



## Spain in Irish Literature 1789-1850 An Approach to a Minor Representation <sup>[1]</sup>

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### Introduction

This brief approach aims at analysing and extracting some general guidelines on the much-neglected discourse which arose from the representation of Spain and Spanish references in Irish literature between 1789 and 1850. It focuses on the ways in which a number of canonical and non-canonical Irish and Anglo-Irish writers use Spain, her history, traditions and culture to construct the contemporary Irish discourse. The history of Spain, Spanish tradition and literature were topics much referred to by a number of Irish writers at the turn of the eighteenth century. These authors and their discourse deserve a new approach; for, though they have been the focus of some research, many of these poets, novelists and playwrights have been considered minor in importance by traditional literary criticism on the grounds of their lack of aesthetic quality and politically partisan bias, among many other issues. Our aim is to propose some guidelines for further study.

As for the selection of the chronological period 1789-1850, many factors have been taken into account. Indeed, on the one hand, Spain between 1789 and 1850 provided Irish authors with instances of national turmoil, which were open to interpretation and representation. After the French Revolution, Spain declared war against France, which resulted in the passing of power to Napoleon, who, in turn, gave the Spanish Crown to his nephew, Joseph Bonaparte. The French invasion of Spain inspired patriotic and independent movements in England and Ireland. The figure of the Anglo-Irish Duke of Wellington assisted in the resolution of the Peninsular War, restoring Ferdinand VII to the Spanish throne.

A number of internal conflicts in Spain after this period, such as the Carlist wars, found ample resonance in Ireland. On the other hand, a number of historical events in Ireland conditioned much of the writing of the period. The Union with Great Britain (1801), Catholic Emancipation (1829) and the Great Famine (1845-1849) found extensive expression in the Anglo-Irish literature of the period. The final year of 1850 has been chosen not only because it was the year of publication of Edward Maturin's significant *Lyrics of Spain and Erin*, but also because much of the writing after this date was stigmatised by the representation of the Irish Famine. After this, the late Irish Romantic Period was conditioned by preoccupations that prepared the way for a new resurgence of Irish literature in the English language.

Through Spain as the connecting 'anecdote', which within the new historicist critical context is a move 'outside of canonical works', an 'effect of surprise' which pulls away or swamps 'the explication of the work of art', (Gallagher & Greenblatt 2000: 36), we propose that it is possible to conceive a way of constructing a cultural dissection in which to explain this recourse to Spain between 1789-1850 in Ireland. Our main concern is to identify the importance of the anecdote, the event, that is Spain and Spanish references, in a twofold way. Firstly, as an event *per se*; and secondly, as an event that is literally significant within the period under study in this brief introductory approach.

### Most important works and authors: a brief list

So, after fixing the period of our analysis, we propose a list of the major writings which present references to Spain in general. [2] Some absences are telling. Among them any future researcher should not overlook the enormous bulk of data contained in the myriad of pamphlets, broadsheets and periodical material which constantly referred to Spain and her plight. Nevertheless, and bearing the latter issue in mind, we include below an alphabetical list of some minor and major authors who produced writings in which the references to Spain are reflected on Anglo-Irish and Irish issues. Our intention is not to delve into all these works in detail, [3] but due to the unknown character of these authors' productions we decided to include a few comments on their works.

Lady Sophia Raymond Burrell produced two works with Spanish theme: a poem, 'Epistle from Elvira (a Spanish Lady) to her Lover (a native of Portugal)' (1793) and her play *Theodora; or, The Spanish Daughter, a Tragedy* (1800) in which a female point of view is introduced about the 'gendered' Revolutionary aftermath. Andrew Cherry dedicated his life to acting and writing musical sketches and songs of importance. His *Spanish Dollars* (1806) included the famous song 'The Bay of Biscay', about coastal life in Ireland.

For Henry Brereton Code, his writing activities were accompanied by his political presence in the Anglo-Irish unionist discourse. His play *Spanish Patriots a Thousand Years Ago* (1812) is a good example of this. The same applies to the critic and politician John Wilson Croker and his praise of Wellington in his famous poem *The Battles of Talavera*

(1810) which advocated, through the representation of Spain, the defence of the Union between Ireland and Britain as a model for many other European nations. Rev. George Croly produced his poem *Sebastian; A Spanish Tale* (1820) deeply imbued with religious controversy and Oriental difference.

Although intermittent in his contributions on Spain, the translator and poet Samuel Ferguson wrote the short poem 'Don Gomez and the Cid' (1833) during the first year of the influential *Dublin University Magazine*. Not much is known about Preston Fitzgerald, who penned *The Spaniard and Siorlamb* (1810) and his long poem *Spain Delivered. A Poem and Two Cantos* (1813), denouncing Napoleonic intervention in Spain. The Anglo-Irish playwright Robert Jephson produced his *Two Strings to Your Bow* (1791) through the portrayal of stock-characterisation. The later James Sheridan Knowles was one of the most popular dramatists of the period and would produce patriotic and heroic compositions in blank verse principally. Of importance we find his early 'Fragment of a Spanish Play' (about 1806), his short story *The Guerrilla* (1837) and his play *The Rose of Arragon* (1842).

The other female writer to be considered is Miss Alicia Le Fanu, who produced her romantic novel *Don Juan de las Sierras, or, el Empecinado. A Romance* (1823), establishing connections with Spain, Ossian and Irish romantic nationalism. James Clarence Mangan, regarded as the national poet of Ireland, produced various translations from the Spanish and German, but with Spanish themes, as well as a short introductory essay on the interconnections between the Spanish romances and national character, which Mangan then connected with the Irish situation he was experiencing at the time.

The Maturin family, represented by the Gothic Charles Robert Maturin and his son Edward Maturin, deserves closer attention. C. R. Maturin's play *Manuel* (1817) is set in Spain. His Gothic masterpiece *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820) has recourse to Spain and Spanish religious conflicts constantly. His son Edward, a member of the Irish Diaspora, although publishing in the United States, followed the religious preoccupation of his father in writing his short story *Benjamin, the Jew of Grenada* (1847). His most interesting instance of Spanish influence is, however, his poetical piece *Lyrics of Spain and Erin* (1850), which closes our brief analysis, chronologically speaking.

The final group of Irish and Anglo-Irish authors on this alphabetical list are playwrights. The most famous author is Richard Brinsley Sheridan because he has also been included in the English canon. His *Pizarro* (1799) portrays England's colonial attitude towards India and Ireland through the approach to the figure of the Spanish conquistador by the same name. Minor in fame is Charles Stuart, about whom not much is known; his *The Irishman in Spain* (1792) approaches the Irish picaresque stock-character in Spain. Our last author on this brief list is Reverend Matthew West, whose work on a Spanish topic is a sequel to Sheridan's *Pizarro*, also produced in 1799.

#### **Aspects of a minor representation: main features**

Many of the authors above, some of them considered minor, express the need to not only invent but also impose a new tradition to some extent and, hence, an ideology of class or group. Their writings portrayed and followed the interests of the newly formed Anglo-Irish 'Protestant Nation', during a period extending from 1782 to 1800. This temporary and brief flash of 'nationhood' in Irish history resulted from Henry Grattan's achievement in securing the independence of the Irish parliament in 1782. It was also related to a period of turmoil and rebellion exemplified by the United Irishmen and the events of 1798 lasting until the complete collapse of the very same parliament that 'Grattan had emancipated.' The parliament eventually 'voted for its own discontinuance' (Rafroidi 1980: 70) and union with Great Britain in 1800. The 'self-enforcement' of the Union between Britain and Ireland brought about once again a general perception that only through the Union of the Irish and British peoples could progress be made. [4]

However, this unification brought with it the dependency of Ireland, and along with that the Anglo-Irish ascendancy, for the British government. It is therefore not merely coincidental that elements in the works that are dubbed Spanish and within the Spanish tradition are adapted to reflect on Anglo-Irish and Irish issues at large.

In approaching this minor discourse, some distinctive paradigms and preconceptions are evident. Firstly, any student or researcher should delineate the main controversies that the terms 'Anglo-Irish' and 'Irish' entail, especially in the field of literary criticism and literature, which is of great importance to our approach. The term Anglo-Irish presents specific connotations with regard to key issues, such as race, place, religion and polity. These have also conditioned the character of Irish literature over time. In this light, the appropriateness of the term Anglo-Irish for a greater part of the bulk of writing proposed here is adequate. Secondly, any paradigmatic classification of the period proposed for study should take into account issues such as colonialism, patriotism and nationalism, which informed the Irish case at the time. In the intersection of these three paradigms we would also advance three main aspects - place, religion and characterisation - which are seminal in the representation of Spain and Spanish references within the Irish literary discourse.

In what could be termed the 'politics of place' in those writings for which the Spanish locale is significant for the development of the work, some aspects are worth considering. The settings of the plays and poems of this introductory approach seek a place outside physical Ireland and have recourse to cities of importance in Spain. Indeed, there are references to cities such as Madrid, Salamanca, as places of learning and faith with closer links to the Irish religious diaspora at the turn of the fifteenth century, Barcelona, Granada, Burgos, Saragossa and Seville. We have

also found interesting references to the image of Oriental Spain - which coincides with a general current of Irish orientalism prevalent during that period [5] - and the accompanying estrangement of land and religion. Of interest also are the allusions to the issue of imperial locality through the approach to Spanish colonial territories and a final consideration of the differentiation between land, territory and soil as national entities. The authors chose these particular settings with an underlying purpose: the exposition of their approach to Ireland and even Britain within the contemporary social and political context in Europe. It should be remembered that most writers never visited Spain. What they knew about Spain was largely from accounts by former travellers and periodical publications. Much first-hand information was gleaned from soldiers or men of importance in the Dublin Pale or at the British Court. This latter issue has not been researched sufficiently and a thorough analysis of these varied sources is still pending.

Another paradigmatic section could be termed the 'politics of religion'. As we have stated above, religion was part and parcel of the Anglo-Irish and Irish discourses at the time and the representation of religion through Spanish references merits investigation. Many of these works make closer reference to the duality of Spanish religious history epitomised in conflicts between two creeds, mainly the Moorish and Christian religions. This representation, in turn, contextualises many of the features that also characterised the Irish religious conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism during the period. For a better understanding of the development of the issue of religion as it is depicted in these works, three distinct time periods should be specified: the period before the Act of Union in 1800, that between the Union and Catholic Emancipation in 1829, in which we have located most Anglo-Irish and Irish writings on the politics of religion, and the period from Catholic Emancipation to 1850.

Thirdly, the central focus of the analysis is that of the 'politics of characterisation'. Indeed, the Spanish representations constructed by Anglo-Irish and Irish writers reflect the contemporary preoccupation with issues such as the character of the nation, at a time when national identities were being re-addressed. Furthermore, the variety of Spanish characters provided these authors with a continuous history and tradition that helped in the 'invention' of their own narrative in Ireland. Any approach to the use of characterisation of the period under study should consider aspects like the study of colonial Ireland through the approach to the Spanish conquistador Pizarro, the substantiation of the unionist discourse through recurring references to the Anglo-Irish Duke of Wellington in the Peninsular War, an overview of the romantic nationalist novel, characters in translation by James Clarence Mangan, and historical and legendary Spanish characters, such as the Cid, King Pelagio and Don Roderick, among many others. The representation of the Spanish hero is evident, as a hero who withstands different conflicts with Moors, French and even amongst Spaniards themselves in an idealised glorification of the concept of race and national character.

In *The Ballad Poetry of Ireland* (1845) Charles Gavan Duffy refers to Spain and the historical character of the Cid as a beacon for the recovery of ancient ballads and heroes of the Gaelic past. He states that 'in Arragon and Castile the chronicles of the Cid, and the ballads of their long and heroic struggles against the Moor, still feed that noble pride of race which lifts the Spanish people above the meaner vices, and makes them in spirit and conduct a nation of gentlemen.' (Duffy 1845: 37) Attention should also be paid to the study of stock characterisation, which somehow finds inspiration in the Spanish picaresque tradition, particularly in plays, short comedies and sketches, followed by an introduction to the presence of female characters and their connections with Spain in Irish literature between 1789 and 1850.

In sum, the object of any approach to this period and its works should be the examination of history, literature, textuality and ideology as the main tenets in the constitution of the Anglo-Irish and Irish socio-historical subjectivities at the turn of the eighteenth century with the reference to Spain, the 'anecdote' in Irish literary discourse between 1789 and 1850. To take historical events and record them is an exercise in ideological inscription. All these events are ultimately transformed into history and canonised when they are inscribed in the narrative. Catherine Gallagher provides a definition in which our purpose of a collective approach through contextual and textual practices is best described:

...it [new historicism] entails reading literary and nonliterary texts as constituents of historical discourses that are both inside and outside of texts and that its practitioners generally posit no fixed hierarchy of cause and effect as they trace the connections among texts, discourses, power, and the constitution of subjectivity (Gallagher 1989: 37).

In the Ireland, or rather Anglo-Ireland, between 1789 and 1850, state power, be it from London or the Pale in Dublin, extensively merged with cultural forms in an attempt to impose a sense of tradition and identity, so as to furnish the Anglo-Irish discourse and assert the Anglo-Irish position of influence at the time. We have found that many of our writers' works with Spanish representations were produced with clear propagandistic purposes, mixing or 'fashioning' to use Greenblatt's terminology, literary aesthetics with effective 'material practices'.

Most of the Irish writings proposed in this brief approach had as their aim the *re*-creation and *re*-enactment of the historical, social and, principally, political contests of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish predicament. It is therefore not a coincidence that the depiction and analysis of historical and cultural stages such as the Volunteer movement of 1798, the development of events on the European continent, especially in Spain, and the later Union between Ireland and Great Britain in 1800, with the attendant self-extinction of the Anglo-Irish

parliament, were relegated to 'silence' in the formation of the Irish literary canon, because they were regarded as instances of the Ascendancy and as such 'too English' in their postulates. This brief approach seeks to support and assist in the analysis of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Irish literature, so as to supply a 'small grain' for the discontinuous subject of the Irish literary tradition.

Any approach to the minor representation of Spain in Irish literature between 1789 and 1850 should be concerned with the study of the nature of the *re*-inscription of literature in history, in this case Irish history, and the consequent formation of the Irish canon of literature. In Ireland the production of a so called 'national' literature in English sprang from a series of direct historical events which were highly charged with ideology and power, and as Said proclaimed 'these realities [power and ideology] are what should be taken into account by criticism and the critical consciousness'; mainly because these are the realities 'that make texts possible' (Said 1983: 5).

### **Considerations for further study and concluding remarks**

In analysing the much-neglected discourse on the representation of Spain in Irish literature between 1789 and 1850, the use of New Historicism as a critical current and its concepts, tools and tenets as a methodological framework could be valid. This is relevant for the use of time and the dichotomy between the synchronic and diachronic axis of time; the introduction of the concept of 'thick description' in the critical study of a 'cultural cut', the joint analysis of literary works and other forms of expression manifesting an underlying causal principle, as a means of offering a more comprehensive view on Anglo-Irish discourse; the application of the concept of the 'circulation' of textual energy, that is, the interrelatedness of all kinds of texts; and the importance given to the anecdote, in our case Spain and Spanish references, as an 'effect of surprise', which does not try to exemplify the eternal truths of a literary period, but perforates narration in order to provide points of interaction. Indeed, our proposal is to put in contact those texts, literary and non-literary, that shed light on any analysis of the period with the intention of tracing the connections between them. The new-historicist-style critical subjection of every poetic text to a discursively historicised brand of interpretation will eventually enable us to see these writings in a new light, as all kinds of texts were 'fashioned' in the Irish discourse of the period. As a result, any approach should be concerned with the analysis of the creative power that shapes, or 'fashions' Irish literary works *outside* and *inside* those borders and boundaries in which they found expression.

Our division into three main paradigmatic guidelines for further study could lead us to some conclusions. There is more to the choice of Spain rather than Ireland than 'just a setting'. In the crucial relationship between place and people lie the controversial issues of Anglo-Irish and Irish continuities and identities. Moreover, most of the Irish writings proposed here account for an economic and political categorisation of place, due to the colonial and imperial position of Britain with respect to Ireland at the turn of the eighteenth century. Identity, in the Anglo-Irish case, is conditioned by a territorial boundary. This territorial boundary distinguishes the Anglo-Irish 'collective self' from the native Irish 'Other', when the Anglo-Irish cannot depend on other objective criteria such as race, common history, tradition and language. The Anglo-Irish failure in the conceptualisation of place is reflected in their maintenance of the dissociation between Ireland, conceived as a place of colonial penetration and exploitation, and Ireland as a mythical or aesthetic place.

The Anglo-Irish authors proposed here do not refer to Ireland directly, except for Charles Robert Maturin's Gothic description of the Anglo-Irish betrayal of land. Their references to Spain as a setting fill a gap. The Anglo-Irish have emptied the mythical and aesthetic component of Ireland, and therefore they cannot refer to or claim the land and the soil as participants of the Anglo-Irish 'collective self'. Their conceptualisation of land, of Irish land, does not fit with a tradition they could claim as their own.

All representations of the Spanish 'locale', such as stereotypical references to cities that had been theatres of war - especially Talavera de la Reina, where Britain and Ireland fought against Napoleon -; the depiction of Oriental Spain, which accounts for much Oriental and Ossianic enthusiasm in literature in the English language at the time; the use of Spanish colonial territories as an indirect allusion to British imperialist politics in Ireland and elsewhere; and the references to the trinity of territory, land and soil in the 1820s, have addressed the issue of place in a different location, Spain. In the case of Anglo-Irish writings rather than Irish ones, the lack of representation of an Anglo-Irish Ireland in the works proposed above could lead us to understand their relegation from the Irish canon. The Anglo-Irish 'politics of place', though an expression of social and political colonial power, fails in the conceptualisation of land as a category within Anglo-Irish 'cultural hegemony'. Hence, it decreased in importance in comparison with, on the one hand, the nationalist conceptualisation of place, as the soil to which Irish people attach themselves, and, on the other hand, the Anglo-Irish ascendancy's betrayal of a land which is increasingly distant from them.

Like place, the issue of religion in Ireland experienced rapid changes, which included the relaxation of the Penal Laws, the annexation of the Church of Ireland to the Church of England and the passing of Catholic Emancipation in 1829. Through the representation of Spain and Spanish references, some of the Irish writings proposed here approach the conflicting discourse of religion in Ireland. The structure of our analysis of the 'politics of religion' into three periods: before the Union (1800), after the Union and before Catholic Emancipation (1829) and the period after Emancipation, could facilitate the study of this corpus of Irish writing with Spanish references.

The maintenance of the distinction Protestant-Catholic, represented through Spain by Christian/Catholic-Muslim, accounts for the construction of an exclusive definition of the Anglo-Irish, especially the Protestant Ascendancy, versus the Catholic majority in Ireland. We can perceive this religious exclusivity in the representations of colonial superiority through stock characterisation. With the advent of the Union, the Churches of Ireland and Great Britain united. The fear of a French invasion and the introduction of a secular state in France made Christianity the central principle of confluence both in Britain and in Ireland. Accordingly, Spanish references in which Christianity, and not an exclusive Catholic creed, is alluded to, facilitates the inclusion of both Protestant and Catholic creeds. The reference to Catholic Irish forces in the British army and the allusion to the pre-Anglican saints and heroes in many of the works with Spanish references evince attempts to include all different religious creeds in the discourse of the period.

Much pamphlet and literary writing has addressed the threat of Republican thinking, exemplified in the revolutionary ethos that the United Irishmen wanted to infuse in Irish people. What seemed a moment of religious equality and encounter was engulfed by the advance of unionist writing. The unionist literary discourse favoured the reality after the Union in Ireland, but enhanced the presence of an exclusive unified Anglican Church in Ireland.

Thus, the era of the Act of Union sheds light on the circulation of historical, political and literary texts with the issue of religion as a backdrop. R.B. Sheridan's and Matthew West's versions of *Pizarro* show that even the religious discourse partook of the representation of the mechanisation of power. The communion between land, people, king and God - mainly the Anglican God - represented in some of these works, refers to the relegation of the Catholic majority in Ireland. The circulation of Anglo-Irish and Irish literary and non-literary texts tended to praise the figure of the King - and a contemporary loyalty to kings is a central feature of Irish Catholic people. This despite the fact that the British monarchy kept postponing the passing of Catholic Emancipation, as it contradicted the very essence of the British, and therefore Anglo-Irish, character.

The representation of Spain and Spanish references between the Act of Union and Catholic Emancipation in 1829 is suggestive of the thirty-year delay in granting Emancipation. Tom Garvin equated this delay with the failure of the Union to be accepted by the Catholic population in Ireland. Much Anglo-Irish unionist writing adhered to the Irish reality after the Union. If the social and political - not to mention religious - acceptance of the Union by the Catholic majority in Ireland failed, the literary discourse which was essentially Anglo-Irish also failed to be accepted and maintained. The canonical silence, that is, the absence of a traditional literary periodisation of the writings dealt with here, was also a result of the politics of religion through the representations of Spain and Spanish references between 1789 and 1850.

The fight for Catholic Emancipation was tantamount to the affirmation of a national identity. This started to gain ground around the 1820s when Daniel O'Connell campaigned for Catholic rights. Most writings with Spanish references do not portray Catholic Emancipation in a favourable light. Instead, they allude to the religious discourse in terms of differentiation and Protestant superiority. Besides, when advances for emancipation are made, the literary discourse these works display attacks Catholicism and Popish influences, best exemplified by the Anglo-Irish Gothic genre.

Traditionally, Spanish Catholicism has helped to produce examples of fierce British Anglican responses, which intertwine issues of politics, society and religion. Hence, the references to the Spanish religious discourse corroborate a particularly Anglo-Irish fear of a future expansion of Catholicism both in Britain and in Ireland, which influenced institutions such as the monarchy, parliamentary structure, the composition of the army and the Church. The decrease of Anglican influence, due to the extension of Catholic rights, diluted the Anglo-Irish national identity, which finds no solid representation in the literary discourse. The 'abnormality' of this particular issue of religion in Anglo-Irish politics can therefore extend to Irish literary discourse between 1789 and 1850. The impact of emancipation on Irish literary discourse aided in the transformation of Irish cultural nationalism into a more noticeably Catholic and even sectarian issue. This could account for the telling reduction in the number of Spanish references on the issue of religion between 1829 and 1850.

The 'politics of representation' of Spanish characters - historical, stock and female - is a key element in the study of the Irish literary discourse between 1789 and 1850. The authors approached here refer to and 'imagine' an Anglo-Irish community, which could claim a continuity constituted by history-makers, heroes and personae. Through this *re*-creation of the literary discourse they try to establish the basis of a continuity, a proper tradition, which conceptualises their historical, political and religious discourses.

This need for an Irish 'narrative of identity' is at the centre of the politics of characterisation of most of the authors proposed here; and any narrative of identity aims at constructing memory. The *re*-creation of memory is a key element in the structuring process of an 'imagined community', to use Benedict Anderson's term; memory is part of the constitution of an Anglo-Irish subjectivity that negotiated between an ever-growing Irish tradition, principally Catholic, and the powerful influence of the British Anglican tradition.

In the case of the Anglo-Irish writing proper, the lack of heroes whom they could claim as their own highlights the need for a *re*-awakening of the Irish, English or Spanish pasts striving to create an Anglo-Irish present, deprived of

all these former figures. The constant search by Anglo-Irish authors for Spanish characters reflects the discontinuity in much Anglo-Irish writing, which contrasts with the Spanish literary and historical discourse.

Through the 'anecdotal' analysis of Spain and Spanish references in Irish literature between 1789 and 1850, the need to question the literary canon is also addressed. The use of the new historicist 'anecdote' and the 'thick description' would enable the future researcher and student of the period to study those 'cracks' within the institution of the literary canon. We suggest that, through this proposed approach to new historicist synchronic 'cultural cuts', we also refer to the diachronic character of the Irish canon. It is through the study of Spain and Spanish references in Irish literature between 1789 and 1850 that we would be able to rescue these works from 'canonical silence' and critical relegation.

During the period between 1789 and 1850, the approach to Spain and Spanish references in Irish literature should be broad and multi-faceted. The use of Spain and Spanish culture has as its aim the establishment of a mirror in which the Irish discourse is reflected and 'furnished'. W. J. McCormack contends that 'Anglo-Irish literature [and I would add the Catholic Irish literature of the period] is given an excessive stability by the acceptance of tradition as accumulated and accumulating succession' (McCormack 1994: 12). This new historicist approach to the representation of Spain and Spanish references in Irish literature between 1789 and 1850 proposed here, and how this representation is used to reflect the Irish discourse of the period, is our contribution to the Irish literary critical tradition, which is also an 'accumulated and accumulating succession'.

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### Notes

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[2] For details of publication and circulation of some of the works proposed here see *A Guide to Irish Fiction, 1650-1900*, Rolf Loeber and Magda Loeber (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006).

[3] See Asier Altuna-García de Salazar, *Spain in Anglo-Irish Literature 1789-1850* (Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, 2001), PhD Thesis UMI publication AAT3056702.

[4] Charles Townshend contends that 'the bloody mayhem of the 1798 United Irish rebellion, and the ferocious Protestant mobilization to suppress it, convinced Prime Minister William Pitt that political reform in Ireland - essentially, the granting of civil rights to Catholics - was vital, and that the Protestants who controlled the Irish parliament would never carry it out. Only unification, merging the Irish into the British parliament, could open up the possibility of 'Catholic Emancipation'. Charles Townshend, *Ireland. The 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (London: Arnold, 1998), p. 3.

[5] See Lennon's seminal and illuminating study, Joseph Lennon, *Irish Orientalism: a Literary and Intellectual History* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press: 2004).

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