines Volks betrauern, ist edel, weil es ein Sträuben gegen Unrecht ist, nur das Edle aber dringt in die Tiefen der Gottheit. Die Musik, die aus solchem Quell geboren wird, ist wahr und echt. Und solch eine Musik hat Irland und das Land der Bergschotten. [...] Sie ist einfach und natürlich, weil die alte Welt so war, und weil sie das Eigenthum eines gesammten Volkes, nicht eines Einzelnen ist. Sie ist sehr alt, und auf ihre Geburt kann man nicht zurückspüren. Das klagende Element in der irischen Musik ist das des Leidenden, [...] und wenn ein irisches Nationallied gesungen wird, wird man begeistert für die armen Irländer. Die irische und gälische Musik ist wol die schönste in Europa. (KJC 156)

Clement praises Irish music for its ability to move the listener to sympathy, moved by the depths of true and noble feelings of injustice which are expressed. Other observers also consider Irish music an expression of the spirit of an oppressed people, for example Johann Martin Lappenberg claims that music is “bei den Irländern, wie bei andern unterdrückten Völkern, eine Beschwichtigung der beengten Thatkraft, [...] erquickender Trost verkümmelter Herzen geworden” (JML 51). In this sense, musical talent is viewed as a compensation for worldly suffering, as Magdalena von Dobeneck also views it (MvD 78). This idea seems quite contradictory because, on the one hand, observers such as Lappenberg, Dobeneck and Clement view Irish music as expressing the spirit of an oppressed people, yet, on the other hand, it is viewed as compensation for exactly the oppression it expresses. Clement, however, differs from Lappenberg and Dobeneck in that the effect Irish music has on him is to rouse enthusiasm for the oppressed, whereas for Dobeneck and Lappenberg musical talent is perceived as compensation in the sense that the observer can enjoy Irish music as art without really having to deal with the suffering it expresses.

In this light, it is opportune to refer back to Clement’s commentary discussed in chapter two ‘Framing Ireland’ on ‘The Irish Sublime and Ossian’. Here, Clement’s contention that Ossian was Scottish rather than Irish based on an appraisal of the Irish landscape was discussed. Clement’s further commentary on the authenticity of the Ossian poems gives additional clues as to his enthusiastic conceptualisation of a Celtic Irish *Volksgeist* in comparison to his configuration of the Irish as otherwise inferior. While he views the poems as common Celtic cultural property, he claims that without the Scottish, Ossian would not have survived down through the centuries (KJC 22f.). It is in Scotland and not Ireland where he believes to find evidence of old songs like the poems of Ossian. Furthermore, Clement is at pains to find evidence to link the Ossian poems to Nordic poetry. He celebrates the heroes of

the Ossian poems, Lochlin and Fingal, as the representative of Nordic heroic history between the ninth and twelfth centuries, whose bloody struggles were played out in Scotland and Ireland (KJC 20). It appears that Clement has the Nordic Vikings in mind here, which would claim Ossian for a Germanic and not a Celtic tradition. The confusion of material and the tailoring of the same to his own interests in itself is revealing; so is the playing off of past against present. A *Volksgeist* should emerge from continuity, yet Clement seems to propound a theory of discontinuity.

This goes some way to explaining the seeming anomaly that as a people Clement casts the Irish as inferior Celts, but regarding their culture he laudes and even exoticises it. Dobeneck's narrative reveals a similar tendency to view the Irish lower classes themselves as uncivilised savages who nevertheless possess an authentic folk culture which embodies an Irish *Volksseele*. In Dobeneck's case, it appears that she found what she was looking for all along in Ireland, an authentic folk culture celebrated by the likes of the Grimm brothers. It could be argued that Clement, on the other hand, seems to suffer an internal conflict of sorts. It is clear that the Celts are per se inferior in his eyes, and yet, at times, he seems impressed by their folk culture. John Hennig writes: "As he was interested in the antiquities just as much as in contemporary social conditions, he recorded much material of interest to Irish folklore studies. Unfortunately, however, he was prevented from fully appreciating this material by his aversion against what he calls the Irish Irish or Popish Irish. In contrast to the tendency at that time prevailing among South German and French scholars to stress Continental indebtedness to the Celtic race (a tendency from which modern Celtology originated), Clement, through his studies in Germanic philology, had been imbued with a strong feeling of the superiority of what he calls the West Teutonic race over the Celts".¹⁸ It seems that Clement does want to enjoy Celtic folklore, for example he compiles an exhaustive list of old Irish songs and melodies (KJC 160-162), but for every comment which celebrates music and tales as a manifestation of an Irish *Volksgeist*, there are equally comments in which he appears to qualify his statements. It seems that an inner struggle between Clement the proponent of Teutonic racial superiority, and Clement the philologist and linguist is played out on a minor scale in his travel narrative on Ireland. On the one hand, Clement portrays the Celtic Irish language as exotic and even Oriental, while on other occasions his racial tendencies come to the fore in a comparison of the Celtic Irish to the Jewish people:

So zäh wie die Amphibie ist das irische Wesen, und zerstückelt lebt es noch bis in die kahlen Stumpfen und Namen fort, das hat das germanische England erfahren. Die Race ist an Unvergänlichkeit den Kindern Kanaans ähnlich, und mit Tausenden von Namen, so alt als Methusalah, und mit Millionen Lumpen, welche weit über die englische Eroberungszeit zurückreichen, liegt der englisch gewordene Boden Irlands bedeckt. Der Engländer verzweifelt,

¹⁸ John Hennig: A Danish Student of Irish Folklore. In: Béaloideas, Iml. 15.1/2 (1945), pp. 251-256, here p. 251.

die Namen in den Mund zu nehmen [...]. Die Ortschaften tönen, als ständen sie noch vor der Eroberung [...]. Viele Ortschaften hat der englische Mund mit seinen scharfen Zähnen umnagt, allein sie sind doch nicht unkenntlich geworden, denn sie sind hart und unzerbrechlich [...] und werden gewiß noch eine lange Zukunft durchleben. (KJC 141)

Here, ancient and pre-colonial times are equated with a barbaric past, not an ancient past famed for its naturalness and simplicity. Celtic place names are indestructible, the Celtic race seemingly cannot be done away with, unlike in North America, for example, where the native place names were extirpated and made English (KJC 141). By exclusion, it can be deduced that what is most behind Clement's aversion to the Celtic Irish, as indicated by Hennig, is their Catholicism, whereas Scottish Celts, as Presbyterians, in Clement's eyes seem to have assimilated enough Germanic blood in the form of Protestantism to allow him to enjoy their Highland Celtic culture, and also of course because of the alleged links to Germanic sagas in Ossian. He writes of the Celtic Irish and their ignorance of their past (of their 'Danish' past and of Cromwell's time in Ireland):

Ein Volk mit poetischem, schöpferischem, lebendigem Geist, frei von den Fesseln des römischen Glaubens, und ohne diese schläfrige, wissensträge und indolente Paddynatur, wie viele Gedächtnißmale hätte es aus einer solchen Zeit in die Gegenwart mit übernommen, und welche Sagengebilde sich geschaffen aus den Erinnerungen seines Marterthums. Aber Paddy ist unwandelbar derselbe wie er immer war. (KJC 310)

While Clement recognises Irish suffering and even refers to it as martyrdom, he comes back to his old charge that the Irish are indolent. Rather than turning their history of suffering and pain into something positive, turning past sufferings into tales and sagas of their former glories of resistance, they remain inactive; Catholicism as well as a perceived Irish character are held responsible. Catholicism fosters superstition (e.g. holy wells and pilgrimages) which Clement looks down upon, rather than a true poetical spirit in direct commune with nature and therefore God. It seems that Clement distinguishes between a Celtic Irish past and a Celtic Catholic Irish present. The implications of this seem to be that the modern Irish cannot benefit from their past. Catholicism fosters inertia and degeneracy. The modern Irish, it would appear, are a blockage rather than a conduit for the deduction of ancient purity. This, in turn, appears to imply that *Völkerpsychologie* must distinguish between the underlying and the actual, between the latent and the manifest.

Kohl, as an ethnographer, dedicates much commentary to Irish culture. He is convinced of an Irish *Volksgeist*. In his *Land und Leute der britischen Inseln. Beiträge zur Charakteristik Englands und der Engländer* (1844), he outlines his belief in a *Volksgeist*:

Gleich wie wir in der Natur ein verborgenes Wesen ahnen, das sich in allen verschiedenen Werken und Gestaltungen der Schöpfung als eins und dasselbe zeigt, so ist auch tief in dem Leben jeden Volkes ein Geist wirksam, der sich in allen seinen Werken und Unternehmungen, so verschieden sie auch sein mögen, immer wieder als einer und derselbe offenbart.

The *Volksgeist* of a people reveals itself in diverse areas such as politics, literature and in the domestic sphere:

ihre politische und religiöse Verfassung, – der Charakter ihrer literarischen oder artistischen Producte, – die Gestaltungsweise ihrer socialen Verhältnisse, ihres Umgangslebens, ihrer häuslichen Einrichtungen, ihrer Sitten und Gebräuche, dieß Alles ist nichts als eine treue Abspiegelung jener im innersten Herzen des Nationallebens thronenden Volkspsyche, die sich in allen diesen verschiedenen Richtungen kund giebt. (JGKL iii)

Indeed, Kohl's opening paragraph in his *Vorrede* strikingly pre-empts Lazarus's and Steinthal's opening paragraph in their article *Einleitende Gedanken über Völkerpsychologie*. Kohl writes that paintings, for example, reflect the psyche of a people. In an art gallery in Cork where he sees paintings depicting various scenes from everyday life in Ireland (an emigration scene, Irish fishermen, a wild mountainous scene) as well as sculptures of Daniel O'Connell and Father Mathew, Kohl writes that the best thing a painter can do is to portray the scenes and incidents of his country. In this way, even those painters who are less talented can be assured that they produce something they understand and that their work will be of some use to the world because it originates from and represents their 'nationality'. Even talented artists can probably only produce great works "innerhalb des Horizonts ihrer Nationalität", and only when they portray "nationale Dinge oder nationale Anschauungsweisen" can they hope to achieve greatness: "Die größten Maler wie die größten Dichter sind immer ächt patriotisch geblieben, und ihre Schöpfungen sind aus dem tiefsten Innern ihrer eigenen Seele und der Psyche ihrer Nation oder der Natur ihres Vaterlandes hervorgegangen" (JGKR1 346). In this way, the individual artist is inseparable from society and his work is a reflection of the collective spirit of the society which has produced him.

Regarding language, Kohl believes that a change in language is not necessarily the decisive factor in "der Aenderung oder Ablegung einer Nationalität". He claims that in customs, habits, rituals, clothes, physical build "und vor Allem im Blute und im Nationalgeiste immer noch ein gut Theil von der alten Nationalität stecken bleibt". This simultaneously reveals racial thinking, namely that 'nationality' is biological and genetic, as well as spiritual. In Ireland, writers such as Jonathon Swift and Thomas Moore provide Kohl with 'proof' of his theory that even with a change of language, 'nationality' and an Irish *Volksgeist* can still be maintained. Even though Swift wrote in English, the ideas in *Gulliver's Travels* "sind so ganz in irischem Stile, daß ich vermuthen möchte, auch dieses Werk sei weniger als ein englisches denn als ein irisches Nationalproduct zu betrachten". Indeed, for Kohl even the names of the fantastical places such as Luggnagg and Glumdalitch have "etwas Celtsiches". Equally the subjects, tones, warm-hearted patriotism, metaphors and devices of Thomas Moore's poetry are "ganz irisch". Even Edmund Spencer's *Fairie Queen* "athmet einen so phantastisch-irischen Geist" that Kohl believes the English have "dem Genius Irlands" to thank for this poem because

it was written in Ireland (JGKL 177). That Ireland has preserved a *Volksgeist* without the retention of the Irish language is an “anomaly by Herderian standards”.¹⁹ Such a view contrasts to Clement’s conceptualisation of language as central to transmitting the inner world of the Celtic Irish *Volksgeist*, but nonetheless for Kohl a *Volksgeist* has been maintained in and through literature. He also writes that the Palatines have not retained their language but they have retained their German character on Irish soil (JGKR1 152).

Kohl also finds an expression of an Irish *Volksgeist* in folk tales and sagas. On the one hand, he claims that certain tales he heard in Ireland are universal to all peoples and cultures, such as explaining the origin of names of geographical features. Every *Volk* possesses similar tales, “weil sie sich eben überall die Anlagen und Eigenthümlichkeiten des menschlichen Geistes wiederholen” (JGKR1 122). On the other hand, Kohl claims that the Irish have invented a glorious past for themselves based on a sophisticated cycle of sagas. Kohl outlines how almost every district in Ireland claims for itself a famous hero who once ruled over the surrounding area as chieftain or king and about whom the people still tell tales. One often meets people who claim ancient regal ancestry; some even call their families royal families and are recognised and treated as such by their friends (JGKR1 107). According to Kohl, the oldest of these “ächt irischen Familien” are the so-called Milesian families who trace their ancestry to Miletius, the conqueror of Ireland and second son of Heremon, king of Spain, who supposedly came to Ireland five hundred, some even say a thousand years before Christ (Küttner also mentions Irish claims of Milesian descent; KGK 130f.). According to Kohl, the Irish recite these sagas off by heart just as a German school pupil recites the stories of Caesar, Augustus and Tiberius. He outlines how many historians refute these old historic sagas “als bloße Einbildungen”, as does Kohl:

Wenn daher auch nichts wahr daran sein sollte, so bleibt doch erstlich das merkwürdige Factum, daß die Irländer, gleich den Indiern, ein Sagen-System ausgebaut haben, das mit seinen Wurzeln in die allergraueste Vorzeit hinausragt, und zweitens ist das Problem zu lösen, wie es möglich ist, daß ein ganzes Volk bis auf den heutigen Tag sich mit erdachten Sagen und fingirten Namen herumtragen und davon mit einer Heiterkeit und *bona fides* des Glaubens erzählen kann, wie von gestern passirten Dingen. Wenn es auch kein historisches Problem ist, so ist es wenigstens ein ethnographisches und psychologisches. (JGKR1 108)

For Kohl, this does not pose a historical problem because historians ‘know’ the ‘real’ version of Irish history and origins (i.e. a history of Celtic demise under Germanic conquest). Lappenberg also describes the Irish tales of Miletius. While other peoples also trace their heritage back to prehistoric times, in an Irish context Lappenberg states that such a practise is indicative of the oppression and inaction in which the imaginative and ambitious Irish have languished in for

¹⁹ Jane Conroy makes this comment regarding French travellers to Ireland during the 1830s and the fact some French authors also contest an Irish *Volksgeist* despite the loss of their native language. Changing Perspectives: French Travellers in Ireland, 1785-1835. In: Jane Conroy (ed.): Cross-Cultural Travel. Papers from the Royal Irish Academy International Symposium on Literature and Travel. New York: Lang, pp. 131- 142, here p. 138.

centuries, that a mass of tales partially misunderstood from scholarship and partially invented randomly have become popular belief among the people (JML 46). Just like Kohl, Lappenberg describes how the Irish believe in their stories. The past they have made for themselves is elusive and without relevance for the present apart from providing a convenient device to evade responsibility or face contemporary challenges. While Lappenberg sees this as a result of the oppression and lack of action on the part of the Irish, for Kohl it is an ethnological and psychological problem. Neither of them, though, view this as an attempt of the Irish to proclaim their own sense of identity in the Herderian sense that folk songs, poetry and epic tales or sagas form the oldest documentation of a people through which a nation affirms its origins and thus asserts its identity.²⁰

Kohl writes that he has never witnessed anything similar in other parts of Europe. Italy, for example, does not have any living tradition of folk sagas about Janus or the rule of Saturn. In France, Caesar put an end to all the Celtic sagas as did the Saxons in Ireland but, according to Kohl, they did not put an end to Miletius and his companions, “Denn hier hüpfen einem auf allen Wegen und Stegen noch uralte Sagen entgegen, die so frisch und munter sich bewegen wie ewig jugendliche und unsterbliche Kinder” (JGKR1 109). This is comparable to Clement, who claims that the Irish invent tales of the past which he sees as evidence of Celtic exaggeration. He rejects the ‘construed’ Celtic Irish version of Irish history as a possible effort of the Irish to (re-)claim an identity for themselves independent of the colonial view of Irish history. Clement believes that forgetting one’s past means that one cannot progress and become civilised. Kohl’s claim is similar in that he points to how an (invented) ancient past lives alongside the present; this, in turn, fosters a lack of progress in terms of history and civilisation. It is implied that the Irish *Volk* fail to differentiate between past and present, between fact and fiction. Therefore, they have not and cannot develop and make national progress. On the one hand, Kohl claims that the Irish, just like their Celtic brothers in Scotland and Wales, possess “ein tiefes poetisches Element”. In their poetry and legends they show themselves as “ein Volk von großer Regsamkeit, voll Empfindsamkeit, lebhaft, empfänglich für die Eindrücke der Natur, dabei phantastisch, kindlich im Glauben bis zum Aberglauben” (JGKL 175). The fact that the Irish truly believe in their stories is “das Merkmal eines wahrhaft poetischen Volkes”. Reality just as easily becomes poetry as well and so Kohl sees poetry and story-telling as a means of escape from a melancholic reality. On the other hand, for Kohl it is exactly such “herrliche Eigenschaften” which are linked “mit eben so vielen schlechten Konsequenzen” such as “Ausgelassenheit, Unordnung, Verschwendung, Vernachlässigung des Aeußeren” (JGKL 176). It seems that from Kohl’s point of view what could be a means of

²⁰ Cf. Hans Dietrich Irmischer: Poesie, Nationalität und Humanität bei Herder. In: Regine Otto (ed.): Nationen und Kulturen. Zum 250. Geburtstag Johann Gottfried Herders. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1996, pp. 35-48, here p. 35.

escape, what serves other peoples as compensation to their melancholic reality, is reversed in Ireland: rather than sagas and tales serving the people, the people are slaves to their own inventions because they lack the will power, the energy and the perseverance to withstand enticement and fantasy (JGKR1 123).

It is in the graveyards of Ireland and in the burial customs of the Irish that Kohl finds the physical evidence of such a poetical, inventive *Volksggeist* and the consequences it has on progress in terms of civilisation and politics:

Es sind diese Kirchhöfe, auf denen sich zwischen Ruinen und unter uralten Bäumen, oft mitten in der größten Natur- und Kunst-Wildniß und Verwilderung, die Edeln wie die Armen des Landes begraben lassen, gewiß bedeutungsvolle Symbole für den Zustand und die Denkungsweise des irischen Volks. Die Iren lassen nicht ab von dem Alten und glauben nur bei ihrem Volke und auf der Stelle, wo auch ihre alten Häuptlinge begraben wurden, und an die so viele alte Sagen und Geschichten sich knüpfen, ihre endliche Ruhe finden zu können, obgleich diese Zeugen ihrer alten Zeit in Schutt und Ruin liegen. In der Liebe zu ihren alten Kirchen, zu ihren alten Geschichten, zu ihren alten Erinnerungen legen sich hier Geschlechter auf Geschlechter unter Trümmern nieder und scheinen zu hoffen, daß auch das in diesen alten Trümmern liegende Irland einmal so wiedererstehen werde aus dem Grabe, wie sie selber. (JGKR2 204)

Oblivious to the Ireland which lies in ruins, it is implied that the Irish with their poetical nature are probably responsible for such rack and ruin in the first place. They seem to be hoping for a miracle which will resurrect the Ireland of their stories. Rather than take action, they are inactive, their society is stagnant rather than progressive. This is evident for Kohl not just in ruined graveyards but elsewhere where the remnants of ruins are not cleared up and the material used for new building projects or the land on which the ruins stand is not used for other purposes (JGKR1 87f.). Ruins should not be tolerated in an orderly society. Kohl asserts: "Eine ordentliche aufmerksame und fortschreitende Menschengemeinde sollte daher eigentlich immer in einer neuen und zeitgemäßen Hülle dastehen und alle morschen und haltlosen Spuren der Vergangenheit fleißig vertilgen" (JGKR1 87). In an Irish context this means forgetting an invented past, invented stories and destroying any places and relics of this past. It is clear that a North German Protestant middle class ethic is behind such conceptualisations of an Irish *Volksggeist*. Doris Dohmen, however, reads Kohl's comments on Irish ruins in a very different manner: "In der Bewertung der irischen Vergangenheit grenzt er sich deutlich von zeitgenössischen antiirischen Darstellungen ab: Unter dem Einfluß von Ossianismus und romantischer Natur- und Ruinenschwärmerei bewertet er die allgegenwärtigen Ruinen, die für ihn zu dem malerischen Gesamteindruck der Natur beitragen, als Zeichen ehemaliger irischer Größe und verweist auf das Bild von Irland als 'Insel der Heiligen'".²¹ While at times Kohl may value ruins for their picturesqueness (see chapter two 'Framing Ireland'), his comments above

²¹ Dohmen: Das deutsche Irlandbild, p. 88.

show that, in general, he is anything but impressed by the plethora of ruins which subsume the Irish countryside. Rather than being a sign of Ireland's past greatness, they are a sign of Ireland's present inertia.

Venedey's view of Irish music, poetry and legends is similar to Kohl's point of view here in that both see these cultural traditions as evidence of an unprogressive collective spirit, yet both make their commentary from very different starting points. Kohl advocates the spread of English culture in Ireland to wipe out Irish traditions so as to eradicate "allmählig alle seine Feen". This would result in the following. An Irishman:

würde dann vielleicht ein ebenso fleißiger und sorgsamer Hauswirth werden, wie die schottischen und englischen Ackerbauern es sind. Er würde all sein Mißgeschick nicht immer übernatürlichen Einflüssen, sondern seinen eigenen Fahrlässigkeit zuschreiben, und auch nicht immer Wohlhabenheit, Reichthum und Glück [...] von Feen und Elfen erwarten, sondern von seinem eigenen Fleiß und seiner Industrie. (JGKR1 129)

Ultimately, for Kohl, fairy tales, sagas and legends, while they may provide comfort and diversion to a miserable reality, also hold a people back. As long as the Irish believe in their stories, they will not develop in tandem with the modern world. While poetry is viewed as something which unites a people, it unites the Irish in the 'wrong' way for Kohl. There is clear evidence of an Irish *Volksgeist* – but it is one that condemns the Irish to stasis.

Venedey identifies the Irish as "ein poetisches Volk" who are inspired by nature (JV2 202). He describes how "ein großer Schatz celtischen Wissens" is buried within the people which is kept alive by an oral tradition (JV2 254). However, similar to Kohl, Venedey believes that it is exactly this folk tradition, including music, fairy tales and dance, which hinders progress. For Venedey, the way a people dance and the stories they believe in gives clues to their cultural state:

Hier sah ich zum ersten Mal den Gick, ich denke, so wird der Name des irischen Nationaltanzes geschrieben. [...] Ein Tänzer und eine Tänzerin, in Ermangelung zwei Tänzer oder zwei Tänzerinnen, stellen sich einander gegenüber. Die Musik beginnt ein Stückchen, das höchstens aus vier Takten besteht und sich ins Unendliche, ewig dasselbe, wiederholt. Und die Tänzer trippeln, springen und drehen und winden sich nach dieser Musik stets auf dieselbe Weise ins Unendliche bis zur Abmattung fort. Wie gesagt, von allen Nationaltänzen, die ich kenne, kommt der Gick nur dem Marmottentanze an Roheit gleich. Da ist kein trauliches, kunstvolles Schlingen und Wenden wie im deutschen Walzer, kein kokettes Hin- und Herspielen wie im französischen Tanze, kein ernstes regelmäßiges Einerlei wie im englischen. Nichts derartiges! Hüpfen, Trippeln, Beinbewegung und Abmattung; der Veitstanz ist der Leisten, über den der Gick geschlagen ist. [...] Es liegt mehr Charakter und Wesen in der Art, wie ein Volk tanzt, als Viele ahnen, und wenn ich bedenke, daß die Irländer nicht einmal zwei und zwei, Hand in Hand, festverschlungen tanzen, so möchte ich fast sagen: "Das ist's, darum sind sie im Joche, warum tanzen sie nicht besser!" (JV2 288f.)

For all of Venedey's sympathy towards the oppressed Irish and his conceptualisation of them as a freedom-loving people, he considers their culture as deficient, outdated and uninspiring. He states that such dances are "wahrhaft Barbarenüberbleibsel" and evidence that, culturally,

“Irland ist um zwei, drei Jahrhunderte zurück” (JV2 275). The term “Veitstanz” refers to a dancing plague, a kind of mass hysteria, which dates back to thirteenth-century Europe and is believed to have occurred sporadically over the next three centuries or so. The unexplained phenomenon consisted of people gathering in large crowds to “engage in frenzied dancing, continuing until they were exhausted, sometimes to the point of death”.²² Venedey’s description of the Irish national dance, the jig, calls to mind Pückler’s observation of a young boy who dances to the point of unconsciousness (HvPM 13). While Pückler puts this occurrence down to excessive alcohol consumption, for Venedey it is an indication of a barbaric cultural state, of the stunted spirit of a people.

However, Venedey considers one particular aspect of Irish culture as evidence of the emergence of a new *Volksgeist* among the Irish which is politically aware and progressive. Analogous to his perception of temperance and Repeal, Venedey views the Irish as improving themselves from within, rather than improvement needing to be forced on them from without. He finds indications of this new *Volksgeist* in songs with titles such as *A new song for Irishmen* – “ein allgemeines Freiheitslied” – and *Granus advice on repeal*, among other titles (JV2 81, 83). Venedey exclaims: “Ganz Irland scheint mir in diesen paar Gassenhauern zu liegen: Freiheit vor Allem und O’Connell! [...] die schönste Poesie, das tiefste Gefühl, die einfachste, hinreißendste Sprache” (JV2 92). Venedey praises how traditional forms are melded with contemporary political content, yet here he does not view Irish music in the same way as Irish dance. According to Venedey, the Irish do not have any actual “Nationallieder”, only national melodies. The text to these melodies, often written by anonymous poets and beggars, are “mehr local und dem ewigen Wechsel unterworfen”. This consistency of the melodies connected “mit immerwährender Veränderung” in the words impresses Venedey as a clear expression of the spirit of the people:

Der “Geist der Nation” ist stets der alte, voller Poesie, voller Liebe zur grünen Insel, voller Haß gegen England, voller Hoffnung auf den kommenden Erlöser. Die Sänger des “Geistes der Nation” sind “Jungirländer”, dieselben Leute, die in dem Blatte “The Nation” O’Connell so tapfer zur Seite [...] stehen. Und Jungirland singt: My Land. [...] The Vow of Tipperary. [...] Irish are no longer Slaves. [...] Extermination. (JV2 267-272)

Venedey recognises the extremist tendency of these songs in that they advocate the use of violence to achieve political aims. Even though he does not support such measures, these songs are enough to show “wie eine Zeit, die sie schuf, ein Volk, in dem sie entstanden, nicht nur auf einem hohen Punkte der Spannung, sondern auch der Cultur angekommen ist”. For

²² L. J. Donaldson, J. Cavanagh and J. Rankin: The Dancing Plague. A public health conundrum. In: *Public Health*, 111. 4 (1997), pp. 201-204, here p. 201.

Venedey, the Irish *Volksgeist* is undergoing a gradual process of development reflecting the emergence of a politically aware, hopeful and independent people.

While Hartmann never uses terms such as *Volkscharakter* or *Volksseele*, it is evident from his travel narrative that Irish music is viewed as reflecting a common, collective spirit of the people, a spirit which is “verzweifelt, hoffnungslos, aufgegeben” (MH 23) in the face of economic and political uncertainty. Like Venedey, the Irish songs and melodies Hartmann refers to are political songs or songs which could be read in a very political manner given the year of Hartmann’s visit. These include Thomas Moore’s *The Last Rose of Summer* (1805) which opens with the lines “’Tis the last rose of summer, / Left blooming alone; / All her lovely companions / Are faded and gone”, as well as *Robert A. Roon* “mit seiner monotonen Grabmelodie” which is “schauerlich” and “traurig”. The words of the song are put into the mouth of Sarah Curran, Robert Emmet’s great love, as she laments his execution for the abortive rebellion he led in 1803, however “es singt sie das ganze Volk”. The sense of resignation and despair which this song, and through it the Irish people, express is clear: “Der Refrain fast zwischen jeder Zeile klingt dumpf und gebrochen, wie das Echo zwischen Ruinen, wie die Schollen, die auf einen Sargdeckel fallen” (MH 23). Here, Ireland is cast as a female mourning her lover; individual voices of the likes of Sarah Curran become common voices of the Irish people.

On the other hand, Hartmann also stylises the world of story-telling and dancing he gains access to through Juddy as a kind of alternative world, an alternative to the life of misery and hunger, and also as an alternative to the world of industrialisation. This world does not, however, appear to be viewed as a compensation for the Irish in the way Dobeneck, for example, sees it. Hartmann already seems convinced of the artistic talent of the Irish even before his encounter with Juddy and her friends. Her tour of the slums of Dublin confirms Hartmann’s view. There he hears “die schönsten Geschichten der schönsten Grafschaft der Welt” narrated “auf die schönste Manier”, and he sees musicians and dancers who “im Feuer ihrer Kunst” forget all those around them as “ihre Kunst wurde ihnen Selbstzweck” (MH 43, 39). However, even this world is no longer completely separate from the reality of everyday life of the starved and emaciated. The dancers and musicians have gathered together to make money from their art, the narrator of the fairy tale is the same man who was just released from prison and, starving and homeless, he was hired by a lord to entertain his guests with his folkloric knowledge, thus earning enough money that even eight days later he is still able to buy himself a cup of tea. Even Juddy, Hartmann’s guide and story-teller too, whom Hartmann describes as completely unselfish, is also obviously calculating her payment for showing Hartmann around. When he pays her she exclaims: “Ich hab’ es gezählt; es reicht hin, um

damit nach London zu kommen" (MH 56). Indeed, it seems that every firsthand experience of Irish music and dance is somehow connected with a monetary transaction. This is a reflection of the reality of the lives of those who produce such art. It is clear that Hartmann regards the Irish as different based on cultural criteria. It is also clear that music and dance reflect a collective spirit of the people, however, this spirit is resigned and hopeless. Even where this spirit expresses an alternative world of fairy tales and elves, this element of the spirit of the people is also under threat from the dire economic and social circumstances the people face, and from rising industrialisation which dehumanises.

Clement, Kohl, Venedey and Hartmann discern difference based on the application of various criteria including racial, religious, political, cultural and socio-economic criteria. No one single, unambiguous image of 'the Irish' emerges from their narratives and each observer applies different combinations of these criteria in constructing their own images of 'the Irish'. In the politicised travel writing of the 1840s, the lower classes become the main focus of the observer's gaze, which reflects political, historical and generic developments. The emerging discipline of *Völkerpsychologie* influences observers' conceptualisations in that Clement, Kohl and Venedey ascertain an Irish *Volksgeist* which expresses itself through objective content such as language, music and folklore. For Clement and Kohl, an Irish *Volksgeist* is a manifestation of a Celtic *Volksgeist*. Clement differentiates between Celtic *Völker*: the Irish and Scottish share a common Celtic cultural heritage, they are, however, distinguished on the basis of religion and the degree to which they have preserved their Celtic past. Kohl claims that everyone living on the island of Ireland shares a common 'Vaterland' and therefore can be viewed as sharing a common national character, whereby the Celtic element dominates. Geraldine Grogan writes that Kohl's "continual and apparently naïve reliance on Irish superstitions and folklore is vindicated when one considers the interest in the concept of 'romantic Ireland' – inspired by Grimm – among the German middle class of the period".²³ Such a view seems likely to be based on Karl Holl's assessment of Kohl: "Einen noch erheblich breiteren Raum als bei [Pückler] nehmen die folkloristischen Beobachtungen in Kohls Werk ein. Nur sie sichern dem Werk einen gewissen Wert als zeit- und kulturhistorisches Dokument des damaligen Zustandes von Irland".²⁴ Such a view appears spurious since the value of sources is that they exist. Furthermore, Kohl's portrayal of Irish superstitions and folklore is hardly naïve. If anything, Kohl uses examples of Irish folk culture to criticise the Irish people and the *Volksgeist*, rather than relying on it for informational purposes and to show the Irish in a 'romantic' light. Venedey's construction of Irishness is complex. It seems that political criteria

²³ Geraldine Grogan: *The noblest Agitator. Daniel O'Connell and the German Catholic Movement 1830-50*. Dublin: Veritas, 1991, p. 145.

²⁴ Karl Holl: *Die irische Frage in der Ära Daniel O'Connell und ihre Beurteilung in der politischen Publizistik des deutschen Vormärz*. PhD thesis, University of Mainz, 1958, p. 116.

are the most decisive in his construction of 'Irishness' because to support the independence of one's fatherland means to be Irish. Finally, Hartmann's construction of the Irish moves beyond specific issues of nationalism and can be understood as the difference between the industrialised world embodied in the factories of Manchester and Liverpool, and the Irish lower classes who are forced to seek work there, or face starvation. Hartmann's proto-socialist convictions are evident in his exploration of the Dublin slums.

For all observers, culture is the key to ascertaining an Irish *Volksgeist*. Yet, the invocation of the Herderian conception of *Volksgeist* in its various linguistic guises such as *Volksseele* and *Volkspsyche* presents numerous aporias. On the one hand, an Irish *Volksgeist* is imagined as presenting a continuity in terms of tracing lineage back to ancient times, on the other hand a discontinuity of lineage and heritage when a Celtic past is appropriated for a Germanic tradition. An Irish *Volksgeist* is continuous, yet not continuous; it is at turns ethnic in the claims of Celtic ancestry or geographic in the distinction of Ireland as a geographic entity separated from other lands and peoples, thus promoting a sense of togetherness. An Irish *Volksgeist* is viewed as enticing political activism in relation to the songs of the Young Ireland movement, or political abstinence in the ostensible inactivism of the Irish. It is imagined as motivating or hindering 'progress', as forming a unique 'Irish' identity or aiding escapism from the present. An Irish *Volksgeist* is regarded as reflecting the overall Celtic race or betraying it, as hailing back to Oriental roots or conversely being intimately linked to the present-day landscape, as distinguishable even within counties (i.e. northern and southern Catholics at Repeal rally), as feeding and being fed by Catholicism and being suppressed by Catholics. The contradictory, indeed diametrically opposed views of an alleged Irish *Volksgeist* highlight the 'imagined' nature of communities and their communal identities from without.

9 Explaining Ireland

In their descriptions of Ireland, almost all German travel writers display signs of puzzlement, even shock at the conditions they perceive. For some, the destitution of the lower classes does not make sense given the abundance of nature. Why do the majority of the population live off such a monotonous diet, some even starving, while great quantities of crops and meat are produced in the country? On the other hand, commentators are perplexed as to why some stretches of arable land are left uncultivated, or the bare minimum of work is carried out to yield a crop, while peasants regularly roam the countryside looking for work and food. Why do these people not work the land which lies fallow, why do they not strive to improve their small plot of land, thereby increasing their produce and their general standard of living for themselves and their family? Is it solely down to an Irish 'constitution' or are there other factors contributing to the conditions which perplex the travellers? Other observers are baffled by the extreme chasm between the well-to-do upper classes and the peasantry. Why are there hardly any traces of a middle class in Ireland which would serve as intermediary between the extremes and contribute to economic growth?

These are some examples of ambivalences German commentators discerned in Ireland. One aspect which seems central to the bewilderment of the majority of observers is the question as to how Irish socio-economic and political conditions could be so different to Britain, even though both were ruled by the same parliament (after 1801) and the same government. How could it have come about that the same political system contained one of the wealthiest countries on earth, and in its midst one of the poorest imaginable? This puzzlement is particularly evident among those German writers who greatly admired Britain for their form of government and progressive economic policies. Heinrich Meidinger's preface to his *Briefe von einer Reise durch England, Schottland und Irland im Frühjahr und Sommer 1820* (1821, HM1) can serve as an example of the enthusiasm of some German commentators for Britain:

Nachstehende flüchtige Briefe sollen bloß dazu dienen [...] einige Umrissse von jener merkwürdigen Insel [Britain] geben, deren innere Betriebsamkeit und Kraft-Aeußerung in Handel, Gewerbefleiß und Schiffahrt jeden unpartheiischen Beobachter mit Freude und Bewunderung erfüllen: sie sollten [...] einige Züge liefern von einem Volke, das eben so reich an Gemeinsinn, Vaterlandsliebe und festen gediegenen Grundsätzen, als an Stolz, Eigenliebe und Vorurtheilen ist; von einem Volke, dessen Politik und Schicksal, in der gegenwärtigen bewegten Zeit, einen entscheidenden Einfluß auf den Gang der europäischen Ereignisse gewonnen hat, das mit seinen Polypenarmen bis in die entferntesten Theile der Erde reicht, und zur Verbreitung der europäischen Kultur und Religion, so wie zur richtigeren Kenntniß unsers Erdballs in wenigen Jahrzehenden mehr gethan hat, als die hundertjährige Herrschaft und ausgebreitetsten Unternehmungen der Holländer und Portugiesen zusammen genommen. (HM1 i-iii)

Meidinger's comments sum up German admiration for Britain at this time: progressiveness in industrial advancement, free-trade, patriotism, public spirit, expansionist policies, wealth creation and matters of empire. For Meidinger, Britain was leading the way for Europe in all of these matters, but especially in the acquisition of overseas lands. In general, German admiration for Britain rested on Britain's constitutional law and liberal economic policies. Britain was ruled by a constitutional monarchy with the sovereignty of state divided between the Crown, the parliament and the law courts. The rights of the individual were guaranteed. A liberal interpretation of the law permitted people to do whatever the law did not explicitly prohibit.¹ German esteem for Britain centred on the term freedom grounded in social ethics. While the German states, and enlightened absolutism, granted individuals from the middle-classes little room for self-expression, a form of public had emerged in England whose liberality seemed to point to the future. "Immer wieder verband sich mit der Vorstellung von England die Vorstellung politischer Freiheit, individueller Entfaltungsmöglichkeit, relativer Egalität, kraftvoller Nationalität, aber auch der Orientierung an Erfahrung (anstelle von Theorie und Ideologie), der Neigung zu gewerblichem Fleiß und Erfindungsgabe".² Given this admiration of Britain regarding government and economy, some German writers probably expected to discover more of the same in Ireland, and therefore find themselves utterly perplexed. How come Ireland did not appear to benefit from its ties with Britain, cradle of democracy and stronghold of liberty? When faced with scenes characterised by utter destitution, some German travellers' admiration for Britain turned to disappointment that such an admired nation would allow conditions to deteriorate on their doorstep. Such commentators hold the British government responsible for conditions. On the other hand, other commentators use their admiration of Britain, whom they believe might have done something to alleviate penury *if* that were at all possible, as a pretext to cast aspersions on the Irish character; the Irish cannot be helped, not even by the British.

The manner in which travel writers conceptualise Irish nature and construct images of the Irish people is implicit in description and narrative. How authors make sense of Irish conditions, on the other hand, presents a conscious and considered act, for example in political evaluation and a translation of the Irish problematics into categories familiar to a domestic German audience. The former is implicit and literary, the latter explicit and discursive. Commentators sought to explain their bewilderment in a number of ways. For some, nature provides a starting point to understanding the paradoxes. Most frequently,

¹ Cf. Pierre Manent: *An Intellectual History of Liberalism*, transl. by Rebecca Balinski. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995, p. 26f.

² Michael Maurer: *Anglophilie*. In: Irene Dingel and Johannes Paulmann (eds.): *Europäische Geschichte Online*, Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte. Mainz, 2010, pp. 1-9, here p. 3. Available at: <http://www.w.ieg-ego.eu/maurerm-2010-de> [accessed on 15 January 2015].

landscape is appropriated as a vehicle of criticism of a particular issue which, unlike emancipation or repeal of the Union, spanned the entire time period under investigation: landlordism and absenteeism. Estate parks triggered socio-political commentary; comments were also occasioned by ruins as well as the urban landscape. Authors attempt to explain Ireland by examining the role of landlords in Irish society and how they contribute to creating the conditions in which their tenants live. Other observers scrutinise the role of confession in their attempts at understanding Ireland: they look at the historical influence the Penal Laws had on the development of intellectual and economic life in Ireland among the Catholic majority. Furthermore, the influence of the Anglican Church, as the state church, in contributing to conditions is inspected. A consideration of the confessional element in Irish affairs would have particularly resonated with a German audience: on the one hand, German Catholics living as a minority in Protestant states would have followed the emergence of political Catholicism in Ireland with interest; on the other hand, anti-Catholicism formed a strand in the discourse of German nation-building, therefore the anti-Catholic side in Germany would have viewed Catholic movements with suspicion.

An examination of British governance in general is fundamental to how the majority of German observers make sense of impoverished and apparently backward conditions in Ireland. Whether Ireland would be better off if the Union were to be repealed becomes a much contested topic of discussion. Some commentators claim that Britain must be held accountable for creating social and economic ills in Ireland, thus it is their task to remedy these ills through wise legislation. For other observers, the Irish people themselves need to take responsibility and give up their hope that they will be helped from without, when change needs to come from within. Yet other writers believe that both parties have to shoulder the blame for condemning the Irish to live the way they live. It should be noted that a handful of authors do not make their opinions explicit. Some believe it is their task to merely describe and not to judge or opine, for example Friedrich Ludwig von Wachholtz (*Aus dem Tagebuch des Generals Fr. L. von Wachholtz*, 1843, FLvW) and Heinrich Brockhaus (*Aus den Tagebüchern von Heinrich Brockhaus*, 1884, HB). The majority of German travel writers, however, try to make sense of Irish conditions. It becomes evident that authors are often driven by agendas which relate either to domestic circumstances or wider pan-European emancipation movements.

9.1 Reading the Irish Landscape

For the majority of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century German travellers to Ireland, nature was something they 'knew': they came armed with knowledge of aesthetic theories and

they 'knew' how to appreciate landscape. Landscapes are "cultural phenomena just as much as – or even more than – they are natural phenomena" because literary impressions of them can be evoked by utilising certain categories such as the picturesque and the sublime, as well as framing devices familiar from art and theatre. Landscapes can also function "as projection screens for manifold cultural constructions, political agendas, and public perceptions, in each case reflecting particular historical contexts and intellectual developments".³ Nature provided an opportunity for some German visitors to make sense of Irish conditions; it revealed political ideology and the power structures at work in Irish society, as well as providing a link to history, a history which is used to help understand present-day Ireland.

Dilapidated buildings, parks and classically beautiful cityscapes did not just provide aesthetically pleasing prospects, for some they also intimated the foundations of British power in Ireland. This rule was based on the conquest of the country through land confiscation as well as the decimation of signifiers of Irish culture and history (indicated by present-day ruins), and on making visible British presence in the country (architecture, parks). For some observers, these elements of the landscape provide a basis for understanding the present day destitution of the masses. In a ruin-dotted landscape, Friedrich von Raumer (*England im Jahre 1835*, 2 vols, 1836, FvR1/FvR2) traces a link from the English campaigns in Ireland of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to present day destitution. Noting a number of derelict castles he sees along the roadside, he cannot take pleasure in the sight of them because they are surrounded by the desolate and completely caved-in cabins of the poor. He states that the lords of these castles were "desselben Stammes, derselben Sprache, sie waren gegenwärtig und das Volk gewiß nicht so elend, als seit den Confiscationen englischer Eroberer" (FvR2 423). These are the ruined residences of Gaelic chieftains; they are read as signs of more prosperous times in Irish history. Following dispossession of the native Gaelic chieftains, the Irish became the subjects of loyal English lords who were granted confiscated land. These new overlords, however, did not and do not carry out their duties in Ireland as they should have according to Raumer – they are absentee landlords unlike the Gaelic chieftains before them. This is a key element in how Raumer tries to make sense of the paradoxes he discerns in Irish society. He claims that Ireland is just as, if not more fertile than England. He sees rich fields full of wheat and barley, but right next to them completely neglected ones full of weeds. He is puzzled as to why so many Irish emigrate to find employment, or simply do not work at all, when there appears to be plenty of work to be done cultivating these overgrown fields. Believing that the Irish are not a lazy people, he seeks explanations in governance and history. Absenteeism is described as the "forterbende Fluch der alten gräuelvollen Confiscationen" (FvR2 393). Raumer

³ Johannes Zechner: Politicized Timber. The German Forest and the Nature of the Nation 1800-1945. In: The Brock Review 11. 2 (2011), pp. 19-32, here p. 19.

finds that the term 'absentee' is not even adequate because it implies that those who are absent will one day return. An Irish absentee, on the other hand, is one who was never present in the first place and never will be. The position of landlords in Irish society is based on violent campaigns; therefore Raumer believes that landlords in Ireland are doubly responsible for social and economic conditions. He makes them responsible for mass unemployment because they are not present to put their subordinates to work, and he condemns them on the grounds that Ireland never became their fatherland. According to Raumer, whoever owns land without loving it as one's fatherland, "dem verschwindet der edelste Grund des Eigenthums, und nur der todte Buchstabe des Rechts bleibt übrig" (FvR2 393). Where landlords honour their responsibility, conditions are somewhat better: land is cultivated, houses are not so completely dilapidated, peasants are dressed slightly better.

Absentee landlords, on the other hand, think only of ways to extort increasing amounts of rent from their tenants. Instead of pursuing more noble enterprises in Ireland, such as encouraging improvements in agriculture, they laze about in the barren, grey provinces of France and sentimentalise "über die Bettler in Itri und Fondi, während die Härte ihrer Grundsätze Hunderte von Bettlern in Irland erzeugt" (FvR2 395). It seems a paradox that while Raumer believes life in Ireland before the English campaigns of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was better, i.e. the common man was surely not as impoverished as he is presently, the Irish were ruled by leaders from their own community whom they could identify with because of familial/tribal and cultural ties, he does not hold up these allegedly more prosperous earlier times as exemplary of what Ireland could be like again. If the lower classes are as destitute and disaffected as Raumer portrays them, if absentee landlords are as exploitative, disinterested and harsh as Raumer casts them, if the legislation is as intolerant as Raumer claims, why does he never actually condemn Britain for the initial confiscations of which he views absenteeism a legacy? It is evident that Raumer is struggling to reconcile his admiration for Britain, the "so glänzende Gestalt" (FvR2 427), with what he witnesses first hand in Ireland. He holds Britain responsible for allowing conditions to reach such a state of destitution because of this very admiration. Furthermore, he charges Britain with the task of alleviating conditions by constitutional means, i.e. through the introduction of various reform laws such as imposing a higher poor tax on absentee landlords than on their non-absentee counterparts. Still, Raumer does not advocate that landlords should be forced to live on their estates, on the contrary they should be allowed every measure of personal freedom (FvR2 402f.). Raumer attempts to reconcile the admired principles of individual liberty and freedom of the British constitution with how such principles manifest themselves in reality in Ireland. Theory and practise, however, appear irreconcilable. Yet, Raumer also bases his arguments on social ethics: landlords have a duty as property owners to their tenants and to the community

in general to promote and serve the common good, to implement projects which benefit everyone. The juxtaposition of old and 'modern' ruins provides Raumer with an opportunity to express his disappointment in Britain; Ireland, it seems, has regressed under British rule rather than enjoying the benefits of being part of the constitutional state Raumer so admires.

Other observers also critique absentee landlords, but their comments are not occasioned by ruins, rather by landscaped gardens. It was noted earlier that numerous German travellers commend Irish landlords for how they have implemented aesthetic principles in their estate parks. Indeed, in comments by Karl Gottlob Küttner (*Briefe über Irland*, 1785, KGK), the author of *Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes von Irland* (1835, DGZI) and Hermann von Pückler-Muskau (*Reisebriefe aus Irland*, 1830, HvPM), Ireland is presented as an uninhabited and beautiful land which was first peopled and cultivated by the landlords (KGK 188, DGZI 1, HvPM 149). Such comments reveal authors' acceptance and confirmation of the existing social and political order; these comments also constitute a colonialist assumption that the landscape was empty before the landlords arrived. Furthermore, such praise might suggest that no fault is found in the system of landlordism or the practise of absenteeism, in spite of miserable social conditions. Indeed, even when faults are recognised, some authors still justify landlords in their actions. Küttner, for example, is struck by the contrast between the beautiful, elegant estate lands and the great quantity of impoverished, half-clothed people: "Welch ein Unterschied! Die einen leben im äussersten Ueberflusse, wohnen in prächtigen Sälen, kleiden sich in die besten Stoffe, raffiniren über ihre Tafel, und setzen die vier Welttheile in Contribution, um ihren Sinnen zu schmeicheln. Den andern fehlt es an allem" (KGK 92). Such a comment is critical of the extravagant way of life of the landlords; they are portrayed as colonialists in Ireland and abroad who exploit their subjects in order to indulge their opulent lifestyle. Yet, Küttner cushions his criticism by claiming that these half-clothed peasants are happier than any of us. While Küttner sees the connection between landlordism and destitution of the lower classes through exploitation, he does not provide information on how landlords arrived at their position in society, other than to say, for example, that Lord T. (Earl of Tyrone, George de la Poer Beresford) has "ein Paar hundert Acres Land für sich genommen" (KGK 188). Lord T. was, after all, Küttner's employer.

Caspar von Voght ('Schilderung von Irland', 1796, CvV 579), on the other hand, critiques landlords because while they evidently embrace aesthetics, they fail to implement other Enlightenment principles, such as promoting and improving agricultural practises. Nature can be both beautiful and productive. These two dimensions were not viewed as contradictory by Enlightenment thinkers. In Ireland Voght finds that where aesthetic principles have been implemented, it is to the detriment of agricultural improvement: a cultivated landscaped

garden lies next to neglected agricultural land. There are no fences or proper divides, the soil is exhausted by frequent harvests, while weeds and gorse make some land unusable. In some instances, Voght believes that neither the aesthetic nor the agricultural potential of nature is properly realised (CvV 586). It becomes evident for Voght that money is lacking at all levels of society: the tenant is perpetually in debt because of high rents, therefore he has no money to put towards the improvement of his plot of land, while the absentee landlord is not there to take charge of affairs and to invest his income into the improvement of nature (CvV 589f.). This is the vicious circle perpetrated by absenteeism, which contributes to the impoverishment of the lower classes: “wer Vermögen hat, lebt in England. Man kann rechnen, daß dadurch jährlich eine Million Pfund Sterling aus dem Lande gehet” (CvV 572). Gentlemen farmers of a kind that one finds in England and Scotland do not exist in Ireland; landlords look down on agriculture. These attitudes lead to deficient farming practices. Tenant farmers do not practise sensible crop rotation because they are dependent on the momentary advantage of potato and oat crops to feed themselves and pay their high rents, which, according to Voght, are disproportionate to land holdings. Furthermore, rent is automatically increased in line with an increase in agricultural produce, so that the tenant farmer never benefits from his labours, rather he is in constant debt. Voght holds up the example of the relationship between landlord and tenant in England as exemplary: the landlord never increases the rent at will because he prizes the respect and love of those he lives among. Yet, Voght fails to address the issue that, unlike in England, the landlords in Ireland belonged to a religious and ethnic minority. Therefore, English conditions as a yardstick are not directly applicable to Ireland. He further claims that in England, nature is both beautiful and productive, while the lower classes are much less destitute than in Ireland (CvV 603). While he bemoans the unrealised potential of Irish nature and sees absenteeism as contributing to the destitution of the lower classes, Voght does not seem to hold the absentee landlords personally responsible in the way Raumer does. Voght also does not see the landlords as ‘intruders’ the way Raumer describes them, indeed Voght never comments on how the landlords acquired their lands at all. In Voght’s eyes, Irish landlords, like the lower classes, need to be ‘educated’ on the benefits of agriculture; “Erziehung” and “Verbesserung” are key terms in Voght’s narrative.

At the sight of a picturesquely beautiful park, Johann Georg Kohl (*Reisen in Irland*, 2 vols, 1843, JGKR1/JGKR2) appears to defend absentee landlords. Being the proprietor of such a park is the least a landlord should expect, given that he lives in such a wild and uncivilised country. According to Kohl, the rich Protestant landlords have a hundred reasons for not feeling at home among their poor Catholic subjects:

Die Wildheit und Uncultur des Landes, der nicht so leicht abzuhelfen ist, die Barbarei des Volkes, das seine Herren sogar zuweilen um’s Leben bringt, die größeren Reize, welche die

englische Gesellschaft bietet, die unglückliche Zerfallenheit der irischen Gemeinden in eine Menge sich anfeindender Parteien, und auch vielleicht ein gewisses Gefühl von Scham und Reue über das Unrecht gesetzmäßiger Tyrannei, – dieß Alles mag so viele Wohlhabende aus dem Lande vertreiben und jenes Uebel erzeugen, das man 'absenteeism' nennt. Viele Familien giebt es auch, die in Irland und England gleich begütert sind, und diese ziehen denn alle die Residenz in England vor. (JGKR1 171)

While Kohl explains absenteeism and appears to justify it, he also highlights the precarious position of landlords in Irish society. They are not cast as completely heartless, oppressive overlords focused only on financial gain, rather they themselves are aware that the system of landlordism as practised in Ireland is unjust. According to Kohl, the manner in which many landlords acquired their land was through the violence and oppression carried out during the campaigns of Elizabeth I and Cromwell. Kohl claims that those landlords who remain in Ireland managing their estates in person are all the more praiseworthy because they are at least trying to heal some of the wounds the system has inflicted on the lower classes. Non-absentee landlords make themselves "zu freiwilligen Märtyrern" who, in Kohl's eyes, deserve respect for acknowledging and taking on the responsibility that ownership of land in Ireland has charged them with, land which is not rightfully theirs in the first place (JGKR1 172). In this instance, nature is used as a pretext to explain, rather than to justify (the results justify the means, Ireland as a wild, uninhabited land before landlords arrived), or condemn (landlords held responsible for mass poverty) absenteeism in Ireland.

Pückler's impression of one particular park provides him with a test case for how conditions in Ireland *could* be if absentee landlords dedicated themselves to their estates. The landlord, who, with slender means but with talent and perseverance, has brought about the absolute harmonious union of art and nature. This man "sollte den irländischen Grundbesitzern, die ihre Schätze im Ausland vergeuden, als ein hoch zu ehrendes Muster aufgestellt werden!" (HvPM 149). On this landlord's estate, factionalism is unknown; the landlord is Protestant, all tenants are Catholic, and despite this the tenants are obedient and cordial. The landlord is respected; he mediates between the lower classes to sort out all their disputes, therefore making judges superfluous in this remote part of Ireland. Even though it appears that Pückler condemns the absentee landlords on aesthetic grounds, i.e. rather than frivolously spending their money abroad, Irish landlords could be spending it on developing landscape gardens in Ireland, it is clear that Pückler links the dedication to aesthetic pursuits with a dedication to socio-ethical ones. This landlord clearly looks after his tenants. He is fair and just – Pückler claims that he was told this by the tenants themselves. This, for Pückler, is exemplary of how conditions for all of the lower classes could be in Ireland if landlords resided on their estates and fulfilled their obligations both to nature and to their tenants.

This landlord, however, appears to have been the exception rather than the norm. Pückler condemns Lord Powerscourt, for example, on the grounds that while he has clearly implemented aesthetic ideals, the political ideology behind the English landscaped garden has not been realised. Indeed, Pückler is the first commentator to note that estate parks were generally not open to the public in Ireland; something which went against one of the core principles of landscaped parks. In a political sense, the English landscaped garden was the aesthetic realisation of the political principles of liberalism and democracy, reflected in how the garden was designed to allow individual interaction with nature as well as room for the development of the imagination. But in Ireland, the case was somewhat different. Visiting, or attempting to visit, Powerscourt estate in County Wicklow, Pückler finds the gates to the grounds closed. He longingly glances over the walls of the estate, catching glimpses of the magnificent waterfall and the enchanting scene:

O Herr von P.! Du wirst diese Zeilen nicht lesen, aber es wäre gut, wenn du es tätest und sie beherzigtest. Gar mancher arme Mann, der die Woche lang schwitzt, um dir sein Pachtgeld abzahlen, würde am Sonntag froh in deinem schönen Parke sein und des Herrn Güte segnen, der ihm doch nicht alles, selbst den Anblick seiner Herrlichkeit, entzieht, dies würde am Ende auch dich erfreuen, aber – du selbst bist wohl gar nicht zugegen und sendest deine frommen Befehle bloß von weitem? Du bist vielleicht, wie so viele deiner Kollegen, auch einer jener Absentées, der durch heißhungrige und erbarmungslose Beamten das Volk von dem letzten Lumpen entblößen, die letzte Kartoffel ihm rauben läßt, um in London, Paris oder Italien Mätressen und Charlatans zu bereichern? (HvPM 44)

Pückler condemns the landlords on four counts: firstly, that the common man is not allowed to enjoy the wonders of such beautiful nature as realised in the estate park; secondly, for how the landlords economically exploit their tenants; thirdly for being absentees; and finally for their frivolous life-style, spending the money they so mercilessly acquire. Pückler speaks out for the democratisation of the landscape gardens, and makes this issue into a test-case for the improvement of conditions in general. Nature should be accessible to everyone; especially to those who have little or no other source of joy, amusement and diversion from their miserable existence. Kohl equally claims that the city parks of Dublin should be made open to the public who would make great use of them. Instead, they are locked up behind high gates and kept out of sight by tall trees, and left essentially empty since the only people who are allowed entry are all absentee lords who do not live in their Dublin residences (JGKR2 172ff.). Pückler uses his ideas of the purpose and ideal of the landscaped park as a springboard for more general considerations, amongst them criticisms of social and political conditions.

Evident from the examples taken from Raumer, Küttner, Voght, Kohl and Pückler is that while landscape, be it ruins or parks, provides a starting point for some to explain how absenteeism came about and/or how it affects the socio-economic situation of the lower classes, none of these commentators find fault with landlordism itself, rather with its specific

manifestations in an Irish context. Jakob Venedey (*Irland*, 2 vols, 1844, JV1/JV2), on the other hand, utilises his visit to landscaped parks to criticise absenteeism in particular and landlordism in general. One such description is of a park just outside of Dublin city which has become wild and overgrown. A gigantic, pretentious looking gate marks the entrance. The Doric columns of the triumphal arch crumble away in pieces; the gates are eaten with rust. The pathways are overgrown, while the hedges have grown into wild bushes. Venedey exclaims “Irland, Irland!” at the sight of this deserted park, a sigh intended as an expression of desperation as well as criticism of absentee landlords for their neglect of the Irish countryside (JV2 293). Where parks are maintained, Venedey, like Pückler, finds it an abomination that they are generally not open to the public:

Ich musste an mein Vaterland denken, mir fielen der Rhein, die Mosel, die Aar, die Aacher, die Sieg, die Ocker und wie sie alle heißen, die großen und kleinen Flüße meines Deutschlands, ein. Und es jubelte in mir und ich rief: ‘Sie sind frei und kein Mensch zwingt mich, mich einzuschreiben, mir eine Gnadenkarte aufdringen zu lassen, wenn mich die Lust treibt, wenn mich der Gott ruft, in seiner schönen Natur zu beten.’ Ja, die Flüße in Deutschland sind frei und ich entsinne mich nicht eines, den man unter Schloß und Riegel gelegt hätte. [...] Blitz und Hagel, ich wollte fechten, fechten wie ein wild gewordener Wexfordbauer, wenn es meinen Flüßen in Deutschland gälte! (JV2 365f.)

Although Venedey’s comments here are occasioned by his visit to an estate park, his criticism goes beyond public access to landscaped gardens to a critique of how natural beauty spots in general are kept private. This is something Venedey repeatedly comments on. Travelling through a beautiful mountainous landscape, the sound of water announces that he is approaching a river. Venedey eagerly follows the sound only to find that the river has been locked away from the passer-by by means of a high wall and tall trees. The trees act as watchmen, blocking the view and prohibiting the passer-by from enjoying the scenery (JV2 346, cf. also JV2 309). Even though land ownership, rights of way as well as the absence of publicly maintained and accessible land were not specifically Irish problems, what Venedey criticises is much more than just rights of way: landscaped parks, indeed nature in general, are physical reminders of the political system. Furthermore, nature is utilised as a form of oppression in that the Irish are not even allowed to enjoy it. Irish parks symbolise a “volksverachtende Aristokratie” (JV2 389). In his agitation for Repeal, O’Connell employed a similar line of argument: “Ich hörte O’Connell einmal fragen: ‘Wer ist der Lord?’ Und seine Antwort war: ‘Der Enkel eines Hängemanns, der in Gefolge der Sachsen als Executor der irländischen Edeln kam und dafür ihre Güter in Beschlag nahm.’ Solche Fragen und solche Antworten stehen in Irland an jedem Berge, jedem Flusse in unverwischbaren Zügen angeschrieben” (JV2 309). For Venedey, the land confiscations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well as present conditions are evident in the landscape. While travelling through county Roscommon, Venedey is struck by the contrast between the

desolate, gloomy landscape dotted with numerous ruins of abandoned cottages, and the lush green of parkland which appear to him like an oasis in the desert. Next to the ruins, such parks, however, are eternal indictments that only serve to emphasise the forlorn surroundings all the more. For Venedey, both are mute and yet so eloquent apologists for repeal (JV2 24).

Venedey does not deny the aesthetically pleasing prospect of a park, but while visiting Tullamore Park, he states that he cannot enjoy the beauty of the landscape. In the fields of Ireland he encountered the dilapidated huts of the tenant farmers, whom he identifies with the repeal movement, and thus here in Lord Roden's park he cannot forget that the lord is opposed to repeal. Of all the landscaped estate gardens in the whole of Ireland to provide a description of, Venedey can only have deliberately chosen Lord Roden's park – Lord Roden, magistrate, Deputy Grand Master of the Orange Order, "one of the true grandees of the ultra-Protestant cause in Ireland".⁴ Only a few years after Venedey's visit, Lord Roden was stripped of his magisterial duties for his part in inciting Orangemen to violence before an Orange parade. Thirty Catholics were killed, while no Orangemen were seriously injured. While this incident occurred after Venedey's visit, he was well aware of Lord Roden's opposition to repeal. Tullamore Park is the only park Venedey gives a detailed description of. Having framed the various prospects presented to him in the park as the epitome of the picturesque, Venedey is overcome with a sense of unease. Even though he has a letter of introduction which would grant him a personal audience with the landlord, Venedey muses: "Was kann mir Lord Roden sagen, das ich nicht schon weiß? Daß er ein Antirepealer ist und sein muß, bekundet sein Park hinlänglich; daß er kaum bessere Gründe als diesen haben werde, war ich halbwegs zum voraus gewiß" (JV2 366). For Venedey, in an Irish context the aesthetic improvement of nature symbolises an act of asserting power over the conquered land. Repeal of the Union would mean that an Irish parliament would be restored in Dublin, but this time with full participation of Catholics made possible by Catholic Emancipation. Repeal of the Union would mean that political power over Ireland would no longer be solely in the hands of the Protestant aristocracy.

For Moritz Hartmann ('Briefe aus Dublin', 1873, MH), the suburban as well as the urban landscape are used as more than an opportunity to make sense of Irish conditions. Hartmann projects his own political agenda onto the landscape. While for the majority of observers, the face of Irish cities was initially perceived as pleasing because they could aesthetically identify with what they saw, for example with the classical aesthetics in Georgian streetscapes, for other observers this face of Dublin was read as a politicised and highly

⁴ Sean Farrell: *Rituals and Riots. Sectarian Violence and Political Culture in Ulster, 1784-1886*. Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2009, p. 3f.

ideological urban landscape. Eoin Bourke has convincingly argued that Moritz Hartmann reads the Dublin cityscape as a “semiotics of suppression” in how he describes “the architecture, monuments and street-names as instruments of the imperialist strategy of denying the indigenous culture”.⁵ Bourke points to how Hartmann notes that the streets of Dublin are named after famous English nobles, soldiers and erstwhile Lord Lieutenants of Ireland. Monuments, such as victory columns and the monument of William III (William of Orange), are placed in an Irish landscape as markers of British supremacy over a defeated land. Indeed, Hartmann describes how the statue of William III stands “wie zum Hohn” outside of Trinity College. Everything about the statue serves to mock the Irish, especially its inscription “ob restitutam fidem” or “on account of the restoration of the faith”, blatantly hailing the establishment of Protestantism (MH 11). Finally, Bourke also demonstrates how Hartmann’s criticism anticipates post-colonial discourse when Hartmann generalises his condemnation of overseas empire, stating that a time will come when people will look back on such glory with absolute disdain.

Taking Bourke’s commentary a step further, it is evident from the manner in which Hartmann reads the urban landscape that he was not so much searching for explanations as to why the lower classes appeared so emaciated, as he was finding confirmation of his views on Britain’s abusive reign. While Hartmann, nor any other commentator of the period under investigation here, never uses terms such as ‘colonialism’, only a few short years later Friedrich Engels would write: “Man kann Irland als die erste englische Kolonie ansehen, und als eine, die ihrer Nähe wegen noch direkt in der alten Weise regiert wird, und man merkt hier schon, das die sogenannte Freiheit der englischen Bürger auf der Unterdrückung der Kolonien beruht”.⁶ Engels pinpoints what Hartmann condemns: the source of Britain’s wealth rested on the political subjugation and economic exploitation of its colonies. Ireland becomes an experimentation ground for Hartmann for the wider issue of the use of violence to attain political goals. This is evident in how enthusiastically he speaks of those followers of O’Connell who advocate violence in their fight against English rule. Impressed by Robert Emmet, Hartmann states: “Robert Emmet hatte Recht, das Hauptquartier seiner Revolution nach Patrick’s Street zu verlegen; da ist ein ewiger Stoff zu Revolution aufgeschichtet, ein unsterbliches Heer wohnt da für die Revolution” (MH 9). The miserable creatures who lived in these slums provided the ‘reserve army’ to fight against the English government. This is a

⁵ Eoin Bourke: ‘The Irishman is no Lazzarone’. *German Travel Writers in Ireland 1828-1850*. In: *History Ireland*, 5. 3 (1997), pp. 21-25, here p. 25. Bourke makes the same point in two subsequent articles: *Moritz Hartmann und Irland*. In: Hubert Lengauer and Primus Heinz Kucher (eds.): *Bewegung im Reich der Immobilität. Revolutionen in der Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1849. Literarisch-publizistische Auseinandersetzungen*. Vienna, Cologne and Weimar: Böhlau, 2001, pp. 427-441, here p. 434f.; *England’s backyard. Vormärz travel writers on the Irish question*. In: Detlev Kopp (ed.): *Wege in die Moderne. Reiseliteratur von Schriftstellerinnen und Schriftstellern des Vormärz*. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2009, pp. 217-228, here p. 225f.

⁶ Friedrich Engels in a letter to Karl Marx, Manchester, 23 May 1856. In: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: *Der Briefwechsel*. Munich: dtv, 1983, p. 136.

reference to Friedrich Engels who believed that the downtrodden masses in the English industrial cities of Manchester and Liverpool “would make a suitable regiment of desperados to overthrow the British monarchy”.⁷ Hartmann thus utilises Ireland as an experimental space for the application of proto-socialist ideas: “Nicht *wir* machen die Revolution” (MH 32), rather industrialist and capitalist policies pursued by unjust governments.

Hartmann deliberately stylises the more rural suburbs of Dublin in direct opposition to the industrialised city: families sit outdoors enjoying breakfast and go on Sunday walks along the beach, while immense steamers ‘dream’ peacefully in the harbour (MH 18). That these steam liners are in fact the means by which droves of starving Irish leave the country for England is not acknowledged by Hartmann. This appears contradictory given his criticism of the dehumanisation which takes place in the factories of Manchester and Liverpool – two main destinations of Irish workers. Even the modest, mostly diseased flowers of the potato plants in the little gardens do not seem to disturb the ‘picture’. There are no beggars to be found in this landscape; ruins are also non-existent. Hartmann utilises this landscape as a projection screen for his utopian idylls: the area is inhabited “von Katholiken, Protestanten, Quäkern und Methodisten”, “die alle in größter Friedlichkeit zusammenleben” (MH 18). He makes this landscape into a metaphor of political peace and freedom, as opposed to the city. In this, it is clear how his “politische Gedankenwelt” culminated “in utopischen Vorstellungen”:⁸ the religious aspect plays absolutely no role in how he tries to make sense of Ireland. Every other observer acknowledges that in an Irish context, religion plays a complex role in Irish society; that Hartmann should ignore or underestimate it highlights his utopian fantasies. Thus, for all authors, landscape as well as cityscape serve as an opportunity to elaborate on the issues which are inscribed in it.

9.2 Explaining Destituteness

Governance and conditions of the disenfranchised population are interrelated, and both elements contribute to authors’ attempts at explaining Ireland to their readers. The system of landlordism was one feature of a political administration which, for some observers, was flawed in other ways, too. German travel writers also tried to make sense of Ireland by examining state oppression of Catholics. It becomes evident that authors apply their own specific criteria in attempting to explain Ireland to their readers, for example criteria relating to enlightened ideals of government or support for/dissent of political Catholicism based on

⁷ Sebastian Stumpf: Ireland as a Projection Screen for German Problems in Vormärz literature and journalism. PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2006, p. 90.

⁸ Heidi Beutin: “Der ich komm’ aus dem Huissitenlande”. Tradition, Revolution und Demokratie in der Gedankenwelt Moritz Hartmanns. In: Johann Dvořák (ed.): Radikalismus, demokratische Strömungen und die Moderne in der österreichischen Literatur. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 2003, pp. 87-105, p. 101.

experiences in the German lands. This results in an array of often contradictory 'explanations' of Irish conditions, each one reflecting particular interests and ideals a domestic audience would have been conversant with.

While Küttner acknowledges that state oppression of Irish Catholics has caused them to become destitute and politically disadvantaged, he does not propose any measures as to how they might strive to improve their situation. On the contrary: with the Catholic Relief Acts, he believes that Irish Catholics have obtained all they could wish for from the government. Furthermore, with the legislative independence of the Dublin parliament, Irish Protestants' wish for legislative freedom has also been satisfied (KGK 111). Küttner is, in fact, horrified at the levels of unrest in the country. He is shocked at the impertinence with which the king and government are spoken about in the newspapers (KGK 133). He describes with disgust how the 'masses' agitate against the government and boycott trade laws passed by parliament. What astonishes Küttner is how the lower classes, "Leute ohne Stand, ohne Vermögen und ohne Ansehen", make demands on the government (KGK 192). He states: "Unter allen Regierungsarten ist keine despotischer, willkürlicher, härter und kleinlicher, als die demokratische. Das Volk schreyt nach Freiheit, und das mehreste, was es thut, sind Aeusserungen und Handlungen des Despotismus" (KGK 171, cf. also 404f.). It seems that the events and outcome of the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) serve as a political backdrop to Küttner's commentary. The thirteen North American Colonies established a federal republic based on the ideals of liberty, the unalienable rights of the individual as well as the rejection of aristocracy and inherited political power. The government was to represent the people. These principles were loosely based on the English constitution (apart from the rejection of the aristocracy), which ensured freedom of speech and press, as well as a liberal interpretation of the law. Unlike many of his fellow German travel writers, Küttner is no fan of the British liberal constitution. His comments are indeed alarmist when he describes the English government as almost republican, claiming that "unter allen Völkern, welche Unterthanen sind, die Unterthanen einer Republik die elendsten sind, und das desto mehr, je mehr sich die Form der Demokratischen nähert" (KGK 415). This appears to be a contradiction in terms: those who live within a republic would not be 'subjects' but, rather, the very source of the government's power since it would be the people who elect the government in the first place. He claims that the republican spirit is characterised by individualism rather than aspiring towards the common good (KGK 416). That Küttner's beliefs are influenced by enlightened absolutism become apparent in his conviction that, had Ireland been ruled by an absolutist monarch, the Irish would not have become as destitute as they have under the British government. An absolutist monarch would concern himself with his subjects, promote religious tolerance, reform institutions and be a patron of the arts, whereas the British

government in Ireland has not supported education, or the general well-being of the masses. Küttner seems to base his comments on the ideals of Christian morality and virtue, which were valorised by the middle-classes of the eighteenth-century who saw themselves as the vanguard of culture and progress. The honest, moral middle-class intellectual saw himself as working in the service of a monarch towards the common good. By promoting enlightened ideals at court, the middle-class intellectual encouraged the monarch to implement social and economic reforms in the service of commoners.⁹ Küttner seems to advocate such a model.

It is within this context that he supports the emerging Protestant and aristocratic Irish nation. According to Küttner, Irish Protestants have never declared themselves to be against the English crown. Their agitation is described as that “eines civilisirten, scharfsinnigen, sich selbst fühlenden und nach Erweiterung seiner Rechte trachtenden Volkes”; they have nothing to do with the democracy, the barbarity and ignorance of the masses (KGK 405). Yet, Küttner’s commentary on agitation of the ‘masses’ presents a paradox. What he seems to be referring to is the agitation brought about by the Irish Volunteers who utilised Britain’s engagement in the American Revolutionary War to agitate for reform, including legislative independence. The Volunteers were predominately made up of Protestant gentry and members of parliament. It was the Volunteers who paraded with canons and made demands on the government to introduce free trade, not the ‘masses’.¹⁰ It seems that Küttner is unnerved by the more radical members of the Volunteers such as the Anglican bishop of Derry, a supporter of Catholic emancipation (KGK 176). At the heart of Küttner’s abhorrence of Catholic emancipation seems to be his pronounced anti-democratic and anti-mass movement convictions – in Ireland Catholics are the masses, and as such they have no role to play in government. Küttner’s explanations of Ireland in the years 1783 and 1784 reflect his shock at the first stirrings of changing political circumstances, not just in Ireland, but on a European and international scale, the beginning of a new era in which inherited power, the aristocracy and the king as the basis of government and state were questioned and new models were proposed.

While Küttner condemns the British and their liberal constitution because of the freedom it allows citizens to express their opinion and to agitate for reforms since this is not expressly forbidden by law, Voght claims that Ireland does not enjoy any of the benefits of this liberal constitution. The rights of individual citizens are not protected by law, rather those in a position of power, such as landlords, are likened to tyrants because of how they unscrupulously enforce their will over their subjects. Citing the English agricultural economist

⁹ Cf. W. Daniel Wilson: Eighteenth-Century Germany in its Historical Context. In: Barbara Becker-Cantarino (ed.): German Literature of the Eighteenth Century. The Enlightenment and Sensibility. Rochester/NY: Camden House, 2005, pp. 265-284, here p. 268 and p. 272.

¹⁰ Cf. Robert Brendan McDowell: The Protestant Nation (1775-1800). In: Theo Moody and Francis Martin (eds.): The Course of Irish History. Dublin: Mercier, 1994, pp. 232-247, here p. 233.

Arthur Young (who toured Ireland in 1776-77), Voght claims that in Ireland liberty is “a cruel mockery” because “its blessings are received as the favour of kindness, instead of being the inheritance of right” (CvV 647). Voght propounds a doctrine of individual responsibility and freedom, as well as civic responsibility in society as a whole. In Ireland, though, because of misgovernance, individual rights are not ensured by law and the lower class cannot fulfil their civic duties because of lawful oppression. Therefore, the individual cannot be held solely responsible for the dire socio-economic conditions, rather he sees it as the task of the state to educate, enlighten and enable its citizens to help themselves, rather than oppress them, deny them an education and condemn them to eternal poverty. It is obvious that Voght believes in universal human progress as well as in the fundamentally good, and thus educable nature of human beings when he proposes a catalogue of changes and improvements to governance he sees necessary in order to raise up the lower classes. The Irish have the potential to become enlightened citizens. These improvements revolve around how agriculture, trade and industry are regulated, as well as the education of the masses. With the concept of ‘Erziehung’, Voght refers to the maintenance of physical well-being, basic education in so far as it pertains to working life as well as knowledge of the laws of the land in which one lives. Voght differentiates “innres Recht” and “äusser[es] Recht”. The former refers to innate law or morality, which serves as a compliment to human-made laws bestowed onto individuals by governments (CvV 635). The law of man should ensure the freedom and rights of the individual, as well as the enjoyment of the fruits of one’s labours, i.e. neither the state nor an individual should have the right to attack or claim the property of any individual. Voght promotes civic virtue and believes that through education, collective responsibility to promote the common good can be realised.

In economic terms, Voght is a proponent of the economic policy of *laissez-faire*. He believes that the government interferes in agriculture, trade and industry too much by way of subsidies, incentives and laws. According to Voght, nowhere in the world do manufacturers and factories receive more subsidies and yet there is nowhere in the world with so little industry as in Ireland. Equally there is “nirgends mehr *Charities*, nirgends mehr *Bettelei*” (CvV 632). The connection between charity and begging suggests that his ideology is about individual initiative, responsibility for oneself rather than stifling dependency in every walk of life. This is very much in line with the liberal economic constitution in Britain, their free trade principles and reduced state interference. Indeed, Voght’s entire commentary on explaining Ireland and proposing reforms is a build up to his support of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland. He believes that only in this way, through direct rule, can Ireland enjoy the full benefits of being a subject of one of the most enlightened states in Europe and can become as happy as England currently is (CvV 650). By focusing on measures of improvement, by

propounding a doctrine of economic and social liberalism as well as enfranchisement of the individual, Voght seems to avert attention away from the omnipresent question as to why Ireland, as a British dependency, has not been enjoying these benefits for the last century. He recognises the neglect of the landlords towards their tenants, as well as the oppression of Catholics, and claims that the Irish people themselves are not to be held responsible for the misery in which they live (CvV 590). All of this would seem to leave Britain open to reprisals as to why it has abandoned its principles in Ireland and acts differently in her dependency than on the main island. It seems that Voght refuses to acknowledge that Britain has failed Ireland in each and every respect for which he admires its liberal constitution. He will not admit disappointment, thus tainting his glorious image of Britain. Instead of looking to the past for explanations of Irish conditions, he looks only to the future for remedies. Voght's 'explanations' indicate the limits of explainability, the problematics of trying to reconcile ideals with reality.

With the foundation of the Catholic Association by Daniel O'Connell in 1823 and the campaign for Catholic emancipation in the subsequent years, an examination of the treatment of Irish Catholics increasingly becomes one of the main ways in which observers gain an insight into Irish affairs, and in how they try to explain Ireland to their readers. Heinrich Meidinger and Hermann Fürst von Pückler Muskau visited Ireland two years and one year respectively before Catholic emancipation was granted in 1829. Johann Heinrich Meidinger (1792-1867) was born in Frankfurt am Main and trained there, as well in Aachen, Paris and London, to be a merchant. He made two trips to Ireland (1820 and 1827) and published accounts of both trips: *Briefe von einer Reise durch England, Schottland und Irland im Frühjahr und Sommer 1820* (1821, HM1) and *Reisen durch Großbritannien und Irland vorzüglich in topographischer, kommerzieller und statistischer Hinsicht: Neuestes Handbuch für Reisende durch die drei vereinigten Königreiche England, Schottland und Irland* (1828, HM2). While his commentary on Ireland in his 1820 'letters' is brief, the handbook which resulted from his second journey reveals his interest as a statistician. Meidinger, more so than the majority of observers, focuses on seeking explanations, on analysis of political, religious and historical contexts, rather than on providing detailed constructions and characterisation of the Irish people. This is linked to the nature of his travel narrative itself, which is designated a handbook, i.e. a compendium of useful information. Meidinger believes that Irish social and economic conditions are caused by the influence of the Catholic Church on Irish society. Pückler and Meidinger contribute two opposing views on Catholic emancipation. Their views reflect opinion at the very beginnings of the confessional conflict in Germany in the lead up to the *Kölner Kirchenstreit* of the 1830s.

To Meidinger's way of thinking, one of the most obvious reasons for Irish poverty and misery lies within the Irish character itself: the Irish have always been (and, it is implied, will always be) "arm, abergläubig und unwissend" (HM2 205), as well as lazy and indolent (HM2 211). Furthermore, he claims that the Irish, "wie alle Völker südlichen Ursprungs", are "sehr reizbar, leidenschaftlich und grausam" (HM2 188). As evidence of this violent and cruel racial disposition, Meidinger cites numerous cold-blooded murders committed against Protestant tenants and landlords. He therefore sees landlords as justified in absenting themselves from Ireland. He is referring to incidents of agrarian unrest carried out by secret societies formed by the predominately Catholic Irish peasantry, who wanted reform of the agricultural system and who were particularly active in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Meidinger, however, sees no connection between absenteeism and impoverished conditions brought about by large sums of money constantly leaving the economy.

The statistician Meidinger is alarmed by rapid population growth in Ireland and sees this as an important factor contributing to the deterioration of socio-economic conditions as well as food shortages. Despite the devout Catholicism of the majority of the lower classes, there is no country, "wo die wilden Ehen zahlreicher sind, als in Irland" (HM2 187). For Meidinger, the link between Catholicism and the apparently passionate Southern character of the Irish explains this. He views population growth as resulting in a population surplus that needs to be dealt with in an effective manner – through enforced emigration or, failing that, exterminatory wars:

Auswanderungen müssen aus Irland [...] geschehen, und bald geschehen, wenn nicht in Jahren des Mangels ein Zustand der Noth und der Verzweiflung herbeigeführt werden soll, der jedes gefühlvolle Menschenherz empören muß [...]. Vielleicht daß in nicht gar langer Zeit sich auf der Küste von Kleinasien britische Colonien und Niederlassungen erheben, die dem Mutterlande von großem Nutzen, und die Strahlen der europäischen Civilisation bis weit nach Asien und Afrika hinein werfen! Wie sich aber auch die neusten Weltereignisse gestalten mögen, England wird früh oder spät Krieg suchen müssen, um den Ueberfluß seiner Bevölkerung los zu werden. (HM2 187f.)

Meidinger is probably referring to Australia as both a penal and settlement colony here. He essentially engages in mind games that envisage shifting hundreds of thousands of people through the entire world to possible new settlements. This reveals his position as statistician: he is not interested in individual fates or the welfare of these people. This population surplus might also be dealt with by England seeking war, perhaps a colonial war so as to acquire settlement land, or any war that would absorb the Irish as soldiers. Furthermore, it also illustrates that he attributes responsibility for remedying deficiencies to authorities and governments, machineries with capacities to achieve such programmes like mass emigration. His Malthusian convictions are evident. In his 1798 *Essay on the Principle of Population*, Thomas Malthus observed that as in nature where plants and animals produce more offspring

than can be nourished and survive, so too can humans reproduce at a rate that exceeds the rate of food production. Thus, resources will be pressed and a portion of society will always be condemned to live in poverty if human reproduction is not regulated. According to Malthus, poverty and famine are the outcomes of population growth overstressing natural resources.¹¹ Malthus proposed two types of 'checks' to keep population growth in line with resources: 'positive' checks such as hunger, disease and war raise the death rate, while 'preventive' checks such as abortion, birth control, prostitution, postponement of marriage and celibacy lower the birth rate.¹² Meidinger is obviously startled at the rate of population growth and warns strongly against leaving things as they are in Ireland.

It becomes evident, however, that Meidinger sees the biggest cause of problems in Ireland in the Catholic Church and its influence on the majority of the population; for this reason, he is very strongly against Catholic emancipation. He claims that in Ireland, as in all countries where the Catholic clergy dominate, the majority of the people were and are ignorant, poor and superstitious. Meidinger states "Man urtheilt daher allzu voreilig, wenn man das Elend und die große Armuth der untern Klasse Irlands allein den Engländern und deren Zwingherrschaft beimißt" (HM2 205). He recognises the colonial nature of English rule in Ireland when he describes how land was confiscated from Irish Catholic landowners and awarded to loyal English and Scottish Protestant subjects. But he sees this history of conquest as advantageous for Ireland: "durch diese Einziehung der Güter und Uebertragung in protestantische Hände, ist das Land nicht ärmer, sondern [...] eher wohlhabender und aufgeklärter geworden" (HM2 205). Meidinger's anti-Catholicism is explicit here and indicative of anti-Catholic thought at the beginning of the period of confessional conflict in Germany. While previous commentators were clearly influenced by Enlightenment ideals which propounded religious tolerance, Meidinger's views signal new perspectives in explaining Ireland. He claims that the Protestants in Ireland engage in trade and commerce, and that the Protestants make land arable, drain the bogs and dedicate themselves to increasing the prosperity of the country. One has, according to Meidinger, only to look to Northern Ireland should one doubt the advancements made under Protestant settlement (HM2 205f.). Since repealing many of the Penal Laws and especially since establishing the Union, Meidinger claims that England has done everything "um Irlands natürliche Fruchtbarkeit und unverkennbare Anlage des Volkes mehr und mehr zu entwickeln und auszubilden" (HM2 206). England's efforts include the introduction of new schools for both confessions, as well as grants to stimulate agriculture and commerce. It is noteworthy that Meidinger should highlight

¹¹ Cf. Thomas Malthus: *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, ed. with an Introduction and Notes by Geoffrey Gilbert. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993, Chapter VII, p. 61.

¹² Cf. Geoffrey Gilbert: Introduction. In: Thomas Malthus: *An Essay on the Principle of Population*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993, p. viii.

government subsidies as exemplary of how the British government is striving to improve Ireland: it was exactly this kind of palliative measures which Voght criticised because in his view it does not encourage self-sufficiency and ambition. For Voght, good governance should both improve the lives of the subjects and at the same time keep state interference (such as investment and subsidies) at a minimum. Meidinger, in contrast, sees investments and subsidies as a sign of good will by the British government, rather than ill governance. Indeed, in line with his racial, anti-Catholic thought, Meidinger never suggests any means as to how the Irish can help themselves out of their apparent ignorance, precisely because their ignorance and poverty are perceived as innate, immutable characteristics; instead, he sees it as the role of the government to keep Irish Catholics in check until such a time when they have earned “vernünftige Freiheit” (HM2 212) which can only be achieved when Irish Catholics realise that the welfare of and peace in Ireland cannot be achieved “auf jesuitischen Wegen” (HM2 204).

In Meidinger’s arguments against Catholic emancipation, the influence of theologian Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob Paulus is visible. Paulus believed that through reason the individual is autonomous and free from the dogma of the church.¹³ Meidinger was also influenced by liberal constitutional principles. For example, he believes that every impartial person will agree that out of the principles of fairness Irish Catholics have a claim to all the advantages of the British constitution since the union of the two countries and because Ireland pays an equal share in state revenue. Karl Holl outlines the paradox at the heart of liberally orientated Protestant rationalism, for whom he sees Paulus as representative. It wants to be Protestant and therefore shows a natural feeling of solidarity towards Protestant England, but it also wants to be liberal and therefore cannot deny Catholic emancipation in principle.¹⁴ The key here is that ‘in principle’ the right of Irish Catholics to emancipation cannot be denied, yet for Meidinger practice outweighs principle: against emancipation “ist [...] zu bedenken, daß Irland, seiner Bevölkerung nach, ein größtentheils katholisches Land ist, und als solches unter dem beständigen Einflusse der römischen Curie, und vieler unwissenden und fanatischen Priester steht, die die Engländer fortdauernd aus einem feindseligen Gesichtspunkte (als Ketzer und Eroberer) betrachten, und diesen Glauben unter dem Volke aufrecht zu halten suchen” (HM2 205). The anti-Catholic side in Germany viewed the universalist claims of the Catholic Church as a threat to national self-determination, in particular to nation building. Allied to Ireland, this view implies Ireland not as a nation, and Catholicism not as a national (Volks-) characteristic but just as the expression of allegiance to another power, one which, ideologically, contradicts

¹³ Cf. Friedrich Wilhelm Graf: Paulus, Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob. In: Neue Deutsche Biographie, vol. 20. Munich: Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001, pp. 135-136.

¹⁴ Cf. Karl Holl: Die irische Frage in der Ära Daniel O’Connell und ihre Beurteilung in der politischen Publizistik des deutschen Vormärz. PhD thesis, University of Mainz, 1958, p. 81.

British liberalism. Meidinger sees no possibility for improvement or change in Ireland until the Irish free themselves of this dominating influence of the Catholic Church:

Es ist allerdings traurig für diejenigen, die in Irland im Katholizismus geboren und erzogen sind, daß sie die politischen Rechte nicht mit ihren protestantischen Brüdern gemein haben sollen, aber so lange der katholische Theil Irlands unter dem Einflusse der römischen Curie und der Herrschaft der Priester steht, ist das Land nur zu beklagen, ohne große Gefahr keine Aenderung – so sehr sie auch das Herz fordert – vorzunehmen. Erst müssen die katholischen Bewohner Irlands Irländer werden, ehe sie sich Römisch-Katholische nennen. (HM2 211)

It seems that Meidinger's comments here are based on Paulus' dialectical game with the term freedom: Paulus claimed that Irish Catholics do have a right to emancipation or freedom, but as long as they willingly remain dependent on the Roman Curia they remain unfree. Yet, this servitude to Rome is deliberate, whereas British rule is enforced. This presents a paradox: Ireland requires tutelage, but cannot decide herself whose, therefore outsiders have to provide for her according to their better insight, hence the 'rationalist' element of the argument. Meidinger, like Paulus, sees an apparent collision of two sovereigns – the English king and the Pope – as a major obstacle standing in the way of true 'freedom' for Irish Catholics. However, while Paulus claims that once the Irish have freed themselves from the Roman Catholic Church, the process of an organic integration of Catholic Ireland into the English state can take place through the granting of Catholic Emancipation,¹⁵ Meidinger is categorically against emancipation. He believes that any grievances, such as the tithe, will soon be abolished by the English government anyway (HM 212). Meidinger claims that the Catholic Church and priests make the Irish Catholic lower classes believe that their poverty stems from the denied emancipation, while for Meidinger overpopulation, indolence, ignorance, early marriage and over-crowded living conditions are really at the root of Irish ills. The reference to overpopulation suggests a lack of, or an inability to exercise self-control, i.e. there is a link to Southern 'Roman' sensuality as opposed to Northern sobriety. According to Meidinger, Catholic emancipation is not about civil and religious rights of Catholics, it is purely a political question on whether Catholics should be allowed to sit in parliament. He fears that greater emancipation of Irish Catholics will lead to them making bolder demands on the government. Ultimately, Meidinger claims that Irish Catholics, as British subjects, are, in fact, quite privileged, indeed they even have the right to complain about their situation unlike many continental Europeans (HM2 212).

In explaining Ireland, Meidinger's commentary displays the obvious attempt to exploit the Irish situation for a larger political-ideological agenda, i.e. national self-determination and the perceived threat posed by German Catholics' allegiance to Rome. While he acknowledges

¹⁵ Cf. Karl Holl: Die irische Frage, p. 81.

some Irish specificity, in his discourse he reduces her to a pawn, a convenient piece of (fabricated) evidence in an ideological campaign being played out in the German lands.

Pückler is neither a systematic political commentator nor is he an explicitly political author like Meidinger. Pückler nonetheless seeks to explain social and economic conditions he encounters in Ireland. In general, he is astonished as to how Ireland and England can be so different despite being ruled by the same government (HvPM 270f.). As already discussed, Pückler sees the exploitation of tenants by absentee landlords as contributing to the impoverishment of the lower classes. The other major factor is the treatment of Catholics: he describes the “himmelschreiende Unterdrückung” of Catholics by the state (HvPM 228). While the majority of the Penal Laws may have been repealed, he describes the tithe as “ein Hauptgrund der bodenlosen Armut des Volkes” (HvPM 228f.). According to law, each person, regardless of religious denomination, who occupied agricultural holdings over one acre was obliged to pay a tithe (roughly ten percent of the value of certain agricultural products) to the Anglican Church for the upkeep of the clergy and maintenance of church buildings. Pückler finds such a tax outrageous in Ireland given that the majority of the population are Catholic. Furthermore, Irish Catholics must pay for the upkeep of their own clergy, who receive no support from the state whatsoever, as well as for the upkeep of the Anglican clergy. Through their clerical positions, Anglican clergymen are able to amass large sums of money without even fulfilling their spiritual duties, money which is partially accrued by tithe payments. Pückler pillories clerical absenteeism: many Anglican clergy pay vicars to do their work for them, while the priests live “ein so ungeistliches Leben als möglich” in London and Paris (HvPM 229). He asks if it is not strange that Protestants who broke away from Catholicism exactly because of greed now persist in the same errors. Pückler claims that there is no sense of charity or pity from the Anglican Church regarding non-payment of the tithe. Whoever is unable to pay is confiscated of all his belongings, his livestock is sold off and the family are evicted. To this Pückler comments: “Quelle excellente chose qu’une religion d’état!” (HvPM 240). His tone is especially sarcastic here. He also finds it particularly un-modern to even have a state religion and critiques the traditions that have developed around religion as the holder of power in society.

Economic exploitation of the Catholic majority is accompanied by humiliation and degradation of the lower classes by the “unbezwingliche Bigotterie” and “stupid Intoleranz des englischen Priestertums” (HvPM 270, 78). Catholic clergy, on the other hand, are enlightened, educated and tolerant. Pückler says of one Catholic Dean: “Seine ebenso freie als aufgeklärte Sprache setzte mich in Verwunderung, weil wir immer zu denken pflegen, ein Katholik müsse auch ein Abergläubiger sein” (HvPM 231). Here Pückler refers to certain

stereotypes ascribed to Catholicism. He counteracts these, claiming that Irish Catholic priests hold tolerant, philosophical and insightful views regarding Irish problems. Although educated by the Moravian Brethren and coming from a Protestant background, Pückler clearly sympathises with the Catholic Church in Ireland. His sympathy seems to be linked to his general defence of the oppressed in society, be it the religiously or politically oppressed, for example he also supported the rights of Jews.¹⁶ Furthermore, he favours the Catholic Church as a *church*, i.e. its form of worship. Pückler claims that the English Protestant service lacks dignity and sincerity (HvPM 66f.), while the Catholic mass conveys “immer etwas *Ganzes*” and has “eine Art antiker Größe, welche imponiert und befriedigt” (HvPM 286, 284). He constructs Catholicism as an expression of the exotic: wholeness and magnitude create an intoxication of senses, they appeal to the whole human being in a sensual way. For example, the music sung during the Catholic mass by trained singers is described as excellent in contrast to the “ohrenzerreißende[s] Geschrei” of an unmusical Lutheran parish in Germany (HvPM 285). Pückler criticises the views of some Protestants in his own country who claims that music in the Catholic Church is “eine Bestechung der Sinne” (HvPM 286). It is exactly this sensuality which appeals to Pückler. In the Catholic Church he sees “etwas *Ganzes*, durch Alter und Konsequenz Ehrwürdiges”, but in the English Protestant church “nur unzusammenhängendes Stückwerk” (HvPM 286). Here we see a direct link between Pückler’s view of the Catholic Church in Ireland and his own aesthetics regarding wholeness, perfection and completeness. It seems to be within this context that we can understand Pückler’s comment on the ludicrously of a state religion. He states that there might come a time when religion and poetry will be viewed as sisters and one would find it just as comical to have a state religion as a state poetry (HvPM 319). For Pückler, it seems, poetry is a matter of taste and aesthetics, and religious practice in the form of worship, too, is a matter of aesthetics.

Pückler whole-heartedly supports Catholic emancipation because of his belief in religious freedom and equality for all. He holds up the United States as exemplary because there, each citizen is granted religious freedom without any limitations to his rights as a citizen. He is impressed by Daniel O’Connell as a proponent of freedom and equality, not least because O’Connell employs peaceful methods in his agitation for reform (HvPM 171). The abhorrence of violence to achieve political goals corresponds to Pückler’s own views. Even though he sympathises with Irish Catholics, Pückler believes that ultimately the “*Gesetz allein*” rather than religion should rule in any state (HvPM 240). The manner in which Pückler makes sense of Ireland reflects his predispositions on aesthetics, religious freedom and tolerance. Furthermore, Pückler clearly views Ireland within a wider European context. He draws obvious

¹⁶ Cf. Therese Erler: Nachwort. In: Hermann von Pückler-Muskau: Reisebriefe aus Irland, ed. by Therese Erler, 2nd edn. Berlin: Rütting & Loening, 1979, pp. 354-375, here p. 368.

parallels between Britain and eighteenth-century France when he associates British rule with both despotism and decadence. He claims that while Britain has been a source of progress in terms of industry, as well as enlightenment and freedom, it has now reached the summit of its greatness. He compares the intolerant treatment of Irish Catholics by Britain to French treatment of the Huguenots in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which officially ended with the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in 1789 when French Protestants gained equal rights as citizens. Just as despotism and intolerance triggered the French Revolution, Pückler believes that a second great revolution is taking place, driven by the wish for liberty and freedom on the part of the religiously and/or politically oppressed. Irish Catholic agitation for emancipation is but one manifestation of this second great revolution taking place across Europe, a revolution against the remnants of the ancien régime and foreign rule in general. The Greek war of independence against the Ottoman Empire is “kein gewöhnlicher Türkenkrieg mehr”, it is a sign of the beginning of a new era (HvPM 211). Whereas other authors label the Catholic ‘democracy’ despotic and the Celtic race decadent, for Pückler Irish Catholics and Greek freedom fighters, i.e. the oppressed of Europe, are the ones who fight tyranny and oppression, and these are the people who will form the basis of a new order in Europe.

Immediately following Catholic emancipation, some German visitors to Ireland felt that Irish Catholics’ position in society had not improved. The Anglican Church still held its position of power as the state church, therefore Irish Catholics were still obliged to pay the tithe. Furthermore, the franchise to vote was increased rather than decreased. According to the author of *Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes von Irland* (1835), “Die Insel befindet sich im Vergleich mit dem übrigen Europa in einer so anomalischen Lage, daß allgemeine Theorien hier nicht ausreichen” (DGZI x). It is this anomalous situation he seeks to explain.

The anonymous authors of *Skizzen aus Irland* (1838, Sal) and *Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes von Irland* visited Ireland in 1832 and 1834 respectively. There has been some discussion on the identity of the two authors and it is still not known for sure who they were. Andreas Oehlke makes a case for Karl Anton Postl as the author of *Skizzen aus Irland*. Postl was an Austro-Moravian writer who was also known under the pen names Charles Sealsfield and Charles Siddon when he published adventure books on the American frontier based on his own experiences during his time spent in America (1823-1831). He returned to Europe in 1831 and worked for two years as a political correspondent from London and Paris. This fits with the year that the author of *Skizzen aus Irland* visited Ireland (1832). According to Oehlke, Postl was Catholic and we know from the narrative that the author of *Skizzen* was also

Catholic (Sal 31).¹⁷ However, Charles Sealsfield's biographer Alexander Ritter claims that Sealsfield was not the author. He suggests that it is much more likely to have been Ernst Zander, the Ireland correspondent for the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*.¹⁸ Meanwhile, there appears to be no leads on the anonymous author of *Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes von Irland*. The only information the reader gains is that the author, a Catholic, claims to have spent a few years in Ireland (DGZI xiii); therefore, he believes to be in a position to present a 'correct' and 'unbiased' appraisal of the Irish situation given "die mancherlei irrigen Urtheile" about Ireland which he finds in Germany (DGZI xiv). His self-proclaimed position as a Catholic legitimist reveals a distinct position from which he judges and explains Ireland, whereas the position of other observers has to be deduced from their commentary. It appears contradictory that he should reveal his colours so openly, yet simultaneously claim 'correctness' and objectivity. Doris Dohmen questions whether the religious denomination of the author is a device used to lend his narrative credence.¹⁹ It is also possible that he was deliberately biased in order to provide a counterweight to more positive opinions of O'Connell and the Irish Catholic movement. Indeed, he states that in Germany commentators far too readily condemn the English government on the grounds of the Penal Laws and condone O'Connell's demands for repeal of the Union without a true understanding of the situation (DGZI x). Karl Holl, however, points out that there were conservative German Catholics who decried O'Connell as a demagogue and condemned any form of revolution against the existing order; therefore the views of this author would not have been exceptional.²⁰ Certain is that German Catholic visitors to Ireland were in a minority during the period: the author of *Skizzen* and the author of *Darstellung* are two of only four German Catholic visitors, compared to the overwhelming Protestant majority (approximately fifteen writers). But sharing the same religious denomination with those of the visited land did not always equate with sympathy for the observed and their campaigns.

In *Skizzen*, the Anglican Church in Ireland comes under scrutiny for the source of its wealth, visible in magnificent, newly-built churches. The writer asserts that these churches are built not to fulfil the spiritual need of parishioners but to cement Protestant supremacy in Ireland following Catholic emancipation. Some churches are so great that one would assume a very large Protestant parish and would hardly expect to find even one Catholic in the same community. Yet, on any given Sunday these magnificent buildings are visited by only a handful

¹⁷ Andreas Oehlke: *Fahrten zur Smaragdinsel. Irland in deutschen Reisebeschreibungen des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Göttingen: Peperkorn, 1993, p. 343f.

¹⁸ Cf. Eoin Bourke: *Poor Green Erin. German Travel Writers' Narratives on Ireland from before the 1798 Rising to after the Great Famine*, ed. and transl. by Eoin Bourke. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 2011, p. 153.

¹⁹ Cf. Doris Dohmen: *Das deutsche Irlandbild. Imagologische Untersuchungen zur Darstellung Irlands und der Iren in der Deutschsprachigen Literatur*. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1994, p. 63.

²⁰ Cf. Karl Holl: *Die irische Frage*, p. 52ff.

of parishioners. These churches, as well as the salaries of the clergy which the author believes are in no way proportionate to the duties carried out, are paid for from the lawfully imposed taxes placed on Catholics. The tithe is viewed as the main contributing factor to the dire economic circumstances of the lower Catholic classes. The observer argues that the Anglican clergy, because of how it economically as well as religiously oppresses Irish Catholics, is more hated than the landlords in Ireland. The clergy is seen as the “Repräsentanten alles Unrechts, was in religiöser Hinsicht seit drei Jahrhunderten an der katholischen Gemeinde geübt worden ist” (Sal 45). What seems to distinguish and justify the landlords is the idea of a statute of limitations. While the author reports on the grievances of the Catholic lower classes about having to pay rent for land they claim is rightfully theirs, he does not outrightly condemn landlords because he believes that they can equally lay claim to the land since it has been in their possession for so long, even if the manner in which they acquired it was unlawful (Sal 45). Thus, the author dismisses any claims Irish Catholics may lay to the land by dint of a legal argument. He presents Irish landlords as a necessary source of authority for those who cannot govern themselves, i.e. he justifies feudalism. In justifying landlordism yet condemning the policies of the state church, the observer skirts the fact that Anglo-Irish landlords *were* Protestant and that the Anglican clergy often stemmed from the aristocracy. Landlords and clergy were two arms of the same political system.

It becomes obvious, however, that it is not the political system which the observer condemns. In explaining Ireland, he isolates one aspect of the system, the Anglican clergy, and makes them responsible for the economic and religious oppression of Catholics. He simultaneously counterbalances his criticism of the Protestant clergy with allegations against the Catholic movement: he asserts that the lower classes did not really understand what emancipation would mean. While on a political level it meant equality with Protestants, he states that for the lower classes, Catholic emancipation was all but a code word for rebellion, for the insurrection of the Catholic majority. The parallels between the Catholic lower classes and the despotism of the masses during the Jacobite period of the French Revolution are clear, especially given the description of political and sectarian violence on voting day mercilessly carried out by Catholics (Sal 54-59). The goals of Irish Catholics (restitution of property confiscated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well as an end to the tithe (Sal 45)) were never the goals of the leaders of emancipation, according to the author. Yet, the emancipation leaders were clever enough not to inhibit the excitement among the masses. The author implies that the leaders of the emancipation movement used the support of the masses to attain their own political goals, because emancipation has had hardly any effect on the lives of the lower classes: they still cannot vote and they still must pay the tithe (Sal 70). The commentator denies sympathy for the Catholic movement in Ireland based on his belief

that its leaders are insincere while its followers are no better than the *sans-culottes* of the French Revolution. It is clear that the observer rejects dragging Catholicism into the political arena.

As a self-proclaimed legitimist, the author of *Darstellung* is a supporter of legitimate authority: secular authority is God-given and should therefore be respected regardless of who possesses it. In an Irish context, this means that Catholicism has to come to arrangements with the established secular government. Therefore, he condemns the new revolutionary tendencies, especially “dort, wo sie sich in Lichtgewande zu kleiden streben und unter den Masken der Gerechtigkeit, der Menschenliebe oder billiger Reform sich gern durch allerlei gleißnerische Namen und schönklingende Titel bei den Völkern einschwärzen möchten [...]” (DGZI xi). The writer implies that the Irish Catholic movement is not genuine and substantial, rather it is propagandist and concerned only with its public image. Although the observer believes that Irish Catholics suffer from “wirklichen Ungerechtigkeiten und Bedrückungen”, he cannot condone the amalgamation of Catholic causes with revolution. He especially condemns the radical and revolutionary actions of O’Connell (DGZI xiif.).

According to the author, the Irish conflict began as a political conflict between the natives and the planters which was intensified by the Reformation, making it into a religious conflict as well. He claims that if the Reformation had not intervened, then the Irish, like the Scottish, would have grown used to English rule. The observer describes how the English justified their treatment of the native Irish Catholics because they believed themselves to be superior to the wild savage Irish. They took away the latter’s civil and religious rights and claimed that Catholicism was a mixture of superstition and idolatry, the eradication of which was their duty towards God and mankind (DGZI 16). But with the repeal of many Penal Laws in the 1790s, the author believes that the English government is slowly, albeit reluctantly, restoring Catholics to their civil rights and will also eventually allow Irish Catholics a position in society equal to that of their Protestant counterparts. Therefore, he speaks with abhorrence about the revolutionary spirit which emerged in the late eighteenth century with the United Irishmen influenced by American and French revolutionary ideas. In O’Connell he sees a continuation of this revolutionary spirit. The author does not discriminate between the Protestant professional United Irishmen and Catholic Emancipation, rather, he is against any form of political movement which opposes existing order. Regarding the 1798 Rebellion, he claims that Irish Catholics were driven by their innate tendency towards unrest and feuding. He portrays them as wild, impulsive, spur-of-the moment savages (DGZI 25). Yet, the author clearly casts *all* members of the United Irishmen in this manner. Only in a footnote does he mention that Wolf Tone, a Protestant professional, was the leader of the rebellion. Indeed, the

writer gives a skewed version of events: he clearly casts the United Irishmen as an organisation set up by Catholics, which *some* Protestants subsequently joined. According to the author, the rebellion was a Catholic rebellion against the Protestants. He eschews the fact that the rebellion consisted of a coalition of liberal members of the Protestant Ascendancy, Catholics and Presbyterians, and that it was a rebellion against British rule. As ‘proof’, the author claims that Catholics of Wexford set out to murder all the Protestants of the county in the most brutal manner (DGZI 27). While claiming to be a legitimist, this seems here to be but a cover under which the author can cast aspersions against Irish Catholics. He claims to lose sympathy for the Irish Catholic movement on account of the 1798 Rebellion and utilises this as proof of the brutality which the movement is capable of.

The author describes O’Connell as “der Großpriester der Propaganda” who is opposed to all measures which might pacify the country as well as proposals to improve the welfare of the lower classes, such as the Poor Law. Following emancipation, the author claims that O’Connell did not want to give up the power and prestige emancipation had brought him. Now he has become a kind of cunning dictator: he has won over Irish Catholics by his clever tactics and, because of his intimate knowledge of the legal system, he pushes for reform as far as the law allows him. Furthermore, he ruthlessly quells opposition within his own party (DGZI 39f.). This links to charges of the Catholic ‘democracy’ as despotic made by other commentators. It also reveals how the author identifies with the perspective of the authorities in that they are all but helpless in the face of O’Connell’s agitation as long as it stays within the bounds of the law. Most alarming for the observer is how O’Connell “advocirte [...] in Irland Trennung der Union mit Großbritannien, bewunderte die Revolution der Franzosen und ihrer belgischen Nachbarn, liebkos’te die polnischen Insurgenten [...], und denuncierte alle rechtmäßigen Monarchen als Despoten, Tyrannen und Scheusale des Menschengeschlechts” (DGZI 42). “Rechtmäßig”, “die rechtliche Natur”, “die Rechtlichkeit” – these are the cornerstones of the observer’s argument, which, however, draw attention to an obvious contradiction: despite the fundamentally lawful nature of O’Connell’s campaign, he condemns him outright as a demagogue because he sees in him a leader of a revolution who does not really care about the welfare of the masses. Indeed, according to the writer, the tribute, paid by Irish Catholics to O’Connell towards his upkeep, is exacted from all Catholics, even the very poor. If such people do not or cannot pay, they are decried as dishonourable individuals. In the author’s eyes, O’Connell is bent on maintaining his power as well as the money that comes with it (DGZI 41). Furthermore, he makes O’Connell personally responsible for the excesses and crimes carried out by some members of the Catholic majority in the name of repeal and reform. He describes the bald-faced resistance to the law, the butchering of entire divisions of the Protestant yeomanry, questioning if the purpose of such acts of violence is “Irland von England zu

trennen, die ohnehin schon ganz zerrissene Insel gänzlich zum Spielwerk der Demagogen und ihrer revolutionären Plane zu machen" (DGZI 48). The allegations of selfishness and demagoguery are clear echoes of the fear of the French Revolution and the charismatic Jacobites, i.e. the tyranny of democrats under inspired leaders. In explaining Irish conditions, it appears that the observer seeks to discredit the Catholic movement in Ireland, perhaps based on his belief that it might give German Catholics wrong ideas, thus tainting their ambitions and reputation. Furthermore, his comments may be based on the fear of anyone with inexplicable power over the masses, something which Max Weber would later call charismatic authority: "the possessor of charisma is a leader who is 'extraordinary'".²¹ The comments may also have been based on the fear of 'the masses' in general: the masses were an unknown entity in Germany at this time since the industrial revolution and the subsequent population growth came later in the nineteenth century than it did elsewhere in Europe.

The author also voices his concerns over his belief that O'Connell is ruining the Catholic Church in Ireland because of the means by which he is trying to make the church the dominant one, means he describes as anti-Catholic. For the observer, O'Connell's demand that no religion should be favoured by the state, rather that each congregation should provide for its own clergy, is anti-Catholic because the Catholic Church has never supported such 'republican egalitarianism'. According to the writer, O'Connell should be basing his arguments on the 'inner truth' of the Catholic religion, rather than on the 'outer shortcomings' of the Anglican Church. He should be employing measures which lie within the Catholic Church and its followers: to be pious Christians, loyal subjects, peaceful citizens, upright neighbours and true witnesses, just as the Catholic faith dictates (DGZI 45). The observer advocates a kind of Catholic purism here – religion should remain concerned with itself only, i.e. he strongly advocates the de-politicisation of Catholicism. Political Catholicism was emerging across Europe in the early 1830s; Belgian Catholics and liberals had successfully fought against the Protestant Dutch administration and secured independence in 1830. In this light, de-politicisation of Catholicism might form an aspect of an internal (European) reform movement which the author advocates for Central Europe. In the Irish context, the observer believes that Ireland stands to benefit greatly from its union with Great Britain once agitation is quelled, especially in economic (trade markets) and cultural (British culture as superior) terms (DGZI 49). O'Connell's main grievances – absenteeism and payment of the tithe – can only be alleviated through incisive legislation rather than a complete change in the form of government. At the same time, the commentator is not blind to the actions of Irish Protestants and Orangemen, or the shortcomings of governance. Yet, his position as a 'legitimist' remains

²¹ Christopher Adair-Toteff: Max Weber's Charisma. In: Journal of Classical Sociology, 5. 2 (2005), pp. 189-204, here p. 191.

inconsistent. It seems likely that he deliberately misconstrues the origins of the United Irishmen solely in the Catholic Defenders, rather than the Protestant Volunteers to which the Defenders allied themselves in 1798, to show the 'dangers' of a politicised Catholic movement. His commentary on legitimate, lawful monarchs shows contradictions in his condemnation of O'Connell despite the legal nature of his agitation. Especially biased, propagandist even, is how he makes O'Connell personally responsible for violent excesses: O'Connell was known for his peaceful, passive agitation having experienced first-hand the horrors of violent revolution while studying in France in the early 1790s. What is evident is that the agenda which informs his attempt at 'explaining' Ireland, of discrediting the Irish Catholic movement as violent and revolutionary, its leader as a selfish, cunning dictator, is to discourage the amalgamation of Catholicism with politics in Germany as well as in a wider, European context.

Friedrich von Raumer (*England im Jahre 1835*, 2 vols, 1836, FvR1/FvR2) brings his legal expertise to bear on his analysis of the conditions that condemn the Irish to lead the lives they lead. Apart from absenteeism, he views state oppression of Catholics, especially through the tithe system, as contributing to the dire impoverishment of the lower classes. Raumer considers the tithe system from a legal point of view to highlight its injustice. For example, he says that although the tithe may be sanctioned by law, the manner in which it came into the hands of the Anglican Church was unlawful. The majority of the population did not convert to Protestantism, thereby taking possession of the churches and its revenue, rather Protestants conquered the country and their clergy seized the tithe. For this reason, the tithe has a different effect than elsewhere where the majority of the population converted to Protestantism. Raumer carefully follows parliamentary debates in Westminster, furnishing the reader with figures and statistics regarding exactly how much the tithe is worth to the Anglican Church, the completely disproportionate amount of Anglican churches to parishioners, the high salaries of the Anglican clergy as well as the problems relating to the co-education of Catholic and Protestant children (FvR1 33-44). The arguments Raumer makes here are not new to the reader; what is new is how he recommends the Prussian administration as an example of how religious tolerance can be achieved in a state ruled by Protestants with a large Catholic population. He states that in Prussia, the education of both Catholics and Protestants is catered for in a tolerant manner and that there is "Friede und Einigkeit unter allen Religionsverwandeten, und gleiche Liebe zu König, Regierung und Vaterland" (FvR2 302). Furthermore, no sword has ever been drawn against a Catholic, rather they were won over "durch Gerechtigkeit, Liebe, Vertrauen, und eine völlig gleiche Behandlung mit den Protestanten" (FvR1 19). Holding up the Prussian administration and Friedrich Wilhelm III as an example to the British government is problematic. The treatment of Catholics living in Prussian lands, especially in the Rhine provinces, was evidently not characterised by equality and accord

as tensions between Catholics and the state increased throughout the 1830s, coming to a head in the *Kölner Kirchenstreit*. The Prussian state continually and consistently attempted to suppress the influence of the Catholic Church. The situation there was in some ways comparable to the treatment of Irish Catholics. Behind Raumer's comments seems to be his wish to flatter the Prussian king, indeed he does so on many other occasions as well (cf. FvR2 406f., 424f.). His explanations and solutions for Irish problems also betray his utter distaste for revolutionary behaviour. He claims that if England were to treat Irish Catholics the way Prussia treats German Catholics, O'Connell's allegedly unquenchable revolutionary fire would be snuffed out in an instant (FvR1 31). In O'Connell, Raumer sees a

Demagog in einer Art und Gestalt, wie ihn die Geschichte noch nicht sah. Der mächtigsten Regierung der Welt gegenüber wird ein einzelner Mensch der Rathgeber, Vertraute, Beherrscher eines Volks; die Armen, Gedrückten geben freiwillig ihrem Advokaten einen Sold, größer als ihn der König von England seinen Ministern bieten kann. (FvR1 31)

Raumer echoes the concerns of previous commentators regarding the power that a single, charismatic leader yields over the masses. He is also obviously sceptical of the money O'Connell receives as payment from the people and questions his sincerity, given O'Connell's opposition to the Poor Law. He believes that agitators like O'Connell are the logical consequence of unjust actions of governments, and therefore it is the same government's responsibility to appease them. He proposes a list of constitutional reforms which can only be realised within the Union, including the equal provision for churches and schools of both denominations, the introduction of a Poor Law, as well as the abolition of the system of short-term tenancies and the transformation of evictable tenants into landowners. In explaining Ireland, Raumer makes Ireland into a kind of test case on how not to govern a country. He makes sense of conditions to reflect his own dispositions on the virtues of enlightened despotism; he equally expresses great disappointment in the British constitution for how it has failed Ireland.

Karl von Hailbronner (*Cartons aus der Reisemappe eines deutschen Touristen, 1837, KvH*), like many before him, struggles to understand the socio-economic differences between Ireland and Britain. Irish soil is as good as, if not better than English soil, Ireland exports enough grain to feed millions on a yearly basis, and yet the majority of the people live in conditions which Hailbronner thought impossible to exist "unter einer Administration, wie die an philanthropischen Phrasen so reiche englische" (KvH 288). Hailbronner struggles to reconcile his admiration for Britain with his experiences in Ireland. He claims that the misgovernance of the country is born out of British antagonism towards Papism, fear of the influence of the Pope, as well as the Catholic Church's supposed wish to dominate. According to Hailbronner, not even the most enlightened Englishman can free himself of these prejudices

because he is taught to mistrust the Catholic Church from birth. One must keep this in mind in order to understand “wie eine so erleuchtete, denkende Nation durch eine für unsere Tage zur Chimäre gewordene Glaubensmacht zu solch blindem Hasse, zu solch unnatürlicher Mißhandlung ihrer unterdrückten Mitbürger sich bewegen lassen kann” (KvH 283). Thus, rather than condemning the British administration outright, Hailbronner attempts to create understanding among his readers as to why the British treat the Irish as they do. He is profusely positive about O’Connell and has no doubt that he will achieve his aims for Ireland, yet he never expressly states that O’Connell’s aim is repeal of the Union. Indeed, the word repeal never appears in his narrative. Hailbronner presents O’Connell’s aims as something quite different, in fact:

O’Connell hat so weit seinen Zweck erreicht, als es ihm gelungen, die Aufmerksamkeit der englischen Nation auf das traurige Schicksal seiner Landsleute zu lenken, und die Ueberzeugung in ihr festzustellen, daß diese schöne Insel die Bestimmung zu erfüllen hat, der Kornspeicher des stolzen Englands zu werden, wie einst Sicilien die Fruchtkammer des welterobernden Roms war, während sie bis jetzt das ärmste Land Europa’s und ein Brandmal und Krebschaden für die Verwaltung Britanniens gewesen ist. (KvH 292)

Sicily was economically very important to the ancient Romans; its land was extremely fertile and produced food for the empire. Furthermore, Sicily was the first province to be acquired by the Roman Republic after the Romans had conquered peninsular Italy.²² Hailbronner appears to be engaging in mind games when he presents O’Connell’s aims as maintaining, indeed strengthening Ireland’s colonial status, i.e. the exact opposite of what his aims actually were. He seems to suggest that up until now, Ireland has been a hindrance to Britain, but it has the potential to assume a proud and vital role in the empire. Indeed, he describes Ireland as a fertile land full of natural splendour. The misery and poverty of the inhabitants make it the stigma Hailbronner describes it. For Hailbronner, O’Connell has succeeded in making the British government aware of Ireland’s potential. Johann Georg Kohl utilises the exact same analogy, however to show how Ireland’s history is one of English oppression; Ireland is to England as Sicily once was to the Romans – a source of produce to be exploited (JGKR1 348). Hailbronner, on the other hand, seems to be in awe and reverence of Britain’s power and might. Yet, on other occasions he casts the British as tyrants who dehumanise the Irish by condemning them to live in hovels, no better than the animals of the field (KvH 281, 298). The ideal of justice based on morality seems to inform the manner in which Hailbronner explains Ireland. He states that O’Connell hopes to bring about by dint of fear what is denied him in justice, i.e. equal rights for the Irish. As long as O’Connell continues on the path of peaceful legal agitation, he will achieve “was Recht und Billigkeit längst zuerkannt haben” (KvH 301), i.e. legality and morality are one and the same for Hailbronner. This view might help us

²² Cf. William E. Dunstan: Ancient Rome. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011, p. 64.

understand the contradictions which permeate Hailbronner's attempts at making sense of Irish conditions. Since Ireland is already legally part of a union with Britain, it is not only morally but also legally appropriate that the Irish people should be treated as equals of their English counterparts. If the Irish gain equal rights, thereby removing the source of their misery and creating a content populace, Ireland will be all the more valuable to Britain because it will be in a position to fully realise its role as a granary store. While Hailbronner fully acknowledges and is outraged by the dire conditions the lower classes live in, he courts understanding for Britain by claiming that they simply did not know just how bad conditions were in Ireland until O'Connell brought it to their attention. Indeed, Halbronner even credits Friedrich von Raumer with revealing Ireland's deep wounds to a more general, European audience, while England's "Tories und Radicale wetteifern, sein Verdienst anzuerkennen" (KvH 297). While palpably shocked at Irish conditions, Hailbronner explains Ireland to suit his predilection for Britain, the world-conquering Roman empire of his day.

9.3 Contesting Ireland

Conflicting views were presented by authors not only regarding reasons for the destitute state of the Irish population, but, as has become evident, also on issues like the Irish Catholic movement, as well as the Union with Britain and its proposed repeal. From the mid-1830s onwards, discussion of the Union and repeal became hotly contested topics in how German travel writers attempted to make sense of Irish conditions – 'explaining' Ireland becomes a veritable fight over the subject matter.

Johann Georg Kohl (*Reisen in Irland*, 2 vols, 1843, JGKR1/JGKR2, *Land und Leute*, 1844, JGKL) primarily looks to history as well as a perceived national character to make sense of Irish conditions. For Kohl, the history of Ireland is the history of the physical, intellectual and moral superiority of the Anglo-Germanic race over its inferior Celtic neighbour. British rule over the Irish is but one chapter in the history of Germanic superiority Kohl finds repeated across Europe. The formerly Celtic lands of Spain, France, England, even Germany itself were conquered by Germanic tribes, while to the East Germanic tribes founded states on Slavic territory including the Prussian state (JGKL 212f.). Finland, conquered by the Germanic Swedes, and Ireland, conquered by the Germanic British are "deutsche Colonial-Staatsgebäude" (JGKR1 7). According to Kohl, as Celts, the Irish never founded a solid polity: "Die Celten wohnten überall [...] in viele kleine Stämme und Staaten gespalten, und die Geschichte hat nie ein dauerndes und großes Reich aus ihrem Schooße hervorgehen sehen. Es scheint ihnen der kräftige Wuchs und Trieb der deutsche Eiche völlig gefehlt zu haben" (JGKL

221). The inability to maintain stable statehood is a common trope in the discourse; for Kohl it justifies British rule over Ireland and casts the Irish as the passive beneficiaries of (Anglo-) Germanic culture in terms of government and administration.

While Kohl believes that the English may have been excessively brutish and violent in their conquests of Ireland from time to time, this was but the natural result of the inevitable collision of two neighbours with completely opposite characteristics. Had the English found “ordentliche, reinliche Wirthschaften und industriöse, fleißige Leute” in Ireland, they would not have been forced to treat their Celtic neighbours as an uncivilised people and lay strict laws upon them just to keep them in check (JGKL 200). Therefore, the Irish must share an equal amount of the responsibility for conditions on their island because of their *Volkscharakter*. The main manner in which the Irish character contributes to impoverished conditions is in the apparent lack of industriousness, energy and drive. Kohl states that firstly the Irish need to take responsibility for creating the conditions in which they live. Improvement must come from within the Irish themselves: “Hilf dir selber! [...] Bessert euch [...] seid fleißig und arbeitsam” (JGKL 209). Indeed, Kohl already believes to see the first home-grown signs of reform and improvement in the temperance movement, which promotes “einen verständigen, geregelten, gewichtvollen Oppositionsgeist” as opposed to an “unordentlichen Oppositionsgeist” (JGKR1 183). It contributes to the moral and cultural improvement of the people, promotes order and moral strength, domestic well-being as well as an appreciation for amusements and leisure activities other than drinking (JGKR1 193, 209). Such a “Sittenrevolution” in only five years (the temperance movement was founded in 1838) is exactly the kind of revolution Kohl likes to see (JGKR1 200). It seems that for all his criticism of the Celtic Irish, the garish manner in which they celebrate temperance and speak of Father Mathew as a miracle man, Kohl is greatly impressed by Father Mathew’s work:

wo findet sich ein ähnliches Beispiel, wie das Irlands, daß ein Volk ganz ohne alle Vorbereitung, ganz ohne alle weiteren Vorgänge sich auf ein Mal, auf den Ruf eines Mannes fast einstimmig erhebt, sich, so zu sagen, so recht mitten in der Blüthe seiner Laster, – denn die Irländer waren von Haus aus die größten und eingewöhntesten Trunkenbolde von der Welt – ermannt und, gegen sich selbst, gegen seine eigenen Leidenschaften, – nicht etwa gegen die privilegierten Stände oder mächtigen Priester, – kämpfend, alte süße Gewohnheiten mit der Wurzel ausreißt und sich einer stricten und entbehreungsreichen Enthaltbarkeit hingiebt?! (JGKR1 201)

In this light, it would appear that many of the perceived shortcomings in the Irish are unpleasant habits rather than innate character ‘defects’. This would appear to contradict Kohl’s racial construction of the Irish as innately lazy and given to excessive behaviour. He seems to reconcile this contradiction by claiming that the Irish people, as a result of the Enlightenment, have become more and more aware of their own dignity and rights as human beings; therefore they demand to be treated in a dignified and tolerant manner by others (JGKL 204). It is obvious that he is also referring to Enlightenment ideals, such as individual

initiative to improve one's own conditions rather than depending on outside help. The Irish, therefore, are looking inwards and finding the root of and the solution to their problems. In this sense, it would appear that the Irish are 'catching up' with other nationalities such as the Anglo-Germanic British who have already achieved advancement, or indeed were always already superior to the Celts in terms of culture and morals. The Irish are not changing the core of their national character, but merely improving it. History, after all, has already proven for Kohl that the Irish, no matter how many wars the British might wage against them, no matter how the British might suppress their language and religion, will never lose their *Volksggeist* (JGKL 202).

The Irish, therefore, place misguided hope in O'Connell and his repeal movement. For Kohl, the Irish people have already taken the first and most important step in improving conditions – self-improvement. The British government has also taken responsibility for its role in creating present day conditions in Ireland. While in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it may have been acceptable for the British to treat the Irish no better than slaves, in the present day, according to Kohl, tolerance is key: "in unseren Tagen [stehen] die Racen überall sich nicht mehr so schroff gegenüber. Überall haben die Nationen es gelernt, auch in solchen Völkern, die sie auf einer Stufe unter sich erblicken, den Menschen und seine Rechte zu achten" (JGKL 200). Such is the *Zeitgeist*. Indeed, Britain has implemented many laws to the advantage of the Irish. Catholics can vote and be elected to parliament, the Penal Laws have been all but abolished, trade restrictions have been done away with, and agricultural reforms have been introduced (JGKL 210). Kohl does not deny that Ireland still has a number of grievances, namely the existence of a state religion to which the majority of the population do not confess, as well as the concomitant tithe. Further grievances include the dominance of Protestants in offices of state, disproportionate representation of English to Irish MPs in Westminster as well as the crippling high property franchise to vote (JGKL 213). Yet, Kohl claims these complaints are only a fraction of what they would have been a century previously. Ireland, an impoverished nation, can only benefit from the Union with one of the wealthiest nations on earth. Kohl's argument, however, goes beyond specific economic benefits Ireland would enjoy: "England allein kann die Wunden heilen, die es Irland schlug. England allein kann Compensation für die Leiden bieten, die es Irland schuf". For this reason, he advocates the complete "Fusion und Einigung mit England" so that together, Ireland and Britain will form one great kingdom (JGKL 210). This fusion of the Celtic and Germanic is to be realised through equal rights for the Irish in legal, commercial and religious terms so that eventually Catholics and Protestants, Celts and Saxons have the same opportunities and will develop similar social profiles. Kohl takes the Union between Scotland and England as exemplary of how this fusion is to be achieved. Time and patience are the most important factors. Kohl claims it took at

least forty years before the Scottish began to enjoy the benefits of a union with England. Trade and industry cannot be established overnight, nor can civil and religious equality. Kohl asserts that it took a total of one hundred years to complete the fusion of the Scottish and the English nations; fifty years of discussions prior to the Union and fifty years after the Union to quell agitation for repeal and implement the benefits of the Union (JGKL 285f.). For Kohl, Ireland is now at the stage where the advantages of union are becoming apparent, especially in relation to religious equality: “Diese Bewegung wird weiter gehen, die Irländer, die englischen Dissenters, die katholische Bewegung in ganz Europa, der aufgeklärte, Toleranz und Gerechtigkeit fordernde Geist unserer Zeit werden ihre Schritte beschleunigen und ihr Flügel geben” (JGKL 291). In this sense, Kohl places Ireland in a wider European context of reform, reforms he views as justified. Behind Kohl’s attempts at explaining Ireland seems to be an agenda of seeking improvement and change within the existing order, rather than trying to overthrow it. It seems that he is not only excusing oppressive British rule over Ireland, but also German Prussian rule over parts of Poland as well as German Austrian rule over various Slavic territories in the Habsburg Empire. Fusion, cohesion and unity form key terms in his commentary. Ireland, it seems, serves as a case study in how to maintain a multi-ethnic state in a Europe of rising nationalisms. Kohl obviously fears any hint of revolutionary behaviour. Rather than see national uprisings across Europe, he advocates equality and the complete civic integration of ethnic minorities into the respective states to which they currently belong. In this light, Kohl’s racial configuration of the Irish and British appears to be based as much on fear as on supremacist thoughts: such racial constructions are an attempt to discursively maintain the status quo because dissention was the political reality.

According to Knut Jongbohn Clement (*Reisen in Irland*, 1845, KJC), it is all too easy to explain conditions in Ireland by condemning the Irish for bringing their misery upon themselves. It is small wonder to Clement that Protestants in Ireland remain loyal to the British crown, while the Catholic Irish have little reason or inclination to feel affection to their British autocratic rulers. Protestants in Ireland received their lands and positions from the British crown; the Catholic Irish were unjustly dispossessed of their livelihood by this alien power (KJC 151f.). As a consequence, Protestants have the means to educate themselves, whereas Irish Catholics have been made into a “Volk von Bettlern” who have neither the means nor the access to education (KJC 151). Clement appears to contradict his previous conceptualisations of the Irish when he claims that, what often appears to be a general lack of concern in the Irish character, is, in fact, the expression of despondency: anyone would lose pleasure in doing things when they see that their efforts lead nowhere other than to still their hunger, and oftentimes not even that. He even justifies the perceived contempt for the law when he states that the Irish were stripped of their own rights and had alien laws imposed upon them. He

claims that the natural and inevitable consequence of such actions is contempt or lawlessness, i.e. the Irish have a right to resistance: “Fremdes Recht, welches nicht unter einem Volk selbstständig und volksthümlich aufgewachsen ist, paßt für dieses Volk nicht” (KJC 152). He casts the Protestant aristocracy and the Anglican clergy as the servants of the alien power (“subsidia dominationis”) who apply these inappropriate laws in an even more inappropriate manner, thus leaving the people completely deprived of rights. The Irish lower classes are nothing more than slaves, exploited by and beholden to the landlord and their agents; similarly, the basis of the vast income of the Anglican clergy in Ireland is based on the exploitation of the Catholic Irish (KJC 463ff.). Clement reaches a crescendo in his critique of English governance when he directly compares their conquest of Ireland to other colonial conquests throughout history:

Als die englischen Grenzpfähle in Irland ausgerissen wurden [...] und die ganze irische Freiheit und Wildheit in englische Hände überging – das war in den folgenreichen Revolutionstagen, als Cromwells und Iretons Brandtrümmer das Land bedeckten, und der *Penal Code* [...] alle irischen Galgen füllte –, da triumphirte das freie England über ein dienstbar gewordenes Volk, wie Römer über ihre Schlachtopfer in ihren kaiserlichen Tagen, oder wie der Sieger aus Osten nach der Schlacht von W[aterloo], aber der grausame Triumph steht noch nach nun bald zwei Jahrhunderten – so gerecht und unerbitterlich ist das Gesetz der Vergeltung – an dem englischen Staatskörper als ein Schandfleck eingepägt, und das Kabinet von St. James hat so lange daran gewischt und gepuzet, allein die häßliche Stelle will gar nicht aus. (KJC 153)

Although Clement casts the Irish as unruly and wild, he evidently views the English as cruel and oppressive colonisers. It becomes apparent that, in Clement’s eyes, both parties have to shoulder, in different ways, their share of blame.

When Clement defends the Irish against English aggression, he is also simultaneously commenting on another political situation altogether, one much closer to his own heart: Danish treatment of the Friesian minority in the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein which had been under Danish rule since the fourteenth century. In this light, he equates England with Denmark. Rather than justifying Anglo-Saxon English rule in Ireland, he sees it in much the same light as Danish rule over the Friesians. Clement grew up on the North Frisian island of Amrum. The continual impoverishment which depleted Clement’s native island appears to have been the result of a “corrupt and incompetent royal Danish administration”.²³ The events of 1848 in Kiel were linked to the aims of the citizens to separate the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein from the Danish crown, join the *Deutscher Bund* and eventually a constitutional united Germany. Clement’s travel narrative, which appeared immediately before these events, can be understood against this background. Throughout his life he was a known agitator for the liberation of Schleswig-Holstein and the Friesian Islands from Danish rule. As a sympathiser with Prussia and the Pan-German movement, he was involved in the “People’s Assembly” at

²³ Sebastian Stumpf: Ireland as a Projection Screen for German Problems, p. 58.

Bredstedt, therefore falling out of favour with the Danish government who sponsored his study trip to Ireland. In his travel narrative on Ireland, Clement increasingly draws parallels between the fate of the Irish and the Friesians as minorities under a foreign administration: just as the Irish had alien laws imposed upon them, so too did the North Friesians. Indeed, according to Clement, the Friesians have experienced even worse than the Irish (KJC 152). When he speaks of Ireland's misery as a mark of shame on the English body politic, he simultaneously refers to Denmark when he states: "Und auch für andre Länder diesseits der See wird eine solche Zeit kommen, wann sie bitter fühlen werden, was sie an armen Nachbarn Uebels gethan" (KJC 152). He also draws parallels between the Irish and the Friesians in terms of language and education. England mutilated Irish tongues and robbed them of their language, "wie die dänische Macht die nordfrisische Zunge gehemmt und verstümmelt hat". He describes this as a crime which has crippled education and the development of intellectual life of both the Irish and the Frisians (KJC 318). Clement's attempt at explaining Ireland is cast in terms of the right of an oppressed people to resistance against their political oppressors and economic exploiters.

For this reason, Clement holds up O'Connell as an exemplary agitator for political freedom for his maltreated people; repeal of the Union is a just cause according to Clement. Although he also describes O'Connell as a personification of his people – a boastful Celtic orator – and the cause of repeal as a truly Papist matter, intimating his aversion towards Catholicism (KJC 241f.), he describes O'Connell as a powerful political patriot. Such patriots are the "Rüstzeuge der Vorsehung, damit die Welt nicht in Unrecht untergehe" (KJC 199). Patriotism contains truth which scorches tyranny with means more powerful than the sword, namely words. If there were an O'Connell figure in every European country, "so läge das alte Europe schon längst umgestülpt", i.e. the remnants of the ancien régime would already have been done away with. Clement continues:

Ein solcher Mann würde dieseits der See den einen Tag auftreten und den andern Tag verschwinden wie ein ausgeblasenes Licht. Außerhalb Englands gedeiht kein O'Connell, kein solcher Patriot, kein solcher Redner, dafür ist längst gesorgt worden. (KJC 199f.)

Clement's criticism of conditions in the German lands is palpable: unlike in Britain, there was strict press censorship as well as no freedom of speech across the German lands which meant that figures such as O'Connell could never even become established. Clement holds up O'Connell as exemplar of how political agitation can be realised through peaceful methods; his words resonate with those who live under autocratic rulers and/or are ruled by foreign governments in Europe. O'Connell's call for liberation will, according to Clement, be echoed sooner or later amongst Germanic peoples who live east of England, i.e. those in the Danish-

controlled duchies of Schleswig and Holstein (KJC 200). Clement places Ireland alongside other European peripheries when he states:

An den fernsten Enden Europas sind zu unsern Zeiten merkwürdige Begebenheiten vorgegangen, in Norwegen, Irland, Frankreich, Spanien, Griechenland, doch in den Mittelländern hat man Augen, welche nicht sehen wollen, und Ohren, welche nicht hören wollen. [...]. Obzwar die Staaten viel Maschinenartiges enthalten, so ist doch ein ganzer Welttheil keine Windmühle, welche man löschen kann, wenn sie sich in Brand gemahlen. Europa nach einem so langen Frieden steht vor einem Zeitpunkt großer Umwandlung. (KJC 200)

Clement sees Ireland's struggle as part of pan-European emancipatory struggles of oppressed peoples for liberation when he refers to the French Republic and the Greek war of independence from Turkey in 1820s. His reference to Spain could allude to the Carlist Wars, a series of civil wars fought between legitimist, absolutist Carlists, followers of the pretender to the throne Carlos V, and the somewhat more liberally orientated Cristinos, followers of the queen regent.²⁴ Clement's mention of Norway at first seems displaced: Norway was under Danish rule from 1380 until 1814, and subsequently under Swedish rule until 1905. Following Denmark's defeat at the Battle of Copenhagen, Denmark was forced to surrender Norway to Sweden under the terms of the Treaty of Kiel. Norway, however, used the opportunity to declare independence in 1814. Modelling its constitution along French and American lines, the newly established Norwegian parliament drafted a constitution which was very liberal for its time. Norway's independence was short-lived as in the same year, 1814, Sweden succeeded in gaining control over Norway. The two were joined in a personal union, yet Norway retained its liberal constitution.²⁵ Norway's liberation from the Danish crown, and at least partial autonomy within the personal union with Sweden, must be the main reason why Clement includes Norway in his list of those struggling for emancipation. Clement clearly looks beyond the specifics of the Irish situation – repeal of the Union between Britain and Ireland, political Catholicism – to the broader issues at stake, issues which translated very well into categories a domestic audience could identify with.

Yet, for all his sympathy, Clement is still censorious of the Irish and believes they, too, must shoulder blame for the circumstances in which they live. He is critical of how they handled their oppression; his reproach is also levelled at the Catholic Church. He claims that the Irish cannot simply undo the English conquest of Ireland from the twelfth century or abolish the English way of life which has taken root in Ireland since then. Furthermore, the Irish cannot ignore "was ihre Vorväter vor reichlich 300 Jahren und vor nun bald 200 Jahren unterlassen haben" (KJC 244). Clement is here likely referring to the rule of Henry VIII and Cromwell's conquest of Ireland respectively. When Henry VIII declared Protestantism to be the

²⁴ Cf. John Van der Kiste: *Divided Kingdom. The Spanish Monarchy from Isabel to Juan Carlos*. Stroud: The History Press, 2011, p. 5.

²⁵ Cf. Mary Hilson: *Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Pan-Scandinavianism and Nationalism*. In: Timothy Baycroft and Mark Hewitson (eds.): *What is a Nation? Europe 1789-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 192-219, here p. 192.

'one true faith' and made his supremacy a matter of oath, Irish Catholic bishops refused to take the oath. As a result, Ireland remained mainly Catholic while its ecclesiastical property was transferred to the Protestant clergy who had 'rightly' declared the Protestant Crown to be the head of the Anglican Church (KJC 244). Clement clearly implies here that had the Irish Catholic bishops chosen their allegiance to the king rather than to the Pope, the Irish would not have suffered religious oppression in the ensuing three centuries. He seems to suggest that even if Irish Catholic bishops did not want to convert on religious grounds, politically it would have been the shrewdest course of action to go along with the English monarch.

There is a paradox at the heart of Clement's explanation of Irish conditions: he speaks out against political oppression but appears to condone religious oppression, even though in an Irish context the two went hand in hand – religious oppression was a means of political subjugation, especially following Cromwell's campaigns of Ireland in the 1650s and the introduction of the Penal Laws. It is here that Clement appears to come up against the limits of explainability within his world view: he cannot fathom why Irish Catholics would not have wanted to convert to Protestantism, the 'one true faith', at the time of the English Reformation, and yet he can overcome his aversion to Catholicism in the present day because he can relate O'Connell's struggle to wider pan-European liberation movements. With regards to Cromwell's conquest of Ireland, Clement claims that the Irish themselves are partially to blame for the unjust and cruel treatment they suffered. Ireland, he claims, "hielt sich in seinem gewöhnlichen Dünkel für stärker, als es war, es begriff die Zeit und seine eigne Schwäche nicht" (KJC 244). It seems that when the Irish did retaliate, Clement still condemns them, even though elsewhere he implies that they did not fight hard enough for their cause (KJC 310). He provides a simplified version of events during the Irish Confederate Wars and the civil wars in England, making out that the Irish were rebelling against Cromwell and the English republic, even though trouble in Ireland had erupted long before Cromwell arrived in 1649. Cromwell's conquest of Ireland brought an end to the Irish Confederate Wars, and only then did the English republic come into existence. Clement glosses over these facts, instead blaming alleged elements of the Irish character for inducing Cromwell's wrath: "Oliver Cromwell landete, verheerte mit Feuer und Schwert die Insel, verfuhr nach Kriegs- und Eroberungsrecht und vertheilte den Boden der Widerspenstigen unter sich und seine Genossen und Freunde. Das war ein Unrecht, aber Irland hatte sein neues Unglück mit verschuldet. [...] Die keltische Art des Volks und die papistische Kirche haben Irlands Elend sowohl als Englands Grausamkeit vermehrt" (KJC 244f.). When Clement condemns the Irish for their role in creating the circumstances in which they live, it becomes apparent that more often than not Clement's aversion to Catholicism lies behind his commentary.

In the end, Clement is quite radical in his view on how to improve Irish conditions. The Irish and English, the Celt and the Germanic, the Catholic and the Protestant characters are, according to Clement, immutable, and therefore irreconcilable. Rather than a fusion of the peoples, Clement advocates complete separation of the Catholic Celtic Irish from the Protestant Germanic English:

So lange [...] der römische Glaube neben der englischen Landesverfassung – ein unnatürlicher Zustand – das irische Volk beherrscht [...] so lange wird Irland ein elendes Land bleiben. [...] Der irländische Pöbel, wovon es Millionen gibt, ist eine höchst unstäte, unwissende und unzuverlässige Menschenart. Wer hat so viel Pöbel in Irland gemacht? Das Papstthum nicht allein, sondern England hat stark mitgeholfen, und doch klagst du über Irlands Pöbelmassen, England. Wo die Armuth einreißt – und du hast sie in Irland, wenn auch nicht angefangen, so doch vermehrt und fortgesetzt –, da reißt auch Pöbel ein, und je schrecklicher jene wird, desto wilder dieser. Zähme ihn durch deine Kanonen und Bomben, du richtest sie meist gegen dein eignes Werk. [...] Die Regierungskünste, die Erziehungsflickerei, die schlechten Armengesetze [...], O'Connells Proceß, und was dergleichen mehr ist, es wird auf die Länge Alles nicht vermögen, Irlands Millionen zu stillen, und wenn du nicht etwa eine Höllenmaschine erfindest, welche ganz Irland auf einmal kalt und stumm macht, so sehe ich kein anderes Mittel zu Irlands Rettung, als seine Selbstbefreiung. (KJC 324)

According to Clement, English rule in Ireland is unnatural, the manner in which landlords acquired their lands is unnatural, and English laws in Ireland are unnatural (because they did not develop organically among the people). To see Clement's travel narrative as solely aiming to justify English politics in Ireland, as Doris Dohmen has done, is an oversimplification.²⁶ It is true that at the beginning of his work he praises English (as well as Danish) input into Ireland, however, as he becomes more acquainted with the country, his attempts at making sense of Irish conditions become more complex; explaining Ireland is no longer an either-or question regarding English and Irish responsibility. Moreover, Clement explains Ireland to suit his own agenda of promoting the liberation of Schleswig-Holstein and the Friesian islands from the Danish crown.

For Jakob Venedey (*Irland*, 2 vols, 1844, JV1/JV2) the key to understanding present circumstances in Ireland lies in understanding the past. Thus, the first volume of his *Irland* is an analysis of Irish history from pre-Christian times to the present day. What was more or less mentioned in passing in Venedey's construction of the Irish people becomes the very basis for how he explains Ireland: racial criteria, or as Karl Holl puts it, Venedey's peculiar "Wertschätzung des Germantums".²⁷ According to Venedey, Ireland's pre-Christian history is that of complete societal anarchy; the Irish never formed a structured state (JV1 11ff.). Ireland's first conquerors – the Germanic Vikings – failed to introduce Germanic institutions in Ireland and to Germanise the Irish. This was partially down to the Irish character, which, while it might be malleable, is also indestructable "so oft man sie [die irische Art] mit Gewalt auf eine

²⁶ Cf. Dohmen: *Das deutsche Irlandbild*, p. 77.

²⁷ Karl Holl: *Die irische Frage in der Ära O'Connells*, p. 101.

ihrer Natur widerstrebende Weise angreift" (JV1 22). The Irish character is not necessarily immutable in Venedey's eyes; St Patrick did, after all, convert the Irish to Christianity, but he did so through peaceful words rather than violence. The Germanic Vikings, on the other hand, were only interested in pillaging. Even though Ireland managed to free itself from these conquerors, it lay depleted and weak. Therefore, while the twelfth-century English colonisation of Ireland may have been unjust, it was the natural outcome between two neighbouring peoples whereby the stronger, more cultured and civilised people will conquer their weaker and inferior neighbours (JV1 27). According to Venedey, the outcome of the initial conquest should excuse and justify it, namely in Ireland's case English law, Germanic institutions and European culture should have been introduced. England's task in Ireland was to ensure the Germanisation of the christianised neighbouring island. The English, however, saw that their power over Ireland was based on the weakness of the ostensibly uncivilised, uncultured and barbaric Irish. Rather than trying to Germanise them and lift them up as other Germanic peoples regenerated the Spanish and the Italians through assimilation, the English decided to keep the Irish apart and in a state of barbarity in order to exploit them (JV1 28f.). For this reason, Ireland remained a colony, the Irish remained Celts, rather than becoming a part of Germanic England and therefore the greater Germanic world. Rather than acquiring "ein Brudervolk", Ireland became a hotbed for rebellion and anarchy (JV1 64). In Venedey's eyes, it was divine retribution that the Normans became more Irish than the Irish themselves (JV1, 40), i.e. the cultural assimilation took place in the exact opposite direction.

The Reformation, according to Venedey, was a decidedly Germanic affair, a result of a specifically Germanic view of the world and God (JV1 67). It was "der Sieg des Denkens über den Glauben" which required "eines denkenden Volkes [...], um aufgefaßt und durchgeführt zu werden". The Irish, because the English had not Germanised them and made them into such a people, were and remain "ein Gefühlsvolk" (JV1 68). What the Reformation did affect in Ireland was the beginning of an Irish national consciousness: "Die Reformation, im Gegensatz zu dem Katholicismus Irlands, entwickelte aber nach und nach in den Irländern den Begriff und das Bewußtsein, daß sie ein gesondertes Ganze bildeten, daß sie ein Volk seien". The native Irish now had a common interest and a common watchword: "Gott und unser armes Land". Venedey describes the Celtic conception of civic conditions whereby every chieftain had his own piece of land which was his 'Vaterland'. He claims that the native Irish never had a feeling that together, as Celts, they were different to their English conquerors. As soon as the fighting had stopped, they looked upon the 'English by blood' as their own. In Venedey's view, the Reformation first created the very notion of difference against which the Irish could define themselves and it was thanks to the Reformation that Catholicism became part of a specifically Irish national consciousness. In this sense, the Celtic Catholic Irish have the Germanic

Protestant world to thank for giving them an identity in the first place. Venedey applies decidedly modern nationalist and racist thinking here onto times with fundamentally different forms of social and political organisation: clans, vassalage and feudalism, i.e. vertical socio-political structures were the order of the day in these times, whereas Venedey applies modern, horizontal structures which centre on the *Volk*. Venedey's racist mode of thinking is evident in that, from the outset, he assumes the existence of two distinct groupings in Ireland. The history of these two groupings is that of a struggle between opponents. The question for Venedey, it seems, is whether the two can be united as inhabitants of the same space, whether a synthesis of Celtic Irish and Germanic English interests can be achieved.

A look at Elizabeth I's reign, Cromwell's conquest of Ireland and William of Orange's victory at the Battle of the Boyne is crucial to Venedey forming his opinion that such a synthesis is hardly possible in the present day: he sees the oppression of the Irish as systematic during these times by way of confiscation of land, execution of native Irish chiefs and plantation of English and Scottish settlers. The Irish were violently robbed of what was rightfully theirs, while the English claimed legality on their side (JV1 104). The Irish were now united by a further common interest: "Gott, Vaterland und Eigenthum" (JV1 118f.). The Penal Laws were also a systematic form not only of religious but also social oppression as well as political subjugation which aimed at the extermination of Catholicism in Ireland and the destruction, or at least the eternal subservience, of the Irish to the English race. Yet, the Penal Laws did not destroy Catholicism, rather they made the Catholic Irish stronger and contributed to their sense of national cohesion by creating "ein unsichtbares und unzerreißbares Band" (JV1 178). As a result, the Irish became more and more dependent on their priests; they developed the wild and fanatical religiosity which is peculiar to the Irish and which became a new weapon against England.

Venedey dates the final phase of a rebirth of the Irish nation from 1801 onwards, describing the Union as the destruction of the English colony in Ireland (JV1 320). The increasing number of absentees after the union also meant that England lost a great deal of its power base in Ireland, while the Irish tenants gradually freed themselves of the feelings of inferiority placed upon them by their landlords since the latter were no longer there to remind them of what separated them (JV1 322). The Anglican clergy also absented themselves from the country, employing middlemen to collect the tithe (JV1 325). In the absence of both aristocracy and clergy, the Catholic middle classes gained in importance as economic motors, and especially since emancipation, as political leaders. The Catholic clergy, too, became "immer einflußreicher, immer mächtiger und immer irländischer" (JV1 327). A double bond between Catholic clergy and congregation was created because the priests originate from the

lower classes and it is the lower classes who pay for their upkeep (JV1 330). Therefore, Catholic priests represent the people because they are the people. Yet, Venedey is critical of how Catholic clergy are simultaneously supporters of repeal. He firmly believes that the church should not meddle in political affairs. In a politicised clergy he sees the

Keim des Unterganges, für Irland der Keim schlimmer Verwickelungen, böser, trüber Erfahrungen. Es wäre ungerecht, verlangen zu wollen, dass der Priester kein Bürger sein sollte; im Gegentheile ist es seine Pflicht, sich des Staatswohles mit dem reinsten Eifer anzunehmen. Nur soll er das Forum nicht in die Kirche verlegen, den Altar nicht unter die Rednerbühne stellen. In der Kirche gibt es keine Parteien, nur Einen Gott, nur Ein Gebet. (JV2 222f.)

In the style of the French Republic, Venedey advocates the separation of church and state. In Ireland, however, he claims that the Irish Catholic clergy make the church into a kind of political club (JV2 224). Furthermore, this criticism is applied to all, not just Catholic, clergy. He claims that the Anglican clergy exercise just as much power over their congregation (JV2 420). Venedey's directing of criticism at clergy from both persuasions refutes the claim of one-sidedness; his nuanced reasoning refutes that of simplicity made against him by Klieneberger.²⁸

While Venedey is very critical of a politicised clergy, he becomes aware of the role of political Catholicism in an Irish context. Irish Catholic priests are lauded as being among the few who understand the woes and complaints of the people. They are the only group of people who have any measure of education and the platform to organise the lower classes. Unlike previous commentators who label the Catholic Church an anti-modern hierarchal institution, Venedey is impressed by its appearance in Ireland. The ardent believers are represented by people from their own class; inside the church he is impressed by perfect disciplinary equality among the congregation – rich and poor alike kneel on the cold hard floor and concentrate on the words of the priest (JV2 96). In Ireland, Venedey finds a people united by their religion. He sees

ein Volk von Millionen, Alt und Jung, Arm und Reich, Hoch und Niedrig, im Gottesglauben auf die Knie sinken und für des Volkes Heil und Zukunft beten. Und das riß mich mit nieder, ob ich selbst oft zweifle, wie es die Culturstufe meines Vaterlandes bedingt; aber ich zweifelte nicht einen Augenblick an dem tiefen Glauben Aller, die neben mir knieten und beteten. Und der Glauben macht glauben. (JV2 276)

Venedey's reference to conditions in his own homeland might be in relation to the *Kölner Kirchenstreit* of the 1830s. The case around which the conflict erupted, namely the upbringing of children from mixed marriages, showed the Catholic side to be rather dogmatic, in that they wanted the confession of the children to be Catholic no matter if the mother or the father was Catholic. The Prussian state, on the other hand, had declared that the children from mixed

²⁸ Cf. H. R. Klieneberger: Ireland through German Eyes 1844-1957: The Travel-Diaries of Jakob Venedey and Heinrich Böll. In: An Irish Quarterly Review, 49. 196 (1960), pp. 373-388, here p. 387.

marriages should be brought up in the confession of the father. Generally wary of political Catholicism, Venedey sees how, in an Irish context, religion provides a bond, a source of cohesion among the populace. He also admires the deep-seated religiosity of the congregation in comparison to those in Germany who act relatively disrespectfully during the mass: some sit, some stand, others lean against a pillar or kneel on the floor (JV2 96). He comes to understand that, because of historical and political circumstance, Ireland cannot be measured by the same yardsticks used to evaluate political Catholic movements in other European countries.

Venedey ultimately comes back to his original racial argument to explain the Ireland he visits in the 1840s: emancipation, temperance and peaceful agitation for repeal by lawful means are signs that Ireland, by and through itself, “trotz und gegen England”, has finally matured “zu germanischer Gesetzesreife, zu germanischen Institutionen” (JV1 332). O’Connell taught the people law and order, community spirit and cohesion when he agitated for Catholic emancipation (JV1 344). The success of peaceful agitation showed the world that the Irish were “bürgerreif” (JV1 357). Yet, the quintessentially secular idea of civic virtue and agitation for gains in religious status seem somewhat incompatible. Venedey says so himself when he questions the role of the Catholic Church in Irish political life. In this, Venedey’s argumentation appears inconsistent. Another inconsistency emerges in Venedey’s argument that the Irish are now becoming Germanised. This, he claims, is the natural result of the oppression the Irish have suffered, a culmination of historical and political conditions. He supports the repeal of the union because he believes its continuation is unjust. The union between Scotland and England, for example, was ‘natural’ because Scotland had been sufficiently Germanised. Thus, the Scottish were also ‘mature’ enough for the Reformation and therefore Scotland could keep step with England (JV1 320). The Irish and the English, on the other hand, are two completely different “Völker, Nationen, Racen, auf den Namen kommt es wenig an”; “sie beide zusammen in dasselbe Joch spannen zu wollen, und hoffen, daß sie ruhig nebeneinander bestehen und demselben Ziele zustreben können, – ist einer der größten politischen Fehler, den je Politiker begangen haben” (JV1 362). Yet, this is a contradiction if he claims that the Irish undergo the Germanising process now that they were denied when the Saxons first came to their shores; thanks to O’Connell the Irish and the English, the Celt and Saxon, are, it would seem, no longer that different after all. A synthesis of interests as well as an assimilation of the two peoples would perhaps only now actually be possible because of the Germanising process the Irish are undergoing. Yet, Venedey argues the exact opposite: every *Volk* has a right to be in charge of their own affairs, therefore Ireland has every right to demand repeal (JV1 401). He claims that in every other European country such reforms would hardly be denied, for example in Germany every state has its own administration (JV1 4). Venedey seems to forget the fact that

the Hanovarian dynasty that rejected Ireland's plea for repeal was the same dynasty that denied their German territory a constitution in 1837 which led to the famous walkout of the *Göttinger Sieben*, the Grimms amongst them. In this sense, the granting of reforms in any European territory was not a given, rather something which had to be agitated for, be that peacefully or otherwise. Behind Venedey's contradictory commentary seems to be the issue of unionism in his homeland. In a conversation with O'Connell about German politics, Venedey comments that Germany is trying to unite, while Ireland is trying to separate from a union (JV2 198). This might explain Venedey's seemingly paradoxical solution that only in the repeal of the union could there be a possibility "Irland mit England wieder zu verbinden". This implies a union based on the principle of voluntariness rather than subjugation, that Ireland and England might be united as equals. It seems that by granting Ireland repeal, England would make the first step towards proving that it no longer sees Ireland as a subservient dependency. Once the Irish have fully Germanised, England could then try to win back Ireland. Their success, according to Venedey, would depend on the ensuing politics pursued by the English government (JV1 7).

Existing scholarly commentary has described Venedey's position on repeal as emphatically anti-union.²⁹ While this is not necessarily untrue, it does not provide a comprehensive consideration of Venedey's explanations of Ireland. Venedey supports the repeal of the union between Great Britain and Ireland in the hope that in the not too distant future the two might be re-united as equals, like Scotland and England are united. Eoin Bourke describes Venedey's position as "radically opposed to that of Clement", whom he dubs racist.³⁰ Yet, Venedey's racial attitude is evident throughout his argumentation, which clearly sees Germanic peoples as having reached the pinnacle of civilisation to which all other peoples should aspire. Venedey makes sense of Irish conditions through the application of racialist and nationalist criteria which were applicable to domestic conditions: Venedey's support for the establishment of a democratic and united Germany. The limitations of Venedey's explanations of Irish conditions are met with here: unionism in a German and an Irish context were fundamentally different. While in a German context, unionism could unite those peoples who saw themselves as sharing a common cultural, linguistic and racial heritage, in an Irish context, the union with Britain was not compatible with Irish nationalism. This may go some way to explaining the ostensible paradoxes in Venedey's line of argument which strives to fit Ireland into a German mould.

²⁹ Cf. Dohmen: *Das deutsche Irlandbild*, p. 70; Bourke: *Poor Green Erin*, p. 420.

³⁰ Bourke: *Poor Green Erin*, p. 420 and p. 312.

In their various attempts at explaining Ireland to their readers, history is ascribed various roles by German travel writers. Observers frequently pinpoint the English conquests of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as, if not the starting point of, then the decisive turning point in English dominion over Ireland. Elizabeth I's and Cromwell's campaigns are portrayed as violent, the confiscation of land from native Irish Catholics as unjust. In racial discourse, Irish history is cast in terms of the intellectual, moral and physical superiority of the Anglo-Saxon English over the Celtic Irish. While authors might acknowledge the cruelty, even the injustice, of English waves of colonisation, Anglo-Saxon dominance over the Celts was inevitable. In this, Irish history is viewed anachronistically: the existence of distinct groupings on the island is assumed whose history is characterised by the struggle of the races. The right of the victor takes precedence over the rule of law. Venedey also applies modern nationalist criteria to past times in the discussion of the emergence of an Irish national consciousness at the time of the Reformation. Other observers discern a direct link between the impoverishment of the present and the land confiscation of the past. Raumer, for example, applies enlightened criteria to Irish history in terms of the responsibility of those in positions of power towards their subjects. Since the sixteenth century, landlords in Ireland have not fulfilled their duties to promote the common good and improve the lives of their tenants. Modern legal argument is also applied to the issue of historical conquest and confiscation: the initial injustice does not do away with the fact that Irish landlords, because of 'Verjährung', are now the legal owners of the confiscated property. Thus, any claim the Catholic Irish make to lands is made to look absurd since lands may have passed through numerous hands.

Contemporary criteria are equally applied to contemporary events or those in recent Irish history, for example, modern enlightened ideals are applied in trying to make sense of Irish society. Voght espouses liberal economic policies as well as the virtues of individual initiative and civic responsibility. Küttner advocates enlightened absolutism as a suitable form of governance for Ireland, believing that an enlightened, absolutist monarch would ensure religious tolerance and the general well-being of his subjects. The same can be said of Raumer who holds up the Prussian king as an exemplary enlightened monarch. Contradictions and paradoxes permeate these authors' attempts at making sense of Irish conditions. They struggle with their admiration for the British liberal constitution and what they witness in Ireland. Voght appears to refuse to acknowledge Britain's failures in governing Ireland; he consistently skirts the question as to why Ireland does not already enjoy the benefits he foresees in a union. Hailbronner claims ignorance on Britain's part, thus courting understanding among his readers as to why philanthropic Britain could allow such dire socio-economic conditions in Ireland to prevail. Raumer tries to balance his admiration of the rights and freedom of the individual guaranteed by the British constitution with how this manifests itself in Ireland:

absentee landlords who fully exploit these rights, while their Irish tenants appear to have no rights whatsoever.

Further contemporary criteria include revolutionary, reformist principles and their manifestations in an Irish context. Echoes of French and American revolutionary ideals are discerned in the emergence of the Volunteers, the rebellion of the United Irishmen, the Catholic emancipation and the repeal movement. Some authors fear the despotism of the masses, calling to mind the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution. Writing just before the French Revolution, Küttner is especially alarmed at how the people make their voices heard. He condemns the liberality of the British constitution for allowing such freedom of speech. The authors of *Skizzen aus Irland* and *Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes von Irland* cast the Catholic majority as violent and despotic, their leaders as insincere and exploitative. Indeed, the author of *Darstellung* misconstrues the origin of the United Irishmen as a Catholic movement, serving him as proof of the supposed violence at the heart of political Catholicism in Ireland, in spite of O'Connell's peaceful methods of agitation. Signs of reservation towards charismatic leaders such as O'Connell are also evident; leaders who wield seemingly boundless power over the people. Labelled a demagogue by some, criticism of O'Connell echoes the fear of the charismatic Jacobites who exercised great influence over the working classes during the French Revolution. From such commentary it is evident that Ireland is viewed in increasingly European contexts. Some observers are vehemently opposed to a political Catholic movement: their attempts at explaining Ireland are simultaneously appropriated to discourage a unification of Catholicism with political reform movements in Germany by highlighting the supposed dangers of demagoguery over a susceptible, discontent majority. Other authors see Ireland as part of a general European landscape of reform and revolution. Ireland is directly compared to oppressed nations including Turkey, Greece and Poland where similar struggles for national liberation were being carried out. Pückler and Clement, for example, place Ireland in a wider context of the struggle of the oppressed against their oppressors. Pückler also draws parallels between the fate of French Huguenots and Irish Catholics. In this, the British government is cast as despotic, rather than the masses. In this light, the specifics of the Irish situation (Catholic emancipation, repeal of the union) are assessed as specific manifestations of seminal developments relating to pan-European emancipatory struggles against foreign rule and autocratic, despotic governments in general.

Finally, it is evident that more often than not the explanations provided by observers move beyond specifically Irish conditions to a translation of Irish problematics into categories familiar to a German audience, such as arguments for and against political Catholicism. Ireland serves as a projective foil for the negotiation of all manner of interests and agendas, a kind of

experimental laboratory in which tendencies, conflicts and configurations can be studied in condensed, radical and heightened form. Events surrounding the agitation for Catholic emancipation are perceived as a laboratory of political dynamics in which the fear of those German nationalists towards the splitting of Catholic allegiance between the Pope and the territorial ruler could be examined. Ireland could be utilised as an object of projection regarding the objections of dragging Catholicism into the political arena. Ireland also serves as a case study for a variety of matters, including bad governance as well as the maintenance of multi-ethnic states/empires in the face of rising nationalism. Other observers view O'Connell and his movements as exemplar, and their viability and translatability into other scenarios are examined. Clement laments the lack of an O'Connell figure in Central Europe to counteract the actions of unjust governments. He exploits Irish agitation for repeal for wider issues pertaining to emancipation in general, and the liberation of Schleswig and Holstein from Danish rule in particular. Venedey examines the Irish Catholic movement as a specific manifestation of emerging nationalism. Ireland not only served as an experimentation ground in relation to the viability or otherwise of a political Catholic movement, but also as a testing space for the application of proto-socialist ideals. Moritz Hartmann utilises Irish conditions in the immediate post-O'Connellite period to examine the use of violence in attaining political goals. Revolutionary personalities who advocated the use of violence, such as Robert Emmet, John Mitchell and Smith O'Brien, are held up as exemplar. For Hartmann, Ireland is a testing ground on how the lives of those exploited by industrialism and colonialism might be improved. In their attempts at making sense of Ireland, ambivalences, paradoxes and perplexity abound; authors' explanations reveal predilections, preconceived ideas, (mis-)appropriations as well as specific agendas which both inform and curtail explainability.

10 Knowing Ireland: Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to systematically outline the manner in which Ireland and the Irish people have been conceptualised, the criteria according to which they have been evaluated, and the reasons and implications of this process in German travel literature between 1785 and 1850. The basic premise was that the framing of an object of observation does not occur in an empty space, but is informed, rather, by certain conceptual predispositions. In examining the particular ways in which Ireland is viewed by German writers, this study has considered the relevance of certain conceptual frameworks that would have been common currency at the time the authors were writing, including aesthetic, racial, colonial and national discourses, as well as discourses surrounding the savage and the Celtic. It has become evident that there is no one single image of 'the Irish' or Ireland, rather many different, indeed conflicting images emerge with differing emphases and differing levels of social and political concreteness.

When attempting to communicate their impressions of nature, German travel authors across the period adhere to certain conventions which corresponded to expectations of a domestic audience. By imposing compositional techniques from landscape painting onto nature, by presenting the Irish landscape as a timeless idyll, by inserting figures into compositions familiar from the antique and the pastoral or by integrating experiences of the strange and the sensational into existing categories derived from literature and the sublime, it appears that Ireland is often denied any sense of uniqueness as it is only 'experienceable' and describable according to familiar aesthetic and literary conventions. For some observers, Irish nature as well as the world of the landscaped park are intelligible because of a perceived harmony, on the one hand organic, on the other imposed by man, and this harmony 'makes sense' to the observer. Even when Irish nature is linked to Ossian and lore, something which could be termed concretely Irish, it appears to be linked to an idea of a generic Celticness, rather than a specifically Irish heritage. Furthermore, observers can remain detached from what they see because all kinds of 'characteristic' elements such as buildings, military barracks and ruins as well as beggars and peasants can be subsumed into and compartmentalised by a picturesque frame or a rolling canvas without any further commentary.

The manner in which observers across the time period depict nature and figures presents a number of paradoxes: portraying Irish nature as an abundant, harmonious idyll overcasts findings of destitution, fixing peasants and lower classes as the subject of Italianate paintings both highlights their impoverished plight and simultaneously underplays it by aestheticizing it, presenting Irish women as innocent and chaste figures of pastoral compositions is anathematic to the sexual undertones evident in references to alluring,

sensuous Greek goddesses, casting ruins as timelessly picturesque contradicts their status as objects which explicitly link nature to the past, or indeed to the present and the social. These paradoxes highlight the limits of explainability in experiencing and depicting the 'new' in that authors resort to similar representational techniques and conventions which cannot always contain or fully comprehend a complex reality. Yet, within these conventions and within stereotypes there are numerous nuances and variations. The manner in which representational techniques are employed and modified by some authors help convey genuine wonderment, puzzlement, empathy, disgust or indeed critique. Some observers engage with aesthetic and literary conventions to critique the limitations and inadequacies of those conventions, for example by choosing scenes which show signs of education and progress rather than poverty and stagnation as picturesque subject matter, or by satirising genre paintings and exposing their selective and fabricated nature. Therefore, while authors adhere to certain conventions and predispositions, they also find ways to critique them from within those very conventions.

It was in encounters with the urban inhabitants, as well as in attempts to generally comprehend social conditions in Ireland, that familiar modes of representation often failed German travel writers. Rural poverty could be integrated into existing patterns of perception or literary categories because ruins, ivy, parks and other 'picturesque' scenes provided contrast and could reconcile the extremes, whereas urban poverty was intrusive and ever-present. Furthermore, the depiction of the lower classes as content savages underlines how unique Irish conditions were depicted with recourse to pre-established patterns of perception and representation; depicting the Irish lower classes in this manner also shows the unremitting impulse to categorise the 'other'. For some authors, labelling the Irish content savages, much like subsuming the peasantry into a picturesque frame, allows them to avoid an analysis of circumstances which bring about squalid living conditions. In general, portraying the lower classes as savage, content or otherwise, serves various, often competing functions depending on the authors' particular agenda. On the one hand, Irish 'savages' are depicted as happy in their ignorance, and therefore no one need worry about them, on the other hand, they are in need of 'improvement' in terms of education and work ethic. For some observers, they are backward and incapable of looking after themselves, therefore the lower classes require the civilising force of English culture and society, yet for other observers it is colonialism which creates savagery in the first place. This shows the role individual observers' agendas play in informing perceptions of the 'other'.

Famed as 'proof' of authentic *Volkspoesie*, Ossian influenced creative life, especially in North-western Europe, for decades. Wolf Gerhard Schmidt's *James Macphersons Ossian*,

zeitgenössische Diskurse und die Frühphase der deutschen Rezeption, outlines Ossian's seminal influence on the German-speaking literary world from the late eighteenth to the end of the twentieth century. He states that Ossian belonged "bis ca. 1820 (teilweise auch darüber hinaus) zu den bedeutendsten Werken der Weltliteratur".¹ Ossian fell on particularly fruitful ground in Germany because the categories of authenticity and feeling corresponded to the growth of *Empfindsamkeit* which lauded emotion over reason. Previous to Ossian, native Gaelic culture had remained practically unheard of in the German-speaking world. The poems thus "contributed greatly to German knowledge and awareness of Ireland". Indeed, Patrick O'Neill describes Macpherson's poems as an important "vehicle for conveying an image of Ireland" to a German-speaking audience.² A general increase in awareness of Ireland is indicated in the number of German contributions to the authenticity debate, as well as translations of English-language history and travel works on Ireland in the 1770s and 1780s.³ In this light, it seems not insignificant that the categories associated with Ossian (authenticity, purity, genuineness, feeling and sentimentality) do not seem to have played as pivotal a role in informing German perceptions of Ireland as expressed in travel literature as previous commentators have suggested. Although Dohmen and Oehlke emphasise the Ossian influence, it is notable that the discourse surrounding Ossian appears to have remained quite separate to how eighteenth and even early nineteenth-century travellers view the Irish people and Irish nature. It has already been noted that there is very little evidence of the influence of Ossian and the sublime on how Irish nature is framed in the late eighteenth century.

Furthermore, the figures in the poems were dignified, noble heroes, representing primitive man in his innate goodness. In a review 'Fingal: An ancient poem' (1765), Albrecht von Haller states that Ossian presents "uralte Menschen ohne Schriften und Wissenschaften, [...] blosse Jäger und Krieger, die aber ein unendlich zärtliches Gefühl von der Ehre [...] haben".⁴ In this light, Ossian and the heroes he sings of are akin to 'noble savages'. The analysis of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century German travelogues on Ireland has shown that the idea of noble, dignified primitives, akin to those propagated in the Ossian poems, did not have much of an impact on German perceptions of the Irish lower classes. Indeed, reality, it seems, did not adhere to the Ossianic ideal: the lower classes are depicted as indolent yet content, or as violent, lawless and guileful. Furthermore, there is no sense of an Irish *Volk* relating to Herder in the sense that cultural criteria (lore, music) forge a sense of a collective identity among the majority of the people. It appears incongruent that the literary accolade of Gaelic

¹ Wolf Gerhard Schmidt: James Macphersons Ossian, zeitgenössische Diskurse und die Frühphase der deutschen Rezeption. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003, p. 1.

² Patrick O'Neill: Ireland and Germany. A Study in Literary Relations. Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1985, p. 79.

³ Cf. Patrick O'Neill: Ireland and Germany, pp. 78-83.

⁴ Albrecht von Haller: Rezension. Fingal. An ancient poem. In: Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen, 17 (1765), pp. 129-131, here p. 130.

culture and Ossianic heroes remains separate from how German authors experience and conceptualise Ireland based on first-hand experience. The imposition of the Ossian myth over realities in Ireland did not take place until the late 1820s. It seems not insignificant that the sceptics were travellers and eye-witnesses, while idolisers, including Herder and Goethe, safely stayed in Germany.

In general, when German travel writers 'discover' Irish folk culture, it feeds in to creating a sense of 'Irishness' in various ways. Some observers appear to adopt a strange anachronistic approach to Irish cultural heritage in how they play off the past against the present. Ancient Irish lore, old Irish and traditional Irish music are viewed as authentic and uncorrupted, while the Irish language of the present day as well as the people who transmit ancient lore and melodies are cast as corrupted. This is evident in eighteenth and nineteenth century texts. While some eighteenth-century observers discern a distinct culture, that culture is not necessarily linked to the majority of the population, and therefore does not contribute to a sense of an Irish *Volkscharakter*. This is evident in how ancient Gaelic culture is (mis)appropriated in the name of a Protestant Irish nation who were trying to historically root their community in Ireland. Those who speak 'barbaric' modern Irish are seen as corrupted even though they can still understand ancient manuscripts exactly because their language has been preserved in its authenticity down through the centuries, while authentic ancient Gaelic culture is allied to the 'civilised' and refined upper class, i.e. it is a contradiction in terms to be both progressive and original, refined and authentic. Even when German authors 'discover' Irish folk culture in the late 1820s and explicitly link it to the *Volk*, there is still often a divergence between the perception of Irish folk culture (authentic, genuine) and those who actually produce it (savage, corrupt, deteriorated). Yet, such depictions also form the first evidence of an Irish *Nationalcharakter* linked exclusively to the *Volk* and expressed through culture because the upper class is linked to another nation. Concurrently, for some observers, culture in and of itself is not *the* determining factor in constructing an Irish collective, rather categories such as authenticity and genuineness in general, which correspond to how Irish folk culture is perceived. Evidence of an authentic and genuine character might be found across the social spectrum but in concentrated form among the *Volk*.

For observers towards the middle of the nineteenth century, folk culture plays a decisive role in the determination of a discernible, distinct and summative Irish *Volksgeist*. The Irish are distinguished by their music and folklore, and some authors view this unique culture as a necessary escape from the impoverished world the Irish inhabit. Striking is the role language plays: for some it is integral to the transmission of culture and representative of a collective spirit, for others the Irish have retained a distinctive character despite the loss of

their *Mutterspache*. Although culture decisively determines character, some observers hold up rich Gaelic culture to 'prove' that the modern day Irish do not make the most of their ancient culture, thus giving rise to charges of inertia; the modern Irish hinder access to ancient purity. Irish folk culture is also viewed as invented and exaggerated, feeding alleged Irish passivity; it fosters dreaming and escapism rather than spurring the Irish into action. Such conceptualisations suggest that, given their cultural heritage, the Irish may be viewed from without as a collective, but this collective identity does not automatically feed into imaginings of a potential political collective because of the ostensible lack of will and agency on the part of the people. Yet, for other commentators, Irish folk culture promotes a sense of unity and political inspiration rather than hindering it and offering a means of escape from the everyday. Old forms are melded with new political content, thus contributing to the emergence of a new Irish *Volksgeist*. Evident across these texts is that cultural criteria play an increasingly important role in determining collective identity from without, whether that identity be a political one or not.

The analysis of German travel literature on Ireland has shown the very concepts of *Volk* and *Nation*, as well as *Volksgeist* and *Volksseele*, to be ambiguous and contested terms. Sometimes the categories are based on idealism and wishful thinking. The question still remains as to who are 'the Irish' in German eyes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Herder focused upon language and cultural traditions as the factors that create a *Nation*, i.e. his notion of nation is not necessarily political, but cultural. Yet, the application of Herderian ideas to an Irish context proved difficult. Herder maintained that nations differed in everything, from poetry, appearance, tastes, and manners to customs, languages and even religion. Applied to the island of Ireland, this would, at first glance, suggest two nations: on the one hand, the Irish-speaking Catholics orientated towards Gaelic culture, on the other hand the English-speaking Protestant Ascendancy orientated towards Britain in matters of culture and education. However, the Irish situation was much more complex: from the late eighteenth century, the upper class Protestant elite were forging their own sense of an 'Irish' identity, Protestant professionals were fighting for an Irish republic which would be based on inclusive politics regarding confession and class, while from the early nineteenth century, Irish Catholics were forged into a cohesive political movement who were laying claim to the Irish 'nation' in the sense that the majority of the population formed a vehicle for a potential political unit. Within Ireland itself, therefore, contradictions abounded regarding the contestation over who could lay claim to what in the name of an 'Irish' identity. No wonder, then, German visitors came away with equally contradictory concepts, impressions and explanations.

The difficulty of applying German criteria to Irish phenomena is reflective of the imprecise usage of the terms *Volk* and *Nation* in German, and their incongruent usage in English. Before Herder, *Volk* and *Nation* could have other meanings and usages. According to Zedler, *Nation* could refer to a certain number of people who shared common customs, language and laws. Nations were not distinguished by geographic, topographical criteria, but by way of life and customs alone, therefore a number of different *Nationen* could live in the one province or region.⁵ Herder, on the other hand, maintained that topographical features such as seas, mountain ranges and rivers are the most natural boundaries not only of lands but also of peoples, customs and languages, and therefore of nations. Allied to Ireland, the island status provides the most definitive boundary to other lands and, in the Herderian sense, to other nations. Yet, the definition from Zedler permits the view that different nations could coexist in the same region and within the same borders. Indeed, this view is evident still in the mid-nineteenth century when some observers discern ‘Germanic’ communities on the island of Ireland distinguished by their own character, language and customs. Yet, borders between alleged communities are also seen as permeable, one ‘character’ can influence the other; confession and class clash with alleged markers of ethnicity.

Furthermore, *Nation* could also refer to a particular class, so the contention of two *Nationen* in Ireland could mean the existence of two classes, and not necessarily two different peoples possessing separate cultures and customs. While Zedler was writing in the 1730s and Herder in the 1780s, around 1800 the political notion of the nation state was emerging, i.e. ‘nation’ is seen “as a political entity consisting of the entire native population living within a contiguous and bounded territory. Thus, the word carries democratic connotations, because it implies that everyone living within the same nation state has a stake in political life and is in some sense equal with his or her co-nationals”. In the wake of political and economic disruptions to traditional hierarchies and communities throughout Europe at this time, “nationalist movements offered their adherents a powerful new source of identity and meaning”.⁶ While Herder’s sense of *Nation* was predominantly cultural – he did not argue that a German cultural renaissance had to be accompanied by political unification – political nationalist movements of the nineteenth century picked up on the idea of the nation state whereby a congruency between culture, geography (borders) and political organisation emerges which gives the Irish question a whole new dynamic. The question arises as to how German observers reconcile these ideas (culture, geography, political organisation); does everybody who lives on the island of Ireland constitute the Irish *Nation*? Or does the idea of a

⁵ Cf. Nation. In: Johann Heinrich Zedler (ed.): *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, vol. 23. Leipzig and Halle: Zedler, 1740, pp. 901-903, here p. 901.

⁶ Charles Breunig and Matthew Levinger: *The Revolutionary Era, 1789-1850*, 3rd edn. New York and London: Norton, 2002, p. 204f.

shared culture take precedence over shared living space? Some observers in the 1840s reconcile people of different religions, different cultural traditions and different languages into an Irish *Nation*; all ethnicities and all denominations are subsumed under the term 'Irish' based on a shared living space. In such a configuration, it is the Celtic element which dominates and it is among the lower classes where the national character can be found in most concentrated form. The overriding criterion for these commentators is a communal living space, distinct geographical boundaries which promote a kind of cultural osmosis.

As already noted, German authors of the early nineteenth century, for example the Grimm brothers, took up Herder's call to explore Germany's cultural heritage, bringing about an increased awareness of German lore, law and religion, as well as looking to other cultures and their heritages. It was only around this time that the German reading public 'discovered' Irish folk culture. In this light it might be argued that the 'discovery' of the Celtic in German travel literature on Ireland served as a yardstick against which an emerging German nation could construct and differentiate themselves, i.e. the Irish Celtic 'others' may have served as agents of German self-awareness. As Florian Krobb notes "Societies in transition, unstable communities and unsettled cultures tend to search for pointers regarding their centre, their *raison d'être* or their collective identity – at least if their present condition is in some way or another perceived as deficient, i.e. if the volatility of their present existence is not embraced but bemoaned. This was quite certainly the case in nineteenth-century Germany between the Wars of Liberation and the Congress of Vienna which ended the turbulence of the Napoleonic era [...] and the creation of the united German Empire in January 1871".⁷ A projective nation might seek to define itself in opposition to other nations, both real and potential. So one common denominator in all the travel writing surveyed is that the Irish are not the Germans and the Germans are not the Irish, whether the Irish are two nations, one nation or, indeed, none at all.

The matter becomes yet more complicated when comparing definitions of *Nation* to those of *Volk*. For Herder, the terms *Volk* and *Nation* held similar meanings, i.e. the *Volk*, 'the people', constitutes the *Nation*. This Herderian cultural understanding of *Volk* and *Nation* laid the foundations for later political and geographical imaginings of the nation, for example the idea that a community that shares a common language and culture deserves the right to nationhood. However, previous to Herder, *Volk* could also have multiple other meanings, which surely did not become obsolete straight away. According to Zedler, *Volk* could denote a group of different people who have come together quite randomly without any precise

⁷ Florian Krobb: On the Misappropriation of Origins. Wilhelm Raabe's *Celtic Bones* and 19th-Century German Celtology. In: *Germanistik in Ireland* 10 (2015), p. 123-139, here p. 125f.

intention, or a group of people who have intentionally come together to promote their common welfare, share in common rights and advantages, or indeed a group of people who have been coerced into a communal living space.⁸ In other words, *Volk* had a multiplicity of meanings. In the case of Ireland, when German commentators cast all classes of Irish as a single *Volk*, it is a *Volk* which is divided by wealth, possessions, manners, taste, education and civility, i.e. its members are in no way equals. In late eighteenth and nineteenth-century Ireland, the upper classes alone enjoyed the privileges of government and law-making to the detriment of the majority of the population. When the term *Volk* was applied to the exclusion of the upper class, in an Irish context this meant the exclusion of the Protestant elite, but it is not clear as to whether the Protestant professional classes were also excluded from the *Volk*. Furthermore, in the 1840s the first ever mention of a Catholic upper class in Ireland is made, and they, too, are excluded from the collective spirit based on their commonalities with their Protestant upper class counterparts. This underscores the problematics of who is to be included and excluded from a common 'Irish' collective, and on what criteria the construction of such a collective should be based, given the contested terms which were applied in the first place.

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, the enterprise of determining the *Volk* seems to become even more complex with the plethora of knowledge and data produced by the various emerging academic disciplines. These disciplines included history, human and cultural geography, anthropology, ethnology, comparative linguistics as well as the pseudo-scientific disciplines such as phrenology. These various disciplines provided multiple ways of defining the *Volk* which become apparent in narratives from the 1840s, whereby a bundle of criteria and individual elements are cast as a unity. Evident in the German source texts on Ireland are early indications of a paradigm shift in the study of humankind from a "historical-literary approach that conceived of human beings as feeling, thinking and articulating cultural beings towards a methodology that accorded primacy to hard physical facts and quantifiable data, measurements and statistics, where the shape and size of human bones is assumed to hold more clues about human nature than the products of man's ingenuity".⁹ German travel writers of the mid-nineteenth century assume both the historical-literary and the pseudo-scientific approach. They perceive of an Irish *Volksgeist* manifested in culture and literature, while they also pursue the historical-linguistic approach in their exhaustive lists of words of Celtic and Germanic origin. The pseudo-scientific route is evident in commentary on physical appearance (short and undistinguished build), complexion (yellow or dark skin), physiognomics

⁸ *Volck*. In: Johann Heinrich Zedler (ed.): *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, vol. 50. Leipzig and Halle: Zedler, 1746, pp. 362-380, here p. 362.

⁹ Krobb: *On the Misappropriation of Origins*, p. 125.

(ugly, irregular features linked to character), and the size and formation of the skull. Commentators employ methods derived from physical anthropology and ethnology which determined race, for example phrenology, which established a direct relationship between the physical form of the skull and mental capabilities as well as aspects of character. Some commentators cite physical characteristics to substantiate their cultural and political theories regarding Ireland and the Irish, for example the claim that based on the size and contours of Irish skulls, the Irish possess a lively and carefree nature but lack drive, a risk-taking spirit and methodical industriousness. This is used to corroborate the claim that Germanic English rule over Ireland is a necessity in terms of civilisation and progress of mankind since the Celts seem incapable of 'civilising' themselves, creating and maintaining industry or generally striving for improvement. It becomes apparent that for the majority of observers of the 1840s, race plays a role in constructing an Irish collective from without, whether this takes the form of employing physical anthropology and ethnology to 'prove' physical and intellectual difference between *Völker*, or lauding the Celtic Irish for developing 'Germanic' racial characteristics such as a love of law and order as well as moderation in political matters.

The extent to which German travel writers viewed Ireland and 'the Irish' as a potential political entity is ambiguous, since the question of who exactly constitutes 'the Irish' remained contested throughout the period. From the late 1830s onwards, the motif of the impoverished Irish possessing a sense of justice and morality emerges across a number of texts. In this configuration, 'the Irish' are viewed as striving for moral improvement from within themselves which, from without, seems to feed into imaginings of Ireland as a potential nation. In the 1840s, there is a distinct sense that 'the Irish' are viewed as a collective with a unique character based on culture and race. Some authors even idealise fatalism and project their own wishes onto the Irish collective, i.e. living in poverty is understood as an expression of political choice in the name of an Irish identity. Commentators thus attribute individual and collective agency to Irish passivity which seems to form them into a political entity. Yet, some of these commentators who appear to emphasise not only cultural but also racial difference between Celts and their Saxon neighbours are also the very commentators who propound assimilation and racial fusion rather than segregation; love of freedom and independence were, after all, supposedly Germanic traits and these commentators commend the 'Germanisation' of the Celtic Irish. Meanwhile, other commentators emphasise the irreconcilable differences between races and therefore the necessity of political separation of the Celtic Irish from the Germanic English. What is clear is that there is no accord on German conceptualisations of 'Irishness' or Ireland's political potential during the entire period investigated. German observers, it seems, 'know' the Ireland which they can make sense of within their respective world view, even though the categories applied can both enlighten and

limit understanding; they 'know' the Ireland which serves their various agendas and reflects their own predilections and predispositions. Nevertheless, on the whole, a definite sense of 'the Irish' as a different people emerges from the narratives, whoever 'the Irish' may be and however they might be defined.

Indeed, contestations of 'Irishness' and Ireland as a potential political entity reflect upon and intervene in not only inner-Irish and Irish-English debates, for example the creation of a Protestant upper-class Irish identity, the Act of Union, Catholic Emancipation and Repeal, but also on inner-German as well more general European conflicts. Inner-German debates included the search for a common identity of a community which was, at this time, still projective. The application of racial criteria, for example, may be attributable to the wider debate concerning ethnic origins of the German peoples as Germanic, Celtic, or both. By and large, German commentators on Ireland appear to come down on the Germanic side. While this position was the dominant one, it by no means went unopposed in the mid-nineteenth century at a time when any construction of a German community and identity was still projective. German travel narratives on Ireland also insert themselves into inner-German discussions on the fears of the universalist claims of the Roman Catholic Church as a threat to territorial sovereignty. Some German observers see a paradox in the claims to political autonomy made by O'Connell's Repeal movement, and the dominance of Catholicism in Ireland, since as a political and cultural community, the Catholic church was sometimes imagined to be "potentially universal" in its extent.¹⁰ Some commentators believed that "wo auch immer Katholiken um etwas kämpfen, sich der lange Arm Roms bemerkbar mache". According to Eoin Bourke, these fears of German Catholics were not directly applicable in an Irish context. The Catholic clerical hierarchy in Ireland were "in Sachen nationaler Befreiung äußerst zurückhaltend und betrachtete O'Connells *Catholic Association* in erster Linie als Mittel dazu, die drohende Revolution abzuwenden".¹¹ While a number of German travel writers remain suspicious of Catholic movements in general, others recognise, perhaps somewhat unwillingly, that British treatment of Irish Catholics flew in the face of the image of Britain many Germans had as a land of democracy and free speech. Some still resiliently try to efface this in that they 'explain' Ireland to suit their predilection for Britain. Others hold Britain accountable on grounds of misgovernance. Furthermore, German fears of the Catholic movement in Ireland were not based solely on Catholicism per se, but also on the fear of the despotism of the masses arising from the Jacobite terror during the French Revolution. The masses as such were an unknown entity in the German lands at this time. This fear of the

¹⁰ Breunig and Levinger: *The Revolutionary Era, 1789-1850*, p. 204.

¹¹ Eoin Bourke: *Ein Riese unter Zwergen oder ein rechter Lump? Die irische Agitator in deutscher Vormärzperspektive*. In: Helmut Koopmann and Martina Lauster (eds.): *Vormärzliteratur in europäischer Perspektive. Öffentlichkeit und nationale Identität*. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 1996, pp. 157-174, here p. 166.

masses is evident even in the late eighteenth century, before O'Connell's mass movements and the French Revolution, probably as a result of the American Revolutionary War and the founding of the democratic United States. Superstition towards O'Connell could be linked to the fear of charismatic leaders with inexplicable power over the masses, also stemming from the French Revolution. On the other hand, the admiration for O'Connell and the Catholic movement could be seen to intervene in inner-German debates in that Ireland served as a laboratory of social and political dynamics which could be translated into other scenarios, for example a mass political movement under the strong leadership of a single man. By the end of the period examined here, it is apparent that Ireland is viewed by many as part of a general European landscape of reform and emancipation. This is highlighted by the repeated comparisons between Ireland and fellow oppressed peoples of Europe including the Polish and the Greeks. In this sense, there is a definite awareness of Ireland unparalleled to previous decades.

Given the differentiation of scholarly disciplines engaged in collecting and disseminating information on foreign countries as well as the shift towards a more scientific approach to ascertaining variation between peoples, further research might consider how such changing perspectives play out in travel literature of the second half of the nineteenth century and up until Ireland gained independence in 1921. Such research might pay particular attention to the newly established geographic journals of the second half of the nineteenth century, such as *Dr. A. Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen*, *Das Ausland: Wochenschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde*, and *Globus: Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde*. These journals, as well as so-called *Geographische Lesebücher*, often condensed and popularised the findings and views collected in travel reports, thus making travel literature available to a wider audience than ever before. Research might consider the significance of scientific versus cultural criteria in constructing images of 'the Irish' and if such images are related to those discussed here. Do the new perspectives and interests developed by the new disciplines of ethnology, anthropology and human geography, to name but a few, complement and supplant the original discourses of the Celtic and the savage as well as the discourse of religion, among others? Does the search for a German national identity intensify interest in Ireland in the run up to unification in 1871? A cursory look at the sources reveals that Germans continued to visit Ireland and write about their impressions.

The present study hopes to contribute to discussions on how a variety of discourses combined to forge an idea of 'Ireland' as a distinct entity by adhering to the defined time period 1785-1850, a time period which witnessed formative changes in the structure of European territories and the organisation of political power, and limiting the scope of texts

analysed to a specific genre. The images of Ireland and 'Irishness' have been systematically studied according to a specific set of criteria to reveal a complex, often contradictory and highly contested web of matrixes of 'Irishness'. Rather than focusing on how a community or nation imagines itself within its own discourse, this project has demonstrated how a community, however disparate and loose, can be 'imagined into being' by outside observation.

11 Abbreviations

ASI – Auszug aus einem Schreiben aus Irland. In: Göttingisches historisches Magazin, 1 (1787), pp. 155-159.

CO – Carl Otto: Reise durch die Schweiz, Italien, Frankreich, Großbritannien und Holland: mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Spitäler, Heilmethoden und den übrigen medicinischen Zustand dieser Länder. Hamburg: Campe, 1825, pp. 359-424.

CvV – Caspar von Voght: Schilderung von Irland. Bruchstücke aus dem Tagebuche eines Reisenden. Im Herbst 1794. In: Der Genius der Zeit. Ein Journal, 8 (1796), pp. 566-635.

DGZI – Anonymous: Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes von Irland. Von einem mehrjährigen Beobachter. In: Eduard Widenmann and Hermann Hauff (eds.): Reisen und Länderbeschreibungen der älteren und neusten Zeit. Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1835.

EH – Edmund Heusinger: Europäische Bilder aus den Land- und Seefahrten eines Britischen Militärs währen der Kreuzzüge gegen den Kaiser Napoleon und nach denselben. Bilder aus Deutschland, Helgoland, England, Irland. Jena: Bran, 1841.

FC – Franz A. Cölln: Reise-Album vom 15. bis zum 22. Lebensjahre. Bonn: n.p., 1849.

FLvW – Friedrich Ludwig von Wachholtz: Aus dem Tagebuch des Generals Fr. L. von Wachholtz. Zur Geschichte der früheren Zustände der preußischen Armee und besonders des Feldzugs des Herzogs Friedrich Wilhelm von Braunschweig-Dels im Jahre 1809. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von C. Fr. von Vechelde. Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1843, pp. 441-450.

FvR1 (=Volume 1)/**FvR2** (=Volume 2) – Friedrich von Raumer: England im Jahre 1835. 2 vols. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1836.

FWvO – Friedrich Wilhelm von Oppenheim: Darstellung der Heilanstalten Dublin's. In: Magazin der ausländischen Literatur der gesammten Heilkunde, 12 (1826), pp. 24-95.

HB – Heinrich Brockhaus: Aus den Tagebüchern von Heinrich Brockhaus. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1884.

HM1 – Heinrich Meidinger: Briefe von einer Reise durch England, Schottland und Irland im Frühjahr und Sommer 1820. Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1821.

HM2 – Heinrich Meidinger: Reisen durch Großbritannien und Irland, vorzüglich in topographischer, commerzieller und statistischer Hinsicht. Neuestes Handbuch für Reisende durch die 3 vereinigten Königreiche England, Schottland und Irland, vol 2: Schottland und Irland, mit zwei Karten. Frankfurt/Main: Brönnner, 1828.

HvPM – Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau: Reisebriefe aus Irland (1830), ed. by Therese Erler, 2nd edn. Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1979.

IvHH – Ida von Hahn-Hahn: Von Babylon nach Jerusalem. Mainz: Kirchheim und Schott, 1851.

JFH – Johann Friedrich Hering: Erinnerungen eines Legionärs, oder Nachrichten von den Zügen der Deutschen Legion des Königs (von England) in England, Irland, Dänemark, der Pyrenäischen Halbinsel, Malta, Sicilien und Italien in Auszügen aus dem vollständigen Tagebuche eines Gefährten derselben. Hannover: Helwing, 1826.

JGKR1 (=Volume 1)/ **JGKR2** (=Volume 2): Johann Georg Kohl: Reisen in Irland. 2 vols. Dresden and Leipzig: Arnold, 1843.

JGKL – Johann Georg Kohl: Land und Leute der britischen Inseln. Beiträge zur Charakteristik Englands und der Engländer, vol. 1. Dresden and Leipzig: Arnold, 1844, pp. 141-238.

JML – Johann Martin Lappenberg: Irland. In: J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber: Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaft und Künste in alphabetischer Folge von genannten Schriftstellern. Zweite Section H-N, 24. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1844, pp. 1-103.

JMvD – Johann Meermann Freyherrn van Dalem: Nachrichten von Großbritannien und Irland. Nuremberg and Altdorf: Monath, 1789.

JV1 (= Volume 1)/ **JV2** (=Volume 2) – Jakob Venedey: Irland. 2 vols. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1844.

KGK – Karl Gottlob Küttner: Briefe über Irland an seinen Freund, den Herausgeber. Leipzig: Haug, 1785.

KJC – Knut Jongbohn Clement: Reisen in Irland oder Irland in historischer, statistischer, politischer und socialer Beziehung. Kiel: Bünsow, 1845.

KvH – Karl von Hailbronner: Cartons aus der Reisemappe eines deutschen Touristen. Erstes Bändchen. Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1837, pp. 276-307.

MH – Moritz Hartmann: Briefe aus Dublin (1850). In: Gesammelte Werke, vol. 3. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1873, pp. 1-56.

MvD – Magdalena von Dobeneck: Briefe und Tagebücher aus Frankreich, Irland und Italien, mit einem kleinen Anhang von Compositionen und Gedichten. Nuremberg: Raw, 1843, pp. 40-88.

PAN – Philipp Andreas Nemnich: Neuste Reisen durch England, Schottland und Ireland, hauptsächlich in Bezug auf Produkte, Fabriken und Handlung. Tübingen: Cotta, 1807.

SaI – Anonymous: Skizzen aus Irland – oder Bilder aus Irlands Vergangenheit und Gegenwart von einem Wanderer. In: Eduard Widenmann and Hermann Hauff (eds.): Reisen und Länderbeschreibungen der älteren und neusten Zeit. Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1838.

WW – Wilhelm Wagner: Ueber die Medizinal-Anstalten und den jetzigen Zustand der Heilkunde in Grossbritannien und Irland; mit elf Abbildungen. Berlin: Reimer, 1825, pp. 259-290.

WvH – Wilhelm von Horn: Reise durch Deutschland, Ungarn, Holland, Italien, Frankreich, Großbritannien und Irland: in Rücksicht auf medicinische und naturwissenschaftliche Institute, Armenpflege u.s.w. Berlin: Enslin, 1832.

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