The Politics of the Image: Ireland, Landscape and Nineteenth-Century Photography

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Summary

This thesis examines the politics inherent in photographic imaging of place and space in nineteenth-century Ireland. It is a critical-historical analysis of five separate phases of activity between 1842 and 1897 – a period during which politics on the island of Ireland was dramatically transformed, while the evolution of photographic technologies was radical in its shift from slow artisanal processes to mass-market industrialised protocols. The first chapter, 'The Military Observer', considers a number of Calotype images, made by Captain Henry Craigie Brewster while he was stationed in County Cork as an army officer during the winter and spring of 1842-43. They remain the earliest known surviving Irish photographs, produced within a visual regime where the instability of colonial power is manifest in tentative images of territory. Chapter Two, 'The Invisible Famine', analyses the implications that unfold from the absence of Famine photographs, drawing attention to a crisis in the field of visual representation produced by encounters with disaster. In the following section, 'Big House Photography: Space, Place and Modernity', the position of photography emanating from Anglo-Irish society in mid-century is considered from a perspective that seeks to expand the limited readings afforded up to now, and suggests new accounts of images that have often been presented as narrow signifiers of social privilege. The penultimate chapter, 'Visualising the Rise and Fall of New Tipperary', is focused on how contending photographic languages mediated one of the key battlegrounds in the Plan of Campaign's conflict with a government-backed syndicate of landlords in 1889-90. The uses to which the images were put demonstrate how photographs became more deeply enmeshed in mediatised political narratives during the late-nineteenth century. The final section, 'Imaging and Imagining Eviction', critically examines Maud Gonne's 1897 appropriation of eviction images for a political street protest during Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, and offers a partially speculative reading of the moment that addresses the conceptual unmooring of photographs from authorship and historicity at the turn of the twentieth century.

I hereby certify that this thesis, which I now submit for examination for the award of Doctorate, is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Feargal Fitzpatrick

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Introduction

A hurricane struck Ireland on the night of Sunday, 6 January 1839, killing hundreds of people and destroying thousands of homes. The storm continued across Britain and surrounding seas, disrupting shipping and communications. In Ireland it became known as "Oíche na Gaoithe Móire".[1] On the morning of Monday 7 January, François Arago, Director of the Paris Observatory, announced to the Académie des Sciences that Monsieur Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre had discovered a process to permanently fix images made by a camera obscura. Continuing bad weather prevented the news from travelling to the United Kingdom for several days. When it did filter through, William Henry Fox Talbot was prompted to bring forward the release of news about his parallel development of a comparable technology, the Calotype. The extreme weather system's destructive force prefigured the profound rupture to the fabric of visual culture that was initiated that week in Europe. The rapid spread of early photography pushed new ways of seeing into countless knowledge domains, reconfiguring epistemological boundaries and forms of representation across a wide spectrum of human enquiry in the arts and sciences.

This thesis examines the politics inherent in photographic imaging of place and space in nineteenth-century Ireland. It is a critical-historical analysis of five separate phases of activity between 1842 and 1897 – a period during which politics on the island of Ireland was dramatically transformed, while the evolution of photographic technologies was radical in its shift from slow artisanal processes to mass-market industrialised protocols. The first chapter, ‘The Military Observer’, considers a number of Calotype images, made by Captain Henry Craigie Brewster while he was stationed in County Cork as an army officer during the winter and spring of 1842-43. They remain the earliest known surviving Irish photographs, produced within a visual regime where the instability of colonial power is manifest in tentative images of territory. Chapter Two, ‘The Invisible Famine’, analyses the implications that unfold from the absence of Famine photographs, drawing attention to a crisis in the field of visual representation produced by encounters with disaster. In the following section, ‘Big House Photography: Space, Place and Modernity’, the position of photography emanating from Anglo-Irish society in mid-century is considered from a perspective that seeks to expand the limited readings afforded up to now, and suggests new accounts of images that have often been presented as narrow signifiers of social privilege. The penultimate chapter, ‘Visualising the Rise and Fall of New Tipperary’, is focused on how contending photographic languages mediated one of the key battlegrounds in the Plan of Campaign’s conflict with a government-backed syndicate of landlords during 1889-90. The uses to which the images were put demonstrate how photographs became more deeply enmeshed in mediatised political narratives during the late-nineteenth century. The final section, ‘Imaging and Imagining Eviction’, critically examines Maud Gonne’s 1897 appropriation of eviction images for a political street protest during Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee, and offers a partially speculative reading of the moment that addresses the conceptual unmooring of photographs from authorship and historicity at the turn of the twentieth century.

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[1] Which translates as, "the night of the big wind". See Bunbury; Taylor & Schaaf, 3; Duffy, 210.

Nineteenth-century photography in Ireland has received increased scholarly attention in recent decades. However, there remains limited critically engaged research. Since 1980 a number of texts have dealt with the field empirically.[2] These works combined to develop an uneven historical overview, enabling a subsequent wave of scholarship to engage with the field from a theoretical perspective, addressing the relationships between history and photographic representation.[3] Internationally, a body of literature has emerged since the 1990s dealing with the political dimensions of landscape representation in its relationships with the intertwined discourses of anthropology and colonialism.[4] Work on photography and colonialism is not extensive, with little focus on Ireland. In terms of representations of landscape, some research has been done in critically examining the Irish context specifically, but without any monograph placing its sole emphasis on the visual in general, or photography in particular.[5] Engagements with wider aspects of Irish culture and history through a range of theoretical and disciplinary lenses that can be broadly aligned with Postcolonial Studies also shaped some of the initial groundwork for this PhD thesis.[6]

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[2] Chandler, 1980, 1989, 2001; Hickey; Liam Kelly; Kissane, 1990; Osman; Rouse; Sexton & Kinealy; Slattery, 1992.

[3] Breathnach; Carville, 2005, 2011, 2014; Cullen, 2002; Edge; Flannery & Griffin; Nash.

[4] On the relationships between anthropology, colonialism and photography see Elizabeth Edwards, Edwards and Hart; Hight and Sampson; Maxwell; Pinney, 2011; Pinney and Peterson, 2003; Pratt; Ryan.

[5] On representations of landscape, see Wells; Copley & Garside; Crandell; DeLue & Elkins; Pugh. On representations of landscape with particular reference to Ireland, see Duffy; Hooper & Ní Bhroiméil.

[6] Deane, Kiberd and Gibbons opened up a field of debate, into which Graham and Kirkland's work became a significant critical intervention. Graham, 2001, and Claire Connolly further developed contemporary scholarship within Irish studies and literary theory, along channels that both challenged the terms of the dispute between 'revisionism' and postcolonial theory, and extended the ways in which Irish culture could be critically understood. These texts are important in that they overlap and intersect with scholarship on visual culture in general and (in places) photography in particular, while bringing a critical and theoretical depth that is absent in the majority of writing on Irish photography cited above. For elements of the postcolonial versus 'revisionist' debate on Ireland, see Cleary; Curtis, 1963, 1997, 2011(a); Dalsimer; Deane; Foster, 1988; Gibbons, 1996: Gibbons et al 2002; Graham 2001; Graham & Kirkland, 1998; Howe; Kiberd,

The project began by identifying signal moments in the development of photographic imaging of landscape in Ireland during the 1800s. Rather than proposing an historical continuum in which the theme of landscape unfolds, I have adopted an episodic approach, choosing instances of photographic practices and debates which present an opportunity for extending critical analyses of the material. The key points of focus are sites where photography intersects with the heterogeneous and often contested discourses of colonialism, nationalism and capitalism. At these sites, photographs themselves form part of this contestation, and in the arguments that follow, I seek to explain how images can reflect, manifest and/or reconfigure the ways in which we might understand the discourses in which they are enmeshed. There is no attempt to produce an account of Irish photography in broad terms, or Irish landscape photography specifically. Instead, each section seeks to critique the discursive entanglements manifest at specific sites of photographic production, circulation and reception.

The term 'landscape' is used here as a means to approach particular sets of photographic representations of geographic (and some architectural) spaces in Ireland during the period. Though some of the images could comfortably sit within a landscape 'genre' in photography, the object of study is not photography of landscape as a category, but the relationships between photography and landscape as an idea. Simon Schama traces the sixteenth-century trajectory of the word 'Landschap' to Britain from the Netherlands, where the word had been used to label a geographical unit of human occupation or jurisdiction.[7] Representations of

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1995; Leerssen, 1996(a), 1996(b); Lloyd, 1999. See Flannery for an overview and commentary on the field.

[7] 10. See also Alpers, 136.

Landschaps, or ‘Landskips’ in English, led to the word being used to mean a representation of such units. In the Netherlands, land reclamation schemes were immense triumphs of technology and human effort. The soil itself was inscribed with its own story simply by being firm and arable. Svetlana Alpers argues that representations of landscapes in Dutch art of the time were descriptive acts, unburdened by the overtones of a seigneurial view which could connote a threat of dispossession. Dutch land ownership models saw 50% of the land then owned by its peasant farmers, and processes of mapping or imaging the land were not seen as strategic initial steps by powers seeking to displace the occupants.[8] Alpers was writing at a time in the 1980s during which the influence of the political left on art history and visual culture was becoming increasingly apparent. Analyses of the late eighteenth-century Picturesque movement by some scholars of British art were predicated on the capacity of this aesthetic strategy to obscure the material realities and social relations inherent in British society as it became transformed by the industrial revolution.[9] From this critical position, the alienation of the worker, the displacement of the peasant and the concentration of aristocratic wealth were absent from the picture frame. Despite the ambition of this scholarship to strip away the romantic veneer from late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century visual culture, the idea of the rural landscape as redolent of an arcadian idyll has persisted in popular taste.

W. J. T. Mitchell addresses this phenomenon in distinguishing his “surface model” approach to landscape studies from Schama’s “depth model”. He writes: “I am concerned with images, representation, and stereotypes of landscape that, while often demonstrably false and superficial, nevertheless have considerable power to mobilize political passions".[10] Elsewhere, Mitchell asserts that certain forms of landscape imaging are exhausted:

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[8] See Alpers, 148-52.

[9] See Barrell 1972, 1980, 1986, 1990; Berger, 1972; Copley and Garside; Bermingham.

> Landscape in the form of the picturesque European tradition may well be an 'exhausted' medium, at least for the purposes of serious art or self-critical representation; that very exhaustion, however, may signal an enhanced power at other levels (in mass culture and kitsch, for instance) and a potential for renewal in other forms, other places.[11]

As a signal technology in optical modernity, nineteenth-century photography became a dominant medium through which visual mass culture expanded, manifesting within its products the renewed power of landscape mythologies as they migrated from art to popular forms. Through these forms Mitchell connects landscape imaging directly to material historical conditions and ideology:

> The 'reflective' and imaginary projection of moods into landscape is read as the dreamwork of ideology; the 'rise and development' of landscape is read as a symptom of the rise and development of capitalism; the 'harmony' sought in landscape is read as a compensation for and screening off of the actual violence perpetrated there.[12]

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[10] 2000, 195.

[11] 1994, 3.

[12] Ibid., 7.

In this model, the conflicts involved in territorial politics become erased in the cultural conventions of the victor. Photographic images see the political and the cultural intertwined within their pictorial compositions, through the protocols and mechanisms of photography's distribution, display and consumption. Rather than simply reflecting what is visible to optical technologies, photographs of landscape manifest the contending ideologies vying for control of the spaces involved.

Mitchell's "screening off" concept, where material historical conditions are elided through a process of dream work owes a debt to the work of Karl Marx via Walter Benjamin's Marxian critiques of capitalist spectacle. Benjamin's thinking on photography maintains an important position in critical-historical approaches to photography today – where the photograph can be understood simultaneously as a commodity, a mnemonic device, a poetic text and a collapse of time and distance. This influence unfolds from Benjamin's development of Marx's model of the commodity in the market place to one focused on the visual encounter with the commodity on display in the city street, the arcade and the department store. Central to this connection is the immateriality at the heart of Marx's concept of the commodity fetish.

David Harvey stresses the importance of the immaterial in Marx's analyses of capital. He states: "Capital is a social relation, mediated through things", and argues that this concept is "central to Marx's argument".[13] He quotes: "Not an atom of matter enters into the objectivities of commodities as values",[14] and says, "Marx's foundational concept, value, is immaterial".[15] Harvey draws attention to the importance of Marx's concept of the fetishisation of the commodity as important to cultural studies and literary theory.[16] The idea is introduced in the first chapter of *Capital*: "The commodity form and the value-relations of the products of labour within which it appears, have absolutely no connection with the physical nature of the commodity and the material (*dinglich*) relations arising out of this".[17] To begin to explain the relation of value to physical commodity, Marx argued that:

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[13] Harvey, Class 12, 1 hr 6 min.
[14] Marx, 1990, 138.

> [one] must take flight into the misty realms of religion. There the products of the human brain appear as autonomous figures endowed with a life of their own, which enter into relations both with each other and with the human race. So it is in the world of commodities with the products of men's hands. I call this the fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labour as soon as they are produced as commodities, and is therefore inseparable from the production of commodities.[18]

Harvey says "Fetishism is not something that you can just brush away".[19] For him, it is not simply a matter of consciousness, but is intrinsically linked into the production of commodities. Social relations between people are displaced into material relations between people and things. Under capitalism, people relate to each other through a constellation of objects.[20] For Harvey, in Marx's schema,

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[15] Harvey, Class 2, min 23.

[16] See Harvey, Class 2, min 53-54.

[17] 165.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Harvey, Class 2, min 55.

[20] Harvey, Class 2, min 57.

"exchange value is *a representation* of something else" (my emphasis).[21] Harvey quotes Marx:

> Value therefore, does not have its description branded on its forehead; it rather transforms every product of labour into a social hieroglyphic. Later on, men try to decipher the hieroglyphic, to get behind the secret of their own social product: for the characteristic which objects of utility have of being values is as much men's social product as is their language.[22]

Jacques Derrida closely examines this key moment in Marx's work, and excavates deeper into the immaterial nature of the commodity fetish:

> When Marx evokes specters at the moment he analyses, for example, the mystical character or the becoming fetish of the commodity, we should therefore not see in that only effects of rhetoric, turns of phrase that are contingent or merely apt to convince by striking the imagination. If that were the case, moreover, one would still have to explain their effectiveness in this respect.[23]

Here, Derrida seeks to provide an explanation withheld by Marx. Where Marx was satisfied to leave the terms of the flight into the 'misty realms of religion' unexplored from a materialist viewpoint, there lingers an unresolved gap that

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[21] Harvey, Class 1, 1 hr 9 min.

[22] Marx, 1990, 167.

[23] 2006, 185.

Derrida finds productive. Derrida defines the social relations of humans transposed onto commodities as ‘socius’, and writes:

> This *socius*, then, binds ‘men’ who are first of all experiences of time, existences determined by this relation to time which itself would not be possible without surviving and returning, without that being ‘out of joint’ that dislocates the self-presence of the living present and installs thereby the relation to the other.[24]

In this account the relationship between ‘man’ and time supplants that between man and God (though not unproblematically, as the dislocation concept illustrates) as a materialist Ideal: “He [Marx] analyzes time as that which is first of all abstract or ideal (ein Ideelles) since it is the negative unity of being-outside-self (like space of which it is the truth)”.[25] For Derrida, the mediation of social relations via the commodity fetish is not an analogue of social relations, but rather another dimension of the same set of relations: “The ‘phantasmagoria’ that Marx is working here to describe, the one that is going to open up the question of fetishism and the religious, is the very element of this social *and* spectral becoming: at the same time, by the same token”.[26] The end to which Derrida pushes this concept is the ontology of the commodity fetish. He takes the indeterminacy of human-time relations, and combines it with human and non-human social relations, but defers ontology in favour something more spectral:

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[24] Ibid., 193-4

[25] Ibid., 194.

[26] Ibid., 196.

> To haunt does not mean to be present, and it is necessary to introduce haunting into the very construction of a concept. Of every concept, beginning with the concepts of being and time. That is what we would be calling here a hauntology. Ontology opposes it only in a movement of exorcism. Ontology is a conjuration.[27]

To pin down precisely the commodity's conditions of existence would be to expel its ghosts, and merely contrive something contingent. Derrida proposes instead that we retain the spectral – as a function our subjective experience of time – and rather than resolve Marx's flight into religious thought, we acknowledge that time and space are a truer Ideal, and that the spectre figures as the elusive nature of certainty. Where Derrida eliminates the theological component from our understanding of the uncertainty at the heart of the commodity fetish, there remains a form of faith, in society, in one another. When this communitarian impulse is eroded the resulting estrangement becomes a divisive force. Benjamin saw in the enthronement of the commodity on display an accelerating influence on this process of estrangement.

Estrangement and disjuncture became central to Benjamin's reading of photography.[28] For him, photographic representations added another layer of estrangement between the viewer and the social relations involving the people and objects depicted. This was a complicating element in modern culture where, for

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[27] Ibid., 202.

[28] Benjamin, discussing the merits of surrealist photographic practices, related Brecht's claim that: "Less than at any time does a simple reproduction of reality tell us anything about reality [...] Reality proper has slipped into the functional. The reification of human relationships, the factory let's say, no longer reveals those relationships. Therefore something has actually to be constructed, something artificial, set up" (2002, 24).

Benjamin, the focus was on the commodity on display, the realms of entertainment, and international fairs:

> World exhibitions glorify the exchange value of the commodity. They create a framework in which its use value recedes into the background. They open a phantasmagoria which a person enters in order to be distracted. The entertainment industry makes this easier by elevating the person to the level of commodity. He surrenders to its manipulations while enjoying his alienation from himself and others. – The enthronement of the commodity, with its luster of distraction, is the secret theme of Grandville's art.[29]

In his analysis of photography, Benjamin also borrowed from Marx in the development of his 'dialectical image' concept, and in doing so anticipated Derrida's focus on relationships with time as central to human experience.[30] For Benjamin, the photographic image takes us out of the continuum of temporal relations inherent in our embodied experience of existence, and collapses time and distance through an 'emergent' image. The industrialisation of photography through systems such as the Kodak company's commercial model multiplied the dialectical image into the fabric of everyday life. The collapsed chronotope of the image surface's semantic charge both transformed and became an intrinsic feature of everyday life in modernity.

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[29] Benjamin, 2002, 7. J. J. Grandville was the pseudonym of Jean Ignace Isidore Gérard, the mid-nineteenth century French caricaturist and artist, whose images of Paris were important to Benjamin's analysis of the city in modernity, and influential among the early Surrealists.

[30] See 2002, xii.

Roland Barthes built on these concepts in his semiology, in its 'harder' earlier forms, in his account of shared semantic frameworks in *Mythologies*, and in *Camera Lucida* where the subjective encounter with the photographic image is modeled as a chain reaction predicated on the tension between the '*studium*' (the image's denotative function) and the '*punctum*' (its connotative potential).[31] The influence of Barthes' and Benjamin's work in the renewal of critical approaches to photography since the 1970s became a route through which the ideas of Marx have percolated into contemporary studies of photographic images. In this process, Marx's social hieroglyphic evolves into Benjamin's dialectical image, and combines with the Barthesian *punctum* to ripple out into critical and popular understandings of the medium.[32] For this reason, Harvey describes the concept of the social hieroglyphic as "the golden nugget in Marx" for cultural theorists.[33]

Today, the spaces of late capitalism can appear impervious to a critique predicated on alienation, while the digital proliferation of photographs strains at the limits of Benjamin's dialectical image. The dominance of Barthesian and Benjaminian thought on critical-historical studies in photography is challenged by ideas brought forward in Jacques Rancière's work on visual culture. Rancière challenges any easy reliance on the *punctum* as a 'way in' to the photograph, and instead suggests another dual system for understanding the image, where the viewer is not guaranteed the satisfaction of disclosure or insight. In his model, the photographic image presents legible indices of material reality (accessed through our pre-learned systems of interpretation) and at the same time operates as a system of mute and impervious blocs of visibility holding secrets that we shall never know.[34]

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[31] Jay Prosser, citing Nancy Shawcross, outlines how *Camera Lucida* is perhaps a palinodic rejection of postmodernity and poststructuralism by Barthes in favour of a return to modernist principles, or, more subtly, it is a text that can be read "in two directions at once" (22).
[32] These terms will be contextualised and elaborated upon below.
[33] See Harvey, Class 2, min 53-54.

Through a prism of current cultural conditions, Rancière proposes his model of ‘dissensus’ as a “re-framing of the real”, to disrupt the regime of perception, provide a glimpse of underlying political conditions, and offer direction towards progress.[35] In this conceptual framework,

> [politics], before all else, is an intervention in the visible and the sayable. […] The essential work of politics is the configuration of its own space. It is to make the world of its subjects and its operations seen. The essence of politics is the manifestation of dissensus as the presence of two worlds in one.[36]

Though Rancière’s position could be seen as a simple reworking of the Marxian social hieroglyphic as a function of alienation (or as a redescription of the collapsed chronotope of Benjamin’s dialectical image), what it contributes is the value of the contingent moment for both the viewer and the producer of photographic images. This idea of momentary insight is an important methodological concept, which takes into consideration both the complexity of the photographic instant of production, and the conditionality of any reading produced now. It is also proposes an analytical framework predicated on a duality, with uncertainty, contingency and a degree of reading ‘against the grain’ inherent in the work of the scholar. Rancière establishes a nuanced position in relation to photographs, where an overarching theoretical approach is displaced by a critical sensibility alert to its own moments of operation. This philosophy of photography can build a system of reading which is capable of revealing narratives within and around photographic images, without seeking to establish a totalising account of either the moment represented or photography itself.

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[34] See Rancière, 2007, 15.
[35] 2010, 149.
[36] Ibid., 45.

However, there are some moments of photographic production that exert an inescapable pressure on any conceptual model proposed for negotiating the image. In particular, the imaging of disaster and suffering has been the locus for strident debate on photographic protocols from early in the technologies' existence. Georges Didi-Huberman's book, *Images in Spite of All*, engages with some of the most contested territory in these debates, focusing on images made by prisoners inside a Second World War extermination camp. Didi-Huberman contests the grounds upon which the debate is held and, in his disagreements with Claude Lanzmann and other writers, he brings our focus to the heart of photographic studies: the ethics of the photographic act. Within the debate it becomes clear that the extreme ethical implications of a given historical moment can demand a level of clarity that risks being diminished rather than enhanced by a visual index. Making photographs in these contexts risks a collapse of the real into the image, taking representation into realms of trivialisation and disavowal. Didi-Huberman argues strongly for us not to abandon the power of the image, but to be vigilant to the totalising collapse of the real feared by Lanzmann.[37] Rancière frames this risk in terms of there being 'unrepresentable' moments predicated on "something unthinkable at the heart of the event, and something unpresentable at the heart of art".[38]

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[37] 134.

Throughout this thesis there is a tension between indeterminacy in the reading of images on one hand, and a materialist account of their contexts of production, circulation and consumption, on the other. This tension – between materialist histories and interpretative tendencies in reading – produces a critical space allowing what is known about an historical moment to intersect with the photographic image's representational surface. This critical space becomes the locus for exploring a methodology of reading photographs, which exists as a dialectic between these two poles of reading and critique. Here, I argue for an approach in which photographs become activated within modalities of encounter, where the multiple dualities conjured by Benjamin's collapsed chronotope, Barthes' *punctum-studium* formation, and Rancière's vivid indices competing with opaque blocs of visuality, become productive forces in an ecology of images encountered by a Foucauldian "memory on the alert".[39]

In accounting for elisions, inconsistencies, contradictions, spectres, uncertainties, dislocations and instabilities in the sensorium, how does a critical methodology avoid spiralling beyond legibility into the chaos of a free-floating relativism? The answer is twofold. Firstly, it adopts a consistent theoretical position, which proposes: that photography produced, and was produced by, a rupture in visual modernity; that the myriad systems and regimes of nineteenth-century photography evolved through a dialectic with the mediatised culture of which they were part; and that photographic images are active signifiers – they 'do' things. Secondly, it works from an argumentative base that acknowledges the implacable nature of uncertainty, but allows that we can say things about given moments. To do so, we can see the camera shutter as a 'blade', producing indexical slices of time in photographic form, where we read the photograph as a 'cross-section' of the discursive knot represented in that moment. We can then understand our reading as a contingent account of the political, historical and cultural filaments revealed therein – to be arranged and presented in a conceptual order that is partial and sometimes fleeting. This approach acknowledges a central problem in reading photography – the continual deferral of meaning – where to pin down one set of interpretative coordinates is to displace another. Here, I have borrowed from Raymond Williams, who writes that, "in pursuing 'both the persistence and the historicity of concepts', is to cut 'particular cross-sections' though the historical process, finding in each immediate conjuncture the 'specific contents and histories' of lived experience".[40] The analytical unfolding of these contents and histories, it is hoped, provide new ways to understand the past through photographic images.

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[38] 2007, 130-31, citing Jean-Françoise Lyotard.
[39] 2001, 77.

In his account of the early phases of the medium – and consistent with the theme of indeterminacy – Geoffrey Batchen argues against the idea of an 'invention' of photography, proposing instead photography's 'conception', which took place through a multiplicity of events.[41] In an Irish context, the actions of an army officer based in 1840s Munster constitute one small, early, and important moment in this chain.

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[40] Smith, S. vi.

[41] See 1997, viii.

When Henry Craigie Brewster began his experimental photography in County Cork during his military posting to Ireland in 1842, the country was witnessing the initial stirrings of entrepreneurial photography. Francis Beatty had set up his Daguerreotype studio in Belfast, and Richard Beard had extended his Daguerreotype business interests from Britain to Dublin. Henry Brewster was the son of Sir David Brewster, a leading scientist and academic based in St Andrews in Scotland. Influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment tradition, David Brewster had established the St Andrews Literary and Philosophical Society, where some members became enthusiastic amateurs in the experimental early stages of the Calotype. The first chapter, 'The Military Observer', examines how Henry Brewster's production of the oldest surviving Irish photographic images can be critically and historically contextualised from a contemporary perspective. It presents a reading that elaborates on the implications of the military officer with a camera, in an anomalous colonial territory that was experiencing the early moments of romantic cultural nationalism. As new forms of politics were finding more strident voices, the images produced by Brewster represent a tentative peering across and along the boundaries of his military installations. The images are read as an interlocking system of binaries, involving inside and outside, soldier and civilian, English and Irish, positive and negative, surveyor and surveyed, occupier and occupied. Their formal attributes evidence the qualities that were to become intrinsic to photographic representation, in that they arrest a moment in time, while expressing a new relationship *with* time. Their physical presence 176 years later generates an artefactual relationship with temporality. As quotidian moments from an army officer's working life, they were produced in the cultural slipstream of romantic landscape painting, and speak to the occupation and ownership of the territory visible within their frames.

The political landscape of Ireland at the time was in tumult. O'Connellism was morphing into the Repeal movement, which in turn led to cultural nationalism as represented by the Young Ireland activists, replete with its historically-inflected ideology.[42] At the time, the camera was the latest device in a sequence of technologies – including the Claude glass, Camera Lucida and Camera Obscura – to 'capture' landscapes for the purposes of art. It entered into circulation at the same time that significant social and infrastructural changes were being put in place nationally. The effects of Catholic Emancipation were transforming the public sphere, while the Poor Law Commission was reordering the logic of local government. The Ordnance Survey was mapping the landscape, across which Bianconi Cars were extending horizons of expectation in terms of travel. Ribbon Societies had been disrupting the countryside with varying levels of secrecy and terror for decades, and served as a reminder that the politics of plantation were unresolved. The Ordnance Survey's work upset two opposing political ideologies simultaneously. Nationalism of a Gaelic orientation saw it as obliterating valuable cultural reference points through its translation and renaming of places.[43] Elements within Unionism accused it of migrating unwelcome ideas into government-sponsored work and supporting Gaelic cultural nationalism through language, folklore and the promotion of discourses of dispossession among the peasant class. Irish cultural nationalism constructed the landscape as a site deeply inscribed with an essentialist identity, and pre-plantation Ireland as a lost zone of civilisation and culture. This perspective was at odds with British romantic ideas that projected a sense of utopian, pre-industrial simplicity into the unspoilt landscape. The visual cultural field of industrial modernity was complicated by the inception of photography at the same time that the political ramifications of new systems of industrial labour were shaping the ideas of the young Marx. His early critiques of Hegelian Idealism made the case that all forms of government, where power resided in wealth predicated on primogeniture, were unjust and unsustainable in the modern world. Simultaneously, photography was seeping across epistemological boundaries into a vast range of human activity, and reconfiguring how the world could be seen. Its new forms of opticality heralded a new phase in modernity, combining with capital to permeate a mediatising culture that was evolving in step with elevated levels of literacy, leisure time, and disposable income. The idea of modernity in Ireland was soon to be ruptured in a profound way, through its violent collision with the events and effects of the Famine. The rapidly expanding optical regime introduced by photography was to encounter unimagined boundaries. The tentative position of the photographer in a colonial space was to be superseded by a crisis at the centre of photographic representation, the consequences of which remain unresolved.

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[42] Leerssen writes that the Young Ireland movement, and later forms of cultural nationalism "cultivated historical myth and fed on unredressed grievances which the past had bequeathed to the present". 1996(a), 356.

[43] See Andrews, J. H., Doherty and Ó Cadhla for comprehensive accounts of the Ordnance Survey's origins and early work in Ireland.

The limitations of photographic representation are the subject matter of Chapter Two, 'The Invisible Famine'. The chapter is in two parts. The first section argues that Ireland, between 1801 and 1845, can be understood as a place characterised by visibility and invisibility. The ideologies of Unionism and Nationalism were developing systems of signification, with their iconographies becoming a visual presence in the public sphere. The cottier system of landholding was built upon the absent middleman, who nonetheless extracted his price. The landscape was filled with traces of previous social formations, with castles and abbeys in ruins, ancient tombs and forts decaying into the earth. It was also marked by estate perimeter walls, military installations, and newly built workhouses. Across the country, invisible figures wreaked havoc at night through agrarian violence directed at landlords and farmers seen as culpable within the landlord system. The second section of the chapter argues that imaging of catastrophe brings about a crisis in discourses of representation – a debate that is familiar in contemporary discourses on photography, but requires a deeper critique when oriented towards the Irish Famine. Specifically, the absence of photographs 'of' the Famine poses a series of questions to contemporary critical historical studies of photography. Our tendency to frame the lack of such images as a gap speaks to a set of expectations that cannot be historically 'retro-fitted'. The implications unfold into a field of discourse involving politics, ethics and historiography, demanding a negotiation of the continuities and disjunctions between horizons of expectation then and now. Joep Leerssen argues that the Famine marks the end point of a period in Irish history that shares characteristics with other societies across Europe at the time. This 'Sattelzeit' phase saw the transformation of Gaelic culture from being a marginalised element of Irish life into a dominant feature of the public sphere.[44] The process brought about a renewed interest in Gaelic culture of the past, and plumbed the physical landscape of the countryside for its signifiers – laying claim to the round towers, abbeys, castles and ancient forts that surrounded the populace. The mythical figure of Captain Rock embodied the politics of the various Ribbon societies, and became a symbol for emergent cultural nationalism linked to land disputes. The early nineteenth century in Ireland had seen emboldened secret societies carrying out agrarian violence. Localised and sometimes personalised, the disparate groups that constituted 'Ribbonism' built their ideology around a logic of justification linked to plantation evictions. As the movement's target, the Ascendancy lived with a sense of fear and suspicion. Captain Rock's depiction in text, ballad and image moved from being a fictional metaphorical character into an embodiment of nationalist resistance to the status quo. O'Connellism harnessed this political energy and channelled it into constitutional politics, achieving Catholic Emancipation.

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[44] See Leerssen, 2002, 12.

These developments formed part of the visible capture of the public sphere by Gaelic-oriented culture, and combined with modern print culture to disseminate its ideology, through *The Nation* and other publications. The militant Young Ireland phenomenon grew out of the more conservative constitutional movement, and exploited print media to expand its more radical politics. British government responses to these events saw a growth in troop numbers at Irish garrisons, and the establishment of new structures such as the Peace Preservation Force, a proto-police system under centralised control. With the Irish population growing rapidly, and large numbers of tenant farmers subject to the multi-layered cottier system, Thomas Malthus argued that such population growth posed a threat to British stability.[45] Irish agriculture was producing more than enough food for the expanding population, with excess amounts exported, mostly to Britain. When crop failure in 1845 was followed by Famine in 1846, neither the country's social fabric nor its governance structures could withstand the dramatic effects. Inadequate responses from two successive governments were built on providentialist religious beliefs, laissez-faire economics and the political distancing of Ireland from Britain. The results were catastrophic. Public works schemes failed, the Poor Law Unions couldn't cope, and soup kitchens attempted to ameliorate the worst effects of the disaster. When O'Connell died, radical thought coalesced with Gaelic culture, producing new political dynamics from the late 1840s onwards.

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[45] See Kinealy, 2015, 9. In 1827, Malthus wrote that is was "vain to hope for any permanent and extensive advantage from any system of emigration which does not primarily apply to Ireland,

Though photographs were not a direct part of the Famine's image ecology, the disaster was extensively covered in the new forms of print media thriving in Britain and Ireland. James Mahony's images for the *Illustrated London News* became iconic, combining with often-lurid textual accounts of Famine distress to generate a public culture permeated with new signifiers of mass suffering. Against the backdrop of mediatised news distribution, and the rise of the Daguerreotype studio in the cities – the absence of photographs 'of' the Famine poses questions from a contemporary vantage point. Did taboos around visualising the Famine body, and the lack of profit to be made from such images, combine to produce this gap in the visual archive? Does the nature of this absence speak to conditions at the time, or to the expectations we carry in today's image-saturated culture, where pictures of misery are normalised elements within the proliferation of rapidly circulating photographs? Didi-Huberman takes on this dimension of contemporary

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whose population, unless some other outlet is opened to them, must fill up every vacuum created in England and Scotland, and to reduce the laboring classes to a uniform state of degradation".

culture, and argues that at the heart of our relationships with images is a dislocation between experience and representation, producing ethical boundaries that must be negotiated in order to develop a defensible understanding of such images.

In mid-nineteenth-century post-Famine Ireland, politics, land ownership and culture were reconfiguring into new frameworks of legibility. Technical innovations in photography were continual from its inception, and the development of the wet collodion photographic process in the early 1850s brought about a resurgence of interest in photography among amateurs. The new format's capacity to render clear and detailed images introduced unprecedented levels of visual acuity in photography. Through its images, new forms of social legibility were produced. Many new enthusiasts were drawn from the more prosperous sections of society, having access to the resources needed to pursue the practice. The third chapter, 'Big House Photography: Space, Place and Modernity', outlines how the emergence of an elite set of practitioners in photographic art in the mid-nineteenth century led to a form of consensus around aesthetics and subject matter, which was derived from the conventions of romantic art. The piece focuses on three key figures who have become synonymous with the generic term 'Big House' photography. Firstly, Sir John Joscelyn Coghill, Fourth Baronet, of Belvedere House in Drumcondra, was a leading figure in debates around art photography. He served as High Sheriff of Dublin and as chair of the Photographic Society of Ireland, and through his practice as photographer and curator, his influence was significant in shaping ideas of photography as an art form. Coghill advocated for a particular type of romantic image making, and made the case for an alignment between

British and Irish landscape photography. He argued for the transposition of the conventions of picturesque art into photography. This proposed alignment synthesised what he saw as the continuities within the United Kingdom, and sought to promote a set of aesthetic conventions to reflect this perspective. His photographic work, and that of his peers, reflected these values, which were strengthened through various exhibitions and prizes. However, the picturesque influence that he championed relied on cultural coordinates that were rooted in England, and largely absent in Ireland. Whereas English Romanticism saw an arcadian landscape as a harking back to a pre-industrial idyll, in Ireland the past and the landscape held a cargo of suppressed civilisation and stifled potential. Unlike central England, the Irish landscape was not an escape zone from the grime of industrialised towns and cities. It was seen in nationalist thought as a territory being held by an enemy, its geographic spaces littered with ruins functioning as signifiers of what had been lost. For these reasons, the aesthetic was inherently unstable in an Irish context. A compensatory veneer of artistic consensus masked the instability.

Aspects of this fault line surface in the work of William Despard Hemphill, a socially well-connected middle-class amateur whose photographic career was largely conducted in and around Clonmel, County Tipperary, where he worked as a doctor for many years. Through his social connections, Hemphill frequented the homes and estates of local Ascendancy figures where he made some of his images. His work at the Newtown Anner estate, on Clonmel's streets, and in its environs demonstrates an acute awareness of the pervasive and visible social structures of rural Ireland. His attention to modern developments such as the railway network, as it supplanted the canal system, captures a moment of transition in mid-nineteenth century Ireland. Hemphill was a member of the Church of Ireland, his politics conservative and unionist, and in his images he celebrates the signifiers of these ideologies. Through his photographs, the big house and its material wealth is presented in rapt detail, while the military in full ceremonial mode is pictured in the landscape – visual celebrations of the structures and conventions of privilege. In his photographs are echoes and elisions of the Famine, and hints of the instability of the dominant landlord class's place in a changing society. His staged biblical tableaux, set in the landscape of Newtown Anner, enact a delegated performativity, which seeks to transcend the material in favour of higher Christian values. The gaps and imperfections in these fictions reveal traces of the instability at their aesthetic foundations.

Not far from Clonmel, in Parsonstown (now Birr), County Offaly, Mary Countess of Rosse lived and worked as one of Ireland's leading amateur photographers during the 1850s and 1860s. Her husband William was a leading astronomer, society figure and friend of Talbot's, placing the couple close to the centre of elite circles in the sciences and arts in Britain at the time. Mary's work was made in and around Parsonstown Castle, and exemplifies both the sophistication and sometimes insularity of the big house photographic archive. Her work contains detectable references to the Famine and adheres to some picturesque conventions, but what distinguishes the work is her innovative use of stereoscopy. Where Hemphill used the stereoscopic form within a set of conventions that strived to preserve the stability of the culture he inhabited, Rosse's use of the format demonstrates a more unresolved and exploratory visual language. The stereo images that she produced around the estate, and outwards across the town, probe the act of looking and establish a tension that implicates the viewer in the act of spectatorship, predicated on elevated and restricted vantage points. Rosse's photographs of the Leviathan telescope at Parsonstown introduce an early form of technological sublime. The giant lens device is captured by her camera to produce a layered contemplation on the revolutionary optical regimes in which they are both enmeshed. Seen through the stereoscopic viewer, the Leviathan photographs ruptured euclidian space, and made starkly visible the telescope that was at the time fuelling the reconfiguration of space and time in scientific and popular discourses.

The early 1880s saw a series of important innovations in photographic technologies. The dry plate process superseded wet plate collodion imaging, making professional photography faster, cleaner and more mobile. The internationalisation of the telegraph system and improvements in printing technologies combined with new forms of photography to overhaul popular communications platforms. The availability of international news in print, detailing events from around the world within a matter of hours, produced wholly new conceptions of distance and synchrony. Kodak's introduction of box cameras in 1888, pre-loaded with rolls of celluloid film, saw a paradigm shift in both professional and amateur photography. These innovations form the cultural backdrop to the events analysed in Chapter Four, 'Visualising the Rise and Fall of New Tipperary'. The Plan of Campaign's actions in Tipperary town in 1889-90 saw the production of two sets of photographs, which manifest dual perspectives on one of the key moments in Irish land politics. Both sets of images became component parts of contending narratives circulating in an increasingly mediatised culture. During a major dispute between tenants and the landlord on the Smith-Barry estate in Tipperary, the construction of new streets and a market arcade for the evicted tenants became national and international news. The Lawrence Company in Dublin dispatched a photographer to document the dispute, and made the images commercially available very soon afterwards. Credited to Robert French, Lawrence's most prominent photographer, the images featured in political slide shows and formed the basis of newspaper illustrations, which energised the narrative at home and abroad. At the same time, Patrick O'Brien MP, one of the campaign's national leaders, was an enthusiastic amateur photographer, using his Kodak camera to document police surveillance and 'shadowing' of local campaign leaders. O'Brien's images were used for political ends, discussed in parliament and presented as agit-prop visual spectacles – producing counter-narratives to dominant mainstream British media antagonism towards the campaign. They also provoked an enthusiastic response from the Kodak Company, which saw past the politics of the images to celebrate their power as a high-profile advertisement for the new device.

French's images of the New Tipperary arcade represent a series of contradictions permeating the Plan of Campaign and the wider trajectories of Irish nationalist ideology. Walter Benjamin's meditation on the urban arcade as a defining structure within capitalist modernity is focused on the commodity spectacle and its induction of a dreamlike state in the viewing subject. The interiority of the arcade form, he argues, produces a phantasmagoric state out of which consumer society must awaken in order to progress.[46] Written as an analysis of nineteenth-century Parisian arcades, Benjamin's work extends Marx's idea of the commodity fetish into an analysis of the sensory experience of the commodity on display within the city. In the same way that Ireland's lack of an industrial base undermines a romantic ideology in Irish culture, the arcade as dream-space undergoes a transformation in rural Ireland. The Tipperary arcade images allude to aspects of the Benjaminian reverie, but in many ways confound any easy alignment with its politics. The design of the space was, by the time of its opening, already a legacy form in architectural terms – with its commercial structures being superseded by department stores in major cities across Europe. The importance of the New Tipperary arcade's function as a butter market tethered the structure's atrium space to a politics that was more physiocratic than capitalistic, and the images made there invoke both the landscape outside, and its politicised occupants. However, the mercantile imperatives of the shopkeepers' spaces within, manifest through their quotidian commodities on display, connect to the teleology of the bourgeois revolution to come.

Another indicator of the shape of late nineteenth-century Irish nationalism was the lead role played by the local Catholic curate David Humphreys in the campaign. Priests had become an integral part of the National League, and connected the politics of nationalism to Roman Catholicism. When Humphreys was followed and harassed by police in the town, Patrick O'Brien shadowed the shadows. Acutely aware of the power of the photograph as a support to political rhetoric, he had one eye on Ireland and one on Westminster as a site of photographic presentation. The industrial-scale commoditisation of the camera by Kodak, and their service model in the production of its images, produced wholly new relationships between photography and capitalism. The net effect was to infuse the photograph with a double mediation. On the surface, the semantic charge of the image triggered a set of meanings for the viewer, while the camera and its photographic prints-as-commodities constitute a mediation between individuals – a set of 'social hieroglyphics' obscuring social relations within the capitalist order. The Plan of Campaign never threatened the prevailing economic system, seeking instead to re-order the protocols of tenant participation within it. With the fall of Parnell and the failure of the Plan, the Smith-Barry tenants capitulated, and most returned to their old tenancies. The landlord razed the arcade soon thereafter, and the new streets became absorbed into the old town. One legacy of the events was an enhanced level of sophistication in the production and consumption of mediatised photographic images, the banishment of the artisan photograph to the realm of the hobbyist, and the establishment of the Kodak camera as a powerful socio-political force.

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[46] See Buck-Morss, 81; Benjamin, 2002, 7, 14, 21, 938.

The final chapter, 'Imaging and Imagining Eviction', focuses on Maud Gonne's 1897 public instrumentalisation of photographs taken during the Plan of Campaign, and the politics of their appropriation, presentation and reception. On the evening of 22 June, Gonne and James Connolly led a street protest in Dublin to coincide with Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. The event started with speeches at College Green, followed by a march up Sackville (now O'Connell) Street. Towards the end of the evening, they staged a lantern slide show for the crowd gathered in the street outside the National Club on Rutland (now Parnell) Square. The slide show comprised photographs of evictions from the late 1880s, images of Fenian leaders from the 1860s and statistics on the Famine. The eviction images included some belonging to Patrick O'Brien, and almost certainly some of the more dramatic of the Lawrence collection of eviction images published in 1890. In its spectacularisation of the scenes from the Plan of Campaign, the slide show conjured another form of phantasmagoria, derived from popular entertainment formats of the time. In the 1890s, as land politics became more entwined with Gaelic romantic nationalism and combined with appeals to blood sacrifice, Gonne's use of the eviction images appealed beyond the photographs and their subjects, towards the invisible Famine, seeking to mine the popular emotional responses provoked by the connection. As substitutes for Famine photographs that never were, the 1880s images generated a link between the anti-British rhetoric of the political rally and the death and displacement of millions. This quasi-fictionalising strategy unapologetically parses the image through a nationalist political filter to link the viewer with a moment wholly absent from the image. Tensions within nationalism were already registering among its adherents. Connolly was alert to the internal differences, and concerned about the romanticisation of the past as a mobilisation of history towards a future vision that he didn't share. His apprehension was based on a fear that nationalism was negating the material circumstances of the poor, in favour of a narrative construction of a future state built upon a mythologised past. In the Lawrence eviction image collection, the most dramatic scenes are those made during the Vandeleur estate evictions near Kilrush, County Clare during the summer of 1888. Several of the photographs are semantically loaded with the violence of the newly developed battering ram, which was used by the 'emergency men' hired by the sheriff. The ram, and the destruction it brought about, became visual shorthand for British state cruelty, reducing complex social and economic circumstances to easily digestible narratives of good and bad.

The concept of spectatorship imbricates the images, both 'inside' their visual narratives, and 'outside' at their sites of presentation and reception. The photographic distancing between subject and viewer is amplified through the images' appropriation and re-use – an ironic by-product of a street spectacle designed to generate a greater empathy for the dispossessed. Gonne's role as activist bridged a space between political radicalism (within a narrow-gauge nationalism), elite society and the artistic community in Ireland at the time, becoming a refractory presence within a range of forces coalescing around separatist ideologies. Her appropriation of the eviction images as a surrogate for absent Famine eviction images, combined with rhetorical political strategies on the streets, served to transform images of holes in walls, smashed houses and demolished thatched roofs into a sequence of symbols for British aggression. Gonne and Connolly's protest produced a standoff with the Royal Irish Constabulary – a small, choreographed drama reinforcing the binary construction of nationalist versus oppressor. The slide show in the darkened street generated a new phantasmagoria, beguiling adherents of a new ideology with shreds of the past. In late nineteenth-century culture, commoditised, ephemeral images were produced and circulated in vast numbers throughout an increasingly capitalised and rapidly expanding field of representations. The complication of photographic meaning became atomised. As the twentieth century approached, photography's ubiquity generated a new form of visual noise in in the public sphere, facilitating the wrenching of images from their original contexts into new narratives for an imagined nation.

The national narratives refracted through photography in the late nineteenth century reverberate today, and the ambition of this thesis is to draw into critical focus sets of images that have been understood previously in terms of their evidential qualities within those narratives. Through an engagement with a range of historical accounts of the period, and historiographical critiques of received representations, it positions the material as a series of visual intersection points between dominant discourses in recent Irish history. The work delineates the stakes involved in the hermeneutic encounter with nineteenth-century imaging of place and space in Ireland and suggests new readings of the images, which question established interpretative methodologies. This expanded method seeks to enact a means by which complexity at the sites of photographic production, circulation and consumption can be productively reconciled within a critical framework that permits a systematic analysis of the material, and where the contingency of photographic representation re-energises our encounter with the visual.

Chapter One

The Military Observer

Introduction

Among the oldest surviving photographs made in Ireland are six images made by Henry Craigie Brewster during 1842 and 1843, while he was stationed in County Cork as an army officer. There were earlier photographic images made, which haven't survived, but Brewster's images remain, and represent an important moment in the earliest phase of photography on the island. What follows is a critical account of how the images relate to the places and times they were taken, with a particular focus on the politics of picturing place. The discussion addresses how the relationships between imaging landscape, colonialism and nationalism inform our understanding of the photographs now, and argues that photographic representations of landscape have always been ideologically framed. The strong connections between early Irish photography and early Scottish photography via the Brewster family are significant. Henry Brewster's father, Sir David Brewster, led a group of interested amateurs who were experimenting with Talbot's Calotype process in St Andrews, Scotland.[1] David Brewster was a friend and confidant of Talbot, and advised him on the earliest steps in the technology's promotion. The spread of early photography was two-pronged, emanating from the public release of Louis Daguerre's process in Paris in January 1839, and the almost simultaneous announcement of Talbot's competing technology in England. The production and consumption of Daguerreotypes spread rapidly, while the Calotype took longer to reach wider audiences. Talbot's technology eventually led to the success of negative-positive photographic processes over Daguerreotypes. Henry Brewster was part of the early wave of amateurs experimenting with Talbot's Calotype process, bringing his camera with him to military postings. Ireland in the 1840s was a British colony, but an anomaly in colonial terms. It had a constitutionally recognised status inside the United Kingdom, with its governance having evolved over hundreds of years. Its politics in the first half of the nineteenth century was developing through a series of phases predicated on a new-found confidence among middle-class Catholics, manifested in O'Connellism, and the emergence of romantic nationalist ideas inherited from Europe evidenced through the Young Ireland movement.

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[1] The original negative and positive process invented by Talbot, the Calotype is sometimes called a "Talbotype". See Daffner.

Over the previous seventeen years, the geographical spaces of Ireland were being measured, recorded and explained through the Ordnance Survey project.[2] Its memoirs project was beginning to populate a state archive with Irish folklore and antiquarian culture, and through its engagement of scholars, artists and historians it was energising a renewed, state sanctioned interest in issues around Irish identity.[3] The Ordnance Survey catalysed debates about how Ireland was represented and what was at stake in those representations. Consequently, the Ireland into which photography intervened in the early 1840s was a place alert to the profound implications of the circulation of narratives and images. It was also a place that reverberated with dissent produced by contending historiographical perspectives. Photography itself was a rupture in the field of visuality, producing wholly new optical experiences, and was quickly coopted by a multiplicity of discourses to document, record and communicate.

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[2] See Andrews, J. H., Doherty and Ó Cadhla.

[3] The memoirs project was established to publish information on topography, botany, geology, history and social conditions pertaining to particular localities. See Archer, 134.

Henry Brewster's images were made at Cork, Buttevant and Fermoy barracks and are among nineteen images that he produced which feature in the *Brewster Album*, a collection assembled by his father and mother, David and his first wife Juliet.[4] The album is held at the Getty Museum in Los Angeles, California and its Irish images are described by Graham Smith as "a 'mini-chapter' in the early history of experimental photography".[5] Henry Brewster's interest in early photographic processes grew from his father's involvement. Alison Morrison-Low describes David Brewster as having been

> one of the moving forces behind the founding of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1831; he was also one of the first scientists after Newton to be publicly honoured with a knighthood […] His interests,

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[4] Graham Smith writes that the "so-called Brewster Album provides a tangible record of Sir David's involvement with photography. A leather-bound volume of some eighty-three folios, it contains almost two hundred photographs ranging in date from 1839 to the 1850s, with the majority from the 1840s. There is an extensive series of photographs taken by Talbot, including several photogenic drawings and a number of early examples of the Calotype, and many important images by, or attributable to, Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair, John and Robert Adamson, and Captain Henry Brewster, Talbot's principal St Andrews disciples. The album also contains smaller groups of photographs and single images by a wide variety of early practitioners of photography, including Sir John Herschel, Henry Collen, Michael Pakenham Edgeworth, Nevil Story-Maskelyne, and Frances Monteith. In addition, it contains several drawings and popular prints" (2006, 12-13). Lyden states that the album was "acquired in 1984 from the Swiss collector Bruno Bischofberger, the album originally belonged to Sir David Brewster himself, who, it would appear, received the photographs as gifts from their makers and mounted them to the pages of a blank book, where some of the 190 prints are at times accompanied by various annotations from his own hand" (169). The Brewster album's most represented photographers were Talbot (51 images), Dr John Adamson (33 images) and Henry Brewster: "Perhaps a combination of parental pride and discerning taste may account for the fact that his work features nineteen times throughout the book" (Ibid., 171).

[5] 2006, 84. It has not been possible to visit the Getty Museum to view the Brewster Codex, as it is officially catalogued, and instead the high-resolution images available via the Museum web site have made it possible to inspect the images digitally online and through downloadable copies.

> which might be called catholic (though his religion was most certainly not), were scientifically centred upon optics, and he maintained an extensive correspondence with the principal European scientists working in this field.[6]

As part of the intellectual landscape underpinning the nineteenth-century drive towards empiricism, David Brewster's work was informed by the ideals of the Scottish Enlightenment. In 1842 he wrote: "The 'mind's eye' is actually the body's eye and the retina is the common tablet on which both classes of impressions are painted, and by means of which they receive their visual existence according to the same optical laws".[7] For him, the capacity of emerging photographic technologies to physically capture the optical image was a bold step in humanity's progress. In this new field, the disembodied mechanical eye of the camera – allowing visual phenomena to be directly recorded in physical form – augmented the embodied eye of the observer. The value of photography to pedagogy was important to Brewster. Writing on photography's advantages for education he emphasized that,

> the teacher, however wisely chosen and well qualified, has not at his command the means of imparting knowledge [...] unless he teaches through the eye, the great instrument of knowledge, by means of truthful pictures, or instruments, or models, or by the direct exhibition of the products of nature and of art [...] The photographic process may be advantageously employed in producing accurate representations of those objects, both of

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[6] 2001, 131. See also Morrison-Low, 2014.

[7] 20. See also Smajic, 1115; Mirzoeff, 140.

> nature and of art, which it would be desirable to describe and explain in the instruction of youth.[8]

David Brewster's friendship with Talbot began when they were introduced to each other by Sir John Herschel in 1826. Soon after the announcement of his process, Talbot wrote to Brewster sending him examples.[9] Brewster was energetic in his promotion of the process and key to the introduction of photography to Scotland.[10] Brewster's experience as inventor of the kaleidoscope (to his negligible material benefit) became important to their friendship soon after Talbot's announcement. Brewster told him: "I am glad you have taken out a Patent [in England]. To extend it to Scotland would be unprofitable. I am very anxious to hear the particulars of your new process and to see its effects".[11] Patent laws of the time required an inventor to spend about £300, with little hope of redress if the patent was infringed. David Brewster first mentioned his son Henry to Talbot in a letter of 1842 (referring to Henry's being stationed at Newry). Henry Brewster was a career officer in the British Army and was posted in Ireland during 1842-43.[12] He had been named an honorary and corresponding member of the St Andrews Literary and Philosophical Society in November 1840, an organisation through which the Calotype process flourished in the 1840s. From July to October 1842, Henry was on leave and conducted many photographic experiments at home in

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[8] Schwartz, 38, n12.

[9] Talbot's side of their correspondence was lost when all of Brewster's papers were destroyed in a fire in 1903. See Morrison-Low 2001, 134, and Smith, 2006, 85, n10.

[10] See Smith, G., 2006, 27.

[11] Morrison-Low, 2001, 136.

[12] He was born in 1816 (Sir David's fourth, and youngest son) and joined the 76th Hindoostan Regiment of Foot in October 1833 as an Ensign at 17. He was promoted to Lieutenant in August 1836, Captain in November 1839, Major in 1858 and Lieutenant Colonel in 1863. He retired in 1872 with the honorary rank of Major General. He died in 1905. (See Naef, 71; Smith, G., 2006, 34; 2007, 207-8).

Scotland. In a letter dated 22 October that year from David Brewster to Talbot, he states that Henry had been important to the development of photography at St Andrews.[13] Anne Lyden writes that "Scotland was one of the most experimental places for photography in the 1840s; even [David] Brewster, in communicating with Talbot, referred to St Andrews on more than one occasion as 'the Headquarters of the Calotype'".[14] The power of early photography was to emanate from scientific and artistic intellectual discourses such as this. It was also to be catalysed by a public sphere energised by a number of formats predicated on visual and sensory stimulation.

Before photography was introduced, there were profitable popular visual forms of entertainment that shaped the subsequent public appetite for photographic images. 'Frozen Tableaux' exhibitions were staged, wherein actors or mannequins were combined with painted backdrops and lighting effects to depict scenes from history and mythology. The verisimilitude of the experience beguiled its audiences and developed the public's appetite for more dramatic encounters. Panorama shows had developed as a very popular form of public entertainment across Europe, with elaborate installations accessible in major cities and staged by travelling teams in country towns. The shows involved massive canvasses, executed by skilled artisan painters, depicting landscapes or city skylines in great detail, and hung in a 360-degree circular presentation. Some were illuminated, using atmospheric effects to enhance the visual experience, sometimes augmented by sounds and impressionistic depictions of changing weather within the scene.

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[13] The images discussed in this chapter were taken between October 1842, when Brewster re-joined his regiment, and May 1843, when Sir David exhibited a number of them at the St Andrews Literary and Philosophical Society.

[14] 171.

From the 1790s, magic lantern and multimedia shows were also staged by private companies in urban venues and via travelling shows. The public paid to experience spectacular themed scenarios initially featuring drawings and paintings. Over time these shows were augmented using sound and lighting effects to achieve elements such as visual 'dissolves' and sudden changes of mood, in ways that prefigured the grammar of cinema a century later.[15] In May 1807, a Grand Camera Obscura was installed at top of the building situated at the junction of Dublin's Westmoreland Street and D'Olier Street, facing up Sackville Street, providing a dramatic encounter with the main street of the British Empire's second city.[16] Kevin and Emer Rockett write that

> at least one advertisement pointed out, the camera obscura not only offered a 'beautiful Panorama View of this extensive and populous part of the city of Dublin', but unlike static panorama paintings, the view was animated in real time and in 'strict conformity to the laws of nature and perspective' with 'all objects passing and repassing … delineated … in their true tint of Colouring, [and in] … particular motion'.[17]

Against this social and commercial backdrop of popular engagement with the visual, the introduction of photographic processes to Ireland could not have been dramatic. It began at a very small scale, produced by a limited cohort of interested individuals. In the case of Talbot's Calotype process, access was restricted to those granted permission by the inventor himself, which meant that only a very small number of practitioners were to be involved. The Daguerreotype's introduction had a different dynamic, and was to be much more popular and profitable.

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[15] For an extended account of the evolution and popularity of the panorama form see Rockett & Rockett, 106-40.

[16] See Rockett & Rockett, 15.

[17] 16.

Henry Craigie Brewster's Cork Calotypes

Edward Chandler points out that, given the fragility of so many early Calotype images, there are very few such images surviving in Ireland from the early 1840s and that "most of the work produced has probably literally faded away".[18] The assumption that more Calotypes were made than have survived is important to discussions of those that exist today, in that they are valued as archaeological artefacts as much as semantically charged visual records of Ireland in the 1840s.[19] Henry Brewster's Calotypes were made at a time of energetic engagement with the process across sections of British society, soon after its announcement. Other photographic images made in Ireland in the early 1840s – several of which have been written about, but are now lost – qualify any claims to uniqueness on behalf of Henry Brewster's images.[20] Of interest to this discussion is how the images represent the intersection of a set of technical and aesthetic concerns within the political and cultural circumstances of 1840s Ireland. It is also important to bear in mind that the ultimate ‘winner’ in the competition between contending photographic technologies after 1850 was Talbot’s Calotype – or more specifically the positive-negative processes to which it led. However, in the 1840s it was Daguerre’s technology that thrived, seeing a rapid growth of Daguerreotype studios across the western world, generating new channels for capital, and creating huge consumer interest and engagement. A brief account of this phenomenon in Ireland is useful to contextualise Henry Brewster’s work.[21]

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[18] 2001, 9.

[19] They have also become commodities, fetching high prices from collectors and museums, particularly since the 1980s.

[20] For example William Holland Furlong's image made in County Wicklow in 1841 – see Smith, G., 2006, 42; John (or Alphonsus) Mott's Daguerreotype of a Cork street – see Chandler, 2001, 13; Francis Stewart Beatty's Daguerreotype of Belfast's Long Bridge – see Chandler, 2001, 6; and a number of Calotypes of Dublin streetscapes from the late 1840s attributed to the Reverend Calvert Jones – see Chandler, 2001, 10; Mary and William Parsons, 3rd Earl of Rosse, Birr County Offaly made photographs. Lord Rosse, President of the Royal Society, was closely associated with William Lake Price "Who together persuaded Talbot to relinquish his patent rights of the calotype process" (Carville, 2008, 750). Rosse experimented with Daguerreotypes as early as 1842, see Carville, 2011. The image of Dublin's Castle Yard attributed to Brewster in Carville, 2011, 29, is now attributed by Larry J. Schaaf to Reverend Calvert Jones (from personal email correspondence, 23 June, 2017). See also Smith, G., 1995, and Ó Muirithe.

On 20 September 1839, Francis Stewart Beatty wrote to the *Belfast Telegraph* detailing his account of successful experiments with the Daguerreotype process.[22] His letter was the first published record of photography taking place in Ireland. Beatty went to work for Richard Beard’s London Polytechnic Institution in 1841-42 before returning to establish a portrait studio in Castle Street, Belfast. Beard, a London “coal merchant and speculator” who had bought out the entire concession for the Daguerreotype process in England and Wales in 1841, took steps to patent the Daguerreotype process in Ireland that same year.[23] There followed the immediate establishment of a number of competing Daguerreotype studios in Dublin.[24] The rapid commercial development of the process was due to its patent status. While Talbot patented and carefully protected his process, letting only a limited number of people pay to pursue the practice, Daguerre’s technology was bought out entirely and commercialised by the French government in return for a state pension to Daguerre.[25] Though the Daguerreotype process was more complicated than the Calotype, used more noxious chemicals and produced unique image objects, its availability in terms of materials, processes and instruction made it more successful and widespread initially.[26] As a result, during the earliest years of photography Talbot's Calotype process was relegated to a more experimental realm, largely explored by well-to-do British practitioners – while Daguerre's process gained commercial advantage and appealed to a general audience through its accessibility and aesthetic properties.

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[21] ‘Brewster’ refers to Henry Craigie Brewster for the rest of this chapter.
[22] See Chandler, 2001, 5, for the full text of the letter. See also Chandler, 1989, 2-3.
[23] Chandler, 2001, 14. See also Heathcote and Heathcote.
[24] This development was accelerated by the technical demonstration of the Daguerreotype technique at the Dublin Mechanics Institute from 1840. See Chandler, 2001, 13.

Beatty's letter described a now-lost Daguerreotype by him of Belfast's Long Bridge, and Chandler gives an account of an early Daguerreotype of a Cork city street, attributed to a John (or Alphonsus) Mott – but Brewster's Calotypes remain the earliest verifiable Irish photographic images.[27] For Geoffrey Batchen, photography's identity has been from its earliest originary moments continually displaced: "Every foundational point of origin that photography's historians posited – temporal, authorial, conceptual, textual or pictorial – has depended on another absent but supposedly more originary moment".[28] To offer a reading of Brewster's photographs, then, is not to seek an originary moment, or to argue for a particular position within the canon. Neither is it to account for Brewster's intentions, or to pursue some aboriginal meaning. It is to read the images in our contemporary moment and to propose an understanding that accounts for the moments at which they were made, and "to articulate the intelligibility of images for our own time (from whatever period they might come)".[29] Fintan Cullen argues that, "[in] attempting to discuss the representation of Ireland one is immediately drawn into making a distinction between *what* is represented and *who* represented it".[30] Brewster, as an army officer, was positioned within the military expression of government power in Ireland. His images were made within the barracks' walls and were looking both outwards and inwards. Numbers of military personnel stationed in Ireland fluctuated during the first half of the nineteenth century, with battalions stationed in the country for short periods. In 1800, just after the 1798 rebellion and before Union they numbered 60,000.[31] Numbers dropped during the Napoleonic wars, but rose intermittently in response to local events. In 1837 there were 16,000 military personnel stationed in Ireland with Buttevant, Cork and Fermoy among the largest installations – though troop occupancy was significantly lower than their capacity, reflecting the military imperatives of the dates of their construction.[32]

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[25] See Schwartz, 39, n20, for details of the pension arrangements, and also the provision of a smaller pension for the family of the late Nicéphore Niépce, with whom Daguerre had collaborated, recognising his contribution to the new process.
[26] See Dinius for a comprehensive account of the evolution of the Daguerreotype. See Schwartz, 41, n42, re "Daguerreotypomania" – the title of an 1839 caricature by Théodore Maurisset, which satirised public enthusiasm for the new technology.
[27] See Carville, 2008, 750, and Chandler, 2001, Plate I and Chapters I-IV, for more detailed accounts of these images.
[28] 1997, 178.

Brewster was an army officer by profession, but also a Scottish gentleman of the time – educated, well-connected socially, and involved in the early moments of what was to become a powerful and pervasive visual phenomenon. Jonathan Crary addresses the range of determinants shaping visual technologies as they emerged in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century western modernity.[33] He identifies a series of interlocking dialectical processes influencing the emergence of photography.

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[29] Batchen, 2002, 100.
[30] 1997, 5.
[31] See Foster, 1988, 244.
[32] See Bolger, Appendix 2, 251.
[33] See Crary, 1992 and 2001.

Batchen's work, similarly – in rejecting the idea of 'Eureka' moments in photography – instead examines the personalities and circumstances which brought it about. One element of both writers' work is that in the nineteenth century a certain class of individual existed, with an expectation of a range of optical experiences, and a curiosity about new technologies that would expand and deepen their understanding of the world. Batchen outlines the importance of some experimental work in proto-photographic processes by Thomas Wedgwood (of the ceramics industrialist family) and Humphry Davy (inventor of the Davy mining lamp). These men were of a particular class, having access to the information, materials, time and money to follow their research interests.[34] Similarly, Brewster's family connection to Talbot, and his association with the St Andrews Literary and Philosophical Society generated his initial interest and sustained his engagement with photography. Steve Edwards states that "Talbot's decision to frame photography through the language of art – photogenic drawing, prints, picturesque views, and so forth – effectively drew art into the orbit of industrial knowledge".[35] This connection of art to technology is central to photography's development. The epistemological indeterminacy of photography's place in the world during the 1840s and 1850s saw it mobilised across many fields of human activity and prevented it from becoming 'owned' by any one set of practitioners.[36] Crucial to the construction of the figure of the early photographer was his or her capacity as observer. Raymond Williams, in his seminal analysis of the relationships between the urban and rural, writes:

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[34] See Batchen, 1993.

[35] 113. See also Chandler, 2001, 10, re photogenic drawing. In a letter of 12 February 1839 Sir David Brewster describes the process as 'new art', see Smith, G., 2006, 27.

[36] Some of the debates about photography as 'art or science' will be discussed in Chapter Three.

> [the] self-conscious observer: the man who is not only looking at land but who is conscious that he is doing so, as an experience in itself, and who has prepared social models and analogies from elsewhere to support and justify the experience: this is the figure we need to seek: not a kind of nature but a kind of man.[37]

Here, then, is the photographer Captain Brewster – a self-conscious and critically reflexive practitioner, migrating from his social milieu to a colonial ‘contact zone’, working with an innovative technology to produce images for an initiated audience, already primed to understand them as indexical, documentary, technically advanced and aesthetically sophisticated.[38] His first subjects were physical spaces and places – landscapes. In contemporary culture (and contemporary readings of historical images), the functions of landscape representations can oscillate between depictions of place and territory. Homi Bhabha identifies a root connection between the definition of territory and its management:

> Etymologically unsettled, 'territory' derives from both terra (earth) and terrēre (to frighten) whence territorium, 'a place from which people are frightened off’. The colonialist demand for narrative carries, within it, its threatening reversal: *Tell us why we are here*. It is this echo that reveals that the other side of narcissistic authority may be the paranoia of power; a desire for 'authorization' in the face of a process of cultural differentiation

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[37] 121.

[38] See Pratt for a discussion of the colonial contact zone as an important element in debates about colonial centre and periphery.

> which makes it problematic to fix the native objects of colonial power as the moralized 'others' of truth.[39]

This idea became evident as policy among key figures in British colonial administration:

> The modern colonizing imagination conceives of its dependencies as a territory, never as a people, wrote Sir Herman Merivale in 1839 in his influential Oxford lectures on colonization which led to his appointment as Under Secretary of State for India. The effect of this distinction, he concludes, is […] an imaginary sense of power in extensive possessions which might turn into a Cyclopean policy.[40]

Bhabha argues that, ultimately, “the colonial space is the *terra incognita* or the *terra nulla*, the empty wasted land whose history has yet to begin, whose archives must be filled out; whose future progress must be secured in modernity”.[41] Brewster’s images serve to visually secure Ireland as Union territory through the central vision machine of modernity – the camera, technically monocular and ideologically cyclopean. A wholly new visual regime comes about through these few photographs.[42] The flattened perspective inherent in single-lens photography serves as a metaphor linking the cyclopean eye of expanding empire to the reductive logic of its ideology. Empire sees only what it needs, and erases that which is deemed useless to the construction of its new spatial imperatives. Beginning with tentative images such as Brewster's, photography and colonialism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries became mutually implicated in rapidly expanding scopic regimes of control and oppression.[43]

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[39] 215. Emphasis in the original.

[40] Ibid., 138.

[41] Ibid., 352.

[42] Mirzoeff describes how Thomas Carlyle coined the term ‘visuality’ in 1840 (Preface, xiii), subsequent to Karl Von Clausewitz’s article “On War” (1832) which described visuality as the general’s required view of the battlefield (124).

The boundary wall is a recurring motif in Brewster's photographs. We can see in figure 1 that the viewpoint is inside the wall of the barracks, level with the top of the perimeter looking northeast towards, and over, the edge.[44] Well-appointed houses on the street outside, opposite the barracks gate, are visible at their first and second floor levels. A shop-front at ground floor level in one house is partially visible. Through a gap between two houses one can see on the horizon a hillside, along with the indistinct shapes of distant homes. The sunshine comes from high in the sky, casting strong shadows, sharpening detail on the architectural elements in the composition. Though it is clear from local maps that the barracks was contained within the town, the image presents an optical inversion, depicting the houses as being contained behind the imposing wall – with the empty foreground as a captured space, a no-man's-land to secure and surround the enclosed territory. The open gates of the fortification suggest ease of passage, and by extension, trade with local businesses. Buttevant was a garrison town, which grew larger on the strength of military demand for goods and services in the nineteenth century. The symbiotic relationship between town and base created a mutually beneficial interdependence, which was not mirrored in rural districts, where agrarian violence had flared over the previous two decades. The barracks functioned as a centre of power, in a wider territory with the capacity for localised resistance – untrammelled by the compromises and contradictions inherent in the townspeople's commerce with the military. The open barracks gate and relatively low walls qualify any neat antagonistic binary of civilian and soldier, or British occupier versus native resistance.

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[43] See Appadurai, Carville 2007(a), Chaudhary, Edwards 1992, Landau & Kaspin, Pinney, Pinney & Peterson, Poole, Pratt and Ryan.

[44] The barrack gate archway (now the entrance to Fr. Con Buckley Memorial Park) and houses depicted in the image still exist on the corner of Military Road and Barrack Place in Buttevant (see GoogleMaps Street View at GPS: 52.235589, -8.673272. Accessed 6 December 2018).

The inevitable surface imperfections of an old Calotype being viewed today make its featured buildings fade into and out of view through the hand-rendered emulsion cloud. The image itself is a spectral coming-into-sight. The concreteness of the buildings is undermined visually by the fragility of the image itself. The blots, clouds, smudges and inconsistencies of its materiality, visually and semantically prefigure later cinematic motion-blur and introduce photography's complex relationship with the idea of 'capturing' time. The failure of the still image to arrest moments in these early long exposures is replaced by photography's ability to express time through its idiomatic, indeterminate forms. To the right of centre, a vertical pale line appears to splice a two-storey house to its taller neighbour – a disruption redolent of collage, montage or an as-yet unimagined cinematic jump-cut tying two moments together in one visual plane. The inchoate technical and aesthetic frameworks at play foreshadow powerful cinematic grammars of visual modernity.

Terry Eagleton writes that colonialism is an issue of perspective and temporal removal, in that the entire world has at some point been through the process:

> The world, in short, is not divided between colonial and non-colonial

> situations, but between live colonial situations and dead ones. Indeed it was an Irishman – in fact the greatest of all Irish political theorists, Edmund Burke – who acknowledged this point by reminding us that all acts of government are acts of usurpation, simply that some of these aboriginal injustices have been eroded by the merciful, oblivion-inducing passage of time.[45]

Williams puts it more forcefully, where he argues:

> [from] inside and outside there was this remorseless moving-in of the armed gangs, with their titles of importance, their kingships and their baronies, to feed from other men's harvests. And the armed gangs became social and natural orders, blessed by their gods and their churches, with at the bottom of the pyramid, over a tale of centuries, the working cultivator, the human and natural man – sometimes finding a living space, a settled working area; as often deprived of it – but in any case breaking the land and himself to support the rising social estate, which can be seen to culminate in the medieval 'order' of the Norman and then the English kings: a more complete because a more organized and more extended exploitation, under its banner 'Feed him ye must'.[46]

As our continual revisiting of the historical image revivifies its narrative, simultaneously its liquid stains suggest the photograph's fragility and ultimate return to its undifferentiated material constituents at some point in the future – its objecthood gone, its semantic charge evaporated, entropy becoming time's eraser – a digital ghost in the archive. Brewster the photographer occupies a physical space at a particular location on a sunny day in the mid-nineteenth century – an army officer making images at one of many seats of military power which expressed the political will of the ruling class – looking out over the wall at the homes and businesses of the 'native' Irish. As an opening moment in the canon of Irish photography, Brewster's image at once establishes division, predicated on inside and outside, British and Irish, soldier and civilian, surveyor and surveyed, occupier and occupied. It simultaneously reinforces a range of inherited truisms of Irish colonial history, while subtly undermining them with its brightly lit open gate and nearby neighbourhood, clearly at peace.

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[45] 2005, 331.
[46] 38.

Brewster's images simultaneously reinforce and undermine the materialist analyses of Eagleton and Williams. Where the brute facts of the militarisation of Ireland in the post-Napoleonic era speak to the processes they identify, the subjective encounter with these photographs begins to disconnect what we know from what we see. The battered image surface, decaying over time, occludes the immediate visual experience of Brewster as he experimented with this new technology, and distances us from his role as operative within the military-state apparatus. Instead, the formal attributes of the images allow a speculative account of the instants captured and the myriad moments since, where authorship slips in and out of focus, and meaning is unmoored from both the photographer's intentions and the archivist's mediation. The photographs invite us into a space of our own invention, triggered by their seemingly uncomplicated flat spaces of light and shade.

When Brewster was stationed at Cork Barracks, he made the photograph seen in figure 2.[47] Again it shows a barrack gate and houses outside, indicating that Brewster was consciously choosing his subjects, perhaps for formal reasons (architectural detail, composition, light and texture), and/or for conceptual reasons (to depict inside and outside, military and civilian), but there are striking similarities between the images.[48] In this photograph, the point of view is an elevated one, roughly five metres off the ground, producing a doubly-disembodied vantage point. The floating eye surveys the scene with a degree of detachment, an almost equal distancing of the viewer from the locus of political power inside the walls and the quotidian town life beyond. The guardroom façade, which dominates the centre of the composition, is largely featureless and the building itself appears to huddle with its back towards the gate to the street outside – its door and windows are facing into the military base, focused inwards. The open gate again suggests a peaceful time, with an indistinct area that could be a figure standing guard at the gate (to the left in the opening), the military discipline and stillness of his stance allowing the slow exposure to register his presence. Outside the walls, the apparently prosperous houses are higher and densely arranged, a cityscape as opposed to Buttevant's townscape – with the commercial connections between military and civilian more complex and geographically less immediate in this larger urban space. The complexity of the barracks' relationship to its context is echoed in the formal elements of the image. The repetitive patterns of the fenestration, and the visual echo of the two arched forms, combined with the illuminated planes of masonry, generate a slight visual jumble where flatness takes over and interlocking compositional elements swim a little – where the corner house's ground-floor window-surround appears to bind with the archway's stone. Indistinct areas of the image become pure geometric forms, with areas of light and dark prefiguring the distilled abstract motifs of later modernist visual and material culture. The physical surface of the aged image brings echoes of nature, with ink spatters like insects, and a surface imperfection to the right edge resembling crashing or cascading water. These coalesce to the point that the formal surface qualities of the material image generate areas where the indexical and pictorial is superseded by purely formal attributes (lines, scratches, smudges, discolouration) – creating a dreamlike quality. The circular discoloured mark towards the top of the frame (having nothing to do with Brewster himself) hovers like Nadar's balloon or a military blimp – a sky-borne threat echoing Von Clausewitz's visual logic of the military mind. What connects the interior to the exterior is the emerging rupture in the political order that has begun to take form outside the walls via the increasingly confident and prosperous post-Emancipation Catholic professional middle class.

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[47] It was most likely taken at the south gate of what became known as Victoria Barracks on the Old Youghal Road, facing the corner of Military Road, (see GoogleMaps Street View at GPS: 51.906822, -8.462183. Accessed 6 December 2018).

[48] Morrison-Low quotes a letter of October 1840 from David Brewster to Talbot: "'When you have published your method I shall immediately apply it to our beautiful ruins here which are well adapted for the purpose. We have also grand and precipitous coasts which will be easily taken.' Brewster the scientist was by no means impervious to the prevailing romanticism of the age of Sir Walter Scott" (2001, 136).

If Brewster is Williams's self-conscious observer, he also corresponds to a figure proposed by Mary Louise Pratt – that of the "seeing man".[49] The "contact zone" in her description (derived from the concept of 'contact languages', a term in linguistics for hybrid and creolised languages produced within early colonial encounters) is “the space of imperial encounters [where there are established] ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict”.[50] Pratt also uses the term “anti-conquest” to describe “strategies of innocence” on the part of the colonial authority-figure: “The main protagonist of the anti-conquest is a figure I sometimes call the ‘seeing-man’, an admittedly unfriendly label for the white male subject of European landscape discourse – he whose imperial eyes passively look out and possess”.[51] With the intersection of industry and aesthetics brought about by the camera, and the subsequent proliferation of reproducible images, Brewster’s work can be seen as a precursor to the mass-production of photographs, whose function was to identify, claim and possess physical territory on behalf of the metropolitan centre.[52] The seeing-man’s strategy of innocence, seeking Bhabha’s colonial ‘authorization’, uses the lens machine both as an instrument and a mask.

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[49] 8.

Leerssen writes that “Nineteenth-century images of Ireland are situated in this contradictory idea of Irish culture: as a political timebomb or as a picturesque idyll”.[53] Across the arts, media and popular culture of this period, representations of Ireland can be placed somewhere between the two poles of this hermeneutic spectrum, with their semantic coordinates being continually reset by events, and re-read through evolving historiography. Brewster’s Irish images, when set against this conceptual frame, reveal and conceal facts about their time, foreshadow later aspects of Irish visual culture, and echo elements of their cultural antecedents.

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid., 9.

[52] For example, see Ryan’s account of the relationships between photography and empire.

[53] 1996(b), 10.

Some of the earliest surviving images of Irish landscape are topographic illustrations produced as a means of visualising the country for military purposes.[54] The ideological position of the producer and viewer of more self-consciously constituted landscape art has been critiqued in the work of John Barrell and Ann Bermingham. In their writing, British Romantic landscape painting is examined and its ideological substructures revealed.[55] Key to their arguments are land ownership, its occupation, and how the class interests of the images' producers and patrons promoted a particular set of attitudes to the spaces and people represented – then and since. In Cullen's analysis of William Ashford's *View of Dublin from Chapelizod* (1797), he posits the image as Claudian and tranquil, but, "Commissioned by Earl Camden, Lord Lieutenant from 1795 to 1798, a period of unease that resulted in the rebellion of 1798, Ashford's view is one that conveys not so much a landscape of reaction as a landscape permanently under surveillance".[56] In Cullen's analysis, power relations are disclosed through the visual detail of a military unit on horseback approaching the Phoenix Park's Magazine Fort. While the main focus of the painting is the skyline of eighteenth-century Dublin in the distance, the synthesis of romantic aesthetics with the illustration of military power is a potent cultural strategy serving to naturalise and embed the unassailability of the governing regime. For Cullen, Ashford's image, produced during the United Irishmen's most active period, anchors representations of Ireland, via its landscape, squarely within an optical experience aligned with the interests of government. On the role of painting in Ireland at the time, he states that "[here], representation was not concerned with fostering an enquiring national consciousness, be it subtle or otherwise. Instead, these landscapes portray an Ireland of rich natural beauty fortuitously controlled by an unchallengeable power structure".[57]

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[54] See Gillespie re Thomas Phillips's 1684 series of watercolours, which provided views of Irish towns and forts.

[55] See Barrell, 1972, 1980, 1986, and Bermingham.

[56] 1997, 17. Cullen, 1997, 178, states that Ashford painted another version of the image (dated 1797), which lacked the key detail of the soldiers on horseback proceeding towards the magazine.

The military figure becomes the focus for the image seen in figure 3. The four men in the photograph, though seemingly casually posed, would have stood motionless for some time to facilitate the photograph being taken. The image is formal and informal at the same time. They stand in the parade ground of Cork Barracks, the centre of the base towards which the guardroom in figure 2 pointed. The seeing man is here recording his colleagues in arms. The hard, empty parade ground, with the barrack building's façade positioned as if a theatre's fly-system, suggests drama and performativity. On this particular stage the resolute characters are collaborators with the director as he builds his mise-en-scène – in a play constructed for an internal audience. In this image, there is no sense of exteriority – we only see military men in uniform, in a military yard, facing down the camera of an officer photographer. It is a mid-nineteenth century Green Zone, a site from which force is directed. Again, the surface qualities of the photograph evoke a dream-like element, which is both of its time and technology, but also of the intervening 176 years of care. This temporal distance inevitably layered and imbued the image with physical marks independent of its original construction, but they are marks that inflect its voice. Its blemishes, scattered like astral constellations across the surface, take the photograph away from its originary moment, while the two figures on the left are visually dissolving in the frame, indistinct and ghostly. In their side-on poses, they haunt their companions to the right. The vagueness of the image's left reads as if a mist is rolling in over the parade ground and everything in it. The dark area to the lower edge, and bottom right resembles a miniature Irish coastal landscape of hills in wet weather, with the speckles as sea-spray in the foreground. In this composition, the four men loom over the mountainous horizon – giants above 'their' territory, recalling Francisco de Goya's *Colossus*. The indistinctness of areas of the image, and visual interference of the imperfections creates an optical noise in which one imagines seeing figures and other images within – uncanny grace notes in a flat representational field. In the physical album, this photograph shares a page with a Calotype made by Talbot, featuring an exterior view of Lacock Abbey showing two of its bay windows, one of which is the subject of one of photography's most well-known images – Talbot's *Lattice Window* interior of August 1835.[58] Here on this single album page we have a direct connection between the inception of positive-negative photography, interiority and exteriority, England and Ireland, colonial centre and periphery, civilian and military. It is as if, in looking out of Lacock Abbey's lattice window, we are peering across the parade ground of the Irish military base, over the giants' shoulders and beyond that, into the territories that photography would go on to help secure and control in the coming century as the political class struggled to hold its centre.

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[57] Ibid., 41.

When British governmental power over Ireland asserted itself through the 1800 Act of Union, the political climate had shifted significantly. The officially secular patriot movement, inspired by the ideals of the Enlightenment was greatly diminished. Leerssen summarises it neatly: "The abolition of the Dublin parliament signals the end of the ideology known as patriotism. What ultimately took its place was the ideology of nationalism".[59] Dublin, which had in the eighteenth century mirrored intellectual progress made in other countries through disciplinary and institutional developments, found its cultural co-ordinates rapidly reordered.[60] Leerssen describes how historians soon abandoned explorations of national pasts, instead focusing on the 1798 rebellion, while studies of Gaelic antiquity fell under a cloud. In his account, Dublin's loss of its parliament led to a reversion to provincialism.[61] He argues that the shift from patriotism to nationalism was pivotal to the development of Irish politics over the next hundred years:

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[58] See http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/63242/capt-henry-craigie-brewster-officers-of-the-76th-regiments-of-foot-at-cork-barracks-1842-1843/ Accessed 27 April 2019.

> Both Patriots and nationalists derive the government's mandate ultimately from the volition or consent of the people at large, but Patriotism looks to a society consisting of the pragmatic association of individuals with common interests, whereas nationalism looks to a nation tied by the natural bonds of common descent and a common cultural heritage.[62]

In the decades following the Union, Leerssen sees the combination of Daniel O'Connell's reformism via Catholic emancipation, and Thomas Davis's separatism, though mutually opposed, profound in that, "the rise of Irish nationalism may be said to follow, not so much that old chestnut, the 'rise of the middle class', as much as the capture of the public sphere by the mass of the newly enfranchised Catholic population".[63] Foster sees in this development a disjuncture in perceptions on both sides of the Irish Sea in that, "it is ironic that Catholic emancipation appears in British terms as an important step in secularizing the state, but in Ireland laid the foundation of politics as interpreted in terms of confessional identification [and that by] the 1840s Catholicism had been securely identified as the national experience".[64] Kevin Whelan detects the seeds of militant romantic nationalism around the time of the Union whereby "Romanticism was already beginning to undermine the Enlightenment's faith in law as the sole vector of historical change. Romanticism, and its political offshoot cultural nationalism, reversed the horse and cart in the motor of historical change".[65] Cleary sets these developments in a wider post-Union political and administrative context when he writes,

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[59] 1996(b), 12.

[60] For example, the establishment of the select committee of antiquarians at the Dublin Society (1772), The Irish Academy of Science, Polite Literature and Antiquities (1785), Royal Irish Academy (1786). See de Paor, 124.

[61] 1996(b), 75.

[62] Ibid., 24.

> [despite] the constitutional merger, a whole series of Irish institutions – the police and legal systems, Dublin Castle and the Lord Lieutenancy, systems of education and local government – either had no counterpart in the rest of the United Kingdom or operated in ways quite different to their British counterparts.[66]

He critiques the political and cultural formations that, to him, demonstrate that Ireland's status within the United Kingdom, though constitutionally established, functioned as a colonial ‘laboratory’ for testing systems of power.[67] Though his postcolonial critique is contested, there is evidence that a colonialist mentality existed in parts of the British establishment. Stiofán Ó Cadhla writes of a young Benjamin Disraeli’s description of the Irish as “this wild, reckless, indolent, uncertain, and superstitious race”.[68] Where British establishment figures saw Irish political stability brought about by the Union, followed by secularisation underwritten by reform, a materialist analysis of the period proposed a contradictory view, encapsulated by Marx’s remark about Irish cottiers being offered “the choice between occupation of land, *at any rent*, or *starvation*”.[69]

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[63] 2014, 162.
[64] 1988, 316-17.
[65] 1996, 61.
[66] 32.

In this analysis, the destruction of Ireland’s industrial potential drove a large section of the population into dependence on the land, while land ownership itself was going through major changes, as smallholdings were consolidated into larger blocks of local wealth. What is clear is that in the early decades of the nineteenth century there was a stratum of Irish rural society that felt disenfranchised to the point of radicalism, which took the form of agrarian violence. Dissident action operated via secret societies – collectively referred to as Ribbon societies, and usually operating invisibly, often under the cover of darkness, with varying degrees of organisation and levels of viciousness.[70] The violence continued and escalated in the 1830s, focused on the mandatory payment of Anglican church tithes by Catholics. Foster describes Munster as a key site:

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[67] Cleary’s position is part of a postcolonial analysis of Irish history which Foster has described as tending to produce, “the victimhood package that has been responsible for a great deal of fuzzy thinking about Irish history and Irish identity” (Flannery, 215). Howe suspects it of becoming, “an intellectual proxy for the rehabilitation of a narrow-gauge Irish nationalism” (Ibid., 227).

[68] 86. Disraeli’s prejudice wasn’t solely racial, it was also class-based, reflecting establishment opinion of the time. Judt observed that Disraeli was “the first conservative politician to grasp the possibilities of mass electoral support and appreciate that democracy need not undermine the core powers of the ruling elite” (71).

[69] Golman, 22. Emphasis in original.

[70] See Slater and McDonough, 44, Foster, 1988, 222, and Leerssen 1996(b), 79 on the Ribbon Societies; and Bhabha, 74-9 on invisibility as a strategy and feature of colonial resistance.

> Clare, Tipperary and Limerick remained the epicenter, for no very obvious reason, except to bear out the classic contemporary diagnosis by George Cornewall Lewis: where soil was fertile, the population dense, and the peasantry "one degree removed above the lowest level of poverty", violence would recur.[71]

In the context of these rural dynamics, the links between landlords and the forces of the state were reconfigured at local and national levels. John Anderson, a Scottish merchant and County Cork landowner donated land to the army to establish a new base in Fermoy in 1797,[72] and in Buttevant circa 1810.[73] Both bases grew to become among the largest in Ireland in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, and it was in these military bases that Brewster made his photographs.

Fermoy Barracks stood at the top of a hill to the north of the town. From its southern wall the view encompassed the town below and the Blackwater River valley running west to east under its main bridge. The photograph in figure 4 was taken by Brewster just inside the southern wall of the base and, again, shows the gate and guardroom of the installation.[74] For this image, he chose not to look out over the wall or through the gate to capture the rolling topography of the town and surrounding countryside. He decided to document the entry point to the base, the threshold of the military site – this time guarded by a soldier standing to attention. In this optical field, the buildings assert themselves confidently within an asymmetric composition. The viewpoint is at average human eye-level, with the perspective tracing a line along the perimeter wall towards the guarded entrance. The camera could easily have been turned to the right, into the brightly lit landscape (and perhaps it was, for unknown images now lost), but instead it looks inward at the infrastructure that sustains the position of the military in terms of political power. A photographer's choice of viewpoint is fundamental to all photography, and its earliest phases relied on inherited, culturally normative decision making.

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[71] 1988, 292.

[72] See Burroughs for a fuller account of the barracks' establishment.

[73] Anderson bought the land at Buttevant in 1810. See http://landedestates.nuigalway.ie/LandedEstates/jsp/family-show.jsp?id=2945. Accessed 6 December 2018.

The period of the Picturesque movement was an important formative influence on this aspect of photographic landscape imaging. For the educated classes, the ability to move about and find a viewpoint that ordered the elements of landscape into an aesthetically pleasing composition was part of the skillset valued in the late eighteenth century.[75] William Gilpin, writing about the search for an appropriate prospect, stated that:

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[74] The barracks' location is now the site of Fermoy GAA Club at Fitzgerald Park. The gate in the image still stands, opposite the corner of Bachelor's Walk and Green Hill (see GoogleMaps Street View at GPS: 52.143095, -8.274381. Accessed 6 December 2018).

[75] Bermingham states: "The eighteenth-century taste for nature and the natural reached an apogee during the 1790s in the cult of the picturesque. Significantly, the 'picturesque' is a category of both landscape and painting. The landscape that was supposed to embody it (as the Campagna embodied the beautiful or the Alps the sublime) was the native English landscape itself – especially in such humble aspects as woodland scenery and winding country lanes" (57). See Empson for an account of the 'pastoral' in British culture.

> [the] whole view was pleasing from various stands: but to make it particularly picturesque by gaining a good foreground, we were obliged to change our station backward and forward, till we had obtained a good one. Two large plane trees, which we met with, were of great assistance to us.[76]

At the time, the work of landscape painters was generally seen as artisanal, and not important to debates about landscape. It was the eye, the capacity of the viewer to recognise aesthetic merit, which was key.[77] At the same time, the social capacity to travel and seek out the aesthetic led, for enthusiasts, to a problematic relationship between the concept of a 'prospect' (or view) and the idea of 'around' (a wider arc of 180-360 degrees) in the landscape. Barrell describes how:

> This tension relates very closely to the process of organisation both Claude and [James] Thomson were engaged in: that of organising what was in fact an arc – the 'circling landscape' as it was often called by eighteenth-century poets – on to a flat surface, that of the canvas or an imaginary one. It was partly to make this feat of organisation easier for the connoisseur of landscape that the Claude glass was invented: a plano-convex mirror which 'gathers every scene reflected in it into a tiny picture'.[78]

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[76] Barrell, 1972, 6.

[77] See also, Barrell, 1990, 21, for an account of the hierarchy of genres in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century painting.

[78] Ibid., 23. James Thomson was an eighteenth-century English poet, best known for his topographical writing, e.g. *The Seasons* (1730). See Sambrook. The Claude glass (named after the seventeenth-century picturesque painter Claude Lorrain) was a pocket-sized device comprised of a small convex mirror in a frame, backed by a dark foil. The eighteenth-century user would turn their back on a scene and view its reflection in the glass. The edges of the glass framed the image, and the dark foil optically simplified the tonal values in the scene, emphasising foreground and distance in a manner comparable to picturesque art.

In this way, portable technology, as an aid to the construction of the aesthetic image, became available for painters and non-painters alike, and was a forerunner of the photographic camera, in its capacity to be relatively easily taken into the field for use.[79] It is very likely, given his education, family background and connections in St Andrews that Brewster was familiar with debates around the picturesque view, romantic landscape and the intersection of art and technology – and would have been self-conscious about the decision-making process involved in his work. On that basis it is reasonable to infer that his viewpoints and compositions were carefully chosen and constructed, with an intention to test or communicate something specific.

The asymmetry of this image and the attention to visual balance of light and dark appears both intentional and sophisticated. The most visually complex elements of the image are the connections between the guard figure, the metal gate, the masonry archway and the dark shadow of the low wall that runs from the guard towards the viewer. Whereas the image of Buttevant's houses in figure 1 dealt with surveying the relationships of the inside to the outside spaces – their people and transactional relationships – this image (as with the image of the officers in Cork) is about looking back inwards, reaffirming power. The linearity and architectonic structures anchor a bold and strong visual field – a metaphor of stolidity and reserve. Nothing outside the barracks is discernible, as if consumed by billowing, almost formless smoke or cloud, resolving into pure surface affect. The guard stands still under the sky, which is animated by the gestural brush strokes of

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[79] It's important to remember that visual artists had been using technologies in the production of artworks for centuries: for example, the camera lucida, the physiognotrace and the camera obscura.

Brewster's manually applied nitrate emulsion. It moves like a weather system within the photograph, above the army base and surrounding countryside – bringing to mind Leerssen's expansive use of the metaphor in stating that: "This is what so saliently emerges from a cultural-historical perspective: national thought is *mobile*. It is not just a reaction within a given country, to the socio-political conditions of that country, but it moves over the map like a weather system or an epidemic".[80] The combination of meteorological and epidemiological devices conjures the surge in romantic nationalist thought in Ireland during this period, which was seen by its adherents as natural, both within and among the people. If natural, it was God-given, and thus right. Conversely, the ruling classes saw it as something dangerous – a virulent and contagious disease. Its associated fevers were to rise and break at successive points in the second half of the nineteenth century in Ireland.

The town of Fermoy developed substantially around its barracks, as goods and service providers thrived on military trade. This local manifestation of military power brought visible state support and some stability to local gentry who lived in varying degrees of fear generated by the activities of the Ribbon societies. Military developments were part of a wider set of state interventions into the Irish landscape serving to control and manage populations and resources. Engels, writing in 1842, noted that:

> In Ireland; between the counties of Cork, Limerick and Kerry lay hitherto a wilderness wholly without passable roads, and serving, by reason

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[80] 2014, 10.

> of its inaccessibility, as the refuge of all criminals and the chief protection of the Celtic Irish nationality in the South of Ireland. It has now been cut through by public roads, and civilization has thus gained admission even to this savage region.[81]

These infrastructural developments were part of the wider implementation of large-scale state projects in the United Kingdom, particularly during the period associated with reform in Britain.[82] The Board of Works was set up in 1831 "to centralize and supervise state investment in roads, canals and other public works, especially in more remote districts".[83] The Royal Irish Constabulary was founded in 1836, and was centrally organised, unlike police forces in Britain.[84] The General Registry Office was established in London in 1837, the same year that the Poor Law Commission Report was completed, leading to the Poor Law Act of 1838, which redrew local government boundaries and consolidated the matrix of political control between landowners and government in Ireland. Though aligned with bureaucratic developments across the United Kingdom, these changes also coincided with (and perhaps fuelled) the shift in mass support from the Catholic emancipation movement to the subsequent, increasingly nationalistic and sectarian ideology of the Young Ireland campaign.

Williams summarises what he sees as commonalities across the UK in the transition from feudal to modern systems of land ownership and occupancy:

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[81] 2009, 27.

[82] 1828-1846. See Doherty, 36.

[83] Duffy, 138.

[84] In its organisation – seen through the prism of the 'colonial laboratory' argument – it was a model for colonial policing as it evolved across the British Empire. See Crossman, 104-5.

> Following the fortunes, through these centuries, of the dominant interests, it is a story of growth and achievement, but for the majority of men it was the substitution of one form of domination for another: the mystified feudal order replaced by a mystified agrarian capitalist order, with just enough continuity, in titles and in symbols of authority, in successive compositions of a 'natural order', to confuse and control.[85]

The domination described by Williams fuelled the self-justification of the Ribbon Societies. Another important support for their rationale was the power of the 'Underground Gentry' – a term coined by Whelan.[86] It refers to the descendants of dispossessed Catholic farmers in some localities who still held an informal authority among their neighbours due to their perceived residual political power from the time before plantation. This section of society was viewed as a threat to Ascendancy privilege where "Anglo-Irish families were extremely conscious of, and insecure about, the 'enduring elite and popular memory of a previous ownership regime, the existence of an Irish Catholic nation-in-waiting overseas (with its colleges, its army, its wealthy diaspora)'".[87] Whelan describes how the issues of dispossession, sectarianism and access to power became "an eighteenth-century bridge across which Catholic sensibilities made the transition from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century in a unique fashion. In this was to lie the long-term political legacy of the land question".[88]

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[85] 39.
[86] See Whelan, 1996, 3-58.
[87] Doherty, 161.
[88] 1996, 4.

The power of the underground gentry was reanimated, ironically, by a state body staffed by military personnel – the Irish Ordnance Survey, whose mission was to map the island of Ireland. The Survey was set up in 1825 with thirty-five military officers employed under Colonel Thomas Colby. The project had an original brief that was topographical, but quickly developed into a significant intellectual and cultural phenomenon. The process of mapping the island at a scale of six inches to one mile, was augmented by the Ordnance Survey Memoir Scheme – which aimed from the outset to publish a memoir of every one of 2400 parishes – including information on topography, botany, geology, history and social conditions.[89] This change to its officially perceived function led to controversy and crisis in the early 1840s, when the costs and political implications of its outputs were criticised to the highest levels in government – leading to cuts in funding and significant reversion to its original topographic brief.[90]

It was when Captain Thomas Larcom became assistant supervisor of the organisation in 1828 that it expanded its activities to become "a huge synopsis of the Irish physical and cultural landscape".[91] The Survey's staff numbers expanded accordingly and included significant numbers of civilian workers.[92] The employment of civilians, and Larcom's decision to expand the work's remit was significant.[93] Recruits, who often had local knowledge, were instructed to enquire into historical and political lore, in addition to mapping landmarks, monuments and ancient structures. This involved extensive travel on foot from place to place, conducting interviews. Not all staff valued the work, with one recruit complaining about being sent "on a scampering duty to collect names and legends from old women".[94] Among the civilians hired to work on the project were John O'Donovan (historian, antiquary and Irish language scholar), James Clarence Mangan (writer and poet), George Petrie (artist and Irish music scholar), Eugene O'Curry (writer and Irish language scholar) and George du Noyer (visual artist) – names which now feature prominently in the field of nineteenth-century Irish historiography due to their work with the Survey. The Ordnance Survey became a major state project, with significant resources devoted to construct its archive of the island. Ideologically, the managers of the Survey were supporters of "[enlightenment] optimism about knowledge as an agent of reform and improvement".[95] Both Colby and Larcom believed that plantation had been a positive thing, and that bad governance had subsequently led to problems with infrastructure and poverty. They argued that statistical and cultural information in what became known as the memoirs would lead to good government, reformed land ownership, improved industry – and thus to prosperity, political stability and social harmony.[96] Though O'Curry was a supporter of Daniel O'Connell and Clarence Mangan was friendly with figures from the Young Ireland movement, the Survey maintained the path specified by Larcom. Internal inefficiencies and disagreements led to delays in the production of the Survey's first published memoir (on Templemore parish in

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[89] See Archer, 134. See also Day and McWilliams' publication of the memoirs that had been completed before the project was shut down.
[90] Andrews, J. H., Doherty and Ó Cadhla give significant detailed accounts and analyses of many aspects of the Ordnance Survey project across historical, cultural, intellectual and political grounds.
[91] Leerssen 1996(b), 101.
[92] See Andrews, J. H., 63-65, for an account of the debates and developments within the OS around the balance of military and civilian operatives.
[93] Andrews, J. H., contextualises Larcom's decision. He describes him as: "somewhat of a universalist", and also argues that the decision "may also be seen as part of a general west European movement, which led in the early 1830s to the formation of the Moral and Statistical

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Society of France, the Statistical Society of London, the statistical department of the board of trade, and the statistical section of the British Association" (146).

[94] Doherty, 17.

[95] Ibid., 42.

[96] See Ibid., 54.

County Derry in November 1837) by which time public and political opinion was becoming divided on its value. In 1838 Thomas Spring Rice, who chaired the select committee that had recommended the establishment of the Ordnance Survey, was among many who turned against Larcom's ideas.[97] He criticised the memoir scheme in particular for several reasons. Firstly, he argued that officers were working outside their remit on what he perceived as literary works. Secondly, public money was being used to compete with privately operating historians. Thirdly, the costs of the memoir scheme had spiraled upwards. Lastly, and crucially, the memoirs would "open all the debatable questions in Irish party division".[98] Though all criticism was based on a single publication, that of Templemore parish, it set in train a chain of events that led to the Master General declaring in July 1840 that the Survey must revert to its original, more limited, remit.[99] The public and political controversy continued for several years more, ultimately leading to Larcom's removal from the Ordnance Survey in 1848.[100]

The controversy draws attention to two issues important to critical readings of archive photographs. Firstly, the initial aims of the Survey (to accurately map the landscape) became expanded to involve the collection of paratexts connected to the land, such as oral histories and local townland naming conventions. These added layers of information necessarily carried a cargo of local 'ground-level' ideology, manifest in folk beliefs, contradictory versions of the past, varying interpretations of events and so on. The pliability of meaning inherent in these accounts of place and space runs counter to the assumed objectivity of the Survey's purpose. In this way, the archive became populated with data which destabilised the larger project's putative empiricism. Secondly, when this information entered into the public realm and intersected with wider social and political forces it became energised through each interpretative act being loaded with the ideology of the reader's position (political, identitarian, and/or enunciative). Though the Survey was interconnected with other state projects, which were aimed at improving material conditions through transparently bureaucratic methods, it nevertheless introduced a new body of information into the public sphere that became politically volatile.

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[97] MP for Limerick, Unionist and leading Whig. See Doherty, 26-7.
[98] Andrews, J. H., 160-1.
[99] See Ibid., 165.
[100] See also Kiberd, working within the postcolonial framework, where he describes the Ordnance Survey as "one of a number of modernizing experiments conducted in the colonial laboratory that was Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century" (1995, 614).

Before and during the period of the Irish Ordnance Survey, demographic changes were producing raised levels of poverty. Population increases in poorer districts led to overcrowding and diminishing returns from shrinking landholdings.[101] The Poor Law Act of 1838 saw a new system of electoral divisions established, replacing the tithe survey. It was more transparent than the previous system and saw the construction of 130 workhouses for destitute families across the country. Larcom was involved in the process, as the mapping work of the Ordnance Survey was integral to the project. Patrick J. Duffy describes how "in this manner the older, even ancient, territorial realities were overridden for the first time in the interests of efficient delivery of what today would be termed social welfare services".[102] J. H. Andrews describes how the regulations ordained that properties were not to be divided by the electoral boundaries, and each area needed to be uniform in size with a market town towards the centre. To facilitate this, the poor law commissioners had all the estate boundaries of Ireland added in manuscript to a set of maps. Eamonn Slater and Terrence McDonough argue that the Poor Law Act became a tool for landlords to clear their land of poverty-stricken tenants – in order to consolidate small holdings into larger, more profitable ones – and to force migration, diminishing the potential numbers of workhouse inmates who would require support through taxation. In this analysis the 'bastardised feudalism' of the cottier system in Ireland before 1838, was transformed by the Act into a land-clearance exercise under the guise of relief, reform and rationalisation.[103]

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[101] See Marx 1992, 293, for statistics on the increase in the population of Ireland 1821-31, with disproportionate increases evident in poorer areas. See also Slater and McDonough: "In 1841, when statistics begin to become reliable, less than 14 per cent of the population lived in towns of 2,000 or more. Almost three-quarters of occupied males were engaged in farming" (28).

[102] 99.

At the same time that rationalisation could be seen as a weapon against the poor, under the guise of progress, a perception had developed in some quarters that the Survey, far from promoting Larcom's enlightenment ideals, was actually fomenting dissent and inventing facts. One incident illustrates this aspect of the controversy. In May 1842 the Chancellor of the Exchequer received an anonymous letter from a "protestant conservative", who claimed to have worked under Petrie.[104] He alleged that most members of the Survey's staff were Catholics with nationalist sympathies. Andrews quotes from the letter:

> Their bigotry and politics […] are carried to all parts of the kingdom, where we find […] persons sent from this office engaged in taking down the pedigree of some beggar or tinker and establishing him as the

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[103] See Slater and McDonough, 33-38.
[104] Andrews, J. H., 167.

> lineal descendant of some Irish chief, whose ancient estate they most carefully mark out by boundaries, and they have actually in several instances, as I have seen by their letters, nominated some desperate characters as the rightful heirs to these territories.[105]

The Survey project in the 1830s and 1840s was a locus of conflicting discourses connected to identitarian, colonial, military, patriotic, romantic and nationalist issues. Recent scholarship has sometimes collapsed these complications into problematic constructs. Oona Frawley argues that the Survey was "an assertion of colonial control over Ireland that sent teams of both British soldiers and Irish intellectuals into previously neglected areas to record (but in practice often alter) place names as well as charting the landscape".[106] At issue here is not the outcome of the Survey's work – place names were translated, recorded, reinterpreted phonetically, altered and occasionally invented – but the process of translation is in itself a transformative procedure. Ó Cadhla states:

> The process of gathering, classifying and ordering information in taxonomies became statecraft, the archive became "the collectively imagined junction of all that was known or knowable, a fantastic representation of an epistemological master pattern, a virtual focal point for the heterogeneous local knowledge of metropolis and empire".[107]

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[105] Ibid. See also Doherty, 185-6 for the letter's full text.
[106] 45.
[107] 65. Citing Richards, 11.

The archiving of local knowledge framed as a suspicious performance of statecraft is an idea that arises in parts of Brian Friel's *Translations*. The play has shaped some contemporary views of the Survey, including that the Ordnance Survey was designed as an instrumental colonial device to dominate and control a dissident population.[108] This simplistic interpretation of the Survey (and of Friel's work) is reductive and inaccurate, but points to a central problematic concerning empiricism in the service of the state, or any other institution. When Spring-Rice, originally championed the establishment of the Survey, he stated his hope that it "would have the 'zealous co-operation' of the public, elicit their gratitude, and thereby contribute to political stability".[109] When he subsequently witnessed the collision of the Survey's outcomes with the realpolitik of party machinations in Ireland and at Westminster, he realised that his original optimism was undermined by the ideologically charged reading that each individual derives from 'facts'. When photography emerged into these political spaces in the mid-century, it too would become a tool for the production of versions of the truth, to be read, translated, and mediated according to the agendas of its audiences.

Seeking to account for the complex figure of the Survey's translators, Ó Cadhla argues that O'Donovan resembles a figure described by Bhabha: "The mimic man is the effect of a flawed mimesis 'in which to be Anglicized is emphatically not to be English'".[110] This use of Bhabha's concept is intended as a means of destabilising the translator as a neutral bridge between cultures, but here serves to reinforce a simplistic binary involving an homogenous native population subjugated by a hegemonic state.[111] In Ó Cadhla's formulation, the figure of the 'Anglicised' translator is less a 'mimic man' in the sense Bhabha proposes, and more the puppet of a coercive power.[112] However, the translator/narrator within the Survey demands scrutiny. Bhabha proposes a contradiction at the centre of writers' and readers' subject positions:

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[108] See, for example, Ó Cadhla: "Even if the status of *Translations* as a national classic did derive from some misguided manipulation of the root metaphor of translation, this neither explains nor negates why or how it rings true for an intuitive consensus regarding cultural processes in nineteenth-century Ireland" (222).
[109] Doherty, 14.
[110] 204. Citing Bhabha, 87. See also Moore-Gilbert, 1997, 64.

> Whenever any writing both marks and goes back over its mark with an undecidable stroke ... [this] double mark escapes the pertinence or authority of truth: it does not overturn it but rather inscribes it within its play as one of its functions or parts. This displacement does not take place, has not taken place once as an event. It does not occupy a simple place. It does not take place in writing. This dislocation (is what) writes/is written.[113]

Bhabha's nuanced account reveals what is at stake and how the mechanics of the translation process can operate, without collapsing the situation into an unproductive binary. The Survey's field workers, gathering folklore and local history, recording and translating place names and shaping this information into state archives, represent both authority and its challenge. Their role in anchoring meaning simultaneously defers and displaces it. The Survey, with the power and resources of the state behind it, through its necessary employment of the local translator and folklorist, institutionalises its own instability – a refractory position that allowed one set of critics to see it as fomenting nationalist dissent, while another group saw it as the instrumentalisation of Irish culture by the state in order to subjugate the same nationalist sentiment. Inherent in the rational, empiricist drive within modernity is its counterpoint: doubt. The archive ostensibly sought to make places identifiable and legible, with their names and characteristics clear to the uninitiated, but inside the workings of the archive are the seeds of its own unreliability. It becomes a chamber of mirrors, shaped by dialectics outside of itself.

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[111] It also seems to conflate Indian and Irish colonial experience.

[112] Ó Cadhla describes O'Donovan as being seen as an eccentric by Larcom, for dressing like a peasant, and being mistaken for a preacher in the countryside (Ibid.).

[113] 154. Spivak describes Derrida's concept of writing "sous rature" (under erasure): "This is to write a word, cross it out, and then print both word and deletion. (Since the word is inaccurate, it is crossed out. Since it is necessary, it remains legible)" (1997, xiv). Certainty is undermined. Meaning is made contingent.

The Survey left a legacy through which "sense of place and sense of past became mutually linked and almost interchangeable", and "Ireland itself, as a geographical space, became inescapably also a vessel laden with place names, monuments, memories and cultural cargo of a Gaelic past".[114] This legacy is at the root of the Irish romantic inversion of the landscape paradigm relative to British and European versions. Frawley summarises succinctly: "Where the colonizer saw wild, pure and simple *nature* as counterpoint to urban complexity, the colonized Irish saw complex lost *culture* through the dispossessed land, ruined monasteries representing in nature the sophisticated culture of many centuries".[115] The prevailing cultural and political conditions into which Brewster introduced the camera were complex, and loaded with the recent controversies surrounding the

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[114] Leerssen, 1996(b), 103.

[115] 43. Emphasis in original.

Ordnance Survey's archive.[116] His images represent small glimpses of County Cork using a wholly modern process, and automatically became the first artefacts of a new archive. Photography's earliest participants were becoming mutually constitutive of an unprecedented optical system of viewer and producer in the mid-nineteenth century.

Figure 5 and figure 6 were made at Buttevant Barracks during snow. In figure 5 we see the east-facing façade of the barracks' central structure, with snow on its roof and in the parade ground in the foreground. The bright sunshine picks out the south-facing edges on the window recesses and other architectural details. The image shows strong detail, with few blemishes, and is the clearest of Brewster's six Irish images in the album. A dark narrow pathway through the snow runs from the double-height central archway under the campanile towards the right of the image – in the direction of the wall, over which the houses are seen in figure 1 and figure 6. As in figure 1, this Buttevant image is unpeopled. In its compositional simplicity it is also the most visually uncomplicated of the six Calotypes. The barracks building registers quite clearly, the image being a document of its existence as it hovers between horizontal bands of white. Its solidity denotes its strength, and connotes the physical power of the military and the massive organisation of material resources that goes into its construction and maintenance – to uphold the position of government in Ireland. As Ireland's place in the Union was being maintained, ground-level politics was transforming. Catholic emancipation in 1829 was coupled with the disenfranchisement of "forty-shilling-freeholders" (largely

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[116] Thomas Davidson (optician) of Edinburgh is credited with building Brewster's first camera in 1840 for £8.10.0. See Morrison-Low, 135, and Naef, 71.

Catholic voters) by raising the threshold for voter qualification to ten pounds.[117] Numbers of county voters diminished from 216,000 to 37,000 overnight. Foster argues that Ascendancy and urban middle-class Catholics were satisfied with this development given that they saw small farmers as having been "easily dragooned whether by the landlords or their priests".[118] While the boundaries in the sectarian divide shifted, the power of the landowning class remained. The system of primogeniture was intact and provided a firm basis of political power.

At the same time that Brewster was stationed in County Cork, the young Marx was working on his *Critique of Hegel's Doctrine of the State,* in which primogeniture is a target. The essay marked a significant shift in his interests from philosophy to political economy, and a major event in the erosion of Hegelian Idealist philosophy by materialist thinking. Marx identifies Georg W. F. Hegel's rationale for defending private property as a base for political enfranchisement and quotes him on the subject: "The *wealth* of the agricultural class is independent 'of the uncertainty of business, the quest for profit, and any sort of fluctuations in possessions'. In this respect it is to be contrasted with the 'business class' which is based 'on particular needs and the work whereby these are met'".[119] In addition to its independence, Hegel promoted the stability of landed property, which was enabled by the system of primogeniture. Marx observed:

> In [paragraph] 306 the process of 'adaptation to this political position and significance' is elaborated. It reduces itself to the statement that 'their

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[117] See Foster, 1988, 301.
[118] Ibid., 302.
[119] 1992, 165.

> wealth becomes *inalienable, entailed* and burdened by *primogeniture'*. 'Primogeniture' is thus seen as the institution by which the landowning class is 'fitted' for politics.[120]

This issue is crucial for Marx. In it he sees a source of profound inequality: "At every point Hegel's political spiritualism can be seen to degenerate into the crassest materialism. At the apex of the political state birth is the decisive factor that makes particular individuals into the incarnation of the highest political office".[121] Lucio Colletti quotes Marx and describes his central problem:

> [The] political constitution of modern representative states is in reality the 'constitution of private property' […] It signifies that the universal, the 'general interest' of the community at large, not only does not unite men together effectively but actually sanctifies and legitimizes their disunity.[122]

For Marx, in observing the rapid rise of capitalism and the increasing tensions between aristocrat and industrialist, the problem of this illegitimate political power base was exacerbated continually. The inverted logic of modern society was, for him, more and more untenable: "This then is *private property*, *landed property* in all its *sovereign glory*; it is this that has been the occasion of so much sentimentality in recent years, it is for this that so many colourful crocodile tears have been shed".[123]

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[120] Ibid., 164. Emphasis in original.
[121] Ibid., 174.
[122] 36.

With what Marx saw as the invalidity of the sovereign state based upon private property, and his rejection of Hegel's philosophy of mind that sought to legitimate it, his attention in the mid 1840s turned increasingly to issues of material and social relations. In *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859), Marx reflected on this turn:

> My inquiry led me to the conclusion that neither legal relations nor political forms could be comprehended whether by themselves or on the basis of a so-called general development of the human mind, but that on the contrary they originate in the material conditions of life, the totality of which Hegel, following the example of English and French thinkers of the eighteenth century, embraces within the term "civil society"; that the anatomy of this civil society, however, has to be sought in political economy […] It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness […] Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense

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[123] 1992, 167. Emphasis in original. Marx wrote the *Critique of Hegel's Doctrine of the State* in 1843, though it wasn't published until 1927. The timing is interesting in that it was the same year that Marx's personal and professional life was disrupted by wider events. Frederick Wilhelm IV, the Prussian King, acceded the throne in 1840. He saw Hegelianism (especially the Left-Hegelianism of the Young Hegelians) as anti-monarchical and set about purging Hegelians from Prussian universities. Marx was denied a teaching licence. Friedrich Schelling was invited to the University of Berlin in November 1841 to lecture against Hegel. The regime also attacked the liberal press, shutting down newspapers and driving editors into exile, including Marx who left his post at *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1843 for Paris. It was in this context that Marx's views were hardening. See Levine, 142.

> superstructure.[124]

At the pivotal moment in the young Marx's opposition to Hegel, he counters the hidden stasis of Hegel's dialectic – a philosophy of conservatism hiding under a rhetoric of change – with a desire to seek out another model for understanding modern society as it becomes more and more enmeshed in the systems of capitalism. In his new model, he jettisons the Ideal in favour of a material world in which change is possible.

From these intellectual bases, Marx drew together the initial framework of his new politics. In his *Manuscripts: First Manuscript, Wages of Labour* (1844) he writes:

> [we] now have to grasp the essential connection between private property, greed, and the separation of labour, capital and landed property, exchange and competition, value and the devaluation (Entwertung) of man, monopoly and competition, etc. – the connection between the entire system of estrangement (Entfremdung) and the money system.[125]

With Marx's introduction of money into his schema, many of the component parts are in place for the development of his mature work. The connections between land, labour, capital and the state were to occupy the remainder of his career.[126] Marx saw land ownership as a key element in his developing politics. The aristocratic system of land ownership, combined with the emerging industrial capitalist class comprised a complex constellation of forces acting upon one another in the mid-nineteenth century. Where Hegel saw conflict between these forces, he also saw the root of patriotism and collective will.[127] Marx saw this as fundamentally flawed, in that the collective will was that of an illegitimately powerful class, based on selfishness and sentiment:

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[124] 1992, 425.
[125] Ibid., 323.
[126] The "Divine Trinity" of political economy (Ibid., 38).

> (1) because of its definition of civil society as the *bellum omnium contra omnes*; (War of all against all)
>
> (2) because *private egoism* stands revealed as 'the secret of the patriotism of the citizens' and as the 'depth and strength which the state possesses in sentiment'
>
> (3) because the 'citizen', the man with particular interests as opposed to the general interest, the member of civil society, is regarded as a 'fixed individual', while the state likewise confronts the 'citizens' as a phalanx of 'fixed individuals'.[128]

In Hegel's model, according to Marx: "The state constantly requires the guarantee of spheres external to itself. It is not realized power. It is *supported* impotence; it represents not power over these supports but the power of these supports. The power lies in the supports".[129] Marx's arguments on the value of labour reveal the mechanics of these supports' interactions with the state, and undermine their bases:

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[127] Marx quotes Hegel's paragraph 289 of the *Doctrine of the State*:

> Just as civil society is the battlefield where everyone's individual private interest wars against everyone else's, so here we have the struggle (a) of private interests against particular matters of common concern and (b) of both of these together against the organization of the state and its higher outlook […] This is the secret of the patriotism of the citizens in the sense that they know the state as their substance, because it is the state that maintains their particular spheres of interest together with the title, authority, and welfare of these […] it is in that mind that the depth and strength which the state possesses in sentiment is seated (1992, 101).

[128] Ibid., 101.

> It is possible to argue against the Physiocrats that *agriculture* is no different from an economic point of view – that is, from the only valid point of view – from any other industry, and that the *essence* of wealth is therefore not a *particular* form of labour tied to a particular element, a particular manifestation of labour, but *labour in general*.[130]

Marx argued for the importance of "changes in reality which will transform the landowner into a quite ordinary and prosaic capitalist",[131] and continued his challenge to residual physiocratic thought in stating:

> that the landowner is the only true producer, has been demolished by the political economists, who show that the landowner as such is the only completely unproductive rentier. [...] The argument of the Physiocrats that landed property, as the only productive property, should alone pay state taxes and should therefore alone give its consent to them and take part in state affairs, is turned into the opposite argument that the tax on rent of land is the only tax on unproductive income and hence the only tax which

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[129] Ibid., 184.
[130] Ibid., 344.
[131] Ibid., 337.

> does not harm national production. Naturally, it follows from this argument that the landowner can no longer derive political privileges from his position as principal tax-payer.[132]

This Marxian critique of Hegelian Idealism is crucial in terms of any contemporary perspective on the fundamental concepts of private ownership of land, and its implications for understanding the complex, layered relationships between tenants and landlords in a nineteenth-century Irish context. Though socialism was never to gain a significant purchase in Irish politics, what Marx did share with recurrent waves of Irish political dissent was an identification of the asymmetries of power associated with the distribution of wealth, and a stated allegiance to those most disadvantaged by the system. The system in Ireland was soon to reach a crisis point, which until then was unimaginable in its nature and extent.

In Brewster's final Irish image we sense a metaphorical erosion of aristocratic political power, echoed in the near obliteration of the faded picture surface seen in figure 6. It depicts the same houses outside Buttevant Barracks that we have seen in figure 1, though from a slightly different angle. Taken during snowy weather, perhaps on the same day as the image in figure 5, the houses' façades are this time tonally inverted, in that they are darker than their roofs. The image is largely indistinct and pale, with the architectural detail of the houses only somewhat legible. The barracks wall is no longer a dark wedge, but a pale block, combining with the flat foreground to form an almost abstract white lower quarter to the image. There are significant blemishes and imperfections throughout the image, where the surface qualities compete with what visual indexical information is available. Some blemishes appear to be marks made by adhesive soaking through the photographic paper, and begin to overwhelm the pictorial elements with an occlusion that has been threatening in the other images. The materiality of the image object begins to tell of its artefactual value over its indexical, or historical worth. The surface is a visual space where an image used to be. The subject is receding, and yielding its space to pure abstract visual form. The gestural and chemical marks of the paper's edges, mounted into the codex, speak of the album's own material history. It acknowledges the fact that the photographer was once there. The handwritten paratext tells the viewer where the near-invisible scene was made. It is visual entropy, with the remaining vestiges of pictorial information being wiped away by a surface system of time and chemical instability. The image takes us further into a dreamlike space, a trance in the contact zone – a reverie where the seeing-man's self-justification, his authorisation, is being wiped from the visual field both by nature within the scene, and by the material impermanence in the image object itself. It's a still-image of a film fading to white, a request for blankness where the colonial tabula rasa is reasserted, a terra incognita summoned up against the grain of the photographer's will.[133] This moving into blankness foreshadows the whiteout of the famine's impending photographic invisibility.

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[132] Ibid., 368.

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[133] In a May 1843 letter from David Brewster to Talbot, he states that Henry has moved to Plymouth with his regiment and it is now illegal for him to use the patented Calotype process. He then asks for informal permission for his 'amateur' use of the process. There is no further mention of him in the correspondence between his father and Talbot, or evidence of further photographic work by him. See Naef, 72-3.

Conclusion

Brewster's images are an initial blinking-into-life of the disembodied mechanical eye of photography in Ireland. The aesthetics of the visible surfaces and unstable chemical make up of the photographic prints convey their 176 years of existence, during which they have transformed from being the experimental work of an amateur enthusiast into historically important examples of the earliest moments of the technology on the island. In both their inchoate aesthetics and tentative setting of markers for a photographic archive, they demonstrate that the evidential certainty celebrated by David Brewster at the photograph's indexical surface can be undermined and made uncertain when put under the pressure of readings beyond the descriptive. Whereas David Brewster focused on photography's valuable capacity to instruct, Henry demonstrates its capacity to destabilise knowledge. From its earliest moments, photography had the power to reveal and conceal. As this dimension of photographic representation is multiplied into the archive, the complexity of its consequences expands. Michel Foucault's definition of the archive encompasses this process, and allows space to analyse its implications. He describes it as "the general system of the formation and transformation of statements".[134] The transformative power of the archive is central. It is also distributed across the archive's makers and users. Any image from a given archive can signify multiple meanings, depending upon the circumstances surrounding its production and its continued existence within a field of display mechanisms. Robert Young reminds us that the archive is not a homology, and that discursive formations can include mutually contradictory or complementary statements. Heterogeneous, fluid, flexible and constantly in flux, it intersects and interoperates with other discourses continually.[135] When we return to the idea of Brewster's images as the initial statements within the photographic archive in Ireland, his images' polyvalence resists easy categorisation, and allows for contingent readings that account for the conditions of their production and our own sites of reception.

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[134] 2002, 146.

Brewster's photographs were produced in a country undergoing a distinct period of transformation during the early-to-mid 1840s. While he was stationed in Munster with his regiment, the O'Connellite phenomenon was being challenged by the new voices of the Young Ireland leaders – reflecting a wider momentum across Europe in popular engagement with romantic nationalist ideas. Both movements' presence in the public sphere signalled a strong shift in the population's apprehension of politics. This threat to constitutional approaches from essentialist identitarian ideas began a shift in public conceptions of Irishness and a new sense of enfranchisement among post-Emancipation Catholics. The year after Brewster left Ireland, photography's place in the public imaginary of these new political developments was soon to be publically manifested through the intervention of the commercial photographer Leon Gluckman, who made the famous daguerreotype of Daniel O'Connell while he was imprisoned. That same year Samuel Morse sent his first telegraphic message, and soon thereafter a test wire was run along the Dublin-Dalkey Atmospheric Railway. Four years later Gluckman was to photograph the imprisoned Young Ireland leaders, whose newspaper, *The Nation*, had grown from its founding in 1842 to garner a large readership across the country. Greater political participation was enabled through improved transport services, such as the newly developing railway system, and Bianconi's carriages travelling on recently established roadways. Improved access to affordable printed matter channeled the spread of ideas via newspapers such as *The Nation*, and increasing literacy levels produced a wider appetite for the written word.[136]

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[135] See Young, 2001, 405.

The pre-Famine surge of technological developments in communications and infrastructure during Brewster's stay in Ireland also coincided with the Ordnance Survey memoir crisis. Larcom's opponents in the debate enlisted the support of the Royal Irish Academy in late 1842, leading to appeals to government and Sir Robert Peel's referral of the matter to a commission.[137] The explosive connotations of 'ordnance' were thus transferred into the form of an information wave, disrupting the concept of a geographic space removed from its human dimensions. The imbrication of history and folklore into the empirical protocols of the project pushed its discursive framework into the spaces of interpretation, and inevitable contention. The memoir's excavation of the country's latent underground gentry phenomenon revivified ideas connected to dispossession, plantation, and resentment towards landlords, which was to become amplified during and after the Famine. J. H. Andrews points out that, "it was felt in some quarters that the historical and social sections of the memoir might have an exacerbating effect on Irish patriotic feeling and so accentuate the divisions between planter and native, protestant and catholic, government and governed".[138]

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[136] See Ó Ciosáin, 218, where he argues that the economic downturn of the 1820s led to a decrease in the need for child labour, and saw more children attend school, leading to increased literacy. Children reading aloud to adults became a feature of Irish life.
[137] See Andrews, J. H., 170.
[138] Ibid., 173.

The fears expressed about the potential for political discord arising from the memoir project were to lead to the government's eventual shutting down of the initiative. As one source of rupture was neutralised, another was opening. Brewster's images are an early signal of the disruptive capacity inherent the new optical regime ushered in by photography – with the images made around and across the fortified installations, looking outwards only tentatively. The Survey's ambiguous in-between figure of the translator, carrying notebook and pen, is here sublimated into a producer of new visual experiences, with the camera delivering novel mediations of geographic spaces, permeated by ideology. The destabilising process of 'writing under erasure' is mirrored in a new image world, where photographs reveal and conceal the photographer simultaneously. In reading the images, there is an oscillation between what the photograph yields, and what it withholds. What they denote are quotidian, peaceful scenes, which are almost impossible to view from a contemporary perspective without seeking hints of the political tension pervading the surrounding territory, or the looming shadow of impending national calamity. From our contemporary vantage point, the dynamic manifestations of modernity in early 1840s Ireland are qualified by knowledge of what was to come. The horror of the Famine, witnessed across the Irish countryside and redolent of a pre-modern era, collided with the institutional bureaucracy of a technologically advancing economy, which was rapidly reshaping Britain. The profound contradictions in these two entwined worlds warped the political responses available on both islands, and generated the historiographical lenses through which the period has been understood since. The new visual languages made possible by photography failed to address the catastrophe as it unfolded. The putative indexical objectivity of the technology was not mobilised in the zones where suffering was most prevalent. The survival of photographs taken before the Famine serves to make more pointed the questions that must be asked of the camera’s role during the disaster. The next chapter will argue that the absence of photographs ‘of’ the Famine discloses a fundamental disjunction between photography and reality.

Chapter Two

The Invisible Famine

Introduction

When Brewster's tour of duty in Ireland was complete, he moved to Plymouth and on to subsequent postings. There is no record of a return to Ireland, which at the time of his departure in 1843 was heading towards calamity. In this chapter I argue that the absence of photographic images 'of' the Famine is a gap framed by a series of dualities, revealing the ruptured politics of our relationships with photographic images. Homi Bhabha writes:

> Certain absences are so stressed they arrest us with their intentionality and purpose, like neighbourhoods that are defined by the population held away from them. Where […] is the shadow of the presence from which the text has fled? Where does it heighten, where does it dislocate?[1]

This idea of dislocation qualifies our capacity to communicate accurately our most profound experiences. The coincidence of early photography and the Famine in Ireland produced a unique set of circumstances which draw us towards this, and other fundamental questions concerning visual representation. The depiction of trauma and the relationships between image and reality become central to critical approaches to photographic imaging, but these connections predate photography.

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[1] 284.

Asenath Nicholson, the American traveller and writer, published an account of her time in Ireland during the Famine. In it she addressed directly the problem of representing the events she had witnessed:

> And now, while looking at them calmly at a distance, they appear, even to myself, more like a dream than reality, because they appear out of *common course*, and out of the order of even nature itself. But they *are* realities and many of them fearful ones – *realities* which none but eye-witnesses can understand, and none but those who passed through them can *feel*.[2]

This shortfall – between experience and representation, between reception and understanding – is the context for this chapter's two-part argument. In the first section, I argue that Ireland in the first half of the nineteenth century can be understood as a complex constellation of cultural forces predicated on visibility and invisibility. The second section argues that images of catastrophe produce a general crisis in discourses of visual representation, and that a critical examination of photography in Ireland at the time of the Famine brings aspects of this crisis into sharp relief.

The importance of Famine historiography can overshadow other conceptualisations of the period between the Act of Union and 1845. Leerssen states that the cultural and political conditions developing in Ireland during that time, shared a great deal with events in other European countries. He writes: "The period 1760-1845 witnesses a set of important transformations in political, socio-economic and intellectual life everywhere in Europe".[3] In addition to the Romantic influences of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johann Gottfried Herder on Irish intellectual and political life, Leerssen identifies the importance of some early innovations in the evolution of modern mass-media, and describes that historical period as "one of the great turning points in European history".[4] Leerssen argues that, "a massive cultural transfer took place in Ireland between the Gaelic tradition and the urban, English-speaking, educated classes. This transfer was virtually non-existent before 1760 and all-dominant after 1840".[5] The overarching effect of this process was, "a complete Gaelic re-orientation of Ireland's public space and public sphere, especially after Catholic emancipation".[6] Against the idea that Irish romantic and cultural nationalism was derived from the 1798 patriot movement (and its secular, enlightenment ideals), Leerssen states that it side-stepped this legacy in favour of Gaelic speakers, "seanchaí-based village scholars", anonymous authors of aisling poetry, hedge-school scholars, and "Gaelic-speaking priests writing anti-English histories on the Continent".[7]

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[2] Kelleher, 77. Emphasis in original, citing the preface to Nicholson. Nicholson, in today's terms, would be understood as an aid worker during the Famine. For other perspectives on Nicholson's time in Ireland, see also Kinealy, 2015, 25; Tóibín and Ferriter, 35; Morash, 1995, 176.

The transfer described by Leerssen took place in an early nineteenth-century Ireland which was a matrix of interlocking binaries connecting visibility and invisibility. There were invisible secret societies, carrying out agrarian violence under cover of darkness, fuelled by grievances over land ownership. Highly visible, fortified army bases looked out over the landscape. The ‘Underground Gentry’ – an unseen substratum of the tenant farmer class holding informal local authority – traced their family lines back to prominent and powerful Irish clans existing before plantation. New visual and architectural languages were emerging through Ordnance Survey maps and the newly-delineated Poor Law Unions’ administrative boundaries, with their recently-built workhouses. There were conspicuously wealthy landlords in big houses, with tenants sub-letting to others, creating obvious layers of exploitation. Imposing ruins of tombs, abbeys and castles, with their histories and social systems erased, dotted the landscape. Millions of peasant farmers worked on the land – soon to be banished into invisibility, through death or emigration. Picturesque gardens surrounded great houses, their aesthetics screening the fact that the land was originally taken by force. Willa Murphy expands on the theme in her discussion of Maria Edgeworth’s world:

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[3] 2002, 11.
[4] Ibid., 12.
[5] Ibid., 13.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid., 15. He later challenges the 'postcolonial' school of 1990s Irish criticism when he writes that one of the consequences of the nineteenth century's Irish nationalist debates is that "much modern Irish criticism docilely obeys the rhetoric of its source-material; for all the post-modern, post-Marxist or post-colonial theoretical insights, adopted from recent theoretical developments, Irish critics on the whole evince no desire to query, and indeed choose to follow and to confirm, the patterns of self-definition formulated by nineteenth-century nationalists" (Ibid., 19).

> [Secrecy] is indispensible to the operations of power: a ruling class operates most effectively that conceals the violent sources of its power, cloaking them in pleasing veils of custom and tradition. That power is strongest that achieves a sublime inscrutability, that ruling class most stable whose violent sources have been worn smooth by the passage of time, naturalized and made part of the very landscape and horizon of our lives.[8]

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[8] 52-3.

She further argues that the recentness of the plantation in Ireland meant that this smoothing effect of historical time had not been fully developed in the nineteenth century – leaving a tension and mistrust between Anglo-Irish landowners and their tenants. Irish forms of resistance to established power during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries relied on opacity and secrecy. The Rockite movement's unseen structures wrought havoc in some Munster localities, migrating from folklore to canonical art just after Catholic Emancipation. The emancipation movement itself morphed into the Repeal Association, and seized the public sphere via monster meetings, and Young Ireland's *The Nation* newspaper. In its first editorial piece, Charles Gavan Duffy wrote that its ideology's "slow and silent operation, acts on the masses in the wind, which we do not see, moves dust, which we do see".[9] Morash identifies an irony underlying the power of *The Nation* as a political organ:

> *The Nation* and its successors were national in both ideology and form because they were able to give the idea of nationality the tangible form of a unified informational territory by making conscious use of the new communications networks that were, ironically, the product of the same imperial state to which they were opposed.[10]

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[9] See Morash, 2010, 80. The first edition also carried a piece by Thomas Davis which criticised Britain's invasion of Afghanistan – demonstrating the ambition of the newspaper's political discourse and the power of newer forms of media to collapse geographical distances through the printed word. Dwan writes: "Even before 1848, Duffy was convinced that 'the printing press has shaken empires and dethroned kings'" (144, citing *The Nation,* 18 September 1847).

[10] 2010, 82. Morash also states that *The Nation,* for many Irish readers, was "the most important link in the informational chain during the Famine years" and in terms of its impact was "well ahead of any other Irish newspaper of its time" (80). Distributed and read through Repeal Reading Rooms, and read aloud to the illiterate, it maintained a huge reach and influence in Ireland. It began as the voice of the O'Connellite Repeal Association, but led the January 1847 split over physical force to form the Confederate Clubs, which launched the failed 1848 rising.

He makes the case that the development of the idea of a modern Irish nation was accelerated in a particular way by the newspaper: "If the idea of the nation exists in space as a geographical territory, it also exists in time, as a shared history transmitted, and in a modern culture that transmission takes place mainly through print".[11] The material presence of *The Nation* in private and public spheres during the 1840s was visual evidence that political transformation was underway in the country. New visual and textual signifiers of this change permeated the social fabric of the country. It is against this backdrop that Murphy defines "an anxious and exposed Ascendancy", for whom, "Ireland is at once a deeply opaque and painfully transparent place".[12]

Visuality and Land Politics in Pre-Famine Nineteenth-Century Ireland

In early nineteenth-century Europe, nascent French democracy and the Napoleonic Wars up-ended many long-established political and judicial norms. Emergent legislative and bureaucratic structures became the loci for political and cultural debate across Europe. Percy Bysshe Shelley's assertion that poets were the 'unacknowledged legislators of the world' was made during the same period during which the secret societies operating in Irish countryside were described as "midnight legislators".[13] The unacknowledged legislation of poets (and by extension artists and writers), who were functioning in full public view, points to a particular form of invisible action. Conversely, the violent methods of Irish secret societies, usually carried out at night, drew attention to another form of invisibility, which ultimately produced stark new forms of visibility occupying the public sphere in Ireland by the 1840s.

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[11] Ibid.

[12] 54.

[13] See Shelley's *A Defence of Poetry*, written in 1821 and published in 1840. See also Eagleton, 1995, 83.

Murphy posits Ireland as, in some ways, one big secret society – where hundreds of people could know, but keep, a secret. For her, it was "a smouldering subterranean culture beneath a surface of submission and silence".[14] She describes the country as

> a land plagued not only with fever and famine, but with an epidemic of falsehood, secrecy, treachery and conspiracy. Nocturnal meetings, ritual oaths, millenarian slogans, coded haircuts and clothing, secret handshakes, passwords, code-names and cross-dressing, combined with threats of violence against the ruling class, created an Irish landscape of mystery and terrifying inscrutability.[15]

The effects of secret societies on Ireland's Anglo-Irish landlords, and the reverberations of their impact on Irish and British culture, are reflected in accounts of the Edgeworth family in Longford. Maria Edgeworth, in a letter of 1831 wrote, "the apparent quiet of this country only lulls us treacherously… [there are] secret societies all over Ireland".[16] Her fears were echoed by William Parsons, Third Earl of Rosse, who called for a police force trained in surveillance, and for landlords to keep journals on their tenants. Similarly, in Wicklow, diarist Elizabeth

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[14] 46.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid., 47.

Price described her tenants as an “extraordinary slippery people”, harbouring a “secret enmity” towards her, and who “require constant watching”.[17]

The visualisation of the threat posed by secret societies was a mythologising force, as is evident in Daniel Maclise’s 1834 painting *The Installation of Captain Rock*. The mythical figure of Captain Rock represents the disparate secret societies, which also operated under the rubric of ‘Ribbonism’.[18] Luke Gibbons describes Captain Rock as embodying three strands of rebellion: the Catholic cause [sectarianism]; Republicanism of “maverick” and “idiosyncratic” style; and Gaelic tradition “in its distinctively anti-colonial Phoenician variant”.[19] He defines the Rockite movement as being driven by two key forces: economic issues connected to the post-Napoleonic wars agricultural crisis, and the perceived injustices connected to extraction of tithes to support the Anglican established church. These abstracted forces became anthropomorphised into the figure of Captain Rock through speech and text initially, before his visualisation by Maclise brought him further into the public realm. Maclise was a prominent artist of the time, producing portraits of Daniel O’Connell, and works that reinscribed Irish cultural identity, such as *The Origins of the Irish Harp* (1842), *The Marriage of Strongbow and Aoife* (1854), and illustrations for an edition of Thomas Moore’s *Irish Melodies* (1859).[20] Moore’s own

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Captain Rock was originally the mythical embodiment of a particularly violent agrarian protest campaign, which took place in North Cork and southern Limerick, 1821-24. See Donnelly, 2009. The figure subsequently became woven into a wider description of agrarian protest and violence. Similarly, Ribbonism was initially a term used to define a specific group of secret societies set up in sectarian opposition to the Orange Order’s establishment in 1795. The name was derived from members, on occasion, wearing green ribbons. The name has since been used as an umbrella term for Catholic and/or nationalist secret societies in the first half of the nineteenth century.

[19] 1998, 26-8.

[20] See Cullen, 1997, 43-9.

Memoirs of Captain Rock (1824) was described by O'Connell as very important to the campaign for Catholic Emancipation.[21]

Both Gibbons and Cullen produce close readings of *The Installation of Captain Rock*, which was first exhibited at the Royal Academy "to uncomprehending reviews".[22] It depicts a large group scene containing dozens of figures, the central element of which is a male figure enacting what could be described as a coronation without a crown. Gibbons identifies contemporaneous interpretation of the image's setting, in a ruined abbey, as redolent of subjugated Catholicism in post-reformation and post-Cromwellian Ireland. At the image's bottom right, a male figure points a gun directly at the viewer as he peers through its sights, while a female figure next to him covers her ears, anticipating an imminent shot. Gibbons describes one reviewer's account of the painting as referring to visual chaos and an assault on the sensibilities of viewers, in "bringing aesthetic transcendence down to earth, and giving a crude local habitation to the disinterested equipoise of art".[23] Cullen elaborates on the wider impact of the painting's disruptive aesthetic: "Traditional history painting, the most elevated genre of the academic hierarchy, offered a passive, allegorized representation of either the nation or an event whereby heroes could be worshipped via the safe distance of the past".[24] In Maclise's painting, the British nation is challenged from within the United Kingdom, in a visualisation that deals with a heroic mythological figure, but one who represents the intimidation and murder of British subjects by secret societies in well-documented events which had taken place at the height of the Rockite campaign in north Cork during the 1820s.[25] The placing of the image at the centre of the British cultural establishment prefigured both the rise of cultural nationalism in Ireland, which would be developed and amplified in subsequent years, and violent separatism, which followed in its wake. As Maclise's anonymous gunman threatens the British viewer, Brewster's camera would soon be trained along, and over, the barrack walls at surrounding Irish landscapes. While Ribbonism became visible through art, British militarism expanded in Ireland, bringing new vision machines, supplanting and shattering extant optical regimes. The political tension generated by emergent militant nationalism was elevated during the 1840s, concurrent with events across the continent.

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[21] See Leerssen, 1996(b), 84. The *Memoirs* comprised the protagonist's narration of the oppression of Ireland, from a Catholic perspective for an English reader. In a link to early photography, Moore was a friend and correspondent of Talbot, and agreed for his lyrics to be used by Talbot as texts in his early photographic publications. An early edition of Talbot's *Pencil of Nature*, with hand-written lyrics by Moore, is held in the Lacock Abbey archive. See Chandler, 2001, 10.

[22] See Gibbons, 1998, 31-3, and Cullen, 1997, 44.

[23] 1998, 42.

[24] 1997, 50.

The Young Ireland movement was influenced by wider European debates about national identity, and promoted more conspicuously strident manifestations of Irish identity than had previously been seen.[26] Central to the idea of cultural nationalism of the time was the work of Herder, who believed in an inherent essence driving human development. Eva Stöter explains how two crucial ideas flow from Herder's position: "Firstly is the conviction that self-determination and independence are indispensable for the development of a country, and secondly is the conviction that there exists such a thing as a spirit (Volksgeist) and character of a nation".[27] The development of Irish cultural nationalism was more than a mere instrumentalisation of Herder's work by Young Ireland figures. They operated in a complex political and cultural sphere, which was combining new tropes and technologies in modernity to reconfigure private, public and cultural life in Europe. Leerssen identifies the importance of the intersection between culture and technology, which was to accelerate the development of nationalism in Ireland and elsewhere:

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[25] See Donnelly, 2009, 5-6.

[26] See Leerssen, 2014, 19.

[27] 174.

> In the intellectual sphere, a revival of Platonic Idealism takes hold everywhere after Kant, helping to underpin that shift in literary taste announced by Ossian, Rousseau and Herder, and generally known as Romanticism. Literature and written culture are also drastically transformed by the manufacture of cheap woodpulp-based paper and the invention of the rotary printing press, bringing the price of printed works down and ensuring massive social penetration of printed brochures, tracts, pamphlets, reviews, newspapers and cheap books from the 1820s onwards.[28]

O'Connell was "well aware of something Benedict Anderson would theorize later: that print capitalism and increased literacy made the rise of his modern popular nationalism possible".[29] Leerssen expands on this idea:

> Not only was the Irish past re-discovered and given new topicality, the Irish rural masses (until then seen as an amorphous, restive collection of rustic

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[28] 2002, 11-12.
[29] Howes, 164.

> paupers scattered across a communitarian countryside) became a constituency, and were turned from peasants into Irishmen.[30]

This moment in the modern development of Irish mass-media culture, highly visible and politically galvanising, occurs at a turning point that ruptures the idea of modernity in Ireland. Leerssen aligns the beginning of the Famine with the end of a parallel period in European history, which was visible across the continent in its erasures and reinscriptions:

> Together, and in their mutual interaction, all these concurrent revolutions make the period 1760-1845 one of the great turning points in European history, where backward- and forward-looking attitudes can be encountered in extraordinary interaction, known nowadays among German historians under the name of *Sattelzeit* or 'the saddle period' – a ridge between two different worlds, like the col in a mountain range, a watershed marking the transition from one territory into another.[31]

In an Irish context, Leerssen isolates a crucial development – the combination of Catholicism with Gaelic culture, and its emergence into mainstream politics, accelerated through its dissemination via novel modern print cultures. The printed word represents one element in a complex system of technological developments in transport and communications sweeping through western culture in the mid-nineteenth century. The steam ship *Sirius* travelled, unaided by sail, from Cork

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[30] 2002, 39.
[31] Ibid., 12.

Harbour to New York in 1838. Soon afterwards, rival ports in Galway and Kerry vied to become Ireland's western steam gateway. The Midland great Western Railway, built during the Famine, was open as far as Mullingar in 1848. Three years later the route to Galway was open. One year after that, a telegraph line was established along the track.[32] These innovations accelerated the transmission of information, along particular geographic axes. The stark contradictions made visible through the collision of the modern with the quasi-medieval conditions experienced during the Famine led a piece in the *The Nation* to declare, in July 1847: "This is horrible! […] Are we living in the nineteenth century – amidst all the enlightenment, steam, philanthropy and power-looms of the illustrious British Empire?"[33] The political developments witnessed during this period, combined with technological reconfigurations of time and space led to what Morash describes as "the germ of a radical reconceptualisation of Ireland's place in the world".[34]

The revolutionary impact of new print cultures was matched by new territory being opened up in Irish historiography, and disseminated through the printed word. Central to this are early nineteenth-century scholars such as Eugene O'Curry, John O'Donovan, James Clarence Mangan and others, who moved from private to publically-funded scholarship positions, taking Gaelic discourses from the private to the public sphere in their work for the Ordnance Survey, and wider publication of their writing.[35] It is one of the ironies of the Ordnance Survey project in Ireland that a government initiative, led by intellectually sophisticated figures

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[32] See Morash, 2010, 80.

[33] Morash, 2010, 80.

[34] Ibid., 84.

[35] See Ó Catháin, on O'Curry (a) and O'Donovan (b). See Ryder, 2017, on Mangan.

(both military and civilian), brought about a transformation of Gaelic language and culture.[36] Vigilance around concepts such as authenticity and inheritance is important to Leerssen's model of the retrospective adoption of Gaelic Irish discourses by English-language, urban authors. While avoiding the model of an *invention of tradition*, he allows that terms such as 'rediscovery', 'retrieval', 'construction' or 're-invention' of Irish identity share a fundamental insight – "that such a tradition or identity is indeed actively *appropriated* rather than passively *inherited* by the heirs".[37] Derrida deepens the complication of this process, where he writes:

> A heritage is never neutral, one may inherit more than once, in different places and at different times, one may choose to wait for the most appropriate time, which may be the most untimely – write about it according to different *lineages*, and sign thus more than one *import*.[38]

In addition to the 'accidental' cultural nationalism produced by field workers' focus on recovered lineages in the Ordnance Survey's output, Peter Gray sees the hand of British government figures in the propulsion of new discourses. He explains how, in the 1830s, Nassau William Senior (economist and government advisor), recognising the power of the Catholic clergy, set about harnessing their power to political ends. The clergy supported O'Connellism, and he reasoned that if they strongly supported the Repeal movement it would be dangerous for government interests.[39] His argument was that "[if] the clergy could be neutralized, or converted into the agents of social order, preaching submission to the law and the sanctity of property rights, their flocks would surely follow".[40] Proposing the appropriation of the "excessive" endowments of the established Church of Ireland as an expedient and defensible way of funding Catholic clergy, he argued that:

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[36] See Leerssen 2002, 17-20.

[37] 2002, 20.

[38] 2006, 211.

> [troops] are more expensive than priests […] We are not proposing a new expenditure […] the Catholic priests exist, and are paid. We propose that their payment should be borne by the whole nation, which would scarcely feel it, instead of falling exclusively on a portion, and that the very poorest portion of the community, whom it demoralizes and crushes.[41]

One of the effects of Emancipation, according to Leerssen, was that Catholics could claim the physical spaces of the country through processes such as church building, the development of Glasnevin Cemetery, and O'Connell's monster rallies – all bringing a spectacular visuality to the public sphere. The symbolic meaning of the sites chosen for O'Connell's rallies, such as Clontarf and Tara, was significant in that "[for] the hundreds of thousands who flocked there, these places must have been newly lifted out of the realm of balladry and folklore and into the realm of historical fact and political topicality".[42] These subjective engagements in location-specific, consciously visualised, communal political action within O'Connellism began to ground Irish nationalism, and transform the sentiments of Ribbonism into the structured rationales of a national movement. Leerssen argues that, in hindsight, we can

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[39] O'Connell's Repeal Association campaigned for the restoration of an Irish parliament, subsequent to Catholic Emancipation in 1829. See Foster, 1988, 308-09.

[40] Gray, 1999, 11.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Leerssen, 2002, 30. An anagrammatic corollary also rings true, that of *political opticality*.

> distinguish 'community' and 'society' as follows: both of them are aggregations held together by information exchange and opinion building – in short, by communication – but this communication is face-to-face, oral, direct, in the case of a community, and mediatized, written/printed, disseminated through central clearing-exchanges, in the case of a society.[43]

Leerssen underplays here the visual dimension of public and mediatised culture at the time. As the invisibility of the secret societies morphed into highly visible and increasingly confident cultural nationalism, new signifiers percolated through the public sphere via *The Nation* and other publications, public posters, popular prints, ballad sheets and so on.[44] This complex field of communications was one of the means through which politics advanced on the island. Gray argues that it produced a new Catholic-nationalist public sphere in Ireland, and also provided the platform for a new departure in Irish politics, which was to be triggered by the advent of the Famine: "One of the greatest dangers posed by the potato failure was the consolidation of what had been regarded as opposite sides of the equation in Irish agitation, 'Ribbonism' and O'Connellism, in a common campaign against landlordism".[45] This was a potentially volatile mix of political beliefs, until then separated by their contrasting ideologies and approaches – one invisible, one highly visible.

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[43] Ibid., 35.

[44] Morash points out that the O'Connellite newspaper, *The Comet*, had "knowledge is power" in its masthead (2010, 70).

[45] 1999, 112. It is also important to avoid any totalising model of Irish cultural nationalism as a purely Catholic phenomenon. Kinealy points out that the Young Ireland movement was supported by some prominent Protestants, including Isaac Butt and Samuel Ferguson, who were associated

Since the Act of Union, British governments understood the threats to stability within the Irish body politic. As a result, troop numbers stationed in Ireland fluctuated from 15,000 to 30,000 during the first quarter of the nineteenth century in response to events on the ground.[46] In 1814, Robert Peel introduced the Peace Preservation Force to Ireland during his time as Chief Secretary. It was an armed proto-police force, specifically deployed to quell disturbances – with its attendant costs levied on the localities where unrest occurred. It was the first such force in the UK, and frequently required the support of the army at violent flash points.[47]

S. J. Connolly describes how the introduction of the Peace Preservation Force "involved government taking on new functions and a style of administration that diverged sharply from that in contemporary Britain", reflecting a wider set of attitudes in British politics, which saw Ireland as distinct from, and alien to, Britain.[48] In 1841, Peel, who was by then Prime Minister, saw resolution of the land issue as central to his policies of reconciliation in Ireland. He also saw it as a way to undermine O'Connell's Repeal movement, which by 1843 "appeared to be bringing Ireland to the brink of civil war".[49] The Repeal movement itself was under pressure from the Young Ireland elements within the party, driving O'Connell to organise a

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with the conservative *Dublin University Magazine*, but came to a similar cultural nationalist point of view. See Kinealy, 2002, 197.

[46] See Eagleton, 1995, 88. Kinealy states that at the height of the Catholic Emancipation crisis in 1829, out of a regular infantry force stationed in the UK, twenty-five thousand were stationed either in Ireland or on the west coast of Britain, with a view to swift deployment to Ireland. See Kinealy, 2002, 119.

[47] See Kinealy, 2002, 119, and also Brooks.

[48] 2009, 63-4.

[49] Kinealy, 2002, 187.

show of strength, at the proposed Clontarf monster meeting, which was cancelled under threat of a government clampdown in 1843. The spectacle was suppressed.

The Irish cottier system produced multiple layers of ‘middlemen’ operating a system that was not only economically opportunistic and exploitative, but permeated with nuanced religious and class differences. Whelan writes of farmers who “could peremptorily refuse to renew the verbal contract for conacre ground, or evict and distrain, without any legal restraint. For those close to the poor, it was these mini-landlords (tiarnaí beaga) rather than the landlord class per se who were the worst enemies of the agricultural labourer”.[50] Whelan describes how “Catholic middlemen families were obsessed, almost to the point of neurosis, with ancestry, family background and the Cromwellian rupture”,[51] and also were “brokers across a series of parameters – political, cultural, social and economic. They were amphibian, at ease in different cultural streams, facing simultaneously into both local and cosmopolitan life, straddling archaic and modern modes”.[52] The middleman system was greatly eroded by the capitalist rationalisation of farming (with the introduction of land agents, engineers, valuers and other professionals) before, during and after the Famine – but survived later into the nineteenth century, and subsequently informed Marx and Engels’ belief that Ireland was primed for revolution.[53]

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[50] 1995, 27.

[51] 1996, 10.

[52] Ibid., 17.

[53] See Engels, 2009, 278, and Marx and Engels. Discussing the Irish economy, Marx wrote to Engels on November 30, 1867: “The system of 1801-46, with its rack-rents and middlemen, collapsed in 1846” (Marx and Engels, 147).

The scale of the Famine catastrophe is difficult to comprehend. With one million people dead, and two million emigrants, the transformation of Irish culture was profound. Ireland's largely rural population was one third of the UK total, and two thirds of the Irish labour force was engaged in agriculture on the eve of the catastrophe. The arrival of potato blight in 1845 set in train an unprecedented chain of events.[54] Though the statistics from previous Irish famines in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries demonstrate that such national disasters were possible, the Famine of the 1840s functions as an event horizon in Irish history.[55] It is the point at which certain versions of Ireland disappeared, and all other possible versions into the future were altered. Morash argues "[the] more we look for a stable historical reality against which to compare a literary representation, the less stable the reality becomes".[56] It is also where retrospective insight is only possible through the prism of information remaining available. Empirical histories are plentiful, and statistical analyses are increasing in number (particularly since the mid 1990s), so it is not to say that quantitative information is absent. What is unavoidable is the sense in which the presence of particular bodies and categories of information about the event itself draws attention to the lacunae, which in turn point to shifting forms of visibility and invisibility – shaping our perceptions of then and now. Morash writes that the historiography of the Famine demonstrates the high stakes involved, citing Walter Benjamin's argument that "[only] that historian will have the gift of fanning the spark of hope in the past

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[54] See Kinealy, 2002, 18.

[55] William J. Smyth states that "[the] experienced observer and pioneer statistician, Sir William Petty (1623-87) estimated that during the years. Between 1641 and 1653, between 30 to 40% of Ireland's population may have been lost through war, out-migration, famine and disease. Modern estimates would put the mid-seventeenth-century losses at between a quarter and a third of the population" (2012[b], 4). See also Dickson for an account of the 1740-41 Famine.

[56] 1995, 1.

[…] who is firmly convinced that *even the dead* will not be safe from the enemy if he wins".[57]

When the potato crop failed again in 1846, destroying ninety per cent of the crop, the suffering in Ireland increased significantly, and large numbers of deaths occurred. From the early days of the Whig government of the time, policy on Ireland shifted, with the country increasingly isolated within the UK, and the official government strategy focused on shifting the cost of Famine relief on to the Irish taxpayer. Perception fuelled politics. Queen Victoria referred to the Famine as a "foreign affair", and on the UK National Day of Fasting (in solidarity of sorts with the victims of Famine in Ireland) on 23 March 1847, the Bishop of London delivered a sermon in front of members of the royal family and many MPs describing the Famine as divine providence.[58] This distancing of Ireland within the UK during the Famine – through cultural 'othering' and the localisation of attendant tax burdens – is part of what Declan Kiberd describes as "a number of modernizing experiments conducted in the colonial laboratory that was Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century".[59] According to Gray, what these providentialist ideas shared with classical economics was "the low priority it placed on the preservation of human life – and a wilful blindness towards the agonies of the Irish population in the midst of famine".[60]

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[57] Ibid., 187.

[58] See Gibbons, 2015, 21; McLean, 60.

[59] 1995, 614. Other elements of this 'laboratory' framework include the Peace Preservation Force and the Ordnance Survey Project.

[60] 1998, 142.

While there were overtones of racism to elements of the government's response to the Famine, there was also an ideologically driven, and consciously implemented policy of using the Famine as an opportunity to further develop newer capitalist models of agrarianism in Ireland. This policy found willing support among many Irish landlords who sought to reorganise their estate management – some seeking financial survival through increased efficiency, and others operating from a more pragmatic or cynical base. Gibbons argues that at the root of these developments:

> the real moral culpability lay in the abandonment of justice to an abstract capitalist logic that worked its way implacably through the Irish countryside. But the invisible hand left very tangible effects, aided by an insensate colonial apparatus that gave the lie to any pretense of political legitimacy.[61]

Colm Tóibín points to two key developments in the aftermath of the catastrophe, which were to permeate post-Famine Irish politics: "One, people blamed the English and the Ascendancy. Two, there began a great silence about class division in Catholic Ireland".[62] These developments were fuelled by émigré Irish and, not insignificantly, by the writings of John Mitchel in exile in America – who charged the British with 'genocide', and for being wholly responsible for all Famine deaths.[63] Political argument and counter-argument throughout the crisis sought to frame collective perceptions of the situation. What we now refer to as the 'optics' of political crises, were fraught with the ideological cargo of each side. When we turn our attention to the visual representation of events during the Famine, including its profound gaps, further dimensions of the period unfold, revealing a general rupture in the visual field brought about by horror.

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[61] 2015, 32. See also Smyth, 2012(a), 55.
[62] Tóibín and Ferriter, 7.
[63] See S. J. Connolly, 49.

Famine and the Crisis of Visuality

In December 1846 Nicholas Cummins, a Cork magistrate, wrote to the *Times* about the appalling conditions in Schull and Skibbereen in County Cork. His letter was published on Christmas Eve. Subsequently, *The Illustrated London News* sent the artist James Mahony to report from the area. His work is significant in that, as Niamh O'Sullivan states, "[the] Great Irish Famine was one of the first global calamities to feature in popular illustration, as it was concurrent with the spread of new mass-market periodicals and the emergence of the phenomenon of humanitarian relief".[64] In Mahony's first published account of the assignment in February 1847, the editorial introduction describes his intention as one of "ascertaining the accuracy of the frightful statements received from the West […] placing them in unexaggerated fidelity [and to] submit to our readers the graphic results of this journey".[65] Later in the piece he states: "I can now, with perfect confidence say that neither pen nor pencil ever could portray the misery and horror, at this moment, to be witnessed in Skibbereen".[66] Given Mahony's admission that neither text nor image could convey the suffering that he witnessed, it is interesting to note that the textual descriptions of the scenes were graphic and detailed, whereas the illustrations were more restrained and self-censoring.[67] This was not Mahony's choice, but rather the result of editorial direction. Gail Baylis and Sarah Jane Edge give an account of the newspaper's position: "Charles Knight (the paper's editor) placed restrictions on the degree to which illustrators could draw on their own eyewitness testimony, advocating that representations of the seamier aspects of life should be avoided".[68] It is a feature of the editorial style of the *Illustrated London News* of the time to use lurid textual descriptions of grisly scenes, and throughout its coverage of events its illustrations show more restraint than the texts.[69] This aspect of the coverage overlaps with one of the cornerstones of discourses surrounding photography since its inception: that its indexical and mimetic qualities, while delivering forms of visibility, also generate perceptual and semantic gaps, which cannot be overcome.

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[64] 2015, 5. O'Sullivan also writes that the ILN, founded in 1842, saw rapid growth in its circulation with 100,000 copies per edition printed during the Famine's peak in 1847, and the publication claiming up to 30 readers per copy in Britain. Irish audiences also consumed illustrated newspapers. Increased literacy since the Education Act of 1831 helped to grow this audience. See O'Sullivan, 19. See Mark-Fitzgerald, 2013, 34-36, for a more detailed analysis of this phenomenon. See also Kinealy, 2015, 16.

[65] 100.

[66] Ibid. See also Mark-Fitzgerald, 2010, 128-9; Gibbons 2015, 12.

Margaret Kelleher writes: "[one] of the very first questions raised by a study of famine literature is that of the very possibility of representation: is it possible to depict the horror and scale of an event such as famine; are literature and language adequate to the task?"[70] Kelleher (along with Morash and Emily Mark-Fitzgerald) identifies how the events of the Famine drew the act of representation into crisis.[71] Kelleher continues: "[the] apparent scarcity of literary representations, whether at the time or in the succeeding generations, has led one critic to define the Great

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[67] See Crawford, 83, 88; Gibbons 2015, 2-13; O'Sullivan, 28.

[68] 797, n13. Citing Fox, 74, 93-94.

[69] See, for example any of the "Ireland. State of the Country" columns from its 1847 editions available online at the Quinnipiac University Ireland's Great Hunger Museum Database. The story of a man called Leahey of Dromdeleague Parish (near Dunmanway in Cork), who after his death was eaten by dogs, features in two consecutive editions of the *Illustrated London News* on 13 and 20 February 1847. See also Mark-Fitzgerald 2013, 45-6.

[70] 2.

[71] See Morash, 1995; Mark-Fitzgerald, 2013, Chapters One and Two.

Famine as 'the threatened death of the signifier'".[72] Critical engagement with this threat burrows beneath the surface of any encounter with the historiography of the Famine. In visual as well as literary terms there remains a great deal at stake in a debate that posits on one side an ethical dead-end in pursuing representations of the catastrophe, and on the other a risk of trivialisation of politics in the representations that are made. Kelleher identifies Primo Levi's intervention in the discourse as crucial, where he described a "dangerous, vicious circle" established by resolute arguments as to the incommunicability of catastrophe.[73] On the other side of the debate is the risk that representations of horrors such as the Famine can lead to a textual or visual encounter that is ultimately empty, an experience described by Fergal Keane: "The powerful images leave us momentarily horrified but largely ignorant, what somebody memorably described as 'compassion without understanding'".[74] However, it remains the case that "writers, however unsure as to the inadequacy of language, *do* attempt famine representations, their prefacing remarks serving to sharpen the reader's attention. More interestingly, these comments attest to a double fear: both of language's inadequacy *and* its dangerous power".[75] The transfer of this argument to the field of photography is productive.

With Mahony's Irish images becoming part of the matrix of print media and technology that constituted mass-market communications at the time, photographic processes had not yet become part of the system – and would not do so in real terms until the development of the half-tone image in the 1880s.

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[72] 4. Citing Eagleton, 1995, 11.
[73] 223.
[74] 7. Cited in Kelleher, 226.
[75] Kelleher, 19.

However, photography was becoming well established in Ireland by the mid-1840s and it is worthwhile noting some significant aspects of this process in order to contextualise Mahony's words and images (among those of other reporters and publications of the time, who were active on the ground in Ireland). Louis Daguerre's book describing his photographic process was published on 15 June 1839. The first of four English language editions (one of which was published in Dublin, and available from the Mechanics Institute) was published on 13 September 1839, accompanied by a technical demonstration in London. This led to the rapid adoption of the process by interested parties, some through curiosity, and some in pursuit of profit.[76] The Belfast Daguerreotypist, Beatty, who claimed to have produced the first photographic images in Ireland, established a short-lived commercial Daguerreotype studio in Castle Street, Belfast in 1842.[77]

Dublin's first commercial photographic studio was responsible for one of the earliest politically powerful photographs in Ireland. O'Connell's imprisonment for sedition in 1844, over the cancelled Clontarf 'Monster Meeting', saw the production of what have been described as the first photographs taken inside a prison – made in the Richmond Bridewell, Dublin, between May and September 1844.[78] The O'Connell image, now held at the National Gallery of Ireland, was made by Doussin Dubreuil, who operated from a studio at the Rotunda. In the image, O'Connell "is shown wearing his famous 'Repeal Cap', a green velvet hat embroidered with golden shamrocks, designed by artist Henry MacManus and presented to O'Connell by sculptor John Hogan at the Monster Meeting at Mullaghmast Rath Co. Kildare on October 1, 1843".[79] Anne Hodge and Peter Harbison argue that it is likely that O'Connell's friend, Thomas Matthew Ray, Secretary of the Repeal Association, commissioned the images.[80] If true, allowing the photographs to be taken would indicate either sympathy for the prisoner's politics on the part of prison authorities, or a lack of awareness around the potential political power of the prison photograph.[81] This second possibility is plausible at such an early stage in the era of photography, and the non-existence of prison photographs at the time. The image itself appears to demonstrate a sophisticated understanding of the semantic power of visual composition on the part of O'Connell himself. His choice of hat (in the limited circumstances of a small, monochromatic portrait format, in three-quarter view) shows a consciousness of the symbolic visual gesture that is unlikely to have been accidental.[82]

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[76] See Chandler, 2001, 4-5, 13.

[77] Beatty's claim was revived forty years later, in an article he wrote for the *Photographic News* in 1879, asking if anyone could lay claim to having produced an earlier Irish photograph. See Chandler, 2001, 5-6.

[78] See Chandler, 2001, 15; 1989, 11-12. The site was subsequently occupied by Wellington Barracks, renamed Griffith Barracks after independence, and now houses Griffith College on Dublin's South Circular Road.

O'Connell's alertness to the power of the political image at such an early point in photography's history indicates a sense of the emergent connections between politics and popular culture at the time. Habermas writes of the tension between publicity and the public sphere pertaining to questions around the right or expectation to see images of individuals involved in criminal trials. He posits this as part of a process in modernity where politics turns into a show, and political arguments become a system of alignments rather than debates.[83] In death, O'Connell's canniness was to be amplified further into the fabric of Irish popular visual culture.

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[79] Hodge & Harbison, 123.

[80] See Hourican, 2017(a) for a brief biography of Ray.

[81] The authorities sympathies for O'Connellism are confirmed by Hodge and Harbison's account of the luxury accommodation afforded to O'Connell while imprisoned (2014, 121).

[82] See Morash, 2010, 68, where he writes that O'Connellism also had a transformative effect on print journalism. Until then, editors and newspaper people had traditionally been desk based, waiting for stories from correspondents. The rise of O'Connell and other prominent barristers within the Catholic Association made the courtroom a prime spot for stories driving journalists out of their offices and into the courts to get their stories more quickly and verbatim. See Edge, for an account of the relationships between prison photographs and the evolving Irish nationalist iconographies in the mid-nineteenth century.

One month after his death, advertisements appeared in *The Nation* of 19 June 1847, selling "Daguerreotype copies of an inimitable Daguerreotype of the late Liberator" with the image patent credited to Richard Beard.[84] The advertisement claimed that it was the only photograph for which O'Connell had sat. This publically available commoditised political image entered the homes and premises of O'Connell's supporters, helping to shape the image culture of emergent Irish cultural nationalism, alongside the paintings and illustrations of O'Connell's massive funeral in the streets of Dublin.[85] Similarly, during the Young Ireland leaders' time in Kilmainham Jail awaiting deportation in 1848, they too were photographed. The images were made by Leon Gluckman, who had set up his commercial photography studio at 13 Lower Sackville Street in 1842.[86] He had the images drawn onto lithography stones by Henry O'Neill, and produced printed editions. His posters featured the likenesses of William Smith O'Brien, Charles

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[83] See Habermas, 206-8.

[84] See Chandler, 2001, 14. Beard also patented the process in Ireland, setting up Ireland's first commercial photographic studio at Dublin's Rotunda in 1841, which was taken over by Dubreuil a year later. See Carville, 2008, 750-52.

[85] O'Connell's death and funeral received extensive coverage in the *Illustrated London News* of 29 May, 31 July and 14 August 1847 – editions available at the Quinnipiac University Ireland's Great Hunger Museum Database. http://bit.ly/2jLgwSB. Accessed 22 November 2018.

[86] This was the beginning of what was to be later called 'The Photographers' Mile', due to the proliferation of commercial studios set up in the Sackville Street, Sackville Bridge area over the following decades. See Chandler, 2001, Appendix III. Merne writes: "He [Gluckman] took many photographs of the New Ireland leaders, both during their trials and in Richmond Prison. Lithographic copies were made from these by Henry O'Neill and distributed as patriotic propaganda and many of them were used to illustrate Sir Charles Gavan Duffy's book on Young Ireland" (8).

Gavan Duffy, John Mitchel, Thomas F. Meagher, John Martin, Richard O'Gorman and Patrick O'Donoghue, and carried facsimile signatures and messages from the men. Chandler also credits a Daguerreotype of Thomas Davis, from which an iconic portrait illustration was derived, to Gluckman.[87]

These politicised photographic events demonstrate the speed at which the Daguerreotype process succeeded publically and commercially in Ireland, with parallel success in other countries. Part of the aesthetic attraction of the Daguerreotype was its visual veracity. The level of detail achieved in a well-made image was unlike anything seen before. Parallel to this popularity, Talbot's Calotype process moved more slowly into the public realm. Talbot was careful about protecting his intellectual property, and allowed friends, associates and other interested parties to experiment with the process – often involving detailed correspondence between Talbot and the experimenters.[88] There are significant links between Irish practitioners and Talbot's process. Figures such as Reverend Richard Calvert Jones, William Holland Furlong, William Despard Hemphill, Michael Pakenham Edgeworth, William Parsons (Third Earl of Rosse) and his wife Mary were all involved the adoption and development of the Calotype process.[89] However, although there was significant photographic experimentation and entrepreneurship happening in 1840s Ireland, there remains a gap.

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[87] Ibid., 25. Chandler notes that the surviving image from the original Daguerreotype is a print on albumen paper, which was not used until the 1850s, and so is likely to be a copy. There was also a faked version made using actors – to cash in on publicity around O'Brien's death in 1864. This fake version was printed as authentic in Gernsheim's first edition in 1956.

[88] See Schaaf, for extensive accounts of the Talbot catalogue and archives.

[89] See Chapter Three, 'Big House Photography: Space, Place and Modernity'.

A question that recurs in scholarship, across Irish studies and the history of photography in Ireland, is what to do with the absence of Famine photographs. The question is, why are there no photographs 'of' the Famine?[90] There are many images of the Famine, published in the *Illustrated London News* and other publications – exploiting the rapidly-developing technologies of print reproduction, and attendant mass-market consumption of new publications.[91] There are also many photographic images, Daguerreotype and Calotype, made *during* the Famine. What then, do we mean by photographs *of* the Famine? This two-letter preposition represents the core concern of the remaining discussion in this chapter.

Mark-Fitzgerald argues that, in terms of photography, "very few of the extant images dating to the Famine period deal in any way with social subjects, and no contemporaneous image of the Famine has been identified".[92] Gibbons states that 'Big House' photographers had no appetite for, or incentive to, "show up the iniquities of the system that kept the Big House in its privileged place".[93] Justin Carville identifies this argument as simplistic, in its perpetuation of the concept of a basic binary between the Ascendancy on one hand, and everyone else in the country on the other.[94] Photography was in its infancy in Ireland during the Famine years, with its practices mainly associated with entrepreneurs and amateur enthusiasts, many of Anglo-Irish backgrounds, with the time and means to pursue an expensive hobby. Mark-Fitzgerald refers to the pressures on early photography in respect of the "constrained possibilities of visualizing the Famine body – with sanitized or romanticized renderings dominating both illustrated journalism and Famine-related subject painting".[95] While photography was in its earliest forms at the time, there was enough entrepreneurial photography taking place to suggest that, had it been profitable, such images would have been made. This implies that the delimited parameters for representations of the body were an important element in the absence of such images. Separately, the required exposure times of the 1840s photography imposed intrinsic technical limits, which precluded any spontaneous forms of reportage or 'snapshot' photography – concepts that only emerged in the late-nineteenth century, when photographic technologies supported such imaging. It is interesting to note, however, that the urge to capture images photographically was understood by those without access to the means to do so. Several years before the Famine, William Makepeace Thackeray wrote in his *Irish Sketch Book* of 1842: "The traveller is haunted by the face of popular starvation [...] that ghastly livid face interposing itself between you and it [the landscape]".[96] Elsewhere during the same journey, he notes a desire for a Daguerreotype of the Killarney races.[97] The gulf between these two perspectives on preferred forms of visibility is rationalised in his statement of 1844: "Poverty and misery have, it seems, their sublime, and that sublime is to be found in Ireland".[98] For Thackeray, this form of sublime was not to be visualised and, in his own formulation, functioned as an optical block to the landscape beyond. In this way, the poverty-stricken occupants of the land made their unwelcome presence felt through their very visibility in the places where they lived. As soon as they were out of sight, the landscape became once more worthy of visual record.[99] Explanations for the absence of Famine photographs can be summarised as being due to partly technical and partly socio-cultural parameters. The socio-cultural limits would, therefore, preclude a market for such images and the incentive for commercial photographers to become involved. Answering the question about the absence of photographic representations, then, is less remarkable than it might at first seem – within the context of a proliferation of, often lurid, textual and illustrative representations of the disaster. What becomes more interesting is the question itself, and its implications for our contemporary understanding of photography and its capacity to record, inform, distort and deny.

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[90] See Mark-Fitzgerald, 2010, 121 and 2013, 11-12; Carville, 2011, 65-66; Gibbons, 2015, 11.

[91] Mark-Fitzgerald points out that the Famine coincided with the rise in illustrated popular newspapers, but preceded the rise in social journalism (e.g. *The Graphic* 1869-1923). Publications that covered the crisis included *Punch*, *The Lady's Newspaper*, *Pictorial Times*, *The Weekly Freeman*, *Historic Times*, *The Puppet Show* – and US magazines including *Gleason's Pictorial* and *Harper's Weekly*. See 2013, 34.

[92] 2010, 121. Mark-Fitzgerald contextualises this observation within a wider discussion of early nineteenth-century painting: "The first half of the nineteenth century is a remarkable transition period in the visual representation of the British and Irish poor. With patronage in painting shifting increasingly to an affluent middle class, the advent of engraving within the mass media influencing artists' choice of subject matter, and the dynamics of British social relations changing in response to the intensifying poverty brought on by rapid industrialization, Irish subject painting would seem hardly recognizable by century's end" (15).

[93] 2015, 11.

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[94] See Carville, 2011, 68.

[95] 2010, 121. O'Sullivan notes that the *Times* took the *Pictorial Times* to task over its use of images, going into the debate about veracity, and the truth relationships between text and image. See 2015, 37-38.

[96] Morash, 1995, 41.

[97] See Ó Muirithe, 79-80.

To consider the photographic 'gap' of the Famine is to address a threshold that is at once aesthetic, political, social, technical, economic, humanitarian, historical and historiographical. It is an event horizon, precluding sight. This horizon partially collapses historical time, rendering a world that is already 'photographable' into lithographic, painted and engraved representations. Through these older visual platforms the events are aesthetically historicised, pushing them 'back' into

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[98] Ibid., 48. Sarah James notes: "Edmund Burke argued that the sublime is governed by terror but also that terror becomes sublime only 'when it does not press too close'" (125-7).
[99] Lloyd develops this idea, describing the crisis in representation brought about by the scale of the catastrophe: "[The] indigent sublime is that which exceeds conceptualization and overwhelms the boundary of the subject" (2005, 162).

history. It also impacts on our contemporary discourse, where important questions about photography arising from the Irish Famine era remain live issues today. Susan Meiselas, the renowned conflict photographer writes: "I am preoccupied by the question: can we become haunted by images we haven't seen – or that we haven't made?"[100] – illuminating a constant trope of discourses on photography, in which its capacity to occlude can be as powerful as its ability to reveal. It also implicates audience expectation, particularly in the West since the Second World War, where Ariella Azoulay describes "the central right pertaining to the privileged segment of the populations consists in the right to view disaster – to be its spectator".[101] Walter Benjamin critiques this desire to spectate: "I spoke of the operation of a certain type of fashionable photography, which makes misery into a consumer good".[102] These desires and expectations attributed to photography's audiences are a product of the twentieth-century. Meiselas's use of the word "we" reveals a sense of collective investment in spectatorship, and less of a collegiality among photographers. Azoulay refers to privileged "populations" and their presumed right to view images of the distress of others. Benjamin accused photography of becoming the means through which horror is commoditised.[103] Each of these perspectives on photographic imaging are, however, predicated on globalised and capitalised distribution mechanisms for photography, technical ease in snapshot imaging, and the idea of spectatorship percolating through western societies. In nineteenth-century Ireland, none of these conditions pertained. Photography's place in relation to the Famine was wholly novel – technically, socially and ethically – and its evolving position in arguments about the ethics of representation during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries was informed by debates around the written word.

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[100] Batchen et al 2012, 117.

[101] 2012, 1.

[102] 1970, 91. Benjamin immediately complicated the argument where he continued, "When I turn to the 'new objectivity' as a literary movement, I must go a step further and say that it has made the struggle against misery into a consumer good. In fact, in many cases its political meaning has been exhausted with the transposition of revolutionary reflexes, in so far as they appeared in the bourgeoisie, into objects of distraction and amusement which were integrated without difficulty into the cabaret business of the big cities" (Ibid.).

[103] Ibid.

Morash identifies the phenomenon in the field of literature: "'It is because genres exist as an institution', Todorov reminds us, 'that they function as "horizons of expectation" for readers and as "models of writing" for authors'".[104] The tension created by the desire for non-existent images and the presumed right to see such images, is one that points to the difficulties inherent in all mediated encounters with the past. In the Irish context, Morash suggests another route: "Instead, the fundamental indeterminacy of the Famine should be understood as an exemplary instance of the epistemological elusiveness of the past itself, exacerbated in this instance by the nature of the event".[105] Rancière sees continuity across other sites of catastrophe, in that "prior to any ordered logic of peripeteia, we have an interaction between wanting to know, not wanting to say, saying without saying, and refusing to hear. A whole *pathos* of knowledge characterizes the ethical world of tragedy".[106] This ethical framework of representation (or lack thereof) is something that is approached tangentially in literature, as Morash explains:

> A Famine text may invoke the presence of the dead in the millenarian moment; it may erase the dead from the march of history; or it may be suspended between presence and progress – but writing the Famine will

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[104] 1995, 5.
[105] Ibid., 3.
[106] 2007, 114.

> always, whether by inclusion or exclusion, inscribe the dead in discourses other than the Famine *per se*. The literature of the Famine thus exists as a series of tangents to the elusive event itself. We encounter only the ghosts of the dead who are, as ever, absent.[107]

All arts share in the process of revealing the world in ways otherwise unavailable to direct experience. This revelation is often delivered in the form of allusion, hint or tangent. It is in the gaps that we create narratives, to aid the construction of understanding. Again, the audience is implicated in its aspiration towards, and belief in, the capacity of the artist or rapporteur to tell a story or conjure a world that is legible. These expectations are in themselves a construction. Morash writes:

> "Classical realism", writes Terry Eagleton of the literary form which is most closely related to narrative historiographic practice, "assumes that the world itself is story shaped – that there is a narrative, sometimes of a consolingly teleological kind, implicit in reality itself, which it is the task of literary art to dig out and faithfully represent".[108]

For Rancière, artistic movements of the twentieth century, in response to the period's catastrophes, grappled with the process of representing the unrepresentable. He argues that, "[the] fate of the avant-gardes is to attest to the unrepresentability that seizes hold of thought, to inscribe the shock of the material, and testify to the original gap".[109] The gap of unrepresentability is unique in each historical instance, and in the Irish context Tóibín quotes Eagleton: "Part of the horror of the Famine is its atavistic nature – the mind shaking fact that an event with all the premodern character of a medieval pestilence happened in Ireland with frightening recentness", and continues that from his own (Tóibín's) perspective:

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[107] 1995, 40.
[108] Ibid., 13.
[109] 2007, 132.

> I think that this 'premodern' quality puts the Famine beyond the reach of writers who came after it; and the speed with which society transformed itself – and perhaps the arrival of the camera – made the history of 1846, 1847 and 1848 in Ireland a set of erasures rather than a set of reminders.[110]

Rancière takes on the concept of unrepresentability and seeks to unfold its structure, arguing that,

> the 'failing of the stable relationship between the perceptible and the intelligible' might perfectly well be construed as the unlimited character of the powers of representation. In order to interpret it in the sense of the 'unrepresentable', and posit certain events as unrepresentable, a double subreption has to be made – one involving the concept of event, the other the concept of art. This double subreption is what is presented in Lyotard's construction of a coincidence between something unthinkable at the heart of the event and something unpresentable at the heart of art.[111]

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[110] 28. Citing Eagleton, 1995, 14.
[111] 2007, 130-31.

Rancière's double subreption frames both incapacity to conceptualise horror and the limitations of representation. In the context of mid-nineteenth-century Ireland, this formulation is compounded by the duality inherent in the colonial subject position described by Bhabha. Photography then, in its earliest phase, was suspended by a range of forces operating in an Irish context, rendering it one element in a system of erasures rather than a means of revealing the world. Our knowledge that photography existed, but was not used in ways that we now take for granted, increases the tension around the Famine's photographic invisibility.

Didi-Huberman argues that when a representation works to mediate an event, it is undermined by the almost inevitable critical conclusion that it is inadequate – when we compare *what we see* with *what we know*: "Why is there such a difficulty? It is because we often ask too much or too little of the image. Ask too much of it – 'the whole truth' for example – and we will quickly be disappointed: the images are merely stolen shreds, bits of film".[112] At the base of many critical formulations around photography's inadequacy in reaching 'truthful' representations, is an overbearing demand on the image itself to do more work than is possible. From Benjamin to Roland Barthes, from Susan Sontag to Martha Rosler, and from Abigail Solomon-Godeau to Azoulay, there is an ongoing engagement with photography's shortcomings – covering a wide spectrum, from popular movements to academic entanglements.[113] Rancière posits that between the visible and the intelligible there is a missing link, which he describes as a "specific type of interest capable of ensuring a suitable relationship between the seen and the unseen, the known and the unknown, the expected and the unexpected; and also of adjusting the relationship of distance and proximity between stage and auditorium".[114] The acknowledgement of the relationship between image-maker and audience is important, implicating those on both sides of the transaction. Didi-Huberman invokes Sartre's assertion that "[the] image is an act and not a thing",[115] and goes on to describe a strategy to negotiate the topography of perceptual gaps and unrepresentability – one based on multiplicity:

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[112] 32.

[113] For example Benjamin 1970, 1999; Barthes 1973, 1977, 1982; Sontag 1977, 2003; Rosler 1974-75, Solomon-Godeau 1991, Azoulay 2008, 2012.

> The knowledge value could not be intrinsic to one image alone, any more than imagination might consist in passively enfolding oneself in a single image. On the contrary, it is a question of putting the multiple in motion, isolating nothing, showing the hiatuses and the analogies, the indeterminations and the overdeterminations.[116]

This appeal to visual plurality is a strategy to refuse the pressure of indexicality attributed to single images. It makes clear that image multiplicity proposes some form of narrative, however disjunctive, and some contextualisation, however skewed. Where the single image is unreliable, a number of photographs can begin to communicate. Where there are limited, single, or no images to represent an event, tension fills the gaps. The approximation of knowledge, made available through sets of images, becomes preferable to the silence produced by an absence of photographs.

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[114] 2007, 112.
[115] 113.
[116] Ibid., 120.

Didi-Huberman's position is forged in an animated debate, which takes questions of representability into extreme dimensions and critical spaces dealing with an event that has stretched the limitations of rationalism, logocentrism and enlightenment thinking itself – the Holocaust. His book, *Images in Spite of All*, gives his critical account of the production and uses of four photographs, taken in secret by Sonderkommandos from inside a gas chamber in Auschwitz-Birkenau during the summer of 1944.[117] The images are the only known photographs taken inside the extermination camp. They depict naked women being marched towards the gas chamber to be murdered, and also the cremation of bodies in an open-air pit outside the building. The images were produced, at risk of death, and smuggled out to the Polish resistance, in the hope of alerting the world to the Nazi genocide. Didi-Huberman begins his account with a demand that we imagine the reality of the death camp: "Let us not invoke the unimaginable. Let us not shelter ourselves by saying that we cannot, that we could not by any means, imagine it to the very end. We are *obliged* to that oppressive imaginable".[118] When Didi-Huberman, as curator, included prints of the photographs in an exhibition called *Memory of the Camps* in Paris in 2001, he was drawn into a controversial debate about the ethics of showing the images.[119] His opponents were the writers Gérard Wajcman and Elizabeth Pagnoux, and the director of the Holocaust documentary film *Shoah*, Claude Lanzmann. Wajcman and Pagnoux published articles in *Les Temps Modernes*, a prominent French journal founded by Jean-Paul Sartre, of which Lanzmann was director. They argued that the publication of the images compounded the humiliation and dehumanisation of the victims depicted, taking particular exception to Didi-Huberman's description of the images themselves as "survivors".[120] Lanzmann also objected to the use of the images, consistent with his own film practice, in which the nine-hour documentary, *Shoah*, contains no archival images of the concentration or extermination camps.[121] *Images in Spite of All* is Didi-Huberman's account of the debate itself and its wider implications for our engagement with images. In the critical exchanges between the writers, Didi-Huberman believes that Wajcman and Pagnoux are engaged in an argument of which he is not part. For him, they believe that, in addition to the dehumanising power of the images, the photographs risk a totalising conceptual simplification of the Holocaust, and somehow, even inadvertently, rationalising the horror. He counters Wajcman by saying that,

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[117] Sonderkommandos were prisoners selected by Nazi guards to carry out the physical work in and around the gas chambers and crematoria.

[118] 3.

[119] The exhibition, *Mémoire des camps : Photographies des camps de concentration et d'extermination nazis, 1933-1999,* took place at l'Hôtel de Sully, Paris, from 12 January – 25 March 2001. Its catalogue was published by Marval.

> [he] thinks therefore that the image, for his fantasized adversary, *resolves the real*, constituting a kind of *integral* of the real. If the unimaginable for him means to *imagine nothing*, then the image will inevitably mean to *imagine all*. Why create a conceptual chimera in order to dismiss it so fiercely? Doesn't exorcising ghosts suggest that one might be haunted by them?[122]

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[120] 42.
[121] Rancière writes, "Claude Lanzmann's film *Shoah* has been seen as bearing witness to the unrepresentable. But what Lanzmann counterposes to the representational plot of the US television series *The Holocaust* is another cinematographic plot – the narrative of a present inquiry re-constructing an enigmatic or an erased past, which can be traced back to Orson Welles's Rosebud in *Citizen Kane*. The 'unrepresentable' argument does not fit with the experience of artistic practice. Instead it fulfills a desire for there to be something unrepresentable, or unavailable, so that the practice of art can be enlisted in the necessity of the ethical detour. The ethics of the unrepresentable might still be an inverted form of the aesthetic promise" (2010, 140).
[122] Didi-Huberman, 55. Emphasis in original.

He goes on to argue, "[more] radically, Wajcman and Pagnoux suggest that, since all of the images of the Shoah are inappropriate to their object, they are necessarily false or even falsifying".[123] Didi-Huberman quotes Filip Müller:

> Unbearable and impossible, yes. But "one must imagine," Filip Müller insists nonetheless. *To imagine in spite of all*, which calls for a difficult ethics of the image; neither the invisible par excellence (the laziness of the aesthete), nor the icon of horror (the laziness of the believer), nor the mere document (the laziness of the learned). A simple image: inadequate but necessary, inexact but true. True of a paradoxical truth, of course.[124]

Didi-Huberman here recognises the limitations of the images' capacity to inform, but argues that their use contributes to the required ethical imaginary. Whereas Müller's words don't directly invoke the visual, Didi-Huberman goes on to elaborate on the obligation to look:

> I would say that here the image is the *eye of history*: its tenacious function of making visible. But also that it is *in the eye of history*: in a very local zone, in a moment of visual suspense, as the 'eye' of the hurricane (let us remember that this central zone of the storm, capable of a flat calm, 'contains nonetheless enough clouds to make its interpretation difficult').[125]

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[123] Ibid., 68.

[124] Ibid., 39. Emphasis in original. Müller was a member of the Sonderkommando, survivor of Auschwitz-Birkenau and author of *Eyewitness Auschwitz*. He was also an interviewee in Lanzmann's *Shoah* documentary, which in the context of the debate, would appear to lend weight to Didi-Huberman's use of the quote.

[125] Ibid. Emphasis in original.

The structure of the argument itself, in its resort to metaphor, is evidence of the necessity to address history tangentially, as Morash tells us. Devices denoting occlusion, transient access to visibility and violent obliteration are configured to give us a sense of contingency and the historiographical opportunities to be grasped, or lost forever. For Didi-Huberman, this connotes a system of politics, where "the *thought of images* today comes to a great extent from the *political field* itself".[126] This conflation takes us to an important point: to construct or present an image is a political act. Crucially, *to consider* an image (before, during or after its production) is equally political. Our task is to identify, describe and understand the politics of the image. Implicated in this political field are the image producer, mediator and consumer.

Where Didi-Huberman argues for the political obligation to look, the possibility of 'compassion fatigue' arises. Peggy Phelan describes how the phenomenon occurs:

> When one sees an atrocity photograph for the first time, it can be traumatic. Indeed, we often look away. But when we return to it, the experience of looking has created a narrative that produces a kind of pastness, if only at the level of: "I have seen this before and survived seeing it." Looking at an atrocity photograph repeatedly can transform the image from a performative to a constative expression.[127]

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[126] Ibid., 57. Emphasis in original.
[127] 54.

Didi-Huberman recalls how Barthes described 'shock photographs' of atrocity as "'almost always *overconstructing* the horror', such that the images become 'false, (immobilized in) an intermediary state between the literal fact and the overestimated fact'".[128] Two key markers in the debate about compassion fatigue are provided by Sontag, if not as 'bookends' to the arguments, certainly as signal moments. In her seminal book *On Photography*, she argues for an 'ecology of images' – where the assault on our senses in mediatised consumer society, would be mitigated by ethical engagements with visual stimuli, to manage the desensitising power of explicit imagery.[129] In her last book, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, Sontag acknowledged that there would be no such ecology, but that nor had we become automatically desensitised by imagery.[130] This change of position by Sontag reinforces the idea that critical discourse around images is primarily political. The politics, ethics and aesthetics of photography are thus configured as a mutually interdependent and interconnected system of images, texts and actions. To employ one element of the system is to affect its related components. Rancière argues that the 'political' image is not merely the use of an image as a demonstration, "but an intervention into the spaces that determine what is visible to reconfigure them as sites of a community denied visibility by the state".[131] The evolution of this form of aesthetics in recent decades is one that Azoulay traces back to Kant, via Hannah Arendt:

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[128] 69. Emphasis in original.

[129] 1977, 180.

[130] See Sontag, 2002, 97. Campbell gives an account of earlier and more recent manifestations of the debate around compassion fatigue. Kelleher cites an editorial in the *Illustrated London News* of May 1846, describing a form of compassion fatigue directly experienced by the writer as he moved through the Irish countryside. See 229.

[131] 2010, 36-39.

> In the wake of this new judgment of taste, the determining question is no longer whether the object of judgment is beautiful (as was the case with the first judgment of taste); nor whether it constitutes art (as was the case with the second judgment of taste); but whether the work of art is aesthetic or political.[132]

The art-historical phases of this three-part development can be said to roughly coincide with Romantic art, early twentieth-century modernity (for example, in Marcel Duchamp's *Fountain* sculpture of 1917), and our contemporary moment (linked to postmodernity's fragmentation of metanarratives and the emergence of identity politics). Azoulay goes on to outline how "Hannah Arendt's lectures on Kant represent the most significant discussion of the political context of the judgment of taste".[133] In her interpretation of Arendt's position, Azoulay argues that Kant's work positioned the exercise of 'taste' as a political act (beyond the merely aesthetic), binding the individual to the collective (society, public, audience). The distinction between this contemporary account of Kantian aesthetics (via Azoulay and Rancière) and that of, for example, Barrell and Bermingham (addressed in Chapter One, above), is that in the contemporary world, the theoretical 'collective' is more inclusive, and refers to citizens and the disenfranchised in a transnational context – not solely Anglo-Irish landowners in a semi-feudal society. In this context, and against the backdrop of pervasive digital and social networks, the currency of the image is strengthened, while its potency oscillates, depending on multiple elements outside of the visual. While careful not to overstate the power of the image, Didi-Huberman remains resolute on the necessity of engaging with the visual, however difficult that encounter may be. He also re-situates the photograph in our new image ecology:

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[132] 2012, 37.
[133] Ibid., 89.

> *The image is not nothing*. And to seek to eradicate images from all historical knowledge under the pretext that they are never adequate is not proof of 'radicality'. Radicality is a matter of roots, that is to say, of impurities, rhizomes, radicles, subterranean infiltrations, unexpected repercussions, and bifurcations.[134]

If we are to accept Didi-Huberman's call to look, and to acknowledge Sontag's model of a viewer capable of avoiding desensitisation, what capacity is rendered to the photographic image, and what are its consequences? In the context of the Holocaust, Didi-Huberman argues that "[photography], from this angle, shows a particular ability – illustrated by certain well- or lesser-known examples – to curb the fiercest will to obliterate".[135] This will to represent, or to bear witness in the manner of Müller or Levi, is a political and ethical stance. Azoulay proposes acting on Arendt's version of Kantianism:

> Arendt extracts the general form of judgment from the Kantian judgment of taste and points to it as a model of political 'being with others.' She shows no interest whatsoever in the Kantian judgment 'This is beautiful' in

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[134] 121. Emphasis in original.
[135] 23.

> relation to the aesthetic realm. The judgment interests her only insofar as it subsumes a form of political thought.[136]

Didi-Huberman argues for an image politics that accounts for the difficulty and contradiction inherent in attempting to construct a stable theory of the photograph, and it is worthwhile here to quote a substantial passage of his argument:

> It was a question not of hypostasizing a new definition of images taken as a whole, but rather of observing their dialectical plasticity, which I have called the *dual system* of their working: visible and visual, detail and "patch", resemblance and difference, anthropomorphism and abstraction, form and formlessness, comeliness and cruelty, and so on. Like the signs of language, images in their own way – and this is the problem – are able to produce an effect *along with* its negation. They are, in turn, fetish and fact, vehicle of beauty and site of the unbearable, consolation and the inconsolable. They are neither pure illusion nor all of the truth but a dialectical stirring together *the veil with its rip*.[137]

In two sentences, Didi-Huberman lays bare the fundamental problematics of the photographic image. In terms of mid-nineteenth-century Ireland, this construction provides another layer of complication to the field of representation. Where the unstable colonial figure is caught between the powerlessness of visual representation and the conceptual elusiveness of horror, nascent photography – had it been employed – was capable only of providing a refractory moment, which would further confuse and misdirect. Our desire for photographs 'of' the Famine is based on the erroneous assumption that photographic images provide resolution, calling to mind Niamh Ann Kelly's critical questioning of artworks connected to famine and horror: "[What] use has representation outside testimony?"[138]

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[136] 2012,89.

[137] 79-80. Emphasis in original. This argument calls to mind Derrida's concept of 'writing under erasure'.

Didi-Huberman's argument links photography to issues around the 'sublime' image of violence and its aftermath. The debate around the ethics of imaging victims of violence is as old as photography itself, beginning with Matthew Brady's American Civil War photographs.[139] Sarah James states that "[the] discourse of the sublime has long encircled war photography", and she elaborates on the process of how spectacularising the sites of violence reduces them to a visual space devoid of empathy or emotion.[140] This reductive visual model stands in direct opposition to Didi-Huberman's proposed contextualised image radicality. In a discussion on recent 'aftermath' war photography, she asks if the "beautifully printed image [is] not itself morally dubious?"[141] James turns to politics: "While it is clear that this photography is embedded in the subjective and political, the question remains: does a war photography that seeks to represent the inhuman, abstract and even horrifically beautiful world of this contemporary military sublime offer any resistance to it?”[142] James then proposes an approach which can be linked to those of Didi-Huberman and Azoulay: “Kant argues that the dynamically sublime is experienced when we recognize our helplessness before, for example, the terrible physical power of nature, but nonetheless discover within us a power of resistance of quite another kind”.[143] Contemporary aftermath photography provides an example of the contentious territory occupied by photography when it seeks to represent conflict, violence or horror. It is often made in and around theatres of war, soon after violent events have taken place. It is made within the structures of contemporary war reportage (embedded photographers travelling with military clearance), and often appears as documentary work in news publications and web sites. Simultaneously the same images are produced, circulated and consumed within contemporary art spaces and discourses (galleries, critical reviews and expensive large-format books). These shifting functions anchor the images problematically in multiple cultural spaces where potential forms of resistance are complicated and compromised by the idiomatic concerns of their respective platforms – pointing to the edges of legibility in contemporary culture.

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[138] 2018, xx. This question also underpins Kelly's shorter text (2017) addressing contemporary art's representations of the Famine.

[139] See Morrison-Low, 1990, 43 and Ryan, 16 on Brady.

[140] 123.

[141] Ibid., 127. Examples of this genre are to be found in the work of Simon Norfolk, Donovan Wylie, Sophie Ristelhueber, Luc Delahaye and Paul Seawright. For a more comprehensive and nuanced account of the politics of photography during and after conflict, see Graham, 2013. For wider accounts of the relationships between photography and violence, see Batchen et al, Guerin, Linfield, Kennedy and Patrick, Sliwinski, and Stallabrass 2013(b).

Didi-Huberman negotiates this territory with the Auschwitz-Birkenau images, and the opposition the images’ publication encountered where he asks “how could an image act of that kind be prescribed or even interpreted by any thought, however just, on the *exercise of art?* ‘There is a limit at which, the exercise of an art, whatever it be, becomes an insult to misfortune,’ writes Maurice Blanchot”.[144] While Didi-Huberman argues that, essentially, his opponents are fighting against a point that he hasn't made, he concurs with Wacjman's important assertion that "[not] all of the real is solvable in the visible".[145]

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[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.
[144] 27. Emphasis in original.

Conclusion

Mark-Fitzgerald, suggests that photography's relationship with the Famine is a process of theoretical demarcation, where "that which is seen, unseen, and flickering at the margins of these shadowy images reveals the boundaries of visual possibility for imaging Famine and its related experiences".[146] While the Famine was not photographed in the modern or contemporary sense, it was part of the visual consciousness of Britain and Ireland for its duration, and the subject of many illustrated news reports, and parliamentary debates. The commercial development of Daguerreotype studios in Irish urban centres during the Famine years speaks to other strands in the emerging photographic imaginary of Ireland at the time. The involvement of some of these practitioners in the political realm, via prison photographs of nationalist leaders, demonstrates that where profit lurked, photography would intervene. Does the absence of photographs 'of' the Famine represent a moment of willful blindness within Ireland and Britain?

The photographic gap of the Famine could be attributed to a form of denial by the authorities, a sense horror on the part of witnesses, and the real desperation of those most closely involved on the ground day-to-day. While plausible, this is to scratch the surface of the historical moment from a position saturated with our contemporary expectations of lens imaging. It suggests an historiographical yearning that might somehow be filled by images of horror. While the enormity of the Famine can seem beyond our conceptual grasp, the appeal for missing photographs to help us with this problem is misplaced. The period of the late 1840s saw multiple contending elements combine to push the politics of representation into unique territory in an Irish context. The constellation of dualities bringing this about was threefold. Firstly, the mutually constitutive subject positions of both landowner and peasant in rural Ireland present us with an unstable place where meaning making is permeated with contradiction and continual reinscription. Secondly, when this disrupted colonial field was struck by the Famine catastrophe, the human incapacity to fully conceptualise the horror that it brought was combined with a weakness at the heart of representation in the face of such scenes. Lastly, the putative power of photography is amplified rather than diminished by the absence of Famine photographs. Into these photographs that were never made, we project facticity, knowledge production, and insight. In fact, should they exist, the images would present – through the veil and its rip – a new set of coordinates, showing us not Famine as reality, but instead highlighting the ruptured politics of our own image ecology.

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[145] Ibid., 65.
[146] 2010, 122.

Chapter Three

Big House Photography: Space, Place and Modernity

Introduction

In post-Famine Ireland, the field of photographic art developed through the activities of a number of Anglo-Irish and middle-class figures, in a self-conscious differentiation of their concerns from those of the many commercial practices in existence. This self-selecting, self-regulating elite was structured around salons, associations, exhibitions, competitions and prizes. Representations of landscape were central to the emergent consensus within these new structures. This chapter identifies how that consensus in Irish art photography developed during the 1850s and 60s, and argues that, seen through a contemporary critical lens, it was inherently unstable. The bases of this instability and its consequences are examined through the photographic work of three people.

First is John Joscelyn Coghill, who was a leading figure in the Photographic Society of Ireland, around which the local photographic elite coalesced. Through his photography, curatorial work and public advocacy for photographic art, he sought to transfer a form of romantic imaging from an English context into Irish culture. This process, predicated on visual strategies derived from picturesque art, served to shape a cohesive establishment view of what constituted art photography. However, its foundations were built upon ideas that were inherently unstable in an Irish context. Coghill's transferring of an English pastoral across the Irish Sea failed to translate. English landscape's cargo of romantic ideology relied on coordinates in British culture that were absent in Ireland. When put into operation here, its logic collapsed.

Secondly, William Despard Hemphill was a prosperous country doctor in Clonmel, County Tipperary. He was also an enthusiastic amateur photographer, producing a body of work in and around Clonmel over several decades. A strongly religious man from a Presbyterian background, Hemphill was an upper middle-class unionist whose photographic work has become synonymous with Big House life in Ireland. Hemphill's work had an ideological charge which was different to that advocated by Coghill, in that his images depict many scenes of comfortable country life inside and outside the homes of the Anglo-Irish figures with whom he was friends. Within his landscape images are contending dynamics, pitching tradition against modernity, local against national, and Hemphill's own Irishness against other forms of identity which were pressing themselves into visibility in mid-nineteenth century Ireland. At the surfaces of Hemphill's photographs there are double inscriptions of Irishness and Britishness. Below the surface, and around the images' regimes of production, circulation and consumption, are hints of the Famine disaster and the impending erasure of Hemphill's world by newly emergent forces in land politics.

Third is Mary Parsons, Countess of Rosse, who lived at Parsonstown Castle (now Birr Castle) in County Offaly, where she produced many of her photographs. As one of Ireland's more prominent amateur art photographers of the time, and a member of the aristocracy, Parsons' position is enmeshed in the world of Big House culture and elite social and photographic circles. What is most interesting about her work is its self-reflexive awareness and semantic polyvalence. Parsons' images operated in new photographic registers, disrupting visual conventions through stereoscopic images showing cutting-edge scientific technology. Where the work of Coghill and Hemphill evidenced the slippage of meaning produced by figures using photography to stabilise engagement with the world around them, Parsons' work brings an additional dimension, evoking an early technological sublime.

Each of these three figures played a prominent role the development of Ireland's photographic elite in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland. Their memberships in prominent societies and associations, and participation in exhibitions and competitions marks them out as significant in that respect. However, what is more relevant here is that a re-examination of their work can reveal a series of instabilities at the heart of what appears to be a coherent cultural system. From Irish photography's earliest moments through the lens of an army officer, via the invisibility of the Famine, we reach a place in the middle of the century where photographic art comfortably resembles the worldview of the establishment figures producing it. In a rapidly changing post-Famine Ireland, their photographs reveal hints of what was to come.

From the 1850s, tillage farming diminished and livestock farming thrived. People were replaced by animals[147] and living conditions changed considerably.[148]

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[147] Between 1846 and 1853 half a million people were made homeless. See O'Sullivan, 2015, 49. The number of landless labourers declined from 700,000 in 1851 to fewer than 260,000 in 1901. The population dropped from 8.5 million in 1846 to 4.4 million by 1911. See Foster, 1988, 323.

[148] As an index of changed living circumstances of the reduced population, it is interesting to note that in 1841, 17% lived in houses of more than five rooms. In 1851 the proportion had risen to 27%, and by 1901 it was 56%. By the 1870s, one fifth of the country's landlords held between 2000 and 5000 acres, with over half the country's farm land owned by fewer than 1000 landlords. At the

Political power was concentrated within a particular social stratum, while the land question became a more important political subject than repeal of the Union. W. E. Vaughan notes that:

> [it] was during these thirty years [1848-78] that ideas were formed, solutions proposed and political dispositions made or planned […] above all, during the period 1848-78 landlords had a chance to succeed, the Encumbered Estates Acts having swept away insolvent landlords, and agricultural prosperity from the mid-1850s giving landlords room to manoeuvre; the groups that would eventually challenge the landlords' power were before the late 1870s either in disarray, otherwise engaged, or simply unorganized.[149]

As land ownership became an increasingly important element of the political landscape in mid-nineteenth century Ireland, both emigration and agrarian violence increased.[150] New patterns of migration were enabled by improved travel infrastructure, and sustained by new communications technologies. The Dublin to Kingstown railway had been opened in 1834. The Commission on the Construction of Railways in Ireland was established in 1836, and Daniel O'Connell attended its meetings, arguing that Dublin to London could become a twelve-hour journey – an

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same time, the average tenant holding was 40 acres. There were also smaller landlords and larger tenant farmers, whose lives could be seen as roughly equivalent in terms of prosperity. See Vaughan, 4-5.

[149] 7. Vaughan describes the increased share of tenants' proportion of agricultural profits during the same period. He also notes that in 1852, of Ireland's 104 MPs, 68 were from landed families.

[150] There are 16,579 incidents of such violence documented between 1848 and 1880. Though this number corresponds to an average of ten incidents per week for 32 years, Vaughan contextualises the figure: "Looked at from its most serious aspect, the interaction of 500,000 tenants and the landlords caused about one or, at most, two homicides a year; but compared with the British coal-mining industry, for example, where 1,000 miners (out of a workforce of 300,000 in the 1850s) died annually in accidents, the Irish land system was relatively benign" (25).

incredible idea at the time.[151] Distances became transformed into time intervals, and machines – from steam engines to cameras – were reconfiguring spatio-temporal discourses. By 1853 there were 840 miles of railway in Ireland and seven million passenger journeys were made.[152] Illustrated news reports during the Famine had introduced shocking new visual languages. Everyday use of the Irish language diminished as native speakers emigrated in large numbers. Where Marx had described Ireland as an economy in which tenants would be obliged to pay exorbitant rents or starve,[153] the post-Famine population was described by William Wilde as "disproportionately 'poor, weak, old, lame, sick, blind, dumb, imbecile and insane'".[154]

Fifty years on from the Act of Union, the Anglo-Irish and middle classes lived 'in-between' existences, involving varying levels of entwinement with British life. Foster describes how,

> for many of the Victorian Irish middle class, life was spent travelling back and forth across the Irish Sea, observing and participating in British forms of government, reading English books, attending British educational institutions, looking for employment within the structures of the British

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[151] See Morash, 2010, 74.
[152] The opening of the Boyne viaduct in 1855 connecting Dublin and Belfast was an important moment in rail infrastructure, which has remained largely consistent from then until now. Ibid., 74-5. In 1831 the Irish postal system came under the control of the UK Postmaster General, and in 1840 penny postage was introduced. The number of Irish posted items went from nine million in 1839 to 24 million in 1842. By 1870 it increased to 65 million items, with time and distance collapsing for more and more people (Ibid., 73).
[153] See Marx and Engels, 22.
[154] Foster, 1995, 284.

> Empire and speaking English. It was never an identity comfortably accepted.[155]

Life in and around Anglo-Irish homes in mid-nineteenth century Ireland has become visible, largely, through photographs. Here, as in Britain at the time, photography was taken up by those with the time and money to support their interest. The uncomfortable identity that Foster describes, when parsed through photographic practices, led to an emergent class of practitioners often described generically as 'Big House' photographers.[156] This umbrella term for photographic work produced in and around large country houses in Ireland is a useful shorthand term, but is also politically loaded, sometimes problematically so. Habermas traces the concept of the visibility of elite medieval landowners, and argues that the distinctions between public and private were blurred in feudal systems by the fact that the head of a large landowning household was automatically a public figure through his position.[157] Duffy is precise in his description of the Irish manifestation of this figure where he writes that the term, "'Big House' has entered the vernacular lexicon with reference to the mansion/manor houses of the landowning classes erected between the seventeenth and the late nineteenth centuries".[158]

The proliferation of photographic images produced by 'Big House' photographers is a clearly recognisable subset of photographic practices from mid-nineteenth to early-twentieth century Ireland – evident at the simplest level of archival categories publically available via Dublin's National Photographic Archive, the

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[155] Ibid., 283.
[156] See Carville, 2011, 30
[157] 6.
[158] 121.

Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London – many of which correspond to individual houses and associated individuals. The Clonbrock collection from Galway is a well-known example of such an archival entity, as is the work of Viscountess Clementina Elphinstone Hawarden from Dundrum in Tipperary (and later, London). In Northern Ireland, the photographic work of Hugh, fifth Earl Annesley of Castewellan, County Down, is another important manifestation of the phenomenon. These bodies of work are clearly of interest, and significant critical work remains to be done on such collections, but my approach here is at an angle to them. Coghill, Hemphill and Mary Parsons were each noted photographers in their time, and all were involved in the photographic organisations that constituted the early elite infrastructure of art photography in Britain and Ireland, specifically the Photographic Society of Ireland (PSI) and London's Amateur Photographic Association (APA). Here, their practices form the locus of a critical examination of how public taste in photography was constructed and how this aesthetic regime reinforced pre-assigned subject positions within society in an ultimately unstable way. This instability becomes apparent through the critique of an interpenetration of politics, art and technology as they operated photographically at 'ground level' during this period. In Gibbons's account, Ascendancy figures had no incentive to "show up the iniquities of the system that kept the Big House in its privileged place",[159] but implicit in this dismissive argument is an assumption that there are (or were) agreed photographic protocols for making such iniquities legible through photography. Also unquestioned is a sense that the Big Houses functioned as unchanging and impermeable entities, independent of the complex social and political realities in which they were enmeshed.

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[159] 2015, 11. Chandler described nineteenth-century Irish photography as "the ideal rich man's hobby", with many of the images "glorified family snaps" (1989, 27).

A more helpful critical trajectory is available via Rancière. He notes that, "[art] in the singular has only existed for two centuries".[160] In his formulation, this is part of the most recent of three successive 'regimes' of art. The first was the 'Ethical Regime', "[exemplified] by Plato's writings on the distribution of images that would best serve the ethos of the community".[161] Second was the 'Representative Regime', with roots in Aristotle's *Poetics*, but fully emerging in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It

> freed the arts from the moral imperatives of the ethical regime by identifying a unique domain of fiction with its own set of guiding principles: the hierarchical distribution of subject matter and genres, the principle of appropriateness by which action and modes of expression are adapted to the subject matter represented and the genre employed, and the elevation of speech-as-act over action and visual imagery.[162]

Third is the 'Aesthetic Regime', in which "[by] abolishing the hierarchical rules of representation, the aesthetic regime has promoted the equality of subjects, the dissolution of genres, the indifference of style in relationship to content, and the power of writing and other 'mute' things over the presence of speech. It is only in this 'egalitarian' regime that art is identified in the singular".[163] In post-Famine Ireland, elite photographic practices contributed to the development of the aesthetic regime locally in a process that also saw a re-shaping of how Ireland was seen by its inhabitants. Photography's position as both producer and product of the discourses of technology and art in the mid-nineteenth century was another factor in the emergence of the regime. Rancière writes, "industrial production and artistic creation are committed to doing something on top of what they do – to creating not only objects but a sensorium, a new partition of the perceptible".[164] The position of photography as art is something about which he is specific:

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[160] 2004, 48.
[161] Rockhill and Watts, 9.
[162] Ibid.

> Photography did not become an art because it employed a device opposing the imprints of bodies to their copy. It became one by exploiting a double poetics of the image, by making its images simultaneously or separately, two things: the legible testimony of a history written on faces or objects and pure blocs of visibility, impervious to any narrativization, any intersection of meaning.[165]

In another passage, he reiterates that the 'double poetics' role is crucial to our understanding of the function of photography as art:

> Photography became an art by placing its particular techniques in the service of this dual poetics, by making the face of anonymous people speak twice over – as silent witnesses of a condition inscribed directly on their

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[163] Ibid.
[164] 2010, 130.
[165] 2007, 11.

> features, their clothes, their life setting; and as possessors of a secret we shall never know, a secret veiled by the very image that delivers them to us.[166]

Here, Rancière delivers an analysis of photography that in its "double poetics" clearly echoes the late work of Barthes, and his concepts of *studium* and *punctum*.[167] However, Rancière's formulation is regressive in that, where Barthes finds revelation in the subjective encounter with the *punctum*, Rancière finds semantic opacity. Rather than a connotative path to interpretation, his "secret we shall never know" appears to be a dead end. Central to this distinction is Rancière's commitment to the idea of disruptive, dissensual politics as a productive presence in culture. For him, the capacity to dislodge the viewer from comfortable patterns of recognition provides a necessary moment of rupture. Whereas early twentieth century interpretative models in photography (such as Constructivism and early Surrealism, informed by Marxian ideas), sought to 'make strange' from within the image composition, Rancière's post-Marxist position posits the image surface itself as an impediment to meaning-making in any straightforward way.

Gabriel Rockhill supports this approach, where he suggests a rationale for Rancière's position:

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[166] Ibid., 15.

[167] In its simplest formulation, the *studium* is the ostensible 'subject' of a photograph, i.e. what it depicts. It drives its denotative function. The *punctum* brings one's subjective experience of the photograph into play. It is a 'puncturing' of the image's ostensible meaning whereby "it is what I add to the photograph and *what is nonetheless already there."* The *punctum* drives the image's connotative function. See Barthes, 1982, 55.

> On the one hand, meaning is a hieroglyph in need of interpretation, a mute sign requiring an interpreter who speaks in its place and reveals its inner truth. On the other hand, meaning is immanent in the things themselves and resists all external voices to the point of sinking into an irretrievable silence. Barthes's attempts to maintain a strict opposition between *studium* and *punctum* not only tries – unsuccessfully – to resolve this contradiction, but it also has the unfortunate consequence of foreclosing the genealogy of this very opposition.[168]

The "irretrievable silence" that Rockhill describes calls to mind Claude Lanzmann's opposition to the presentation of photographs of the Holocaust during his debate with Didi-Huberman.[169] However, the capacity of images to withhold meaning, in Rancière's philosophy, is not the same as Lanzmann's opposition to their use. Where Lanzmann's position identifies the risk that images can propose to 'resolve the real', leading to a totalising function that misleads, Rancière's analysis is wholly separate. Rockhill describes a system where, for Rancière, "Art, in this tradition, is no longer a symptom of political meaning; rather, it is political precisely insofar as it resists the communicational flow of meaning and the exchange economy of signs. Art, it might be said, is political because it is an obstacle to interpretation rather than a symptom of latent meanings".[170] The use of the term 'Political' here is important. Rancière uses it in opposition to the concept of 'Police' in a very particular way, which is at odds with both words' general usage:

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[168] 2009, 199.

[169] See Didi-Huberman, and Chapter Two, above.

[170] 198.

> There are two major ways of symbolizing the community: one represents it as a sum of its parts, the other defines it as a division of its whole. One conceives it as the accomplishment of a common way of being, the other as a polemic over the common. I call the first police, the second politics. Consensus is the form by which politics is transformed into the police. In this form the community can be symbolized exclusively as the composition of the interests of the groups and individuals that make it up.[171]

For Rancière, politics is the means by which the consensus of the police order is disrupted. He describes consensus as the consonant relationships between *poiesis* (a way of doing), and *aisthesis* (horizon of affects/quality of speech). He states: "[the] logic of dissensus, by contrast, consists in the demonstration of a certain impropriety that disrupts the identity, forcing a gap between *poiesis* and *aisthesis*".[172] This formulation differentiates the ontology and operation of a practice from its affects. We are reminded of his assertion that, "[politics], before all else, is an intervention in the visible and the sayable. [...] The essential work of politics is the configuration of its own space. It is to make the world of its subjects and its operations seen. The essence of politics is the manifestation of dissensus as the presence of two worlds in one".[173]

Critics of Rancière draw attention to some of the problematic implications of his arguments. Oliver Davis points out that:

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[171] 2010, 108. Highmore writes: "Against the dominant usage of the term 'politics', that would see it as a theory of parties and policies, Rancière trenchantly allows it only one meaning: the enacting of a disruption in the parcelling out of allocated space, time and sense" (98).
[172] Ibid., 11. See Stephen Corcoran's introduction to Rancière, 2010.
[173] Ibid., 45.

> Rancière’s political thought undoubtedly has more to say about the ‘now’ of egalitarian upsurge than its ‘inscription’ over time. This has irked some on the left because it implies that no single such democratic-egalitarian uprising is capable of instituting an enduringly social order. To some it has seemed that this formalist account of democracy [...] is a complacently non-committal redescription of the way the world already operates.[174]

At the base of Rancière’s politics is the idea that the eruption of politics enacts (rather than seeks) a subjective equality that is already pre-existent. The perceived idealism of this premise is something that Oliver Marchart opposes:

> By turning equality into a non-political maxim, he transforms a fighting word well known from political struggle into a transcendental, a-historical condition. One may even speak about a secret – though explicitly disavowed – Rousseauism in Rancière as any social order is supposed to rest on a hypothetical state of originary equality.[175]

The suspicion of ahistoricism is one shared by Alberto Toscano, where he argues that, in Rancière’s work, “Marxism itself is rather cavalierly reduced to a science of social necessity, and, in a move Rancière is not alone in making, its explanations of supposedly ineluctable economic dynamics are presented as precursors to neoliberal market fundamentalism”.[176] Rockhill defends Rancière’s position as being outside of recognisable structuralist or poststructuralist discourses, and is in itself a dissensual intervention into the consensus within those discourses.[177]

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[174] 6.

[175] 134.

[176] 221. Later, Toscano is more strident: “Rancière’s now rather outdated fixation on a dogmatic Marxism that would read off political action from social analysis (hardly a hegemonic position today!), leads him to an anti-explanatory ideology of contingency that would be seriously

What emerges from engaging with Rancière's position on photography is an opportunity to work with photographs in a way that extends existing methods. Where semiological readings apprehend the denotative and connotative functions within the image surface, Rancière's "double poetics" support the *studium* but propose a block to the *punctum*'s role. This introduces the need for the legibility of a *punctum*'s reading to be bridged with an audience, and not assumed. The liberating process whereby deconstruction reveals the double inscription of the writing subject's identity, is supplemented by Rancière's two-worlds-in-one of police and dissensus – of particular interest in an Irish context where the dual identity of the Anglo-Irish figure is complicated by many generations of integration. A dialectical materialist approach to politics, where alienation activates a popular critical mass along class lines, is challenged by Rancière's post-Marxist model of multiple micro-acts of dissensus. This becomes relevant to nineteenth-century Ireland, where an increasingly demarcated sectarianism along largely nationalist-unionist lines was always only going to lead to a bourgeois revolution. In each of these formulations, Rancière's ideas (potentially a trip-wire to workable analyses) bring constructive extensions to a methodology seeking to analyse photographs as momentary historico-cultural 'cross-sections'. The events

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debilitating if it were actually imported into the practice of social and political movements. Unsurprisingly, collective drives to emancipation have generally been accompanied by attempts to analyse the mechanisms of domination. Politics may indeed always be 'a leap that no knowledge can justify and no knowledge can exempt us from', but that does not mean that knowledge (of bureaucratic structure, class fractions, forms of exploitation, military forces, financial systems, commodity chains, and so on) is something that politics can do without" (230). See also Genel and Deranty for an account of the connections and distinctions between Rancière's work and that of the Frankfurt School.

[177] 2.

and images discussed below reveal a constellation of connotative elements that challenge their own denotative contents, and prefigure a disruption to the worldview that they seek to represent. This is not solely attributable to the historical distance between then and now. It is also predicated on tense entanglements of cultural and technological forces at the time the shutter flicks open and closed, sliced and revealed by the photographic moment. In Rancièrean terms, these images from 1850s and 1860s Ireland redistributed the sensible in a way that prefigures a more profound photographic dissensus which was to arise later during the Plan of Campaign.[178]

Mid-nineteenth century developments in photography form parts of what Morash describes as “a startling disruption in the field of vision, making it possible to see the faces of people distant in space and time”, contextualised within an “accelerated media sphere” in Irish culture.[179] He argues that these new apprehensions of experience became “the germ of a radical reconceptualisation of Ireland’s place in the world”.[180] The introduction of the wet collodion photographic process in 1851 led to a resurgence of amateur interest in photography.[181] Its prominence within the photographic work shown at Dublin’s Great Exhibition of 1853 gave it a public platform, leading to an increase in the number of commercial studios in the 1850s.[182] The experience of the photographic portrait studio became an increasingly affordable one for the middle classes, transforming new optical experiences into popular commercial transactions. One of the earliest first-person accounts of such an encounter was written by Maria Edgeworth, whose family played a small and interesting role in Ireland's earliest photographic practices. Edgeworth was a friend and correspondent of Sir David Brewster.[183] It is likely that he introduced her to photography, leading to her sitting for a Daguerreotype portrait in the newly opened London studio of Richard Beard on 23 May 1841. Two days later she wrote an account of the experience:

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[178] The events in and around New Tipperary during the Plan of Campaign are the basis for Chapter Four, below.

[179] 2010, 78.

[180] Ibid., 84.

[181] Lynn Ann Davis writes: “The wet-collodion negative process was developed in 1848 by F. Scott Archer (1813–1857) and first published in 1851. The process achieved popularity by the mid-1850s, dominating all other negative processes until 1881, gradually displacing both the daguerreotype and the calotype processes” (1487).

[182] By 1860, there were 60 studios in Dublin and 12 in Belfast.

> It is a wonderful mysterious operation. You are taken from one room into another upstairs and down and you see various people whispering and hear them in neighbouring passages and rooms unseen and the whole apparatus and stool on a high platform under a glass dome casting a snapdragon blue light making all look spectres and the men in black gliding about.[184]

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[183] They first met as guests of Sir Walter Scott at his Abbotsford home near Edinburgh in 1823.

[184] Chandler, 2001, 14. Edgeworth's daguerreotype portrait from that day is now held in the British National Portrait Gallery. Maria's younger half-brother Michael Pakenham Edgeworth later became a friend of the Brewsters, and was a contemporary of Henry Craigie Brewster. Pakenham-Edgeworth was a friend of William Makepeace Thackeray since their school days at Charterhouse, and studied botany at University in Edinburgh before beginning his career with the East India Company in 1831. His interest in botany led to his experimental work in early photography, with his journals from 1840 detailing his efforts to control the Calotype process in illustrating specimens. He travelled back to the UK on furlough in 1842. Continuing with his photographic work in Ireland, he produced a number of Calotype negatives of his home, Edgeworthstown House. It is known that Pakenham-Edgeworth visited the Brewsters in St Andrews in November 1843, and it is believed that the positives of his Longford images were produced there, which would date the images to early or mid-1843 – very soon after Henry Craigie Brewster's Cork Calotypes were made (See Jacob, 169). Jacob also notes that Pakenham-Edgeworth's journal entries would indicate that he was one of the earliest, if not the first, photographer in India. Six of Pakenham-Edgeworth's Longford images feature in the Brewster Album (see Chapter One, above). There is no record of correspondence between Pakenham-Edgeworth and Craigie-Brewster, but it's reasonable to speculate that they knew each another and could have discussed their shared interest in photography. Through his Brewster connections (and by extension Talbot's circle), it is also probable that Pakenham-Edgeworth was aware of the work of Anna Atkins, who published her Cyanotypes of British Ferns in 1843. Also working in photography in St Andrews during the early 1840s was William Holland Furlong. Furlong, born in Ireland, worked as assistant to Arthur Connell, Professor of Chemistry at the University of St Andrews. He made some notable developments in the Calotype process, and was mentioned by Sir David Brewster in an 1841 letter to Talbot (see Taylor & Schaaf, 318 and Chandler, 2001, 29 for accounts of Holland Furlong's work). A single image by Furlong features in the Brewster Album.

The rapidity of the Daguerreotype's commercial success led to it being the dominant popular photographic process. It became a more viable commercial proposition for potential buyers for several reasons: its affordability for a widening pool of customers, visual precision, durability, aesthetic attractiveness, and position as a unique image-object produced from a single exposure. In contrast, the Calotype's negative-positive process, through a limited network of practitioners, delivered paper images of poorer visual quality and with a shorter life span.[185] When the collodion process was introduced, the resurgent interest in photography had an immediate impact across society.[186] The 'serious' amateur had a new option available for experimentation, and ready access to materials and instructional literature.[187] The boom in amateur photography accelerated the development of a new photographic elite.

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[185] During the 1840s, Talbot had controlled the patent for the Calotype process stringently, and granted only a limited number of people permission to experiment with it.

[186] See Morash, 2010, 88. The portability of the equipment and materials (though very cumbersome by today's standards) led to the inception of 'travel photography' as a recognisable visual form. In turn, this developed subsets of practice, including 'War Photography', as practised by Roger Fenton in Crimea – where he produced images that had a noted effect on the public's perception of the conflict. Morash identifies Fenton's Crimean War images, combined with W. H. Russell's telegraphed reports in 1854 as constituting a new mediatised public sphere in the mid-nineteenth century, where the latest forms of communication had the power to shift public opinion on a mass scale.

[187] Talbot sued Archer unsuccessfully for patent infringement, and was forced to reconsider his long-held position on the Calotype process. William Parsons, the Third Earl of Rosse (and husband of Mary Parsons, Countess of Rosse) was a friend of Talbot through their membership of the Royal Society. William Parsons had been interested in photography from its earliest days, and had ambitions to use it to make images of the moon through his 'Leviathan' telescope at his home, Parsonstown Castle (now Birr Castle), County Offaly. During 1842, he experimented with the Daguerreotype process at Parsonstown – the start of a sustained interest in using photography in astronomy. The potential impact of the collodion process on both the Calotype and Daguerreotype processes was immediately clear to those with knowledge of the field. Parsons, together with Sir Charles Eastlake, President of the Royal Society, persuaded Talbot to loosen his hold on the Calotype patent. Talbot relinquished control of the process for general use, but retained exclusive rights to its use for portraiture. The inception of collodion photography, combined with wider access to the Calotype process boosted the formation of photographic societies and clubs, the first being London's Calotype Club in 1847 and Paris's Société Héliographique in 1851. The Calotype Club merged into the Photographic Society of London (later becoming the Royal Photographic Society), founded by Roger Fenton in 1853, with numerous other clubs and societies soon emerging across Europe. The impact of the collodion process in Ireland had an energising effect, similar to that seen in other European cities. Developments between the mid-1850s and mid-1860s in Ireland produced a new local photographic elite, shaping public taste and delineating the discourses on

Fault Lines in John Joscelyn Coghill's Picturesque

The 1853 Great Industrial Exhibition in Dublin was a turning point in Irish photography. The photographic exhibitors were drawn largely from the commercial studios that had been set up in Ireland since the 1840s, along with some prominent amateurs. Rockett & Rockett cite the rationalising dynamics of the exhibition as a powerful sociological counterpoint to the raucousness of Dublin's famous Donnybrook Fair, which had been running, in various forms, for six hundred years.[188] Against this backdrop, the new exhibition's crowds "offered an orderliness and social hierarchy in contrast to the fair's chaotic social mix".[189] This taming of the public realm coincided with increased literacy levels in Ireland, a by-product of which was the homogenisation of information consumed by sections of society. Thanks to the national school system, by 1851 half of the population was literate.[190] Many were reading the same texts in newsprint, such as *The Nation* – leading to a hardening of political positions, especially among the economically immobile Catholic middle class.

Emergent Irish cultural nationalism was beginning to take the shape of a new public opinion in Ireland – a phenomenon that Marx denounced in other territories as false consciousness, in that "it hid before itself its own true character as a mask

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photography as art. Also apparent were inherent foundational instabilities in the field, produced by a non-alignment between Irish and British culture.

[188] See 171. The fair's growth, and association with drunken disorderly behaviour, led to the mid-nineteenth century campaign to shut it down. In 1841, for example, attendance at the fair was approximately 75,000 – one third of Dublin's population at the time. The fair ended in 1855.

[189] Ibid., 183.

[190] See Ó Ciosáin, 1997, 212. Morash points out (against the grain of popular understandings of mid-nineteenth century Irish industry) that Irish-produced textbooks grew their market share in Britain from 25% in 1851 to 50% in 1859. See 2010, 64.

of bourgeois class interests".[191] While *The Nation* published nationalist poems and stories, and had railed against the 1851 London Exhibition (as Ireland languished in "the shame and torture of tyranny"),[192] the unionist *Dublin University Magazine* lauded the industrial and technical progress demonstrated in the 1853 exhibition as doing more for "the amalgamation of England and Ireland, than all the legislative enactments of the last half-century".[193] Nationalists believed that the 1853 exhibition and its promotion was part of an elite system aligned to powerful Anglo-Irish culture. This perception was reinforced by the visit of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert to the exhibition.[194] The Dublin exhibition was also a catalyst for the later establishment of the National Gallery of Ireland, a signal point in the positioning of visual art in Irish culture in the second half of the nineteenth century. During this time, as exhibitions became accessible to wider audiences, the idea of art became more connected with the concept of free choice. Habermas describes this process: "The 'taste' to which art was oriented from then on became manifest in the assessments of lay people who claimed no prerogative, since within a public, everyone was entitled to judge".[195] However, access to artworks was mediated through the protocols of display operated by institutions, and control of these institutions remained a process determined by elite society. The assignment of subject positions within the new art discourses was an extension of existing social power structures and, as such, reflected the already established political consensus (Rancière's 'police').

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[191] See Habermas, 124.

[192] *The Nation*, 10 May 1851.

[193] Morash, 1995, 54-5.

[194] Mahony, the artist whose work had shaped the visual language of Famine just six years earlier, documented their visit in illustrations. See Rockett & Rockett, plate 70.

[195] 39-40. This formulation aligns with Rancière's concept of the 'aesthetic regime' in art since 1800.

A pivotal shift in photography's relationship with art in Ireland began on 8 November 1854, with the inaugural meeting of the Dublin Photographic Society (DPS) at the headquarters of the RDS in Leinster House on Kildare Street.[196] The group, some of whom had exhibited at the 1853 Great Industrial Exhibition, had been meeting informally since the previous year in William Allen's chemist shop in Henry Street, Dublin. This self-selecting cohort of enthusiasts was a mix of professional and amateur practitioners, including titled aristocrats, artists and successful entrepreneurs. Its first chairman was Lord Otho Fitzgerald, the 27-year-old son of the Third Duke of Leinster, of Carton House, Maynooth, who was a military official at the office of the Lord Lieutenant. Its first Honorary Secretary was 28-year-old Coghill, 4th Baronet, of Belvedere House in Drumcondra. Coghill, from a prominent Yorkshire family, was a keen amateur painter (and also a librettist and stage designer),[197] and began to work with paper negatives and collodion photography in the early 1850s.[198] He served one term as President and two terms as Vice-President of the Society during the 1850s. Among its committee members were professional photographers such as James Robinson, and others from the world of science and technology including Thomas Grubb of Rathmines, the renowned instrument maker, internationally famous for his telescopes and optical devices.[199] The social stratum from which the DPS drew its members was dominated by Anglo-Irish figures, whose wealth and political dominance was derived from inherited land – a system of power upon which emergent post-Famine nationalism was bringing increasing pressure. At a time when the field of photography as an artform was coalescing around a cohort of Anglo-Irish figures, the ideological basis of their political power was beginning to erode under pressure from an increasingly confident Catholic middle class.

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[196] Lord Otho Fitzgerald was the first chairman. The co-vice-chairmen were Captain Henry of the 4th Dragoon Guards and J.A. Fenlon. Honorary Secretary was Coghill. The treasurer was Samuel Bewley. The committee comprised William Allen (in whose Henry Street chemist shop informal meetings occurred before the society formed), John Barker, F. Brady, Thomas Grubb, Vere Hunt, W. Cotter Kyle, James Robinson, Frederick Saunders and M.M Stapleton. Other members included Michael Angelo Hayes RHA, a noted equestrian painter, and Joseph Kirk, academician and sculptor of the memorial plaques on Dublin's Wellington Monument. See Chandler 1989, 18. See also Morrison-Low, 1990, 44, and Chandler, 2001, 65.

[197] See Coghill, 1895, Heinrich et al. 34, and Howey & Reimer, 544.

[198] See Slattery, 2017(a).

[199] The society held monthly meetings in the boardroom of the RDS, comprising short talks, technical demonstrations and guest lectures. Its inaugural journal was published on the first of

In a piece published in *The Nation* in August 1845, Thomas Davis wrote that:

> [great] as were the horrors of the French Revolution, terrible as was the execution it did upon many things noble, venerable and beloved, still it compensated for much of its crime by having destroyed the practice and principle of primogeniture. It led the way, which all nations will go, to a more just and natural distribution of property. France possesses a nation of proprietors; it is no longer the agitated scene whereon a large serf class is vainly struggling against the immunities and privileges of their oppressors.[200]

The previous year, and unknown to Davis, Marx had written the first of his "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts". In the section headed "Rent of Land", he wrote about landownership under the feudal system in terms of metaphor and representation:

January 1855, containing 16 pages of text and costing three pence. Members were interested in the technical and aesthetic aspects of the new processes and were divided between those who persevered with the simpler Calotype and those who favoured the more complex collodion process.

[200] Dwan, 32-3.

> The land is individualized with its lord, it acquires his status, it is baronial or ducal with him, has his privileges, his jurisdiction, his political position etc. It appears as the inorganic body of its lord. Hence the proverb *nulle terre sans maître* [no land without its master], which expresses the blending of nobility and landed property. In the same way the rule of landed property does not appear directly as the rule of mere capital. Its relationship to those dependent upon it is more like that of a fatherland. It is a sort of narrow nationality.[201]

Marx attributed the philosophical base of this 'narrow nationality' to Hegel. Having studied under Hegel before breaking from him in the early 1840s, Marx developed a new form of dialectical thinking in which he identified what he called the "rational kernel" of Hegelianism – which must be saved – and the "mystical shell", to be discarded.[202] One of the foundations of the state, within Hegelian Idealism, was the stability of landed property, which was maintained by the system of primogeniture. This issue was crucial for Marx. In it he saw a source of profound inequality: "At every point Hegel's political spiritualism can be seen to degenerate into the crassest materialism. At the apex of the political state birth is the decisive factor that makes particular individuals into the incarnation of the highest political office".[203] Marx was developing his opposition to Hegel's dialectical method, which he saw as a philosophy of conservative stasis hiding under a rhetoric of change.[204]

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[201] 1992, 318.

[202] Ibid., 13.

[203] Ibid., 174.

[204] Sidney Hook describes the mechanics of dialectical materialism as it began to emerge in Marx's work:

Marx was instead seeking out an analysis of the material movement of capitalism, which was producing a new historical dynamism. Important to him was the idea that if there is no Ideal, change becomes possible. Through this work, Marx saw the invalidity of the sovereign state based upon private property, and he rejected Hegel's philosophy of mind that sought to legitimate it. His attention in the mid-1840s turned increasingly to issues of material and social relations.[205] In *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859), Marx discussed this turn:

> My inquiry led me to the conclusion that neither legal relations nor political forms could be comprehended whether by themselves or on the basis of a so-called general development of the human mind, but that on the contrary they originate in the material conditions of life, the totality of which Hegel, following the example of English and French thinkers of the eighteenth century, embraces within the term "civil society"; that the anatomy of this civil society, however, has to be sought in political economy […] It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness […] Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead

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> It is not so much the number of phases a situation has which makes it dialectical but a *specific relation* of opposition between those phases which generates a succession of other phases. The necessary condition, then, of a dialectical situation is at least two phases, distinct but not separate. The sufficient condition of a dialectical situation is given when those two phases present a relation of *opposition* and *interaction* such that the result (1) exhibits something qualitatively new, (2) preserves some of the structural elements of the interacting phases, and (3) eliminates others [61].

[205] Lucio Colletti, in his introduction to Marx's *Early Writings*, describes the importance of this critique of Hegel's ideas to the development of Marx's mature work: "It is a fact that (as critics have held) when Marx wrote the *Critique of Hegel's Doctrine of the State* (1843) he had not yet arrived at theoretical communism. He arrived at this goal in the course of writing it" (10).

> sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure.[206]

In the context of the rapidly industrialising economies of Europe, Marx also argued against the notion that all wealth ultimately derived from agriculture. He highlighted the need for "changes in reality which will transform the landowner into a quite ordinary and prosaic capitalist".[207] Marx did not dismiss the importance of land and agriculture, but sought a new definition of it within the new social and economic realities playing out in Europe. In rejecting the Idealist notion of the natural order of land ownership (and thus government), he instead examined the bodily effort, the human labour, involved in producing the agricultural commodity. This way of understanding land and labour opened up the opportunity for change on material grounds, rejecting any notion of an intact Ideal behind it. As Marx's focus shifted to encompass all commodities produced by industrialised labour, his theories' political implications for all classes expanded and deepened in Britain and other countries. However, the Irish economy's reliance on agriculture as its main driver, combined with a rapidly developing political landscape predicated on Nationalism versus Unionism (with attendant sectarian alignments), meant that the conditions for the development of Irish socialist thought were limited. Atheism, which underpinned Marx's new philosophy, was anathema to both Irish Nationalists and Unionists. The existing ruling class, and its emergent opposition maintained Idealism as central to their ideologies.

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[206] 1992, 425. Norman Levine is very specific on the detail of this transition:

> October 1843 witnessed the transition of Marx's primary intellectual interest to political economy. In October 1843 Marx moved to Paris, attended meetings of the German worker's movement, discussed economics and Hegel with Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and also took the first steps in transferring his intellectual center of gravity from philosophy to Adam Smith and David Ricardo (5).

Levine also points out that Marx read Friedrich List's *The National System of Political Economy* in 1843 (according to Engels' preface to the second volume of *Capital,* 1873) and began to critique tariffs and protectionism, and from there, political economy (Ibid.).

[207] 1992, 337.

The DPS represented the governing class of Ireland under the Union and, as such, the values they sought to promote within their approach to photographic art were aligned with their privileged positions and conservative beliefs. This straightforward observation is not to revert to a dismissal of Big House photographers as having no incentive to reveal the inequities of the system, but it serves to ground some observations about the tension inherent in the images below. In terms of Rancière's 'police', the roles being assigned within the consensus of elite photography in Ireland were wholly consonant with the social structures already prevalent, and the spaces in which 'politics' could intervene were intermittent and dispersed.

The consensus was tested by a disagreement between Coghill and Henry Macmanus RHA, headmaster of the School of Art at the RDS.[208] Macmanus delivered a lecture on art education in May 1859 at the RDS, in which he argued that the mechanical means of the camera were no equal to the human intelligence and dexterity required to create art. He argued that photography could not produce art and would remain forever subservient in creative processes. On the night of the lecture Coghill disagreed and subsequently arranged to deliver his own lecture in response. His lecture was delivered at the RDS on 25 November 1859, and was titled *On the Mutual Relations of Photography and Art*.[209] In his response, Coghill declared his aim to "convince the members of the photographic brotherhood, that Art and Photography have mutual relations of a very intimate character".[210] Through his three-part talk he set out to firstly, "define, as precisely as possible, how far the practical photographer may advance into the kingdom of Art"; secondly, "to enquire if there are any general rules or land-marks which may serve to direct his progress, so far as progress is possible to him"; and thirdly, "to review, as briefly as I can, the various ways in which Photography can be made available as an Art-assistant."[211] Coghill outlined what he saw as the key alignments and disjunctions between the idea of art making and the actions of the photographer. He describes how two photographers in the same place at the same time can make images of the same scene, yet only "one man has availed himself of his opportunities, with a perception of the requirements of art". He compares this to the relationship between the draughtsman and the artist. Of the uneducated practitioner he states: "that which brings the brain, the taste, the judgment, into play, is still a sealed book to him. Is it any wonder he fails?"[212] Referring specifically to landscape imaging, he points out that painters have the freedom to alter what is in their field of vision when translating it into an image on canvas, but that the photographer,

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[208] On 12 May 1858, the Dublin Photographic Society changed its name to the Photographic Society of Ireland (PSI). That year, the RDS decided that smaller clubs and societies should meet on the same nights, under the aegis of the RDS Fine Arts section. The PSI agreed to the new arrangement against the wishes of some of its members, and it became evident that the two organisations would not agree on key ideas.

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[209] See Slattery 2017(b), and Coghill, 1860.

[210] 1860, 1.

[211] Ibid.

[212] Ibid., 3.

> cannot, however, exchange one foreground for another which may be more suitable. We cannot throw effective, but imaginary shadow over superabundant detail. We cannot very conveniently make away with an obnoxious tree or house [...] We are restricted (and this is a great drawback) to certain positions with regard to the light, and cannot take views directly in the sun's eye. Mountains for us are not elastic, and we cannot squeeze them into a smaller space than they really occupy, or enlarge them by a single cubit – all of which liberties our brethren of the brush can and do take. We must take things as we find them, and be content. Where then have we room for the exhibition of judgment and feeling?[213]

The answer, for Coghill, was in visual composition. He proposes that his listeners have, "one principle light, and one principle shadow in your picture, to which all other lights and shades shall be subordinate", with the principal light containing "the chief object of interest" – and in all cases, "shadow should always be transparent, but light mostly opaque".[214] In his appeal to compositional rules, he was influenced by the well-established conventions of picturesque taste, dating back to the late eighteenth century when the writings of the Reverend William Gilpin and others promoted seeing landscapes as images, prioritising the act of seeing over the artisanal act of fixing the view through painting or drawing.[215] Where Edmund Burke wrote of the beautiful (smooth and harmonious) and the sublime (rough, obscured and threatening), Gilpin posited the picturesque as a third form (roughness and irregularity within a cohesive whole).[216] Scott Hess summarises the picturesque formula:

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[213] Ibid., 4.

[214] Ibid., 6. The third, less relevant, part of Coghill's talk detailed specific montage and darkroom techniques for the successful inclusion of clouds in photographs, which at the time was problematic due to the different exposure times required to successfully capture ground and sky. The dexterity, visual acuity and intellectual engagement of this process, for Coghill, demonstrated important artistic capacities.

> This process usually involved some form of framing, using a prominent foreground and/or "sidescreens," such as trees or hills, to outline and compose the scene. In paintings and drawings these formal devices composed a characteristic frame-within-a-frame, self-consciously highlighting the process of framing.[217]

In recent decades, critics have re-examined the politics of picturesque and romantic art. Barrell, John Berger, Bermingham, and others have drawn attention to the ideological foundations of these modes of representation, and their tendency to naturalise the tropes that emerged. Where the construction of nineteenth-century public taste cited landscape art's capacity to show the viewer what was good in the world, recent scholarship emphasises its power to obscure social inequality. Bermingham argues:

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[215] Key texts include William Gilpin's *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty* (1792), Richard Payne Knight's *The Landscape, A Didactic Poem* (1794), and Uvedale Price's *Essay on the Picturesque* (1794). See Barrell, 1972, 6.

[216] See Barrell, 1972, 57.

[217] 290. Barrell identifies the key elements of picturesque landscape painting tropes that emerged. They include the employment of "a fairly high viewpoint", where a distant horizon appears; the inclusion of "an area of light set just below the horizon", giving the images greater apparent depth; the generation of speed for the eye's journey 'into' the painting's depth perception, via the arrangement of objects; the placement of a "coulisse" (group of trees, or a building) "to the right or left of the picture, and framing the landscape behind"; emphasis on a "band of fairly dark colour at the bottom of the picture, and […] a second plane, of ground more exposed to the sunlight". The use of visual planes is central to this approach. He continues to list the scheme's techniques, describing the artist's concerns in identifying "a series of leaps down from one scale to another through the several planes of the picture", and using a road, or a bridge, or the slope of a hill to soften and connect these perspectival leaps. Ideas of the picturesque, which permeated the Romantic period in art and literature, shaped nineteenth-century 'taste' among the elites in Europe. They were linked to the work of the seventeenth-century painter Claude Lorrain, who used a pocket-sized curved glass blackened by smoke (or dark foil) on one side, to make a 'black mirror' for viewing landscape. The Claude glass, as it became known, was used to frame and visually simplify what it reflected. Its visual form amplified the sense of foreground, middle ground and background and eliminated fine detail. This optical translation informed Lorrain's art and those who followed. See Barrell, 1972, 7-10 and 23.

> [unlike] Edmund Burke's categories of the Beautiful and the Sublime, the Picturesque was an aesthetic uniquely constituted to serve the nascent mass-marketing needs of a developing commercial culture; one in which appearances were construed as essence and commodities were sold under the signs of art and nature.[218]

Stephen Copley and Peter Garside specifically identify the role of elitist class structures in the shaping of perceptions of landscape:

> [Interest] in the picturesque appearance of the countryside is intimately connected with changes in the agricultural and commercial economies [...] or indirectly, in the emergence of sections of society with the leisure and resources to cultivate an aesthetic of redundancy in those parts of the country least implicated in the economic changes from which their own prosperity derived.[219]

By this time, the negative effects of the Industrial Revolution were being protested in Britain. The Chartist movement, in combination with other forms of early socialism, had begun to agitate politically for change.[220] Art and culture were enmeshed in a political discourse, where

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[218] 81.

[219] 7.

> [riven] by contradictions disclosed in its own texts and the subject of concerned social comment, the Picturesque faced its most direct and politicised threat from what may be called the Spencean counter-Picturesque: an ideology which contested the economic and political basis of the Picturesque claim to allow aesthetics to dictate the use of English land.[221]

In Britain, Bermingham argues,

> this double, even split, involvement in the landscape is itself a significant gloss on the picturesque and on the transformation of the countryside to which it was a compensatory response. The picturesque landscape was precisely the opposite of the landscape produced by the agricultural revolution, and therein lay a primary aspect of its value.[222]

Frawley reminds us of the distinctions between British and Irish modes of the picturesque, stating: "there is no doubt that the English Picturesque grew out of an intense upper- and middle-class dissatisfaction or 'alienation' in the face of the massive cultural effects of industrialization and of enclosure".[223] She adds that, "English Picturesque did not, however, signify the rupturing of cultural connections as it did in Ireland, where the ruin connoted a hidden – and largely unremembered past".[224] In Ireland, as Leerssen points out, the most powerful political divisions in the nineteenth century were not class-based, but inscribed along Unionist and Nationalist lines, with increasing depths of sectarianism as the century progressed.[225] The Act of Union had triggered this process, the mechanics of which suppressed Ireland's capacity for industrial development.[226] The Famine had devastated the country, and its aftermath of emigration and agrarian reform amplified the emerging divisions. As a result, in Ireland there was no industrialisation or urbanisation on anything close to the scale pertaining in Britain. There were no choked, polluted cities from which elites wished to escape. Rather, there were minimally industrialised towns and cities in a landscape dotted with ruins and erasures, signifying lost civilisation and identity. John Ruskin's appeal to reconcile past and present, through a cultural modernity comfortable with its own provenance, did not apply in Ireland.[227] Though some of the same dynamics exist in the conception of Irish picturesque landscape – erasure of poverty, aestheticisation of working soil, neutralisation of political struggles taking place on the land – the urban counterpoint is missing. The landscape that Coghill advocates is about escaping a city that doesn't exist in Ireland. It is a double-neutralisation of the Irish landscape, eliding the politics of ownership (in its English picturesque construction) and the politics of nation (through the insertion of an English sensibility in an Irish context). It is neither British pastoral escapism nor Irish antiquarian cultural salvage.[228] Its occlusion of national politics reflects a destabilised national stage, where the aftermath of catastrophe and the generation of a new and politically alert diaspora were sowing the seeds of a new nationalism for the second half of the century. The unstable visual rhetoric of Irish landscape would betray the hollowness at its centre, but the activities of the photographic elite in mid-century were to sustain its surface integrity for some time.[229]

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[220] See Engels, 2009, 233-41.
[221] Worrall, 257.
[222] 66.
[223] 36.

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[224] Ibid.

[225] See 1996(b), 20.

[226] Golman writes: "The Union abolished the Irish Parliament and ushered in a new phase in Britain's colonial rule. The protective tariffs passed by the Irish parliament were lifted as a result, and Ireland's budding industries were crippled (22).

[227] See Worral, 289-96, and Andrews, M.

In late 1859, having completed his term as Sheriff of Dublin, Coghill moved to Castletownshend in County Cork.[230] He continued his interest in photography, and chaired the photographic committee of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865.[231] The adjudicators of the photographic section were Antoine Claudet and Peter le Neve Foster, who both travelled from London for the event.[232] The list of medal-winners at the exhibition strengthens the perception that art-photography in Ireland was as much the preserve of elites as it was in London. Apart from the problematic fact that Claudet and Coghill themselves were awarded prizes for their work, other winners included Viscountess Jocelyn (a lady-in-waiting to Queen

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[228] Leerssen writes of the "salvage paradigm" in Irish antiquarianism and folklore. See 1996(b), 179.

[229] The first exhibitions by the PSI were presented as the photographic sections of the RDS Arts and Manufacturers annual exhibitions in 1858 and 1859. See Chandler, 1989, 20.

[230] Marx draws attention to the term "army of officials" in Hegel's *Doctrine of the State* (1992[b], 104 and 116), and critiques its implications: "The bureaucracy is the imaginary state alongside the real state; it is the spiritualism of the state. Hence everything acquires a double meaning: a real meaning and a bureaucratic one; in like fashion, there is both real knowledge and bureaucratic knowledge (and the same applies to the will). […] The bureaucracy holds the state, the spiritual essence of society, in thrall, as its *private property*. The universal spirit of bureaucracy is secrecy, it is mystery preserved within itself by means of the hierarchical structure and appearing to the outside world as a self-contained corporation" (Ibid., 108).

[231] Slattery, 2017(a). The Photographic Section exhibited over 4000 images. International practitioners included Camille Silvy, Francis Bedford, Henry Peach Robinson, Oscar Rejlander, John Jabez Mayall, William England and James Annan. Irish participants included Mary Parsons, Beauford and Bruce, Schroeder, Millard & Robinson, and Frederick Holland Mares. See Chandler, 1989, 33.

[232] Claudet trained with Daguerre in 1840s Paris and had run a successful studio in London since then. Foster, a barrister and mathematician, was secretary to the Royal Society of Arts, a founding member of the Royal Photographic Society (with Roger Fenton), and had been heavily involved in London's Great Exhibitions of 1851 and 1862.

Victoria), Julia Margaret Cameron (a friend of Lord Tennyson) and Viscountess Clementina Elphinstone Hawarden – indicating a gender ratio in the field that was almost erased by mainstream twentieth-century canonical histories, but addressed in recent literature.[233]

The backdrop to 'establishment' art photography at this time was the increasing mediatisation of society, and photography's associated commoditisation. André Disdéri's carte-de-visite format had been sweeping the western world since 1854, one of a number of crazes that pre-occupied Victorian society, with affordable photographic prints for the first time entering the homes of working people – where the first albums featured celebrities and royalty, decades before most families could afford images of themselves. This widening of access to photographic images was seen by some as a debasement of the art, driving the discourses of art photography further into engagements with those of painting.[234] One of the institutions that emerged was the Amateur Photographic Association (APA) in London. Founded in 1861, it became "the main mechanism for the exchange of photographs during the 1860s" in the UK.[235] The association served to consolidate the exclusivity of the art photography establishment, and also to distribute the work of members.[236] Coghill had joined the APA soon after its establishment, and continued his photographic work, participating in the APA's events into the 1870s, exhibiting with them for the last time in 1874.[237]

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[233] See, for example, Heron and Williams; Lawson; Smith, L.

[234] However, these lofty ambitions within the emerging photography academy were not undiluted. There was controversy in 1859, when James Robinson of the Photographic Society of Ireland was served with an injunction to prevent distribution of his photograph *The Death of Chatterton*. The photograph was deemed a pirated image of a successful painting by Henry Wallis, which had recently been exhibited in Dublin. Robinson had to pay costs for copyright infringement. Other PSI members were accused of similar acts of piracy. See Chandler, 1989, 25.

[235] Bloore, 1085. Specifically 'art' photographs.

[236] Members were required to submit copies of photographic works annually, which were then circulated in expensively bound volumes to other members. It is worth noting that this distributed archive of mid-nineteenth century photography in Britain and Ireland built and preserved a

Coghill's photographic career was low-key compared to many practitioners of his time, and his influence in the field outweighed his reputation as a photographer. His work to align photographic art to the picturesque was a conscious effort to distinguish specific forms of photography from the increasingly commoditised and popular formats that were prevalent at the time. His attempt to establish a continuum between the formal and aesthetic concerns of painting and photography was necessarily seeking an ideological consonance between their audiences. This consensus held together in the genteel surroundings of exhibitions and prize ceremonies – Rancière's assigned positions within the police order were established and maintained. However, its foundation on an imported English pastoral, combined with the political and technological changes then sweeping through Irish society, meant that it was to remain unstable. Photography in the 1850s and 60s was already exhibiting many dimensions of its discursive heterogeneity. Its multiplicity of polyvalent forms across myriad knowledge domains made it impossible to pin down or control, on all but the mildest rhetorical terms. It is in the photographic representation of landscape by one of the most prominent Big House photographers that we can see more clearly some of the fault lines in the ideology of the romantic landscape as it operated in Ireland.

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growing canon, ameliorating some of the risks of institutional centralisation and over-determined curatorial practices.

[237] Latterly, he built a dark room at his home, and taught photography to family members, including his daughter-in-law Hildegarde (nee Somerville), and her sister, the writer, Edith.

William Despard Hemphill and Photographic Erasure

Coghill's mobility, from England to Ireland, and from Dublin to Castletownshend was supported by his inherited wealth. Born into the aristocracy, he moved in elevated social and political circles. Hemphill was different. His upper-middle class life in a small Irish town, and dedicated part-time photographic career, brought him into the elite circles of photography from another point of origin. Hemphill lived and worked in Clonmel, Country Tipperary,[238] and his photography is notable for its concentration on subject matter from the area. At the same time, the formal qualities of the work and his institutional affiliations in photography situate him in the modern milieu of Dublin and London's elite photographic discourses. While formally progressive, many of his images represented "an identification with tradition, continuity and the established order".[239] Hemphill was a general medical practitioner for his entire working life.[240] From a Presbyterian background, he was religious and strongly unionist in outlook.[241] In addition to his interest in photography, he was also a noted amateur musician, horticulturalist and ivory carver. He studied medicine at Trinity College Dublin and at St Andrews University in Scotland, where he was acquainted with the Brewster family. However, his interest in photography was spurred later, after the introduction of the collodion process in 1851.[242] He began working with it in 1853, and his work has become synonymous with the concept of 'Big House' photography.[243] Hemphill was friendly with the Osborne family of Newtown Anner near Clonmel, and made photographic works in and around their house and large estate.[244] Catherine Isabella Osborne was married to Ralph Bernal Osborne,[245] and Hemphill's friendship with them connected him to Big House society, providing a network of people interested in his work. His position as a middle-class professional situates him biographically a little outside the set of aristocratic Big House practitioners whose collections are prominent in archives and collections. However, his marriage and social connections brought him into their sphere, and his work remains indexical of that world. Hemphill's position, adjacent to nobility, was facilitated through shared social, religious and political beliefs. While conservative in subject matter, his photographs involve novel technological and capitalist forms as they developed in the mid-nineteenth century. They also embody some of the unstable cultural dynamics connected to Coghill's image ideology. The images are emphatic in their endorsement of the land ownership system under British rule, and the Anglo-Irish Big House culture that emanated from it. They also show how

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[238] There is no record of his having met Coghill, but given that they were both members of the APA and their participation in the 1865 exhibition in Dublin, it is reasonable to speculate that they encountered one another.

[239] Holland, 19.

[240] He was well known in the medical field, having written a report on poor prison diets in 1867, and later through his presidency of the Irish Medical Association in 1884. He worked into his eighties. See Mullaney-Dignam, 48. Thomas Crean was a fellow doctor and tenant of Hemphill's. He was also a friend of Charles Kickham, who modelled a character on him in his novel *Knocknagow* (1873). See Ibid., 13.

[241] He was strongly opposed to Home Rule. When a Clonmel street was renamed Gladstone St. in 1886, he rejected it because of Gladstone's Home Rule proposals, and renamed a terrace that he owned on the street as Brighton Place. Ibid., 23.

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[242] See Holland, 3.

[243] See Ibid., 24. For example, his work has been used to illustrate Bence Jones, Girouard and Scarry among others. See also, Davison, 2014, 34, where he lists Hemphill's images as illustrations for William Howitt's *Ruined Abbeys and Castles of Great Britain and Ireland* (1865); *Memorials of the Life and Character of Lady Osborne and Some of her Friends* (1870), edited by Isabella Catherine Osborne; and John Lowe's *The Yew Trees of Great Britain and Ireland* (1897).

[244] NUIG's Landed Estates Registry describes the estate as comprising more than 12,000 acres in the early 1870s. See http://landedestates.nuigalway.ie:8080/LandedEstates/jsp/estate-show.jsp?id=3189. Accessed 28 April 2019.

[245] He was born Ralph Bernal, and took her name on their marriage in 1844. He was Member of Parliament for a number of English constituencies from 1841 until 1868, and represented Waterford City 1870-74. See Mosley, Vol 2, 3031. Earle (Hemphill's great-grandson) notes that Hemphill's 1849 marriage to Sarah Pedder, who was from a prominent local family, brought wealth and social connections. See Earle, 21.

Hemphill's subject position as simultaneously Irish and British is manifest in overt and codified ways, making any unitary identity illusory.

In 1864, Hemphill made the image seen in figure 7. The view is from Newtown Anner's dining room window looking south into the grounds. The sun is low in the sky, casting long shadows on what looks like a summer evening. The six figures visible are dressed for warm weather. Though all six are clustered near the foreground, the two female figures nearest the camera are "finely attired" and at leisure, one holding a book.[246] The remaining figures, two male and two female, have ceased working to pose for the photograph. The women carry brooms. One man attends to a horse-drawn lawn mower, while the other manages the horse. The image self-consciously assembles disparate figures in the landscape showing, stiltedly, work and relaxation. Hemphill illustrates the estate as inhabited, with its manicured grounds a site of labour and leisure, along strictly demarcated lines. The eight by eleven-inch collodion plate captures an immense amount of detail.[247] Though subtle, the technological modernity of the mechanical lawn mower, intrudes into a lyrical setting. Its labour-saving (and employment-eradicating) utility speaks to a much wider reordering of land use in mid-century Ireland. The performativity of the stilled workers, intentionally avoiding motion blur, enacts a staged moment where their labour is a parody caught on a vast theatrical set. Compositionally they operate behind the line of the lawn and gravel path. They play a supporting role to the leisure and erudition of the foregrounded women while, behind, the controlled landscape undulates to the wilder mountains beyond. The photograph implicates the viewer in its elevated and removed position, able to take in the whole scene and resolve the visible social calculus. It implies a third space in the public and private spheres, which interpenetrate. It is the view outwards from the "intimate sphere", the normally inaccessible inner rooms of the elite residence.[248]

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[246] See Mullaney-Dignam image caption for non-numbered plate.

[247] Its informational capacity, combined with its rapt visual focus on awkwardly situated people, prefigures the alienated register of twentieth-century modernist photographic discourses – from the Russian Constructivists, through Surrealism to the work of Harry Callahan and Diane Arbus in the 1950s and 60s.

The large-scale theatricality of the composition frames the scene as a narrative, depicting the workers busy in its maintenance, and the owners enjoying its aesthetic sensorium. The romantic idyll implied by the composition aligns with Coghill's notion of pastoral serenity and its escape from urban blight to a purer, rural past. Jerome McGann links this aesthetic to romantic poetry and argues that it is illusory. He states that "[the] idea that poetry, or even consciousness, can set one free of the ruins of history and culture is the grand illusion of every Romantic poet. This idea continues as one of the most important shibboleths of our culture, especially – and naturally – at its higher levels".[249] He links this mystification directly to Hegel's idealist philosophy: "Hegel's theory, speculative and total, represents the transformation of Romanticism into acculturated forms, into state ideology. Hegel sentimentalizes Romanticism by domesticating its essential tensions, conflicts and patterns of internal contradiction".[250] In his analysis of Romantic poetry, McGann identifies how Hegel's Idealism is evident in the poetry of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth. Specifically, he focuses on the idea of the universality of transcendent ideals, and individual human experiences that approached or approximated such transcendence. He argues that the impact of these ideas within literary and visual culture has been profound:

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[248] See Habermas, 55.

[249] 91.

[250] Ibid., 48.

> Coleridge's views were to enjoy a truly remarkable triumph in England and America for one hundred and fifty years, particularly in those *petit bourgeois* enclaves which Coleridge called 'the clerisy', that body of culture-guardians whose center today is in the academies. […] In this line of analysis, ideology is marked by 'false consciousness' and 'error' because ideas are time and place specific and hence represent, in their successive points of view, 'insulated fragments of truth.' To understand the historicity of knowledge and belief is to have a higher self-conscious grasp of one's received intellectual traditions.[251]

For Hess, an important aspect of Romantic writing, specifically in the poetry of Wordsworth, was how language was used to address ideas of the universal and transcendent through devices predicated on the visual. These devices, for Hess, foreshadowed the optical regimes constituted by photographic technologies as they emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century:

> [Romantic] subjectivity and the modern technology of the photograph are not opposed, but in a broader sense ultimately complement and even produce one another. The objective world of the photographic image and the 'deep' autonomous subjectivity of the viewer come into being together, in a single complementary relationship in which subject and object, mind

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[251] Ibid., 7.

> and body, immaterial consciousness and material world, are coupled together by their formal separation.[252]

In Hess's argument, Romantic subjectivity was entwined in a dialectic relationship with early photography before, during, and since the technology's origins. It is when this subjectivity expands to encompass a wider cultural catchment that it becomes ideological. McGann proposes a definition of ideology:

> [A] coherent or loosely organized set of ideas which is the expression of the special interests of some class or social group. Marx and the Marxist tradition would later identify the field of class interest as fundamentally economic, and would represent the social structure of Coleridge's "whole soul of man" as an interdependence of superstructure and infrastructure.[253]

In his critique of Coleridge's philosophy McGann points out its underlying weakness: "His philosophic totalizing grasp of cultural history – indeed Hegel's systematic presentation of such a speculation – is not a universal, transcendent truth but a limited and time-specific idea. It is, in brief, an ideology of knowledge".[254] It is the connection between Hegel, primogeniture, government, land ownership and landscape imaging that places Hemphill's photographs in a congruous ideological position. It is an ideology that plays out through his other images, while under pressure from contending elements in his cultural and political sphere – extending from Clonmel to Dublin and London.

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[252] 294.

[253] 5.

[254] 44.

Bhabha describes how landscape is used as a totalising metaphor in the shaping of national identities. The mobilisation of this metaphor through Hemphill's photographic images produced new narrative forms in a post-Famine Ireland. Bhabha states: "the recurrent metaphor of landscape as the inscape of national identity emphasizes the quality of light, the question of social visibility, the power of the eye to naturalize the rhetoric of national affiliation and its forms of collective expression".[255] He also argues that the expression of the national is inevitably caught up in another dynamic: "[There] is, however, always the distracting presence of another temporality that disturbs the contemporaneity of the national present […] the origin of the nation's visual presence is the effect of a narrative struggle".[256] This narrative struggle recalls McGann's account of the historically specific basis of any given ideology, and by natural extension, its inherent contingency. The power of Hemphill's 'antiquarian' photographic image here is twofold. On its surface it indexes the physical presence of the objects represented (churches, ruins, geographic features and so on). Implicit also are the origins of the present visible in the present. This reverse teleology constructs a national narrative (in this case Hemphill's unionist, antiquarian and scholarly account of Ireland) and projects it backwards onto the sites pictured. The contingency of this formation fuels its instability. As technological modernity unfolded across the countryside, it provided additional destabilising forces to the world that Hemphill sought to capture.

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[255] 205.

[256] Ibid.

In his stereoscopic image of Clonmel Quays from 1857, shown in figure 8, Hemphill has placed the camera on a barge on the River Suir near the centre of the town, freezing a moment from a community in transition. The workers in this image appear not to have been paused or posed. Work is happening, as the heavily laden barge, with a well-dressed man at its prow, approaches the quay where two men are seated and one assists in docking the vessel. The river is quiet, with no traffic visible beyond the bridge through the arch. The town centre in the distance registers as a picture within a picture, with the masonry structure of the bridge's span dividing it from the action in the foreground. On the bridge are two more men, one of them up a ladder attending to a gas lamp. In one frame, three layers of public infrastructure are visible and functioning – river quay, road bridge and public lighting. The capacity of the short-exposure collodion process to capture such brief moments introduced new modes of containing the world in pictures. Everyday workers' efforts became visible in ways ignored or romanticised in painting.

The positioning of the workers in the image (and the implied position of the viewer, implicated as worker, supervisor or perhaps tourist) is a striking example of the reconfiguration of labour at a quotidian level. The public infrastructure of lighting transformed the material culture of the townscape in daylight, and illuminated it at night – reshaping social interactions and lenghtening the economically productive hours of the day. Its maintenance introduced new working relationships between the individual and the collective, and between the municipal and the commercial. As capital unfurled through these mechanisms, the individual was reconfigured in their relationship to its ideology. The mutually constructive process between subject and ideology is where Bhabha sees that “the scraps, patches and rags of daily life must be repeatedly turned into the signs of a coherent national culture, while the very act of the narrative performance interpellates a growing circle of national subjects”.[257] At street and riverbank level, the shifting roles of the workers reflect and constitute the new material relationships being enacted through new forms of capital.[258] As Bhabha points out, the Althusserian process of ‘interpellation’ – a mutually constitutive process where individuals acknowledge and respond to ideologies, thereby recognising themselves as subjects – shifts the Marxian register away from purely materialist relationships at base and superstructure to a renewed formation, where subjectivity is enacted through the representative frameworks masking their ideology.[259] The idea of the ‘national’ is here complicated by the forces of modernity as they problematise simple binaries of town and country, or nationalist and unionist, by being ‘shot through’ the fabric of everyday life. Bhabha continues:

> In the production of the nation as narration there is a split between the continuist, accumulative temporality of the pedagogical, and the repetitious, recursive strategy of the performative. It is through this process of splitting that the conceptual ambivalence of modern society becomes the site of writing the nation.[260]

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[257] 209.

[258] These moments of social and technical progress took place against a backdrop of an average of 100,000 emigrants per year on a national level.

[259] See Althusser for the connections between concepts of ‘interpellation’ and ‘ideological state apparatuses’.

[260] Ibid.

For Bhabha, the pedagogical refers to the meta-narratives of history and received ideas of identity. The performative is where the everyday acts of lived experience (in this instance in a technologically modernising Irish country town) complicate the simple narrative furnished by a cumulative pedagogy. For Bhabha, this complication is the productive space of meaning-making, and not something to be reduced or eradicated in order to access some pure truth. He suggests that instead, the process produces "counter-narratives of the nation that continually evoke and erase its totalizing boundaries […] through which 'imagined communities' are given essentialist identities".[261] As identities are in flux, necessarily photographic representations are too.

From the same series, Hemphill's stereoscopic image of Clonmel railway station is a striking counterpoint. In an un-staged shot, passengers prepare to embark on a train journey, seen here in figure 9.[262] Again, Hemphill uses the arch of the road bridge over the tracks to frame the composition, giving depth to the scene. In the stereoscopic format, these depths are accentuated, enhancing the aesthetic experience and creating an intimate mini-spectacle. These images were made as the stereoscopic imaging boom was reaching its height, and would have been popularly received as cutting edge visual experiences which were highly technologised and commoditised. The subject matter itself represents the profound intervention of capitalised technical modernity into country life hinted at in the previous image. The Waterford to Limerick line, stopping at Clonmel, had only been completed in 1854. Two years before that, the first Dublin to Holyhead submarine telegraph cable had been laid. While these infrastructural innovations combined to collapse time and distance, they also inaugurated a new phase in capitalism, as the massive costs involved necessitated new forms of investment. The linesman in the foreground looks directly at the camera with his hammer beside him, his work part of reshaping the landscape and guiding the new high-speed human encounter with it. Hemphill is using a radical new visuality to document a transformed social space.[263]

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[261] 213.

[262] Mullaney-Dignam's image caption proposes that it was a 6.50pm train from Waterford to Limerick.

Captured in the image is the multifaceted enactment of novel social experiences, enmeshed with new modes of consumerism.[264] The railway maintenance worker is part of a nationwide force of labour, whose daily schedule is based on the timetables of the trains, which in turn bind distant places together through shared temporalities. Cities and towns synchronised to agreed chronologies (some sharing the precise time of day with another locality for the first time in their history), rationalising the incremental marking of human lived experience. The physiocratic logic of agricultural land and labour producing the base economic value of the wider society is slipping away. So too is the Hegelian logic of social order and government, predicated on human hands working in fields owned by landlords. The logic of capitalism is reordering the geographic spaces of the country, and in the process introducing high-speed travel as a commerical offering. The human labour involved in the building, operation and maintenance of the infrastructure reifies the reorganisation of human experience within Marx's

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[263] In another image from the series, Hemphill shows a Bianconi car in Anglesea Street, Clonmel, outside the Presbyterian "Scot's Church". At the time, Bianconi had an estimated 1,000 horses drawing cars throughout the country, to strict timetables. The transport revolution that he had begun in 1815 was to be displaced by the steam train revolution. See Duffy, 153.

[264] For an account of tourism, land and landscape in Ireland, see Cronin & O'Connor, Hooper, James, K. J.; Nash.

'Divine Trinity' of political economy – land, labour and capital.[265] The new subject positions assumed in the process normalise the underlying ideology. The ticket-buying train passengers sustain the new economic configuration as it satisfies their appetites for wider horizons. In turn, their widening social experiences create novel social formations, as once remote locations are threaded together. The image is replete with the signs of strengthening 'imagined communities',[266] as the concatenation of transport and communications technologies collapsing time and space.

Here, the effects of spatio-temporal changes brought about by modern communcations and travel within the national narrative is further split. Bhabha's division of pedagogy and performance (i.e. received and improvised acts) in the formation of national narrative and counter narrative serves two contending visions of nation. The same intervention of modernity reinforces *two* imagined communities on the island. Government becomes more efficient in its civic and military discourses. Simultaneously the printing, distribution and consumption of *The Nation*, for example, was improved by the new train tracks and telegraph wires traversing the landscape. The rapid development of the telegraph system transformed the speed at which political news from afar could be shared and assimilated – accelerating the development of nationalism – communicating with, and feeding off, a traumatised post-Famine diaspora.[267] In the process, two opposing political identities (one dominant, one emergent) were developed and strengthened in their mutual antagonism, which had been sharpened by the experience of the Famine. The catastrophe hovers obliquely in another of Hemphill's images.

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[265] See Marx, 1992(b), 38.

[266] See Anderson's seminal account of the connections between modern communications and the construction of national identity.

[267] See Morash, 2010, 83-89, for a detailed account of these developments. In terms of diasporic influence on nationalist sentiment, Cleary points out that, after many years of Irish emigration, the Irish-born population of New York City was greater than the population of Dublin. See Cleary, 66.

The Temple at Newtown Anner appealed to Hemphill's sensibilities. Seen here in figure 10, based on classical architecture, the structure sits on an elevated location next to a body of water. The composition is carefully made, with the complexity of the trees' branch systems framing the temple as the image's main subject (again exploiting the dramatic qualities of simulated depth perception in the stereoscope). With reflections in the still water, and a female figure about to board a rowing boat, the staged tableau implies a narrative arc unavailable to the viewer.[268] The fictive quality of the image is superseded by an irony bound up in its making. The Temple structure is made of wood, its ersatz classicism set above an artificial lake. Both the structure and lake were the products of a Famine relief project run by the Osbornes during the worst of the crisis ten years earlier. This material dimension of the photograph's origins moves meaning away from its fuax-arcadian surface aesthetic and awkwardly into the centre of photography's capacity to obscure. Permeating the image subject is the suffering of the hungry, who laboured through the wider agrarian catastrophe within the walls of the enormous estate, digging hollows and raising hills. The mini-idyll, shaped by the displacement of soil, wood and water, emerges as a stark counterpoint to the chaos outside in the countryside at the time. The connection to the Famine would have been known to Hemphill, but the image appears to leak no reference to this.[269] The use of Famine labour to produce the classical folly reads here as a micro-moment in the wider shift from physiocratic labour on the land brought about by the crisis. As the value of agrarian labour evaporated in many parts of the country, the use of such redundant labour to produce material manifestations of tropes prevalent in Idealist Romantic painting renders the entire endeavour an awkward gesture in the face of calamity. The bridge between pre-Famine agrarian modes of labour and the newer forms brought about by capitalism (evident in the images above) is manifest here as an ironic hall of mirrors, where Romantic art's idealised forms are brought into actuality by the hands of the destitute. The temple exists as a monument to the marginalisation of the working poor which had brought about the crisis in the first place. In this theatrical arrangement, the victims of the Famine are erecting a screen to block out the material nature of their own tragedy. They are digging in a cultural graveyard.[270]

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[268] See Rockett & Rockett, 193. The allusion to classical civilisation had been fashionable in art photography since Queen Victoria had purchased a copy of Oscar Rejlander's *The Two Ways of Life* in 1857. Her patronage was a boon to those arguing for the seriousness of photography as an art form. Rejlander's work, produced from composite negatives, was disconnected from the notion of the single-shot photographic image, and comfortable with the transparent fictions of which the new medium was capable. Rejlander's work appealed to the gravitas of the classical themes to which he referred (themes which also circumvented the Victorian aversion to the depiction of nudity outside of references to antiquity). Hemphill's familiarity with Rejlander's work, combined with the influence of Henry Peach Robinson's art (and latterly, his writing on photographic art) informed this composition. The work also demonstrates the influence of the Pre-Raphaelite movement and popular French painting of the time in its historicising and idealising of an indistinct notion of the past within images that finely delineate nature. See Holland, 20.

The elision of history in this work produces a crisis in the reading of the image which connects to the debate between Lanzmann and Didi-Huberman, with Rancière's position forming a bridge between the two. Where Lanzmann opposed the capacity of photographic images to communicate the real – arguing that they collapsed the real into a flawed resolution – Rancière's formulation posits photographs as both "legible testimony of a history written on faces or objects *and* pure blocs of visibility, impervious to any narrativization, any intersection of meaning".[271] Didi-Huberman acknowledges this dislocation between experience and representation inherent in photography, arguing for thoughtful negotiation of the ethical boundaries it produces.

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[269] The nearby Clonmel workhouse (newly built and opened in 1853 to replace the old structure that had served during the Famine) was next to the asylum where Hemphill served as GP.

[270] Niamh Ann Kelly writes: "As signs of Famine experiences, relief structures represent in their scale and geographical reach crossovers between individual suffering and the wretchedness of many. As man-made elements of the landscape with varying utility and visibility, many relief structures seem objects out of place, with some presenting an aesthetic out of time". 2018, 202.

This begs the question of whether Hemphill grappled with this ethical quandary and whether any expectation of another approach by him makes sense, regardless of what we know of his life and social position.[272] One could argue that his imaging of the temple is, in itself, a reference to the tragedy – mute and respectful. It is possible that the enormity of the crisis brought about a conflict for him, in which to attempt to address the real through photography risks a rationalisation, or resolution, of the real. It is possible that he was one of the earliest photographers to work through the difficulties later mapped out by Lanzmann, Didi-Huberman and Rancière. Hemphill is making visible something that is invisible, but ultimately unrepresentable. His position also brings us back to Derrida's concept of writing "sous rature" (under erasure) where both a word, and its deletion, register as a double inscription.[273] In this instance the image connotes Famine content, but its image surface becomes a denotation of elision. Meaning becomes contingent, with Hemphill embodying a form of dislocation, simultaneously revealing and concealing the history of the place depicted through his 'writing' with light.[274]

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[271] 2007, 11. Emphasis added.

[272] Holland writes that there is only one short mention of the Famine by Hemphill, where he described "the awful years of famine" (16).

[273] See Spivak 1997, xiv.

[274] See Bhabha, 154.

Hemphill's political allegiance to British governance leads him to an unresolved subject position as image producer in Ireland. As a doctor, sworn to the preservation of life, he cannot but have been affected by the recent catastrophe. As Anglo-Irish he was sensitised to the new nationalist tensions around him. As a scholar and antiquarian, he was committed to the exploration of place and identity through history and material culture. In writing the image, his position is unresolved. The image's power to elide is stronger than its capacity to invoke the real. For the viewer to cite knowledge of the Famine as *punctum* seems too neat. With our partial knowledge of the ontology of the image, perhaps we are running into Rancière's dead end – the photograph's "secret we shall never know".[275]

Hemphill also used the estate at Newtown Anner as the setting for *The Oatfield*, made in 1864, seen in figure 11. Karol Mullaney-Dignam suggests that it could be an interpretation of the Old Testament story of Ruth, who was great-grandmother to King David.[276] In the image, four female figures are arranged in a horizontal composition, three standing and one sitting. The figure on the right looks away, as if alienated from the others – perhaps the gentile Ruth, isolated from her Israelite co-workers. The seated figure holding a pail could also be her. She is engaging with the others but involved in more menial work on the ground – collecting individual grain kernels according to the original story. Ruth's narrative involves a return to the region of Bethlehem-Judah in the aftermath of famine, and the triumph of human kindness over adversity – which could be another coded reference to recent events by Hemphill. The use of religious allegory as an oblique comment on the Famine is again an instance of semantic doubling within the image. Though he left no record of his perspective on the calamity from a religious point of view, Hemphill would have been familiar with the strong voices in the public discourse who claimed that the disaster was a providential judgement by God, an argument that had served to exacerbate the outrage felt in Catholic Ireland during the disaster and since.[277] The allegory can be seen as implying an endorsement of the providential view of the crisis, where God's judgement was brought to bear on a society that had taken the wrong path. It might also be seen as a kinder interpretation of the situation, to remind viewers that faith and good will brings about small kindnesses in adversity.

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[275] 2007, 15.

[276] See image caption – plates and pages not numbered.

The surrounding materiality of the photograph's production introduces other dynamics to its reading. In this image, as in other comparable shots, Hemphill had the Osborne's daughters, Grace and Edith, and members of the Pedder family (his in-laws) enact the scenes. The transposition of a middle-eastern narrative to a distinctly western setting, though slightly jarring, aligns with a long tradition in European art. The stilted physicality of the performances combine with contemporary interpretations of peasant garb to give a benign amateur-theatre atmosphere to the scene. The most engaging element of the whole artifice is the sight of actual farm workers in the distance on the right of the composition who, one assumes, were required to cease their work and remove themselves from the field to allow for the photograph to be staged. Real farm labour stopped to facilitate the landowners' dramatic re-enactment of agricultural work for the camera. Here, the romantic ideology of the pastoral image is staged photographically – but the displaced subjects linger in the visual frame, a physical reminder of the instability of the aesthetic and perhaps a portent of its demise. This biblical tale, the moral of which involves a rising above the minutiae of everyday lived experience towards a greater good, is here brought to earth by the actual workers looking in, as bemused bit-part actors in their double erasure. That the entire tablaux constitutes a leisure activity for the Ascendancy figures taking part, redoubles the irony of the image.[278]

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[277] For background on the providentialist viewpoint, see Daly, 144; Donnelly 171-2; Gray, 1999, 227, 337-8; Kinealy, 2015, 14 and 2002, 69; McLean, 71; Tóibín & Ferriter, 16.

Queen Victoria's official birthday on 24 May 1864 saw Hemphill at an elevated position above the New Bridge in Clonmel to make the photograph seen in figure 12.[279] The lamp standard, seen in figure 8, is here surrounded by dozens of soldiers taking part in firing a royal salute. The photograph positions the viewer at a point redolent of military surveillance. From earliest history, high ground has provided a physical advantage in sites of conflict, predicated on its providing visual advance warning of danger. This raised position subsequently translated into military photography, and as aerial technologies developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they were used to extend the advantage skyward. Paul Virilio traces the origins of military photography:

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[278] It is also interesting to note that the busiest phase of Hemphill's photographic career was during the period between the 1845 Maynooth College act strengthening the Catholic Church in Ireland, and the 1869 Irish Church Act disestablishing the Church of Ireland. It was also a period during which European intellectual life was being transformed by the work of Charles Darwin, Thomas Henry Huxley and Herbert Spencer (see Kolakowski, 308). The strength of feeling around religious matters was strong and pervasive, fuelling wider political developments in Ireland. Rowan estimates that the church-building process in the country during the nineteenth century delivered an average of one new church building *per week* over the period: "In all, there are some 5750 churches in Ireland, almost all of which are nineteenth-century in origin" (208).

[279] It is a print from a 6.5 x 7.5 inch collodion negative.

> It was partly thanks to information provided by the *Entrepreneur*, the first battlefield observation balloon, that General Jourdan won the victory of Fleurus in 1794. In 1858 Nadar took his first pictures from a balloon. During the American Civil War, the Union forces equipped balloons with an aerial mapping telegraph. Soon the army was rigging together the most varied combinations: camera kites, camera pigeons and camera balloons predated the intensive use of chronophotography and cinematography on board small reconnaissance aircraft (several million prints were made during the First World War).[280]

The implicit power of the photograph's point of view combines with its rapt attention to the physical expression of control manifest in the military resources deployed at a strategic crossing within the town's territory. The ordering of the landscape, visible within the estate walls set against the wilder mountain backdrop visible in figure 7, is here extended into the town. The civil infrastructure of road, bridge and lighting is inscribed with the signifiers of state control. The soldiers are performing a ritual exercise, with the force of the state sublimated into ceremonial gestures. The active guns, pointed out of the frame, represent dominion beyond the image's limits. The photograph was shown at the annual APA exhibition, visually connecting the regional periphery to the metropolitan centre – reminding London viewers that loyal subjects lived and worked in rural Ireland.

Brewster's tentative images of the boundary edges of fortifications give way here to the fascination of a civilian, enthralled and buoyed by the power of the garrison maintaining the political status quo in an urban centre using the latest technologies of war.[281] Though a ritualised performance, the display of military force took place within the context of increasing post-Famine political agitation and Britain's expanding imperial footprint across the world.[282] In 1861 John Mitchel, in exile in the USA, published *The Last Conquest of Ireland (perhaps)*, in which, "the charge against British government rose from incompetence or callousness to genocide: the deliberate promotion of mass starvation as a means of completing Ireland's political subjugation".[283] Throughout the century, troop numbers reflected the perceived threat to civil order in Ireland.[284] Such was the increasing political tension in the 1860s that Marx wrote to Engels in 1867 that "I used to regard Ireland's separation from England as impossible. I now think it inevitable, although federation may follow separation".[285] This image returns us to Mitchell's suggestion that,

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[280] 1989, 11.

> [the] 'reflective' and imaginary projection of moods into landscape is read as the dreamwork of ideology; the 'rise and development' of landscape is read as a symptom of the rise and development of capitalism; the 'harmony'

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[281] The cannons on the bridge appear to be Armstrong Guns, a military innovation adopted by the British army six years earlier. See Engels, 1957, 196.

[282] Between 1860 and 1900 the geographical area of the British Empire quadrupled. See Spencer, 82. In the first two decades of this period, Samuel Bourne's photographs of colonial India and John Thomson's images from China and Cyprus served to "organize and domesticate" imperial landscapes (Ryan, 26). For wider accounts of photography's relationships with colonialism and empire, see Landau and Kaspin; Chaudhary; Hight and Sampson; Maxwell; Blokland and Pelupessy; Carville 2001, 2008, 2011, and 2013. Young, 2001, 27, notes that the term 'Colonialism' was first used in 1853. For an introduction to the relationships between culture and colonialism, see Young 1990, 1994, 2001, 2008 and also Moore-Gilbert 1997, 1999. For an account of colonialism and capitalism, see Chibber.

[283] Connolly, S. J., 49.

[284] Though the army itself was a site of hybridity in that it contained 55,000 Irish soldiers serving in 1861. See Foster, 1988, 367.

[285] Young, 2001, 92. See also Martin, 186-7.

> sought in landscape is read as a compensation for and screening off of the actual violence perpetrated there.[286]

Hemphill's image of the bridge in Clonmel synthesises this argument into visual form. The armed forces of the state (within a contested union) enforce a governance system predicated on the Idealist manifestation of political right – primogeniture. The palimpsest of centuries of historical action, in all its complication, is flattened into a fleeting celebratory instant, a two-dimensional register of compliance within the geographic space of the town. The buoyant atmosphere rendered by the image belies a deep instability within the image's politics. The violence of settlement colonialism is hidden within the register of harmony, peace and stability. There is an assumption in this unproblematic presentation of a 'natural' scene – that there is an underlying order of perfection accessible through the photograph. But it is the rendering of the image that is a subtly violent re-ordering of the material into the almost non-material. The screen is effective, and a contingent moment resembles a timeless ideal. Bhabha states that "the nation's modern territoriality is turned into the archaic, atavistic temporality of Traditionalism. The difference of space returns as the Sameness of time, turning Territory into Tradition, turning the People into One".[287]

Hemphill's photographic work set out to share a sense of place, in its natural and cultural dimensions. He aspired to having the images entice visitors to engage with its richness and tradition – while consolidating the worldview of his friends and neighbours locally, and connecting with broader conservative values across the United Kingdom. Within his framing of tradition, ideology shapes the potential visitor's sense of what it is they are to see and understand. Hemphill is offering a view of Ireland that is preoccupied with the past as bulwark against the instability of the present. What is at stake in these photo-narratives is the unstable concept of nation. The Anglo-Irish perspective is under pressure, with hints that it could be swamped by events beyond its control. The 'inscape' that Bhabha alludes to is produced within Hemphill's images as they participate in the narrative struggle to re-state the nation. The ironies and elisions in Hemphill's work allude to the wider contexts in which they were produced. The gentle effacement of material conditions, the wholesale championing of religious and Unionist ideals, and the celebration of aristocratic property rights serve as props to an eroding edifice.

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[286] 1994, 7.
[287] 213.

Though constructed to shore up a conservative hold on the Irish landscape, Hemphill's images capture the very forces that were dismantling the old order. He shows the mechanisms of technical modernity as they displace the physiocratic and Idealist worldview via the implacable progress of steam, print and telegraph across town and countryside. The reconfiguration of the spatio-temporal dimensions of everyday existence was inherent in the process, with the general population becoming more comfortable with notions of simultaneity across vast distances and expanded social horizons. As the Idealist edifice begins to crumble, Hemphill's images seek to hold the centre in their exertion of the twin pressures of Christian narrative (in performative mode) and military might (in ritualised public form). These narrative tethers hold the Irish midlands to the metropolitan and political centre, and by extension, the ideology of the governing classes.

Mary Parsons and the Annihilation of Photographic Space

William Parsons, the Third Earl of Rosse, a well-known figure in both Anglo-Irish society and British scientific circles in the mid-nineteenth century, married Mary Field in 1836. They owned a house in Connaught Square, London, where they entertained leading scientific and society figures. William studied mathematics and astronomy and throughout his twenties developed new telescope technologies at Parsonstown, including a steam-powered machine for grinding large-scale mirrors. With the wealth that Mary brought to their marriage, he was able to undertake more ambitious projects, leading to the design and construction of a 72-inch mirror, beginning in 1841 soon after the death of his father, the Second Earl. The three-and-a-half-ton mirror necessitated the construction of the world's largest telescope housing (a tube measuring 54 feet long and six-foot in diameter) mounted on massive masonry walls in the grounds of the castle. The power of the new instrument allowed William to observe astronomical phenomena previously unseen. The 'Leviathan' telescope became a significant site of scientific research globally.

The wealth and privileged of the Parsons' 'Big House' social position in the 1840s meant that their lives, and those of their family, were not threatened by the Famine.[288] The Leviathan telescope had only recently been completed when the Famine began, and the couple suspended scientific work in order to organise local relief projects. They employed 500 people on works in the castle grounds, including the use of the turf-powered forge (previously used to build metal components for the new telescope) to produce new iron gates, designed by Mary.[289] As the Famine eased, the couple returned to their research work, with Mary, and her close friend, Mary Ward (a young first cousin of William's) both engaged in their own scientific investigations.[290] The Parsons family is significant among Anglo-Irish culture in its connections to eminent scientists, early photographic pioneers and the political realm.[291] The opening up of the castle grounds to scientist visitors and Famine-relief workers shows a shift from previous social formations, as described by Habermas where, "[like] the baroque palace itself, which was built around a grand hall in which festivities were staged, the castle park permitted a courtly life sealed off from the outside world".[292] In 1840s Parsonstown, the seal was broken. Mary began to work with photography in a sustained way from 1853.[293] She joined the Photographic Society of London, which formed that year and it is likely that she visited Dublin's Great Industrial Exhibition.[294] In February 1854 William wrote to Talbot, telling him of Mary's work and enclosing sample images that she had made of the Leviathan Telescope. Talbot was impressed, and replied asking if she would exhibit her work at the society's upcoming inaugural exhibition. In 1856 Mary joined the Dublin Photographic Society, where she won a number of medals for her work over subsequent years. She also built her darkroom that year at Parsonstown Castle (which remains today, and is understood to be the oldest darkroom in existence).[295] William had renewed his interest in making astronomical photography during 1852. The collodion process, though more visually precise than the Calotype, required 25-second exposures. The slight movements of astronomical bodies within the telescope's viewfinder during these moments meant that the shorter exposure times of the Calotype were more suitable.[296] Over the following years, photography became an increasingly important part of life at Parsonstown Castle. In 1849, Sir David Brewster had developed an improved viewing device for the developing market in stereoscopic photography.[297] By the mid-1850s it was possible to buy stereoscopic images of monuments and views from all over the world. The London Stereoscopic Company had a catalogue of

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[288] However, William had been warning of impending calamity in the previous years, and was elected as an Irish representative peer to the House of Lords in 1845. See Scaife.

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[289] See Chandler, 1989, 2.

[290] Mary Ward became one of only three women members of the Royal Astronomical Society. See Bryan.

[291] Sir David Brewster, who at the time was revising his biography of Sir Isaac Newton, was a visitor to Parsonstown Castle. Mary Ward illustrated his 1855 edition with drawings of both Newton's and the Parsonstown telescopes. Sir William Rowan Hamilton, the noted mathematician who encouraged both women in their work, was also a visitor.

[292] 10.

[293] William had been a member of the organising committees for both the 1851 and 1854 Great Exhibitions in London. The 1851 event met with divergent reactions among Irish audiences. Post-Famine Irish nationalist criticism of its perception as a signal of progress was fuelled by the preliminary census figures, which were released in June that year, clearly showing the devastation wrought by the crisis. See Morash, 2010, 53. See also Ó Gráda, 2005, 12. The cultural distance between the metropolitan centre and its periphery was accentuated through the exhibition's massive display of colonial (and increasingly imperial) power. This served to increase political discontent in Ireland, where attention turned from the Famine's immediate effects to more vocal critiques of land ownership. After the 1851 exhibition, many regional and international cities responded with other large-scale exhibitions. Dublin built its own Crystal Palace on Leinster Lawn for Ireland's Great Industrial Exhibition of 1853. Organised by the Royal Dublin Society (RDS) and funded by the railway magnate, William Dargan, it was visited by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. The exhibition's photographic section displayed works by 14 notable Irish and international practitioners. (See Mullaney-Dignam, 42, and Taylor, 2002. Chandler, 1989, 17, cites a list of exhibitors that differs from Taylor's. It is also notable that, unlike the London Exhibition of 1851, the Dublin event featured a Fine Arts section – at the insistence of William Dargan) Among the works on show was a series of images by Philip Delamotte, showing the reconstruction of London's Crystal Palace, which was underway at the time, in preparation for the upcoming 1854 Great Exhibition in London. (Chandler, 2001, 41, and 1989, 17, lists exhibitors, including Antoine Claudet,

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John Mayall, Leon Gluckman, Thomas Grubb, and Joseph Pinkney, Moran & Quin, Nicholas Henneman & Thomas Malone of London, Edward King Tenison, James Robinson and Philip Delamotte) In Dublin, as in other exhibitions, the photographic section was part of the scientific and industrial instruments display. Photographic images were considered more for their technical than aesthetic capacities. As a result, the keystones of photographic discourses (then and since) began to emerge through these categorisations and associated institutional debates.

[294] See Davison, 1989, 41. She also joined the Amateur Photographic Association in the 1860s.

[295] See Ibid., 5, 35, and introduction, viii. See also Chandler, 1989, 25.

[296] See Davison, 1989, 3, 43 and 48. In late 1853, William was trying to photograph the Moon, but the collodion exposure of 25 seconds was too slow. On 2 February 1854, he wrote to Talbot for advice. Talbot replied, but there are no known photos of the Moon by Parsons.

[297] Sir Charles Wheatstone had proved stereoscopy in prototype in 1838 using drawings. In 1841, Talbot and a Mr. Collen exhibited Calotypes made for viewing through Wheatstone's stereoscope. See Davison, 1989, 29.

100,000 subjects by 1858, and sold a million views in 1862. Brewster's device allowed the user to view stereo daguerreotypes, transparencies and albumen print pairs.[298] Mary's interest in photography had grown into practical experimentation by the early 1850s, including stereoscopic work.[299]

The new demesne gates from the Famine relief project feature prominently in figure 13, a photograph by Mary Parsons dated 1855-56. The image is a view east through the archway and along Oxmantown Mall, with St. Brendan's Church of Ireland at the far end of the thoroughfare. Beyond the uniformed attendant standing to attention inside the gate, the image is unpeopled. The mall was a Georgian improvement project carried out under the direction of the Second Earl in the optimistic years after the Napoleonic Wars. Its broad dimensions and precise lines brought a new airiness, changing the medieval street pattern of the town. The bulk of the arch's construction dominates the composition, with the balanced tonal range giving detail to each element up to its high stone teeth. To the right is a darkened turret entrance, flanked by a single shrub. The imposing metal gates glisten, framing the Georgian mall through the opening. Their materiality was the product of the transformation of the local soil itself, in the form of turf – cut, dried and burned to fuel the forge used to shape the metal. As with other Famine-relief works, the labour expended in their manufacture was an abrupt shift of bodily effort by the participants from agrarian to semi-industrial modes of work. The image performs a double elision, in the manner of Hemphill's romantic landscapes, as the smooth aesthetic appearance of the carefully-composed photograph collapses the complication of the material circumstances it represents. This cross-sectioned instant freezes a moment from post-Famine Ireland and seeks to naturalise a sense of quietude, implying a social equilibrium that teeters off balance into semantic indeterminacy when it meets the abrasive data of its own history.

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[298] See Davison, 1989, 29.

[299] Ibid. She used an early stereo camera, in which a single lens device made one exposure, and then moved a small increment on miniature tracks, before making another. By the late 1850s she was using a camera with two lenses, producing simultaneous exposures, A 'Dallmeyer' camera of this type remains in Birr, and the Birr collection includes home-made and commercial stereoscopic image pairs by Mary Parsons.

The axis from castle to church is clear and imposing in its connection of the first and second estates. Two poles of Anglo-Irish power converse through stone and the deserted gap between. The architectural manifestations of the state's idealised self-justification combine to delineate the terms upon which the town can be spatially understood. The well-appointed houses draw the eye from one end to the other. The gates, their labour value harnessed as relief for the destitute, function as a metaphor for the castle's capacity to support or close off opportunity in its hinterland. The subjects outside the gates are physically regulated and managed by their presence. As the Famine catastrophe worsened, gate-making and gate-keeping became a matter of life and death. The gates, controlling the threshold between demesne and street, function as a material and visual sublimation of the Famine years into iron and stone. Their photographic image carries them into our field of vision. Didi-Huberman's quest for the negotiation points between the unrepresentable and lived experience, finds in this image a form of seepage. It becomes a displacement of what Niamh Ann Kelly describes as photography's power to index "visual performance in the social field".[300] The enormity of the Famine cannot be contained by any codification of landscape into aesthetic or technical norms. The ‘absence’ of Famine photographs becomes here a reminder that we are looking for the wrong sorts of images in our search for photographic depictions of human suffering. Instead, Famine photographs are images such as these, where history leaks into intelligibility. Bringing our knowledge of historical events to our encounter with the image provides a bank of metadata to be used in the ethical negotiation of the contested territory delineated by the disagreement between Didi-Huberman and Lanzmann. This Famine photograph requires that we acknowledge the contingency of the image, but also that we acknowledge contingency as a product of our viewing position, and in relation to the problematics of the photographic object’s material history. Rather than ‘taking a side’ in the debate about photographic opacity, it is necessary to allow the contending arguments to be put into play when we read photographs. Instead of providing immovable philosophical coordinates, the debate produces active modalities of encounter. Photographs no longer adhere to assigned positions produced by theory. They shift, sparkle, slide and dim, depending on the particular refractory moment of encounter, and the configuration of the image surface.

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[300] 2018, 10.

The camera’s low point of view renders the gateway’s void as more sky than ground, with the townscape an inverted chevron, a reflected shield – a chivalric form spliced into the image. The mall itself, a progressive architectural intervention by the Second Earl, was later to become the site of a tragic modern irony. In August 1869 William’s steam engine, with passengers aboard, accidentally hit a kerb. The jolt caused Mary Ward, then 42, to fall from the engine. She died from her injuries in what has been described as Ireland’s first road traffic accident. The manufacture and installation of the gates was a physical reordering of materiality, conducted through a hiatus in the scientific work to which the Parsons family had committed themselves. Inside, the world's largest telescope sat idle, pointing towards the sky, waiting to interrogate the heavens – where some believed their wrathful god was directing unspeakable cruelty in the landscape.

Mary Parsons photographed the town from a rear window of the castle in 1856. Seen in figure 14, the view southwards to Castle Street shows clusters of people, animals and carts. It could be a market day, or the regular commercial activity connected to the Guinness-owned malt store next to where they are gathered. The elevated position of the viewer, combined with layers of castellated masonry in the foreground framed by vegetation, gives a clear tonal demarcation between inside and outside. This image, unlike Brewster's views along and inside fortified fortress walls, makes a visual connection between the big house and the town. Three kilometres distant and barely discernible is the local army barracks at Crinkill. It was completed in 1812, during a busy phase of post-1798 militarisation. The visual axis between castle and barracks captures the town and its commerce. The modest buildings are modelled by crepuscular light, and softened by the smoke from multiple chimneys through the townscape. The image depicts quotidian life, but the viewpoint is at a remove, seeming uninvolved, but surveilling. The removed surveillance position re-occupies the elevated military vantage point adopted by Hemphill on the queen's birthday. First built on in Norman times, the castle site occupies the high ground in the locality, garnering the necessary physical advantage in feudal times when the threat of physical attack was part of the architectural brief. The line of sight provided by the castle window in this photograph implicates the viewer in the mutually constitutive relationship between aristocracy and physical force, reminding us of Williams' 'armed gangs' naturalising their domination into kingships and baronies.[301] In this configuration, the townspeople and local farmers in the middle ground are the necessary adjuncts to the castle's life – caught here between citadel and garrison.

As in Hemphill's work, the subject position of the photographer (and by extension, the viewer) is constituted by inherent contradiction. Bhabha problematises any easy or apparent binary relationship between coloniser and colonised, arguing that the two-way-street of interaction continually shapes and reshapes the identity of both, the reinscriptions over time obliterating any essential origin. Identities and the political discourses in which they are enacted are in constant flux without stable core realities. The truth of any given situation or identity is always at issue:

> This is not a priori knowledge but dialogically constructed. This sites difference *within* a political system, not *between* them. By textually working through this recognition, portions of truth are made. This is different to dialectical models where the opposite is acknowledged and fought through enunciations.[302]

Bhabha shifts the analytical register from a materialist focus into the realms of representation, setting aside the pedagogical for the performative. In the process, the loosening of an antagonistic binary sets up a productive uncertainty. The view from the castle window is not hostile, and the streets below are not threatening.

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[301] See Williams, 38.
[302] 35. Emphasis in original.

The subjects occupying both sites continually and mutually construct one another. The photograph, rather than anchoring any ideological certainty, reveals its contingency. Compounding this contingency is the radicality that stereoscopy was bringing to bear on the optical regimes of photography. Where the photographer and her subjects mutually constitute each other through the production and consumption of images of the townscape, stereoscopy's shattering of extant protocols in the photographic encounter destabilises the framework further.

One of a stereo pair of images is shown in figure 15, depicting a view of the castle from the bank of the River Camcor looking east. The picturesque framing of the building by the foreground trees is horizontally traversed by the pedestrian suspension bridge. Ireland's first such bridge, built in 1826, and possibly one of Europe's now oldest surviving suspension bridges, it ruptures the conventionality of the picturesque scene in its technological modernity.[303] On the surface, the consonant relationship between the castle and its surrounding nature synthesises the elements smoothly into picturesque convention. However, the harmony is under pressure and beginning to fragment. The suspension bridge itself, a mathematically-led intervention into the demesne's built environment, looks forward into the post-Napoleonic century, while the castle's form seems hunched and locked to the past. The telltale blur of the foliage at top left indicates a tension between connotations of Arcadian timelessness and the restless time of the photographic instant. The tree is shaking with life before, during and after the shuttered moment, where the camera betrays its own limitations in passages of monochrome abstraction.

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[303] See listing for *Chain Bridge, Birr, County Offaly* in the National Inventory of Architectural Heritage online: http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=OF&regno=14819263. Accessed 28 April 2019.

This slice of time is complicated by the optical experience of stereoscopic photographic image being paradigmatically separate from that of the monoscopic. Crary writes, "[if] perspective implied a homogenous and potentially metric space, the stereoscope discloses a fundamentally disunified and aggregate field of disjunct elements".[304] Citing Gilles Deleuze's account of 'Riemann Space',[305] Crary describes how "our eyes follow a choppy and erratic path into its depth", where the Euclidean space of monocular perspectival imaging is shredded, never to "coalesce into a homogenous field".[306] The experience is one where the eyes move around a visual (not pictorial) space, alighting on compositional moments, some of which "occupy space aggressively".[307] Crary continues, "[if] photography preserved an ambivalent (and superficial) relation to the codes of monocular space and geometric perspective, the relation of the stereoscope to these older forms was one of annihilation, not compromise".[308] He argues that this perceptual rupture was sharper and deeper than it appears from today's perspective, whereby, "The stereoscope as a means of representation was inherently obscene in the most literal sense. It shattered the scenic relationship between viewer and object that was intrinsic to the fundamentally theatrical setup of the camera obscura".[309] In addition to disrupting the visual spaces produced through photography, stereoscopy in its presentation (through viewing devices) exerted a control over embodied vision. The human eye, head and body had to orient themselves to the image, and when in position, the subject was delivered into a new optical reality – a radical intervention in the landscape rendering a visual experience that destabilises the field of vision and everything in it, including its maker. The combination of a destabilising optical jolt from the novel encounter, with the double inscription of the Anglo-Irish subject position takes this stereoscopic image from being an initially smooth invocation of the pastoral to manifesting a disruptive visual force in the place and time it was produced.

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[304] 1992, 125.

[305] After the nineteenth-century German mathematician Georg Riemann.

[306] 1992, 125.

[307] Ibid.

[308] Ibid.

[309] Ibid., 127.

Through numerous photographs of the Leviathan telescope, Mary Parsons documented the world's then most famous scientific instrument. In figure 16 we see the crisp informational clarity of the image, taken in strong sunlight from a three-quarter angle in 1857. The massive telescope tube is in its resting position, showing the arc of its metal rotational track attached to the far wall. Various cables, ladders, gantries, counter-weights and fixtures speak to its technical complexity, while a group of foreground figures give human scale to the composition. The telescope's fortified walls, with mature climbing plants, combine with the well-dressed figures to connote the social position of the machine's owners. Sharp daylight models the scene with indexical facticity, allowing the viewer to glean as much knowledge of the structure as possible from the picture surface. The instrument's materiality hints at the levels of resources required for high-level astronomical research at the time. The rapt attention to detail in the image evidences the rapid improvements in photographic technologies in their first eighteen years in the public domain. This visual progress has an echo within critical studies in the history of the medium. Benjamin's work on photography, where he links Marxian commodity fetishism to Heideger's ideas "which ascribe the age of modernity to the unfurling of the essence of technology", is a moment that Rancière identifies as key.[310]

The technology at the heart of Parsonstown Castle's scientific reputation broke new ground in its field, attracting leading astronomers to book time on its viewing platforms. The three-ton mirror enabled scientists to see further into space than ever before, and with greater clarity. The light-year as a unit of distance was understood, but not used officially due to the imprecise understanding of light's speed, and its role as a universal constant. However, astronomers did understand that light took years to reach the earth from even the nearest stars beyond the sun, and that looking up was looking into the past. These observations made the concept of time pliable. The combination of visual data and mathematics was radically transforming natural philosophy. Parsons' images of the telescope compound the radicality of its own new scopic regimes. Through her images' stereoscopic disruption of Euclidean space, her viewers see technology digging at the foundations of the Newtonian universe, where investigating the matter of existence destabilises conceptions of reality. The consequent impact was an unmooring of existing ontological orthodoxies. A photograph of the telescope in its landscape becomes a meditation on time. In its capacity to alarm, the image manifests an early photographic technological sublime.[311] Where Edmund Burke had identified nature as the source of terror experienced through sensory overload, the nineteenth century saw enormous forces of nature being controlled and mediated through technology.[312] The organic natural world, previously assumed a product of a supernatural being, was mined and quarried, as capital drove technology into every corner where profit was latent. The transformation of the material into commodities and experiences made the sublime a product of labour, conferring increasing dominion over nature, and excessive power to the industrialist.[313] Mary Parsons, through her photography, made visually manifest the complicated semantic sphere into which Irish art and culture was beginning to move. As an Anglo-Irish figure in colonial Ireland, she made works which both depicted and embodied technical modernity, against the backdrop of an increasingly capitalistic society. The works themselves combined within modernity to challenge and destabilise pre-existing modes of perception. The embodied experience of viewing landscape was overhauled, while the viewing subject itself was reconstituted. The shockwaves emanated strongly outwards from Parsonstown Castle.

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[310] 2004, 27.

[311] Mary Parsons made a comparable image a year earlier, showing a family group arranged around the castle's electricity-generating water wheel. Its rapt focus on another substantial engineering artifact demonstrates that her photographic thinking was radically modern, and consciously connecting material realities to the immaterial forces at work in transforming lived experience in the 1850s. See Davison, 1989, 13, Plate 10.

The developments in Irish art photography in the middle decades of the nineteenth century were in step with those in other western European countries, when examined in terms of formal and technical innovation. Improvements in lens, camera, plate and paper, led to larger and clearer images which used shorter exposures to capture incrementally reduced slices of time. New visual regimes within the evolving conventions of the two-dimensional photograph revealed things never seen before, to larger audiences. The consensus-building structures of photographic societies, exhibitions and competitions mimicked their precursors in painting. Class interests were served through these structures, against a backdrop of the increasingly commoditised popular forms of photography being consumed by wider audiences. In the Irish context, some of the underlying disjunctions between British and local culture were extended into the realm of photographic imaging of landscape.

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[312] See Gibbons, 2004, for an account of the connections between Burke's ideas and colonial Ireland.
[313] For the technological sublime's background and origins, see Miller, Leo Marx, and Nye.

Coghill and his peers transferred, but failed to translate, the English pastoral into an Irish idyll. The romantic ideology of the work he championed was a poor fit for a country that was industrially underdeveloped, and coming out of a profound trauma. The elite photographic consensus that grew around his ideas used 'taste' in a way that masked a cultural fissure. Extending from this period, the destabilisation of the idea of Irish landscape as a cohesive representation of nation left a gap. Into this gap rushed the contending counter-narratives of nation proposed by the emergent politics of land agitation. The reorganisation of land ownership after the Famine weakened the system of political power built on primogeniture. As the system began to collapse it pulled with it the narrow nationality assigned to the Ascendancy, opening up a politcal and cultural space for another narrow nationality to seize the public sphere. One of the drivers of this process was the establishment of capitalist logic across the country's physical spaces, dissolving long-standing physiocratic logic as it insinuated itself into the lives of the population. Simultaneously, cheap commodity forms of photography for mass audiences were undermining photography as an artisanal pursuit. The aesthetic regime maintained within elite photographic discourses belied the fact that Coghill's picturesque was not enough to cover the cultural fault lines being exposed in its romantic ideology.

When Hemphill made photographs of his home area, he sought to seduce the uninitiated viewer into the local landscape through images replete with historical, religious and aesthetic components. Though he was clearly engaged with the modernising forces at work in the geographic and social spaces he photographed, the overall effect was one in which Ireland was catalysed into a technologised visual spectacle of collodion prints and stereoscopic views. Operating in and around the Anglo-Irish Big House, his work fused particular historical narratives with precision-engineered visual modernity. The results were parsed through novel optical experiences into a closed social space determined by class. One of the effects was to reinforce the established order of public and private spaces in the landscape, confirming the assigned subject positions of those pictured. His images, a curious mix of technological innovation and thematic conservatism, leak hints of the changes to come. Technology was unfolding into a national sphere which was determinedly backward-looking in its romantic preoccupations. Two mutually antagonistic nationalisms were consolidating on the island, with both sides class-ridden and conservative, economically and socially. As the past was being harnessed by competing national narratives, its putative purity became more tenuous. Using history to shore up contending narratives revealed its insufficiency, in the face of the reordering of time and space by new technologies. The pastoral conventions of landscape, which hold together within the walls of the estate, begin to be erased by new photographic representations of dock workers, trains, railway labourers, passengers and gas lamp maintenance crews. Hemphill's landscape images become part of the rationalisation of the landscape into new forms of time, space and experience. The Anglo-Irish camera-man is himself the locus of multiple contradictions, manifesting the unstable colonial figure examining the land laid out in front of him. The inscription of biblical tableaux onto the fields in itself shows the porosity of any attempt to seal the past into the present. The displaced workers stand in view, arms folded, witnessing their own erasure. But the bigger transformation is going on across the landscape as physiocratic logic melts into air. The guns on the bridge will maintain order, while the basis of the order is radically changing.

Within the photographs produced by Mary Parsons is all the complexity visible in the work of Coghill and Hemphill. But Parsons was interested in a different approach. Parsonstown was a locus for the advancement of science, while also being a hub of establishment social and political connections. In her work there was little appeal to the pastoral, or concern for galvanising the past as a buttress against the future. At the same time there was no challenge to the socio-political status quo. One of her main interests was with the most advanced scientific research of her time, and she made images that celebrated what was contemporary and progressive in that sphere. She used visual technology to show visual technology, in crisp and sharply focused compositions. When the Famine forced suspension of her scientific work, Parsons redirected the resources of the castle's scientific projects into support for Famine-relief work. Upon returning to science and taking up photography after the disaster, this process became inscribed upon the images in their indexical rendering of some of the products of the programme – though as detail in images that reinforced the social, religious and political dimensions of castle life. What becomes clear in her work is the attention she paid to the forward-looking aspects of estate life. The innovative nature of the suspension bridge, the hydro-electric generator and the Leviathan telescope on the grounds was foregrounded in her work. While combining these futuristic objects into her compositions she also used stereoscopy, which in itself was a paradigm shift in photographic representation, reconfiguring optical space and controlling the viewer in an early virtual reality. The interweaving of conventional visual compositions with wholly novel optical experiences brings her work beyond any easy category of 'Big House Photography' – into a space where the double-inscription of the Anglo-Irish subjectivity produces image sets that redefine the visual and the viewer.

The Leviathan telescope itself, anchored in the landscape, had begun to destabilise the Newtonian ontologies, which had themselves already shaken theological explanations of existence. Images of the telescope and surrounding estate destabilised the viewing subject throught their annihilation of conventional optical experience. The novel spaces conjured by her stereoscopy rendered an out-of-the-way corner of Irish countryside into a futuristic topography. Parsons' proto-machine vision invoked a new material sublime, where post-enlightenment rationalism had the power to invoke awe. She operated in the Anglo-Irish social sphere, and won prizes at prestigious photographic exhibitions where her work sat comfortably in the elite consensus shared with Coghill and Hemphill. But Parsons' images foreshadowed a different set of threats to romantic Ireland – the cascading implications of technical modernity as it intersected with cultural identity.

Conclusion

The consequences of the collision of culture with the proliferation of new technologies in the second half of the nineteenth century in Ireland was to be immense. Empirical histories delineate the social, political and religious forces that shaped national discourses through the words and actions of particular individuals and groups. Attention to the photographic can yield other readings, at an angle to the empirical. Dry plate photography was introduced in the 1870s, followed soon afterwards by celluloid photographic film and – via Kodak – the first truly consumer-friendly photographic processes. The end of the dominant artisanal photograph was brought about by the mediatisation of public discourses and commoditisation of photographic languages, producing a public realm that was very different to that of the immediate post-Famine period. The two decades following the Famine saw a set of political developments that harnessed the disaffection of the dispossessed and the emigré, and connected it to questions of access to land. As this dissident viewpoint began to abrade the dominant public discourse, all sides turned to new mediatised channels of communication to make their case. In the chapter that follows I will argue that, through an analysis of the events surrounding New Tipperary during the Plan of Campaign, the multiple small acts of dissensus through photography gave visual form to the rejection of assigned subject positions. Through photographic images, Rancière's model of 'police' and 'politics' supersedes the push and pull of dialectical progress, or competing nationalisms. We see a dissensual 'foaming' within the fabric of historical time made visual – where photographs isolate particular moments to be picked apart – revealing the contending strands of its representations.

Chapter Four

Visualising the Rise and Fall of New Tipperary

Introduction

In the late 1880s, the Ponsonby estate near Youghal in County Cork became a front line in the Plan of Campaign organised by the Irish National League.[1] The campaign supported tenants in a rent strike, which brought the estate to a crisis point in 1889. Arthur Smith-Barry became the head of a government-supported landlord syndicate formed to support the Ponsonby estate in facing down the Plan of Campaign.[2] As a result, Smith-Barry's own estate in Tipperary town became a target for the campaign. Smith-Barry's tenants went on rent strike in July 1889, led by local priests and businessmen – some of whom had up to then acted as middlemen in the landlord's estate management processes.[3] The most significant aspect of the protest was the migration of tenants from their homes and businesses to newly constructed houses and buildings just outside the town, on land recently bought from the Stafford O'Brien family.[4] Building work on *New Tipperary* commenced on 18 November 1889, days after tenants had removed belongings from their rental properties in anticipation of evictions, which subsequently began on 2 December. A local Catholic priest, the Reverend David Humphreys, was a leader of the local campaign. A former professor of logic at St. Patrick's College in Thurles, he walked (and talked) a fine line between theology, law and popular sentiment in Tipperary at the time. Because of his outspoken and radical stance, he became the subject of police surveillance, termed 'Shadowing'.

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[1] See the National University of Ireland Galway, Landed Estates Database: "In the mid 19th century the Ponsonby estate was located in the parishes of Ardagh, Clonpriest, Killeagh, Kilmacdonogh and Youghal, barony of Imokilly, County Cork. In the 1870s C.W.T. Ponsonby of Park House, Youghal, owned 10,367 acres in County Cork."

[2] Smith-Barry was educated at Eton and Oxford and owned 19,000 acres at Fota in Cork and 8,620 acres in Tipperary. He was High Sheriff of Cork at the time of his appointment. The landlord syndicate pooled financial resources to sustain the estate while evicting striking tenants. See d'Alton.

[3] See Marnane, 370.

[4] The Tenants' Defence Association was set up in late October 1889 when the National League was suppressed earlier that month in Tipperary and its surrounding parishes. In 1894, the land was bought by William O'Brien, reputedly funded by his wealthy Russian wife Sophie Raffalovich, and held in trust until the establishment of the Irish Free State. See Marnane, 377. Marnane's work is a detailed account of events leading up to and during the New Tipperary campaign.

Two sets of photographs taken in Tipperary in 1890 show how photography was becoming enmeshed in an increasingly mediatised society, and how that mediatisation was politically charged. The first set was made in late March or early April 1890 by Robert French, the lead photographer for the Lawrence Company in Dublin's Sackville Street.[5] These images were to become important reference points in the contemporaneous debates that surrounded New Tipperary, mediated through parliament, newspapers and lantern slide shows. The second set of images was made by Patrick O'Brien MP, who used his Kodak camera to document police shadowing and photographic surveillance of Humphreys in the streets of Tipperary.[6] These modern photographic practices represent a migration of the affective power in Irish photography away from elite galleries and salons, and into the streets of cities, towns and villages. The capacity of photographic art practices, exemplified by the work of the members of the Photographic Society of Ireland, to dominate ideological and aesthetic discourses around imaging of place and landscape was obliterated at this new intersection of technology, capitalism, and Ireland's competing nationalisms. The photographs considered below generated meaning in ways that were wholly new in the 1890s, and that reverberate through today's encounters with visual representations of Irish landscape. During French's career, his images were reproduced in large numbers as prints, postcards and lantern slides to satisfy market demand. The market comprised private citizens, political organisations, commercial lantern-slide companies, advertisers, newspapers and magazines.[7] This market for photographs was a new force in Irish culture, with the images unmoored from unique presentational contexts, and instead made to proliferate across multiple channels. Through O'Brien's images, the industrially-produced Kodak camera superseded expensive photography equipment, which had up to then dominated the production of photographic images. In the new consumer-driven regime, photographs were taken, and the user's Kodak camera and its exposed celluloid film were posted to an affiliated laboratory, where prints were made. These were then sent to the user, along with the camera, which was reloaded with a fresh roll of film – producing a new economic relationship between wider sections of society and photographic companies. The exponential increase in the numbers of photographic images being produced this way had an impact on basic assumptions about the visual recording of events. Individuals could now generate their own history, and produce their own archives, to be experienced in private. Walter Benjamin critically examined the relationship between an image's moment of production and its moment of reception, to argue for its novel capacity to represent history meaningfully:

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[5] See Carville, 2005 and 2007(b) for an account of the Lawrence Company and its work. See also Kissane, 2017, for a brief biographical account of French.

[6] See McGee, for a brief biographical account of O'Brien.

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[7] Kissane describes how French "travelled throughout the country, identifying and photographing appropriate subjects, generating stocks of negatives from which Lawrence's printers produced multiple images for sale in the medium of prints, stereoscopic views, and lantern slides. The images were also widely used in commercial advertising and in publications designed for the tourist market, particularly in the extensive postcard trade that Lawrence developed in the late 1890s" (2017, no pagination).

> It's not what is past casts its light on what is present, or what is present its light on what is past; rather, an image is that wherein what has been comes together in a flash with the now to form a constellation. In other words, image is dialectics at a standstill. For while the relation of the present to the past is a purely temporal, continuous one, the relation of what-has-been to the now is dialectical; is not progression but image, suddenly emergent. – Only dialectical images are genuine images (that is, not archaic).[8]

Benjamin does not account for the subjectivity of the viewer, or the slippage that pervades poststructuralist analyses of author and reader.[9] Subsequently Barthes' concepts of the *studium*, as photography's evidentiary mode, and *punctum*, as its subjective hermeneutic mode, are followed by Rancière's argument for the indexicality of the photographic composition being coupled with its always-unavailable narrative.[10] In an account of images from 1890, it is productive to allow these multiple contending analytical modes to coexist and operate across the visual field, to elaborate on how the photographs were put to work at the time, and how we can understand them now. The images, then and since, have very rarely been presented unmediated by contextual cues, prompts and paratexts, such as catalogue descriptions, image captions and titles, introductory essays and so on – usually produced by those putting the images into circulation, for their own purposes. In the context of New Tipperary at the time, many of these purposes were expressly political.

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[8] 2002, 462.

[9] See Spivak, 1997, xiv, and Bhabha, 154.

[10] Rancière's concept is almost the opposite of the *punctum*, as was argued in Chapter Three, above. See Rancière, 2007, 11, and Barthes 1982.

The political backdrop to the events at New Tipperary was both national and international. Fenianism was revivifying Irish romantic nationalism, with its bases in the renewed post-Famine Catholic middle classes. The synthesis of agrarian agitation and nationalism triggered a sustained rupture to land ownership models built upon historic Anglo-Irish primogeniture. From Michael Davitt's socialist agenda, to William Gladstone's proposed purchase schemes, extant systems of Irish land ownership were shifting. Judith Hill points out that during the period from 1853 to 1880, between the Famine and the Land War, nationalism was ill-defined and politics was dominated by "drains and cash" rather than "repeal and reform".[11] Writing in 1855, Marx had described how, "[in] the course of this revolution the Irish agricultural system is being replaced by the English system, the system of small tenures by big tenures, and the modern capitalist is taking the place of the old landowner".[12] In the mid-century, a plurality of political perspectives began to coalesce. While Fenianism tied Irish land politics to the nationalism of Wolf Tone, Davitt connected it to Chartism by exploiting the residual ill-will directed towards the Anglo-Irish in post-Famine Ireland.[13] Foster identifies the culmination of this process in the organisation of tenant resistance through the establishment of the Land League in 1879.[14] He is precise on the reasons why, arguing that the early 1870s were prosperous years for Irish farmers, with good prices achieved on good crop yields produced in good weather over consecutive summers. From 1876 to 1879 bad summer weather delivered the opposite. In 1879, he states: “Potato production had fallen by three quarters, and starvation loomed in the west, where, significantly, earnings from migrant labour also plummeted disastrously because of contemporary recession in Britain”.[15] When the Irish National League succeeded the banned Land League in 1882, the prioritisation of land reform was conjoined to Home Rule and franchise-expansion campaigns – further strengthening the connection of land reform to ideas of nationhood.

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[11] 56.

[12] Marx and Engels, 76.

[13] Peter Gray writes: "Many of the proposals aired in the 1840s resurfaced subsequently in various configurations; the Prussian land model was incorporated into Land League rhetoric in the 1870s, and in 1882 Michael Davitt revived the idea of a waste-land reclamation scheme, financed by a land tax, to settle the labourers as peasant proprietors. The superiority of tillage farming to pasture, which was a central (if highly ambiguous) element of nationalist-agrarian rhetoric in the century following the Famine, also owed its emotional and moral power to the experience, either direct or inherited through popular tradition, of the Famine years" (1999, 337). Ó Ciosáin describes how O'Connellism was led from 'above' by a literate elite, while land agitation from the 1870s was led from 'below' by a literate middle and working class (1997, 213).

[14] Marx described the Land League as having been founded "by Irish revolutionary democrats in 1879" (1971, 317). See also Slater & McDonough, 44, for an account of how successive land acts changed the economic and political landscape.

At the same time, rapid advances were continuing in photographic and communications technologies. The late 1870s saw the inception of commercially viable dry-plate photography and Frederick Ives’s half-tone printing process. Dry plate photography led to the development of hand-held cameras, celluloid film, and later, moving image technologies. Ives’s innovation (in a field where others were working in a similar vein) provided the means to print photographic reproductions cheaply in newspapers and magazines using a pattern of very fine ink dots to give the appearance of continuous tone – a technology still in use today.[16] Telegraphy was simultaneously transforming conceptions of space and time. The UK’s telegraphy services were nationalised and rationalised in 1870, slashing the prices charged to users.[17] Australia and South America were connected to other regions by cable in 1871 and 1874 respectively. Over the following ten years the continent of Africa was connected in stages. The practicalities of communicating across great distances made necessary the *Definition of Time Act* of 1880 – a step towards globalised conceptions of terrestrial time and space. Telegraphy transformed news reporting, with information from across the world becoming available to growing readerships. These advances were continually reshaping the means through which Irish society understood itself and its diaspora, producing a novel and dynamic mediascape.[18] Morash writes: "In short, Irish nationalism assumed its modern form in a period during which the media was undergoing a profound period of transformation that made a national media possible".[19]

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[15] 402-3. Foster also summarises the wider context: “A generation of upheaval in land ownership, religious ascendancy and nationalist politics logically culminates in the emergence of an Irish Home Rule party at Westminster” (1988, 399).

[16] Dr Richard Leach Maddox developed dry plate photography, which was first marketed by Wratten and Wainwright of Croydon in 1878. See Chandler 1989, 36. See also Bjelkhagen (on Ives), Cycleback (on half-tone printing), and Ward (on dry plate photography).

The proliferation of mechanically reproduced photographic images increased on a massive scale with the adoption of half-tone printing by magazines and newspapers. The transformation in the public understanding of photographic images, from that of artisanal or semi-industrial object to a mass-produced piece of ephemera, was a turning point in visual culture. The influence of elite photographic societies became limited to the salons in which they operated, while more significant developments in photography took place outside of these circles, on different terms. The introduction of ephemeral public photographs (combined with the success of the Kodak camera in producing private photography) ushered in the era of the photographic commodity. For the first time, photographs were produced with an intentionally short life span. These 'throwaway' print images lacked the aura of the treasured image-object, but widened the scope of photography's communicative power.[20] A central conceptual problematic of the photographic image is, in Marxian terms, one of its most important qualities. That is, the commodity fetish obscures the material relationships between human beings, but the photo-commodity (print, postcard, slide, news-photo) does so while ostensibly communicating facts through its indexical image surface.[21] The photograph simultaneously reveals a version of reality through its surface, and conceals another dimension of reality through its elision of the material relationships between individuals. The commodity form's doubling of the image's mystificatory power is at the core of its problematic. This dual function underpins the hermeneutic dualities that are to be found in the photo-theoretical work of Benjamin, Barthes and Rancière. Their work brings us on a series of post-Marxist trajectories within the field of cultural studies, with Marx's seminal concept of the commodity fetish at its foundation. In New Tipperary, the 'Divine Trinity' of Marx's political economic theory – land, labour and capital – were engaged in a tense dialectical phase change, with the action played out in front of cameras.[22]

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[17] See Morash, 2010, 88.
[18] See Morash, 2010, 86.
[19] Ibid.,90.

The Land Act of 1881 had established a system of dual ownership and tribunals to fix rent levels, reconciling landlords to the sale of lands, while tenant politics became more engaged with nationalism.[23] The momentum of nationalism in parliamentary politics reached a crucial juncture through the results of the 1885 general election. The outcome gave the Liberals 319 seats and the Conservatives 247, with the Irish Parliamentary Party's 86 MPs holding the balance of power between the two main parties. Charles Stewart Parnell took the opportunity to push Irish Home Rule to the top of Prime Minister Gladstone's agenda. Parliamentary efforts towards Home Rule split the Liberal Party, and the subsequent election saw Gladstone and Parnell out of power in 1886. At this point, some of Parnell's more radically-minded supporters advanced land agitation through the Plan of Campaign, a renewed Land War under a new name. Led by William O'Brien and John Dillon, the Plan targeted particular estates with coordinated rent strikes, and provided material support to tenants who were evicted as a result.[24] As events unfolded at the Ponsonby estate in Cork and the Smith-Barry estate in Tipperary, local curate Humphreys described the Plan "as the only practical method by which Irish tenants can defend themselves against rackrenting landlords".[25] The building of New Tipperary became a manifestation of emboldened Irish nationalism as it morphed into a modern phenomenon – produced by, and producing, mediatised narratives via text and image, transmitted by telegraph and popular press, funded by the international diaspora, and made material through new architectural ideas and forms.[26] A signal embodiment of this dynamic was the centrepiece arcade in New Tipperary, named after William O'Brien. The iron, glass, wood and stone structure was at once a modern space, while at the same time communally dissident in its operation. It projected elements of urban modernity into the townscape, combining with rural Irish conventions.[27]

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[20] Walter Benjamin's essay, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* remains a seminal text on this phenomenon.

[21] For the foundational account of the commodity fetish, see Marx 1990, Chapter One, Part Four, "The Fetishism of the Commodity and its Secret", 163-177.

[22] See Colletti, 38, for an outline of this term's inception.

[23] See Vaughan, 36. Dwan writes, "According to Lecky, for instance, Gladstone's land reform of 1881 was 'an attack on the principle of property more radical than any measure of the French Revolution, or even of the Reign of Terror'" (114).

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[24] Both members of Parnell's Irish Parliamentary Party, O'Brien was MP for Cork North-East, and Dillon was MP for Mayo West.

[25] Marnane, 368.

[26] Marnane describes it as being built, "with a high input of voluntary labour and much attention from the nationalist press" (371). The *Freeman's Journal* described "The town that rivals Oklahoma in the suddenness of its uprise. A couple of months ago the land on which it stood resembled a section of the Manchester Ship Canal, gigantic earthworks, piles of bricks, stacks of planks and heaps of lime encumbered the ground". "Easter Monday in Tipperary", *Freeman's Journal*, 8 April 1890, 5. *British Library Newspapers*. Accessed 28 September 2018.

French's arrival in Tipperary to document the new arcade and surrounding streets was part of the modern mediatisation of nationalist politics. The project needed the oxygen of publicity in order to raise additional funds. News outlets required content to fill their expanding pages. Growing readerships sought information from across the country and beyond, to contextualise their own lives in a rapidly changing world. Multiple constituencies wanted visual evidence of the stories being told, and photographs told parts of the story, 'proving' its truth. As French's images were transformed into prints for sale, lantern slides for exhibition, and reference material for illustrations in the popular press, their polyvalent functions enacted the Marxian dual function at the heart of late nineteenth-century photography. Compounding the photographic complexity of that moment are the dissident photographic acts of Patrick O'Brien, as he produced counter-surveillance photographs of police shadowing the Plan of Campaign organisers using the popular new compact camera. His subsequent use of the images, projected as spectacular propaganda at Westminster, demonstrates a keen awareness of the strategic power of photographic images. The Kodak company's celebration of the commercial value of these actions, represents another dimension of photography's commoditisation unique to the 1890s. When the New Tipperary campaign failed, many tenants returned to their holdings, and Smith-Barry had the arcade razed. Its spectral presence endures through its irrevocable political impact, and is re-energised by each encounter with its photographic trace.

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[27] The building was 207 feet long, 78 wide and 40 high. It contained 26 shop stalls measuring 20 by 15 feet. See Davitt, 420.

The New Town and its Images

Until the 1880s the majority of Irish MPs were re-elected unopposed. The Land League changed this.[28] When the Irish National League was established, in October 1882, with a wider remit than the Land League, to include separatist nationalism, it gained the support of much of the Irish Catholic Church. This support strengthened the League, which also had the weight of the agrarian wing of the Irish Parliamentary Party behind it, led by Dillon and William O'Brien. When the Plan of Campaign was launched, it was framed as an attempt to cope with recurring agricultural depression and the perceived inadequacies of recent land legislation.[29] The Plan was put into effect on more than one hundred estates and succeeded in winning concessions on most of them.[30] The threat to the political status quo in Ireland posed by the Plan and its mass support was significant, and establishment forces mobilised against it. Parnell repudiated the Plan, as it undermined his commitment to parliamentary strategies after the 1886 election.[31] The Irish Coercion Act of 1887 instigated draconian powers on behalf of government, police and courts in relation to campaign activities and raised the temperature in the country around tenants' rights.[32] The Vatican weighed in against the campaign (at the instigation of the British government) in 1888, but was rebuffed by the sections of the Irish Catholic hierarchy supporting the campaign. Many priests were members of the National League. Davitt's views on nationalising land were becoming marginalised within the movement, as he decried the land purchase systems as "a gigantic swindle of public funds as well as an anti-home rule enterprise".[33] The more extreme supporters of the Plan sought the maximum number of evictions – for propaganda purposes – and only supported tenants after their evictions had taken place, to avoid funds being used simply to pay rent. Foster argues that the Land League, and subsequently the National League, became more stolid middle-class organisations as their power centres migrated east and south during the 1880s.[34] This 'embourgeoisement' of the movement brought its own internal political struggles, with larger farmers looking to grow within the capitalist system, at a cost to smaller farmers who were seeking security in hard times.[35] Similarly, grocers, publicans and other middle-class business people had agendas that undermined the labourer and small tenant farmer. The politics that cohered around the Plan "reinforced the politicization of rural Catholic nationalist Ireland, partly by defining that identity against urbanization, landlordism, Englishness and – implicitly – Protestantism".[36]

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[28] See Crossman, 109.

[29] The *United Ireland* newspaper published an unsigned article setting out the Plan of Campaign on 23 October 1886.

[30] See Marnane, 368.

[31] Foster, 1988, 413.

[32] The law was officially called the *Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act 1887*. On 9 September 1887, during disturbances at a political rally in Mitchelstown, the police killed three people by gunfire. The event garnered international attention and was labelled 'The Mitchelstown Massacre'.

When the Ponsonby estate was close to capitulating to the Plan's demands in February 1889, Smith-Barry was recruited to front the landlord syndicate created by the government to face down the tenant activists.[37] Canon Daniel Keller, who led the Ponsonby activists had described Smith-Barry as not a bad landlord, but the Plan moved against him via his Tipperary's tenants. On 18 June 1889 the most important of a series of public meetings, about evictions on the Ponsonby Estate, was held in Tipperary's Market Yard. William O'Brien spoke, and local people voted for rent-strike action in support of the Ponsonby tenants. A petition and deputation was sent to Smith-Barry in London on 3 July, led by Parish Priest Richard Cahill of Tipperary town, but it came to nothing. On 14 November Humphrey's formed a committee of Smith-Barry tenants, which began removing furniture and belongings from properties where tenants were about to be evicted. Four days later, work began on marking out sites for shops and houses in the west end of Tipperary town, on land bought from the Stafford O'Brien family. On 2 December the evictions began. Just over three weeks later, on Christmas Eve 1889, Captain William O'Shea filed for divorce from his wife Katharine, naming Parnell as co-respondent. As New Tipperary was being built, the seeds of its destruction were being sown.

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[33] Foster, 1988, 415.
[34] See Ibid., 410.
[35] See Ibid., 411.
[36] Ibid.
[37] See Marnane, 369.

The William O'Brien Arcade opened on 12 April 1890.[38] It was designed by Robert Gill and modelled on Dublin's South City Market (known today as George's Street Arcade), which had opened in 1881.[39] The opening of New Tipperary was "attended by priests, a large number of M.P.s and the lord mayors of Dublin and Cork", while excursions to New Tipperary were organised from several parts of

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[38] Some estimates stated that £30k had been spent on the building programme. See Marnane, 371. Davitt argued that this figure was an exaggeration made by opponents of the project, who were seeking to play down the local and voluntary effort involved in the work. See Davitt, 420.

[39] Gill, architect of much of New Tipperary, was engineer and later assistant Tipperary county surveyor and town surveyor of Nenagh from around 1900 until 1922. See Archiseek entry for New Tipperary.

Ireland.[40] In the weeks preceding the opening of the arcade, French arrived to make photographs of the project.[41] Four of these images are held in the National Photographic Archive in Dublin.[42] The design of the William O'Brien Arcade was a modern intersection between capital and architecture, a high-tech new commercial space for a revolutionary social formation – while at the same time serving local agrarian and commercial imperatives. Urban met rural inside the arcade on its butter market day. In figure 17 we see scores of people in the arcade's central space, with dozens of barrels of butter arranged in rows across the floor.[43] The crowd of men, women and children are vendors, buyers and administrators. Having been evicted, they had recently migrated their business to this space, boycotting the main market place in Tipperary town, which remained under the control of Smith Barry.[44] Benjamin writes, "[the] most characteristic building projects of the nineteenth century – railroad stations, exhibition halls, department stores [...] all have matters of collective importance as their object".[45] As evidenced in the work of Hemphill, across Ireland, the appearance of train stations in rural towns was consolidating a national sense of modernity while at the same time energising modes of mobility and communication that were to accelerate nationalist discourses.[46] In New Tipperary the urgent political nature of the building project permeated the townspeople's experience of its domestic and commercial architecture in a novel way. Its architect, Robert Gill, was a brother of Thomas Patrick Gill, MP for South Louth, who was a friend of Parnell. The son of a civil engineer, Robert Gill was also father to Tomás Mac Giolla, the prominent Dublin Sinn Féin (and later Workers' Party) politician.

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[40] O'Shea, 101, cites the *Farmers' Journal* of 14 April 1890, *United Ireland* of 19 April 1890, *Tipperary People* of 18 April 1890 and *United Ireland* of 1 May 1890.

[41] See Carville, 2005, for background to the Lawrence Company's work and legacy. See Ibid., 112, for information on Robert French. See also Carville, 2008.

[42] Their call numbers are L_ROY_02571, L_ROY_02572, L_ROY_02573 and L_ROY_02574.

[43] Davitt described the centre of the arcade as "a Butter Exchange, large enough for a display of 2,000 firkins. It may be remarked here, incidentally, that over 20,000lbs of butter is sold every week in the Tipperary Market, from April to November – the time thus embraced comprising what is called the butter season in this district" (420).

[44] See Marnane, 371.

[45] 2002, 455.

[46] See Chapter Three, above.

The contingent nature of the arcade's butter market reflected the ambitions of the Plan of Campaign. The market's activities in the new space were an emphatic statement of opposition to Smith-Barry, whose empty market space nearby amplified the political message being played out in the town's public spaces. Susan Buck-Morss describes "arcades as dream- and wish-image of the collective".[47] Here she is reshaping Benjamin's assertion that arcades "are houses or passages having no outside – like the dream".[48] Buck-Morss frames the idea as one of political aspiration – the arcade as a hopeful space with an unstable teleology. Benjamin's analysis spirals inwards, where the political implications of the space and its activities are isolated from a possible synthesis with external factors. There is an implicit solipsism to the Benjaminian dream space. However, both accounts foreshadow the eventual destruction of this arcade – where the materiality of the space is erased, but the ideas unleashed by its dream continue. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin write that, for Benjamin, "[the] nineteenth century was the collective dream which we, its heirs, were obliged to reenter, as patiently and minutely as possible, in order to follow out its ramifications and, finally, awaken from it".[49] Within this obligation, they continue, he considered arcades "the most important architectural form of the nineteenth century".[50] For Benjamin, the Parisian arcades of the nineteenth century were sites where the capitalist dream was crystalised, through the elaborate enthronement of commodities, producing a mesmeric, kaleidoscopic experience. Citizen became consumer. The Tipperary arcade was a world away from the genteel indoor streets of central Paris, but through its visual and architectural forms, it alluded to the economic progress and sophistication represented by such spaces.

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[47] 110.
[48] 2002, 406.
[49] ix.

Apart from the arcade, the New Tipperary project comprised 57 houses on Dillon Street and Parnell Street, 26 timber houses on Bansha Road, seven timber cottages on Galbally Road, seven rural cottages, and 200 acres of land nearby rented for livestock.[51] Significant capital investment over several months of building represented a huge material demonstration of Plan of Campaign politics and economic power. David Dwan writes, "[reflecting] on the Land League campaign in Ireland, Thomas Webb, a professor of law at Trinity, insisted that Parnell's followers, with Gladstone's blessing, 'have proclaimed a war of extermination against the landlords, as ruthless as that proclaimed against the French proprietors by the Jacobins of France'".[52] Webb was writing in 1886, just as the Plan was being launched, and his words reflect the Dublin establishment's fears around the Land War and Plan of Campaign. Foster explains the basis of the Dublin elite's apprehension. He states that through Gladstone's disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869, and his Land Act of 1870 bringing in some forms of the Land League's 'Three Fs', the prime minister "had interfered with property rights;

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[50] Ibid.
[51] See Marnane, 372.
[52] 114.

his theoretical principles of compensation implicitly admitted the Irish tenant's *moral* property in his holding".[53] This implicit moral entitlement was something understood by the National League's popular support, and exploited by the significant clerical support for the Plan.[54] James O'Shea writes: "[the] priests' involvement in the Plan was a valuable asset to the national promoters, and seemed to guarantee its morality. Their actual role varied, and was of sufficient importance to provoke the arrest and imprisonment of some".[55] The scale of this clerical support is evident in the statistics. The National League had 1262 branches by January 1886. Its membership was largely middle class and one third of its members were Catholic priests. Across the Catholic Church in Ireland there was a range of opinions expressed about the Plan of Campaign, with some opposition voiced. However, the Plan had some powerful advocates. Archbishop Thomas Croke of Cashel and Emly was a firm supporter, and deflected criticism levelled at priests' involvement with the Plan.[56]

Frawley points out that the Land League "was founded at an O'Connell Street, Dublin meeting. Only one member of the executive was a farmer, and he was also a politician. Three of the seven executives were Members of Parliament, and four were active Fenians".[57] She continues: "From the beginning the Land League was in control of a national, political and urban leadership rather than a local, agrarian and rural one".[58] Clerical and urban middle-class power within nationalist politics was consolidated through the Plan of Campaign. New Tipperary's architectural spaces reflected their values, particularly the arcade, which transposed an urban commercial vision – normally dedicated to fancy goods and luxuries – onto a rural community whose major trading focus was farm produce and everyday necessities. Buck-Morss reminds us that Benjamin's original subtitle for his *Arcades Project* was "A Dialectical Fairy Scene".[59] In this phrase Benjamin acknowledges a distinction between his approach to history and that of materialist historians. Buck-Morss tells us:

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[53] 397. Emphasis in original. The 'Three Fs' were Fair Rent, Free Sale and Fixity of Tenure.
[54] Foster also identifies how the National League "inherited the moral authority of the earlier organization. [i.e. the Land League]" (1988, 417).
[55] 94.
[56] Croke's early patronage of the Gaelic Athletic Association, from its inception in Thurles in 1884, was another dimension of his nationalist politics' linking of people and parish to collective activities – serving the romantic and cultural bases of the expanding nationalist movement.
[57] 172, n68.

> Marx had used the term 'phantasmagoria' to refer to the deceptive appearances of commodities as 'fetishes' in the marketplace [...] But for Benjamin, whose point of departure was a philosophy of historical experience rather than an economic analysis of capital, the key to the new urban phantasmagoria was not so much the commodity-in-the-market as the commodity-on-display.[60]

This focus on the commodity in its presentation risked an unmooring of analysis into a free-play of appearances and misrecognition. However, the linking of the word 'dialectical' to the phrase 'fairy scene' is apposite. The anomalous aspects of the William O'Brien Arcade, relative to Benjamin's 'enthronement' of merchandise in Parisian arcades, are productive. Where the French arcades' constellations of commodities dazzled the spectator into phantasmagorical reverie, the O'Brien

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[58] Ibid. Quoting McCartney, 73.
[59] 33. Eiland and McLaughlin, translate his term as "A Dialectical Fairyland" (ix).
[60] 81.

Arcade presents itself as at once reverie *and* awakening. The arrangement of the market fare enacts the town's new confident nationalist politics, something that had been just a dream, but could now be experienced as a reality. This reality is simultaneously framed by nationalism as an awakening from a somnambulant semi-existence under Anglo-Irish control. It's a dialectical fairy story in a country where the idea of 'fairy folk' was seen, patronisingly by some, to be embedded in a syncretic form of Christianity. Ó Cadhla points out that this characterisation of Irish folk belief is erroneous: "It was around this time [the 1820s] that the English word 'fairy' came to refer to the vernacular or ancestral supernatural world denoted in the Irish language by the older and completely unrelated term *sí*".[61] In an endnote he points out that the "quaint Victorian English connotations" of the word fairy are misleading, and a form of colonial erasure of the "psychological, social and cultural import" of the original Irish word.[62] In the O'Brien Arcade we see the Benjaminian space refracted through Irish agrarian activism – in a rural culture which still held embedded folk beliefs within its Christianity – combined with mercantile systems to present material goods in a quasi-spectacle. Here, rather than chocolates, silk and jewellery, the arcade holds butter, baskets and boots. The space formally refers to its antecedents in European capitals in its iron and glass passages, but resists the more sophisticated elements of the capitalist dreamscape. The New Tipperary activists put their goods on display, but seek to stay inside the phantasmagoria, swapping an Anglo-Irish reverie for its Irish nationalist surrogate.

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[61] 143.

[62] Ó Cadhla, 168. Bourke writes: "Indeed Joep Leerssen has suggested that a literate interest in fairies was almost confined to conservative Protestants. At best, mention of fairies came to be regarded by middle-class nationalists as frivolous, childish or unsophisticated; at worst, it could be sinister, a shibboleth which revealed adherence to discredited ways of thinking" (84).

There are visual cues that indicate to the viewer that the O'Brien Arcade represented in French's photograph acknowledges its outside. Benjamin traced the history of the arcade form to 1820s Paris, where new textile shops were keeping large inventories of stock on their premises. As the forerunners of late-nineteenth century department stores (which were to supersede arcades), these shops required larger commercial spaces, and triggered the development of the indoor street for their prosperous clientele.[63] We can see a visual echo of this provenance in the butter market image. Shop fronts to the right of the image display fabric items and garments on the outsides of their windows. A large white piece of textile – a table cloth or bed cover – is hanging from a large knot at the top of a shop-front column. The arcade was built on an almost north-south axis, with the northern door facing across Parnell Street, which was set out on a southeast to northwest orientation. Through the doorway we can see the new shop fronts across the street and can just make out the pale shape of another large piece of light-coloured fabric hanging outside P. Cleary's premises at the bottom of Parnell Street. Through the arcade's arched doorway, partially obscured by the multiple motion-blurred silhouettes of figures inside the market, the image presents the arcade's outside in dialogue with its interior action. The reverie of this moment in the arcade revolves around a basic foodstuff, and is punctured by quotidian domestic details hovering in the limits of the composition.

Above the door is a large public clock, made by Chancellor & Son of Dublin, which shows the time at 9.50am. Chancellor was part of a new wave of technologically adept European clock makers, using modern materials to make precision instruments, competing with the American brands that had dominated the market for most of the nineteenth century.[64] The necessity of the clock in the arcade was less urgent than that of the modern train station or telegraph office, but connotes a growing consciousness among the general population, where a synchronised sense of daily activity was a binding force, and imagined national communities were becoming newly conceivable through collapsed spatio-temporal discourses. In front of the clock is one of three ornate iron and glass gas lamps in the arcade. This early-nineteenth century technology enabled the original Parisian arcades to be illuminated beyond dusk, extending the working day for shop clerks, and expanding the time available to visitors. Benjamin's study of arcades shifts the critical focus away from Marx's unfolding of the commodity fetish and towards an engagement with the commodity on display. The reverie experienced by the consumer inside capitalism is produced by a kaleidoscopic array of products, dizzying in their number and variation within the sensorium.

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[63] See Benjamin 2002, 3.

Rolf Tiedemann suggests that it was through critiques of his early texts towards the *Arcades Project* – by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer – that Benjamin was introduced to Marx's work.[65] Before this point, Buck-Morss argues, Benjamin was in one of "three 'quasi-dialectical' phases" of his intellectual career.[66] Rancière, via Charles Baudelaire, connects the apparent disjunction between Marx's focus on the commodity fetish and Benjamin's attention to the commodity on display:

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[64] See Barnes, 2. The *Irish Times* of 20 May 1890 reports, in an article broadly disparaging of the New Tipperary project, that there was local "unpleasantness" caused by the clock commission going to a Dublin firm rather than a local one (5).

[65] See Tiedemann, 937-8, "[like] many other left-wing intellectuals of his generation, Benjamin largely owed his Marxist competency to the chapter on reification in Lukács's *History and Class Consciousness*" (938). For an account of the origins and influence of Lukács's work, see Kolakowski, 989-1032. For an outline of the work of Adorno, Horkheimer, Benjamin and the Frankfurt School of critical theory, see Kolakowski, 1060-1103.

[66] 6.

> Marx's analysis of the commodity is part of the Romantic plot which denies the 'end of art' as the homogenization of the sensible world. We could say that the Marxian commodity steps out of the Balzacian shop. That is how commodity fetishism allowed Benjamin to account for the structure of Baudelaire's imagery by the topography of the Parisian arcades.[67]

In French's image of the butter market, we see men (and a few women), young and old, some scruffy and some carefully groomed, producing and being produced by a new sensorium. Many are paying attention to the camera, which is positioned above head height, giving the viewer an authoritative perspective over the crowd. The people in the image are there to do business, or to observe others doing so. All are part of the Plan of Campaign's political framework, and all are aware of the novel social formation of which they are part. Some stare self-consciously towards the lens. Many at the far end of the space are unaware or uninterested, and their movements produce blurred visual flourishes across sections of the picture plane. The tunnel-like composition gives its upper half a hypnotic rhythm, where the rafters and their metal straps invite the eye upwards into the roof space where wood, iron and glass connect the arcade to the bright sky. The figures in the foreground cast very little shadow, with the whole interior of the arcade washed with diffuse daylight from above. Their shadowless presences give an unlikely spliced effect to their appearance in the image. Their contingent politics, an amalgam of coincident material concerns within a section of the town's community, bring them into the space, producing an unstable reality in the image surface. A montage of self-interested concerns, produces a disordered social composition. Buck-Morss considers the formal concept of montage as a "constructive principle" in Benjamin's project, linked to visible forms in the nineteenth century's public culture of signs, window displays and advertisements.[68] In the arcade image we can see such elements inside and around the windows and, in addition to the fabrics and garments on the right, we can see baskets, metalware and leather goods floating in pictorial space to the left, adorning another shop's façade. Didi-Huberman extends the conceptual utility of montage towards a broader sweep of experience: "Images become precious to historical *knowledge* the moment they are put into perspective, in *montages* of intelligibility".[69] In this echo of Rancière's sensorium, Didi-Huberman's idea of history is shaped by new forms that challenge linear narrativisation. In the image we see a montage of commodity objects physically arranged by shopkeepers, almost swimming above the streetscape. The image itself becomes an element in a historiographical montage created by the archive. The incompleteness of the narrative witin the image, combines with the partiality of the archive's management of photographs to produce an unstable image, which simultaneously manifests and disrupts narrativity.

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[67] 2010, 135.

Buck-Morss summarises one of Benjamin's key concerns: "The visible theoretical armature of the *Passagen-Werk* is a secular, sociopsychological theory of modernity as a dreamworld, and a conception of collective 'awakening' from it as synonymous with revolutionary class consciousness".[70] She describes how, for Benjamin, the arcade had a particular connection to the structure of consciousness:

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[68] 74.
[69] 159. Emphasis in original.
[70] 253.

> The covered shopping arcades of the nineteenth century were Benjamin's central image because they were the precise material replica of the internal consciousness, or rather, the *un*conscious of the dreaming collective. All the errors of bourgeois consciousness could be found there (commodity fetishism, reification, the world as 'inwardness'), as well as (in fashion, prostitution and gambling) all of its utopian dreams.[71]

The spatial metaphor of the human mind reveals, for Benjamin, a perspective on society otherwise unavailable. By extension, the arcade as revealed unconscious is compounded by the power of the lens, in how it "introduces us to unconscious optics".[72] Within the arcade structure, manifesting dimensions of the triumphs and failures of collective nineteenth-century will, the camera reveals an arrested visual encounter. In this moment we notice blurred motion and double exposures. Figures are there and not there. Individuals are represented twice in one visual plane, through their brief movement in front of the camera as its plate is momentarily exposed. These idiomatic quirks of the lens machine delivered new visual experiences, rendering the everyday strange, and the ordinary person spectral. In this dream-like moment, "a different nature opens itself to the camera than opens to the naked eye – if only because an unconsciously penetrated space is substituted for a space consciously explored by man".[73] The dissolving figures, among the distracted, self-interested and uninterested witnesses crowding the background of the photographic moment, evoke the complexity and the difficulty of maintaining coherent collective action. They are the uncommitted political actors, extras on a stage where not everyone has been written into the action.

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[71] 39.

[72] Benjamin, 1999, 230.

[73] Ibid. In this well-known passage, Benjamin is referring to the power of the moving-image camera, but it is also apt here in relation to the proto-cinematic qualities of the blurred, spectral figure moving in front of the static photographic emulsion.

The arcade space is revealed in more detail in figure 18, which shows the building's interior from the northern end, looking south. This time, French set the camera at an average eye-level height, producing a composition closer to the expected point of view of a casual visitor to the space. This produces a more intimate encounter with the interior. There are only nineteen people visible in the scene, with large areas of the arcade floor visible. The small crowd is made up of bowler-hatted men, workers in aprons, a woman and child, and several boys in sturdy boots and flat caps. The central section of the floor appears to be dirtier than the rest, perhaps caused by recent footfall during the butter market. The photographic plate's catalogue number (assigned by the Lawrence Company at the time) is one higher than the butter market image, which might also suggest such a chronology linking the images. In this photograph the light outside is weaker, and the figures cast stronger shadows on the floor. The roof lights attract less attention and the overall tonal balance of the composition lacks the drama of the butter market photograph. On this day, from this angle, the arcade reveals more of itself. The shop on the left can now be seen to belong to a Michael Cross, with sophisticated ornamentation adorning his name above the door. We can see various garments, a candlewick bed cover, bolts of fabric, framed portraits and numerous crates and barrels – all arranged outside the shop. In the windows are various posters and advertisements along with signs advertising Fry's Cocoa and

Shanks's mineral waters. In this scene there is no dazzling array of commodities or bustling crowd to entrance the flâneur. Here, the arcade as collective unconscious is laid bare, its surfaces distressed with mud and its floor soiled by the market's detritus. The dreamscape of Parisian modernity is here reduced by the brute music of agrarian struggle. A boy stands to attention by the central kiosk, near the large weighing scales, his sweeping brush ready to go to work – bringing to mind some of the protocols of the glittering Paris arcades, which were carefully cleaned each morning and where rules were enforced to exclude anyone who was dirty, smoking, carrying heavy loads or prone to spitting.[74] In this Irish manifestation, the arcade conforms only fleetingly to the conventions and implications of its metropolitan counterparts – but what it does succeed in doing through these photographs is promote tenant politics and anchor this local victory in modernity via its technologically advanced architectural forms wrought in iron and glass. It connects to Esther Leslie's précis of the arcade's importance at the time: "The arcade was the *Ur-form*, the originary form, of modernity, for it incubated modes of behaviour – distraction, seduction by the commodity spectacle, shopping as leisure activity, self-display – that would come to figure more prominently as the century passed into the next".[75]

To the right, the baskets that appeared to float above the butter market crowds are now tethered prosaically to a shop front, near the wooden kiosk's sepulchral bulk resting mute to the side of the concourse. The floor's gentle incline from the middle of the central passageway down towards the kerbed gutter renders this scene closer to a village street than an enclosed city boulevard, with the stained and streaked traces of liquid evident as they follow gravity. Once more, some figures reveal a visual presence available only through the camera lens. The female figure on the extreme left appears to have shifted her weight during the image's exposure, giving her appearance a ghostly duality. In the middle ground two of the boys have moved also, and by the weighing scales, an adult male figure hovers indeterminately, with the accident of light on emulsion giving his upper half a cinematically monstrous quality. His shadow-like presence is an apt representation next to the controversial "weighing machine" in the arcade, which had been the subject of injunctions in early April 1890. The scales had been installed in the arcade to supplant the Smith-Barry's official scales in the old town, and local producers bringing their wares to be weighed in the arcade were followed by policemen and the estate bailiff, who took notes on all participants and issued threats as to the various transactions' legality.[76]

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[74] See Benjamin 2002, 54-5.
[75] 84.

Throughout the space, and our visual encounter with it via French's photographs, there is a tension between the ambitious modern forms and materials of the architecture and the day-to-day urgency of the historical moment. The town's hinterland of tenant farming families continued working. Market days came and went, sustaining the surface rhythm of the area. The evicted tenants were protected by the significant funds gathered by the Plan leaders, and sustained by the support of the local clergy. Despite such supports, the material circumstances of each individual were uncertain – invisibly tied to local, national and international events. The stridency with which the local organisers executed the project was reported across the world. Dwan writes of the mediascape that had sustained the Land War years earlier, and which had intensified by 1890: “Newspapers played a crucial role in this process by publishing announcements of meetings and providing detailed reports of their contents. Advances in telegraphy allowed speeches in diverse parts of the country to to be published within a day of their delivery”.[77] To curb the power of the press, the 1887 Coercion Act, criminalised the reporting of League meetings, with William O’Brien’s *United Ireland* seen as particularly dangerous.[78] However, news of developments was reported, and popular momentum was maintained in 1890. The confidence of the townspeople in their support for their leaders promised to carry the campaign further. A comprehensive victory would have had the capacity to change Irish land ownership models profoundly. Newspapers at this time were also relaying to a fascinated readership the developments in and around the Irish Parliamentary Party since the O’Shea divorce case became public in December 1889. The court hearing was scheduled for November 1890, and in the interim Parnell had assured his followers that he would be exonerated and the political campaign would continue successfully. Throughout the year, suspicions and tensions grew within the many local branches of the National League, with contending interests having particular stakes in the controversy’s outcome.

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[76] See "Easter Monday in Tipperary", *Freeman's Journal*, 8 April 1890, 5. For an account of police involvement in surveilling the weighing machine's users, see also "New Tipperary", *Freeman's Journal*, 11 April 1890, 5.

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[77] 153.

[78] Dwan writes: “The Parnellite organ, *United Ireland*, was judged to be particularly dangerous and was condemned by the Chief Secretary Forster ‘as truly a part of the instruments of assassination as the dagger and the mask’. The paper had been founded by Parnell in 1881 under the editorship of William O’Brien as a means of organizing the agrarian movement nationally, while also contributing to the support base of the Home Rule party. With the support of *United Ireland* as well as other major journals such as the *Freeman’s Journal*, Parnell soon became a national icon” (Ibid.).

The intersection of local and national discourses on the streets of Tipperary produced a febrile atmosphere, which was fuelled by the visible process in which large teams of building workers were reshaping the townscape. Outside the arcade, new streets were being built, and from the commencement of evictions in December 1889 the town witnessed families and businesses loading their belongings onto carts and decamping to the new settlement. The daily routines and rituals of shopping and neighbourliness were sundered and reconfigured. Hopes were high locally that this new beginning would have long-term political consequences. In figure 19, French has again placed his camera on a height to capture the full scope of developments on the newly-built Dillon Street. The view looks southeast towards the bottom of Parnell Street in the distance, with P. Cleary's shop again visible. At the bottom of the street, to the right and out of sight, is the northern façade of the William O'Brien Arcade. It is a cloudy day with soft light gently modelling all elements within the scene. The new houses and business premises flank the wide streetscape. Those nearest the camera have redbrick fronts and gables, with the majority of the houses in the street having slatted wooden façades. Most of the windows in the street are wide open, probably to air the new buildings and aid the dispersal of any residual moisture. In the foreground six workmen, and two men managing horses and carts, are involved in surfacing the road, with a boy behind them attending to what looks like cement or mortar set out on a tarpaulin, while his young companion idles on a window sill nearby. The newness of the street is apparent, with building materials remaining in untidy corners of the composition. Visible beyond the workmen are approximately forty people; pedestrians, householders, children and at least one horse and cart driver. Most are looking towards the camera, with several appearing to have just emerged from their doors, and a number of others look out from upstairs windows on the right. Parents are attending to children and a boy holds his dog still as they both stare towards the lens.

Beyond the trees in the middle-distance is the narrow spire of St. Mary's Church of Ireland church, and further away to the left we can see the top of St. Michael's Catholic Church. The previous October, the Fenian poet Ellen O'Leary had been buried in the graveyard of St Mary's. Having lived all but the last four years of her life in a cottage in Tipperary town, the well-known writer, activist, and sister of Fenian leader John O'Leary was a significant local figure, and had been a founding member and treasurer of the Ladies Land League in 1881.[79] The graveyard is also the burial site of Christopher Emmet, grandfather of Robert Emmet, giving the locality a strong set of links to Irish romantic nationalism. The position of New Tipperary as a proxy for the larger national question was evident in the weeks surrounding its official launch. Journalists reported from the site at various points in its progress for a range of publications, with editorial positions apparent in the articles. *The Freeman's Journal* of 8 April 1890 published a piece that was sympathetic to the project. It describes a desolate old town centre, with shops boarded up, or with broken windows, and the remaining business owners at pains to point out that they stayed due to arrangements with middlemen and not the landlord. Smith-Barry is described as having "passed like a blizzard over the town".[80] It continues with an account of the butter market having been expanded and improved through its move to the new arcade, and how people were travelling from distant towns and villages to support the traders. Less than a week later, the *Times* published a report from New Tipperary, describing how local businesses were coerced under threat of violence into moving from their old premises into the new town, and that significant prosperity was already lost in a project driven by the hubris of nationalist leaders. The writer stated that,

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[79] See Clarke, no pagination. For an introductory account of the short-lived Ladies Land League and its possible causal link to the Marian apparitions phenomenon at Knock, County Mayo, see O'Sullivan, 1998. See also, Davitt, 420, where he ascribed the inspiration for the New Tipperary strategy to actions by the Ladies Land League in 1881-2. Foster describes how the Land League provided a "political baptism" for women campaigners, later to join suffragist movements and Sinn Féin (1988, 412).

> the loss to the victims of this extraordinary coercion has been immense and irreparable. Men lately the owners of comfortable businesses, each representing an interest worth several thousand pounds, are now subsisting on a precarious pittance from the funds of the new League and hoping against hope that better times may be in store for them.[81]

This image of Dillon Street is the only one remaining in the archive, however French – or perhaps another photographer – made images of the street at an earlier point in the construction phase. The *Pall Mall Gazette* of 3 April 1890 published a short article about New Tipperary, in which a number of line drawings feature prominently.[82] The three line drawings show, respectively, P. Cleary's boarded up shop in the old town, a view of Dillon Street under construction, and a second street under construction. The illustrations' monocular perspectival quality would indicate that they were produced from photographic references, and the compositions resemble those of French's work. If so, it would suggest an earlier visit to New Tipperary by the photographer, or another camera operator. This use of photographic imagery as reference for drawings was a 'bubbling under' of photography in the print media as the half-tone process was expanding from major newspapers in metropolitan centres through to more modest publications during the 1890s.

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[80] "Easter Monday in Tipperary", *Freeman's Journal*, 8 April 1890, 5.
[81] "London, Monday, April 14, 1890", the *Times*, 14 April 1890, 9.
[82] "Tipperary: Old and New", *Pall Mall Gazette*, 3 April 1890, 1-2.

French's image of Parnell Street in New Tipperary carries a large amount of visual information about the layout of the new town. In figure 20 the camera is pointing northwest up Parnell Street. The arcade is just out of frame to the left. The shop nearest the camera is P. Cleary's, which is just visible through the door of the arcade in figure 17, and again at the end of Dillon Street in figure 19. The two house gables with the arched windows to the left are at the bottom of Dillon Street. It is likely that this image was made on the same day as figure 19, given the position of the small ladder to the right of Cleary's shop, which is visible in the same spot in both images. The quality of light is very similar to that seen in figure 18, making it possible that all three images were made on the same day, though the low angle of the sun in the south-eastern sky indicates morning, at a time earlier than that of the image of the sparsely-attended arcade interior. We can see work continuing on the house in the middle ground, and in the distance men are working on surfacing the opposite end of Parnell Street.

News reports from Tipperary at the time were ideologically aligned to establishment and anti-establishment positions. The *Times* and the *Irish Times* were largely disparaging of the Plan of Campaign and dismissive of any success being attributed to the New Tipperary project. *The Freeman's Journal* and William

O'Brien's Parnellite *United Ireland* adopted opposing views. Davitt argued strongly on behalf of the tenantry and the Plan's actions. He refuted the inflated costs of the building programme being published in some London and Dublin papers, and emphasised its popular support locally, which manifested in free labour being donated by supporters of the scheme:

> The labour of over 10,000 horses formed an item in the cooperating sympathy of the farmers of the district: many horses being sent from a distance of forty miles, and the men accompanying them travelling, in numerous instances, all night, in order to perform the one day's work of horse and man volunteered by the tenantry round about the scene of the conflict.[83]

The Northern Echo newspaper in Darlington, England reported that "people within a radius of thirty miles had sent relays of voluntary workers day after day, and the building entailed a day's work from each of 16,000 men and 1,600 horses, many of whom had travelled all night to share in the work".[84] The importance of this form of support, and the linking of the project to the national question was at the front of participants' minds, on both sides of the conflict. Marx had identified earlier the crucial role to be played by Irish tenants in the possible overthrow of English capitalism, with Ireland "the *bulwark* of English landlordism".[85] Whereas Davitt was aware of this dimension to the struggle, the politics of the Plan of Campaign was right-of-centre, guided by clerical and Parnellite voices. Foster describes how part of Parnell's legacy was that the shopkeepers of Ireland became the backbone of nationalism.[86] Shops and shopkeepers feature prominently in French's images, and multiple correspondents on both sides of the conflict continually referred to their plight. New Tipperary's opponents highlighted alleged coercion suffered by businesses, attacks on livelihoods through coordinated boycotting, and the erstwhile harmony of the town. Supporters lauded the bravery of business people in voluntarily making sacrifices for others, and subsequently thriving in the new district.

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[83] 420.
[84] "New Tipperary", *Northern Echo*, 14 April 1890, 3.
[85] Marx and Engels, 161. Emphasis in original.

The image of Parnell Street shows a long row of thirteen shop fronts, with seven or eight open for business, and several with names over the doors.[87] Housewares, clothing and fabrics are all on display and the scene has the air of a morning streetscape coming to life. In the foreground, a young girl looks to the camera, while a boy carrying a parcel looks up the street to where approximately thirty people are visible, along with four builders atop the scaffolding on the incomplete house gable in the middle-distance. The men and women in the foreground are mostly well dressed. The further 'back' into the image one looks, the more the figures are engaged in manual work – a gentle metaphor of the priorities of the Plan of Campaign's leaders. To the left of the image, a woman stands on a cart, pausing mid-task. Along the gable wall next to her, a young man sits in his cart reading a newspaper. A slight motion blur to his right arm suggests that he is adjusting the newspaper in his lap. This small moment within the busy scene is synecdochal, where one of the many activists in Tipperary making news headlines internationally is consuming news media in a mutually sustaining relationship. The capacity to identify with, and affect, political matters at a distance within shortening time intervals, is a product of technological modernity. Dwan states that newspapers "refashioned the time-space in which politics was conducted in Ireland".[88] Morash is more expansive:

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[86] 1988, 426.

[87] P.Cleary, T. Slattery, J. Murray and P. Kelly (the image is indistinct here).

> Ireland ceased to be a nation bounded by geography; instead, it became an idea, to a large extent created, sustained and debated by a media culture that had absorbed one whole new dimension – speed – and was beginning to experience freedom from the constraints of another: distance.[89]

As one surveys the image from foreground to horizon, the tonal values of the middle distance and background render the pedestrians, horses and workers more faint. A number of people and horses in the distance are blurred by their movements during the exposure, rendering a ghost-like presence in the bright daylight. The camera struggles to delineate these details a short distance from its lens, while at the same time the geographical distance between Tipperary and London is collapsing through shared narratives playing out through modern media. The people in the frame were well acquainted with the wider narrative in the public realm at the time, swirling around Parnell's predicament. Within nineteen months, the split in the Irish Parliamentary Party rank and file would be profound, with grave consequences for the New Tipperary project.

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[88] 153.

[89] 2010, 90. For an account of the importance of technologised media channels to the construction of national identities internationally, see Anderson.

The Lawrence Company disseminated its inventory as lantern slides, stereoscopic views and photographic prints, for a range of clients. *The Northern Echo* published a notice on 10 April 1890 (two days before New Tipperary's official launch) stating that a "Mr Hammer, from the Home Rule Union, will exhibit, by means of a powerful lime-light lantern, a set of photographs of Irish eviction scenes, including a set, shown for the first time, of Old and New Tipperary".[90] Given the prominent position of the Lawrence Company in the distribution of topical Irish photographs, it is likely that this lantern slide show included French's New Tipperary work. This would date the photographs to late March or early April 1890 at the latest, a week or more before the town's official launch, which saw a public rally in the streets and a banquet staged in the arcade. This approximate date would tally with the not-yet-finished streets, partially inhabited houses and commercial premises visible in the photographs. As the building process and the migration of families and businesses continued through the middle of 1890, another form of photography became central to events in the town.

Surveillance and Counter-Surveillance

With a population of approximately 7,200, the town saw an influx of police personnel during 1889 and 1890. By the time of the official opening of New Tipperary in mid-April 1890 there were five police barracks established in the town, a situation described in *The Freeman's Journal* as, "an unparalleled joke".[91] Another newspaper correspondent in the same week described "passing down the main street, past knots of police on every corner – indeed, in this respect the streets have the appearance of a town in the occupation of a hostile force – you come to the 'new town'".[92] *The Cork Examiner* described a street "literally swarming with policemen".[93] William O'Brien referred to police brutality during his speech inaugurating the new arcade, and tensions had been high since the death of a local fifteen-year-old boy from 'medical misadventure' subsequent to police actions the previous October.[94] Humphreys was vocal in his criticisms of policemen, and visited local publicans warning them not to serve members of the force. He denounced the Coercion Act, which had prohibited boycotting, stating, "[the] Crimes Act cannot compel you to speak to any person you meet on the road, it cannot compel you to work for anyone, or to sell to anyone".[95] Humphreys was described as, "practically the boycotting agent there", according to one commentator.[96]

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[90] "News from Abroad", *Northern Echo*, 10 April 1890, 3.
[91] *Freeman's Journal*, 8 April 1890, 5.

Police 'shadowing' was pervasive in the town. The campaign's lead actors were regularly followed by police as they went about their days. During the shadowing process, on Monday 26 May 1890, a police constable took a photograph of Humphreys in the street. William O'Brien, in a commons exchange – with leader of the opposition Gladstone and Arthur Balfour, then Chief Secretary for Ireland – stated that, "[upon] the day my honourable friend the Member for North

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[92] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 3 April 1890, 1-2.
[93] *Cork Examiner*, 10 May 1890, 2. The *Irish Times* took a different position on the effect of the police presence, with its correspondent reporting that "I have never seen the streets of any town so completely free from idlers and loafers as the streets of Tipperary are at present. People who mind their own business of course move about as they think fit, without any interference by the police" ("Our Special Correspondent, New Tipperary", The *Irish Times,* 20 May 1890, 5).
[94] See Marnane, 371.
[95] O'Shea, 111.
[96] Ibid., 110. O'Shea writes, "David Humphreys denied that boycotting was contrary to scripture, and proposed that it was not only admissible but a moral duty in a country where the majority were crushed by laws biased in favour of the minority" (108).

Monaghan and myself were in Tipperary, a man crossed the street and suddenly stood in front of Father Humphreys with a detective camera, and took his photograph".[97] Patrick O'Brien, William O'Brien's Party colleague, and MP for North Monaghan, having witnessed this, in a moment of counter-surveillance using his own Kodak camera, took several photographs of the police as they shadowed Reverend Humphreys.[98] Over the following four weeks, Patrick O'Brien had his photographs developed and re-photographed for production as lantern slides. He brought the slides to London and staged a public event to draw attention to the situation in Tipperary. The *Times* reported on 21 June 1890:

> Between 10 and 11 o'clock last night the terrace of the House of Commons was the scene of an unwonted animation. Two or three Nationalist members who have identified themselves with the Tipperary agitation, had chartered a barge, which during the dinner hour was brought up the river and anchored at a spot within convenient hearing and seeing distance of the House. A screen having been rigged up, a magic lantern was got into working order, and enlargements of the famous "shadowing" photographs, views of Mr. O'Brien and others addressing proclaimed meetings and kindred subjects were exhibited for the delectation of hon. gentlemen enjoying their after-dinner smoke. Within a few minutes of the commencement of the entertainment, a large number of members, many of

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[97] HC Debate 9 June 1890 vol 345 cc351-428. Available from: http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1890/jun/09/motion-for-adjournment. Accessed 7 December 2018.
'Detective Camera' was a generic term for a range of compact hand-held cameras first developed during the 1880s. See Harding (a) for an overview of these devices.

[98] The constables' names, John Ahern and Jeremiah Wallace, became well known as a result of the ensuing publicity.

> whom were accompanied by ladies had gathered on the terrace. As the slides of the magic lantern were changed, an Irish member stationed on the barge shouted out an explanation of the various pictures and now and again his colleagues on the terrace raised an encouraging cheer. It was stated that the slides had been specially prepared for a series of meetings to be held in the principal towns of England and Scotland, at which it is intended that the magic lantern shall form an adjunct to the meeting.[99]

O'Brien's publicity stunt on the Thames represents an intersection of multiple visual-cultural and political discourses that would have been impossible just two years earlier. The Kodak company had released their first 'popular' box camera in 1885 (which held paper negatives), and replaced it in 1889 with their first celluloid film camera. The new model was sold pre-loaded with film for 100 exposures. This technical innovation combined with Kodak's marketing campaign led to a transformation in the public understanding of photography. The company's famous advertising slogan, "You Push the Button, We Do the Rest", encapsulated the new three-step process for taking a photograph – pull the string, turn the key, press the button.[100] O'Brien's five photographs of 'shadowing' in the National Photographic Archive are part of the Sheehy Skeffington Photographic collection.[101] Those seen in figure 21, figure 22, figure 23 and figure 24 show Humphreys walking in the street, followed closely by his police shadows. In figure

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[99] "A Novel Scene at the House of Commons", the *Times*, 21 June 1890, 7.
O'Brien's images were also used as references for illustrations in the press. See O'Shea, 8, for a reproduction of a line art illustration from *United Ireland*, 12 July 1890.

[100] The camera's price was also a key factor, costing five guineas (approximately €146 in 2019 terms).

[101] The collection is described as "Portraits, formal and informal of family members and friends and some political photographs". It comprises, 92 black and white prints, 14 cabinet cards, 15 postcards and 23 photomechanical prints. See the National Library of Ireland web site http://catalogue.nli.ie/Collection/vtls000509586. Accessed 30 September 2018.

25 we see a ‘police car’ on a street, waiting outside William O’Brien’s hotel, with onlookers gathered nearby. The images were taken in ‘old’ Tipperary. In figure 21, the three men are walking from left to right. Humphreys has an umbrella and the two officers carry canes. The officer whose face is near the centre of the composition looks straight at the camera, and beyond him we see an almost empty street with some indistinct pedestrians and a cart in the distance. The kerb and the roof lines of the houses produce a dramatic single-point perspective, with its vanishing point lost in the grey of the distant background. Humphreys and the one officer are looking straight ahead, and behind the officer a female figure with her shawl around her head, makes her way down the street past an open shop. Though the snapshot nature of the photograph crops Humphreys’ feet out of the composition, the verticality of his figure, wearing a sleek top hat, creates a bold composition in clear detail, with the priest’s mouth in a slight grimace at the centre of the image – a visual metaphor for the centrality of Humphreys’ rhetoric to the New Tipperary agenda. The distinctive uniforms and caps of the constables, along with their upright bearing, give a striking sense of official power at play in the scene being enacted in the street. The photographic print in figure 22 shows more tonal contrast, with the three men’s bodies appearing as black silhouettes. In this image, the billowing cape of the constable on the left gives his torso an unreal conical shape, resembling a character in costume on a modernist theatre set. The men have paused, standing still with Humphreys front and centre on the kerb, at the edge of the cobbled street. He maintains a distant stare and a tight-lipped countenance, while the policeman on the right stares straight at him, and towards the camera. Again there is an unapologetic exercise of power in the constables’ physical attitudes, and their suspension of everyday manners. Humphreys appears

calm, and we infer defiance. The imposing stone building, with its open door and tiled entrance to the left of the image, is the Munster and Leinster Bank – a significant local institution, and a terse visual reminder of the immense financial stakes involved in the conflict on both sides.

A boarded-up shop front dominates the composition of figure 23. The three men are in motion once more, and again Humphreys and the moustachioed officer stare in front while the other constable remains close to the priest and looks towards the camera. The herringbone pattern of the wooden shutters on Fahey's shop gives a visual rhythm to a large section of the composition. The worn traces of posters and advertisements on the shutters' surfaces render an oblique visual inscription of the political and commercial messages permeating the town's spaces. The montage aesthetic of the arcade, here leaks into the fabric of the streetscape, while its three main characters – representing the state facing off against middle-class Catholicism – conduct a small parade. Once more in this image, Humphrey's face is the centre point, becoming a motif in this street drama. The power of the government is implicit in its capacity to provide waves of personnel in order to pursue, observe and intimidate its opponents. The left edge of the image breaks into black abstraction beyond the edge of the exposed celluloid, its torn edge a semantic precipice, the seam of a theatrical curtain upon which the town is painted. In this image the cobblestone street appears a roiling torrent, the men are slightly blurred and there is more sense of danger. The narrative tension supplied by these three images seems to burst in figure 24. Here, a policeman dominates the centre point of the image and both he and Humphreys are walking away from the viewer with their backs to the camera. There is no second officer visible, leaving the priest and single policeman as two actors walking off stage. The backdrop canvas of the streetscape steps down into the distance, with the road's surface snaking away as a picturesque river with one cart floating in the middle distance. A single figure loiters on the footpath, to witness the end of the play. Some discoloration on the print gives Humphreys' lower face a skeletal appearance, a spectral moment as the curtain falls.

The final image in the sequence is a jump-cut to a new scene, where in figure 25 we witness a police carriage carrying ten officers waiting in the street outside the hotel where William O'Brien is staying. Two groups loiter at different points on the footpath, and the townscape looks more medieval than modern in the diffuse image surface. It's the first time we see the police assembled in numbers, and their concentration on the carriage suggests that there are more carriages ready nearby in the town's five barracks. A woman in a white bonnet and apron walks out of the shot to the right, and all remaining figures seem suspended in a binary relationship between sovereign force and local subjects. This time, the centre of the image lands on the carriage driver's right hand. He is holding the reins. The narrative is concluded. The sequence of pictorial centre points has moved the focus smoothly and effectively from priest to policeman. It is May 1890, and the arcade is open only a month, but the balance of power is sliding away from the local campaign. The drama is frozen in time and transported to London, where the transformation of modest Kodak shots into O'Brien's dramatic projections translates the everyday-ness of the photographs into something more elaborate, more engaging. The photographer-as-witness implies urgency beyond the formal qualities that were already being associated with the family snap. The circular print implies a telescopic view connecting the Thames to Tipperary, and simultaneously, a microscopic view binding Plan of Campaign supporters together across class lines.

The Kodak camera precipitated a transformation in the public mind – a shift from the idea of making photographs to *taking* photographs. 'Taking' photographs introduced a new concept for most members of the public. Until then photographic portraits were affordable only to middle-class families – apart from the Victorian craze of cartes-des-visite in which people collected cheap photographic prints of public figures. The affordable Kodak camera made it possible for a far-wider constituency of users to participate in photography, and to choose their own subject matter. The ease with which this could be achieved connected more people to the industrialised process of photographic printing. It was a new form of commoditised visuality, producing new visual horizons in the lives of ordinary people. The Kodak business model positioned the camera itself as a commodity, and also produced private photography as another commodity form – with individualised surfaces on the millions of prints being produced. The Marxian analysis of the commodity collides here with the Benjaminian account of the commodity on display, and the result is a conceptually complex set of refractions.

The introduction of the Kodak box camera into the events of the Plan of Campaign produces a series of consequences. The camera itself, and the printing services connected to it, served to make less visible the human labour involved in the photographic process. The capacity to take photographs cheaply was demonstrated (and extended) to more people, while the messy technical details of the process became opaque. The camera itself is often described as a driver of democratisation in photography.[102] The position of the camera within the complex social relations of the new town can be seen in one sense as a democratising force – making visible events that government power would rather obscure. In another sense, as a Marxian 'hieroglyphic', it provides a disruptive force in the 'sensorium', where its redistribution of the visible is not a single-channel case of cause and effect (the camera being the cause, and increased democracy being its effect). It is a remediation of social relations along wholly new lines, the consequences of which were not straightforward. O'Brien's co-option of the Kodak process for explicit political ends is a twisting of any simple interpretation of the consumer-corporate relationship. It undoes any sense that the camera is just another piece of merchandise in the phantasmagoric dream. Instead, it demonstrates that the camera as an image-producing machine, provides standard-format images, through an established system of industrial procedures, but each photographic 'unit' carries a unique arrangement of exposed silver-bromide crystals on its surface in such a way that the eye is tricked into understanding it as a visual composition. The hermeneutic process in the subjective visual encounter with each image produces a semantic charge. Here, the multiplicity of individual moments of meaning making shatters any possible homogenised explanation of what happens when we look at a photograph. The Kodak camera introduced a new era of photographic communication, immensely more complex than what had preceded it, where each act of interpretation is a scattering of light, dazzling us into simultaneous moments of clarity and opacity.

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[102] See, for example, Harding (b), where he states: "This camera initiated a revolution in photography that was to quickly transform it into a truly democratic pastime within the range of everyone, regardless of income or technical knowledge" (251). The popular press at the time responded with coverage of the development. The *Freeman's Journal* published a handbook called *Photography for Fun* in 1889. See Chandler 2001, 86.

O'Brien took the modest prints from his Kodak – featuring New Tipperary's political rallies and the shadowing process – and stitched them together into a spectacularised visual political narrative. He chose to platform this narrative at the heart of British political power, but from an angle that caught his select audience in a social moment on the House of Commons terrace. The circular Kodak print format, which had already found a currency as an intimate photographic form in family albums, was enlarged to a point where its snapshot aesthetic and political content rendered an urgent quality to the information it carried. It functioned as a news photograph outside of a news channel – a proto-documentary image, more than thirty years before the term was coined.[103] The combination of the image with a spoken verbal accompaniment was not novel, given that lantern slide shows had been a fixture in British and Irish social life for decades, predating photography.[104] However, the immediacy of the images to contemporaneous events, and the strident political content of the spoken narrative, became powerful components in an agit-prop approach. Formally, the collective experience of the encounter owed more to a political meeting or travelling lantern show entertainment than the intimacy of an engagement with a small Kodak print. The re-presentation of the circular print on a large scale wrenched the form out of its context, giving the slide show a dual sense of spectacle and intimacy. As a publicity stunt, O'Brien's intervention was successful, and news of its occurrence would have been welcomed by New Tipperary's agitators. Whether the moment did much to counter the dominant news narratives about the project in mainstream newspapers is less clear, but it did demonstrate the value of the snapshot photograph to political narratives, and its advantage over more 'professional' images in conferring an urgent authenticity to the events depicted.

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[103] Most often attributed to John Grierson in the 1920s. See Tagg, 1988, xxxii.

[104] See Rockett & Rockett for an account of proto-cinematic formats in Ireland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as the magic lantern, or slide projector, immersive large-scale paintings known as panoramas, and tableaux vivants, or theatrically-posed static representations of artworks and events.

Shadowing and its connected photographs were further discussed in parliament two weeks later, where John Ellis, MP for Nottingham Rushcliffe stated: "This mode of procedure is becoming notorious, and has been happily made-well-known in this country by the photographs which have been successfully taken by the honourable Member for Monaghan".[105] The following month Patrick O'Brien again used his camera to political ends, when, during a visit by Dillon to the William O'Brien Arcade, the local Resident Magistrate, Colonel Caddell, intervened. *The Freeman's Journal* reported that, as the magistrate approached Dillon,

> Mr P. O'Brien, MP, who has his famous "Kodac" [sic] ever ready, raised the little photographic apparatus, click went the spring, and the colonel was "taken." The colonel did not seem to like the operation. "You impertinent scoundrel" he cried as he brushed past Mr. O'Brien. As the latter had got the picture he did not mind the bad language a bit.[106]

Having remonstrated with Dillon and his party, the magistrate turned to leave. The report continues:

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[105] HC Debate 7 July 1890 vol 346 cc941-1030: http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1890/jul/07/class-iii. Accessed 7 December 2018. Also Mr. Picton, MP for Leicester challenged the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to justify these surveillance practices: HC Debate 19 June 1890 vol 345 cc1342-5. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1890/jun/19/police-shadowing-in-ireland. Accessed 7 December 2018.

[106] "A Day in New Tipperary", *Freeman's Journal*, 28 August 1890, 3.

> The camera in the hand of Mr. O’Brien attracted his attention. The following amusing conversation took place – “I have taken you again colonel” said the member for Monaghan with a smile. “You ought to have some decency, sir,” replied the colonel; and with an effort at waxing facetious, he added, “I’ll send you my photograph if you want it.” “I’d rather have you in your war paint, and I’ve got it in here”, said Mr. O’Brien, tapping the ‘Kodac’; but as you are so obliging, will you kindly put out your tongue and place your thumb on the top of your nose, as you are in the habit of doing at people, and I’ll take you.” […] *En route* through the street, Mr. O’Brien MP took several views of the scene, and more amusement was caused by the devices of the colonel to escape the terrible, tale telling, and truthful camera.[107]

The publicity surrounding O’Brien’s photography led to the Kodak company’s agents presenting him with a new camera as a mark of gratitude for the free advertising they had received through his actions. *The Freeman's Journal* wrote:

> the Eastman Photographic Company have [sic] presented Mr. P. O'Brien, MP, with a Kodak of the finest quality in recognition of his signal success in the use of the small Kodak with which he took the now famous instantaneous photograph of the shadowing in Tipperary. There can be no doubt that the publicity given to the merits of the apparatus by the

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[107] Ibid. Elsewhere the report details the Resident Magistrate, Colonel Caddell, moving about the town with 50 RIC officers. It also describes how policemen travelled on the train to Dublin later that day, shadowing Patrick O’Brien and John Dillon.

> debates in the House of Commons and the comments in the press must have been an immense gain to the purveyors of it in this country.[108]

This endorsement of O'Brien's capacity to generate publicity with and for the Kodak camera demonstrates how the shift from artisanal modes of photographic reproduction to industrialised methods affected the politics of photography in a fundamental way. The Kodak company representatives were comfortable enough to celebrate the fact of the camera's power to elicit attention, independent of the nature of the campaign in which it was engaged. In Ireland, this would be largely a safe commercial bet, but in England the association of their brand name with the Irish nationalist movement could be seen to have posed commercial risks. Profit appears to have trumped these considerations in this instance.

Throughout 1890 there were tensions in and around the New Tipperary campaign. Though Archbishop Croke continued to protect his clerics from censure, there was tension between the local priests.[109] There were two branches of the National League in the town. Parish Priest Canon Cahill was president of both, with one led by Humphreys, and the other by his colleague Fr. Walter Cantwell. Cantwell was more moderate, with predominantly middle-class support, and was favoured by Cahill. Humphreys spoke out against Cahill for remaining on in a house on Smith-Barry land and for communicating with boycotted parishioners. Humphreys and Cantwell shared a house, and had disagreements over the hours kept by

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[108] "London Correspondence", *Freeman's Journal*, 11 September 1890, 6.

[109] In June 1889, Croke had written a public letter to Cahill, describing Smith-Barry as "an aggressive and virulent busybody and partisan", and his position remained unchanged (Marnane, 370).

Humphreys and his associates.[110] Tensions also existed in Tipperary between labourers and some farmers, who, as middlemen, extracted profits from those less fortunate.[111] Vaughan points out that there were stories and counter narratives throughout the Land War and Plan of Campaign featuring publicans and shopkeepers who used the system of boycotting and rent strikes to undermine their competitors or to support the diversion of rent monies towards their own businesses.[112]

In September 1890, twelve leaders of the New Tipperary campaign were arrested and prosecuted for conspiracy. Among them were Humphreys, William O'Brien MP, Patrick O'Brien MP and John Dillon MP. While out on bail, Dillon and William O'Brien absconded to the USA, and were absent for the trial, which took place in November. During his trial, Patrick O'Brien was cross-examining Arnold Power, a sub-sheriff involved in the Smith-Barry evictions, when he produced his Kodak camera, and took a photograph of the witness. O'Brien's reasons for taking the photograph are not recorded, although his notoriety and eye for publicity around his snapshot photography might have been a motivation. O'Brien was jailed for contempt of court.[113] O'Brien's early adoption of the Kodak technology, and his canny exploitation of its potential for impactful images show his keen sense of the importance of this new visual form to the Plan of Campaign's political agenda. His use of it as a form of counter-surveillance against an overbearing police presence was made more complex by his theatrical presentation of image blow-ups in the spectacular publicity stunt on the Thames. The Royal Irish Constabulary's use of 'detective cameras', though unremarkable in terms of police adaptation of camera technologies at the time, displays an intimidatory dimension to their operations that accords with the description of the force as performing a "coercive role" in Irish society during the two land agitation campaigns of the 1880s and 90s.[114] Police forces across the world had been producing variations on the 'mug shot' of detainees since the inception of photography, with the process becoming increasingly systematised in the late nineteenth century, notably by Alphonse Bertillon.[115] The power of the disciplinary archive, to use Foucault's term, was augmented through the uses of photography by government agencies – extending the concept of panopticism from the architecture of prisons to the streets of country towns, via the common knowledge that one was constantly available to surveillance, and modification of one's behaviour was necessary.[116] O'Brien's actions rejected this dynamic and turned the camera back onto the faces of the police. Where the secretive police archive posed unspecified threats of indefinite duration, O'Brien's spectacle sought to inch forward the much larger campaign that would bring the police under new forms of authority, that is, Irish nationalist control. We see in this resistance to (or perhaps inversion of) the power relations inherent in police cameras a new configuration of photographic power. In New

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[110] See Marnane, 372.

[111] Edmund Foran, a priest in Dungarvan, County Waterford related to his bishop the case of a farmer whose rent per acre to his subtenants was four times his own rent to the landlord. See O'Shea, 123. The role of the middleman in landholding is a recurrent theme in scholarship focused on the nineteenth century in Ireland. See, for example, Leerssen 1996(a), 70, 72, 306; Whelan, 3, 5, 10, 13, 17, 24, 31, 35, 39, 51; Slater & McDonough, 32, 38; Donnelly, 156-7; Vaughan, 16; Foster, 1988, 220; Marx and Engels, 147.

[112] See Vaughan, 32-3.

[113] See "The Representation of Mid-Oxfordshire", *Jackson's Oxford Journal* [1809], 8 November 1890, 6. See also, "Tipperary Quarter Sessions", *Freeman's Journal*, 7 November 1890, 6.

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[114] See Crossman, 105. The propaganda potential of photography was well understood by government figures at the time. In 1887 Canon Daniel Keller of Youghal, County Cork was imprisoned for managing Plan of Campaign funds. The authorities refused his request to be photographed by the Robinson commercial studio, knowing that the images would help the Plan. See Slattery, Vol 2, 100.

[115] See Tagg, 1988, 2.

[116] See Foucault, 1979, 202-3; Mitchell, 1995, 326; Carville, 2007(a), 105.

Tipperary, two small cameras were pointed at each other in a new redistribution of the sensible.

As autumn turned to winter in 1890 the New Tipperary project was weakening. The crucial turning point was the O'Shea divorce trial in London in November, which publically exposed Parnell's relationship with Katharine O'Shea – causing consternation in Irish nationalist circles, and prompting immediate opprobrium from Catholic Church figures. With funding for New Tipperary slowing down during the year, the fall of Parnell precipitated a crisis in its finances. Humphreys moved immediately into a virulently anti-Parnell position, fuelled by his moral concerns. With campaign funds drying up, Humphreys noted lapses in the resolve of the tenants of New Tipperary, and as Spring 1891 came around, some tenant representatives began to make tentative enquiries with Smith-Barry about returning to their original holdings. Humphreys redoubled his efforts to sustain the campaign, while his more moderate clerical colleagues spoke out against continued boycotting. By May 1891 a large number of tenants had struck deals with Smith-Barry, and one returnee wrote to Archbishop Croke complaining that Humphreys and his "corner-boy faction" were trying to bully the tenants who had relented.[117] After Parnell's death, Humphreys maintained his bitter anti-Parnellite position, and *The Nationalist* newspaper reported on 14 November his verbal attack on Katharine O'Shea, where he had asserted the church's right to denounce "fallen women as the most dangerous pests to society", adding, "we will tolerate no attempt to make vice respectable, to screen adultery under the so-called privilege of ladies. An adultress will always be an adultress in Ireland and no process of white washing in the registry office or any other office will make her anything else".[118] After this misogynistic outburst, he continued his failing campaign to maintain New Tipperary as a viable entity, both politically and socially. However, tenants continued to return to Smith-Barry properties and by March 1892, only seventeen town and thirty-six country tenants were still out of possession. In July 1891, Smith-Barry had gained control over the land upon which the William O'Brien Arcade was built, and at 4am on 11 August 1892, demolition began. While New Tipperary's houses remained, the centrepiece arcade was gone, leaving only portions of its side walls standing.

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[117] Marnane, 376.

Conclusion

New Tipperary's photographic images manifest two distinct ways in which the politics of representation were changing in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Firstly, the photo-agency business model of the Lawrence Company became a forerunner of today's equivalent organisations. It sent photographers out on the road to photograph current events, important sites and figures.[119] The photographs were made by professionals to high production values, using state-of-the-art equipment. The company's multi-modal delivery of the resulting images, in the form of prints, postcards, lanterns slides and so on, served to percolate the images outwards through the elaborate system of media channels that had been developed in large towns and cities. The power of these images became more polyvalent as the channels expanded and became more complex. Audiences became more identifiable along ideological lines, with political movements establishing their own newspapers and magazines to propagate their particular arguments to established constituencies – sometimes beyond local or national geographical boundaries. Secondly, the small and affordable Kodak cameras released in the late 1880s made it possible for exponentially larger numbers of people to participate in the production of photographs. This shift from artisanal, technically complex modes of image making to a convenient and relatively cheap process unleashed a multiplicity of photographic images into the daily lives of middle-class and working-class people. The novel expectation that everyday things could be captured and preserved in photography was socially transformative. The quotidian aspects of life became visible, trapped in the amber of privately maintained albums and archives. More potently, moments of conflict or controversy, such as those in the streets of Tipperary, could be recorded, and put to work against the grain of official police and government accounts of events. In the early 1890s the agency photograph and the snapshot aesthetic of the proto-citizen journalist came together with half-tone technology, making all kinds of photographic images reproducible on newsprint, cheaply and effectively. The half-tone news photograph had the combined effect of making visible new perspectives on society – an extension of Benjamin's optical unconscious on a mass scale – but also, through the newly-forged ephemeral nature of these newsprint images, making them intentionally forgettable. Though images would enter the newspaper archive, retrievable for future historians, the constant displacement of one news image by its daily successors produced a relentless conveyor belt of attention and forgetting in the public sphere.

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[118] See O'Shea, 222.

[119] Kissane writes: "French's function was to provide photographs for a market that favoured views of picturesque landscapes, seaside resorts, and the streets of cities, towns, and villages" (2017, no pagination).

This consignment of the immediate into posterity became accelerated through the combined technologies of representation and reproduction, and the ruins of New Tipperary were photographically banished to the archive. The William O'Brien arcade was a short-lived space where Irish nationalism coalesced into coordinated action, representing an awakening from old forms of land ownership. The new arrangement was carefully managed by its ideological drivers in the mercantile and clerical classes, to ensure that it remained safely inside Catholic and capitalist parameters. Davitt's ambition to combine nationalism with nationalisation was ushered off the political stage. Benjamin writes,

> [from] this epoch derive the arcades and *intérieurs*, the exhibition halls and panoramas. They are residues of a dream world. The realization of dream elements, in the course of waking up, is the paradigm of dialectical thinking. Thus, dialectical thinking is the organ of historical awakening. Every epoch, in fact, not only dreams of the one to follow but, in dreaming, precipitates its awakening. It bears its end within itself and unfolds it – as Hegel already noticed – by cunning. With the destabilizing of the market economy, we begin to recognize the monuments of the bourgeoisie as ruins even before they have crumbled.[120]

The Tipperary arcade, rather than being a monumental bourgeois ruin, functions as a bourgeois prototype for Irish nationalism's next iterations.[121] It was a talismanic space where the testing of rebellion and revolution sifted out its unwelcome constituents – socialism and secularism. Through the rhetorics of international discourses, national politics, local agitation and internecine fights, the Plan of Campaign in Tipperary demonstrated squarely that the landlord system's days were numbered. However, it was also clear that what would replace it was a system in which the most conformist, strategic and cunning operators would thrive, predicated on self interest and sectarian bias. The arcade encapsulated a set of contradictions. It was modern in its context, but already superseded in metropolitan centres. An urban statement built in an Irish field, it was framed by revolutionary thought prefiguring a bourgeois revolt. It was galvanised by collective community resistance, but politically precarious. Intensely localised in its energy, it was always subject to wider national and international narratives. Within the debris of the arcade were the foundation stones of subsequent forms of Irish romantic nationalism, and the idea of the shrine was never far away. William O'Brien's described New Tipperary as "a sort of Mecca to the pilgrims of Irish nationality".[122]

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[120] 2002, 13.

[121] The *Irish Times* of 20 May 1890 recognised this obliquely in a polemic against the project: "The Mart, almost everybody here admits, is doomed to failure. If Mr. Smith-Barry is well advised he will do nothing to avert that doom. Everybody knows what utter failures arcades are everywhere, except for businesses of a light fancy character. Even when so utilized they have proved but

Benjamin quotes Honoré de Balzac:

> Just as physical objects in fact project themselves into the atmosphere, so that it retains the specter which the daguerreotype can fix and capture, in the same way ideas … imprint themselves on what we must call the

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moderate successes in large towns. It takes a place such as London or Glasgow to support an arcade, and even there they are not astonishing successes. Those who dream that Tipperary will support an arcade having some two dozen stalls or shops, suited only for a light fancy trade, must be sanguine indeed" (5).

[122] O'Shea, 101, citing *United Ireland*, 1 May 1890.

> atmosphere of the spiritual world … and live on in it *spectrally* (one must coin words in order to express unnamed phenomena). If that be granted, certain creatures endowed with rare faculties are perfectly capable of discerning these forms or these traces of ideas.[123]

In Balzac's partial conflation of the camera with creatures attuned to the spectral, we can see a shadow of how ideas themselves were reconfigured by photography's intervention into the sensorium of the nineteenth century's public realm. The Daguerreotype's fixing of ghosts precedes Benjamin's optical unconscious, and we become the insightful creatures in discerning what is at stake in the shadow play. Supporters of New Tipperary saw in both French's and O'Brien's images a celebration of the success of new land politics. The snapshot aesthetic of the Kodak and the modern architecture of a commercial arcade – depicted via photo-agency images – aligned their aspirations to the sophisticated modern mercantile dynamics of Dublin, London and beyond. Opponents saw in them the threat of Irish separatist power, as land agitation combined with Irish nationalism. For them, the images became its repulsive propaganda. Benjamin tells us that "history decays into images, not into stories".[124] We are reminded that only dialectical images are genuine images, and to be dialectical they must catalyse a relationship between what-has-been and now – a construction "telescoping the past through the present".[125] Returning to the idea that to understand a photograph is to propose a cross-sectioning of the historical moment using the camera shutter as a blade – the dialectical image ceases to be a photographic image resting on the surface of paper, and instead becomes a *process* through which we understand photographic images.

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[123] Benjamin 2002, 687-688, citing Honoré de Balzac, *Le Cousin Pons* [1848], in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 18, *La Comédie humaine: Scenes de la vie parisienne*, 6 (Paris, 1914, 132).

[124] 2002, 476.

[125] This construction is one made by Buck-Morss (291), linking two disparate pieces (N2a,3 [462] and N7a,3 [471]) in Benjamin's "Convolute N: On the Theory of Knowledge, Theory of Progress" in the *Arcades Project*. 456-488.

Chapter Five

Imaging and Imagining Eviction

Introduction

At the height of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations marking Queen Victoria's sixty-year reign, Maud Gonne and James Connolly led protest meetings and a march on Dublin's streets.[1] Several thousand protesters made their way through the city centre on the evening of 22 June 1897, carrying a black coffin representing the British Empire, singing nationalist songs and waving banners. They passed through crowds who were in town to view the illuminations on buildings and in shop windows celebrating the jubilee. The decorations comprised electric lights and gas-powered lamps, with some forming the shapes of the letters 'VR' and the numbers '37-97', in addition to crown and flag motifs. Late that night in Rutland (now Parnell) Square, Gonne had organised for a lantern projector in a window of the National Club to illuminate a screen opposite with a series of images. The sequence of slides depicted evictions and nationalist heroes, along with statistics on Famine deaths and emigration. The evening had seen sporadic violence, with windows smashed by some protesters. When the police moved in on the crowd at Rutland Square, an elderly woman died from injuries sustained in the melee.

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[1] See D'Arcy for a brief outline biography of Connolly. See O'Callaghan and Nic Dháibhéid for a brief outline biography of Gonne.

The images of eviction used in the slide show that night are known to include some from the Lawrence Company, which are credited to Robert French.[2] In 1890, Lawrence published a collection of sixty lantern slides featuring images of evictions, as part of its *Ireland in the Lantern Slide* catalogue.[3] The collection included images made at eviction sites in Clare, Donegal, Galway, Kerry, Kildare and Wexford.[4] Photographers other than those commissioned by the Lawrence Company also had attended evictions taking place on estates targeted by the Plan of Campaign. The Plan organisers sometimes invited photographers and press reporters, and in some instances local photographers were present independently to pursue their own commercial interests. Lawrence is known to have bought images from such photographers.[5]

Gonne later gave an account of borrowing "Pat O'Brien's photos of the evictions" for the event.[6] O'Brien might have owned a copy of the Lawrence collection slides, but also could have provided copies of his own Kodak-generated images from his time spent travelling around the country working on the Plan of Campaign. O'Brien's experience of staging propagandistic slide shows was likely an influence on Gonne and Connolly's approach to the jubilee protests, at a time when nationalism was seeking to mend the internal rifts brought about by the Parnell split.[7]

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[2] See Siggins for an account of French's career. See Chapter Four, above, for an analysis of French's work during the Plan of Campaign's actions on the Smith Barry Estate in Tipperary in 1889-90. See also Franklin and Berry, 16.

[3] See Rockett & Rockett, 66-7.

[4] The National Photographic Archive catalogue label for the sixty Lawrence slides reads, "Taken at Various Evictions Years 1886-90". The images were made at the Hill Estate in Gweedore, Donegal; the Clanricarde Estate in Woodford, Galway; the O'Callaghan Estate in Bodyke, Clare; the Vandeleur Estate in Kilrush, Clare; the de Petheny O'Kelly Estate in Clongorey, Kildare; the Brooks Estate at Coolgreany Wexford; the Byrne Estate in Coolroe, Wexford; and the Winn Estate in Glenbeigh, Kerry.

[5] See O'Shaughnessy, 2015, where he makes a convincing argument that none of the Vandeleur eviction images are by French, but were in fact bought by the Lawrence Company from Timothy O'Connor of Limerick very soon after the evictions had taken place.

[6] Cullen, 2002, 177. Cullen, in note 6, cites Gonne's autobiography *A Servant of the Queen: Reminiscences,* 215.

Connolly's Irish Socialist Republican Party had organised another protest the night before, at Foster Place on College Green. Both Connolly and Gonne spoke at the protest, attacking the monarchy and the history of British control in Ireland.[8] There were also violent scenes that evening, when a group of students from Trinity College Dublin attacked the protesters. The nationalists armed themselves with sticks and counter-attacked, while the police corralled the students back inside the grounds of the university.[9] Connolly's socialist philosophy was an important element within Irish nationalism, reminding us of a point made by Engels – that the Irish "are most internationalistic when they are genuinely nationalistic".[10] Young argues that Connolly "was the first leader in a colonized nation to argue for the compatibility of socialism and nationalism".[11] Gonne's position between the politics and emergent cultural forms of nationalism positioned her as a catalyst in a process described by Young:

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[7] See Whelan, 1996, 172.

[8] Baylis and Edge, 797, n15 write: "as [J. H.] Murphy (2004, pp.20, 24) notes royal visits, including Queen Victoria's 1849 visit, were popular in Ireland. It is only at the time of Victoria's Golden Jubilee (1897) that the caricature of the monarch as Famine Queen becomes widespread in Ireland; this was the time when in England she becomes the symbol of British imperial achievement. Irish nationalist rhetoric utilises this figuration by claiming that if the queen symbolised British success, she could also be positioned as liable for British failures, most notably the Great Famine".

[9] See the *The Freeman's Journal*, Tuesday, 22 June 1897, 6.

[10] Marx and Engels, 332. Lloyd reminds us of the contradictions inherent in the Irish republican movement, citing the combination of Connolly's socialism, Sheehy-Skeffington's "pacifist feminism", the Cultural Revival and language movement, and Markievicz and Gonne's socialist feminism (1999, 28).

[11] 2001, 305. Young states that Connolly's argument for the compatibility of socialism and nationalism produced "a position which would not only inspire Lenin and through him lead to the Third International, but which would subsequently become the defining characteristic of the triumphant tricontinental Marxism of the national liberation movements, including that of Fanon, but also that of Mao, Cabral and Guevara" (Ibid.)

> Although cultural politics was first developed as the highly visible project of the Gaelic revival by Irish intellectuals more concerned with constructing an anti-bourgeois Irish identity than with Irish independence, it was subsequently adopted in Ireland and elsewhere as an important means of developing anti-colonial consciousness that would unify anti-colonial struggle.[12]

The aim of this chapter is to contextualise the use of the Lawrence eviction images during these events, to offer a critical account of the politics inherent in the images' *re-use*, and to suggest a reading of the images in this context. To do so, it is necessary to focus on a selection of eleven images from the collection, in order to tease out some of the salient formal, technical, aesthetic and contextual issues. Important to this analysis is that, by the late 1890s, photography was fully imbricated in a complex mediasphere, which was internationalised and highly capitalised. Photographs were no longer popularly understood as artisanal objects, but instead functioned as ephemeral and ubiquitous objects (in print and slide form) in both public and private realms. Gonne's re-use of the Lawrence images was strategic appropriation from an image archive, put to use for explicit political purposes. Her combination of the images with older illustrations of Fenian figures, and statistical information about the Famine, demonstrated a sophisticated multi-modal approach to creating persuasive visual propaganda. Her use of the public street as a platform for this presentation draws on earlier modes of protest, building on nationalism's 'capture' of the public sphere.

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[12] Ibid., 7. Citing Foster, 1988, 455.

The industrialisation of the production and consumption of photographic images provoked some regressive cultural responses. In 1892 a group of photographers, committed to using photography as an artistic medium (by which they meant using a limited set of aestheticised pictorialist conventions), had broken away from the Photographic Society in London and set up a new organisation, the Linked Ring Brotherhood of Photographers.[13] At the same time, progressive developments were also taking place. Professor John Joly of TCD was experimenting with an early colour photographic process.[14] He is also credited with taking the first x-ray photographs in Ireland, three months after Wilhelm Röntgen had discovered the process and six weeks after its announcement.[15] New developments in popular photography had a significant effect on commercial studios, with a notable decline in their numbers during the 1890s.[16] These changes to the field of photographic representation were driven by a combination of social and market forces, and technologically determined innovation. The photographic dimension of the rapidly accelerating mediatised economy was hugely influential in cultural terms. Mitchell argues that this field of representations needs to be continually critically evaluated on its protocols as well as its content:

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[13] See Taylor, 2007. Despite its name, the organisation founded by Henry Peach Robinson did admit female members. It adhered to the conventions that had been established in previous decades by art-photography organisations, holding annual exhibitions called *The Photographic Salon*. The Photo Secession, established in New York in 1902 by Alfred Stieglitz was energised by similar ideas.

[14] It involved inscribing dry plates with screens of red, green and blue lines at a density of thirty lines per inch. Joly's work was developed from the ideas of Clerk Maxwell and Ducos de Hauron in the 1860s. He lectured on the work in 1894-5 and applied for a patent in 1894. James McDonough of Chicago had already patented a very similar process in 1892, and won a dispute in a US court. See Chandler 1989, 37.

[15] See Rockett & Rockett, 65.

[16] See Chandler 1989, 38.

> [Suppose] we thought of representation, not as a homogenous field or grid of relationships governed by a single principle, but as a multidimensional and heterogeneous terrain, a collage or patchwork quilt assembled over time out of fragments. Suppose further that this quilt was torn, folded, wrinkled, covered with accidental stains, traces of the bodies it has enfolded. This model might help us understand a number of things about representation.[17]

Mitchell's construction is a useful metaphorical entry to a discussion of Irish romantic nationalism at its fusion point with Gaelic revivalism and appeals to blood sacrifice – coinciding with an intense phase change in technologised modernity. Its tears, accidents and implicated bodies bring to mind Bhabha's analysis of nation formation: "Nationalism is not what it seems, and *above all not what it seems to itself* […] The cultural shreds and patches used by nationalism are often arbitrary historical inventions. Any old shred would have served as well. But in no way does it follow that the principle of nationalism […] is itself in the least contingent and accidental".[18] The carefully considered photographic moment enacted by Gonne was a small fragment in the bricolage process that was bringing Irish nationalism into a new focus as the century turned. These emergent political and cultural tendencies were mutually nourishing. Leerssen's account of a three-phase development common to European nationalisms since the eighteenth century begins with the rise of cultural awareness. The second phase sees demands for social reform predicated on this cultural awareness. The final stage witnesses "the spread and intensification into a mass movement resisting the power of the state and often formulating an agenda of full separatism".[19] What is clear from the Rutland Square event is that Gonne sought to reinforce the connection between separatist nationalism and the depiction of land, and specifically the contested ground of rural evictions. She also sought to revivify the emotional resonance of the act of eviction itself, through visually restaging events from nine years earlier, and stirring deeply held feelings connected to the un-photographed mass evictions and migrations of the Famine era. This compacting of historical time is expanded upon by Bhabha:

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[17] 1995, 419.

[18] 203. Citing Gellner, 55.

> The recurrent metaphor of landscape as the inscape of national identity emphasizes the quality of light, the question of social visibility, the power of the eye to naturalize the rhetoric of national affiliation and its forms of collective expression. There is, however, always the distracting presence of another temporality that disturbs the contemporaneity of the national present, as we saw in the national

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[19] 2014, 164. Citing Hroch.

> discourses with which I began [...] the origin of the nation's visual presence is the effect of a narrative struggle.[20]

Benjamin's dialectical image is predicated on a rupture to the continuity of historical time by an emergent connection between two moments. Bhabha's concept (highly visual in its framing) reminds us that the sequencing of these encounters shapes the national narrative. As we have seen, Bhabha's account of narrative struggle is predicated on the problematisation of the very idea of a stable definition of reader, or writer.[21] Narratives are formed and embedded in culture, until contested or dislodged. Eviction photographs 'captured' the events as they unfolded – clearly important as they happened, but increasingly monumentalised thereafter within Irish nationalist historiography. This process enfolds events, later to be unfurled as documentation of new-but-timeless truths. Foucault writes:

> To be brief, then, let us say that history, in its traditional form, undertook to 'memorize' the *monuments* of the past, transform them into *documents*, and lend speech to those traces which, in themselves, are often not verbal, or which say in silence something other than what they actually say; in our time, history is that which transforms *documents* into *monuments*.[22]

From the commercial incentives driving photographers across the country documenting evictions, to the subsequent instrumentalisation of the images by nationalists, the production, circulation, recirculation and consumption of these photographs reveals some important contours of Irish photographic cultures at the century's end. Gonne, in what she described as "my lantern slide show," positioned the Lawrence eviction photographs as documentary artefacts, monumentalised in the public street.[23]

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[20] 205.

[21] See Chapter One, above, re Bhabha's engagement with the Derridean concept of 'writing under erasure'.

[22] 2002, 7. Emphasis in original.

Spectacularising Eviction

The lantern slide show was a well-established feature of nineteenth-century culture, having grown out of earlier formats used for entertainment, education and proselytising.[24] In the eighteenth century, the phenomenon of the Phantasmagoria had evolved as a technologised form of panorama entertainment. The spectacular panorama shows seen in European cities were often representations of geographical spaces, featuring city skylines or foreign landscapes. Phantasmagorias were hybridised forms, often involving narratives featuring ghosts and other frightening elements. Nicholas Mirzoefff notes how they used "multi-media, lights, shadows and projections as forerunners of slide lantern shows" and that the medium was "imbued with the spectral, the visionary, the supernatural, the heroic".[25] Kevin and Emer Rockett identify a cultural trigger for the format's development:

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[23] Cullen, 2002, 170.

[24] See Rockett & Rockett, 53. Cullen, 2002, 167, details how a contemporaneous edition of "*The Optical Magic Lantern Journal* marvelled that all would soon be using the lanternist's help, because he can show on the screen, whether it be in the public hall, school-room or street, facts, figures, and particulars, that no other form of advertising can approach".

[25] 140-1.

> It was not until the second half of the eighteenth century, when the spirit of the Enlightenment – epitomized in the *Encyclopedie* (1751-80) and its desire to create a knowable rational universe – merged with its opposite – the anti-rationalist gothic counter culture – that the magic lantern was refigured into the phantasmagoria. Crucial to its success and its popularity were the lingering superstitions and beliefs so encouraged during the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries.[26]

Shows that countered the premises of rationality had a sustained appeal for audiences, and as the technology became cheaper, a consumer market emerged. In 1864, Robinsons of Grafton Street had advertised magic lanterns for domestic use. The advertisement was loaded with the language of the ethereal, featuring the words ‘Phantasmagoria’, ‘transformations’, ‘ghosts’ and ‘spectral appearances’.[27] The association of a new technology with pre-modern ideas echoes its later use by political propagandists, seeking to entrance their audiences with narratives stitched together from myth and memory. To augment the impact of the presentation, on the night of the Rutland Square projections, Connolly used his contacts in Dublin Corporation to arrange “for the cutting of wires to prevent the display by the Unionist shops of their electric decorations”.[28] With the symbolic neutralisation of local unionism via the darkening of its illuminations, the visual spectacle of the slide show was enhanced by the diminished ambient light. Gonne described there being a huge screen erected for the projection, and Cullen estimates that the image would have been four to five metres wide, with the projector's 'throw' being about twelve metres.[29] Apart from Patrick O'Brien's influence on Gonne's propaganda strategy, lantern slide shows were being used more widely by political campaigns across the UK.[30] In Ireland, the conservative Primrose League used lantern slide shows to counter the successful propagandising work of the Plan of Campaign in the late 1880s, and to promote the arguments of unionism.[31] The residual phantasmagoric aura of the slide show format placed these kinds of presentations in a space suspended between politics and culture.

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[26] 27.

[27] It coincided with the spectacular *Ghost Show*, which ran for 253 performances at the Rotunda from September 1863 to January 1864. See Rockett & Rockett, 51.

[28] Cullen, 2002, 167. Cullen quotes Gonne, 17. At the time, municipal electricity supply was in its infancy, with a combination of public and private companies competing in the sector. Most of the city centre was supplied by a Dublin Corporation station opened in Fleet Street in 1892, while other parts of Dublin were reliant on private companies. 1897 was the first year that the Corporation’s installation turned a profit. See Manning and McDowell, 8-9.

Political activists adopted, where necessary, the cultural tropes and myth-making of the cultural nationalists in order to galvanise support and shape communal action. Cultural nationalism saw its task as to forge the new nation in waiting. The diverse culturalist initiatives of the 1890s included "literary, dramatic, linguistic, sporting, and journalistic elements with different sympathies, different social roots and different gradations of separatism".[32] Gonne was a pivotal figure between the activists such as Connolly and the artists, with W. B. Yeats being most prominent.[33] Dwan writes that “Yeats liked to suggest that culture supplanted politics after the death of Charles Stewart Parnell”,[34] and Seán Ryder argues that Yeats, “heroicizes the anti-modern, anti-intellectual and anti-bourgeois in order to suggest a radical alternative to the capitalist, rationalist modernity which characterizes Western imperialism”.[35] The mining of the past (both real and mythical) was important to the Gaelic revivalists, and sat at an awkward angle to the concerns of others in the nationalist movement at the time. Foster argues against fetishising originary moments in the development of nationalism, such as the death of Parnell and Douglas Hyde’s lecture, *On the Necessity for de-Anglicising Ireland*. He sees in Yeats and his contemporaries a tendency to do so.[36] The gulf between figures such as Yeats and the public they sought to rouse into nationalist action is captured by Leerssen, when he writes: “I, for one, cannot see how Yeats thought he was benefiting the people of Kiltartan by explaining to them that poetry is ‘a habit of mind caught as in the beryl stone of a Wizard’”.[37] However, this gap between artists and activists was bridged by figures such as Gonne, who moved easily between the worlds of the elite social and political classes while leading political meetings on the streets.

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[29] See Cullen, 2002, 165.

[30] Cullen writes: "The nationalists of the 1890s were following a recent trend in the public use of lantern slides to aid political propaganda. Such London-based groups as the Liberty and Property Defence League, formed 'to combat excessive government legislation', had been holding public talks accompanied by magic-lantern displays since at least the mid 1880s, but in 1895, only two years before the Dublin incident, the London County Council elections were enlivened by anti-Tory candidates who used the lantern for campaigning purposes, and more particularly used it on the street" (2002, 167).

[31] The Primrose League had 35 branches in Ireland, 1888-90. See Cullen, 2002, 167.

[32] Leerssen, 1996(b), 208.

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[33] Yeats later wrote that Gonne had become the “idol of the mob”, and when he had forcibly prevented her from participating in the riot on the night of the Rutland Square event, she was furious and told him “that their destinies were different, he should not involve himself in 'the outer side of politics', while she was 'born to be in the midst of a crowd'”. Cullen, 2002, cites Gonne, 217; Gould et al, 117; Foster 1997, 181. Kelleher notes that in the first version of Yeats’s *Countess Cathleen* in 1892 (which was dedicated to Gonne) Cathleen argues that theologians agreed that theft by a starving man is not a sin. This argument resurfaced in Gonne and Connolly’s 1898 pamphlet *The Right to Life and the Rights of Property* – written after Gonne had travelled to the West and witnessed significant distress due to heavy rain, crop failure and low prices during 1897. See Kelleher, 118.

[34] 4.

[35] 183.

[36] See Foster, 1995, 262-3.

[37] 1996(b), 207.

During the Plan of Campaign, Gonne had spent time in Donegal visiting eviction sites. Timothy Harrington, one of the campaign leaders, was struck by her potential as a propagandist. He saw value in her public profile, and her social and political connections.[38] While there, she dined with the local bishop and the parish priest on the Olphert Estate near Falcarragh, one of the few Donegal targets of the Plan among 200 nationwide.[39] A leading figure in the Donegal campaign was the parish priest of Gweedore, Fr. James McFadden, who was well known for his activism.[40] McFadden's involvement with the campaign at the Hill Estate outside Gweedore made him a notorious figure to the government, and a powerful presence to the local tenant population.[41] In figure 26, we can see a family of six outside their home after eviction. The mother holds a young child of around eighteen months. A girl of about five sits on a stool. In front of her is a young baby asleep in a wooden cradle. To the right of the door is the father, and beside him another child, about three years old. Around them are strewn a few possessions, including a chair, some stools, the cradle, a butter churn, a bucket and a basket, some sods of turf, and some dried chunks of tree branches and roots. All family members other than the sleeping baby are looking at the camera. The sun is strong and the shadows are short on this summer day. The evictions on the

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[38] O'Callaghan & Dháibhéid note that both Davitt and John O'Leary were wary of her association with the campaign.

[39] See Curtis, 2011(b).

[40] See Maume, for a brief biographical account of McFadden.

[41] See Hourican, 2017(b) for a brief biography of Lord George Augusta Hill, who developed the estate during the nineteenth century. See also his death notice, *Belfast Newsletter*, 9 April 1879, for a brief outline of the estate's history. The Landlord at the time of the Plan of Campaign was George's son Arthur Sandys Blundell Hill, who was largely absent and far less popular with the tenants than his father had been.

Hill estate commenced on Tuesday, 10 August 1886 and continued for several days.[42] The image caption states *At Gweedore, Co. Donegal*. It is archived within the William Lawrence Collection at the National Photographic Archive and credited to Robert French.[43] The door of the house is blocked with three rudimentary horizontal planks, appearing more symbolic than physical in their effectiveness. The older child on the stool is wearing ragged and patched clothes, held together at loosely stitched seams. She stares past the camera into the distance. The father sits on a traditional wicker creel, normally used for transporting turf. The shoulder straps face forward. He is bearded and appears physically robust, staring from under his peaked cap at the camera, holding his rough, dirty hands together. Sitting at the father's feet is the boy of about three, who is barefoot, wearing a light coloured garment and pale hat, holding a cat. A black iron cauldron is on the ground beside him. The chair in the foreground catches the light, making it a prominent feature in the composition – its horizontal slats combining with those blocking the door to create a visual 'ladder' effect, in contradistinction to the multiple striations made by the many rope lines over the roof above. The family and their possessions form a rough circle outside the house, while the rocky ground and half-buried boulders give a visual rhythm to the image, where the stones of the house façade seem to grow out of the earth. The house has one small window visible. A second section of the house is roofless with an unfilled void for a window. It looks like an addition to the main structure that was either unfinished or simply dilapidated. The thatched roof is in good condition, with dozens of rope lengths holding it in place, tethered to protruding stones built into the wall – typical of cottages on the west coast of Ireland, where strong winds could easily dislodge a less-secure structure. The short chimney is a box-like wooden structure and the sky above is cloudy, with a broad horizontal section blocked out in the printing process – a blank area showing the white of the photographic paper. The right edge of the image bears the traces of abrasion to the negative and just discernible are the tops of some loosely hand-written letters. The distinctive Lawrence-style lettering is in its usual place at the bottom left of the image.

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[42] See the *The Freeman's Journal*, 12-16 August 1886 editions, which carry reports of the Gweedore evictions, indicating that they took place from 10-14 August.

[43] Call number L_ROY_01365. Cullen suggests that the Gweedore images in the Lawrence Collection could have been taken by James Glass, a Derry photographer, and bought by Lawrence at a later date. The marks on the right-hand edge of the image and traces of other letterforms would support this argument. Lawrence is known to have bought out other photographers' inventories to augment his own. See Cullen, 2002, 19. See also Chandler 1989, 34-5, and 2001, 57-9 for detail on the purchase of the Mares and Lesage collections.

The image, floating over the east side of Rutland Square eleven years after its production, is inscribed into the fabric of the city – collapsing the intervening time and geographical distance into a political moment – the traditional Irish cottage looming large in the urban scene, against the backdrop of Georgian houses in the well-appointed square. Only a short distance away the tenements of Dublin's north inner city held their own populations in poverty. Socialist Irish nationalists sought to connect the two sides of the country through this appropriated iconography. In the years since the photograph had been taken, Parnell's career and life had ended, the Plan of Campaign had run its course and parliamentary nationalism was reshaping itself along new lines. Irish politics was in another intense phase change and romantic ideas of Irish culture were taking on new institutional shapes. The National Literary Society had been formed, leading in turn to the formation of the

Gaelic League. In this way, the spoken language of Gweedore and the western seaboard was becoming installed as an essential pillar of cultural nationalism, via the agency of Anglo-Irish figures such as Douglas Hyde. The 'lost' civilisation of Gaelic Ireland, ostensibly erased by colonialism, was being excavated and reinstated in new forms, legible and palatable to a new generation of middle-class nationalists.[44] Frawley writes that "rurality became a sign of Ireland's past, and the symbol of the goals of the Irish present: a psychological return to the land".[45] To the protestors on the street in June 1897 the visual message was clear: access to heritage and identity is being violently wrenched from our grasp, and our home is being destroyed by foreign intruders. The police baton charge on the night of the show could only serve to strengthen this message for the nationalist crowds.

The traces of physical labour etched into the hands of the displaced man, speak to the threat that eviction posed to his capacity to provide for his family. This detail identifies him with the urban proletariat that Connolly sought to win over to his politics. Young notes how Connolly's political views moved from a position of non-violent internationalism towards the justification of violence in a national-internationalist frame.[46] The power of Catholic Church support for the Land War and Plan of Campaign ensured that socialism would remain largely anathema to separatist nationalism. This was a tendency that had endured from the early years of romantic nationalism as espoused by the Young Ireland movement. Dwan cites an article in *The Nation* from 1842: "What is the great objection to socialism? It appears to us to be this – that it destroys the grand sentiment on which society is based – namely the sentiment of property."[47] This idealist notion justifying property's links to political power, maintained the mystical shell that Marx had sought to remove from Hegel's kernel of rationalism. When cultural nationalists began to synthesise Gaelic revivalism into separatist politics in the 1890s, the links between Catholicism, capitalism and nationalism were secured. It is perhaps this fact that Yeats was referring to when he stated that no country "could have a more natural distaste for equality".[48] Connolly worked to progress his socialist republicanism in the capital against this grain. Dublin at the time was a place of extreme socio-economic divisions, where the city centre "was a byword for spectacularly destitute living conditions" among "warrens of indescribably squalid tenements".[49] It was also experiencing the increased mediatisation of its culture, and the impact of photography within this process.

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[44] As Foster puts it: "Where Balfour's administrators saw an economic disaster area, the League saw the remnants of a Celtic 'civilization' that implied a spiritual empire far greater than England's tawdry industrialized hegemony" (1988, 448).

[45] 51.

[46] See Young, 2001, 303.

The Rutland Square protest demonstrates how photographs can be unmoored from their contexts of production and put to work in specific ways. One of the consequences of the increasing ubiquity of photographic images at the time was the anonymisation of their production. As with newspaper reports, photographs were circulated and consumed often without reference to their authors. The photographer was relegated to being a producer within a visual system where the population met with images in the public realm involuntarily. The unplanned consumption of images, combined with their apparent lack of authorship lent the photographs a sense of free-floating signification – dependent more than ever on the paratexts produced to mediate their presence. The audience in June 1897 was to infer that the evictees were victims of British rule, among millions of other victims of a callous system that needed to be overthrown. This metanarrative is at once political, but requires the 'background noise' of a mediatised society to strengthen its effect. In a culture where photographs were becoming ubiquitous, the more apparently grounded the narrative of an image (or image sequence), the more purchase it had on its target audience. Part of the visual ecology of the time was the well-established public understanding of the Kodak camera's place in both private and public realms. The displaced Donegal family floating brightly above the city street invoked the private family snap, and its subtle intimacies. In this image ecology, the professionalism or amateurism of a photograph became less important than the uses to which it was put. John Tagg suggests that this is one of the defining characteristics of the photograph in modernity:

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[47] 53. See note 16, citing *The Nation*, 3 December 1842.
[48] Dwan, 127.
[49] Foster, 1988, 436.

> Photography as such has no identity. Its status as a technology varies with the power relations which invest it. Its nature as a practice depends on the institutions and agents which define it and set it to work. Its function as a mode of cultural production is tied to definite conditions of existence, and its products are meaningful and legible only within the particular currencies they have. Its history has no

> unity. It is a flickering across a field of institutional spaces. It is this field we must study, not photography as such.[50]

Tagg's 'flickering' is not a natural or impartial process. The images don't arbitrarily happen into institutional spaces. They are purposefully employed by individuals, to particular ends at specific times. The overlapping of politics and art in Rutland Square highlights photography's then unique capacity to complicate the boundaries between social, political and cultural imaginaries – tied into new narratives of the nation-in-waiting. Rancière proposes an analysis that begins to unpick this knot:

> Within any given framework, artists are those whose strategies aim to change the frames, speeds and scales according to which we perceive the visible, and combine it with a specific invisible element and a specific meaning. Such strategies are intended to make the invisible visible or to question the self-evidence of the visible; to rupture given relations between things and meanings and, inversely, to invent novel relationships between things and meanings that were previously unrelated. This might be called the labour of fiction, which, in my view, is a word that we need to re-conceive.[51]

Rancière's 'labour of fiction' is apposite. Gonne and Connolly staged a technologically-advanced public reconception of the relationship between the emotive issue of rural evictions and Irish independence. It was a spectacularised visual encounter, taking an urban audience into a fleeting phantasmagoric experience of land politics unmoored from its context of production. The voice of the street was transformed. The illumination of abject rural poverty lit up spaces festooned with the darkened bulbs of the royal jubilee. The crowd was galvanised into solidarity through the shared encounter with a long-evicted family, who were rendered visible by shadows on a screen. The fiction constructed was not merely a reframing of the past. It was a script for the future. Rancière notes how the preparation of new narratives disrupts and supplants the ontologies of what has gone before:

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[50] 1988, 63.
[51] 2010, 149.

> 'Fiction', as re-framed by the aesthetic regime of art, means far more than the constructing of an imaginary world, and even far more than its Aristotelian sense as 'arrangement of actions'. It is not a term that designates the imaginary as opposed to the real; it involves the re-framing of the real, or the framing of a dissensus. Fiction is a way of changing existing modes of sensory presentations and forms of enunciation; of varying frames, scales and rhythms; and of building new relationships between reality and appearance, the individual and the collective.[52]

This formulation works as a mechanism for Benjamin's dialectical image, giving us sight of the structures through which images 'telescope the past through the present' by means of a range of enunciative forms, frames, scales and rhythms.[53] In this instance, the past that is being mined is just eleven years earlier, but eviction photographs from the 1880s served symbolically as surrogates for the images that were never made during Famine-era clearances. Of approximately 90,000 evictions recorded between 1847 and 1880, it is estimated that 50,000 took place between 1847 and 1850.[54] Kinealy identifies 1850 as the year when this wave of evictions peaked, seeing the removal of 100,000 people from their homes.[55] The collective memory of these events was sustained, with the issue reinvigorated by notorious episodes in subsequent decades, such as the Derryveagh evictions in 1861 in Donegal.[56] By the time of the Land War, the moral justification for boycotting and rent strikes had been internalised by many – though Vaughan points to a contradiction inherent in the position of some activists in the 1880s: "Farmers during the Land War may have liked to think of themselves as the victims of the Famine, but they were in fact often the legatees of those who were removed".[57] Cleary describes how emergent nationalism generated new narratives, predicated on retrieving the past in order to reconstitute a stable sense of culture: "At the distance of but a single generation from the lived trauma of the Great Hunger, a collective drive was under way to salvage something from the last great devastation of Gaelic culture in order to create a modern Ireland in terms that would not simply be British." [58] This process led to the formation of the Gaelic Athletic Association in 1884, the National Literary Society in 1892, the Gaelic League in 1893, the Co-operative Movement in 1894, and the Irish Literary Theatre in 1899 – along with the campaign for a Catholic University and the church's "massive building programme" of the late nineteenth century.[59]

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[52] Ibid.

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[53] See Buck-Morss, 291.

[54] See Vaughan 23, and Foster, 1988, 374. Ó Gráda, 44, draws attention to differing estimates of the number of evictions during the period.

[55] See Kinealy, 2002, 44.

[56] See Vaughan, 10, Foster, 1988, 374, Curtis, 2011(a), 67-70, and Kinealy, 2002, 214. The Derryveagh evictions saw the young priest, McFadden begin his overt involvement in land politics. He was later to gain national and international notoriety for his actions. See Curtis, 2011(a), 68.

[57] 23.

[58] 68.

Imagined images of Famine evictees imbued much of the heightened emotion around evictions during the Land War and Plan of Campaign. Illustrated papers had carried artists' images of scenes in Ireland during the Famine, often accompanied by lurid textual accounts of the suffering, but no photographs were made.[60] The abjection described was often extreme. The *Illustrated London News* of 4 April 1846 argued against the barbarity of some evictions being carried out in Ireland at the time, giving an account of how some evictees were reduced living in 'scalps' – holes dug in the ground, out of which they were sometimes driven or burnt.[61] In her political activism, Gonne had capitalised on the connections between the Famine era and the Plan of Campaign, sometimes using emotional language to invoke a sublime reading of the imagined Famine landscape. On 20 February 1892, she gave a lecture in Paris, in which she said "[it] has seemed to me at evening on those mountains of Ireland, so full of savage majesty when the wind sighed over the pits of the famine where the thousands of dead enrich the harvests of the future, it has seemed to me that I heard an avenging voice calling down on our oppressors the execration of men and the justice of God".[62] It is in the aftermath of catastrophe that Gonne seeks to locate the power of nationalism.

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[59] Ibid.
[60] See Chapter Two, 'The Invisible Famine', above.
[61] See O'Sullivan, 50.

The image in figure 27 depicts a second scene from the aftermath of an eviction. It shows members of the same family seen in figure 26, this time outside a small dwelling made from sods of earth. The caption reads, *Labourer's Hut Gweedore*, with the image credited to French. The lines, tones and textures of the image make the hut appear to grow from the rocky ground, or to be in the process of merging back into it. The surrounding space of rough undulating soil and rock gives an unearthly feel to the scene. The hut itself, with its rudimentary door surrounded by boulders recalls images of ancient passage tombs. Bright sunlight, low in the sky from the right, illuminates the mother's hand supporting the young child, and also the father's face. In this image we can see that the mother is now barefoot, as is the child on the right. They appear to be dressed exactly as they were in figure 26 – suggesting, along with the quality of light, that both images were made on the same day. This implies that the eviction had occurred several days prior – giving enough time to have the earthen house built and the family moved into it – or that the mud hut was built in anticipation of the eviction date. It would also explain the extreme paucity of belongings evident in figure 26.

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[62] Kelleher, 112. The lecture was delivered to the Cercle Catholique des Étudiants, du Luxembourg de Paris. Kelleher cites Gonne-McBride, 153-56. Yeats subsequently praised the speech, writing: "with rare mastery over the picturesque it unrolls incidents that compel attention and burn themselves into the memory [...] many who heard this passage will never forget as long as they live the skeletons huddled by the extinguished hearths and the great pits where lie thousands who make fertile the harvests of the future" (Kelleher, 113, citing "The New 'Speranza'", *Boston Pilot*, 30 July 1892).

Though clearly a family of limited means, contemporaneous accounts of Donegal evictions describe some harrowing scenes of destitution far in excess of that depicted here.[63] In figure 27 the sleeping child in the cradle is no longer visible, nor the older girl. No possessions are visible outside the home, and we can only imagine the interior. It's not clear if there is a chimney, though at the far end of the structure on the near side of the rampart edge of the gable there is a feature that could be one. The only element that denotes any kind of modernity is a small window in the near gable, which is very similar to the only window visible in the original house shown in figure 26. Its possible that the window was removed from the stone cottage and inserted here. Rather than thatch, the roof is made from rolls of earth held together by grass, with some muslin sack-cloth behind the father's head perhaps functioning as a rudimentary drape instead of a door. To the back of the house, visible to the right, is a more basic structure, maybe for animals, with a cave-like appearance. The primitiveness of the dwelling serves to link anger over recent evictions back forty years to the squalor of the Famine. The sky above the hut is bright and featureless – a product of the exposure being calculated for the foreground, or perhaps touched out in the darkroom to give it a stronger graphic composition. In this image, the four family members are gathered around the door. The National League had a programme of building homes for evictees around the country, with the New Tipperary programme being its most ambitious.[64] In this instance it appears that the family relied on its own circle to provide shelter. The Plan of Campaign activities in north-west Donegal became more intense over the following three years. The Olphert Estate outside Falcarragh was brought close to bankruptcy by the local campaign led by McFadden. He served time in prison in 1888 for his campaign work, and was welcomed home from prison by a crowd of five thousand. Subsequent activities led to a new warrant for his arrest. He avoided the police until 3 February 1889, when the constabulary attempted to arrest him near his house after Sunday mass. A riot ensued and District Inspector William Martin was killed by a blow to the head with a fence post. Several other officers were injured. A murder trial was held, and McFadden was charged with complicity. The jury failed to reach a verdict on his charge, but fourteen men were convicted and jailed for the crime. A notable feature of the trial was the use of photographic evidence by both the prosecution and the defence teams. The state used images of the crime scene produced by a Sergeant Pratt.[65] The defence team hired photographer James Glass from Derry, who was tasked with documenting the harsh living conditions of tenants around Gweedore and Falcarragh. He supplied thirty-eight images to the defence. It was the first time that photographs had been used in a murder trial in the UK.[66]

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[63] See for example, "Evictions in Gweedore", *The Freeman's Journal*, Thursday, 12 August 1886, 5.

[64] Cullen, 2002, 177, notes that Patrick O'Brien was nicknamed 'Pat the Builder' as a result. An image in the Lawrence Collection Eviction Series shows an example of such National League Huts. See call number L_ROY_02162.

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[65] See Baylis, 30 for an account of how the McFadden trial provided the impetus for the RIC to establish its own photographic department. Baylis connects these events to subsequent developments in the miniaturisation of camera equipment during the 1890s, leading to the spread of police surveillance photographic practices.

[66] See "A Derry Photographer, a Murder and a Court Case", *The Derry Journal*, Sunday, 8 September 2013. See also The National Museums of Northern Ireland Catalogue description of the Glass album: https://www.nmni.com/collections/history/photographs/james-glass-album/belumy39039. Accessed 7 December 2018.

The 1889 events in Donegal during the Plan of Campaign became national and international news. When Gonne and Connolly chose to re-use Lawrence's eviction images eight years later, the issue was still quite fresh in the public's memory. To see such a pre-modern scene of poverty and disenfranchisement echo from the near past into the limelit spectacle of a Dublin street protest would have been energising to the partisan crowd. In this narrative, the city and the country are bound together as two linked dystopias, with England to blame for both. The protest organisers worked to ensure that Queen Victoria's jubilee night became a lightning rod for nationalist sentiment as a preface to the upcoming centenary of Wolfe Tone's 1798 rebellion. The theatrical contrivances of the evening were drawn from the formal language of popular entertainment in 1890s Dublin. On Sackville Bridge, the protesters had hurled the black coffin, labelled 'British Empire' into the Liffey. Banners and singing were part of the demonstration, echoing the emergence of nationalist themes in music and theatre in Ireland.[67] Across the UK there were large audiences for panorama shows by companies such as Poole Brothers, who staged elaborate tours featuring panorama paintings, comedians, singers, ventriloquists, musicians, puppets and performing animals.[68] The hybrid position of the photograph, suspended between popular entertainment and politics is reflected in Gonne's reference to her slides as 'documents', and her plan to use them as visual backdrops to her 1904 stage play, *Dawn*, which was never performed.[69] In this moment Gonne has taken Lawrence's 'documents', and their memorialisation of the Donegal evictions, and rendered them fleetingly monumental in scale. O'Connellism had laid the foundations for cultural nationalism's capture of the public realm, with each subsequent wave of nationalist activism consolidating its grip. Leerssen writes: "[no] sooner was the public space opened up in this way for the bulk of the population, it became the sounding board for a Gaelic, Catholic self-image of what it meant to be Irish".[70]

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[67] See Rockett & Rockett, 199.

[68] See Rockett & Rockett, 144.

[69] See Cullen, 2002, 168, 170. See also Kelleher, 124-5, for discussion of the text of Gonne's play.

Vaughan points out that the relationship between this emboldened class and landowners was another dimension of the reconfigured public sphere: "The communal contiguity of tenants of the same landlord, and other elements of tenant life meant landlord-tenant relations were carried out in public [...] landlords were forced to use the law and to take part in public and protracted wrangles whose outcome was uncertain".[71] The Plan of Campaign's public staging of its battles was a political strategy with a clear provenance, but no guarantee of success. Engels argued that it was inevitably headed towards failure:

> The names Ribbonmen, Whiteboys, Captain Rock, Captain Moonlight, etc., have changed, but the form of resistance – the shooting not only of hated landlords and agents (rent collectors of the landlords) but also of peasants who take over a farm from which another has been forcibly evicted, boycotting, threatening letters, night raids and intimidation, etc. – all this is as old as the present

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[70] 2014, 162.
[71] 10-11.

> English landownership in Ireland, that is, dates back to the end of the 17th century at the latest. This form of resistance cannot be suppressed, force is useless against it, and it will disappear only with the causes responsible for it. But, as regards its nature, it is *local, isolated,* and can never become a general form of *political* struggle.[72]

Connolly's analysis of the land conflict coincided with that of Engels, and his views on emergent cultural nationalism were prescient. Five months before the jubilee protest he published a piece on 'Socialism and Nationalism' in which he stated:

> Irish Language movements, Literary Societies or Commemorative Committees, are undoubtedly doing a work of lasting benefit to this country in helping to save from extinction the precious racial and national history, language and characteristics of our people. Nevertheless, there is a danger that by too strict an adherence to their present methods of propaganda, and consequent neglect of vital living issues, they may only succeed in stereotyping our historical studies into a worship of the past, or crystallising nationalism into a tradition – glorious and heroic indeed, but still only a tradition.[73]

Connolly's vigilance over the threat posed by cultural nationalism applied to those adjacent to his political activities. Gonne was close to Yeats, whose literary engagement with the past was predicated on the very terms that alarmed Connolly. Ryder writes that in Yeats's work:

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[72] Marx and Engels, 333. Emphasis in original. In a letter from Engels to Eduard Bernstein, 3 May 1882.

[73] McCarthy, 23. The piece was published in January 1897 in *Shan Van Vocht*, a nationalist magazine published by Alice Milligan and Anna Johnston from 1896 to 1899. It is also reproduced in Beresford Ellis, 121-124.

> the mythologized landscape – however revolutionary in aesthetic or philosophical terms – is curiously timeless at the very moment that the landscape is undergoing some of its most profound historical transformations, including the Land War, and the gradual replacement of landlordism by peasant proprietorship through the Land Acts of 1881, 1885, 1891 and 1903.[74]

David Lloyd expands this point, stating:

> The fetishization of 'folk-culture' as a fixed and primordial expression of a transcendental people is in fact most often an idée fixe of official state culture, deployed in the monumental rituals and ceremonies which perform the identity of citizen and state.[75]

The contention between state and citizen over property rights is playing out in the roadway visible in figure 28. The image caption, *Irish Life: On The Road for Eviction*, gives an immediate narrative trajectory to the image. It was made outside the property of Michael Connell on the Vandeleur Estate near

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[74] 183.
[75] 1999, 33.

Kilrush, County Clare on 31 July 1888.[76] The Vandeleur evictions began on Wednesday, 18 July, and continued daily until 31 July. *The New York Times* reported on the first day of the evictions that the plan was to eject 114 families, comprising 1,000 people, over the following fortnight.[77] The scene shows an eviction team arriving outside the Connell house with their equipment, accompanied by police and soldiers. We can see seventy to eighty people looking on from the immediate surrounding properties and boundaries, while the police manage the "sheriff's line" around the target house.[78] The road reads as a bold diagonal territorial marker, with onlookers to the right, eviction forces in the road, and the Connell house on the left. The soldiers at bottom right of the composition control access to the road. The military in Brewster's images, made forty-six years earlier, were figures in a bringing-into-being of photography in Ireland. They were cautious, examining their barracks boundaries, with tentativeness permeating the images and their subjects. In Hemphill's image from 1864, showing cannon fire to celebrate the queen's birthday, the garrison is in a ceremonial role. Here in Kilrush, the military is out in the community, using force to protect the agents of the landlord as they destroy homes and displace people. It is the formidable power of the state in support of primogeniture writ large. This time there is no timorous coloniser's "tell us why we are here" in the mode

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[76] Mulqueen, 97, indicates that the house was located south east of Kilrush at the approximate GPS coordinates, 52.6068542, -9.4035631.

[77] See "The War on Irish Tenants: A Thousand People to be Driven from Home", *The New York Times*, Wednesday, 18 July 1888, 1.

[78] See *The Freeman's Journal*, Thursday, 19 July 1888, 5, for this description of the exclusion zone used by Colonel Albert Turner, the Divisional Magistrate for County Clare who was leading the eviction process.

Bhabha proposes.[79] In Gonne's shining of eviction images into the urban night nine years later, the connotative power of the photographs fuels an ideological battle – aiming to ultimately wrest away from the crown political control of the actual geographic spaces depicted.

In the time between the images' production and their consumption on Rutland Square, some political developments had made Gonne's separatist rhetoric a harder sell to the unconverted. A settlement had been brokered between the tenants and Vandeleur in 1889.[80] The Congested Districts Board had been established in 1891 to address poverty and land use in the west of Ireland. It set about its work independent of parliament, Dublin Castle, and the Poor Law Unions.[81] With 47,000 holdings bought out in the previous five years, the 1896 Land Act had improved the means by which tenants could purchase the land they worked, and uptake in numbers participating increased.[82] The political sphere into which Gonne and Connolly shone their magic lantern in June 1897 was significantly changed from just ten years previously, shaped by a British strategy termed retrospectively as 'Killing Home Rule with Kindness'.[83] The mediatisation of the political and social spaces of Ireland was also continuing apace, with a strong editorial position in several mainstream newspapers supporting the landlords. T. W. Russell, MP for South Tyrone, attended the Connell eviction and wrote to the *Times*.

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[79] 142.

[80] See Mulqueen, 50, 55.

[81] See Smyth, 2007, 44. Smyth gives an account of the importance to the CDB of the photography of Robert Welch. Marie Boran's work outlines how the use of Welch's photography in the same area set about establishing the landscape of the west as a tourist destination.

[82] See Hickey and Doherty, 288; Foster, 1988, 425n, 610.

[83] See Smyth, S., 42-3.

Before going on to give a detailed account of the reasonableness of the landlord's position, he set the scene in lyrical tones:

> I shall never forget the scene I witnessed at this man's house on Friday last. It was a glorious day. The house stands on the brow of a hill. Below, the stately Shannon rolls to the sea. Far in the distance is Loop Head, and beyond one can see the white crest of the Atlantic breakers. I seldom looked on a lovelier sight. Far as human eye could reach there was not a house to be seen that did not give evidence of substantial comfort. The grass in the fields was up to a man's knees, the roads were black with crowds of well-dressed people, and the house itself was surrounded by Hussars and red-coats. What did all this mean? Here was a man living in a veritable Eden.[84]

Although the photographs don't support this idealised version of the scene, they were not to be seen by many people until later, and then only accessible in a comparatively limited way compared to the reach of the newspaper's textual account in circulation. In figure 28, the house to the right visually occupies a pyramidal space, breaking the horizon line and drawing near level with the top of the tree opposite – the architectonic and natural elements of the road through Moyasta playing off one another as a backdrop to the action below. Two carts on the thoroughfare carry eviction equipment, including a large battering ram and its fixtures. Towards the front of the crowd in the road stands the bearded figure of a reporter with an umbrella under his left arm, and a notebook in hand.[85] In the middle distance, soldiers on horseback are moving in the road, which is kept clear of bystanders by the panoply of policemen, many blurred in their movement. There are indications throughout the image of people active, giving a bustling sense of controlled expectation. The onlookers are virtually all men and boys, on ditches, in surrounding properties and distant fields. Some damage to the image's negative suggests a human form, a silhouetted figure at left looking into the composition – a shadow in the projection, an intermediate spectator between viewer and road.

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[84] See the *Times*, Thursday, 26 July 1888, 8.

Spectatorship was central to the events taking place on the Vandeleur Estate in July 1888. There were 500 soldiers and police on duty during the evictions, with a crowd size reaching 10,000 exercising their 'right to look'.[86] *The Freeman's Journal* reported that "[very] elaborate and indeed most unnecessary preparations were taken to prevent anyone seeing what took place except the sheriff's and agent's party".[87] Bearing witness became a political weapon, as contending accounts of the evictions were published in various newspapers, for or against the Plan of Campaign. Eighteen years earlier, Engels had written, "In Ireland the plundering and even extermination of the tenant farmer and his family by the landlord is called the property right, whereas the desperate farmer's revolt against his ruthless executioner is called an agrarian outrage”.[88] As Gonne and Connolly’s strategy revealed, the right to look and the right to make visible certain images, was in itself a fraught political gamble, with its stakes raised by the size of the street audience. On the Vandeleur Estate, the crown’s forces carefully managed the lines of sight around the evictions. Nine years later, spectatorship of the shadows caught on the road in Kilrush led to violence on a Dublin street.

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[85] O'Shaughnessy, in email correspondence (14 November 2018), suggests that this reporter is Mr. McDonnell from the *Daily News*.

[86] See Scanlan, and the *New York Times* report of 18 July 1888, for police, military and crowd numbers. See Mirzoeff for a deep and wide-ranging account of the politics of visuality and 'counter-visuality' as exercised in highly asymmetrical power systems historically.

[87] "The Vandeleur Evictions", *The Freeman's Journal*, Thursday, 19 July 1888, 5.

It is difficult to identify a precise system used by the Lawrence Company to assign catalogue numbers to the images. In some sequences of images, the numbers assigned imply the order in which they appear to have been taken. In others, this appears not to be the case. In figure 29 we see another perspective on the preparations for the eviction at Connell’s house. It is as if a film camera on a jib has panned, tilted and zoomed, and we are being offered a still.[89] Again, the caption reads *On the Road for Eviction*. The image is a complex and full composition. A mature tree outside of the Connell house dominates the centre of the visual plane. It leans to the left, most likely towards the north-east, as with many trees on Ireland’s western seaboard, shaped by the prevailing south-westerly winds. Its fibrous texture echoes that of the vegetation at the bottom right of the image. The thriving wildness of summer plant life infuses the picture surface with visual energy. Here, the landscape is less under the control of human hands, and the roadway seems to struggle to make its way through dense growth. The house gable is visible, with furniture in a disorderly stack outside. The camera has been set up on the embankment where onlookers stood to the right in figure 28. We now have a clearer view of the two carts on the road. The nearer one has the component parts of the battering ram visible, with the trestles and visible cartwheel providing simple polygonal elements in the busy scene. A blurred figure works some ropes to loosen the cargo. Throughout the image are many blurred figures – policemen, soldiers and emergency men – rendering the roadway and pastures a busy stage where intense action is underway. In the field beyond the house are more soldiers and horses lined up. The land beyond that is dotted with soldiers and horses, giving a greater sense of a district saturated with forces of the state. In the foreground are more observers, with police to the right along the edge of the road. The diagonal compositional elements of the roadway and the battering ram give a visual force to the narrative being enacted. Against the wildness of the plant life and the humble material qualities of the cottages, the battering ram reads as a powerful piece of engineering, dominating the lower half of the image.

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[88] Marx and Engels, 397.

[89] The catalogue number for figure 28 is L_ROY_01761, and number for figure 29 is L_ROY_01766.

It is easy to see how the implied violence of the yet-to-be deployed device, and the rapt detail of the mechanics of eviction within the image, could be mobilised and combined with verbal rhetoric to stir the crowds in the streets of Dublin. Urban nationalists had a powerful tool in Famine historiography. With no photographs 'of' the Famine available, the Plan of Campaign eviction images functioned as substitutes.[90] The national question was more easily promoted by invoking the cruelty of the British Government fifty years earlier. That half-century was also a neat midpoint towards Wolfe Tone's patriot movement, enabling a discursive bridge to be built by political activists. The numbers dispossessed or forced into emigration by the Famine also provided political capital for Irish nationalist arguments.[91] In 1897, the secularism of Tone's movement and the mid-century obliteration of communities by starvation, eviction and emigration provided the themes through which nationalism could revivify the mythical power of 1798 and 1847 – notwithstanding the increasing identification of nationalism with Catholicism. The focus on piecing together disparate moments, ideas and documents of the past was one of the key characteristics of cultural nationalism, and Gonne's technologised stratagem, using photographs and projectors, moved the discourse into fertile new territory. Foucault asks:

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[90] See Baylis and Edge for a discussion of the relationships between Famine iconographies derived from illustrations, and eviction photographs from later in the nineteenth century.

> [why] is it, then, that things are given in an overlapping mixture, in an interpenetrating jumble in which their essential order is confused, yet still visible enough to show through in the form of resemblances, vague similitudes, and allusive opportunities for a *memory on the alert*? The first series of problems corresponds roughly with the analytic of imagination, as a positive power to transform the linear time of representation into a simultaneous space containing virtual elements; the second corresponds roughly with the analysis of nature, including the lacunae, the disorders that confuse the tabulation of

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[91] See Boylan & McDonough, 118; Crowley et al., xiv; Donnelly, 156; Fitzpatrick 175; Foster, 1988, 318-44; 1995, 284; Gray, 1999, 180; Kinealy 2002; Ó Gráda, 76; O'Neill, 66; O'Sullivan, 58; 136; Tóibín & Ferriter, 18, 24, 168; Whelan 1995, 28; 1996, 51.

> beings and scatter it into a series of representations that vaguely, and from a distance, resemble one another.[92]

Gonne's use of the images was just this sort of jumble of resemblances, predicated, crucially, on "a memory on the alert" – that of a nationalist constituency searching to build coherence into its own new narratives. The slide show itself did not need precision. Its kaleidoscopic didacticism provided the raw materials for the audience to piece the story together.

In the third image of this sequence outside of the Connell house, we can see in figure 30 that the battering ram tripod has been assembled, but the key part of the apparatus has not yet been manoeuvred into position. The operators are busy with the components, and the main wooden pole is ready nearby.[93] A white-bearded man holds the chain from which it will be suspended. The tripod visually breaks the roofline of the house apex, drawing attention to its scale.[94] A soldier in the foreground with his back to the lens looks on with his hands on his hips, while three policemen, two civilians and a soldier stand nearby. A young woman leans in the doorframe of the small building to the left, watching the scene. Through the tripod, we see a ladder propped against the thatched roof, which has weeds growing from it. The bailiffs' initial actions at an eviction often included climbing onto the roof and stuffing the chimneys with straw, to fill the house with smoke and hasten the occupants' exit. To the right of the house, at the gable, we can see more clearly the few basic pieces of furniture that have been put there. Again we see many soldiers and police in the middle distance, watching. The image is replete with compositional cues, guiding the eye about the two dimensional space. The diagonal road, with the large beam hovering above its surface is again prominent. The tripod, ladder, and frame structure in the yard, along with the furniture create a series of geometric elements set against the more organic forms of the plant life and cottage. To the right, a man's walking cane leans parallel to the policeman's sword behind him. A cartwheel track on the ground, leading out from under the officer's foot, lends a calligraphic quality to the marks within the frame. The police weapon pierces the edge of the frame, connecting its latent force to the visual field around the image. From the photograph, we can infer the scale of material resources and coordination of teams from the army, police and bailiffs required to carry out the operation. A *New York Times* report from the day before observed that, with 500 soldiers plus the RIC accompanying the bailiffs in their task, "the preparations are as elaborate as they might be for a small war".[95] In Kilrush, the sheriff's exclusion zones around the eviction sites demarcated which spaces were accessible. In Rutland Square, the dissident crowd demanded the public street as their theatre. When the police foreclosed this demand and advanced on the people who had assembled to view the lantern images, panic erupted, and a woman died.[96]

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[92] 2001, 77. My emphasis.

[93] The image is clearly the same property as those of the preceding images (figure 28 and figure 29), however the catalogue description states "Mathias Magrath's house, Moyasta, Co. Clare with the Battering Ram in front". The McGrath eviction (discussed below) took place nearby five days earlier.

[94] *The Freeman's Journal* describes the device in detail: "The battering ram is no stranger to Irish evictions. That which did duty at today's proceeding deserves a word of description. The 'tripod', as the sheriff very properly called it, consists of three enormous pine poles, and from the centre hangs a chain which works a huge beam with an iron ferrule, and moved by ropes pulled by 17 or 18 Emergency men. It is constructed on a larger scale even than usual, and seems perfectly new" ("The Vandeleur Evictions: The Battering Ram and Crowbar at Work", *The Freeman's Journal*, Thursday, 19 July 1888, 5).

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[95] "The War on Irish Tenants: A Thousand People to be Driven from Home", *The New York Times*, Wednesday, 18 July 1888, 1.

The eviction seems to be almost complete in the scene visible in figure 31, which is captioned *Michael Connell, Moyasta, Co. Clare, after eviction*. The seated man at the centre of the photograph appears to be the tenant. He sits against the pile of furniture in the yard, with his arms folded and an attitude that could be a mixture of resignation and defiance. He stares into the middle distance, as does the young barefoot boy beside him, resting awkwardly on a creel. We can now see four súgán chairs and a table carelessly arranged in the pile outside the house. The order of a family kitchen is rendered into chaos outside, on top of the vegetation that had been used to block windows and doors against the bailiffs. Three policemen and seven civilians are in the farmyard. The relationships between the civilians in the image are not clear, but given the strictly controlled access to the eviction site, we can assume that they are members of the Connell family. There are three doors leaning against the house wall, one bearing the traces of typographic posters that have been peeled away. The policemen stand impassively, one holding a rifle to his side, with the butt resting on the ground. Their demeanour suggests that there are eviction personnel inside the house while the photograph was being taken. There is little visible damage to the cottage, suggesting that the eviction took place without excessive force. Here, the battering ram is not in place outside the house, so it isn't clear whether this image was made before or after the scene in figure 30. The catalogue number suggests it was taken earlier. However, there would be no need for a battering ram or chimney blocks to be used if the tenants had already left the dwelling. The materiality of the scene is visible with great clarity throughout the image. The depth of field allows the furniture, discarded vegetation and the architectural elements of the cottage to be seen in fine detail. The people in the image, due to the slight movements of even a still figure during a glass plate's exposure, are very slightly blurred – giving them an other-worldly quality as they occupy their own familiar spaces. The hint of spectrality in such an abject scene, disconnects them from their own story. The imperfections of the negative, leaving small areas of black burned into the top edge of the image, remind the viewer of the materiality of the photographic process itself. To spectacularise such an image in a street lantern slide show is to both uncouple it further from its origins, and implicate it in a narrative being constructed wholly separate to the lived reality of the Connell family in Kilrush.

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[96] *The Freeman's Journal* of Thursday, 24 June 1897, 6, details how Mrs. Ann Fitzsimmons (or Fitzsimon), aged seventy from Cabra, was in Jervis Street hospital, having sustained serious injuries in Rutland Square on the night of June 22nd. The front page of the Saturday, 26 June edition carries her death notice.

The Freeman's Journal of 24 June 1897, details how "at the National Club there was a limelight display and portraits of Allen, and O'Brien were shown".[97] Combining the images of the Fenian 'Manchester Martyrs' of 1867 with images of eviction adds another visual-rhetorical layer to the slide show, an endorsement of physical force separatism. Whelan argues that nationalism's 1898 centenary of the United Irishmen brought about a renewed backward-looking political philosophy, with Fenian sentiment at its core: "As disenchantment with the contemporary political paralysis of the 1890s peaked, there was a rebuking return to the past in the quest for exemplary political heroes".[98] He also identifies how, in a return to a key O'Connellite strategy, the symbolic occupation of the public sphere became a means to express nationalist power. Where O'Connell had used monster meetings, and Young Ireland had established reading rooms – both transient collective events – the 1890s saw a turn to a nationalist desire to monumentalise its ideas in the cityscape:[99]

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[97] 6.

> The proposed statue of Wolfe Tone, for example, was to be located at the top of Grafton Street, deliberately planted in the heart of unionist Dublin. On 15 August 1898 the dedication of its first stone by the veteran Fenian John O'Leary was attended by 100,000 people after a massive procession rich in resonance and ritual. The centenary became easily the most spectacular commemorative event of the nineteenth century: in terms of mass participation in a political project, it was matched only by O'Connell's monster meetings and the high point of the Land League campaign.[100]

Gonne's slide show demonstrated an acute awareness of both the semantic power of photographic images, and its political amplification through public spectacle. Rather than stone and bronze, she used a technologised visual narrative form to capture the public sphere temporarily. At the time of the jubilee protest, the president of the Photographic Society of Ireland (PSI) was Alfred Werner, who four years earlier had won the premier photographic award at the Chicago World's fair with a collection of portraits – one of which was an almost life-size photograph of Gonne.[101] Gonne's position as political agitator and member of Dublin's elite social class gives her a refractive presence in any account of photography in 1890s Ireland. Her association with Werner indicates that she was familiar with his work, and by extension the activities of the PSI at the time. Werner had a successful photographic studio in Grafton Street. His emphasis on the artistic dimension of his personal practice was a counterpoint to the more technically oriented members of the PSI at the time.[102]

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[98] 1996, 172.

[99] Eagleton, 228, writes of the Young Ireland strategy in Habermasian terms.

[100] Ibid.

No account of Werner's political leanings is available, but it is interesting to note that his studio was responsible for portraits of leading society and political figures of the day. In 1896, he produced an image entitled "Evicted", described as showing "a lone woman weeping at loss of her home seen some distance away".[103] In February 1890 the PSI had presented a lecture by Eadweard Muybridge whose photographic experiments on animal locomotion had been an innovative development thirteen years earlier.[104] The optical regime disclosed by this work was by 1897 becoming widely understood in terms of its proto-cinematic qualities. The Lumière Brothers' successful introduction of moving images to Paris in 1895 had subsequently led to the first Irish demonstration of the new visual experience at the Star of Erin music hall (now the Olympia Theatre) in 1896.[105] The visual dimensions of an increasingly complex mediasphere during the late 1890s included cinematographic moving images, Kodak camera snapshot photography, newspapers and magazines using half-tone photographic reproductions, and traditional illustrated newspapers and magazines. The *Nation*, *United Ireland* and *The Freeman's Journal* held steady readerships for their nationalist editorial perspectives, while throughout Ireland there was also a strong appetite for English publications. The journalist Michael MacDonagh described the prevalence of "London penny weekly publications" in every village and town in Ireland in 1900, writing, "there is not a cabin in any part of Ireland […] in which copies of these journals will not be found".[106] The prominent Irish painter, Aloysius O'Kelly had been commissioned to produce a double-page spread of nine illustrations depicting Galway eviction scenes for the *Illustrated London News*, which was published in May 1886.[107] The *Weekly Freeman* and *United Ireland* had been producing chromolithographic illustrations of events in the Land War and Plan of Campaign since the early

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[101] Merne describes how Werner had J.V. Robinson of Malahide (a world renowned camera maker) produce a massive camera to make life-size portraits. Two men were required to go inside the camera to focus the image on the plate. A contact print in Platinotype was made from a negative, measuring 5'4" x 3'2". See Simmons, 186, for an outline of the Platinotype process.

[102] See Chandler 2001, 85. Werner was influenced by the work of Dr. Peter Emerson, whose naturalistic images of the Norfolk Broads had gained prominence in Britain for their pictorialist qualities – a departure from the contrived aesthetics of Henry Peach Robinson and other leading practitioners at the time. See Chandler 1989, 37-8.

[103] See Slattery, 1992, Vol 2, 1. Britain's National Portrait Gallery holds a portrait of Arthur Balfour from 1889 by Werner's Studio. See https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp90290/alfred-werner--son. Accessed 7 December 2018. Unusually in Dublin's photography sector at the time, Werner was one of the very few who had "made good money through investing in Kodak early on" (Chandler 2001, 85).

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[104] See Chandler, 1989, 38-41; 2001, 88; Merne, 11; Rockett & Rockett, 152.

[105] See Condon, 1, 19-25; Rockett, 3-4; Chandler, 1989, 42. The PSI's hosting in Dublin of the Photographic Convention of Great Britain in July 1894 was another significant moment in the imbrication of photography into Ireland's public consciousness. See Chandler, 1989, 41; 2001, XI, 122; Merne, 14; Morrison-Low, 45.

[106] Dwan, 168.

[107] See "On Eviction Duty in Ireland: Sketches in Galway with Military and Police Forces", *Illustrated London News*, Saturday, 1 May 1886.

1880s.[108] It was within this media landscape that people across Ireland consumed information about current events through the system of representations available.

The Bermingham family's eviction from their home on the Vandeleur Estate is the subject of *figures 32-34*.[109] It took place on 31 July 1888, the last day of this phase of evictions. It was reported in London's *Daily News* of 2 August that when the Berminghams resisted the bailiffs, the battering ram was ordered into use. The article states that immediately "two rival photographers trot up with their machines and their tripods and prepare for a scene of blood and destruction".[110] The images from the day are among the more dramatic of the Lawrence Company eviction series, in terms of the visible damage done to the house by the emergency men. On the morning that the Bermingham family was evicted, the *Daily News* reported on the eviction of the Flannigan family nearby the day before. The actions of a photographer on the scene in the immediate aftermath caught the reporter's attention and he gives an extended account of what he saw:

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[108] See Cullen, 2002, 174. Dublin's *Illustrograph Magazine*, introduced in 1894, was one of the first Irish publications to use half-tone photographic reproductions as a feature of the publication. See Chandler 1989, 41. At an angle to these images is the history of the eviction image in the academy of the time. See Cullen, 2002, 172-3, for an account of the art of Elizabeth Thompson, Lady Butler, including her painting, *Evicted* from 1890. See also Gibbons, 2015, 29 for an account of when the painting was shown at the Royal Academy in 1890, it prompted the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury to say "It makes me long to take part in an eviction myself whether in an active or a passive sense". Another notable artwork of the time was Harry Jones Thaddeus's painting *An Eviction Scene, County Galway* from1889. See Cullen, 2002, 171.

[109] Mulqueen, 96, indicates that the house was located north west of Kilrush at the approximate GPS coordinates, 52.666234, -9.564010.

[110] See "The Vandeleur Evictions: Suspension of Operations", *Daily News*, Thursday, 2 August 1888, 3. O'Shaughnessy, 2015, argues that the two photographers were Timothy O'Connor of Limerick, and Peter Collins of Kilkee, County Clare.

> A photographer who has been prowling about all day seizes the psychological moment with the promptitude of a genius. He leads the family captive. He takes them up to a big haycock and beseeches them to stand for a moment with their backs thereto. He spies a priest. He rushes upon him and annexes him – a good choice of priest as luck would have it, for the priest was none other than the Rev. Mr. Gilligan, who for the crime of having made a speech in a boat on the River Shannon was lately run into Limerick Gaol and fed there for weeks on toke and skilly. The artist placed the priest in the middle. The rest of the group were Mrs. Flannigan and Miss Flannigan […] and old Mr. Flannigan and his three sons. "Steady!" says the artist. Now, such is the amiable weakness of human nature, that even his reverence, whose thoughts are usually coupled with higher things, felt and fumbled about for an attitude. He leant his elbow against the side of the haycock and rested his cheek on his forefinger. "Steady!" says the artist: "Now!" Off went the capsule. In an instant he clasped it on again. "Thank you," said he; "finished!" Whereupon the priest, and Miss F., and the rest of them looked at each other awkwardly. They sighed, and then they separated carelessly among the spectators.[111]

The note of levity in the report of the peaceful Flannigan eviction would be absent from reports of the Bermingham family's ejection. The bailiff's team met with strong resistance from within the cottage on the shore of the Shannon Estuary. The house had been barricaded shut by the occupants within, using tree branches and hedges, through which the children of the family were using tin syringes to squirt hot water at the eviction team outside, who carried tarpaulin-covered wicker shields to protect themselves. When it was clear that the tenants would remain until forcibly removed, Colonel Turner ordered the battering ram into place. Because spectators were prevented from coming close to the scene by soldiers and police, a number of locals had used a fleet of boats to attain a vantage point from the water nearby, beyond the reach of the authorities. They were loud in their support for the family during its resistance, shouting and cheering while the tenants held out. The battering ram was effective quite quickly: "The wall was so flimsily built that it crumbled into fragments in a few moments, the breach being wide enough to afford a fair view of the defenders".[112] In figure 32 we can see the battering ram at work during the seconds that it took to smash the wall of the house. We can see smoke, or steam, emanating from the gap. At this point, the family inside – Thomas Bermingham, his sister, two boys and two girls – are still armed with boiling water and projectiles, and the two emergency men nearest the house hold their shields aloft. Six other men operate the device. The group of about fourteen people visible beyond the tripod includes, men and women, emergency men, police, soldiers, officials and reporters. The caption inscribed on the image by the Lawrence Company captures some of the urgency of the moment: *Battering Ram. 'Back with them. Away with them'*. The tree branches from the two windows on the left of the breach are dark, and point upwards like frozen black flames. In the foreground to the left is a well-dressed middle-aged couple looking on from the sidelines. The woman holds up the hem of her skirt so it avoids the muddy ground. Newspaper accounts from Kilrush describe English and American sightseers travelling with officials to view the evictions taking place.[113] Their almost theatrical bearing in the foreground of a violent eviction acts as a surrogate for all non-local viewers of the scene, as though they are the front row of an audience of which we are part. The incongruousness of their apparent wealth and curiosity makes the whole scene read as if a performance for the camera.

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[111] See "The Vandeleur Evictions: More Painful Scenes", *Daily News*, Tuesday, 31 July 1888, 2. The photograph described here is attributed to Timothy O'Connor. The image is available online: http://www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/history/photographing_evictions_vandeleur.htm. Accessed 7 December 2018.

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[112] *Daily News*, 8 August 1888, 3.

The performance within the photograph is a cue for the theatricality of the jubilee protest nine years later in Dublin. The limelight images from Gonne's lantern hover above the street, luminescent and polyvalent, but pulling the audience towards one preferred reading – that the nation has been violated from without. To be more specific would be less effective. Bhabha writes: "In order to represent the people as a performative discourse of public identification, a process he calls 'unisonance', Anderson resorts to another time of narrative […] inscribed in a sudden primordiality of meaning that 'looms up *imperceptibly* out of a horizonless past' (emphasis added)".[114] Here, Benjamin's dialectical image telescopes time between viewer and photographer, coupling the motif of the thatched cottage and the concept of nationhood, and linking the destruction of one to an assault on the other. The symbolic connection of the western seaboard to the urban centre serves to consolidate the semantic system being established. Leerssen writes of the Gaelic revivalists' location of Irish culture in the west of the country: "To construct a given place as peripheral or central moves an entire apparatus of signalling devices, signs and standard attributes into place".[115] Dublin was to be the centre of a revolution, which would rely on the western seaboard to furnish its iconography.

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[113] O'Shaughnessy, in email correspondence (14 November 2018) suggests that the woman is Lady Margaret Sandhurst, who was later described as having witnessed the evictions by Colonel Turner in his memoirs.
[114] 1994, 228. Citing Anderson, 132.

The camera's viewpoint has swung around to the right when we look at figure 33. It provides a more frontal view of the cottage's broken façade, after the battering ram crew has ceased its work, and several officials can be seen entering the house. The image belies the events that had taken place only moments before:

> [The] people in the house, shout, yell and scream. In less than a minute the two boys are led out prisoners, and after them two young girls and the stout young woman, but there is no sign of the father. There is only a confused noise of scuffling in an off-room, to which he had retreated, pursued by police. After a time he comes tottering out between two constables. One side of his face is covered completely with clotted blood, the other side is ghostly white. He reels from side to side in a stooping position, the police trying to hold him up. He groans, holding his red hand over his mouth, which is wide open, and through which the blood is pouring. I thought his jaw was broken.

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[115] 1996(b), 227.

> There was a frightful gash over his forehead. The poor man was going round to the back yard to be put under the doctor's charge. The two young girls gave way and wept aloud. There was no more cheering from the fleet. […] Bermingham's lip was split by a blow from a baton, and […] two or three of the poor fellow's teeth were knocked out.[116]

In the aftermath, an army officer stands with his hands on his hips conferring with two civilian officials. The officer stands on a plank, with his sword hanging down to the left. The ornate decorations of his uniform and hat are at odds with the scene around him, but his body language leaves no doubt as to his authority.[117] A policeman in a pillbox hat walks around the battering ram towards the left of the composition. The battering ram, foreshortened, is less dominant in this image, but its tripod is still occupies a significant visual space. Another soldier stands alone to the left observing the scene, his hand on his hip, holding his gloves, while a third soldier stands to the right of the composition, with his back to the camera, his gloved hands behind him. The shapes made by his white belt and straps form a crude harp motif, partnered with a sword pointing downwards and out of the frame. In front of him stand six policemen and some civilians. In the far distance, we can make out the silhouettes of some onlookers, just to the right of the building. The triangular spatial relationship between the three soldiers points like an arrow into the composition. This is echoed by the shape of the tripod outside the house. The military power of the state, exerted to protect private property, is distilled into the pointed force of the battering ram, which has destroyed a family home.

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[116] *Daily News*, 2 August 1888, 3.

[117] O'Shaughnessy identifies this officer as Captain Duncan Vernon Pirie of the Third Hussars. See 2018, 57.

For the crowds in Rutland Square, the promised national future is to be one predicated on a mythical past, presented as an essentialised identity. Self-referentiality and nostalgia are a potent combination, conjuring new myths; where "Irish cultural nationalism, grown as it has out of a culturally and politically divided country, is to a large extent an interiorized form of exoticism, auto-exoticism. The fascination with things Gaelic is a nostalgic and an exoticist one".[118] The cultural context for Gonne's street theatre is a constellation of tropes in modernity – mass-market newspapers, photography, lantern shows and music-hall songs. It is also a moment at which,

> the imaginaire of the Irish literary renaissance of the 1890s and 1900s is steeped in mythological lore and historical fact: in Keating and Cúchulain rather than in Flaubert or Fontane, with their fictional narratives of contemporary life, their interest in the psychology and social interaction of the contemporary individual.[119]

The turn to the past, and the bluntness of the visual rhetoric employed to do so, is evident when we examine figure 34. Its caption states, *The Battering Ram has done its work [Eviction scene, Ireland]*. In this image, the drama has subsided, and the camera has been moved slightly to the left of the vantage point used in figure 33. Now the battering ram dangles from its chain, with the near end resting on the ground. The damage done to the cottage's façade is more clearly seen and we can make out a male figure inside the house looking upwards into the roof space. The view of the tripod is clear, with details of its metal bolts, chain and guide ropes clearly visible. The shaft of the battering ram has been crafted by hand, with gestural saw and chisel marks visible. Its pointed tip rests in the foreground – a giant pen writing on the earth. This image was chosen by Gonne to include in her autobiography, and it's reasonable to expect that she used it in her lantern slide show. The ground outside the broken house is littered with buckets, tubs and baskets – some probably used earlier with boiling water to repel the emergency men – along with the two wooden trestles used to assemble and remove the battering ram. There remains a group of about thirteen men assembled to the right of the composition, including again, policemen, soldiers and officials. The stony ground and the rubble from the collapsed wall give a spattered quality to the image with the linearity of the tripod, ram and trestle lending some geometric order to the scene. The apex of the thatched roof bristles with the growth of weeds, and the destruction done to the house leaves it no longer a home, resembling an abandoned shed.

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[118] Leerssen, 1996(b), 66.

[119] Ibid., 154.

The next house on the list for eviction in Moyasta that day gave in without a struggle, and was used as a venue for an impromptu court hearing chaired by Resident Magistrate Cecil Roche, at which the Bermingham family were sent forward for trial.[120] The violent scenes in Kilrush illustrated the seriousness with which the landlord class took the Plan of Campaign's threats. Though Hector Vandeleur himself had been criticised in the process, with Balfour calling him "stupid, obstinate and selfish" and not "fit to manage his affairs", the overall objective to face down the tenant movement was resolute.[121] That this was public knowledge is made clear in the conclusion of the *Daily News* report on the Bermingham eviction:

> Evictions are to cease now for three or four weeks. If in the interval the peasants and their landlord do not come to an agreement, the evictions will be resumed; and there are sixty more of them. Twenty-five evictions have already been effected; but let it be remembered that the landlord is fighting not for his rents, but to break the combination of the tenants. It is a fight – perhaps the decisive fight – between the landlords and the plan.[122]

The following day there were questions asked in Parliament by David Sheehy, MP for Galway South, about the preferential treatment given to T. W. Russell, during his visit to the Kilrush evictions.[123] Russell had been given access to travel on police cars and to remain inside the 'sheriff's line' interviewing tenants, officials and neighbours. His letter to the *Times* on 26 July had criticised the Plan of Campaign as criminal: "It is sheer plunder. It is a revolution with cupidity at its base and dishonesty as its backbone, and if all the priests of Clare stood, breviary in hand, to sanctify the transaction, this is the only verdict that can be pronounced by any honest man."[124] Russell added a post script to his letter in which he stated: "I think it is necessary to add that, from Colonel Turner down to the humblest policeman, everyone discharged his duty in an admirable spirit".[125] The day that this correspondence was published saw the eviction of the McGrath family, during which the violence to the tenant and to his house was to become a notorious moment in the Vandeleur evictions.

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[120] See "The Vandeleur Evictions: Suspension of Operations", *Daily News*, Thursday, 2 August 1888. 3.

[121] Cullen, 2002, 165.

[122] *Daily News*, 2 August 1888, 3.

[123] Russell was MP for South Tyrone. See *Hansard*, 3 August 1888. Vol. 329. Col. 1494. http://bit.ly/2Po6gDF. Accessed 7 December 2018.

Through images such as these, the battering ram has become a visual trope in imaging nineteenth-century evictions, and the use of the device at Mathias McGrath's house on 26 July 1888 is captured in figure 35. The caption reads simply, *Eviction Scene (Battering Ram)*.[126] The photograph is a close-up view showing the violent destruction of a cottage wall. We can see in clear detail some aspects of the battering ram's physical qualities – the chain connected by a hook to the metal bracket around the shaft, and the spiked feet giving the tripod additional purchase on the ground. The man nearest the house carries a shield, and is watched over by a policeman holding a rifle, with a baton secured in his belt. Another policeman comes into view from the right and is blurred by movement. He also carries weapons. The windows of the house have been boarded up in a neat, systematic manner, unlike the disorder of bushes and tree branches stuffed into tenants' windows elsewhere in the district. Strong sunlight casts short clear shadows, suggesting the middle of a warm summer day. The gaping hole in the cottage façade reveals some architectural details within, and at the upper edge of the void the thatched roof begins to sag. The image shows fewer people and is compositionally simpler than other eviction images, but also seems to imply more violence, due to the proximity of the viewpoint to the action. It omits the typical crowds of officials and spectators and instead presents a rapt fascination with the minutiae of the emergency men's efforts. They in turn are intently focused on their task. There is only a very small section of sky visible, making the scene feel claustrophobic. The dominance of the destroyed house in the composition is oppressive in its stark blocks of light and dark tone, with the orderliness of the debris and thatch suggesting a solidly built and well kept home.[127] The captioning within the image extends some of the same darkness, with a horizontal stripe of black as the base for white lettering, which would have been otherwise lost on the illuminated foreground.

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[124] See "The Vandeleur Evictions: To the editor of the Times", the *Times*. Thursday, 26 July 1888, 8.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Mulqueen, 97, indicates that the house was located north west of Kilrush at the approximate GPS coordinates, 52.670530, -9.565400.

The Freeman's Journal report notes that the force assembled for the McGrath eviction was significant, in anticipation of strong tenant resistance and potential crowd trouble. In the event, the spectators were few in number until near the end of the operation. It states that there were fewer emergency men available (due to several being deployed locally to occupy houses that had already been cleared of tenants) but a large number of police and soldiers attend.[128] The *Daily News* reported how the ninth blow of the iron-tipped ram pierced the wall, and five more brought down a six-foot section of the façade. Patrick McGrath, son of Mathias, who was inside the house with his two sisters, refused to cooperate and shouted his intention to stay and fight. As he bent down fill a pot with water to throw at the eviction team, policemen rushed through the breach:

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[127] *The Freeman's Journal* reports that the house was a "decent-looking, rather old, but well-kept place, with an air of neatness about it that contrasted somewhat favourably with some of its neighbours" ("The Vandeleur Evictions: The Ram Again at Work, A Desperate Fight", 27 July 1888, 5). The *Daily News* described it as "a poor sort of a dwelling" ("The Vandeleur Evictions: Another Exciting Scene", 27 July 1888, 5).

> The struggle within seemed for the moment to be dreadful. Magrath [sic] laid about him with extraordinary vigour. He had stones and missiles of all sorts around him, but he used none of them. He struck out with his fists and fought with the courage of a lion, but the numbers against him were more than a dozen such men could cope with. He was seized and dragged to the opening, his head bleeding profusely.[129]

He emerged “with his white, frantic face dabbled in blood” and requiring six constables to hold him.[130] *The Freeman’s Journal* also reports on an “extraordinary incident” while this was all taking place. It describes how a photographer appeared, and took a photograph of the battering ram team and the sheriff posing with the tripod in front of the house, which had been partially demolished at this stage. The photographer then managed to take a photograph of the injured man being held by two police constables before he was brought to Kilrush to be charged.[131] McGrath was taken away, and sent for trial, gaining notoriety locally for escaping from his handcuffs on the march to Kilrush, and for needing several constables at all times to control him. No photograph of the injured McGrath with the constables has been traced to date.

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[128] See “The Vandeleur Evictions: The Ram Again at Work, A Desperate Fight”, 27 July 1888, 5.

[129] *Freeman’s Journal*, 27 July 1888.

[130] *Daily News*, 27 July 1888. In an interesting note on the reach of the British Empire and the news media at the time, the *Daily News* reporter describes having previously bumped into two different British Army officers who were at the McGrath eviction – one in Afghanistan, and one in Eastern Sudan.

In figure 36, we can see the level of destruction brought about by the bailiff's men that day. The image was taken after the eviction forces have left, probably in the following days. The caption reads, *Mathias Magrath's house, Moyasta, Co. Clare after destruction by the Battering Ram*, and the caption in the image simply reads, *Eviction. Kilrush*. Its catalogue number is out of sequence from figure 35 and other eviction photographs, suggesting a gap in time, and perhaps authorship.[132] The cottage has been destroyed beyond repair, with the level of detail in the image making visible the devastation wrought. The photograph was to become a graphic calling card for Irish nationalists as it was shared nationally and internationally. The eviction gained additional notoriety when Patrick McGrath's mother Bridget contracted pneumonia and died three weeks later, with the blame being laid by locals squarely at the sheriff's doorstep. The relationship between the figures in this photograph and the McGrath family is not clear, though it is posed in such a way as to suggest a family that has been evicted from the house. We see nine children (one girl and eight boys) and three adults standing outside the ruins. The roof is collapsing, slumped and broken away from the chimney structure. The entire front wall has been smashed and the whole structure looks dangerously unstable. A large amount of rubble is strewn in the front yard, where the children sit and stand on the debris. All but the man on the right, stare towards the camera. The male figure to the left is well dressed in shined boots, wearing a pale boater hat, while eight of the nine children and the woman are barefoot. The man to the right, is not as well dressed as the other man, but bears a close facial resemblance. The adult female figure stands at the centre of the composition, with her hands folded back on her hips. She wears a gingham apron over a dark dress, with a patterned shawl around her shoulders. Between her and the boy seated to the right there is a pale blurred shape, like that of a dog in movement. To the right we can see some parts of furniture piled up outside, and above them are hand-written figures, which appear to be the catalogue number, 4918, backwards, probably written on the opposite side of the negative before printing. The neat, ordered thatch visible in figure 35 is here torn apart. Inside the house we can see some domestic detail – an interior room door, and the smashed wooden frame of part of the house structure.

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[131] See "The Vandeleur Evictions: The Ram Again at Work, A Desperate Fight", 27 July 1888, 5.

[132] Its catalogue code is L_CAB_4918.

The *Daily News* account of the eviction refers to the battering ram by the name of "Judge Norbury", a jocular reference to a great-grandfather of

Vandeleur, who had a reputation as a "Hanging Judge".[133] A Plan of Campaign resistance poster that had been pasted up in Kilrush before the evictions had as its first line, "come on Norbury, come on," goading the sheriff and his forces into action.[134] It appears that the sheriff's men, along with journalists sympathetic to the landlords, took on the term and used it ironically to defuse its rhetorical power. The boy sitting at the front of the group appears to be perched upon a wooden frame, similar to that seen in figure 35 barricading the windows againt the bailiffs. The previous geometric order of the dwelling's structure is utterly destroyed, with the rectilinear shape of many of the stones giving a strange, diffuse order to the rubble. The gratuitousness of the destruction involved at the McGrath eviction was not unique. Nine days earlier, the eviction of Michael Cleary and his family saw similar levels of violence to the house involved. On that occasion, "[for] more than two hours after the first blow was struck the battering ram and crowbars were kept hard at work until nothing was left of a neat homestead but a heap of stones and rubbish, and the debris of smashed furniture".[135]

If Gonne's slide show sought to establish historical resonances between the protestors on Dublin's streets and the evictees of the countryside, this image provided the means to do so. The erasure of the whitewashed cottage façade left visible only the bruised innards of the home. The house is identifiable as a traditional Irish dwelling, anchored in the increasingly mythologised west, but only by the collapsing remnants of the structure. The putative family group outside, with a large number of dispossessed children, amplifies the cruelty to be inferred. Their apparent stoicism is to be admired, but their plight is to be remembered and avenged. Newspaper accounts of the violence meted out to Patrick McGrath and Thomas Bermingham had provided pre-learned paratexts for the terse visual rhetoric transmitted by these images. The photographs' relentless detailing of the crown forces' and constabulary's combined efforts to put tenants out on the road established tropes that became a pictorial shorthand for British injustice. In an echo of the police cordon which drew the 'sheriff's line' across rural fields, the officers in Rutland square encircled the nationalists. With the speed of the constables rushing into McGrath's broken house, the Dublin police charged on the crowd at the lantern slide show. The violence within the image spills outwards into its audience. It spirals outwards and forwards in space and in time. A new chronotope is forged, where the dialectical image links the land struggle to blood sacrifice, and a new wave of separatist iconography is strengthened, 'stirring the bones' of cultural nationalism.[136]

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[133] See Scanlan, and "The Vandeleur Evictions: Another Exciting Scene", *Daily News*, 27 July 1888. 5.

[134] *The Freeman's Journal*, 17 July 1888, 5.

[135] *The Freeman's Journal*, 19 July 1888, 5.

Conclusion

The evictions during the Plan of Campaign became national and international news. The fall of Parnell and the divided Irish Parliamentary Party in the early 1890s brought significant changes to the terrain of Irish nationalism. The emergence of cultural nationalism saw increased emphasis on the mobilisation of signs and symbols of Irishness for political ends. The protocols of these backward-looking cultural tendencies collided with the lived reality of their target audiences, whose social experience was permeated by the instrumentalised technologies and communications channels of capitalist modernity. Many of the tenants who were put out of their holdings during the campaign were reinstated, and new laws were fundamentally changing the nature of land ownership in Ireland. The demands of the land agitators were being superseded by events on the ground. It became necessary for nationalism to shape new narratives, through reinterpretation of the recent past. Gonne and Connolly's use of photography was effective in that the medium's reputation for indexical 'truth' granted a documentary authority to the scenes on display. Gonne's 'documents' were strategically employed as an historical storyboard, with its narrative a retelling of the Land Wars to a new audience. Gonne's use of a collage-like approach created an affective sensory experience, aimed at appealing to hearts and minds. Its loose, associative patchwork of narrative threads activated the slide images in new ways. Foucault writes: "The document, then, is no longer for history an inert material through which it tries to reconstitute what men have done or said, the events of which only the trace remains; history is now trying to define within the documentary material itself unities, totalities, series, relations".[137] In the emergent terms of 1890s romantic Irish nationalism, the nation was already established in the hearts of those activists prepared to act on bringing it about. Gonne's proto-avant-garde sensibility, in her construction of a spectacular visuality on the streets, is an unstated blurring of the boundaries between art and life.

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[136] See Foster, 1988, 446.

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[137] 2002, 7.

Photographs, drawings, numbers and words float through the crowd, lighting up the screen to create a new, localised phantasmagoria – taking from the past to project into the future. The crowd shares the dream of what is to come, via the construction of a received collective memory. Rancière suggests a model for this experience:

> It thus appears that art does not become critical or political by 'moving beyond itself', or 'departing from itself', and intervening in the 'real world'. There is no 'real world' that functions as the outside of art. Instead, there is a multiplicity of folds in the sensory fabric of the common, folds in which outside and inside take on a multiplicity of shifting forms, in which the topography of what is 'in' and what is 'out' are continually criss-crossed and displaced by the aesthetics of politics and the politics of aesthetics. […] The real is always a matter of construction, a matter of 'fiction'.[138]

Where Mitchell proposes the field of representation as a patchwork aggregation of elements, Rancière proposes that the topography into which representation intervenes is itself folded and punctured. The world of representations becomes a ragged fabric in a turbulent chamber. What Gonne and Connolly achieved in Rutland Square that night was a technological intervention in the public sphere that mobilised a range of devices, strategies and protocols across a multisensory stage, using the power of the projector, and the depth of the photographic archive to weave a story. The tale required images enmeshed among words, props, slogans and songs, to envelop its audience. Mitchell describes how “all media are mixed media, and all representations are heterogeneous; there are no ‘purely’ visual or verbal arts, though the impulse to purify media is one of the central utopian gestures of modernism”.[139] The protesters that evening grasped the multi-modal complexity of the sensorium, and the opportunity that was available through the city, the crowd, the lantern and the slide. As Rancière writes: “It is up to the various forms of politics to appropriate, for their own proper use, the modes of presentation or the means of establishing explanatory sequences produced by artistic practices rather than the other way around”.[140] Gonne demonstrated the capacity to tease out the contending strands of the narrative and to isolate, for her own ends, the semantic power available within the eviction photographs. Tagg anchors this concept against the backdrop of photography’s operational plurality: “Photography has no identity, but the photograph may, for the photograph captures meaning even as the inexhaustible openness of the photographic appears to be captured and fixed by the discursive apparatus of the frame”.[141] In the moment of projection, on the crowded street after speeches and rallying calls, the re-used photograph announces the nation – fuelled by historical injustice, in opposition to the government. For an instant the new nation is made real, and is gone. Its residue remains, as a seedbed for the next performative iteration. Bhabha writes: “[it] is from this instability of cultural signification that the national culture comes to be articulated as a dialectic of various temporalities – modern, colonial, postcolonial, 'native' – that cannot be a knowledge that is stabilized in its enunciation: 'it is always contemporaneous with the act of recitation".[142] The Rutland Square slideshow prefigures a stratagem that was to help define twentieth century modernism (an 'unfurling' of the essence of technology into culture) and some of the postmodern interventions seeking to problematise its effects (the appropriation and redirection of gestures and artefacts).[143]

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[138] 2010, 156.

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[139] 1995, 5.
[140] 2004, 60.
[141] 2009, 15.

To the viewers in the street that night, Irish history was being remade through their participation in a shared spectacle. The story being told was predicated on myth, spectacularly phantasmagoric in style, and fundamentally conservative in outlook. The Land War, a recent memory, was refracted through its re-presentation in images loaded with latent violence. Complex and layered political history was collapsed into a simplistic narrative around loss of homestead, which in itself was a sublimated re-telling of the enormous, largely lost story of the Famine. The proposed new nation was bound to collective sentiment through displaced anguish and the vicarious experience of loss. The invocation of the un-photographed Famine linked separatist sentiments to a great national tragedy, and tied it to a diffuse anger at the crown. Rancière explains that,

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[142] 218-9. Citing Lyotard, 22.

[143] See Rancière: "The persistent success of Benjamin's theses on art in the age of mechanical reproduction is, moreover, undoubtedly due to the crossing-over they allow between the categories of Marxist materialist explanation and those of Heidegerrian ontology, which ascribe the age of modernity to the unfurling of the essence of technology" (2004, 27); and Spivak: "And it is well known that radical proto-deconstructive cultural practice instructs us precisely to work through *bricolage*, to 'reconstellate' cultural items by wrenching them out of their assigned function" (2006, 236).

> a symbolic event is the name for any event that strikes a blow to the existing regime of relations between the symbolic and the real. It is an event that the existing modes of symbolization are incapable of apprehending, and which therefore reveals a fissure in the relation of the real to the symbolic. This may be the event of the unsymbolizable real, or, conversely, that of the return of the foreclosed symbolic.[144]

The fissure between the real and the symbolic becomes the means through which politics reappropriates word and image to reorder the national narrative towards a desired future. New politics requires amnesia and capitalises on holes in collective memory. New stories thrive through the forgetting of old accounts. The smashed thatched cottage hung in the air as a motif for outrage and victimhood. Cultural nationalism was becoming a motive force in separatist politics, furnishing a shared imaginary with its combination of Celtic, Gaelic and historical devices. Symbolism, which had previously been drawn from landscapes strewn with the stone ruins of castles, monasteries and crosses, was becoming modernised and mediatised. The visual languages of the nation in waiting were now to be predicated on the splicing of images into slide shows, and the interoperation of textual, visual and spoken narratives, produced within a febrile political atmosphere by activists adopting pragmatic strategies. The tone and formal qualities of their communication echoed the ubiquitous visual-textual montage of the urban streetscape's posters, adverts and commercial displays. Town and country were permeated by new accounts of old stories where the visual languages of commerce and revolution were becoming one. Modernity and materiality were to be bypassed, and only myth could shape the national future. Ownership of house and land was key, with old owners to be banished in favour of those waiting in the wings. Irish independence saw a simple change of ownership wrapped up in the violence, grief and pain of revolution's protocols. In a main thoroughfare of one of the British Empire's major cities, an illuminated vision of a small, rural, derelict house was marking out the field in which blood sacrifice was to be offered. As the twentieth century approached, the people on the street were suspended between Benjamin's phantasmagoria of the commodity resplendent in its display, and the ghosts of the nation's future moving among them.

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[144] 2010, 105.

Conclusion

It is valuable to re-emphasise some key focus points of this work's conceptual framework and its primary arguments, while acknowledging necessary limits to its scope. The connecting points between ideas of Ireland, representations of its physical spaces, and the field of photography, provided the initial purchase points for the arguments developed in these chapters. Particular attention has been paid to where Irish manifestations of colonialism, nationalism and capitalism intersect with photographic representations of the island's spaces and places. To cover such a broad sweep of historical time, beginning with such general conceptual categories, it has been important to specify the means through which a useful analysis could be articulated. Rejecting a re-framing of canonical accounts has been central to approaching the material. Working against the grain of conventional photographic histories shifted the critical coordinates of the piece away from a model that might resemble an historiographical puzzle to be solved, or an historical narrative behind a veneer of criticality. Instead, the ambition has been to produce a dual reading of a small number of images from the field. Within a roughly chronological narrative arc, the choice of particular sets of images draws attention to the phases, interoperations and emphases involved in an historiographical engagement with the concepts of British colonialism, Irish Nationalism and international capital during the nineteenth century in Ireland.

Henry Craigie Brewster's work represents some of the earliest photographic moments of photography in Ireland, with his surviving prints the oldest known photographs of Ireland still in existence. His role as an officer in the British army situates him as a military operative during an intense phase change in Britain's colonial relationship with Ireland. While troop numbers oscillated, subsequent to the initial surge of building projects establishing barracks across the country after the Napoleonic Wars, Catholic Emancipation had opened Irish politics up to the strong influences of Romantic Idealism emanating from central Europe. The Young Ireland movement seized on these ideas and articulated a more strident essentialised sense of nation at the same moment that the country was being devastated by Famine – an event which polarised many of the participants in public discourse. The Famine constitutes one of the first humanitarian disasters of modern times, and the first to be heavily mediated through news organisations using text and image. The lack of photographs 'of' the Famine is a well-rehearsed absence in Irish studies. However it has remained a thinly argued phenomenon, leading to some reductive and uncritical accounts of this profound lacuna, the implications of which can be harmful to wider accounts of photography in Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century. The dismissal of the lack of Famine photographs as being due to Anglo-Irish guilt and self-interest is a particularly problematic outcome of this critical gap. It is one element in a wider framing of photography produced by Ascendancy figures, which serves to reinforce an unsophisticated collapsing of Irish society into the antagonistic binary of 'Big House' culture versus everyone else.

The engagement with Big House photography here has been in order to address this problem, which tends to frame such work as a trope heading towards cliché. It is clear that photography was an expensive and technically complex process from the 1840s to the 1870s, and that only those with the time, money and facility to participate could do so in any serious way. However, the work produced, and the discussions recorded, demonstrate that this is a field of study which remains full of promise in terms of unlocking some of the richness in Irish culture which was concealed by state-sanctioned histories during the twentieth century. The power of the landlord class was mobilised during the Plan of Campaign of the late 1880s, and made clear in Tipperary town during the events of 'New Tipperary.' In terms of the collision points between the remnants of colonialism, the gains of nationalism, and the reach of capitalism, New Tipperary's photographic record is a rich site for analysis. Marx's trinity of land, labour and capital is densely folded into a complex and fraught political battle, with photography becoming a sharpened tool to unpick the knots at its centre. When Maud Gonne and James Connolly staged their anti-jubilee protests in June 1897, their politics pointed towards separatism and blood sacrifice. Their appropriation of images framed a profound irony whereby the reach of mediatised culture, industrialised photography and internationalised capital intensified the power of essentialised accounts of nation and associated atavistic appeals to violence. In Ireland, as elsewhere, modernity would not guarantee progress, but provided all the means necessary to drive populism faster and further than before.

From the outset, this work has sought to produce a materialist analysis of the conditions of production, circulation and reception of particular sets of photographs. It has combined this approach with a deconstructive reading of the images' meanings and implications. The result comprises a critical-historical contextualising of the photographic images and a constructively contingent account of the their impacts, both in their original historical contexts, and since.

From a contemporary standpoint – as we witness the resurgence of essentialist versions of identity construction performed through the warped rhetorics of 'blood and soil' nationalisms across the Europe – the capacity of romantic idealism to spawn poisonous political movements is being restaged in new contexts, in an eerie echo of the material conditions pertaining eighty years ago. As was the case in the mid-twentieth century, demagogic and authoritarian systems seek to distract and control constituencies made pliable by economic difficulty. Rather than attempting to reform the corrupt systems as the base of inequality, there is again a craven attack on those seen as 'other.' To return to local bases of Irish nationalist thought, and critique their intersection points with photographic imaging, provides, it is hoped, some small contribution to persistent unresolved debates. Given the light and heat generated by recent historiographical debates concerned with events on this island, it is necessary to augment the empirical with the imaginative. All interpretation is a form of invention, and all translation has a transformative dimension. To address these images, to re-examine them, and to open up them up to new readings, is to take conjecture into the centre of their instabilities, and to propose an account that, rather than locking them down with a series of hermeneutic punchlines, releases them into new territory.

The theoretical position adopted posits the impossibility of an account of 'photography' as a singular, cohesive subject – a concept borrowed from Tagg, who declared thirty years ago, that the idea of photography as a site of enquiry is less interesting than its flickering across institutional spaces, where the cultural power of photographic imaging is most strongly effected. Compounding the contingency of this formulation is the continual evolution of the technologies, protocols and contexts of photographic imaging over time. The idea of photography as a constellation of forces, exerted at a multiplicity of sites, brings us closer to an approximation of its power and dynamism. In tune with a deep suspicion of nationalist thought, also central to these chapters is a devaluation of any essentialised idea of 'Irish' photography as a useful channel of enquiry. While the work's entire focus is on photographic images produced and used in Ireland between 1840 and 1900, arguments related to the images' 'Irishness,' in contradistinction to other regional practices, have been avoided. This has been necessary in order to disconnect the images from their cultural embeddedness as purely indexical representations of the past. When the images are framed primarily as historical records of events, they risk functioning as mere visual ballast for textual narratives within national discourses, reinforcing their role as illustrations for arguments supposedly resolved. Unmooring the photographs from their restrictive role as historical documents opens them up to new interpretations – not to erase interpretative protocols, but to infuse them with a contingency predicated on the idea that settled readings limit the opportunities available through each revisiting of the material. To adopt a Rancièrean perspective, the photographs are positioned in this work as dissensual ruptures in the conventional fabric of Irish historical narratives and historiographical conflicts. Rather than explaining the paratexts that might surround them, they pose a challenge. The critical readings proposed here are offered in themselves as a dissensual framing of the material, suggesting in their measured way how we might come at the archive from a new angle. A live critical engagement with photographs can unfold their politics as a productive encounter with the images, and implicitly welcome its own inevitable revision as conditions change – a 'soft' dialectic perhaps.

The implications of these discursive limitations and theoretical conditions produce a set of arguments built upon some shared bases, which are not exclusive to Ireland in the nineteenth century, but have particular local inflections. The introduction and expansion of photography in Ireland (as elsewhere) permeated the fabric of countless knowledge domains, testing and reshaping epistemological boundaries, and placing pressure on their related institutional frameworks. Rather than delivering an augmentation of existing systems of representation, photography produced a novel reconfiguration of visual regimes across a wide spectrum of social, cultural and scholarly fields. Central to this process was photography's introduction of wholly new optical relationships with concepts of space and time, producing visual truths that had been previously unavailable to the human eye. As photographic technologies developed out of expensive artisanal processes towards affordable industrialised formats, increasing numbers of people became part of the new cultural formations produced by these novel representations of space and time. One of the effects of this transformation of everyday visuality was an unprecedented capacity – individual and collective – to contextualise lived experience relative to others. The rapid mediatisation of photographic reproduction entered into news and entertainment platforms, collapsing popular understandings of distance and synchrony. The intersection of these globalising processes with the emergent political discourses of Irish Nationalism, in its opposition to Unionism, served to galvanise particular local identitarian tendencies. The power of modern news media's global reach served to highlight and support their local aims, rather than to qualify or internationalise their ambitions. Foreshadowing our current political moment, nineteenth-century photography's production of an unprecedented mediasphere led, not to greater efforts towards mutual understanding, but to a spiralling inwards, reaching to a new insularity and a re-tooling of older political rhetorics built on mutual suspicion.

This fraught political formation links to a common thread permeating the chapters: the idea of instability, encompassing the theoretical, historical and subjective dimensions of the material. It becomes a force driving contingency in the analytical encounter, enveloping photographers, their subjects and viewers of photographic images. Brewster's photographic work, emanating from his position as colonialist other in a controlled contact zone, using cutting-edge technology in a militarised space, manifests the earliest shadows of this photographic instability. The technical skills in his Calotype work combine to produce some clear and emphatic compositions, while visually they conjure Bhabha's colonial territory of fear and doubt. Though pictorially strong, their tentative visual regime speaks of geographic and architectural boundaries constructed within politicised geographies containing oscillating threat levels. The surrounding townscapes and horizon lines present a contradictory backdrop, both of the calm everyday, and its potential upheaval. The photographic gap of the Famine takes the instability of photographic representation to a deepened level. Non-existent images 'of' the Famine frame a central problem within discourses engaged with visual representations of human distress. While the technological and cultural engines of modernity were fully primed, the protocols and commercial imperatives of early photography combined to preclude direct lens imaging of the catastrophe as it unfolded. The gulf between this absence and the dramatic textual popular news accounts of events at the time, serves to complicate the questions surrounding the gap.

In post-Famine Ireland, Big House photographers operated in ways that appeared to consolidate a set of conventions and discourses establishing an elite artistic consensus within photography in mid-nineteenth century Ireland. However, their subject matter, aesthetic arguments and technical innovations combine to disclose a series of instabilities in and around their work. Coghill's calls for a picturesque sensibility in Irish landscape photography belied a fracture at the centre of romantic ideas which were ostensibly shared between England and Ireland. Hemphill's stylised images of sites of antiquarian interest, produced partly to encourage tourism, drew attention to the structures of middle-class Unionist and Anglo-Irish society at precisely the time that the technological and cultural forces of modernity were destabilising their foundations. Mary Rosse's stereoscopic images of the Leviathan telescope and castle grounds at Birr produced spectacular new visualities to be encountered through the disembodied experience of the stereo viewing device – disrupting extant regimes of perspectival representation with images of the world's most advanced scientific optical instrument. At the time, the telescope was providing new data to astronomers, through which understandings of the earth's context in the material universe was being transformed. The mediatisation of photographs emanating from the National League's New Tipperary campaign demonstrated a twofold dynamic in action publically at the time. One component was the role of the Lawrence Company as an early photo-agency for news media, commoditising the visual products of political struggle. On another level, nationalist political activists exploited the novel Kodak format to monumentalise counter-surveillance photography of the police, in order to further their party political agenda in a hostile British media space. In this industrialised, commoditised world of photographic images, Maud Gonne produced multi-media propaganda events, which appropriated both commercial and privately produced images of eviction, presented as visual proxies for Famine-era evictions that had not been photographed. The images, presented in slide-show format, owing as much to popular entertainment trends as political activism, operated as visual shorthand for government cruelty. Their capacity to do so was predicated on a photographic image ecology that relied on the instability at the centre of the relationships between subject, photographer and viewer. The power of the photographic image to collapse time and distance, when wrenched out of context, was transformed into a power to beguile an audience for expressly political ends.

Any propositions of truthfulness in photography are made fragile by the instabilities at the centre of these photographic moments. All readings become contingent. In this context, contingency is not a synonym for unreliability, or tentativeness. It becomes a critical position in which the 'truth' of any given photographic image is constantly liable to be displaced. To re-read a photograph in a manner that pulls it from its designated role as document, opens it up to new possibilities. Each new reading speaks of a distant 'then' of the image's production, and also the 'now' of its re-reading. We can only ever produce a contingent account of the historical moment of the shutter's click, from our own enunciative position in all its destabilising complication and contradiction. To prevent a spiralling into empty relativism, the cross-sectioned moment anchors the argument. Analysis becomes briefly crystallised on a frozen point in photographic time. The terms of this historical slicing are clear. Lanzmann argues against photography being anything more than a collapse of the real into mere representation masquerading as resolution. Rancière frames the impotence of this representation as a foreclosure of the symbolic. However, he allows an escape route from this dead-end. In his schema, photographic images, through the simple means of the semantic charge of their image surfaces' flat areas of tone, present a form of index – a way in. Didi-Huberman accepts the difficulty presented by these conceptual frameworks, and urges us to proceed with caution. We hover alongside Benjamin's backwards-facing angel, with the dialectical image pulling an array of threads connecting our lives to those of others long gone. Despite these bonds to the past, we gaze forward.

Illustrations

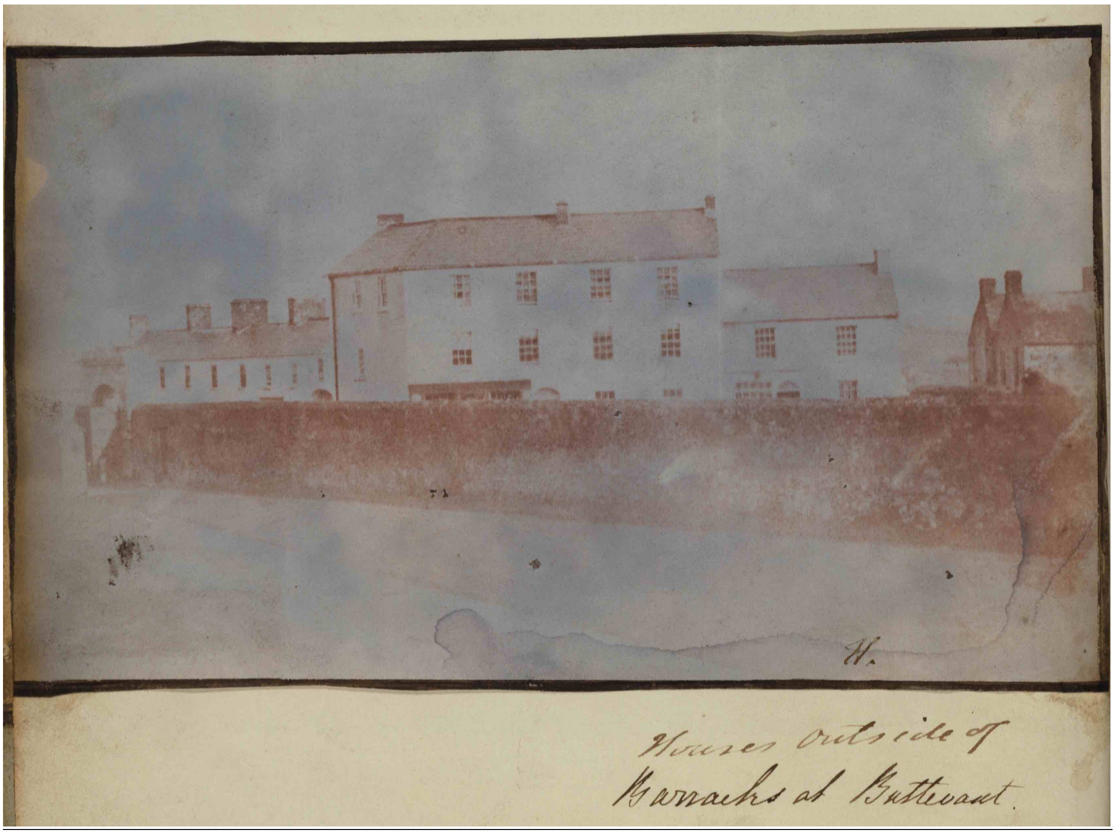


Figure 1

Available Online (last accessed 8 August 2019)
http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/63193/capt-henry-craigie-brewster-buttevant-about-1843/

Henry Craigie Brewster.
Medium: Salted paper print from a Calotype negative.
Dimensions: 10.5 x 17.9 cm.
Inscription: Insc. ro. page in ink in David Brewster's hand: "H." & "Houses outside of Barracks at Buttevant".
Getty Museum Object Number: 84.XZ.574.14.

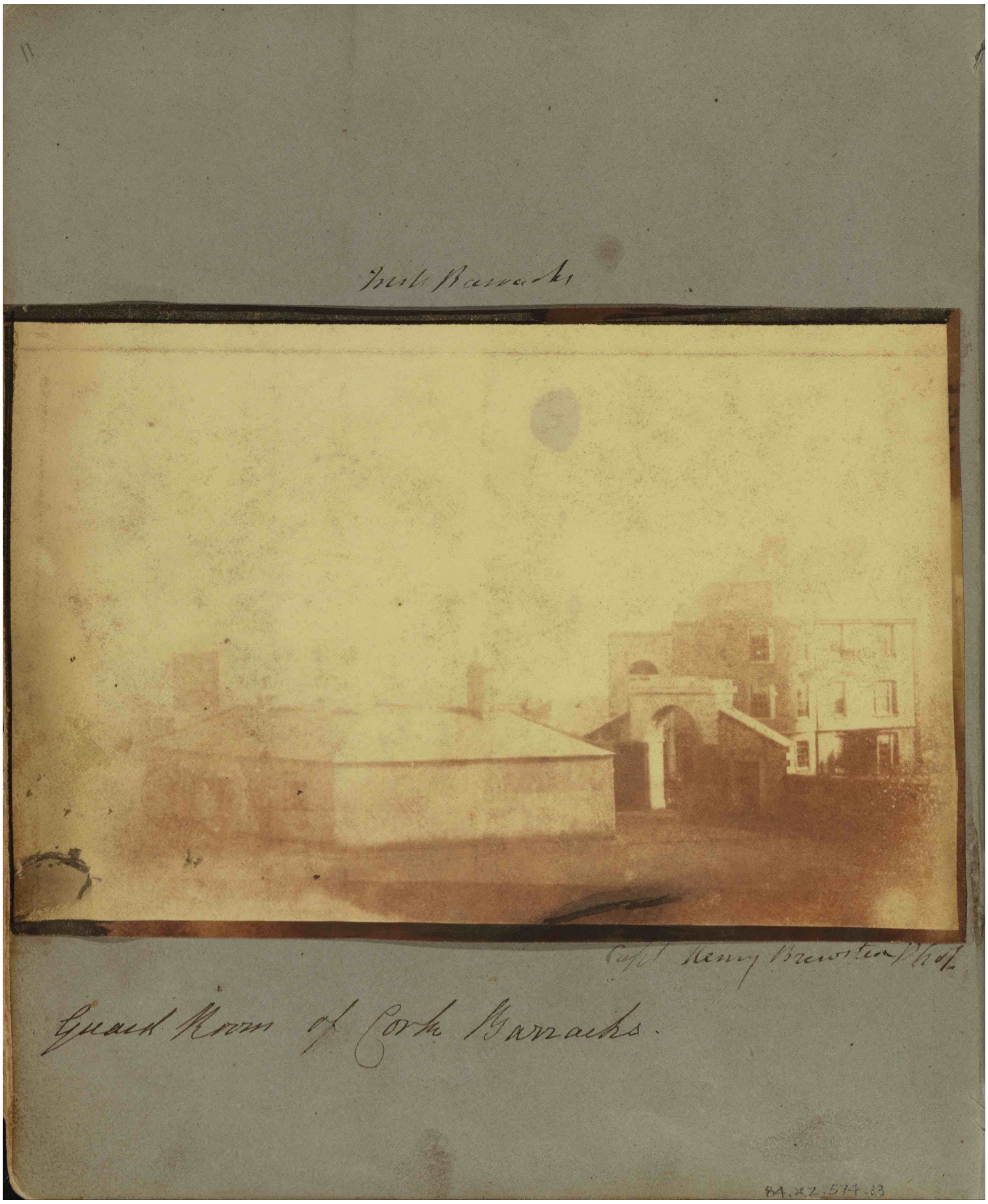

Irish Barracks
Capt Henry Brewster Phot
Guard Room of Cork Barracks
84.XZ.574.13

Figure 2

Available Online (last accessed 8 August 2019)
http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/63192/capt-henry-craigie-brewster-cork-barracks-about-1843/

Henry Craigie Brewster.
Medium: Salted paper print from a Calotype negative.
Dimensions: 11.3 x 17.6 cm.
Inscription: Insc. ro. page in ink in David Brewster's hand: "Irish Barracks", "Capt Henry Brewster Phot" & "Guard Room of Cork Barracks".
Getty Museum Object Number: 84.XZ.574.13.

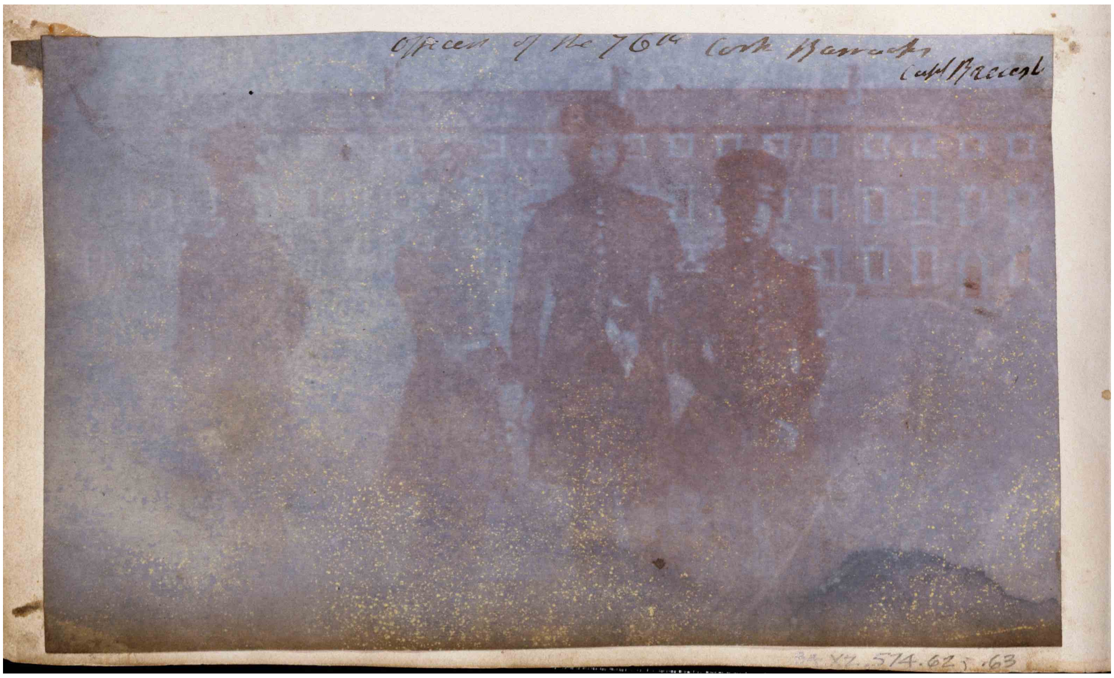

Officers of the 76th Cork Barracks
Capt Brewst
84.XZ.574.62; .63

Figure 3

Available Online (last accessed 8 August 2019)
http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/63242/capt-henry-craigie-brewster-officers-of-the-76th-regiments-of-foot-at-cork-barracks-1842-1843/

Henry Craigie Brewster.
Medium: Salted paper print from a Calotype negative.
Dimensions: 9.5 x 23.3 cm.
Inscription: Inscr. ro. print in ink in the hand of David Brewster: "Officers of the 76th", "Cork Barracks", & "Capt Brewst".
Getty Museum Object Number: 84.XZ.574.63.

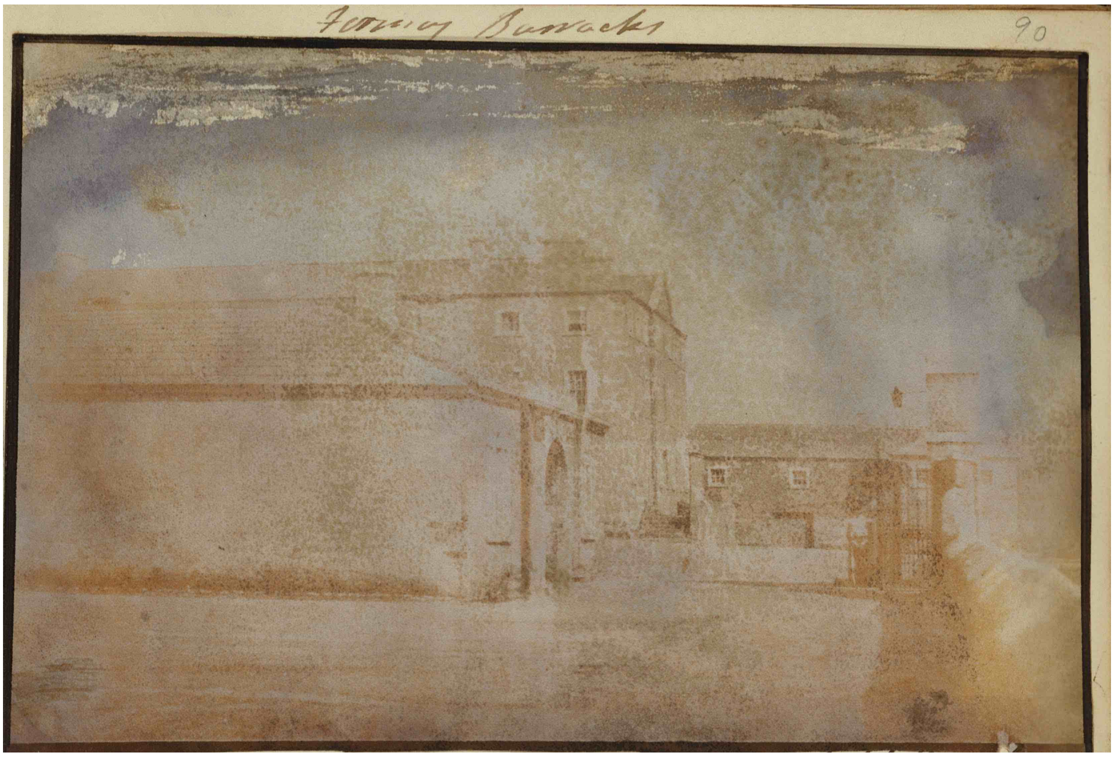


Figure 4

Available Online (last accessed 8 August 2019)
http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/63289/capt-henry-craigie-brewster-army-barracks-about-1843/

Henry Craigie Brewster.
Medium: Salted paper print from a Calotype negative.
Dimensions: 11.3 x 17.5 cm.
Inscription: Inscr. ro. page in ink in the hand of David Brewster: "Buttevant Barracks" & "Capt. Brewster Phot".
Getty Museum Object Number: 84.XZ.574.110.

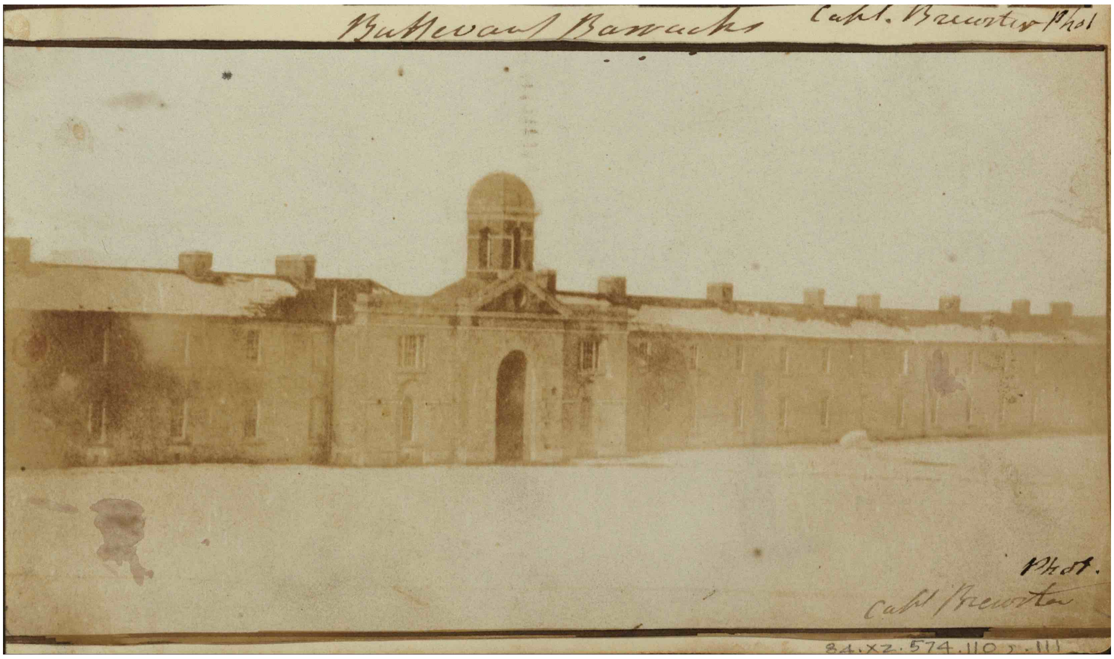

Buttevant Barracks
Capt. Brewster Phot
Phot.
Capt Brewster
84.XZ.574.110 & .111

Figure 5

Available Online (last accessed 8 August 2019)
http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/63290/capt-henry-craigie-brewster-buttevant-barracks-about-1843/

Henry Craigie Brewster.
Medium: Salted paper print from a Calotype negative.
Dimensions: 9.4 x 18.1 cm.
Inscription: Inscr. ro. page in ink in the hand of David Brewster: "Buttevant Barracks" & "Capt. Brewster Phot".
Getty Museum Object Number: 84.XZ.574.111.

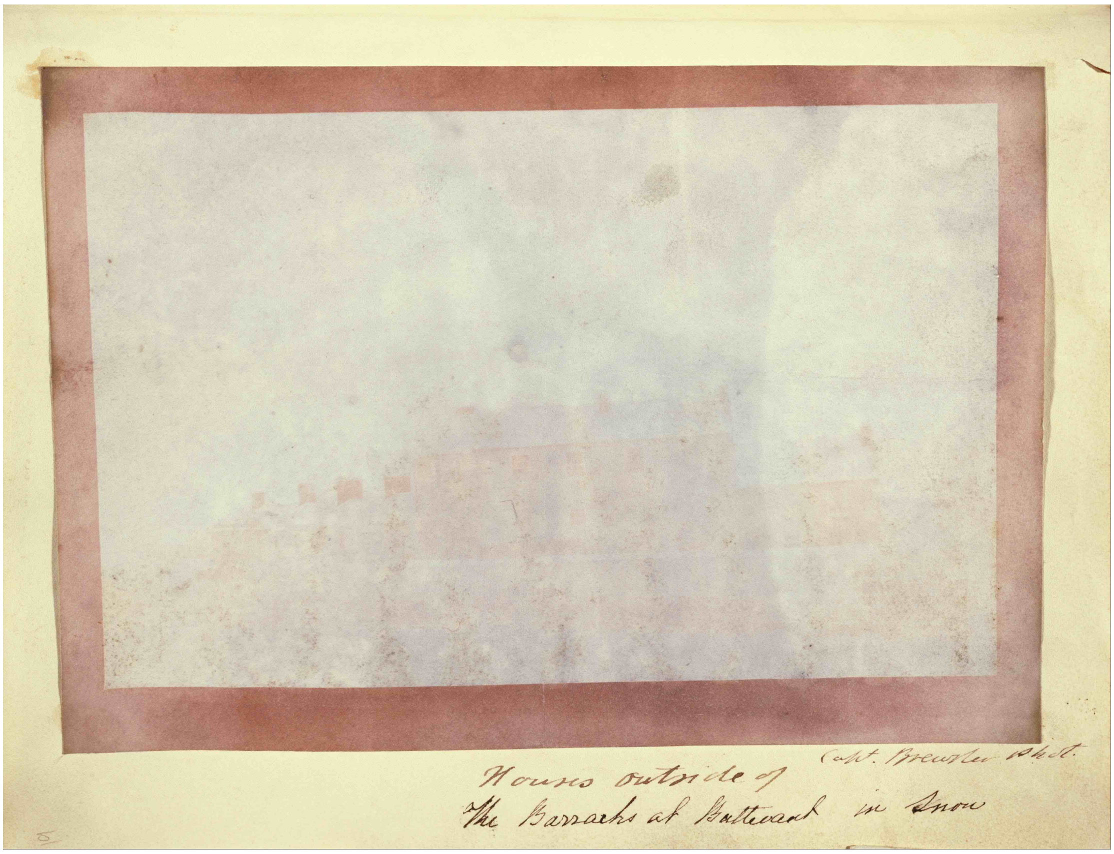

Capt. Brewster Phot.
Houses outside of
The Barracks at Buttevant in Snow

Figure 6

Available Online (last accessed 8 August 2019)
http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/63201/capt-henry-craigie-brewster-houses-outside-the-barracks-at-buttevant-in-snow-about-1843/

Henry Craigie Brewster.
Medium: Salted paper print from a Calotype negative.
Dimensions: 11.6 x 18.3 cm.
Inscription: Insc. ro. page in ink in David Brewster's hand: "Capt. Brewster Phot" & "Houses outside of/The Barracks at Buttevant in Snow".
Getty Museum Object Number: 84.XZ.574.22.

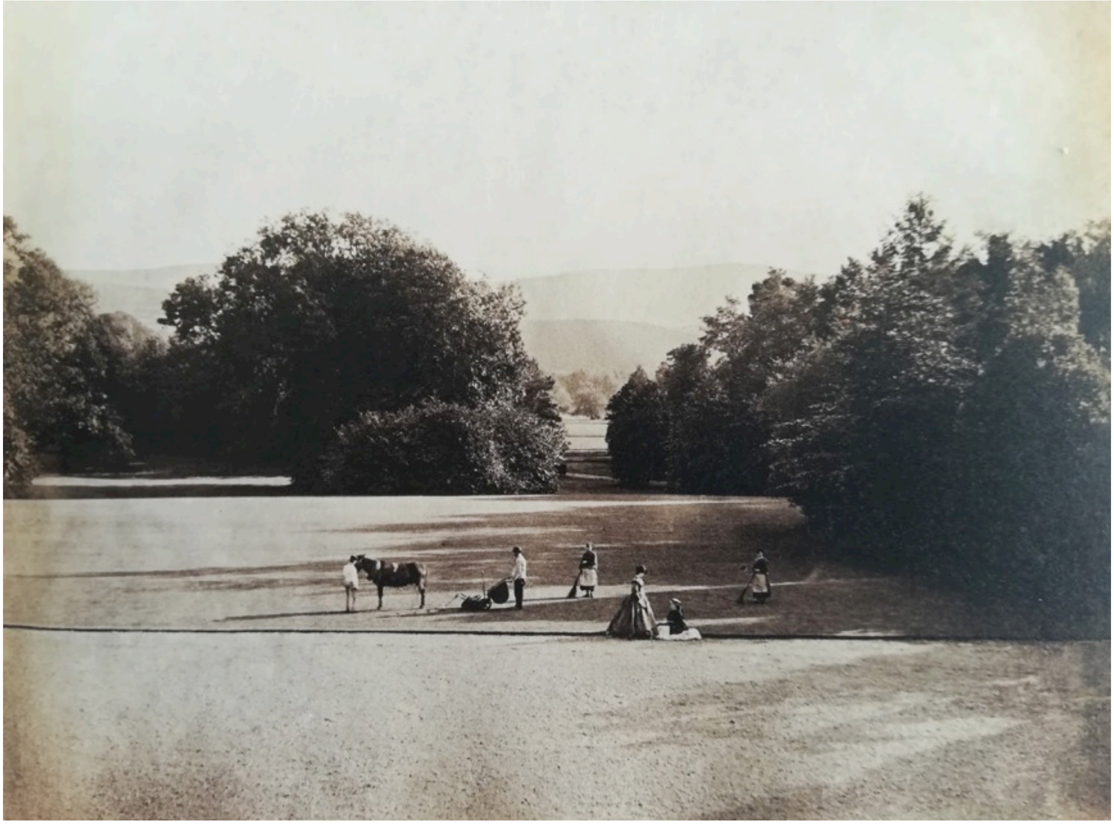


Figure 7

William Despard Hemphill.
Medium: Paper Print from 8x11 inch Wet-Collodion Negative.
Date: 1864.
Caption: View From Dining Room, Newtown Anner.

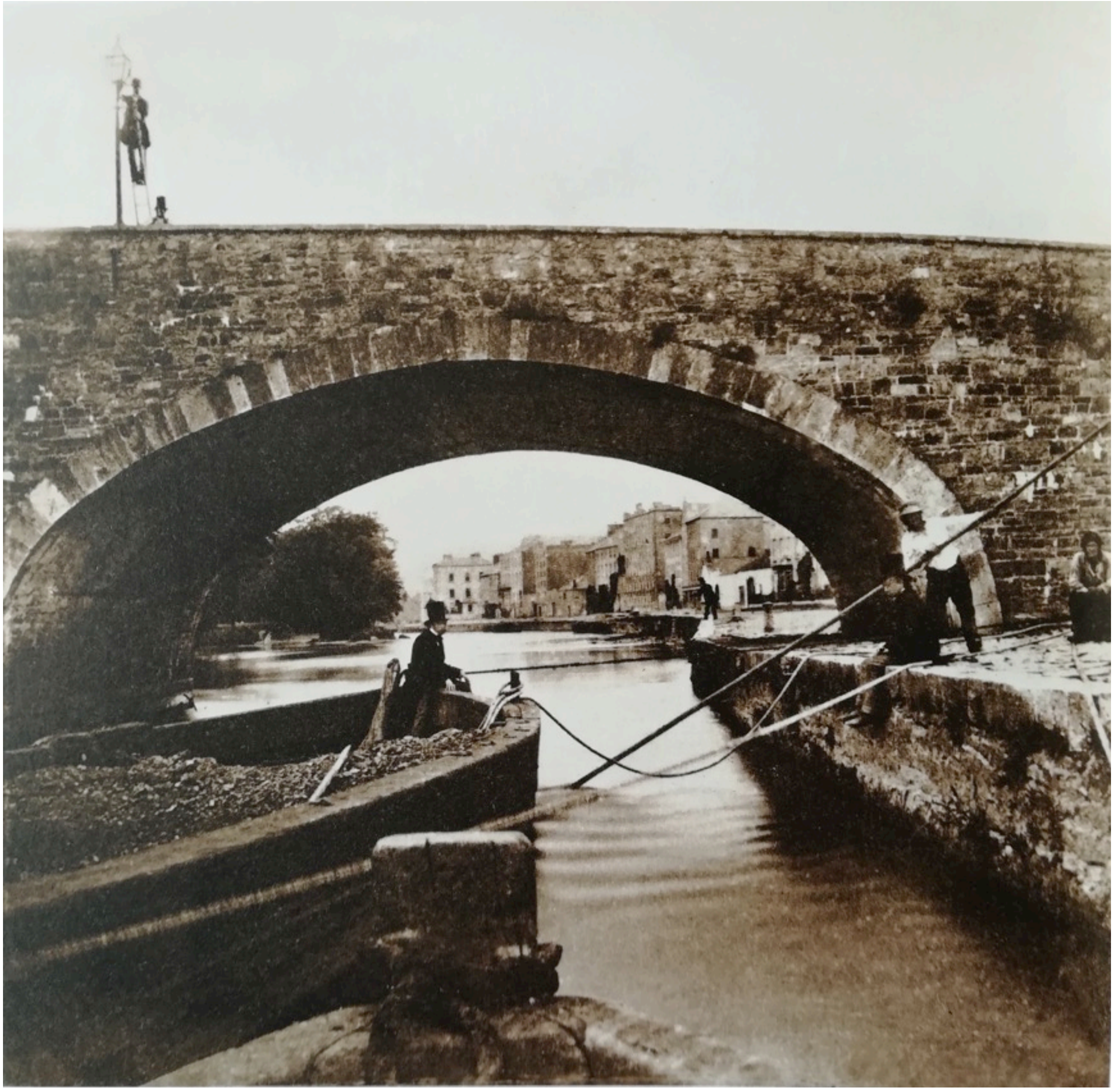


Figure 8

William Despard Hemphill.
Medium: Paper Print from Wet-Collodion Stereoscopic Negative.
Date: 1857.
Caption: Clonmel Quays.

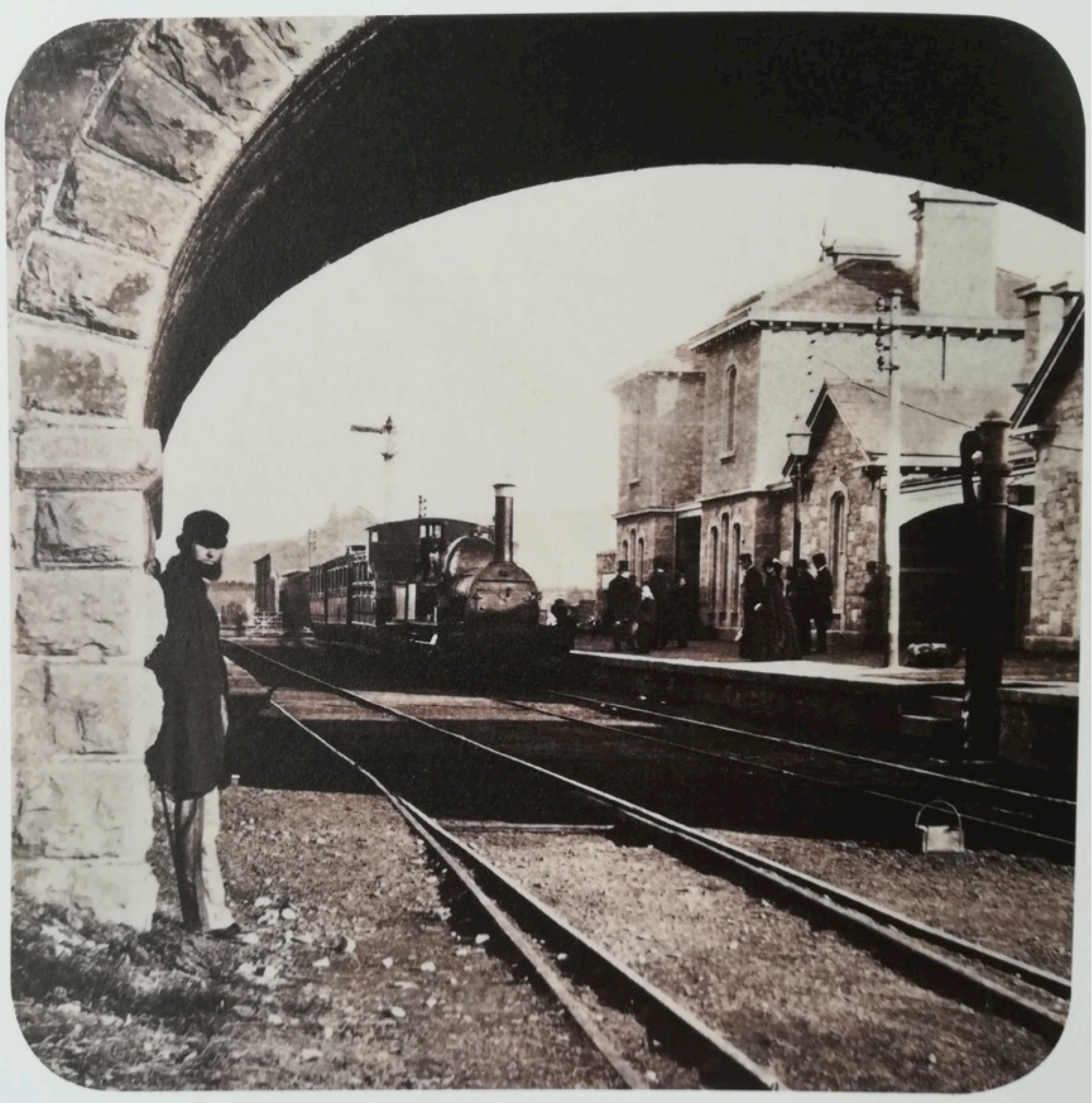


Figure 9

William Despard Hemphill.
Medium: Paper Print from Wet-Collodion Stereoscopic Negative.
Date: 1857/8.
Caption: Clonmel Railway Station.

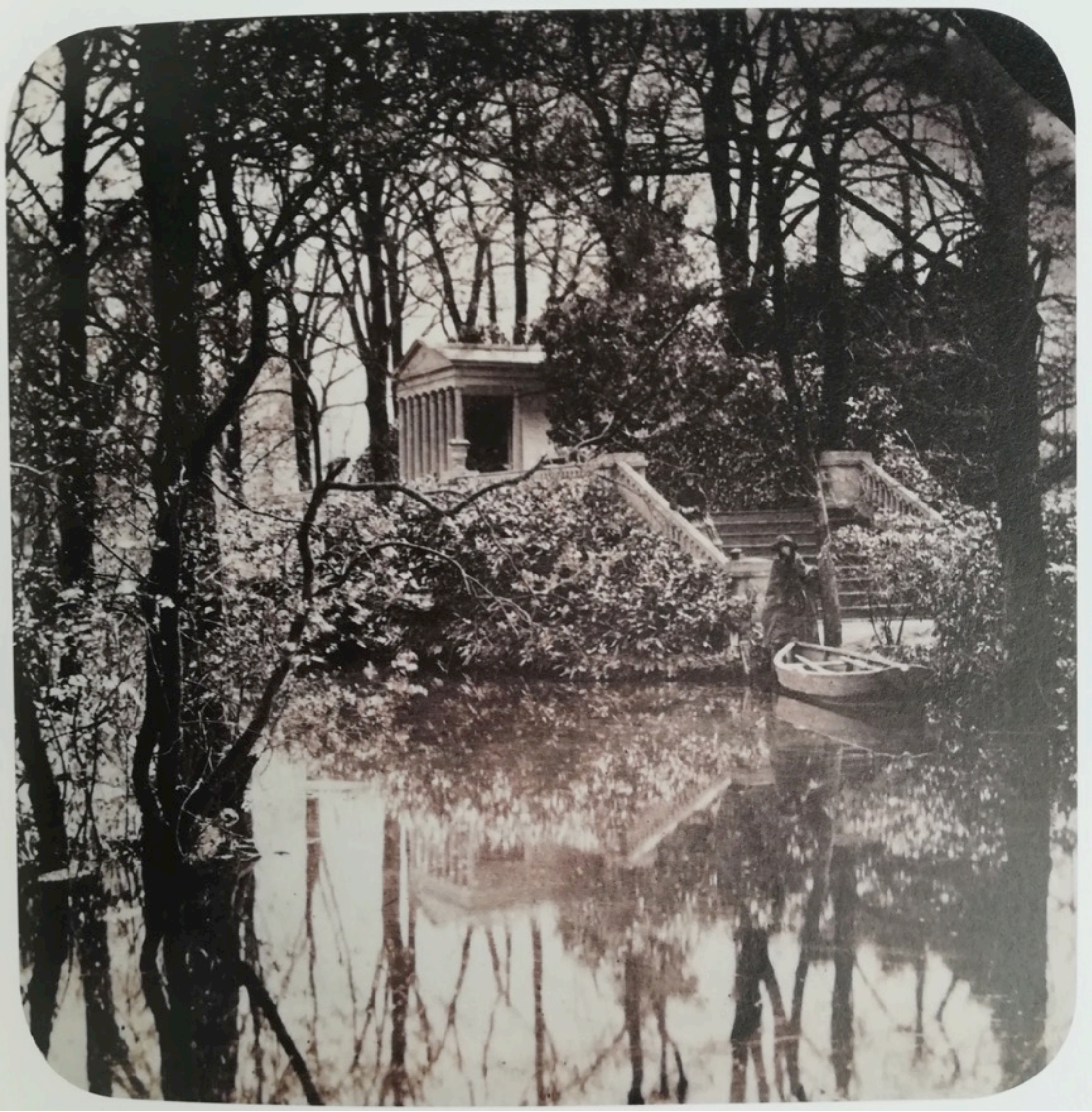


Figure 10

William Despard Hemphill.
Medium: Paper Print from Wet-Collodion Stereoscopic Negative.
Date: 1857/8.
Caption: The Temple, Newtown Anner.

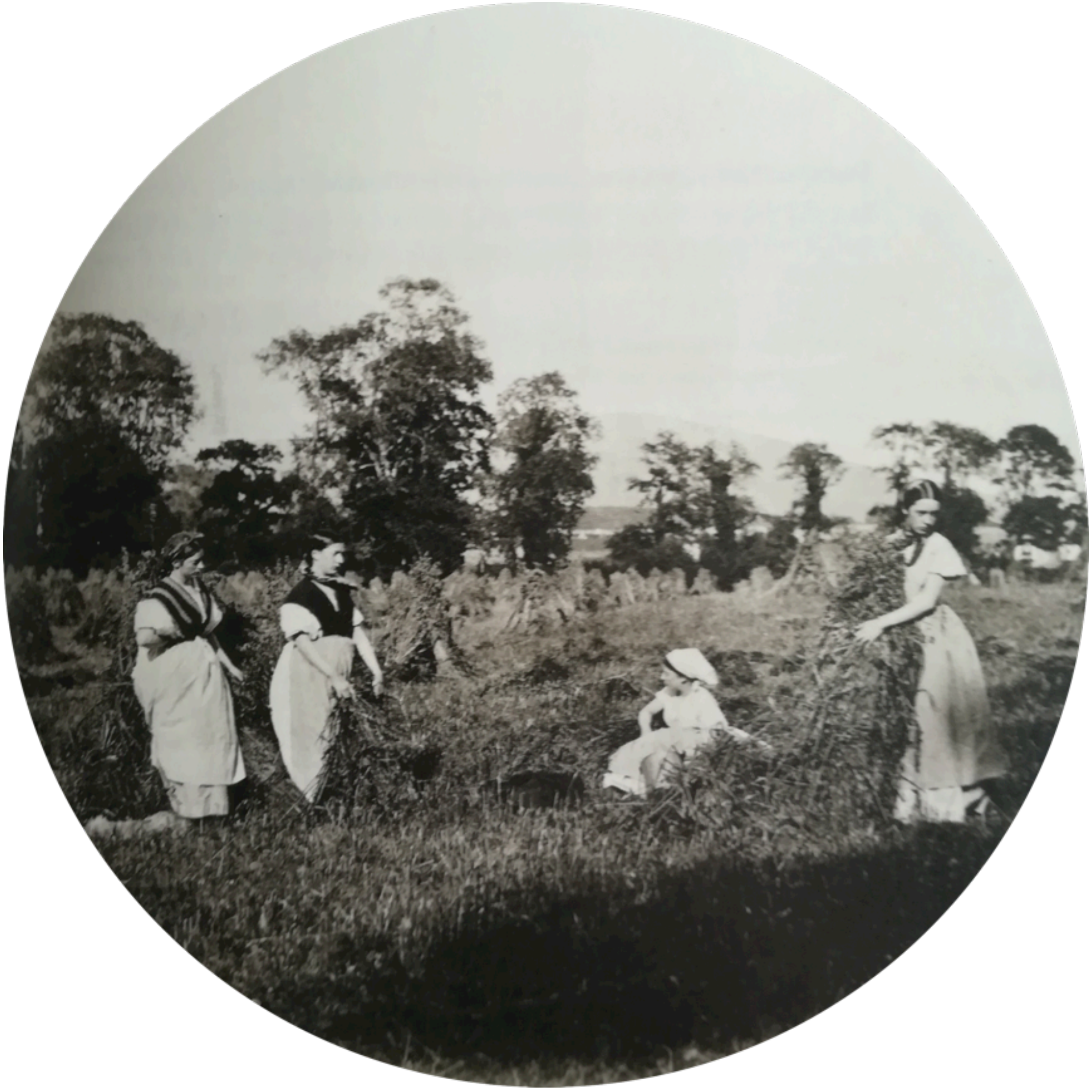


Figure 11

William Despard Hemphill.
Medium: Paper Print from Wet-Collodion Negative.
Date: 1864.
Caption: The Oatfield.

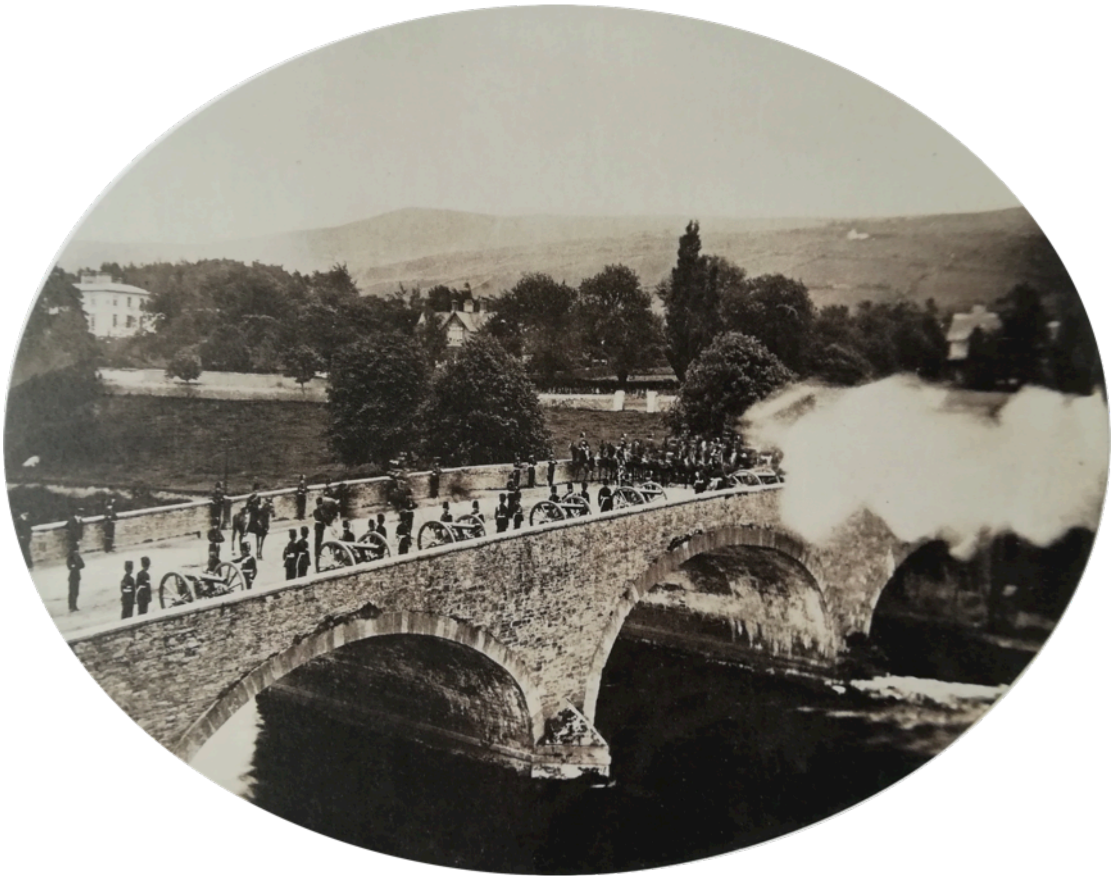


Figure 12

William Despard Hemphill.
Medium: Paper Print from Wet-Collodion Stereoscopic Negative.
Date: 1864.
Caption: Firing the Royal Salute.

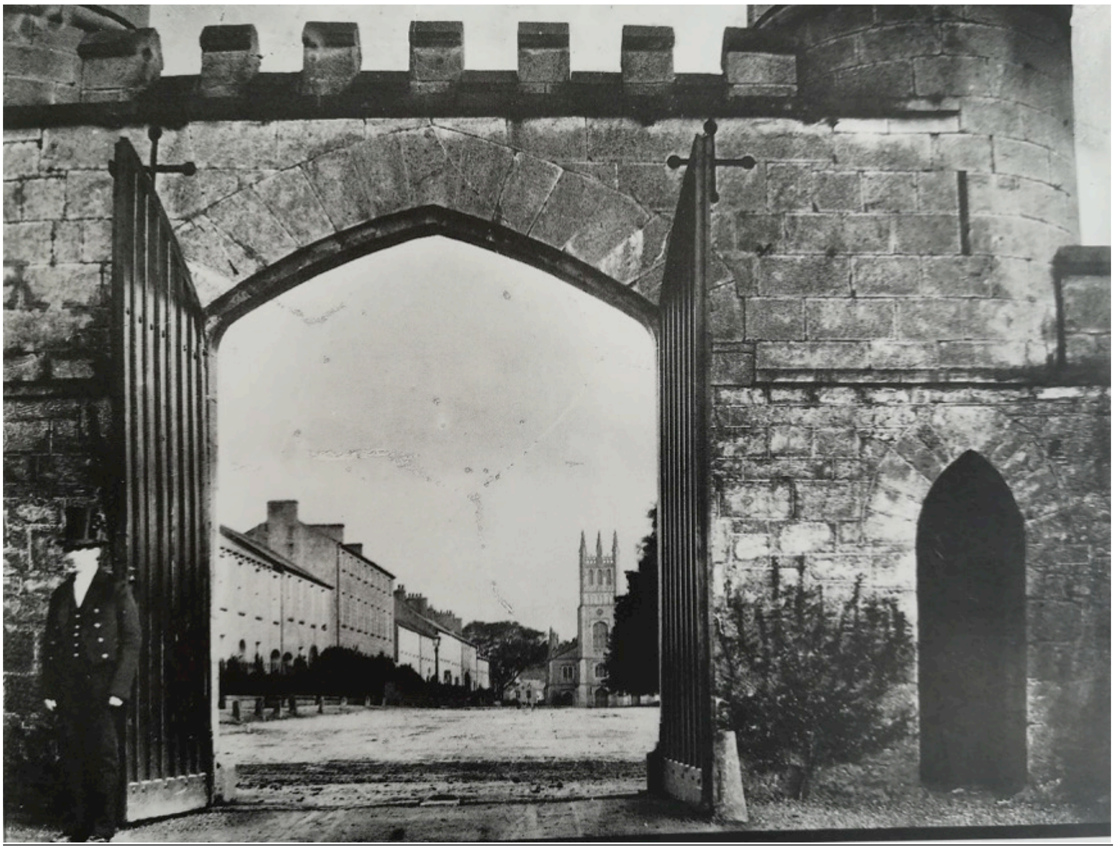


Figure 13

Mary Parsons, Countess of Rosse.
Medium: Paper Print from Wet-Collodion Negative.
Date: 1855-56.
Caption: Oxmantown Mall.

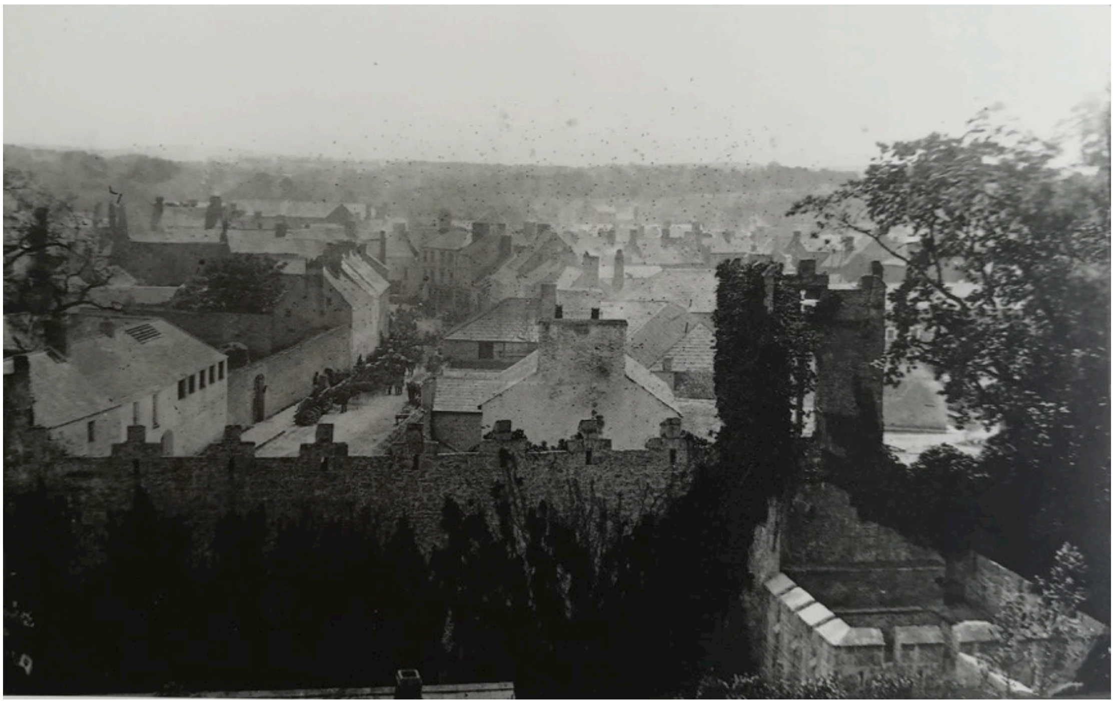


Figure 14

Mary Parsons, Countess of Rosse.
Medium: Paper Print from Wet-Collodion Negative.
Date: 1856.
Caption: The Town of Birr.

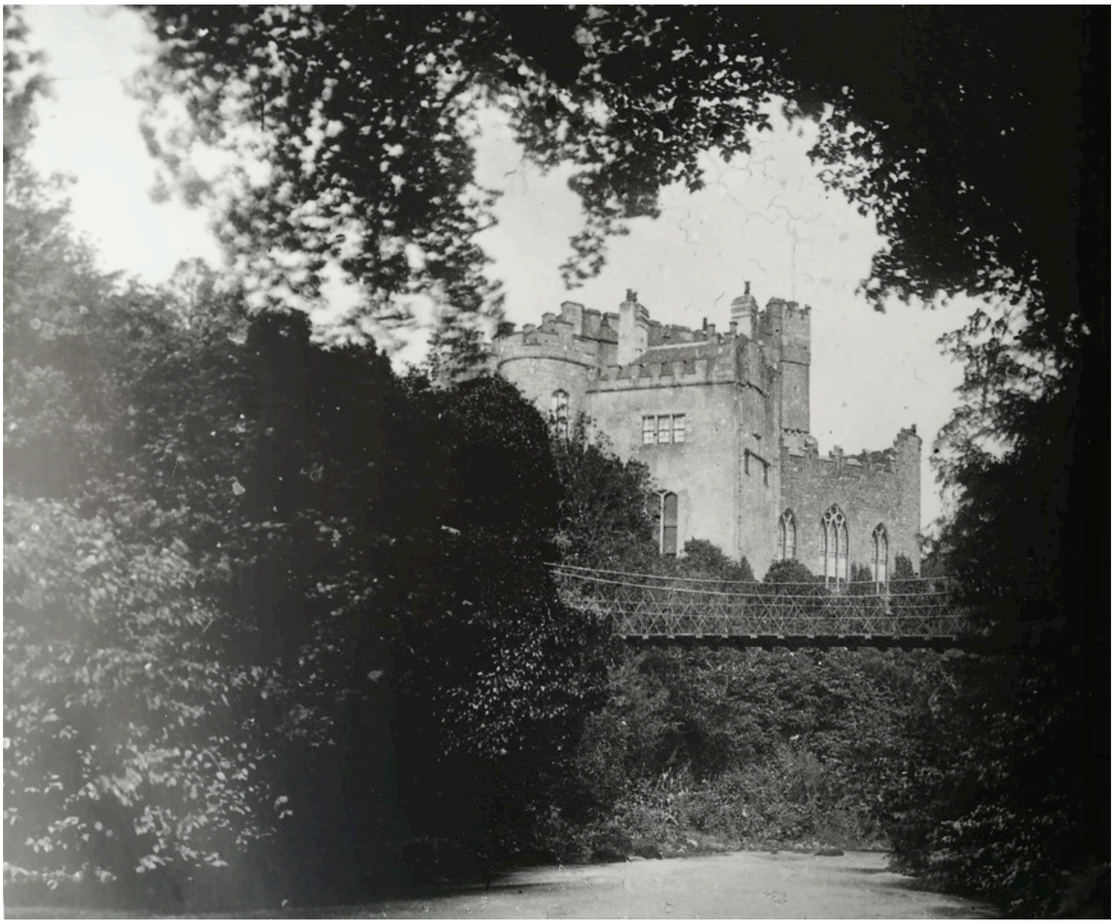


Figure 15

Mary Parsons, Countess of Rosse.
Medium: Paper Print from Wet-Collodion Stereoscopic Negative.
Date: 1855.
Caption: The Castle, Viewed from the Bank of the River Camcor.

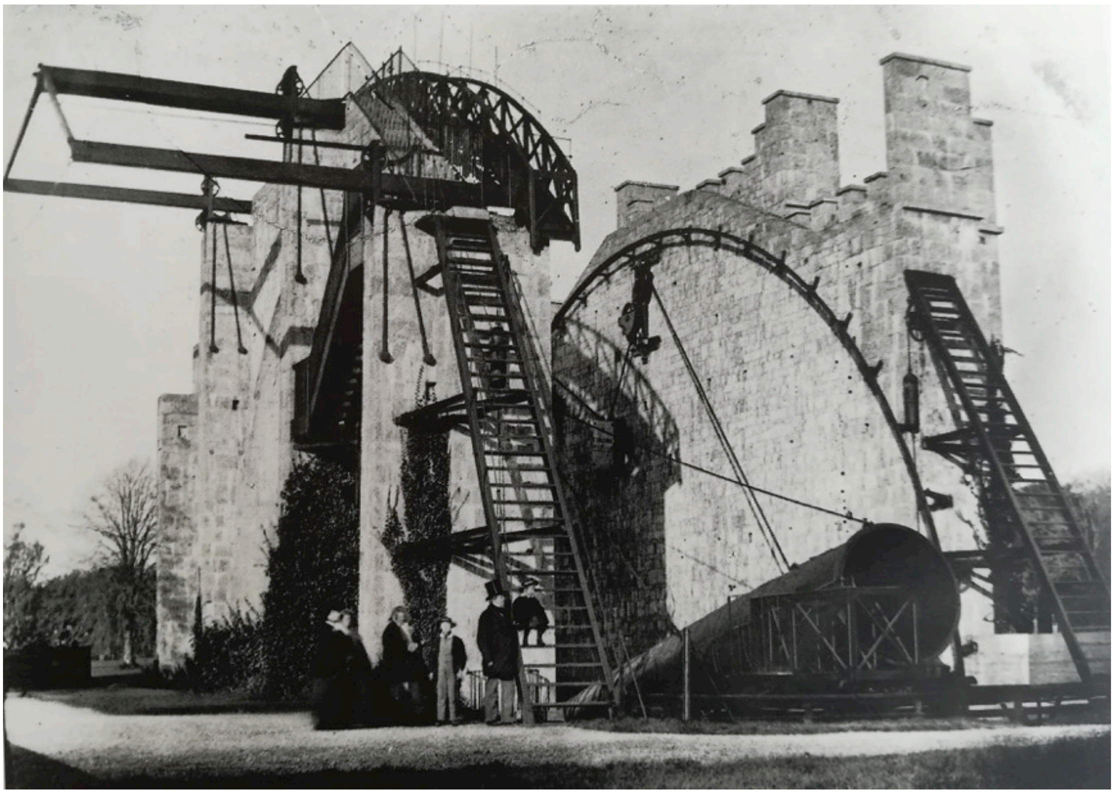


Figure 16

Mary Parsons, Countess of Rosse.
Medium: Paper Print from Wet-Collodion Negative.
Date: c.1857.
Caption: The Leviathan of Parsonstown.

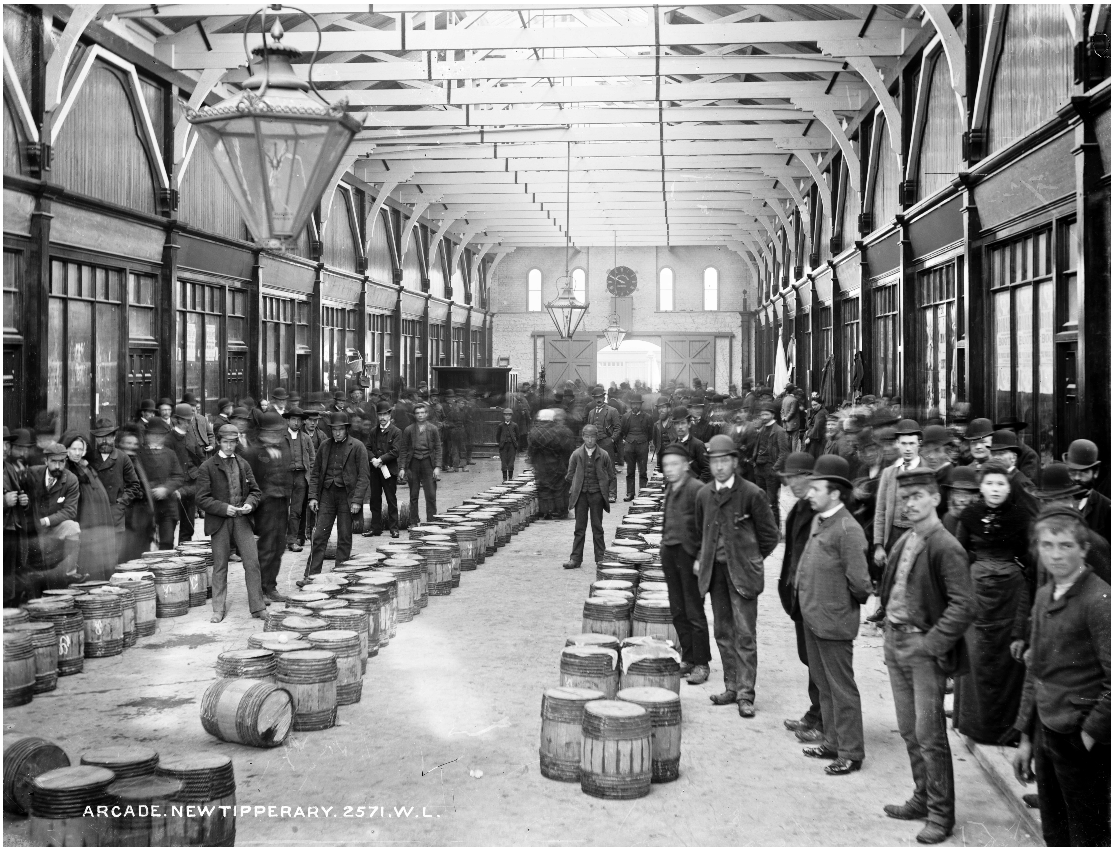

ARCADE. NEW TIPPERARY. 2571. W. L.

Figure 17

Robert French.
Medium: Paper Print from 22 x 17cm Dry Plate Glass Negative.
Date: 1890.
Caption: Arcade, New Tipperary, Tipperary Town.

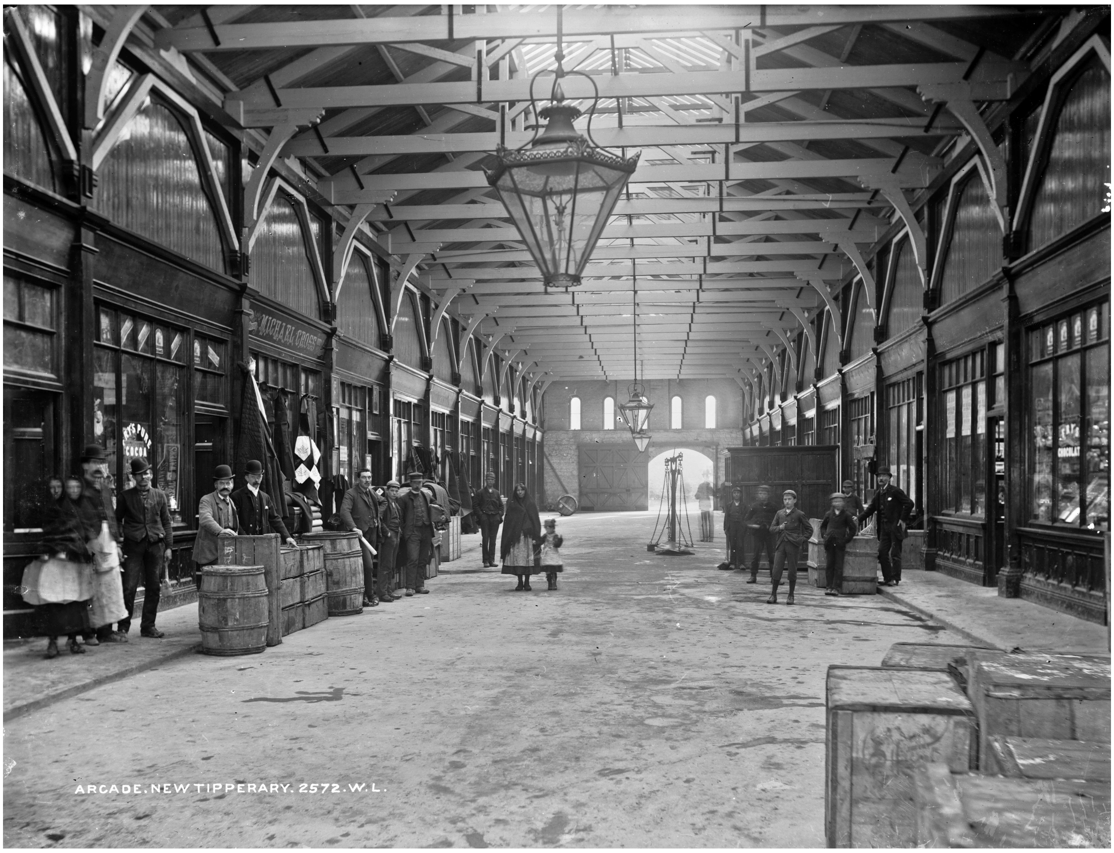

ARCADE. NEW TIPPERARY. 2572. W.L.
MICHAEL CROSS
COCOA
CHOCOLATE

Figure 18

Robert French.
Medium: Paper Print from 22 x 17cm Dry Plate Glass Negative.
Date: 1890.
Caption: Arcade, Tipperary, Co. Tipperary.

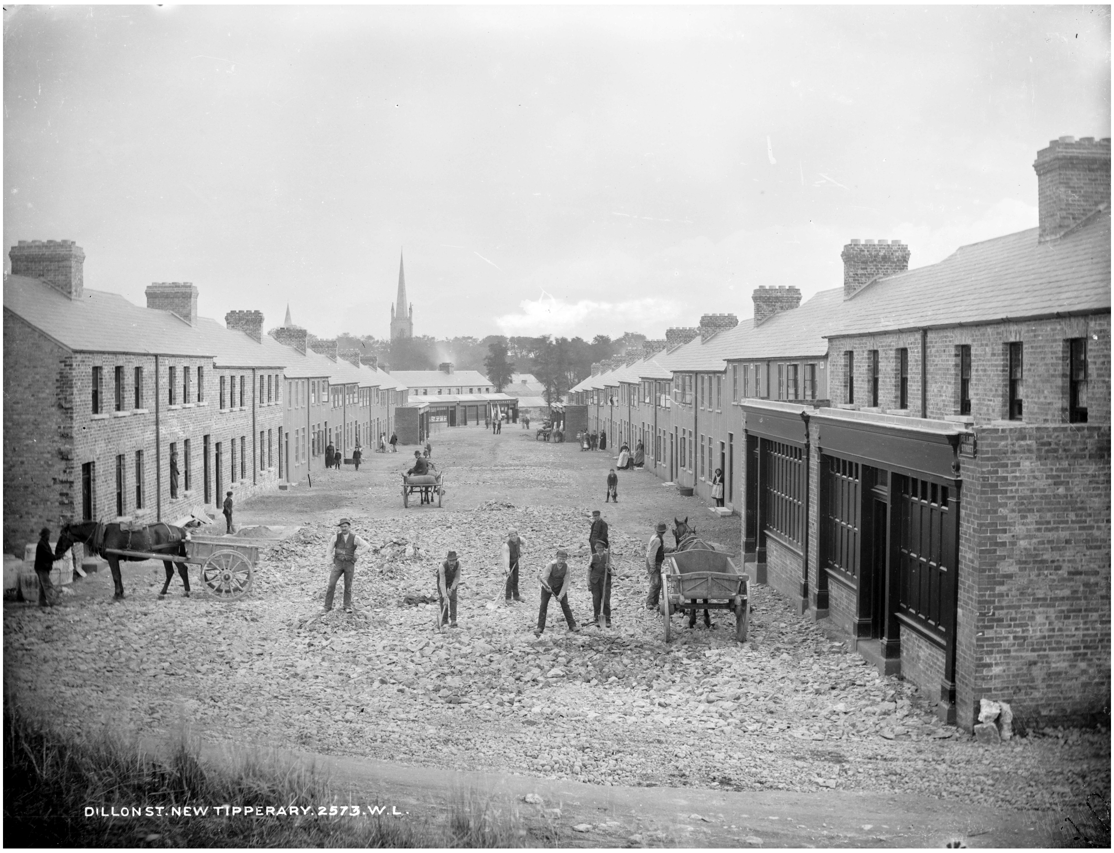

DILLON ST. NEW TIPPERARY. 2573. W.L.

Figure 19

Robert French.
Medium: Paper Print from 16.5 x 21.5cm Dry Plate Glass Negative.
Date: 1890.
Caption: Dillon Street, New Tipperary.

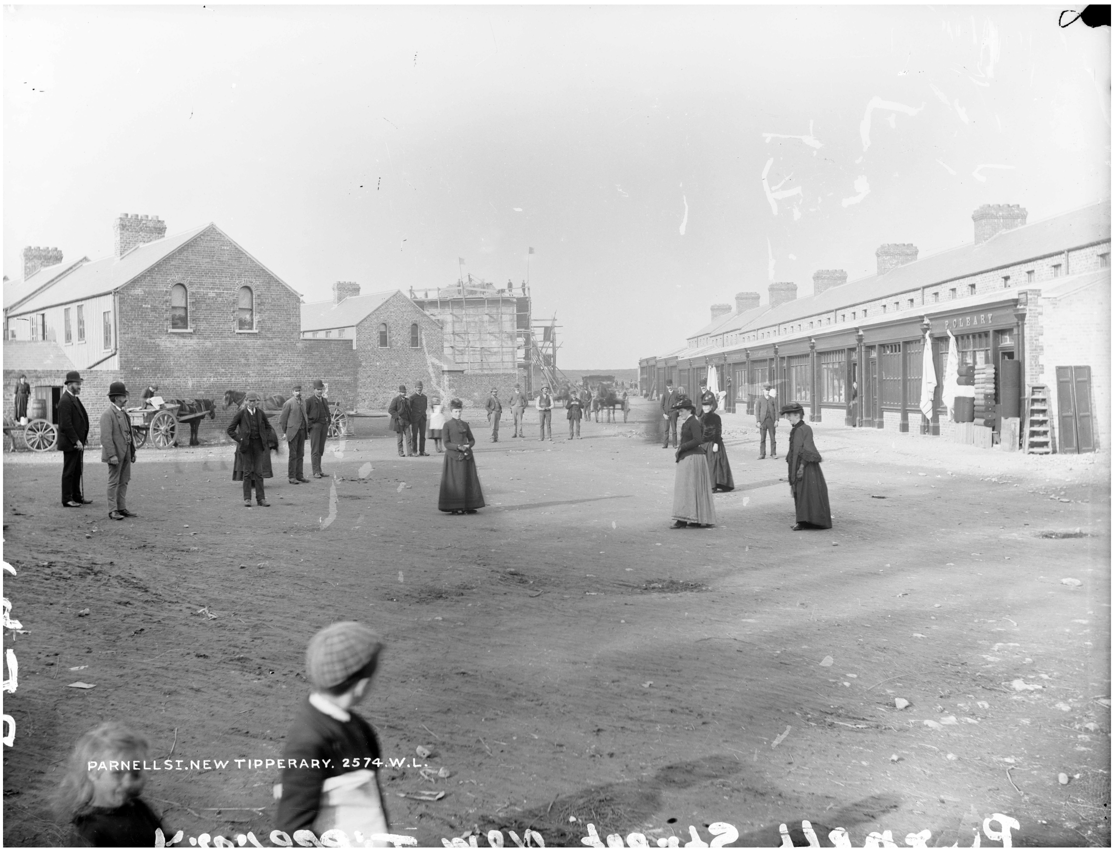
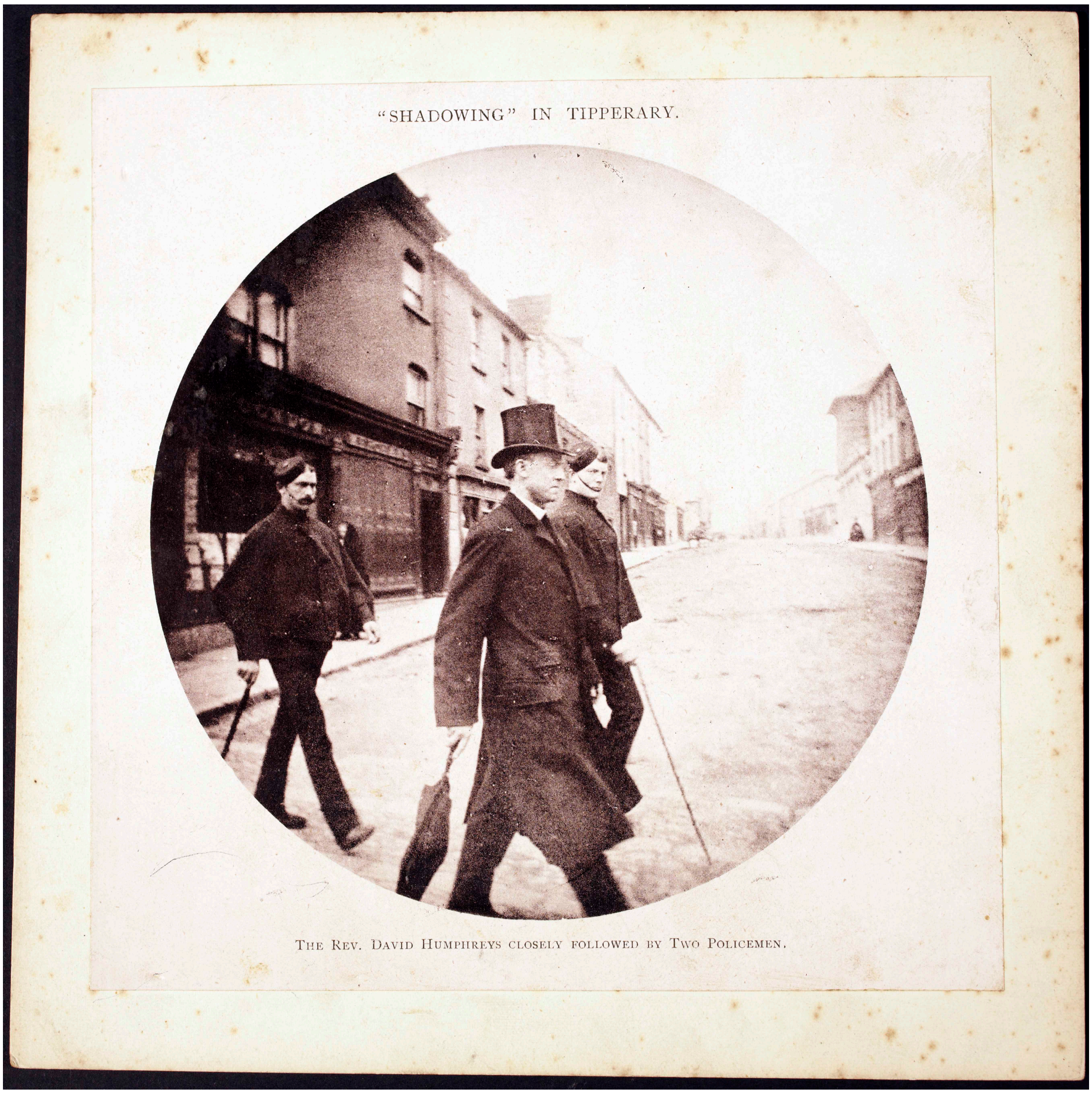

P. CLEARY
PARNELL ST. NEW TIPPERARY. 2574.W.L.

Figure 20

Robert French.
Medium: Paper Print from 22 x 17cm Dry Plate Glass Negative.
Date: 1890.
Caption: Parnell Street, Tipperary, Co. Tipperary.



"SHADOWING" IN TIPPERARY.

THE REV. DAVID HUMPHREYS CLOSELY FOLLOWED BY TWO POLICEMEN.

Figure 21

Patrick O'Brien.
Medium: Paper Print from Kodak Camera Negative, 18.5 x 17.5 cm, on mount 20.5 x 20.5cm
Date: 1890.
Caption: "Shadowing" in Tipperary: The Rev. David Humphreys closely followed by two policemen.

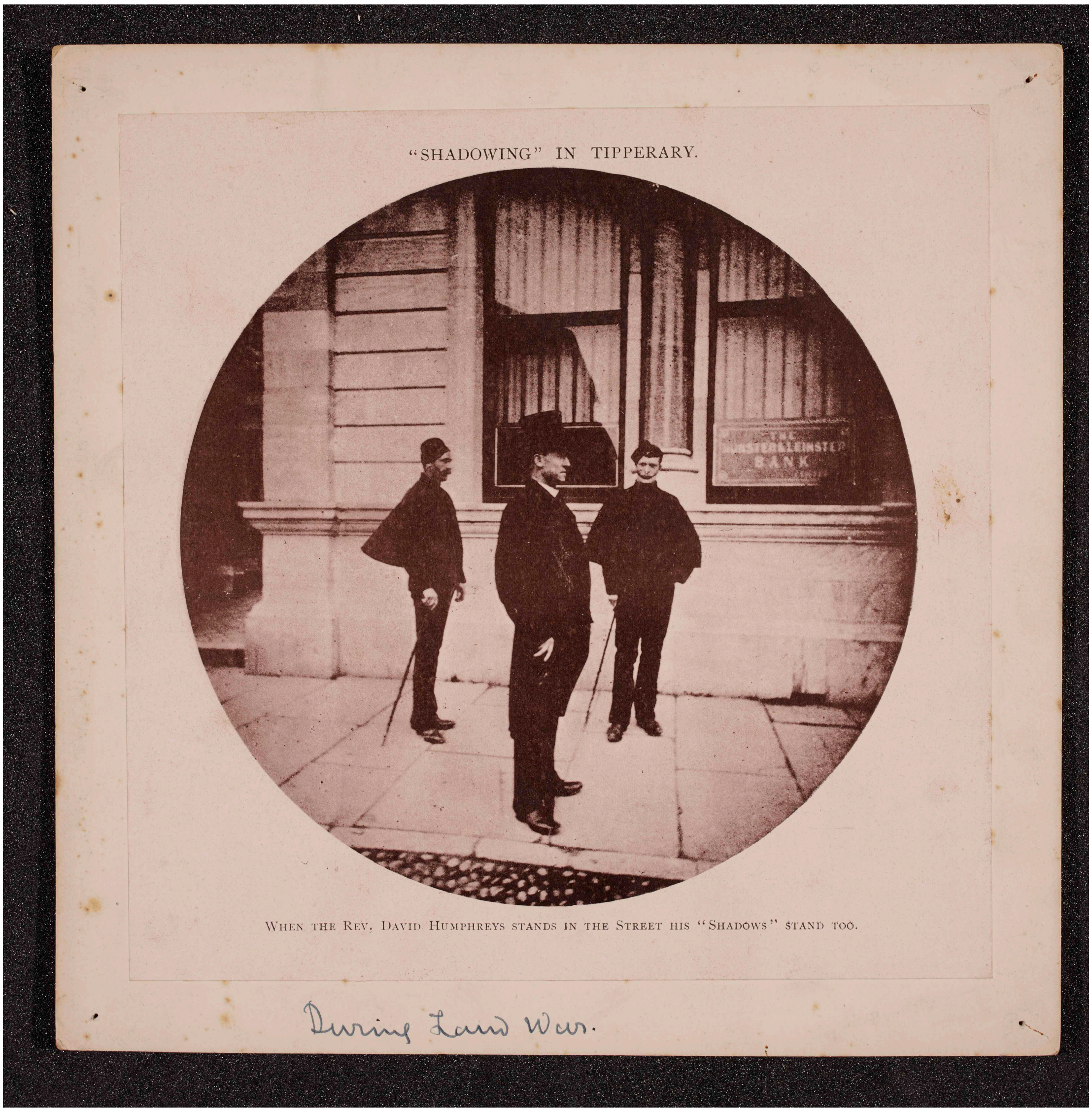
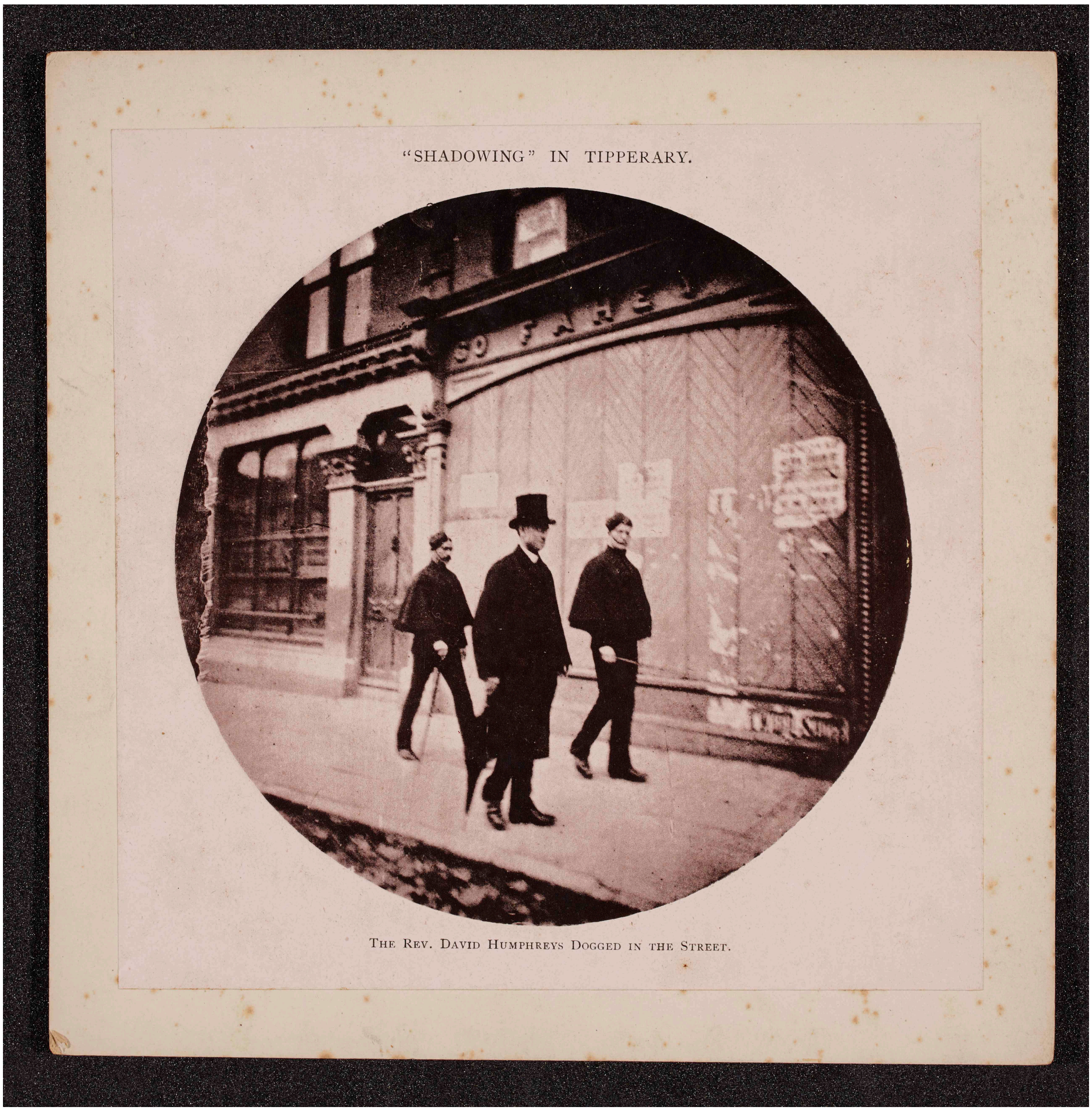

"SHADOWING" IN TIPPERARY.
THE MUNSTER & LEINSTER BANK
When the Rev. David Humphreys stands in the Street his "Shadows" stand too.
During Land War.

Figure 22

Patrick O'Brien.
Medium: Paper Print from Kodak Camera Negative, 17.8 x 17.8 cm, on mount 20.5 x 20.5cm
Date: 1890.
Caption: "Shadowing" in Tipperary: When the Rev. David Humphreys stands in the street his "shadows" stand too. (Hand-written caption: "During Land War").



"SHADOWING" IN TIPPERARY.

THE REV. DAVID HUMPHREYS DOGGED IN THE STREET.

Figure 23

Patrick O'Brien.
Medium: Paper Print from Kodak Camera Negative, 17.8 x 17.8 cm, on mount 20.5 x 20.5cm
Date: 1890.
Caption: "Shadowing" in Tipperary: The Rev. David Humphreys dogged in the street.

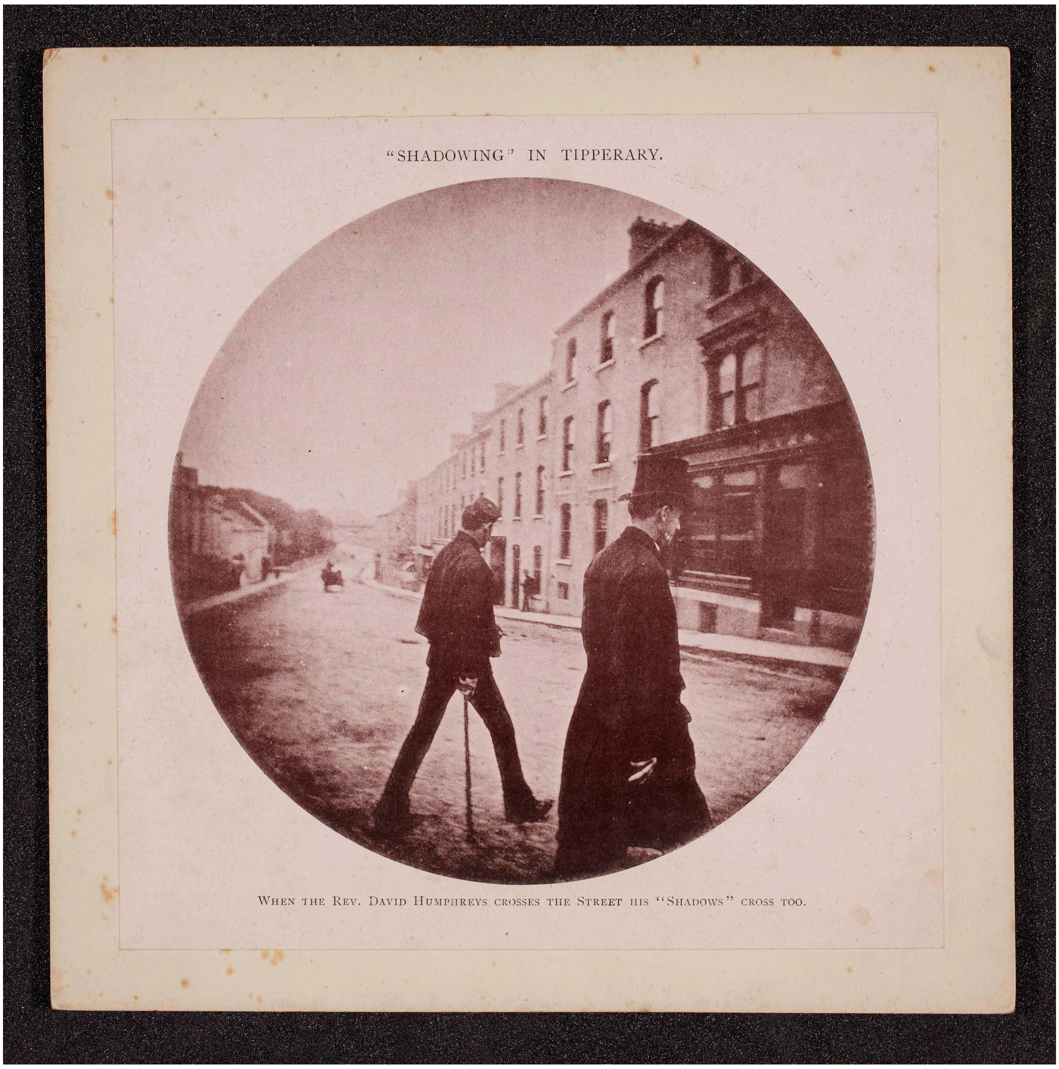
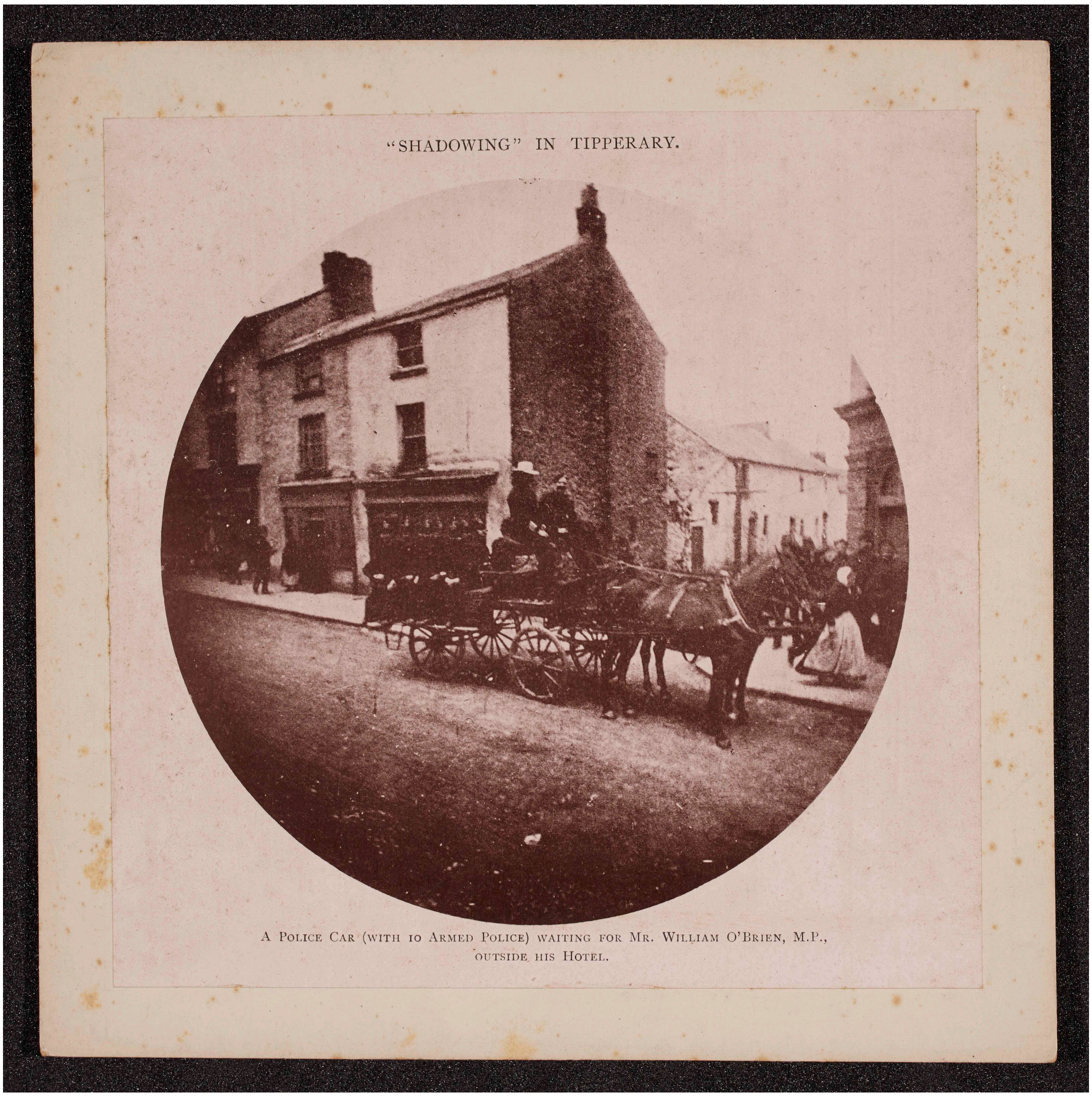

"SHADOWING" IN TIPPERARY.
WHEN THE REV. DAVID HUMPHREYS CROSSES THE STREET HIS "SHADOWS" CROSS TOO.

Figure 24

Patrick O'Brien.
Medium: Paper Print from Kodak Camera Negative, 17.8 x 17.8 cm, on mount 20.5 x 20.5cm
Date: 1890.
Caption: "Shadowing" in Tipperary: When the Rev. David Humphreys crosses the street his "shadows" cross too.


"SHADOWING" IN TIPPERARY.

A POLICE CAR (WITH 10 ARMED POLICE) WAITING FOR MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN, M.P., OUTSIDE HIS HOTEL.

Figure 25

Patrick O'Brien.
Medium: Paper Print from Kodak Camera Negative, 17.6 x 17.6 cm, on mount 20.5 x 20.5cm
Date: 1890.
Caption: "Shadowing" in Tipperary: A police car (with armed police) waiting for Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., outside his hotel.

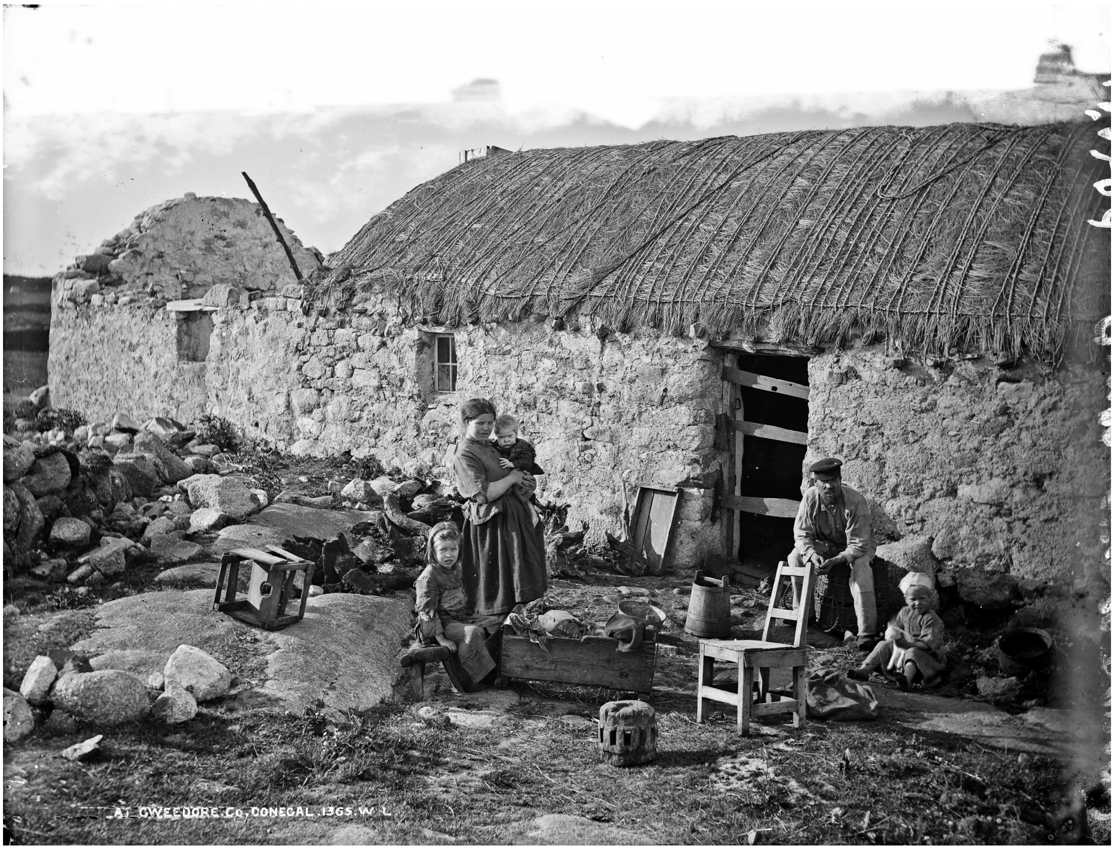

AT GWEEDORE.CO.DONEGAL.1365.W.L.

Figure 26

Lawrence Collection.
Medium: Paper Print from 21.5 x 16.5cm Dry Plate Glass Negative.
Date: 1886.
Caption: At Gweedore, Co. Donegal.
National Photographic Archive Call Number: L_ROY_01365.

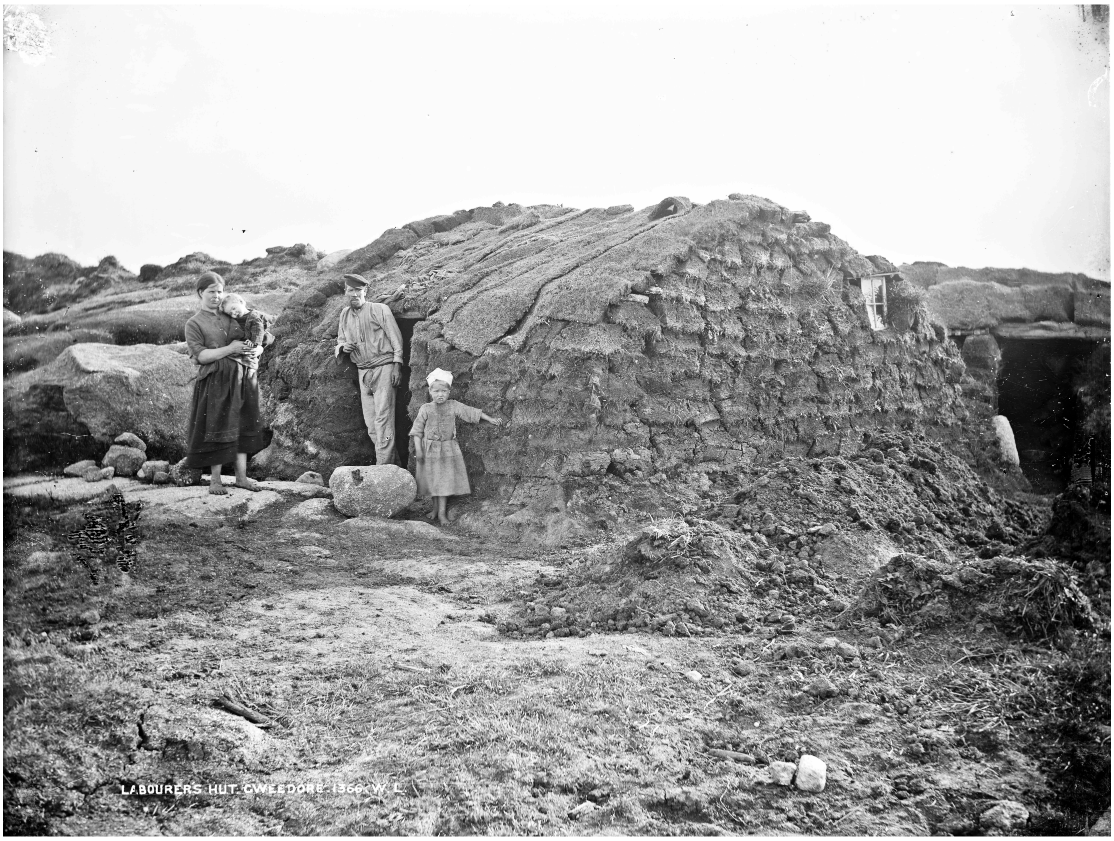

LABOURERS HUT. GWEEDORE. 1366. W. L.

Figure 27

Lawrence Collection.
Medium: Paper Print from 21.5 x 16.5cm Dry Plate Glass Negative.
Date: 1886.
Caption: Labourer’s Hut. Gweedore.
National Photographic Archive Call Number: L_ROY_01366.

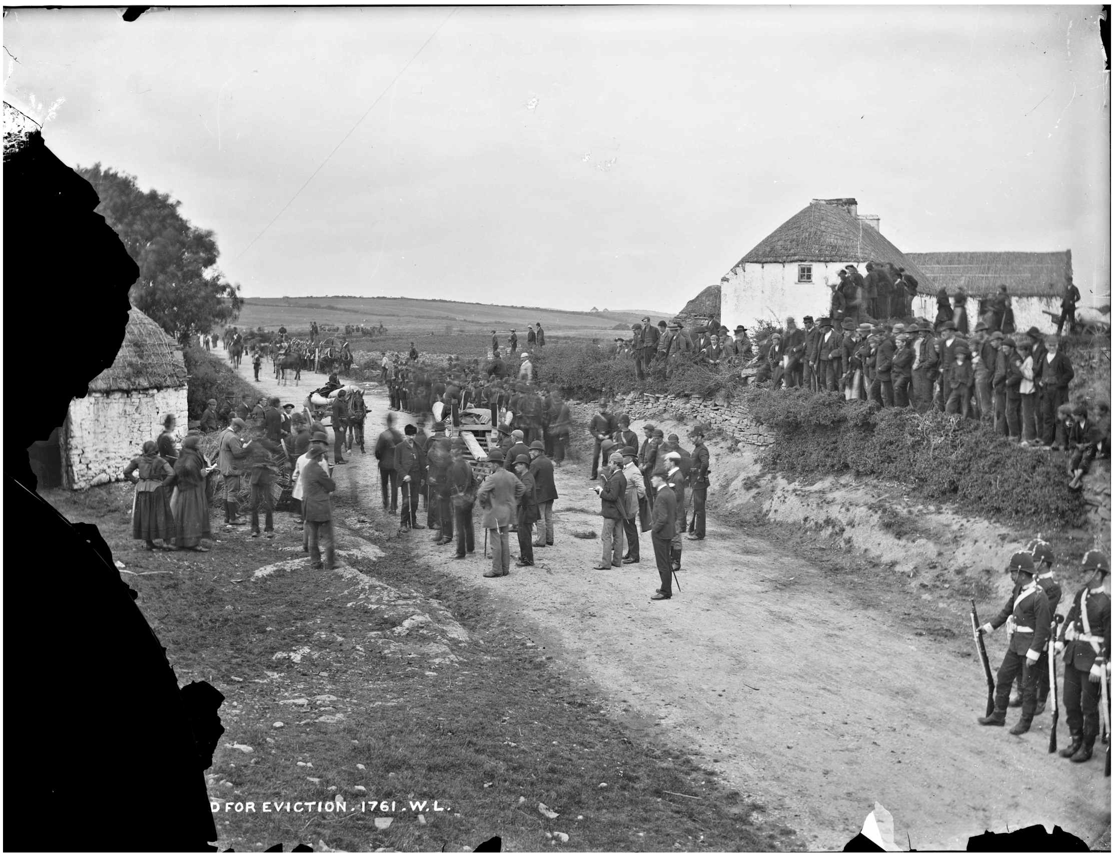

D FOR EVICTION. 1761. W.L.

Figure 28

Lawrence Collection.
Medium: Paper Print from 22 x 17cm Dry Plate Glass Negative.
Date: 1888.
Caption: Irish Life. On the Road for Eviction.
National Photographic Archive Call Number: L_ROY_01761.

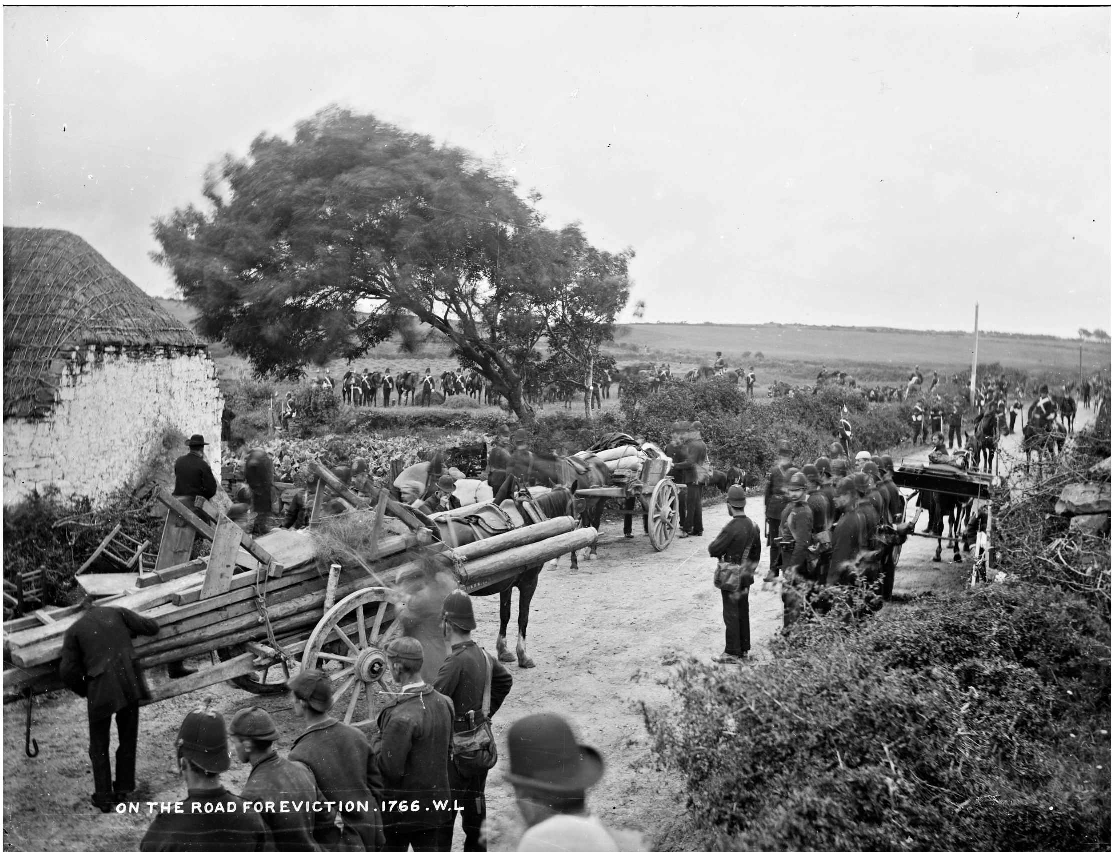

ON THE ROAD FOR EVICTION . 1766 . W.L.

Figure 29

Lawrence Collection.
Medium: Paper Print from 21.5 x 16.5cm Dry Plate Glass Negative.
Date: 1888.
Caption: On the Road for Eviction.
National Photographic Archive Call Number: L_ROY_01766.

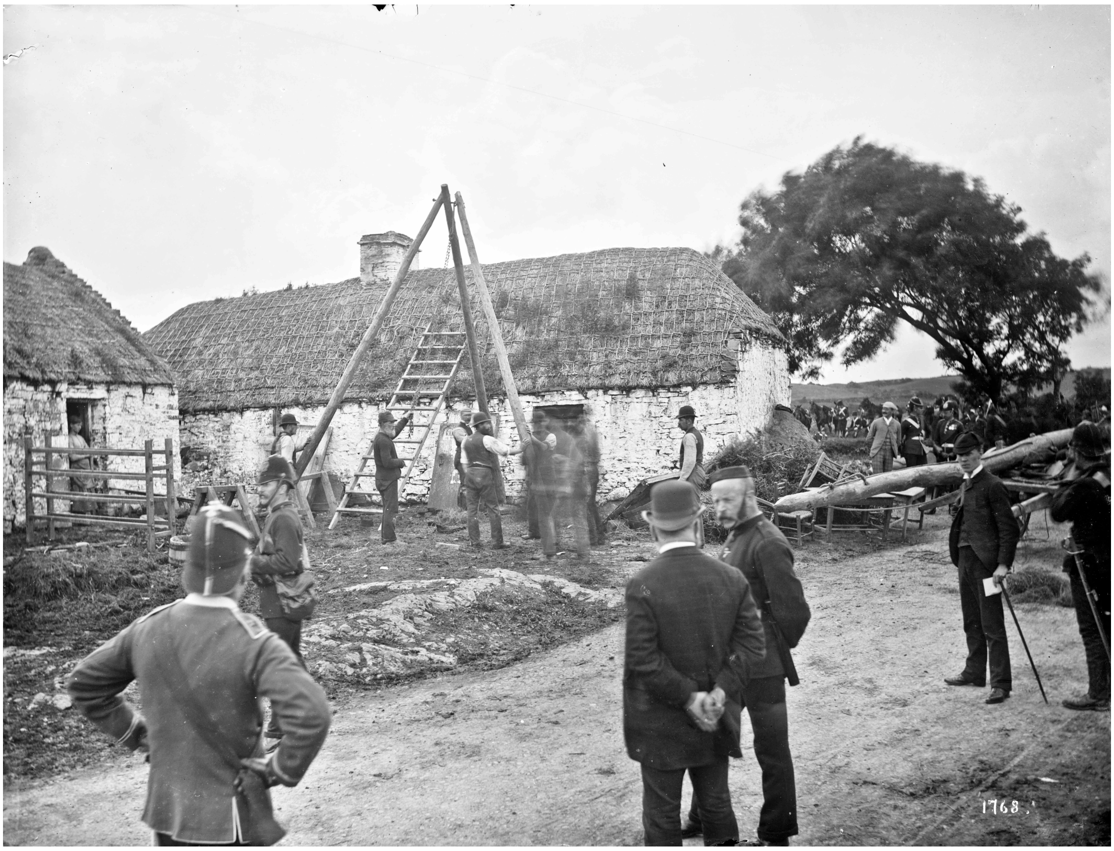


Figure 30

Lawrence Collection.
Medium: Paper Print from 21.5 x 16.5cm Dry Plate Glass Negative.
Date: 1888.
Caption: (Mathias McGrath's house, Moyasta, Co. Clare with Battering Ram in front)
[*This caption is in error, the house is that of Michael Connell*].
National Photographic Archive Call Number: L_ROY_01768.

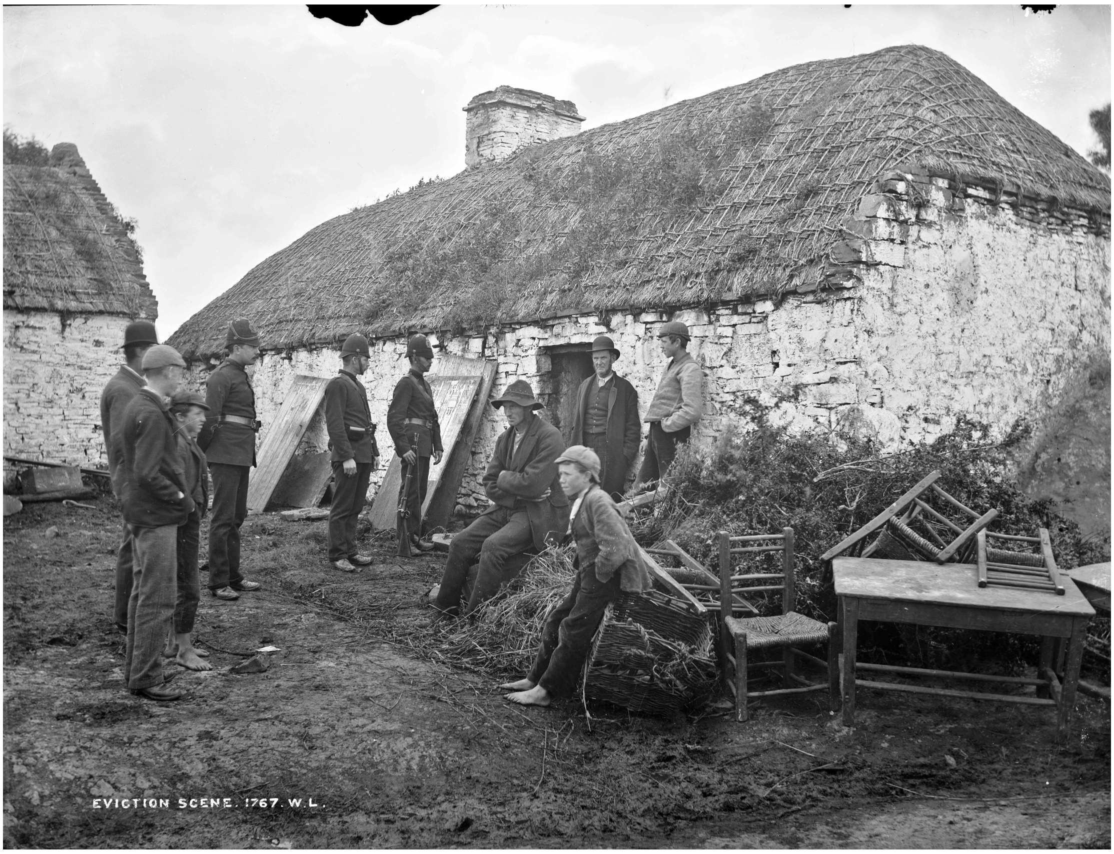

EVICTION SCENE. 1767. W.L.

Figure 31

Lawrence Collection.
Medium: Paper Print from 21.5 x 16.5cm Dry Plate Glass Negative.
Date: 1888.
Caption: Michael Connell, Moyasta, Co. Clare after eviction.
National Photographic Archive Call Number: L_ROY_01767.

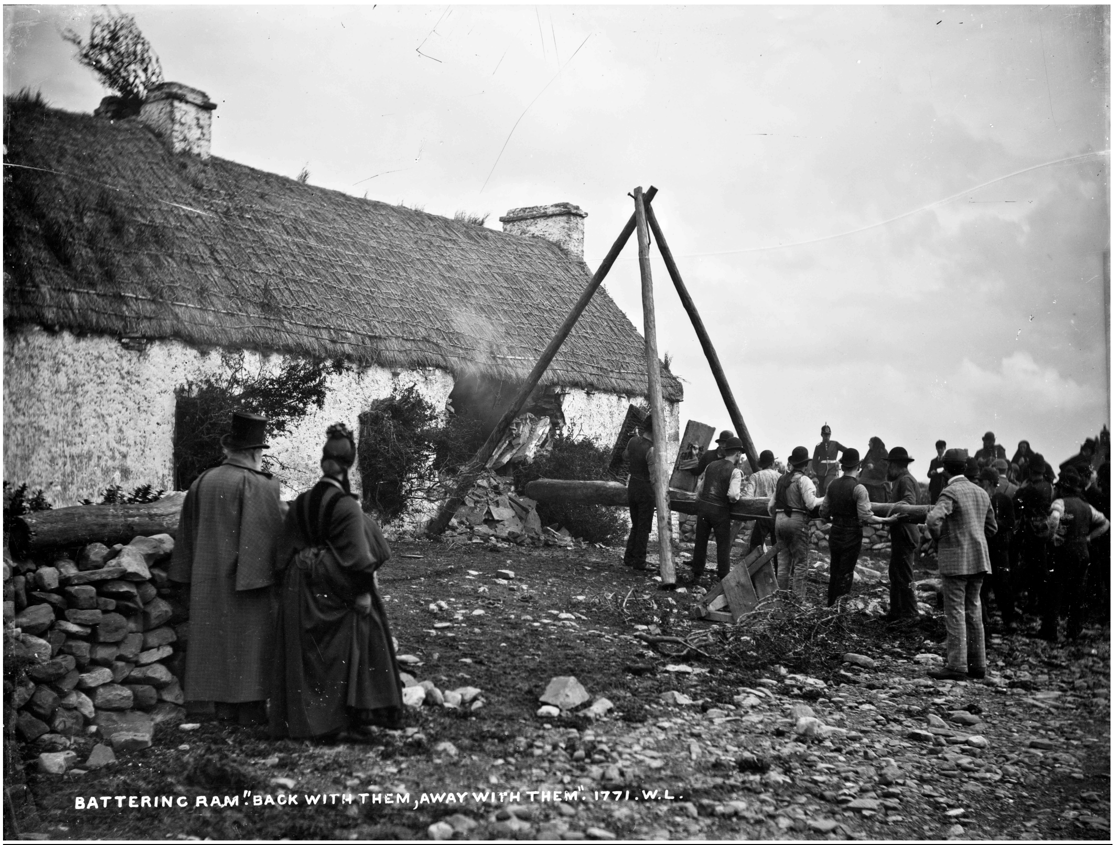

BATTERING RAM "BACK WITH THEM, AWAY WITH THEM". 1771. W.L.

Figure 32

Lawrence Collection.
Medium: Paper Print from 21.5 x 16.5cm Dry Plate Glass Negative.
Date: 1888.
Caption: Eviction at Thomas Bermingham's house in Moyasta, Co. Clare.
National Photographic Archive Call Number: L_ROY_01771.

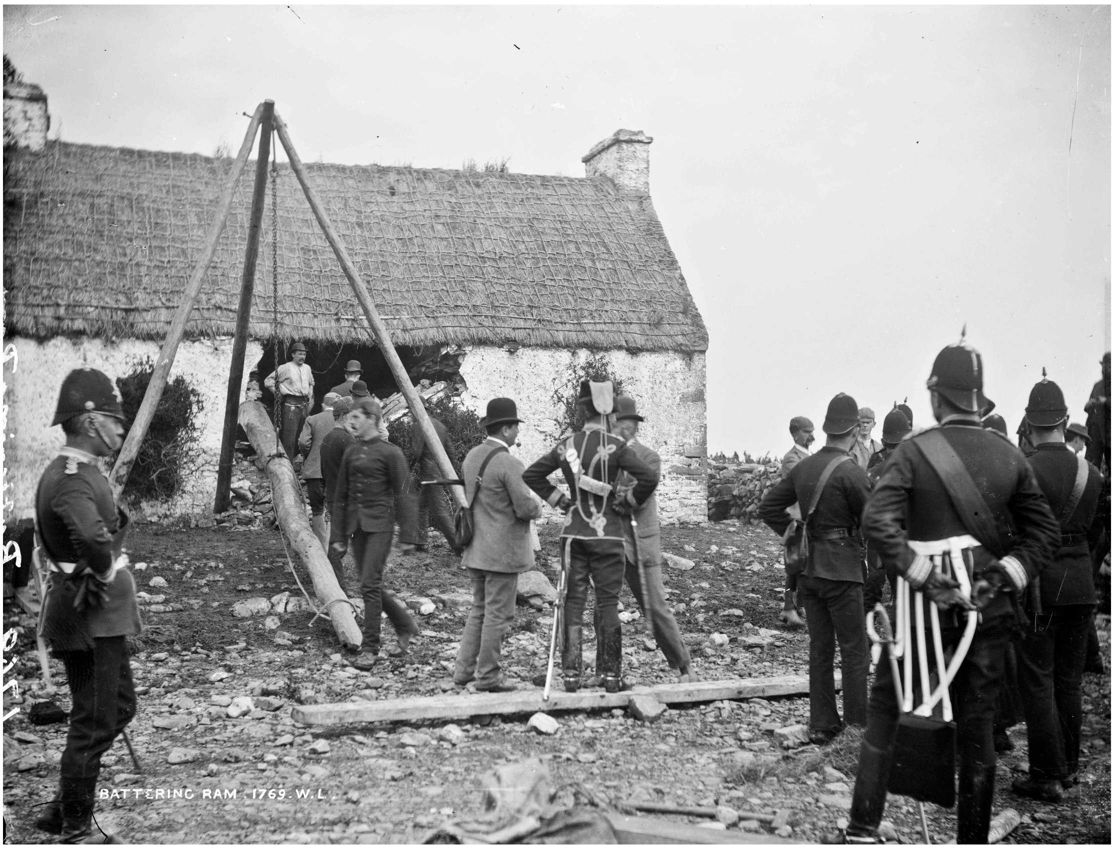

BATTERING RAM .1769. W.L.

Figure 33

Lawrence Collection.
Medium: Paper Print from 21.5 x 16.5cm Dry Plate Glass Negative.
Date: 1888.
Caption: [T.Birmingham's house, Moyasta, Co. Clare with Battering Ram and soldiers outside].
National Photographic Archive Call Number: L_ROY_01769.

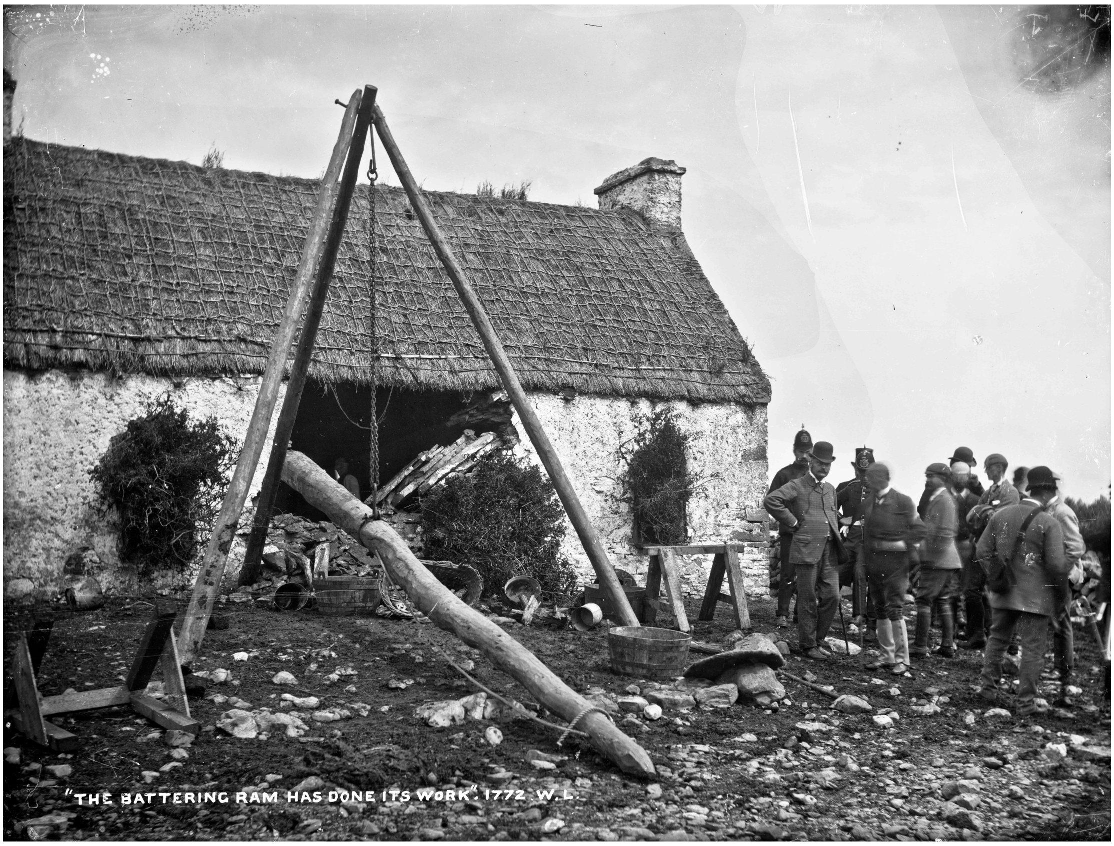

"THE BATTERING RAM HAS DONE ITS WORK". 1772 W.L.

Figure 34

Lawrence Collection.
Medium: Paper Print from 21.5 x 16.5cm Dry Plate Glass Negative.
Date: 1888.
Caption: "The Battering Ram has done its work" [Eviction scene, Ireland].
National Photographic Archive Call Number: L_ROY_01772.

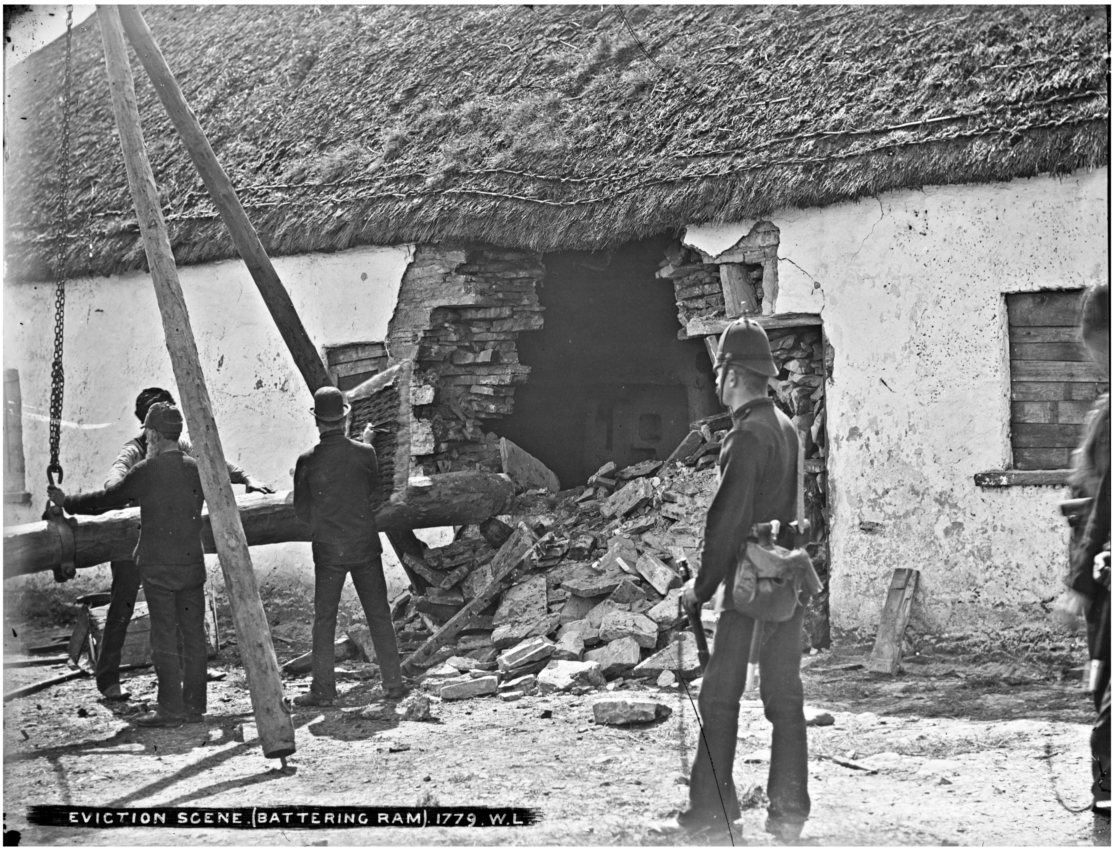

EVICTION SCENE (BATTERING RAM). 1779. W.L.

Figure 35

Lawrence Collection.
Medium: Paper Print from 21.5 x 16.5cm Dry Plate Glass Negative.
Date: 1888.
Caption: Eviction scene (Battering Ram).
National Photographic Archive Call Number: L_ROY_01779.

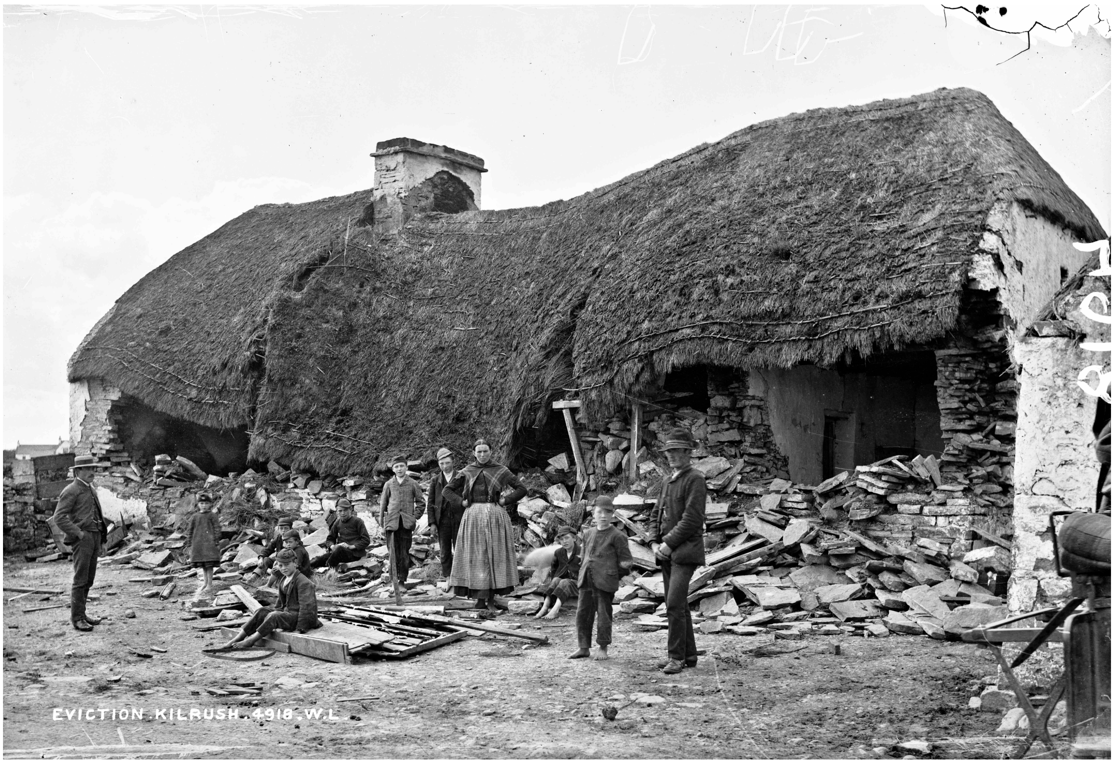


Figure 36

Lawrence Collection.
Medium: Paper Print from 21.5 x 16.5cm Dry Plate Glass Negative.
Date: 1888.
Caption: [Mathias Magrath's house, Moyasta, Co. Clare after destruction by the Battering Ram].
National Photographic Archive Call Number: L_CAB_04918.

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