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Voyages between
France and Ireland

STUDIES IN FRANCO-IRISH RELATIONS

VOLUME 9

SERIES EDITOR

Dr Eamon Maher, Institute of Technology, Tallaght

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Voyages between France and Ireland

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Frank Healy and
Brigitte Bastiat (eds)

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‘Le seul véritable voyage, le seul bain de Jouvence, ce ne serait pas d’aller vers de nouveaux paysages, mais d’avoir d’autres yeux, de voir l’univers avec les yeux d’un autre, de cent autres …’

‘The only true voyage of discovery, the only fountain of Eternal Youth, would be not to visit strange lands but to possess other eyes, to behold the universe through the eyes of another, of a hundred others …’

— MARCEL PROUST
La Prisonnière (À la recherche du temps perdu)
The Prisoner (Remembrance of Things Past)
Gallimard, 1923

FRANK HEALY AND BRIGITTE BASTIAT

Introduction

Life is a voyage. From Homer's *The Odyssey*, through Dante's *Inferno*; from Shakespeare ('all the voyage of their life / Is bound in shallows and in miseries')[1] to Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*; from more recent Victorian romantics, notably Thomas Cole, whose most famous work is his series of four paintings representing *The Voyage of Life* (1842 – The National Gallery of Art, Washington, USA), to Walt Whitman ('Oh Captain! My Captain! Our fearful trip is done [...]');[2] whether it be in literature, painting or other forms of art, the voyage is a metaphor that represents life.

It is a metaphor that is both ancient and widespread. Its expression can be found in the origins of exploration, over 60,000 years ago. Wanderlust has propelled our civilisation across the infinitely deep sea of the unknown, both of the inner and outer worlds, to escape the mundane or flee oppression, to conquer natural boundaries and to give meaning to the world in which we live.

Throughout history, one of our most deep-seated impulses has been the desire to explore, to push back the boundaries of the unknown. Humanity's voyage has taken the form of a quest, an odyssey, an expedition – and as such, constitutes one of the driving forces of civilisation. In ancient times, and still today, we travel through necessity (wars, persecutions, economic and political reasons), by vocation (religious and humanitarian) and for pleasure (tourism, culture and sport).

In Ireland, St Brendan and his Irish monks, driven by a need to escape their own world, sailed off into the Atlantic on a Homeric journey in a precarious leather boat and, legend has it, were among the first Europeans to

1 *Julius Caesar*, Act 4 Scene 3.

2 Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (New York: WW Norton & Co, 1973), p. 337.

discover America. In France, Jacques Cartier was commissioned by François I to find a north-west passage to India and Asia, and was to search for gold, spices and other riches. He discovered and named Canada, and unsuccessfully tried to establish a settlement. He also brought back shiploads of gold, which turned out to be nothing more than quartz. A little later, this area of Canada was successfully colonised by a native of Charente-Maritime, Samuel de Champlain. Champlain was born in Brouage, not far from La Rochelle. Jacopolis, as Brouage was known at the time, was a wealthy town thanks to its role as one of the main ports for international trade in 'white gold' (salt). Champlain, following in the footsteps of Cartier, helped establish New France and is the founding father of the city of Quebec.

A voyage shakes the foundations of our identity, exposing us to the opposing tidal forces of inclusion and exclusion. It intensifies our perception of self, leading us to continually seek to define and redefine our identity in the liminal space where we are confronted with the Other. Thus, this meeting with the Other often leads to a change of perspective in our attitudes to culture, identity, politics, food, etc.

From primitive civilisations to modern society, voyagers have acted as catalysts, sparking a cross-fertilisation of ideas, technologies, and even foods. Indeed, the sea has been used as a metaphor for social and economic exchange. Today's global tourism and mass migrations express a continuity with the itinerant nature of our ancestors. However, even today migrants are fleeing wars or persecution; theirs is a quest for freedom and a better life.

***

In organising the 11th AFIS Conference at the fairly young university of La Rochelle in France, we wanted to explore themes that would reflect not only the geographical situation of the town and its history and culture, but also research fields that were of relevance both to the university and the town. We therefore decided to focus on the voyage, which seemed appropriate given that La Rochelle is a very old port with a long history of maritime travel and exploration. France and Ireland have given birth to many authors, artists, explorers and adventurers who have contributed to the strong affinity that exists between the two countries. However, in keeping with the motto of La Rochelle (*Belle et Rebelle* – beautiful and

rebellious), we felt that that it would be interesting to take an intellectual voyage along a slightly different route, a route that would include newer ports of call: gastronomy, tourism and sport. Taken together, it is hoped that weaving these research fields together can deepen our understanding of the links between our two countries and forge new ones for the future.

Part I of this volume looks first at the voyages of several writers and explorers from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, describing their personal inner and outer voyages as they are confronted with 'otherness'. It is quite fitting that the book opens with Barbara Wright's fascinating account of three voyages, including that of Eugène Fromentin to the Ile de Ré, near La Rochelle. The Rochelais orientalist painter found the *Ile de Ré* extremely exotic, suggesting that you can find otherness on your doorstep. Wright's chapter explores one of the central themes of the book, where 'the travel account' becomes '[…] a form of "life-writing", in which the authors explore their own inner awareness as well as the externalities of their temporary environment. They make … a micro-universe, in which they can discover hidden aspects of their own inner being.' The different voyages, made by Fromentin, George Sand and Françoise Henry, their encounters with the locals, and particularly with the sea, 'trace a journey of self-exploration and self-revelation', reaching a moment of epiphany, a realisation of the immensity, the infinity of the unknown.

Grace Neville gives us an uplifting account of Dr Potain's failed balloon trip from Dublin to England in the eighteenth century. The voyage in a balloon represents 'age-old tropes: the fragility of life, the belief that most of what we do is outside our control, the conviction that the mighty will ultimately be brought low, the danger of what is new, and the (literal) flightiness of women.' Moreover, by combining this tale with an analysis of a short story by Dublin-born Mary Morrissey and a novel by English author Julian Barnes, she shows rather astutely that you can put things together '[…] that have not been together before. And the world is changed.' Here, balloon travel, with its often unpredictable upward and downward movements, may be a metaphorical 'exploration of grief and passion, love and loss, transcendence and trauma'. On a lighter note, she also points out that, long before the existence of the Internet, news travelled fast, since the Irish peasant that Potain met on crash-landing knew exactly who he was!

The Irish writer George Moore is the subject of three chapters in the book. First, Eamon Maher paints a picture of Moore as a rather opaque and fascinating figure of hybridity. His description of Moore's personal voyage of self-discovery in Paris and his 'love affair with France' make him an exemplary figure in this exploration of the voyage. Maher depicts him as something of a 'sponge', soaking up all aspects of Parisian cultural and social life; unfortunately, his ability to keep private affairs to himself was also akin to that of a sponge; a slight squeeze was sufficient to release sensitive information, which on at least one occasion cost him a valued friendship! Nevertheless, through an analysis of Moore's *Confessions of a Young Man* and *The Lake*, Maher shows the extent to which Moore was influenced by his acquired intimacy with French art and culture in his criticism of Ireland, particularly its 'enslavement [...] to a domineering Catholic Church'.

Compared with the younger Moore, imbibed with the spirit of Parisian bohemian culture as depicted in Eamon Maher's chapter, Michel Brunet describes an older and now successful Moore, part of the cultural establishment, who made numerous visits to his friend Edouard Dujardin, a precursor of the 'stream of consciousness' narrative mode, at his manor in Le Val-Changis, near Fontainebleau. Moore was an active participant in Dujardin's 'literary salon' at Le Val-Changis, which served as a 'kind of writing laboratory or workshop where the singular of literary creation was built on the plural of a collegial gathering', and Brunet emphasises the key influence of Dujardin on Moore's personal artistic and cultural voyage.

Finally, Mary Pierse takes us along the well-beaten Wagnerian path to Bayreuth which Moore and his travelling companion, the playwright (and co-founder of the Abbey theatre in Dublin) Edward Martyn, took several times. Moore's published volume on these voyages may have established 'a roadmap for the cultural tourist and a pattern for the littérateur'. The voyages, 'significantly coloured by [Moore's] French and Irish experiences', take us through The Netherlands, Belgium and Germany and are filled with humorous observations on art, architecture and the local people. Seen through the eyes of the Francophile Moore, compared and contrasted with those of other literati of the time, they constitute a vivid canvas portraying the mindset of the nineteenth-century cultural tourist.

Michèle Milan explores new territory in her chapter on travel as seen through the eyes of contributors to the *Nation*, the organ of the Young Ireland movement. Her chapter explores the 'empirical links between travel

and translation in terms of displacement, interpretation and representation', and focuses on the writings of two 'women of the *Nation*', highlighting their role as cultural mediators and social and historical agents. According to Milan, it is essential to pay special attention to women's activism in informal politics during the nineteenth century because they were excluded from formal politics. She makes a compelling case '[…] for using the *Nation* as a fulcrum for an examination of Irish travel in the nineteenth century' and, critically, she shows that 'translations and travel accounts can be used as a means of asserting and legitimising a distinct cultural and political identity'.

Terry Phillips provides a fascinating account of a different type of voyage, a voyage of discovery in the heart of First World War France made by Patrick MacGill, a self-taught and open-minded rural Irishman. His writings are full of compassion for the sufferings of the ordinary people that he meets on his journey, particularly the women. He gives us an atypical insight into aspects of life in wartime France, and a different perspective to that of the 'largely public-school educated' illuminati who constituted the majority of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century cultural tourists.

Ben Keatinge's chapter is an erudite meditation on the poetry of the Irish diplomat Denis Devlin. Bathed in intense Catholic spirituality and moulded by his role as a diplomat and the reserve that entails, his work reflects both an outer, physical and an inner, spiritual voyage, offering a life vision 'shorn of any idealism', as exemplified by his volume *Via Activa*. Fluctuating between contemplation and action, his poems are '"sown" in the process of "travelling"' and, as an echo to Barbara Wright's remarks on her trilogy of travellers, they manifest '[…] the immensity within which all of us are […] interned'.

In Part II the focus in the main, but not exclusively, is on the voyage in the context of tourism. Today, tourism is an important asset in both the French and Irish economies. According to *Fáilte Ireland*, overseas tourist visits to Ireland grew by 13.1 per cent in 2015, with Britain remaining the biggest source market.[3] For the same period, the *Ministère de l'économie et*

3 Fáilte Ireland, Tourism Facts 2015, 2 <http://www.failteireland.ie/FailteIreland/media/WebsiteStructure/Documents/3_Research_Insights/3_General_SurveysReports/Tourism-Facts-2015-Preliminary.pdf?ext=.pdf> [Accessed 27 January 2017].

des finances indicates that the number of foreign tourists visiting France reached 84.5 million, with the UK ranking first and Ireland not mentioned at all. Unfortunately, the number of foreign visitors to France has decreased since the recent terrorist attacks.[4]

Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire takes us on a delicious historical and gastronomic voyage. From the Anglo-Normans to political migrants and French tourists, he relates the story of the ties that bind Ireland's gastronomy to the home of *haute cuisine*. From the French chefs who came to work in the kitchens of the Irish elite, to the Irish 'winegeese' who helped make Bordeaux wines a luxury product, Mac Con Iomaire traces the gastronomic links between France and Ireland. We learn about the influence on Irish food of French cooking books that were translated into English from the seventeenth century onward, and the introduction of new vegetables, such as asparagus, tomatoes and radishes by the French Huguenots who fled their country. More recently, the establishment of the only two-Michelin-starred restaurant in Ireland (at the time of writing) by French Chef Patrick Guilbaud has greatly improved the quality of Irish gastronomy, leading Mac Con Iomaire to make the bold prediction that Ireland will soon become a 'global destination for gastronomic tourism'.

Following on from Mac Con Iomaire's historical perspective, John Mulcahy provides a theoretical framework for a study of tourism and gastronomy in Ireland. Considering that, nowadays, tourism is regarded as a series of experiences in which 'some kind of otherness is explored', he believes that food tourism can be developed in Ireland, although some may argue that it could also be criticised as being an elitist pursuit. Mulcahy then looks at how *Fáilte Ireland* have redirected the marketing of Irish tourism in recent years. Their research shows that food is one of the primary motivators of satisfaction and Mulcahy, in line with Mac Con Iomaire, proposes that Ireland's authentic and sustainable gastronomy

4 Le Tourisme International en France: <http://www.entreprises.gouv.fr/files/files/directions_services/etudes-et-statistiques/stats-tourisme/memento/2016/2016-12-memento-tourisme-chap6-tourisme-international.pdf>; Ministère de l'économie et des finances <http://www.entreprises.gouv.fr> [Accessed 27 January 2017].

could become a tourist attraction in itself, while more generally serving to promote Irish culture.

Picking up on this theme, Marjorie Deleuze further explores the essential role of *Fáilte Ireland* in rebranding Ireland's cuisine using the concepts of 'authenticity' and 'heritagisation'. After thirty years of bad reviews in guidebooks such as the French 'bible' of gastronomy, *Gault et Millau*, the Irish have become aware in the twenty-first century that food tourism is a major asset for their economy. Sometimes bordering on patriotism and a culture of resistance to England, the idea is to re-invent à la Hobsbawm a traditional Irish cuisine. Based on the 'Place on a Plate' concept, authentic Irish products are used to characterise the Irish *terroir*, and a sense of identity. As Deleuze says, 'by promoting their food and culture, *Fáilte Ireland* not only conduct business, they also participate in reinforcing images of Irishness at home and abroad'.

The following chapter provides a case study involving this approach, and aptly enough it involves La Rochelle. Tony Kiely has carried out research on the Connemara Mussel Festival in Tullycross, on the west coast of Ireland, with a view to determining if the festival could develop what he terms 'relational tourism'. The relation is through the historical link forged by the story of Patrick Walton who, after being shipwrecked on the French coast near La Rochelle in 1290, invented the famous *bouchot* (stake) technique for farming mussels. Kiely's research investigated the possibility of developing a 'mutually acceptable form of relational tourism'. Unfortunately this festival is little known among French visitors to Ireland but Kiely's work indicates that there is an underdeveloped relationship between Tullycross and fishing villages in the Charente-Maritime region of western France that could mutually benefit both regions and restore Walton to his rightful place in the collective memories of both communities.

Brian Murphy makes an impassioned and well-argued case for a 'place in a glass' type approach to the marketing of Irish whiskey. By comparing it with its 'liquid cousins' Scotch whisky (single malts) and Cognac, he argues that, given the context that was discussed in the two previous chapters of a search for authenticity and heritage by the modern epicurean tourist, Irish whiskey still lacks that *terroir*-based identity that would set it apart in a marketing sense. However, since the French company Pernod-Ricard

took over the Midleton distillery in 1988, there has been a renaissance of Irish whiskey, which is now the 'fastest growing subsection of the entire whiskey category globally', with twenty new distilleries that will soon be producing whiskey in different regions of Ireland. Murphy forcibly defends the notion that this regional identity must be developed and protected if Irish whiskey is to fulfil its true potential.

This renaissance of Irish whiskey is also acting as a new driver for the tourism industry in Ireland. Sylvain Tondeur highlights the role of the Northern Irish Old Bushmills Distillery, dating back to 1608, in this renaissance. He poses the question as to the 'opportunities offered by whiskey tourism' for the tourist industry, and discusses the 'legitimacy of Irish whiskey as a cultural ambassador'. Following the example of the Guinness Storehouse visitor centre in Dublin, which welcomes about one million visitors a year, 'distillery museums and visitor centres, in both old and new distilleries, are flourishing in Ireland' and whiskey trails all over the country are now attracting visitors to what were less popular areas. This heritagisation of Irish whiskey, which has become another signifier of Irish identity, is being used to attract a wider spectrum of tourist. The downside to this is that, with high excise taxes on whiskey, partly because of the government's health policy, these taxes are seen by the tourist and whiskey industries as a hindrance to their development.

The next chapter takes us along a different route, revisiting the perceived identity of social and ethnic groups from the perspective of sport. In his well-documented chapter, Tanguy Philippe gives us an overview of wrestling, an ancient sport that was represented on High Crosses in Ireland in the ninth and tenth centuries. Wrestling in Ireland was very popular and common in specific contexts such as fairs and markets. Although the styles were often anchored in a specific place, when the Irish travelled to the United States they championed one style in particular. The 'Irish style', also known as 'Collar and Elbow' style, first appeared in the American state of Vermont in the eighteenth century and was a guarantee of fair-play that made it popular in all kinds of contexts, prompting numerous contenders to make the voyage between Ireland and North America. Drawing on Levi-Strauss and Barthes, Philippe examines the mythology of this sport in its traditional Irish context and describes how, on making the voyage

across the Atlantic, the culture and values of wrestling (and boxing) have become associated with Irishness in modern-day America.

Patricia Medcalf's chapter neatly leads us to a junction between the themes of the previous chapters by exploring the use of sport and alcohol (Guinness) as vectors for marketing 'Brand Ireland'. She first establishes the link between sport and identity, also analysed by Tanguy Philippe for wrestling, and notes that the 'manner in which these sports are played [...] is not necessarily universal, but instead betrays the personality traits inherent in individual national identities'. She then demonstrates how the 'fighting spirit' image of the Irish sportsman coincides with that of the Celtic warrior and how this has been used in different advertising campaigns to encourage the target audience to identify with a conquering brand. However, as 'the cross-winds of globalisation gather pace in the twenty-first century', Guinness has attempted to bridge the gap between the perceived traditional identity of the Irish and the evolving identity of both native Irish and the diaspora, and establish relations with its worldwide, non-Irish market. She studies the advertising campaigns of Guinness over the last sixty years, focusing particularly on recent campaigns associated with international rugby events to show that 'Guinness's propensity to travel the world has enriched its experiences, and added dimensions to its storytelling capabilities', reflecting a change in the perceived modern-day Irish psyche.

Despite Guinness's attempts to reflect the changing identity of its traditional primary target market, Ireland's pub culture has been in decline due in part to the ban on smoking and the drink-driving campaigns. In contrast, Irish-themed pubs have become more and more popular in France since the early 1990s. Based on a study of two Irish pubs and a business selling Irish products in Clermont-Ferrand, Julien Guillaumond examines the representations of Irish identity they have adopted using the conceptual framework of cultural authenticity. Based on the results of this study, the three businesses in Clermont-Ferrand tend to reinforce to different degrees stereotypical key images that, given the success of all three, seem to meet the expectations of their respective clients for an 'authentic' Irish experience. Nevertheless, in contrast with Medcalf's analysis of how Guinness is trying to move with the times, Guillaumond concludes by saying that,

however attractive these pubs in France may be, they offer a static and a caricatured view of Irish society.

To close the volume, Corinne Feïss-Jehel and Pierre-Jérôme Jehel examine the modern-day pilgrimage of the tourist through the lens of a camera and raise questions about what they consider to be the increasingly reductionist and mercantile vision of Ireland and its touristscapes, where the tourist is herded into a *Disney Landscape* for a pre-packed stereotypical experience and is thus deprived of an authentic and more poetic *dépaysement*. Echoing Guillaumond's reflection on the caricatured portrayal of Irish society, the authors accuse 'excessive technophilia', that is, the use of smartphones, tablets and audioguides, of transforming the voyage through the Irish landscape into a banal and simplified social construction that serves as a backdrop for social network conversations among tourists and their families and friends.

Having briefly journeyed through the various chapters of the book, we feel that readers can now embark on their own voyage, one that we feel confident will prove both congenial and rewarding. As the famous French singer Georges Brassens sang:

> Heureux qui comme Ulysse
> A fait un beau voyage
> Heureux qui comme Ulysse
> A vu cent paysages
> Et puis a retrouvé après
> Maintes traversées
> Le pays des vertes années[5]

Bon vent!

5 Song by Henri Colpi and Georges Delerue (1969) which uses the first alexandrine of the 31st sonnet by Joachim Du Bellay (1522–1560).

PART I

Voyage, Culture, Identity

BARBARA WRIGHT

1 Islands as Places of Self-Discovery: Majorca, Ré and Inishkea North

ABSTRACT
Three islands have been selected as sites of self-discovery: Majorca, by George Sand, in 1838–1839; the Ile de Ré, off the French western seaboard, by the writer and painter Eugène Fromentin, in 1862; and Inishkea North, off the west coast of Ireland, by the French archaeologist and art historian, Françoise Henry, between 1937 and 1950. Variations in time, location and motivation mark major differences between these three personal odysseys. Key to the adventure, however, is the exploration of visual impressions, in words and images, bringing together the domains of travel writing and autobiography, in a journey of self-exploration and self-revelation.

The location of this conference in the historic port of La Rochelle is, in itself, a Baudelairean 'invitation au voyage'. The nearby islands highlight the contrast between the infinitely small – in their physical dimensions – and the majestic immensity of the Atlantic Ocean. If, as posited by Michel Butor, to travel is to write,[1] then to travel in an island can involve a literary exploration of deep self-discovery within its limited parameters. As examples of islands inspiring such personal odysseys, I have selected three: Majorca, as described by George Sand, when she travelled there with her two children and with Frédéric Chopin in 1838–1839; the Ile de Ré, when visited by Eugène Fromentin in 1862; Inishkea North, off the Mullet peninsula in north-west Mayo, when visited by the French archaeologist and art historian, Françoise Henry, in the course of her archaeological excavations, from 1937 to 1950.[2]

1 'voyager […] c'est écrire (et d'abord parce que c'est lire)', (Michel Butor, 'Le voyage et l'écriture', *Romantisme* 2/4 (1972), p. 4.

2 George Sand, *Un hiver à Majorque*, ed. Angela Ryan (Paris: Champion, 2013); Eugène Fromentin, 'Textes du voyage à l'île de Ré', in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Guy Sagnes (Paris:

Location is the first and most obvious consideration. By their very nature, islands are remote. This is often key to their magic, since they are seen as a refuge or a place for inner contemplation, as with the monks who, in the early Christian period, built settlements on islands in the North Atlantic, from Bangor (on Belle-Ile, off the Quiberon Peninsula), to Skellig Michael, the Inishkea Islands, Iona, the Outer Hebrides, Orkney and the Shetland Islands. Paradoxically, however, the further back in history one goes, the less remote these islands appear, given the volume of transportation by sea. The dog whelk, *Nucella lapillu*s, a species of predatory sea snail, used to produce the red-purple and violet dyes so highly valued by the Ancient World, is attested by a whelk-dyeing workshop, dated to the seventh century AD, found on Inishkea North, thus showing evidence of early trading by sea at a time when travel by land was far from developed.

Getting there is not always easy. In the case of the Ile de Ré, the distance involved is not great – just under 3 km: indeed, since 1988, when it was linked to the mainland near to La Pallice by a very handsome bridge, the Ile de Ré is no longer, strictly speaking, an island. Inishkea North is only slightly further distant from the nearest point on the Mullet peninsula, but the weather conditions on this very exposed section of the western seaboard of Ireland are such that Françoise Henry was dependent on finding a boatman willing to take her over to the island, with all her equipment, in a rare gap between the storms surging up from the Atlantic. For George Sand and her party, the 300 km separating Palma de Majorca from Barcelona involved an overnight voyage by ship across the Balearic Sea: their outward journey was undertaken in calm and idyllic conditions; but the return journey, delayed because of bad weather, was arduous and involved travelling with a consignment of live pigs, which did nothing to ease the condition of the ailing Chopin in his cabin.

Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Gallimard, 1984); Françoise Henry, *Les Îles d'Inishkea: carnets personnels*, ed. Barbara Wright (Lille: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2012). Page references to each of these editions are shown in parenthesis. English translations are given in accompanying footnotes.

Why go at all? The motivation, in all three cases, is different, but there is a common thread. For Fromentin, a week-long exploration of the island so close to his home in Saint-Maurice, and where, up to the age of forty-two, he had never yet set foot, constituted a welcome break, after completing his autobiographical novel *Dominique* for publication with Hachette (1863). In the case of Françoise Henry, the motivation was entirely professional: her trip to Inishkea North in April 1937 was a preliminary reconnaissance for her subsequent archaeological investigations of 1938, 1946 and 1950, licensed by the Irish Commissioners of Public Works and on a tight budget, with an extremely modest grant from the Royal Irish Academy.

For George Sand, the circumstances of her journey to Majorca were altogether more complex. On 7 November 1838, Sand, together with her children, Maurice and Solange (aged fifteen and ten respectively), the musician Frédéric Chopin and a housekeeper, set sail from Barcelona for Palma, where they arrived the following day. The trip was originally planned on account of the poor health of Sand's son, Maurice, whom she planned to home school, far from the distractions of society life in Paris. She also planned to progress her own writing and she invited Chopin to join the group, as a means of escaping the rigours of winter in Paris, though, as things turned out, the winter of 1838–1839 was unusually severe in Majorca. In her autobiography, *Histoire de ma vie*, Sand affirms that, before making the journey, she had no idea that Chopin was suffering from tuberculosis. The party took lodgings at Establiments, then a little village north-west of Palma. Once their landlord realised that Chopin was consumptive, he asked them to leave, which they did as soon as they could, taking up residence in the mountains, on 15 December 1838, at the abandoned Carthusian monastery of Valldemossa. Their stay there was not long. Chopin's health got worse and they returned to Palma on 11 February 1839, for onward transfer to Barcelona, where he received sustained medical attention on board another ship. After a brief visit to Genoa, they made their way back to George Sand's home at Nohant, in the French region of Berry.

However, the fact that all three travellers wrote up their impressions is a vital element that they have in common. Françoise Henry's diaries, held in the Royal Irish Academy and in the James Joyce Library, University College, Dublin, give a day-to-day account of her travails, living in Spartan

conditions and responsible for the keep of her team of diggers as well as for the excavation works. The fact that her travel notebooks are constructed around a date-line obviates the need for any further structure – an advantage often valued by travel writers, including Fromentin himself, in his two books, *Un été dans le Sahara* and *Une année dans le Sahel*, based on his travels in Algeria from 1846 to 1853. However, whereas Fromentin specifically wrote these books for publication, seeking thereby to enhance his already well-established reputation as an Orientalist painter, the same could not be said of his notes on the Ile de Ré, which were first published posthumously in 1984.[3] Nor did Françoise Henry write her diaries with an eye on future publication. However, the principal characteristic of her travel notebooks, published in 2012, is the literary value of the style in which they are written. This is also true of Fromentin's notes on the Ile de Ré.

The case of George Sand is somewhat different. She did not actually keep a diary during her stay in Majorca. It was not until two years later that she published her account of the stay, in serialised version, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of 15 January, 15 February and 15 March, 1841, before its appearance in book form, with Souverain, in 1841, as *Un hiver à Majorque*. The immediate local reaction in Majorca was one of fury. In the newspaper, *La Palma*, of 5 May 1841, Sand was castigated as an immoral writer. The islanders did little to welcome foreigners, especially those whom, like Sand and Chopin, they considered to be licentious, living an unconventional lifestyle, out of wedlock, and who, in their turn, considered the locals to be backward and superstitious. However, what motivated Sand to publish her travel account was, in fact, another book, *Souvenirs d'un voyage d'art à l'île de Majorque*, by Jean-Joseph Bonaventure Laurens, who had visited the island after her. The images that he created triggered her personal recollections in a completely different structure. In fact, while she was there, Sand was so burdened with responsibilities, to her children and to the ailing Chopin, that she did not travel widely in the island. Before visiting

3 See also Barbara Wright, 'Fromentin et l'île de Ré: étude des inédits de l'album de 1862', *Bulletin de l'Association des Amis de l'île de Ré* I/54 (juin 1975), pp. 3–42; II/55 (octobre 1975), pp. 3–44; and 'Eugène Fromentin et l'île de Ré', *Revue de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis* XXXV (2009), pp. 169–186.

the town of Palma, she had been struck by two issues of *Le Magasin pittoresque* of 1837 showing views of the town and bay of Palma and giving a socio-historical account of the island. These articles stressed the struggle between Moors and Christians on the island and the Arab influence on some of the customs of the islanders. Sand started quickly to consult specialist studies on linguistic and historical issues, many of which she quoted verbatim in *Un hiver à Majorque*, which presents as a series of 'palimpsests', oscillating between Sand's personal impressions and the documentary sources that she reproduces as background evidence.

What all three also have in common is that they extend the travel account, as such, to a form of 'life-writing', in which the authors explore their own inner awareness as well as the externalities of their temporary environment. They make, of the physical limitations of the island, a micro-universe, in which they can discover hidden aspects of their own inner being.

In the case of George Sand's account, the identity of the narrator of *Un hiver à Majorque* is complex. The links with the actual journey made in 1838–1839 are evident, but not absolute, since the narrator is masculine and shows no sign of being a writer by profession. Aurore Dudevant first used the pseudonym 'George Sand' in 1832 with her first novel *Indiana*, and thereafter created a new identity, in ways which go far beyond the exchange of pants for skirts, as the sartorial etiquette of the period dictated. The various characters also shift between fact and fiction: Chopin appears only by virtue of his music. Sand takes pleasure in presenting a narrator who cannot be too closely identified and who, for this reason, can assimilate with the multiple personalities in her world. This polyphony suits her purpose well, since she aims to speak as little as possible of herself. She recounts her journey two years after it was completed – but in the name of the narrator, not in her own name. Thus masked, she reconstructs her story, falsifying certain elements and elongating others into digressions. The images of Laurens were what first inspired Sand to write the text that would later become *Un hiver à Majorque*. She wrote in the tradition of Rousseau and Chateaubriand, but with none of the tendencies towards confession inherent in Rousseau, nor the impetus to write memoirs, found in Chateaubriand. Sand's aim is to stand back and situate her impressions in relation to those of others – in the first instance, in relation to the historical project and later in relation to her own quest for self-awareness.

Life on Majorca was not easy. The retreat in the mountains was in a very isolated location. The domestic backup proved to be unreliable. The difficulty of having Chopin's piano brought from Paris, across the ravines and gorges of this mountainous territory, was Herculean, and yet Sand oversaw every detail of the complex operation. If, before going there, Sand and Chopin had dreamed of reliving the adventures of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), they were soon disabused. At one point, Sand uses the adjective 'lilliputien' (p. 38);[4] but unlike that of Lilliput, in Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), her depiction of Majorca is no imaginary construct.

As a daughter of the Enlightenment, a feminist and a theological Modernist, Sand's values were in polar opposition to those of the islanders. Her experiences in Majorca embittered her so much that she felt unable to write them up with any degree of objectivity until much later, despite the fact that she planned to do so from the start. The trip was not, however, an entire fiasco. Sand sent off the manuscript of *Spiridion* in December 1838 and completed her revisions of *Lélia*. Once Chopin's piano had been delivered, he composed in Valldemossa the *Ballade* No. 4 in F minor, the *Polonaises* in C minor and A major, the *Scherzo* and most of the *Préludes*. However, notwithstanding some rare moments of epiphany, which I shall explore later, the overall sentiment of Sand and Chopin concerning the experience was negative and they were relieved to depart from Majorca.

Un hiver à Majorque marks a new phase in the development of travel literature, in that Sand consciously rejects the type of traditional journey of discovery, characterised by Bougainville,[5] and similarly eschews the popular picturesque sites of budding European tourism – Switzerland and the Tyrol. Full of self-irony, she takes her children into the cemetery at midnight to recreate the nuns' dance in Meyerbeer's opera *Robert le Diable* (1831), afterwards dismissing such 'apparitions fantastiques' as 'romantisme matérialisé' (p. 117).[6] Elsewhere, she mocks nature as putting

4 'Lilliputian'

5 Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, *Voyage autour du monde* (1771).

6 'fantastic apparitions'; 'materialised Romanticism'

on a show, which is 'archi-romantique', 'archi-sublime' (p. 177).[7] It should be remembered that Sand was a contemporary of the Barbizon painters, to whom she pays homage, in the last chapter of *Un hiver à Majorque*, for their delicate physical notations. In many ways, the Barbizon painters anticipated Impressionism in painting. This is not the case with Sand, who remained unmoved by the revolution in painting that took place in France in the 1870s. Her goal is to instruct as well as to please. She aims at being an impartial observer, urging the reader to liken her function to that of a pair of binoculars (p. 26). For her, an optical instrument is the complement of the pen or the brush.

There is no real itinerary, no logbook as such, in *Un hiver à Majorque*. Nor does Sand give a tightly constructed narrative. Instead, imbued with a strong social consciousness, she includes long reports on the chequered history, the non-productive agriculture of the island and the linguistic features of the language spoken by the islanders. Above all, it is the visual aspect of the experience that predominates in this work.[8] For her, Majorca was 'l'Eldorado de la peinture' (p. 10)[9] and her text is indeed full of vibrant visual notations, of flora and fauna, and sketches of the inhabitants. She conjures up landscapes in terms of well-known paintings, calling one spot, near a torrent, *le Poussin* (p. 37), so strongly does it remind her of the sites portrayed by the great seventeenth-century painter. She sets the scene in terms of foreground and background, as though she were composing a painted landscape, with cypress trees as a *repoussoir* (p. 108), to give an effect of perspective. Above all, she involves the reader in setting the scene, warning, for example, that 'you' could easily confuse a gnarled olive tree for 'un groupe de dix arbres distincts' (p. 176).[10]

Many of these same features can be seen in Fromentin's travel notes on the Ile de Ré. Indeed, he had been in touch with George Sand over changes that she proposed in the serialised text of *Dominique*. From 13 to

7 'ultra-Romantic'; 'ultra-sublime'

8 In this connection, see Manon Mathias, *Vision in the Novels of George Sand* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), especially pp. 100–105.

9 'the Eldorado of painting'

10 'a cluster of ten separate trees'

17 June 1862, he visited her in Nohant to discuss these. Flattered by the interest that she had taken in his work, he ultimately found himself unable to make more than the most minor alterations and dedicated the work to her, with all its 'imperfections'. As a break from completing the definitive text of *Dominique*, he took himself off for a week to explore the nearby Ile de Ré. That he should have gone there for the first time at the age of forty-two shows how remote this island was at the time. In common with the islanders in all three islands included in this study, the inhabitants of the Ile de Ré were seen as backward and prone to problems of consanguinity, due to their isolation. They, for their part, felt cut off from the mainland. Many of the islanders never left the island in the whole of their lives. Those who, from time to time, made it as far as La Rochelle were portrayed as country bumpkins, always having an umbrella with them, whatever the weather, and walking barefoot, carrying their shoes in their hands.

The Ile de Ré is one of four islands (the others are the Ile d'Aix, the Ile d'Oleron and the Ile Madame) flanking the middle section of the west coast of France. All four are visible from La Rochelle. Stretching diagonally from north-west to south-east, the Ile de Ré is itself made up of three former islands: Ars, Loix and Saint-Martin, locked together in constant defensiveness against the inroads of the sea. In *Dominique*, Fromentin had already pictured his characters standing on the coastline of the mainland, confronted with the 'aventure inouïe de regarder et de voir au-delà' (p. 483).[11] Now, however, he was going one step further. On the Ile de Ré, he was at 'un des bouts du monde' (p. 993)[12] and was able to look into the distance and 'interroger les choses vagues' (p. 1010).[13]

Fromentin begins by saying that the dearth of game on the mainland brought him to hunt on the island. However, as in *Dominique*, it soon becomes clear that what he really wants to do is to commune with nature and with himself. His notes contain no reference to hunting, nor do they indicate where he slept, other than to comment that there were few

11 'incredible adventure of gazing into the beyond'

12 'one of the ends of the world'

13 'question indeterminate things'

inns. On the other hand, they contain a wealth of information concerning the lifestyle of the islanders. He gives a sympathetic portrayal of the many hardships endured by these people, whose main sources of revenue at the time were derived from salt in the north of the island and vines in the south. Like Fromentin himself, the islanders were not sea-lovers and fished mainly from the coastline, attracting mullet by torchlight and then harpooning them, or spiking sole with a type of trident or sabre (pp. 977, 978 and 979). Oyster farming was then only a burgeoning industry on the island, in existence for no more than three or four years (p. 976). The women, their skirts gathered up around them, used to wade in the sea and collect seaweed – a practice commemorated topographically in the place name, Trousse-Chemise.

Historically, the strategic importance of the Ile de Ré was such that it was constantly prone to invasion. The effects of the quarrels between the Capetians and the Plantagenets, coupled with the Hundred Years War and the Wars of Religion, were felt there over a period of several centuries. The ill-fated expedition by George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, favourite of both James I and Charles I of England, ended in ignominious defeat, in 1627, by the forces of Louis XIII, under the general command of Schomberg and, on the island, by Toiras. This failure meant that the English were unable to come to the assistance of La Rochelle in the siege of 1628 and, in the longer term, to that of the Huguenots generally. In 1681, construction work began on the Vauban-designed citadel in Saint-Martin, although by then the Ile de Ré no longer occupied a centre-stage position in European history. Trade prospered again, from the last quarter of the seventeenth century until the Revolution, greatly assisted by tax reliefs conceded to an offshore island. These concessions were mostly lost after the Revolution and the fortunes of the island began to plummet. Whereas, in the sixteenth century, Saint-Martin was engaged in world-wide commerce, trading in salt and wine, by the nineteenth century, competitors were able to produce and transport salt more economically and, at about the time when Fromentin visited the Ile de Ré, phylloxera was about to make inroads into the production of wine. Fromentin noted the effects of these difficulties on the islanders. There had been two waves of emigration: first, the Protestants, as part of the general Huguenot diaspora; later, the

middle class, who saw a bleak future for themselves as traders on the island. Those who remained intermarried: Fromentin remarked on the number of nicknames to differentiate families, all bearing the same surname (p. 1013), and who subdivided the land to such an extent that the little holdings became unviable (p. 1005).

Moved to compassion by the infant mortality and high suicide rate on the island, Fromentin was nevertheless in no sense under a cloud of gloom throughout his visit. His artist's eye was attracted by the 'grands bonnets blancs' (p. 977)[14] of the women at Mass in Ars, reminding him of Titian's picture, *The Council of Trent* (Paris, Louvre). The gaily painted houses and shops, reflected in the still waters of the inner harbour at Saint-Martin, reminded him of the south of France, in particular Provence (p. 1010). He went to two country dances, one at Le Chabot and the other at Le Gillieux, the latter of which he describes vividly (pp. 987–988), capturing the movement of the dance and the delirious excitement of the music, for violin and clarinet, played by the light of an Argand lamp – all reminiscent of the galumphing peasant dance described in the first chapter of *Dominique*.

The most stunning re-enactment of fiction comes, however, in relation to the lighthouse scene in *Dominique*. During the idyllic interlude at Les Trembles, there are magical walks along a shingly beach, similar to the one at L'Houmeau, and diminutive cliffs, like those at La Repentie, in sight of the 'longues houles qui venaient d'Amérique' (p. 481).[15] Following modern industrialisation, these walks would not be so magical now. However, the focal point of the lighthouse in *Dominique* is so similar to the Phare des Baleines that only Fromentin's categorical assurance that he had never previously visited the Ile de Ré eliminates it as the model for its fictional counterpart. Newly constructed in 1854, near to an older lighthouse (as in *Dominique*), it is located at the end of a peninsula, in a small garden, full of birdsong and hedged with tamarisks, on the other side of which can be heard the roar of the sea. Going up the spiral staircase of the tower, which Fromentin noted had 216 granite steps and was 150ft high, he remarked

14 'big, white bonnets'

15 'long rollers coming from America'

on its 'extrême sonorité' (p. 981),[16] a feature that he reproduced onomatopoeically in his novel. He went to immense trouble in seeking to learn how the lighthouse worked scientifically and what conditions were like for the lighthouse-keepers. He copied out long sections from a Directive, issued by the brother of the inventor of the compound lens system for lighthouses, Augustin Fresnel, whose bronze bust was noted by Fromentin in the apartment of the lighthouse-keeper. As in *Dominique*, even from the base of the tower, the eye could take in the whole of the circular horizon. In the novel, the sea was vast, a 'bleu désert sans limites' (p. 482).[17] In the notes on the Ile de Ré, the sea is also described in terms of the void of the desert (p. 995). Indeed, the contrast between the fragility of the tiny garden and the power of the ocean underlies not only a moment of epiphany in *Dominique*, but also the balance between order and adventure, central to Fromentin's personality and creative imagination. Struck by the cloister-like silence in the lighthouse, Fromentin almost self-ironically observes that 'un faiseur d'images' would not fail to insist on this contrast between stasis and movement, highlighting the analogy with the 'orages de la vie' (p. 994)[18] on the other side of the dune or hillock.

Fromentin's account of his visit to the Ile de Ré is a microcosm of his earlier Algerian travel accounts. 'Je n'ai jamais rien vu de plus exotique', he wrote, 'et qui ressemble plus à ce qu'on lit dans les voyages' (p. 994).[19] The wisdom derived from the lighthouse-keeper at the Phare des Baleines is similar to that ultimately advocated by Dominique: 'Se contenter de ce qu'on a, et n'être jamais tenté de posséder plus' (p. 990).[20] Fromentin commented that he had rarely come across anyone 'aussi sagement borné dans ses souhaits de bonheur' (p. 990).[21] Ever convinced of the relativity of subjective awareness, he noted: 'La même étendue d'eau, le même point

16 'extreme sonority'
17 'blue illimitable desert'
18 'maker of pictures'; 'storms of life'
19 'I have never seen anything more exotic and more like what one reads about in travel books.'
20 'Be content with what you have and never try to get more.'
21 'so wisely modest in his dreams of happiness'

de vue peut avoir des significations très diverses' (p. 1009).[22] *Multum in parvo* might well have been his adage, as he reflected on his on-going dream of withdrawal: 'Beaucoup de corps ou d'esprits pourraient se plaire ici; ce serait aussi un refuge pour des fortunes perdues ou manquées' (p. 1009).[23] As long as one is always alert to the outreach provided by the use of analogies, 'l'esprit pousse toujours au-delà' (p. 997),[24] he observed.

The Ile de Ré, so near and yet so far, had brought Fromentin back to himself:

> On a commencé par de longs voyages autour du monde, imaginaire ou réel; puis un jour vient, tôt ou tard, où l'on rétrécit le cercle de ses promenades, avec celui de ses ambitions ou de ses espérances. Quelques-uns finissent par faire humblement, exactement le tour de leur conscience et ceux-là font bien.[25] (p. 1025)

The notes from Françoise Henry date from the twentieth century. Born in Paris in 1902, she became the leading authority on the history of Early Christian Art in Ireland and is principally remembered for her three-volume study, *L'Art irlandais*, which appeared in 1963–1964 as part of the Éditions Zodiaque, at the monastery of La Pierre-qui-Vire, in Burgundy.[26] The English language version of this *magnum opus* appeared, with Cornell University Press, from 1965 to 1970. Françoise Henry was the granddaughter of Charles Clément, the first great biographer of Géricault, and she was surrounded by paintings in her maternal grandparents' home. She was a pupil at the Lycée Molière and later studied the history of art, both at the École du Louvre and the Sorbonne. She had taken courses on the

22 'The same stretch of water, the same point of view can signify very different meanings.'

23 'Many bodies or minds could be happy here; it could also be a refuge for those whose fortunes have failed or are lost.'

24 'the mind can always push further'

25 'One began by long journeys around the imaginary or the real world; then a day comes sooner or later, when one narrows the circle of one's peregrinations, one's ambitions and one's hopes. Some conclude by humbly and painstakingly travelling around their consciousness, and they do well.'

26 For further details on the Éditions Zodiaque, see Janet T. Marquardt, *Zodiaque: Making Medieval Modern, 1951–2001* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2015).

early history of the Celts with Salomon Reinach and attended lectures on Celtic art by Henri Hubert at the École du Louvre. At the Sorbonne, she studied medieval iconography with Émile Mâle and medieval sculptural forms with Henri Focillon. She subsequently worked as an assistant to Henri Hubert at the Museum devoted to Celtic art at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Henri Hubert was replaced as deputy director at that Museum by Raymond Lantier, under whose tutelage Françoise Henry worked, from 1927, as a temporary scientific collaborator, making various inventories at what was then known as the *Musée des antiquités nationales* (currently the *Musée d'archéologie nationale*). However, from 1932, in order to continue her work on Irish Celtic crosses, she combined her Saint-Germain-en-Laye involvement with a post as language assistant in the French Department of University College, Dublin, working in France only during the Christmas and summer vacations. As has recently been made public,[27] when Raymond Lantier became full-time director of the Museum, in 1933, he pushed for Françoise Henry to become deputy director, though her long-term absences doing fieldwork in Ireland probably diminished her chances of success in this connection. Claude Schaeffer, whose fieldwork took him still further afield, to Syria, was appointed instead. The official status of Françoise Henry with the Museum was renewed in 1938. In August 1939, she helped to prepare items for transfer from Saint-Germain-en-Laye to Cheverny, in the Loire Valley, for safekeeping in face of the likely German invasion of France. Raymond Lantier did his utmost, until even after the end of World War II, to have Françoise Henry appointed deputy director at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. She and Claude Schaeffer were subsequently decorated with the *Légion d'honneur* for their war service. In 1947, Françoise Henry returned to University College, Dublin, where, until her retirement in 1975, she continued her ground-breaking research and inspirational teaching, and was instrumental in developing the History of Art Department. She then retired to Burgundy, where she died, in Auxerre, in 1982.

27 See Laurent Olivier, 'Françoise Henry (1902–1982) et le musée des Antiquités nationales: la chance manquée de la recherche française', *Antiquités nationales* 46 (2015), pp. 163–176.

The Inishkea islands are located off the Mullet Peninsula, itself virtually an island, since it is joined to the mainland at Belmullet by a bridge. At Blacksod, the southerly tip of the Mullet Peninsula, there is a lighthouse, made famous by the fact that, from there, the lighthouse-keeper, Ted Sweeney, provided the meteorological observations that finally determined the date of the D-Day landings in Normandy in 1944. There is no place in Ireland more remote than the Mullet Peninsula, where there is no protection against the strong winds sweeping in from the Atlantic. There, against the magnificent backdrop of Achill Island to the south, came Françoise Henry in 1937 to scout the site of her future excavations on Inishkea North. What attracted her there was the presence of some imposing cross-inscribed standing stones, which she interpreted as being earlier than the country's High Crosses; she saw their ornament as a surviving link with the 'Celtic' ornament of the La Tène type – a cultural successor to the Hallstatt style on the Continent, which had featured in her subsidiary doctoral thesis in France, on the tumuli in the Côte d'Or (her major *thèse d'état* being on Irish sculpture in the first twelve centuries of the Christian era).

To be the leader of an archaeological dig involves what is nowadays called 'multi-tasking'. In the case of Françoise Henry, this included negotiating a passage across to the island by *currach*, an indigenous type of Irish boat with a wooden frame over which animal skins or hides were once stretched, though now canvas is more usual. Additionally, she had to secure accommodation in one of the houses in the abandoned village, the Inishkea islanders having been evacuated after a terrible storm in October 1927, in the course of which ten fishermen perished.

Sweeney's house, which was to be the headquarters for the team, stood at the top of the street in the abandoned village on Inishkea North. It looked relatively tidy, had a slate roof and almost all the glass was still in its windows. It had a door, held shut by a rope. However, a board was used to keep the door shut against the wind and invading animals – notably donkeys or cows. There were two bedrooms with wooden floors, one for the women and the other for the men. Furniture was improvised: part of an old lobster tank was converted into a table; an upturned basket served as one seat, a tea chest as another.

Of all the practical problems confronting Françoise Henry, the most immediate was the lack of wood for heating and cooking. On an island, buffeted by the head-on Atlantic winds, where there are no trees, no bushes and where any plant which raised its head more than a couple of inches above the ground would be immediately flattened, the only source of timber was on the beach. They could hope for driftwood, mostly jetsam, in addition to wood from abandoned houses and *currachs*, and masts from shipwrecks. But, from time to time, emerged the rarest of the rare: what Françoise Henry describes as an amputated stump, risen up from a submarine forest, stretching from Achill to Inishkea South, yielding *giúsach*, 'bog-deal', a light-coloured pine wood, photographed by Françoise Henry after it had been shaped into a chair. Imagine that we are dealing here with prehistoric wood, perhaps pre-dating Newgrange and the Pyramids of Egypt, in a twentieth-century context!

The scarcity of wood gave rise to tensions. Ann Cawley, Françoise Henry's domestic helper, was inclined to burn all the available wood, without thought for the morrow. This infuriated Françoise Henry, who was equally at home in both town and country. 'Des siècles de paysannerie économe se lèvent en moi, indignés' (p. 52),[28] she wrote. 'La totale imprévoyance de ce pays', she observed presciently: 'Q[ua]nd il y a du bois, q[ua]nd il y a de la nourriture, on en use en grand, et à mes observations que nous serons peut-être à court: Oh! il fera sûrement beau demain' (p. 52).[29]

Things did not always go smoothly with the men either. They often found it hard to understand what Françoise Henry was trying to achieve. For them, this was the first time they had had a female 'boss' – and a foreign one, at that. Françoise Henry was aware of 'd'imperceptibles mouvements de rideaux' (p. 11)[30] in houses on the mainland, as she walked past, and heard murmurings of *Franncach* (Frenchwoman) (p. 16). She was driven by her commitment to her work. For her employees, there was not the

28 'Centuries of peasant thrift rise up within me, indignant.'

29 'The total lack of foresight in this country. When there is wood, when there is food, they don't skimp, and when I remark that tomorrow we may be short: Oh! The weather will surely be good tomorrow.'

30 'imperceptible movements of curtains'

same motivation. One of her principal workers, Pat Reilly, irritated her by asking for a half-day off to collect his dole at Blacksod and staying away for a full day. She thought him work-shy and was relieved when he left, regretting that the sense of 'camaraderie' (p. 54), prevailing at the end of the dig, could not have been there from the start. Twelve years later, when she again recruited Pat Reilly in 1950, he endeared himself to her. She came to see that, despite 'tous les soucis' he gave her in 1938, he turned out to have been her 'soutien le plus précieux' (p. 80).[31]

The outcome of the 1938 excavation was, however, marred by an episode concerning the controversial transfer of three slabs from Inishkea North to the National Museum in Dublin. These slabs, Françoise Henry was convinced, were particularly worthy of careful preservation. Erosion from the weather was the most obvious threat to them. However, after the evacuation of the islanders, grazing cattle constituted another danger. Even for her own excavation, Françoise Henry had to install posts and a protective perimeter fence on top of the Bailey Mór, a large mound on Inishkea North, lest the cows barge in and upset everything. On the other hand, the nineteenth-century 'land wars' were still a raw memory in the collective awareness of people in the west of Ireland and the islanders, still nostalgic for their home place, were understandably sensitive about further losses of their patrimony. On 16 May 1939, with the active cooperation of the local police, the slabs were transferred to the shore and, from there, by the lighthouse boat, to the Mullet Peninsula and so on to Belmullet and finally to the National Museum in Dublin, where they currently hold a place of honour in the Treasury Exhibition.

What is important about these travel notebooks of Françoise Henry is that they show us her ability as a wordsmith, as well as the strongly visual quality of her writing. She would frequently walk to the far north end of the island. Nearby are rocky inlets with steep cliffs, where the ocean spray collects, seals gather at the mouth and there are blowholes from which the ocean foam spouts up like a geyser. This aperture is conjured up in terms of a creative void, transcending time as well as space, with action conveyed

31 'all the bother'; 'most valuable support.'

through abstract quality nouns such as 'des rugissements sourds' and 'le lent affaissement de couleurs' (p. 43).[32]

Later, when Françoise Henry looks out over Inishkea South, she describes the sea in dynamic terms, with a quick succession of present-tense verbs in the French original:

> La mer maintenant est déchaînée. Les grandes lames se sont formées qui courent du large, s'enflent, et puis croulent sur les rocs. D'énormes rouleaux s'enflent en blancheur doublée de vert intense, puis, à grands fracas, montent comme des arbres de neige. Les failles du rocher bouillonnent comme de l'écume d'une lessive diabolique. Des vagues s'y ruent qui tressautent, se déchirent aux arêtes des parois noires, sifflent, crissent et se résorbent en fange jaunâtre. Le soleil, déchaîné lui aussi, frappe les vagues de coups d'or et d'argent, exalte les geysers d'écume jusqu'aux limites les plus invraisemblables du blanc aveuglant.[33] (p. 46)

Another passage constitutes a moment of epiphany for Françoise Henry, as she contemplates the raging sea. She describes the white horses, 'les bêtes furieuses du large', as they rush on to the rocks. A further succession of verbs denotes the 'montée d'écume qui fleurit en bouquets immenses, s'irise, hésite, et s'écroule en cascades'. Then, drawing on what André Malraux would have called her 'imaginary museum', she visualises herself like Sardanapulus, in Delacroix's celebrated painting, lying in the 'luxe déréglé', not of sacrificed concubines, but of 'murailles jaillissantes qui s'écroulent soudain, cataractes, et un jet solitaire qui fuse par moments hors d'une crevasse'. It is a true moment of grace. 'Joie d'être seule en face de cela', she concludes: 'Trop immense pour une présence humaine' (p. 47).[34]

32 'muffled roars'; 'slow subsidence of colours'

33 'The sea now is raging. The big breakers form and rush in from the open water, swell and then crumble on the rocks. Huge rolling waves swell in a whiteness lined with an intense green, then, with great roars, rise like trees of snow. The cracks of the rock bubble as if with the foam from a diabolical laundry. Waves jump and hurl themselves onto it, tear apart on the ridges of the black walls, hiss, crash and blend back into the yellowish muck. The sun, wild too, strikes the waves with gold and silver blows, heightens the geysers of foam to the most implausible limits of blinding white.'

34 'the furious animals of the open sea'; 'rising foam that blooms in huge flourishes, shines iridescent, hesitates, and collapses in cascades'; 'dissolute luxury'; 'great gushing walls

This moment of epiphany recalls a comparable passage in George Sand's *Un hiver à Majorque*. It concerns a cliff walk. Indeed the sea is central to all these island accounts, providing a good example of Alain Corbin's claim, in *Le Territoire du vide* (1988), that, between 1750 and 1840, a new awareness of the sea began to emerge in European consciousness. Ancient classical writers accorded little attention to the sea, which, for them, was primarily a source of danger. Sand admits that, up to that point in her life, she had never liked the sea. Now, however, as she ascends the winding path, the sea reveals itself, at every bend, as limpid and sky blue. Far from being static, her description involves two types of movement: the ebb and flow of the waves, and the changing view of the sea, as perceived by the walker, with every upward step. A later expedition confirms this impression. As the group go higher and higher, they become aware of a feeling of 'immensité' (p. 171).[35] They have a sensation of vertigo as they look down at the fishing-boats below, which seem as tiny as flies (p. 172). Indeed, Sand loses her balance at one point and narrowly avoids falling in to the 'abîme' (p. 174),[36] but is totally conscious of this moment of epiphany.

Fromentin also had his moment of epiphany, looking out at the vast horizon of the Atlantic from the Phare des Baleines. And Françoise Henry, on Inishkea North, when faced with the power and immensity of the ocean, has insights into a world beyond that which is finite. Islands, in their concentration, seem to have the power to sharpen the mind; their narrow confines, within the spatial magnitude of the sea or ocean, help to focus self-awareness, thanks to their very detachment from wider spheres of activity. All three accounts, whatever their motivation and immediate purpose, trace a journey of self-exploration and self-revelation, in the context of what G. K. Chesterton has aptly called the 'perennial poetry of islands'.[37]

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which suddenly capitulate, cataracts, and a solitary jet that spurts out at times from a crevasse'; 'The joy of being alone with that. Too immense for a human presence'.

35 'immensity'

36 'abyss'

37 See G. K. Chesterton, 'The Philosophy of Islands', in *The Spice of Life, and Other Essays*, ed. Dorothy Collins (Henley-on-Thames: Darwen Finlayson, 1964).

Grace Neville

2 Walking on Air: Le Docteur Potain Takes to the Skies over Dublin in 1785

Abstract

The heart of this chapter, Dr Félix Potain's short account of his doomed 1785 balloon flight over Dublin, forms part of an immense constellation of tales of ascent and descent that have filled mythology, religion and story-telling generally since earliest times. Potain's project was part of the balloon craze that swept Europe in the 1780s and was backed by leading politicians and bankers in Dublin. Thousands flocked to the widely publicised launch of his balloon in Marlborough Green in central Dublin on 17 June 1785. His scattered account of this albeit doomed adventure (he crash-landed in Wicklow where he was rescued by a local peasant) nonetheless pulsates with excitement and optimism. Walking on air captured the public imagination in countless ways and, in the hands of writers up to our own day (including perhaps most memorably Julian Barnes), soon became a metaphor for the fragility and unpredictability of life.

Over many centuries, a rich array of French travellers has dissected Ireland from various vantage points on land and sea. Some travelled to Ireland only in their imagination but nonetheless produced observations both passionate and perspicacious without ever having left the comfort of their armchairs back home in Paris! To this mix, this chapter will add another dimension: air travel. At its heart it will focus on a little known late eighteenth-century Franco-Irish escapade, the ascent by balloon over Dublin in 1785 by a Doctor Potain, hailed in his printed version of this adventure as *Ancien Chirurgien-Major à la Marine Royale* and *ex-chirurgien principal d'armée*.[1] Despite flimsy references to him on various internet sites, the *très sérieux* catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France has nothing further to say about him. His account will be contextualised alongside other parallel

1 Le Docteur Potain, *Relation aérostatique dédiée à la Nation Irlandaise* (Paris: Delaunay, Dalibon, Ladvocat, Ponthieu, 1824).

stories of ascent which feature angels and engineers, myths and monsters. This wide chronological span will encompass our own era with the inclusion of two recent publications: *Levels of Life* (2013) from Julian Barnes, and 'Emergency', a 2015 short-story by Irish writer, Mary Morrissey.

A fascination with rising, with being uppermost if not exactly airborne, is hardwired into the very language we use, a reflection surely of our desires and even obsessions in this respect. We might be walking on air, on cloud nine, over the moon, upbeat, upper class, up and coming, looking up, gaining the upper hand, uplifting, the upper dog, or downbeat, down in the dumps, in a deep depression, or in low spirits. The French language is no different: *le gratin*, *le haut du pavé*, *la haute volée*, *haut de gamme*, *la haute société*, *marcher la t*ête *haute* or *le front haut*, *avoir la haute main sur une affaire*, *l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*; conversely there is *le bas monde*, *bassesse*, *s'en aller l'oreille basse*, *bas morceaux*, *le bas peuple*, *une basse besogne*, *les hauts et les bas*, *mettre quelqu'un plus bas que terre*. French and English coalesce in the evocative description *la crème de la crème*. In Irish, similarly, there is *lamh in uachtar*, *uachtaran* and even *muin na muice*. Indeed, the Irish language may hint at a very early ancestry of such up-down ways of seeing the world: Irish expresses the term 'oppression' as *cos ar bolg* (literally 'foot on stomach'), a posture adopted by victorious humans and animals, and graphically apparent in the infamous 2004 photos from Abu Ghraib.[2]

We earthlings have always wanted to be up there where angels fly. High points fill mythology and religions: they are where the sacred and the profane intersect. Moses meets God on the top of Mount Sinai; then there is Mount Ararat, le Mont St Michel, Sceilg Mhichil, St Michael's Mount. Our great, tapering cathedrals soar heaven-wards as do the spires of little country churches. Mythology, along with religions like Christianity, perpetuates the image of the victorious being uppermost. From earliest times in iconography and scripture, heaven is up, hell is down. Heaven is the dwelling place of God, angels and our redeemed selves. However, when angels turn bad or when they refuse to accept their place as upper but not uppermost, they are cast out and specifically down to earth or to hell.

2 The prison in Iraq where US soldiers were accused of mistreating Iraqi prisoners of war.

The fallen angels and Adam and Eve come to mind, but so, too, do their mythological counterparts like Icarus, who tried to rise above his allotted place and dared to fly too closely to the sun only to be punished by being cast down as a result. Little wonder that the Fall/*la Chute* occupies a central place in Western consciousness.

Flying machines have, predictably, featured prominently among the projects that men have, for millennia, dreamt of realising. Visionaries like Roger Bacon and Leonardo de Vinci left us paper projects, not the real thing, but much earlier people did move from idea to action. In 1066, when the Normans were striking out northwards for pastures new, a monk in the great Benedictine monastery at Malmesbury was striking out in a different direction: heavenwards. The twelfth-century monk, William of Malmesbury, tells us in his *Gesta regum Anglorum* how Brother Eilmer, fascinated by ancient writers like Ovid, attached wings to his arms and feet and jumped from a tower, before being blown away and crashing to earth, an accident that left him crippled for the rest of his days. So mesmerising was this tale for medieval audiences that a century later Vincent de Beauvais could not resist retelling it in his *Speculum Historiale*.

This fascination with lofty creatures and flying vehicles is well embedded in early stories about Ireland. For instance, a six-line section about the King of Ireland and a space ship, 'De navi quae visa est in aere', exists in a twelfth-century Latin poem on Irish wonder tales, *Mirabilia Hiberniae* (Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 11,108, written perhaps c.1000). Seamus Heaney retells a version of one such story in his poem on the monks at Clonmacnoise, 'Lightenings viii'.[3] Versions of the anecdote reprised by Heaney were well known in medieval times in Ireland, Norway and elsewhere. In his *Otia imperialia*, written c.1211, Gervais of Tilbury imagines the event in question taking place in Britain. Leaving Mass, the faithful see a sky ship from which a cable has dropped down and become entangled around a tombstone. Someone slides down the cable from the stalled sky ship to free it. However, he is mobbed by the crowd below and suffocates to death since, as Gervais explains, his lungs were unable to cope with earthly

3 Seamus Heaney, *Seeing Things* (London: Faber, 1991), p. 18.

pressure. Interestingly, a Norse version of this story in the *Kongs Skuggsjo* (Royal Mirror), written c.1250, imagines the incident taking place not in Britain but in St Ciaran's monastery at Clonmacnoise, a detail repeated in Heaney's poem. In the Norse story, when the space man shimmies down the rope, the locals want to grab him but the bishop tells them not to, as the space man would drown in our atmosphere. In Heaney's version, what is striking is the onlookers' utter acceptance of the existence of these lofty creatures: their main reaction is not stupefaction but instead a desire to help a momentarily earthbound sky creature seen as their *semblable*, their *frère*.[4]

All of which leads neatly – if unexpectedly – to Marlborough Street in central Dublin, current nerve-centre of the Department of Education in Ireland. It was from Marlborough Street 230 years ago, on Friday 17 June 1785, that Potain took off in his balloon, hoping to reach England. His narrative, which he published in 1824, almost four decades after the event itself, fills just twenty-five pages, with a four-page preface and six pages of appendices. Although Potain's adventure did not go unnoticed in France,[5] elsewhere it has attracted little attention in recent times apart from a handful of fleeting references in scholarly histories of early aviation. The longest of these is a short 1955 article in the *Dublin Historical Record* by a Fellow of the Royal Meteorological Society, F. E. Dixon.[6] That the wider public has ever even heard of Potain is arguably due to a few short pieces in *The*

4 For further information on the medieval texts mentioned in this and the preceding paragraph, see Kuno Meyer, 'The Irish Mirabilia in the Norse *Speculum Regale*', *Eriu* 4 (1908), 3, p. 12; Louis Gougaud, 'L'Aéronef dans les légendes du moyen âge', *Revue Celtique* 41 (1924), pp. 354–358; William Stubbs (ed.), *William of Malmesbury*: *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, vol. II, ch. 225 (Rolls), pp. 276–277; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale* 25/35 (Bibliotheca Mundi, Duaci, 1624), vol. 4, p. 1014.

5 It is mentioned briefly – and with the unsubstantiated claim that Potain crossed the Irish Sea by balloon – in Louis Figuier, *Les Merveilles de la Science: Aérostats* (Paris: Furne, Jouvet et Cie, 1868), p. 484 (woodblock engraving of Potain) – p. 485 (short text).

6 F. E. Dixon, 'Ballooning in Dublin', *Dublin Historical Record* 14/1 (June 1955), pp. 2–11.

Irish Times by another weather connoisseur, the late *Irish Times* weather correspondent, Brendan McWilliams.[7]

Balloon craze – or *la ballomanie* – began in France in 1783 and soon swept Europe, making balloonists (ballunatics?) the rock stars of their day. In this context, the number, quality and range of engravings and woodcuts depicting balloons in the skies over France in the late eighteenth century is quite simply dizzying. An indication of the newness of the balloon craze into which Potain literally launched himself in 1785 is the as yet unstable terminology used to designate the machines in question: *ballon*, *aéronef* and *aérostat* are all used interchangeably.[8] One of the most unexpected and important aspects of the Potain escapade is surely the realisation of just how early *la ballomanie* reached Dublin, bringing Ireland and the Irish firmly into the ambit of the Age of Enlightenment. In fact, not even two years before Potain took to the skies over Dublin, the first ever hot-air balloon flight took place: this initial flight in a Montgolfière, the eponymous balloon designed by the Montgolfier brothers, took off from Versailles, on 19 September 1783, in the presence of King Louis XVI, his family and a huge crowd. The King had originally suggested that prisoners be compelled to sit in the basket (like human guinea pigs) but, in the event, this dubious honour fell to a sheep, a duck and a rooster.[9] The Mongolfiers' balloon, memorably described as a cloud in a bag, rose to 500m, remained aloft for eight minutes and travelled 3.5km before landing with all three animals alive and well. Then, in February 1784, barely one year before Potain's Dublin adventure, the first unmanned balloon released in Ireland took off from the Rotunda Gardens, Dublin. By that year, one Richard Crosbie was organising public exhibitions in Dublin of balloon flights with animals on board. His ambition was to reach England. Thus, the Dublin

7 'Aeronautical inflations', *The Irish Times*, 22 July 1996; 'Balloonist soon deflated', *The Irish Times*, 17 June 1997; 'Ups and downs of crossing the Irish Sea', *The Irish Times*, 22 July 2000.

8 I am grateful to Monsieur Stéphane Aymard for bringing up this point at the La Rochelle AFIS conference.

9 Rather like avatars of Laika, the mongrel plucked from the streets of Moscow who shot to fame in November 1957 when it became the first animal to orbit the earth.

public, like people throughout Europe at the time, was accustomed to seeing balloons drifting overhead. Potain's 1785 experiment would consequently not have come as a surprise, but rather as a ratcheting up of what Dubliners had already witnessed, for this time the stakes were higher: the balloon would be manned.

Potain is well versed in recent French balloon successes (pp. vj–vij) and is keen to emulate them for he is nothing if not ambitious. He mentions Jean-François Pilâtre de Rozier (1754–1785) who, on 21 November 1783, at the Chateau de la Muette, along with the Marquis François Laurent d'Arlandes, was the first person ever to take to the skies in an untethered balloon. Potain praises the efforts of another French contemporary, the balloonist and 'célèbre physicien', Jacques Charles (1746–1823) to 's'introduire dans la région des météores' (p. vij). In fact, it was Charles who, at the Champ de Mars on 27 August 1783, along with the Robert brothers, was responsible for launching the world's first ever hydrogen-filled balloon, with none other than Benjamin Franklin among the many onlookers. Again, it was Charles who was responsible, with the Robert brothers, for the hydrogen gas-filled balloon that took off, with Charles and Noel Robert on board, from the Tuileries Gardens on 1 December 1783. They flew for two hours and covered 35km before landing safely. At one stage, Robert got out – for unspecified reasons – and Charles continued to a height of 3,300m, triggering hypothermia and a decision never to fly again. Potain's references to Charles reaching the 'région des météores' are thus accurate and up to date. Potain also refers to Jean-Pierre Blanchard (1753–1809) who, along with American philanthropist John Jeffries, on 7 January 1785, just five months before Potain's Dublin exploit, became the first person to fly over the Channel.

Why Dublin? Potain's arguably surprising choice of Dublin for this event was due simply to the financial backing of a consortium of Dublin-based benefactors who also guaranteed him a city-centre launching site. Aeronautical experiments in France like those of the Montgolfier brothers were backed by the leaders in society, aristocrats and wealthy sponsors. The same was true in Ireland as is clear from the wide-ranging list of sponsors and supporters provided by Potain (p. 27). Specifically, he explains that his hero, leading politician Sir Edward Newenham (1734–1814), succeeded in

galvanising support in Ireland for his enterprise.[10] Newenham had pleaded Potain's cause in Parliament where a subscription was opened in his favour, a method also used in France to finance balloon flights. Newenham strengthened his case by telling his fellow parliamentarians of receiving letters of support for Potain's experiment from international luminaries such as Benjamin Franklin and the Marquis de Lafayette. More monies were promised by an Irish banker, M. Latouche, if Potain succeeded in reaching England (p. 17). Aristocrats also helped in other ways, for instance the 'seigneurs' whose homes overlooked the launch site vacated them to allow the public to fully enjoy the spectacle (p. 17).

Potain stresses the public nature of his experiment. People far and wide knew about it beforehand, for example through Irish and English newspapers. He explains that inhabitants along the coast had been warned to expect to see a passenger balloon passing overhead; they would receive a reward of 25 pounds sterling if the craft got into difficulty and they came to its help. This promise led to a considerable number of small boats lying in wait off the coast (p. 15). News of Potain's descent spread equally fast (p. 14). In a carefully stratified society, his experiment appealed to all social classes: the crowd that greeted his arrival in a horse-drawn carriage in Marlborough Green was so huge and varied that it had to be paid to move back to let the carriage through. He describes the atmosphere as 'charivari' (p. 18), with musicians greeting him, songs specially composed for the event ringing out and even gunfire resounding to mark the balloon's departure (p. 17).

Potain is well aware of the danger of this new form of travel: in fact, the very last lines of his narrative recall ballooning's first fatality, the 'malheureuse catastrophe de Pilâtre-de-Rozier et de Romain, son compagnon, à Boulogne-sur-Mer, et sous le ministère de M. de Brienne' (p. 19).[11] This does not dampen the love of adventure which pulsates throughout his narrative: prior to its departure, unfavourable winds meant that the balloon was only two-thirds full of air, broke several ropes holding it and unbal-

10 See Dixon Wecter, 'Benjamin Franklin and an Irish Enthusiast', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 2/2 (January 1941), pp. 205–234; Newenham is the enthusiast in question.

11 'unfortunate catastrophe of Pilâtre-de-Rozier and Romain, his travel companion, in Boulogne-sur-Mer, and during the term as Minister of M. de Brienne'.

anced the basket underneath. Spectators were understandably terrified and Potain's committee pleaded with him to postpone the ascent. Nonetheless, he announced to all and sundry that he was 'résolu à braver tous les dangers' (p. 10).[12] When the aristocrat designated to cut the cords holding him to the ground got cold feet, Potain reached out and slit the rope himself – a kind of slashing of the umbilical cord. Once airborne at a height of 400 *toises*, Potain could hear applause below and canon fire echoing from all corners of Dublin city. Though his depleted balloon meant that he was blown in every direction, he threw some ballast overboard, as well as a basket containing food, determined to reach the horribly silent 'région des météores' (p. 11): 4,000 *toises*.[13] Unsurprisingly, he then reported shortage of breath and clouding of vision. It is at this stage that he announced that he had brought with him on board – not a sheep, a duck and a rooster – but two pigeons, to observe their reactions. He set them free, whereupon one plunged to earth and the other, perched on the rim of the basket, was too stunned to move. Finally, realising the danger of his situation, he deployed mechanical wings to descend. However, this, too, presented problems: he ended up dropping at high speed, only to be thrown out of the basket but still attached by his feet. Unsurprisingly, on crash landing in a mountainous area, not in England but somewhere in Wicklow, he lost consciousness. On regaining consciousness, he spotted someone at a distance and called him, asking him 'en très mauvais anglais' if he had seen the balloon. In fact, the peasant recognised Potain: 'Yes sir, Doctor Potain, success to the balloon' (p. 15), a sort of Dr Livingstone moment in deepest Wicklow that indicates just how fast and how widely news travelled at the time. Interestingly, this peasant seemed in no way disconcerted at the sight of a man who had just fallen from the skies: testimony, perhaps, to the religious stories with which he would have been imbued and in which characters could levitate, ascend to or fall from heaven without provoking incredulity![14]

12 'resolved to brave all dangers'

13 1 *toise* = 1.949m

14 I am grateful to colleagues attending the La Rochelle AFIS conference for suggesting this point to me.

Potain tells his tale in no particular order, in a kind of stream of consciousness that adds to the sense of breathlessness and excitement that marks all his storytelling: the scientific aspect of the adventure – for instance details regarding the size of the balloon – are on the penultimate page of his account, after the description of the crowd scene at the departure: one would have expected them to appear much earlier. Ever the story-teller as well as the scientist, Potain expresses himself in superlatives. Decades after the event, now in his middle years, he remembers this youthful adventure in a poignant phrase: 'le plus beau moment de ma vie' (preface).[15] He even reaches for the term *jouissance* to convey his feelings on witnessing the gratitude of his peasant rescuer to whom he had given two guineas (p. 14). He harnesses the human interest angle of his story and focuses on the emotions and drama triggered at the prospect of balloon flight: he tells us of a monk who took to the air with Blanchard but was attacked before departure by a student from the *Ecole Militaire* who felt that the place was rightfully his. When the contraption fell to earth after ascending just 15 or 20 ft, the fight resumed between the student and the crash-landed monk who was subsequently reprimanded by his order (p. vij). The basket suspended underneath Potain's balloon could take up to six passengers. In fact, Edward Newenham and his son were due to accompany Potain but, on hearing of this, Newenham's wife, pregnant with their eleventh child, rushes out to the launch site to discourage her husband. Potain, the storyteller, tugs at his readers' heart-strings: 'Cette mère désolée, les yeux baignés de larmes, entourée de ses enfants, se jeta dans les bras de son mari, en lui exposant, avec les accents de la plus vive douleur, les dangers de son projet' (pp. 16–17).[16] The public, witnessing this dramatic scene, promptly takes Lady Newenham's side and threatens to tear the balloon to pieces ('de mettre en pièces le ballon', p. 16) while students nearby threaten to stone it, leaving Potain with no option but to proceed alone.

15 'the happiest day of my life'

16 'This mother, her eyes bathed in tears, surrounded by her children, threw herself into her husband's arms, explaining to him in the most distressed tones the dangers of his project.'

One of the main themes threaded through his account is the age-old trope of Irish hospitality which Potain experienced at every level of this clearly socially layered society; hence his dedication of this account to the Irish (interestingly described as 'la nation irlandaise'):

> A une des plus hospitalières nations de l'Europe. C'est à vous, Irlandais, que je dois le plus beau moment de ma vie ! L'accueil que vous daignâtes me faire, le généreux empressement que vous mîtes à seconder mon entreprise périlleuse sont pour moi de précieux souvenirs.[17] (p. v)

The aristocrats who support him from beginning to end are uniformly hospitable, as are his peasant rescuers who, despite their large family and extreme poverty, nonetheless offer him the little food they have (potatoes) before accompanying him to a local lord who then takes over the rescue effort. Interestingly, this is radically different from the treatment inflicted in Gonesse just outside Paris on 27 August 1783 by peasants who came upon the crash-landed hydrogen-filled balloon launched by Charles and the Robert brothers earlier that day from the Champ de Mars (mentioned earlier). These peasants were so terrified by the strange creature that had fallen out of the skies that they ripped it to pieces with pitchforks and knives. As to what became of the man who fell to earth, le Docteur Potain, after his ill-fated Dublin experiment, is reputed to have 'soon fled Ireland leaving nothing to his creditors but a balloon'.[18]

Why Potain lifts up his pen to tell his story almost four decades later is unclear. He cites his desire to thank the Irish, but this he could have done years earlier. More interesting is his stated wish to be of some scientific use now that air travel is at last developing. Nonetheless, he laments the fact that, in general, despite experiments by his French contemporaries, 'le ballon n'est plus aujourd'hui qu'une récréation physique, une spéculation,

17 'To one of the most hospitable nations of Europe. It is to you, Irish people, that I owe the most wonderful moment of my life! The welcome that you deigned to give me, and the generous haste which you made in supporting my dangerous project remain precious memories for me.'

18 John C. Greene, *Theatre in Dublin: 1745–1820: A Calendar of Performances* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), p. 2285.

un ornament de fêtes' (p. ivj): *agréable* rather than *utile*.[19] He was indeed probably born too soon, as interest in ballooning did increase in subsequent years. Its military potential soon became clear. As early as 1794, at the Battle of Fleurus in what is now Belgium, the French sent observational balloons up over the battlefield as an eye in the sky. Military balloons were similarly used in the American Civil War. In 1870–1871, during the Franco-Prussian war, post was carried by unguided balloons released from within Paris, up over the reach of the encircling Krupp guns, to relay news to the outside world from the besieged city. It was thanks to these balloons that news reached places like Ireland, prompting a massive fund-raising campaign for the French.[20] And, *soit dit en passant*, their role in modern conflict should not be underestimated: in May 2015, in the latest episode of an on-going balloon campaign, South Korean activists threatened to use giant balloons to deliver 500,000 leaflets critical of North Korea along with 10,000 DVD copies of the contentious film, *The Interview* (about a fictional CIA plot to assassinate the North Korean leader, Kim Jong-un) up over the border into the North.

Alongside their wide-ranging practical applications from the late eighteenth century onwards, balloons soon came to function, in mass circulation newspapers, as a kind of unwitting metaphor for much more. One of many examples here is *Le Petit Journal*, once memorably described by Theodore Zeldin as a kind of '*News of the World* for 3 sous'. In France and elsewhere, mainstream newspapers read by decision-makers (such as *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro* and *The Times*) may attract much scholarly attention but they are not the most widely read. By contrast, *Le Petit Journal*, from its establishment in 1863, enjoyed a huge readership, frequently selling more than one million copies per issue. Since each of these copies was probably read by or discussed in front of several other people, the impact of this one publication on the population at large was enormous. Its striking, coloured front

19 'Ballooning today is just another physical recreation, a speculation, a fairground attraction – *pleasant* rather than *useful*.'

20 See Grace Neville, 'The People's War? Cork, Ireland and the Franco-Prussian War', in Yann Bevant, Anne Goarzin and Grace Neville, (eds), *France*, *Ireland and Rebellion*, vol. 2 (Rennes: TIR, 2011), pp. 47–68.

pages frequently represented balloon flight, with graphic illustrations of accidents, crashes and catastrophes. Underlying such representations were age-old tropes: the fragility of life, the belief that most of what we do is outside our control, the conviction that the mighty will ultimately be brought low, the danger of what is new, and the (literal) flightiness of women.

Canonical writers like Borges, H. G. Wells, E. A. Poe and Jules Verne all use balloon travel as a literary theme, but so, too, do many contemporary writers. The latter include 1997 Pulitzer Prize winner, Steven Millhauser, whose 1998 short story collection, *The Knife Thrower and Other Stories*, includes 'Balloon Flight, 1870', in which the narrator is trapped in Paris, then under siege by the Prussians.[21] A recent Irish example in this respect is the 2015 short story, 'Emergency', by Dublin-born Mary Morrissey.[22] The disruption triggered by the unexpected arrival of a stranger is often hailed as a basic plot in fiction; in that context, this story, set in rural Ireland during the Second World War, starts with the sudden landing in a farmyard on a moonlit night of a parachute carrying a German spy: 'a beautiful white mushroom floats down, a billowing umbrella' (p. 27). In the farm live Brenda, a young girl on the cusp of adolescence, and her mother who is a dress-maker: the man of the household, a groundsman on a local estate, has joined the British Army and gone to war, much to the fury of his wife. At one level, the mother welcomes this literally heaven-sent parachute as its silk, which she frantically salvages, will earn her some hard-earned money for her dressmaking; at a deeper level, the story fizzes with unspoken sexual tension: the mother desperately misses her husband, and the German spy (who transpires to be a rather ineffectual one, just a young lad from over the mountain) may somehow – *faute de mieux* – be a reminder of him:

21 Steven Millhauser, *The Knife Thrower and Other Stories* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1998). I am grateful to the colleague who brought this short story collection to my attention at the La Rochelle AFIS conference.

22 Mary Morrissey, 'Emergency', in Deirdre Madden (ed.), *All Over Ireland* (London, Faber, 2015), pp. 27–43. In this context, in her blog dated 8 May 2015, Mary Morrissey praises a short story by Aidan Matthews, 'The Story of the German Parachutist Who Landed 42 Years Later', from Aidan Mathews, *Adventures in a Bathyscope*, (London: Secker and Warburg, 1988).

Brenda's mother 'has given up trying to unhook the harness and is now sitting astride him, sawing through the fabric straps with her scissors. If anyone came across them now, they'd think her mother and the spy were a courting couple, going at it in the grass' (p. 32). Like so many 'stranger-comes-to-town' stories, this is a tale of multiple transformations: of Brenda's mother's skill at transforming unlikely material into something more useful:

> Brenda marvels at the transformations her mother achieves: a child's jacket magicked out of a man's overcoat, a dress worn at the arse cut down into a blouse with a tie scarf made from the unspoiled hemline, bloomers blossoming from ballgowns. (pp. 28–29)

of a young Irish country lad's unlikely and ultimately doomed transformation into a German spy; and, most importantly, of Brenda's transformation from young girl into young adult when the 'German' gives her her first kiss. A more sustained use of this same theme of airborne adventure and transformation is at the heart of 2013 genre-defying book, *Levels of Life*, by 2011 Man Booker prize-winner, Julian Barnes.[23] Chevalier de l'Ordre des Arts et Lettres, Officier and Commandeur des Arts et Lettres, Barnes is arguably the most French of all current English writers of fiction. Born in 1946 to parents both of whom taught French, he grew up in suburban London before reading modern languages in Oxford. Among his many literary awards is the 1992 Prix Fémina. From his first novel, *Metroland* (1980), which recounts the visit to Paris by a young suburban London lad, down to his recent work, *Keeping an Eye Open: Essays on Art* (2014), France has been at the heart of his work. *Soit dit en passant*, the story of the mad scientist balloonist over Dublin would probably amuse him, given his wry sense of humour and gift for finding off-beat French-related topics: after all, *Flaubert's Parrot* (1984), hailed by *Irish Times* critic Eileen Battersby as arguably his best book, explores – *via* eclectic musings on life, death, trains, animals and Flaubert's love – the ultimately fruitless search for the original stuffed parrot used as a model by Flaubert in his classic short story, *Un Coeur Simple*.

Levels of Life is arranged in three slim inter-related parts, all of which deal with the meeting of opposites or, as Barnes says, 'you put together two

23 Julian Barnes, *Levels of Life* (London: Jonathon Cape, 2013).

things that have not been together before. And the world is changed'. In the first section, entitled 'The Sin of Height', the lives of three balloonists briefly intersect. We first meet the pioneer of aerial photography, Gaspard-Félix Tournachon, also known as Nadar (1820–1910). In his work, earth meets air, a sphere still regarded as the *chasse gardée*[24] of the angels when he was taking the first aerial photos of Paris in the mid-nineteenth century. Along with Nadar, we encounter free-spirited French actress Sarah Bernhardt and English Royal Horse Guards colonel Fred Burnaby, both of whom were also balloonists. The second section, entitled 'On the Level', imagines a love affair between Bernhardt and Burnaby. For Leyla Sanai, this section 'may represent the settled phase of love, no longer flying with thrill and intoxication, but grounded, with all the comforts that security brings'.[25] The third section, entitled 'The Loss of Depth', is by far the most powerful and unexpected especially from so understated a writer. To reprise a line from Heaney: it catches the heart off-guard and blows it open. It is a harrowing, unflinching elegy by Barnes to his wife who had died five years earlier, in 2008. Here, too, opposites meet: Barnes, the reserved writer and former lexicographer from suburban London and Pat Kavanagh, a captivatingly beautiful South African, widely hailed as the finest literary agent of her generation. Their relationship lasted for thirty years until Kavanagh died unexpectedly of a brain tumour in 2008, with just thirty-seven days from diagnosis to death, leaving Barnes shattered and suicidal. Aeronautical metaphors form the *fil d'Ariane* of this weird and wonderful book: metaphors of the meeting of opposites: air and earth, soaring and plunging, light and shadows. All this Barnes weaves together to form the kernel of his book: an unflinching if utterly dignified exploration of grief and passion, love and loss, transcendence and trauma. For when he describes a young balloonist who, in 1786, crashed to his death with such force that 'the impact drove his legs into a flower bed as far as his knees, and ruptured his internal organs, which burst out on to the ground', one suspects that he is trying to convey to the non-grief-stricken even a pale approximation of his trauma at the

24 'the preserve'

25 *The Independent*, 13 April 2013.

loss of the woman he called 'the heart of my life; the life of my heart'. In fact, the third section starts abruptly like this:

> You put two people together who have not been together before. Sometimes it is like that first attempt to harness a hydrogen balloon to a fire balloon; do you prefer to crash and burn or burn and crash? But sometimes it works, and something new is made, and the world is changed. Then, at some point, sooner or later, for this reason or that, one of them is taken away. And what is taken away is greater than the sum of what was there. (p. 73)

Reading this, one is reminded of Montaigne's on-going lament in his 1580 essay, *De l'Amitié*, for his best friend and soul-mate, Etienne de la Boétie, whom he had known for fourteen years and who, at that point, had been dead for almost two decades : 'Nous étions à moitié de tout; il me semble que je lui dérobe sa part'.[26] At this stage, over half a millennium after Montaigne penned those words, one realises that the whole point of Barnes' first two sections is as a kind of preparatory circling around the main event that is this third part, just as the earlier sections in Montaigne's essay – on hetero-sexual marriage, on homosexuality, on parental love – were similarly just throat-clearing exercises for the real thing: an exposition of his enduring love for Etienne de la Boétie. Untethered from the love of his life, Barnes ends his book thus: 'All that has happened is that from somewhere – or nowhere – an unexpected breeze has sprung up, and we are in movement again. But where are we being taken? To Essex? The German Ocean? Or, if that wind is northerly, then, perhaps, with luck, to France' (p. 118).

Back on planet earth, we earthlings continue to seek out new heights. A recent *Libération* article, entitled 'Paris joue la ville de l'air',[27] advises where best to see Paris from above: which towers, churches, restaurants offer the best vantage points.[28] More interesting from the point of view of this chapter, it mentions the possibility of drifting at up to 300m over Paris in a balloon that rises – winds permitting – from le parc André-Citroën. Designed by Frank Gehry and backed by the *Fondation LVMH*, this balloon looks as

26 'We were two halves in everything; it seems to me that I am stealing his part.'

27 'an uplifting view of Paris'

28 *Libération*, 1 May 2015.

sumptuous as the original Mongolfières. The journalist then contextualises this balloon within the history of balloon travel in France with a substantial account of the 1783 flight by the Montgolfier brothers mentioned earlier. Thus, the thread linking the Montgolfier brothers to Frank Gehry *via* balloonists like Potain remains unbroken. Meanwhile, the scientific revolution in air travel that Potain was helping to advance and that had already gained huge momentum in America and Europe (especially France) in his time was set to continue to this day. And just as the cream of French and Irish society backed aeronautical adventures in both countries, in our own time business mogul Richard Branson has, since 2004, been financing the *Virgin Galactic* project, hoping to make commercial space travel a reality.

Just four summers after Potain took to the skies over Dublin in 1785, a momentous revolution of a different kind was to break out in France. To misquote the Chinese premier, Zhou Enlai, during Nixon's visit to Beijing in 1972: when invited to comment on the impact of the 1789 French Revolution, he is reputed to have said that it was still too early to say. This was hailed at the time as a stunning example of the Chinese *longue durée* view of history. Whether Zhou Enlai ever actually said that is now disputed, although one wishes that he had! And so, within the story of better-known revolutions in the heavens and on earth, in the heart and in the mind, on paper and on the pavement, through air, gas, fire and ideas, the little known escapade of a little known French doctor in the skies high over Dublin 230 years ago surely deserves a place and – who knows? – if that wind is northerly, then, perhaps, with luck – a plaque.

For Margaret Teegan: *hommage, amitiés*

EAMON MAHER

3 George Moore: Cultural Tourist in France

ABSTRACT

Of all the Irish writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, George Moore (1852–1933) is the one who was most embedded in French literature, painting and culture. Taking the strongly autobiographical *Confessions of a Young Man* as its main focal point, this chapter will examine Moore's love affair with France and the influence this exerted on his literary and artistic evolution. In *Confessions*, we read the extent of Moore's attraction to Paris: '[…] my thoughts reverted to France, which always haunted me; and which now possessed me with the sweet and magnetic influence of home.'[1] Moore clearly had a deep appreciation of France and of the French and this chapter will show the full breadth of what could be termed a mutually enriching cultural encounter.

Of all the Irish writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, George Moore (1852–1933) is undoubtedly the one whose artistic destiny was fashioned to the greatest extent by his immersion in French literature, painting and culture. He was on intimate terms with literary figures of the stature of Émile Zola, Théophile Gautier, Edouard Dujardin (the originator of the 'stream of consciousness' technique he later adopted along with James Joyce and Virginia Woolf), as well as the impressionist painters Renoir, Degas and Manet. In fact, Manet did a number of portraits of Moore and once famously stated to his friend: 'There is no Englishman who occupies the position you do in Paris'.[2] No English-speaking foreigner, not even his contemporary Joyce, inspired the esteem that Moore enjoyed among artistic circles in Paris which, when he arrived there for the first time in the

1 George Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man* (USA: Leeaf Classics, 2013), no page numbers supplied.

2 Cited by Adrian Frazier, *George Moore, 1852–1933* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 44. It is normal for Frazier and other Moore scholars to use the abbreviated form 'GM' to denote the writer.

1870s, was a veritable hive of cultural creativity. In addition to the figures already mentioned, Moore was also in regular contact with Paul Alexis, J. K. Huysmans, Stéphane Mallarmé and Villiers de l'Isle Adam. In fact, it is difficult to think of an influential writer or painter resident in Paris at the end of the nineteenth century whom Moore would not have known. It may well have been this fact that led Manet to remark as he did on the unique recognition accorded to his Irish friend in the French capital at this time.

For a Catholic landlord from the west of Ireland to make any impression, let alone the significant one attributed to him by Manet, on the artistic milieu of Paris in the 1870s, is the type of achievement that deserves examination and explanation. As the second chapter title of Adrian Frazier's superb biography of Moore indicates, Paris was Moore's Oxford and Cambridge. In other words, it was there that he would acquire the most important ingredients of what would constitute his artistic credo. He soon discovered that painting was not something to which his talents were particularly suited, but the time spent in the studio of Jules Lefebvre, and more importantly his amazing facility at gaining access to the most prestigious salons and artistic gatherings in Paris, meant that he had a keen understanding of what constituted good painting and how artists nurtured their gifts through hard graft and fruitful exchange. This insider knowledge would inevitably be a huge advantage to him when he took to writing insightful art criticism later in his career.

Reading about George Moore in Paris is like following the path of a man who was obsessed with acquiring new knowledge and making new acquaintances. He was like a sponge, absorbing all the comments he overheard, committing them to memory and later writing them up, particularly in the first autobiographical work he completed, *Confessions of a Young Man*, published in 1888. Adrian Frazier admits that it is difficult to trace in any accurate way Moore's movements in Paris or to explain how he came to prominence in the way that he did in the 1870s. He writes:

> So towards the end of the decade Moore was at the centre of French cultural life, but even the French artists and writers were not watching him with the alertness of the cat before the mousehole, and they cannot tell us of him as well as he tells us of them. It was during the Paris years that GM gathered the experience of life out

of which he would create his self as an author, but he is not traceable in any very thorough way within these years.[3]

It can be slightly frustrating therefore to attempt to follow Moore's footsteps in Paris through the eyes of others. *He* is the observer par excellence, the one who loves to depict the various characters whom he observed in salons or whose studios he visited. It would be really useful if at least one of his acquaintances had written about him in the same way as he depicted so many others. On more than one occasion, his lack of restraint resulted in the alienation of some high-profile figures. One particularly explicit example of this tendency can be seen in the rift Moore created by revealing things about Degas that the painter had no desire to share with the general public. In the autumn of 1890, George Moore's article, 'Degas: The Painter of Modern Life', was published in the *Magazine of Art*. Moore had in fact sent the first draft of the piece to Degas who, according to Isabelle Enaud-Lechien, was not in favour of publication. Apparently, the painter had a pronounced antipathy towards journalists and looked on the proposed piece as a betrayal.[4] That said, Enaud-Lechien argues persuasively that Moore's article was influential in pointing out the innovation Degas introduced to French painting. The following quote shows a great awareness of the uniqueness of Degas' 'Tubs' series, for example:

> A woman who has stepped out of a bath examines her arm. Degas says, 'La bête humaine qui s'occupe d'elle-même, une chatte qui se lèche'. Yes, it is the portrayal of the animal-life of the human being [...]. The nude has always been represented in poses which presuppose an audience, but these women of mine are honest, simple folk, unconcerned by any other interests than those involved in their physical condition. Here is another: she is washing her feet. It is as if you looked through a key hole.[5]

3 Adrian Frazier, *George Moore 1852–1933*, p. 35.

4 Isabelle Enaud-Lechien, 'Moore-Degas-Paris: Exchanges, Reminiscences and Intersecting Arts', in *George Moore's Paris and his Ongoing French Connections*, ed. Michel Brunet, Fabienne Gaspari and Mary Pierse (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2015), pp. 19–40, p. 27. This chapter provides an excellent account of Moore's in-depth understanding of Degas' art and the degree to which he provided an evaluation of the French painter in the Anglo-Saxon world that generated real interest in his work.

5 Cited by Enaud-Lechien, p. 29.

For all the accuracy of Moore's account, these lines contributed in no uncertain manner to creating the image of Degas as a 'misogynistic painter who was possibly a voyeur or peeping Tom',[6] something which would not have endeared Moore to his former friend. This episode encapsulates the compulsion that Moore had for using his personal knowledge of famous people and bringing it into the public domain without any real thought about how this might impact on them. More than a lack of discretion, Moore would seem to have suffered from a congenital inability to keep confidences, which naturally often led to his being shunned by certain mainstream figures in the artistic world who felt, perhaps with justification, that he could not be trusted. While there can be no doubt that Moore was a huge admirer of Degas and an excellent interpreter of his work, his decision to publish this article in the knowledge that he did not have the painter's approval, ultimately ended the friendship between them. It was a high price to pay.

Undoubtedly, spending time in Paris opened up all sorts of new avenues to the young Irish writer. It would have been hard to avoid the excitement of being in this cosmopolitan setting at such a key moment in its evolution into an artistic hub that would attract writers, artists and intellectuals from all over the world. Zola's experiments with literary naturalism, which involved the application of a scientific approach to the study of human nature and the idea of how environment and heredity exercise a determining influence on people's behaviour, the Impressionist movement in art, the enduring influence of the realism of Flaubert and Balzac, the talented practitioners who populated a meeting place to be located like the Café Nouvelle Athènes, all of this made of Paris *the* place for a young man anxious to embark on an artistic career. Moore wrote in *Confessions* of what it was like to be a regular in the Café Nouvelle Athènes at a time when it was frequented by the likes of Villiers de d'Isle-Adam, Manet, Degas, Renoir, Paul Alexis and a host of other luminaries:

> What is the 'Nouvelle Athènes'? He who would know anything of my life must know something of the academy of the fine arts. Not the official stupidity you read of in

6 Enaud-Lechien, p. 29.

> the daily papers, but the real French academy, the *café*. The 'Nouvelles Athènes' is a *café* on the Place Pigalle. Ah! The morning idlenesses and the long evenings when life was but a summer illusion, the grey moonlights on the Place where we used to stand on the pavements, the shutters clanging up behind us, loath to separate, thinking of what we had left said, and how much better we might have enforced our arguments. Dead and scattered are all those who used to assemble there, and those years of our home, for it was our home, live only in a few pictures and a few pages of prose.[7]

Moore conveys something of the excitement of café culture in the Paris of the 1870s in this passage. One can almost see the smoke curling around the figures crouched about a table, hear the writers and artists propounding their latest theories in an animated manner, smell the scent of wine and absinthe on their breath, sense the excitement of being at the epicentre of world culture at this time. It makes the drunken antics of Kavanagh or Behan in McDaid's pub, or Donaghy and Nesbitts, seem very tame by comparison. The nature of the interaction between artists would have been very different in the provincial Ireland of the mid-twentieth century and the sophisticated Paris of the 1870s. Moore was definitely a listener, someone who was anxious to learn from those with whom he came into contact. He was humble enough to recognise his limitations, but also had the self-confidence to realise that he, too, had a role to play in capturing and contributing to the excitement of the time. He stored away the advice given to him by the likes of Zola, Paul Alexis and Manet. It was the latter who exerted the most lasting influence, telling Moore that it didn't matter how badly someone painted as long as they didn't paint badly like other people. Individuality was crucial for the artist, and the uniqueness of a person's life inevitably shaped his art:

> It is often said that the personality of the artist concerns us not, and in the case of bad Art, it is certainly true, for bad Art reveals no personality; bad Art is bad because it is anonymous. The work of the great artist is himself … Manet's Art was all Manet.[8]

7 George Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man* (New York: Brentano's, 1917), pp. 104–105.
8 Cited by Frazier, *George Moore*, p. 63.

It must be said that Moore's personality revealed itself steadily in a similar way as his Art developed and he found his true voice. At a certain point, one could justifiably say: 'Moore's Art was all Moore.' He was never prepared to close himself off from the possibility of new discoveries, which meant that he constantly reinvented himself as a personality and a writer. While initially a follower of Zola, he realised at a certain stage that Naturalism had its limits, which led him to turn to writers like Turgenev, Pater, Sterne and Dujardin for inspiration. When he left Paris to head to London in the 1880s, which by that point was undergoing the type of transformation Paris had had in the 70s, Moore plunged himself into the world of publishing, theatre and fiction with the type of unmatched energy which characterised his approach to life. He fell foul of the Select Library, which had control of the book trade and distribution in England at the time, and had great difficulty getting his books to their intended readers. But he somehow managed to turn it round and to write some highly acclaimed and successful works of fiction, many of them associated, possibly erroneously, with the Naturalist school of writing. Manet's main piece of advice to Moore was to be 'unashamed as a little child', and this was a motto to which he adhered throughout his career. In Paris, he discovered the dedication that was necessary to succeed as a writer. He had a large number of good role models on which to lean. The debates between the proponents of Romanticism and those who espoused Realism or Naturalism merely underlined how Art is timeless. We read in *Confessions*:

> I did not know then, as I do now, that art is eternal, that it is only the artist that changes, and that the two great divisions – the only possible divisions – are: those who have talent, and those who have no talent. But I do not regret my follies; it is not well to know at once of the limitations of life and things. I should be less than nothing had it not been for my enthusiasms; they were the saving clause in my life.[9]

Certainly, Moore was someone in tune with the importance of life experience in the shaping of an artistic sensibility. His tendency to overstep the mark at times, to behave like a Dandy, to indulge in a hectic social

9 *Confessions*, p. 96.

life, all these found their way into his writings and gave them their special authentic ring. While *Confessions of a Young Man* is a classic blend of narrative genres and rich gossip, it is probably more interesting as a document about the Paris of the 1870s than it is revealing of Moore's own character and personality. What can be said with certainty is that the time he spent there was invaluable to the emerging writer. He seems to have surmounted his difficulties with the language relatively quickly, as otherwise he would not have been in a position to communicate the way he did with the various people with whom he interacted. In *Confessions*, we read the extent of Moore's attraction to Paris: '[…] my thoughts reverted to France, which always haunted me; and which now possessed me with the sweet and magnetic influence of home.'[10] Later in *Confessions*, he elaborates on what he views as the main differences between France and Ireland:

> Two dominant notes in my character – an original hatred of my native country, and a brutal loathing of the religion I was brought up in. All the aspects of my native country are violently disagreeable to me, and I cannot think of the place I was born in without a sensation akin to nausea. These feelings are inherent and inveterate in me. I am instinctively averse from my own countrymen; they are at once remote and repulsive; but with Frenchmen I am conscious of a sense of nearness; I am one with them in their ideas and aspirations, and when I am with them, I am alive with a keen and penetrating sense of intimacy.[11]

This is the type of impassioned pronouncement that would become commonplace in Moore's subsequent career. He was never afraid to speak out about any issue which was preoccupying him at a given time. The importance of the Irish language to fostering a genuine national culture, the lack of genuine innovation in Irish literature during the Revival, the repressive role played by the Catholic Church in Irish society, especially in the realm of sexuality, Moore spoke out forcibly on all these issues at various times and ruffled a number of feathers at the same time. In a recent collection of essays devoted to Moore's work, Robert Becker somewhat outrageously

10 *Confessions*, p. 41.

11 *Confessions*, p. 117.

described the Mayo landlord as an 'Irish punk' and wrote the following about the time he spent in Paris:

> Much may be said about Moore's sentimental education in Paris in the 1870s, when he was in his early to mid-twenties, and Moore himself said a lot in his memoirs. One thing that should *not* be said is that he had any serious purpose there. The ludic young adult, the punk, was in Paris mainly not to be elsewhere like London or Dublin or, God forbid, Ballyglass in County Mayo. He was there, not to be among family or class, not to pursue a career or start a family, but to oppose everything that might otherwise have defined or oriented or limited him.[12]

While clearly seeking to be provocative, Becker does touch on an interesting motivation for Moore's decision to move to Paris when he did. He needed and wanted a change of scene and Paris was possibly the one place where he could comfortably live the life of the dilettante. Writers at this time looked on travel as an invaluable means of building up a store of experiences that could be used subsequently – Moore's contemporary Henry James is possibly one of the best examples of this – and for someone with artistic leanings like Moore, the thought of setting up home in the French capital must have appeared extremely exotic. Whether his carefree attitude makes him an 'Irish punk' or not is less certain, but there is no question that Becker's analysis of the situation should be read as a statement made with a large dose of tongue in cheek. Moving to Paris was a definite break with home and with anything that might have been holding back the nascent artistic urges, and perhaps the other urges that were concurrently taking root in the young man, which would have found no comfortable outlet in Ireland.[13]

Let us now examine how Moore's disavowal of Ireland and his championing of France lie at the heart of his artistic inspiration. In a sense, in

12 Robert Becker, 'The Contrarian George Moore', in Maria Elena Jaime de Pablos and Mary Pierse (eds), *George Moore and the Quirks of Nature* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014), pp. 39–49, p. 41.

13 Adrian Frazier offers an interesting assessment of the myriad qualities that made up Moore's complex personality in the following manner: 'He is neither a married heterosexual nor an active homosexual. Neither Protestant nor Catholic, he is devoted to inquiry into Christianity, speculatively exploring the experience of faith from the position of faithlessness.' *George Moore*, p. XVII.

order to criticise the backwardness of Ireland, the enslavement of its people to a domineering Catholic Church, its lack of sophistication and elegance, Moore needed a counterbalance, and secular France was ideal for this purpose. One of Moore's better known novels, *The Lake* (1905), offers an example of the way in which the Paris years allowed the writer to envisage a scenario whereby a Catholic priest would abandon his parish and seek a more enlightened life far from the shores of Ireland. The secular vision that may be found in *The Lake* is one that was honed by Moore's discussions with various writers and individuals in Paris, the vast majority of whom (Huysmans being an exception) would not have been well disposed to organised religion, especially as it was practised in Ireland.

The Lake marks a departure in Irish literature in its portrayal of a priest, Fr Gogarty, who undergoes a psychological awakening, which causes him to lose his faith. This crisis results from his relationship with a teacher, Nora Glynn, whom he denounces from the pulpit and for whom he unknowingly harbours feelings of love. The form of Catholicism one encounters in *The Lake*, published in 1905, is one which bears all the hallmarks of Moore's own unbelief. In a letter to his brother Maurice, around the time he was composing *The Lake*, Moore made the following observation: 'One writes badly when one is in a passion; no one knows that better than I do.'[14] Moore was annoyed by his brother's religiosity, which he associated with ignorance and lack of sophistication. In the same correspondence, brought to light by Conor Montague, Moore belittled Maurice's religious beliefs in the following manner:

> Agnosticism is not so infallible for the production of good literature as Catholicism is for the production of bad. You write like an angel, that I can see; you tell me you have nothing to say – well, Catholics never have, here or elsewhere – they are a silent lot.[15]

In light of such comments, Fr Gogarty seems to have quite a lot to say: he is occasionally, in fact, a rather obvious mouthpiece for some of Moore's

14 Conor Montague, 'Philosophical Dialogue Between the Brothers Moore (1903–1905): A Capacity for Misunderstanding', in Maria Elena Jaime de Pablos and Mary Pierse (eds), *George Moore and the Quirks of Nature*, pp. 69–85, p. 77.

15 Cited by Montague, p. 79.

own views in this reader's opinion. After Nora leaves the parish in disgrace, Gogarty reflects on his true feelings for her and sees that he 'wanted her body as well as her soul'.[16] In one of the many letters he writes her, he reveals how his training in Maynooth seminary taught him 'to despise women' (129), but that he was now determined to follow a different path: 'God gave us our human nature; we may misuse and degrade our nature, but we must never forget that it came originally from God' (129). The priest becomes increasingly fascinated by nature and associates Nora with the sun and the spring-tide. His quest, he discovers, is not so much Nora Glynn as the inner life he has discovered through the feelings she has aroused in him. He comes to view the Mass as 'a mere Latin formula' and sees his quest as 'that intimate exaltation that comes to him that has striven to be himself, and nothing but himself' (175).

While *The Lake* is a most interesting novel in many ways, especially in its daring experiments with narrative technique, the main problem is precisely the fault that Moore tried to warn his brother Maurice about, namely writing when in a passion. As already mentioned, Moore's view of the Catholic Church was at an all-time low at the time he was composing *The Lake*. Fr Gogarty's fascination with Nora Glynn stems from his belief that she is benefiting from the type of intellectual liberation that is only available outside of Ireland. On the continent, she is free to develop her own ideas and discuss them with like-minded people, without looking over her shoulder to ensure that her actions are not reported to the moral policemen that the Irish priests were at the time. Peter Connolly, a priest and former Professor of English in Maynooth College, is correct in his assessment that Moore and Joyce 'rejected the dogmatic and moral system of the Church in the name of the artist's search for freedom, but to a surprising extent they were obsessed with the priest as a personification of it all'.[17] For two of Ireland's most cosmopolitan writers, who saw themselves

16 George Moore, *The Lake*, with an Afterword by Richard Allen Cave (Gerards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1980), p. 121. All subsequent quotes will be to this edition, with page numbers in brackets.

17 Peter Connolly, 'The Priest in Modern Irish Fiction', *The Furrow* 9/12 (December 1958), pp. 782–797, p. 786.

in many ways as secular priests of the written word, art and religion were synonymous. Undoubtedly, prolonged stays in France influenced both writers and imbued in them a respect for truth and accuracy of expression, a freedom to say and do what they believed to be correct. That freedom was not available in Ireland at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Hence Fr Gogarty, in the 'stream of consciousness' technique pioneered by Dujardin and adopted by Moore, can reflect on what exactly he seeks to achieve from leaving Ireland:

> He was not following her, but an idea, an abstraction, an opinion; he was separating himself, and for ever, from his native land, and his past life, and his quest was, alas! not her, but – He was following what? Life? Yes, but what is life? Do we find life in adventure or by our own fireside? (174)

For George Moore, 'life' was more easily found in the new and the exciting, as distinct from at his own fireside. Thus Gogarty thinks with envy about the discoveries that Nora Glynn is making far from the shores of Ireland. One wonders, however, the extent to which a priest, even one with the intellectual capacities of Oliver Gogarty, working in a rural parish in Co. Mayo and insulated from the secular influences of the continent, would have had the self-awareness and the humility to make the following admission:

> Again I thank you for what you have done for me, for the liberation you have brought me of body and mind. I need not have added 'body and mind' for these are not two things, but one thing. And that is the lesson I have learned. Good-bye. (147)

This parting comment does not sit comfortably with the rather conservative and repressed priest who felt it necessary to denounce Nora from the altar. The bringing together of body and mind, the notion that the two things are in essence one, indicates a rather radical break with his seminary training, his background and his life experience. He did not follow through on the attraction he felt for Nora, had not absconded with her and experienced the consummation of his desire. How, then, can one say that this is a logical evolution? His decision at the end of the novel to fake a drowning by leaving his clothes on the shore of the lake (he had left fresh clothes at the other side) and to live out his new-found freedom away from Ireland is not consistent with the mind of the man we encounter at the beginning

of the narrative. The following declaration is also somewhat out of kilter with the priest's character:

> It seemed to him that we begin to love when we cease to judge. If she were different she wouldn't be herself, and it was herself he loved – the mystery of her sunny, singing nature. There is no judgement where there is perfect sympathy, and he understood that it would be as vain for him to lament that her eyebrows were fair as to lament or reprove her conduct. (177)

Whose views are being expressed here? Oliver Fogarty's? Or George Moore's? Much inclines this reader to see the latter as being in the ascendancy towards the end of *The Lake*. Robert Welch, posing the question as to why Moore was so interested in priests who were serving a Church that tried to put a stranglehold on spontaneity, answers that there was a good deal of the priest in Moore, just as there was in Joyce:

> He wrote well of the comforts of the presbytery, the beeswaxed security of the convent, but he also showed, in the writing he did in Ireland (and subsequently), that life's impulses are constantly escaping (going into exile from) the constraints orthodoxy would place upon them. That makes him, as a writer, capable of celebration.[18]

Welch's analysis goes some way towards explaining the pastoral tone that dominates the final pages of *The Lake*, when Gogarty contemplates nature and sees the world in a totally new light. Rather than being two separate people, therefore, Moore and his character become almost as one, sharing certain insights and feelings that have been nurtured by the pain of an impossible love and the compelling desire to find meaning in the midst of what is often a harsh and mystifying existence. It is hard to believe that Moore could have written a novel like *The Lake* without having spent such long periods outside of Ireland. It was the accumulation of adventures and experiences which he sampled in places like Paris and London that made him into the cosmopolitan writer and astute art critic that he would become. Saying that is not to play down in any way his Irish heritage either,

18 Robert Welch (ed.), 'Moore's Way Back: *The Untilled Field* and *The Lake*', in *The Way Back: George Moore's* The Untilled Field *and* The Lake (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1982), pp. 29–44, p. 33.

because one must always have something to react against as well as to extol. France and Ireland were counterfoils for Moore's complex personality and they both contributed to the emergence of someone who would ultimately develop into one of Ireland's greatest writers. The awareness of what his travels contributed to his view of the world is captured in the following important lines from *Confessions*:

> In youth all thoughts seem new and we are ridiculously subjective; our eyes are always turned inwards; and the creatures whom I met in the ways and byways of Parisian life, whose gestures and attitudes I devoured with my eyes, and whose souls I hungered to know, awoke in me a terse, irresponsible curiosity, but that was all – I despised, I hated them, thought them contemptible, and to select them as subjects of artistic treatment, could not then, might never, have occurred to me, from the outside.[19]

Viewing things 'from the outside' is necessary for the production of good art. Moore sometimes lacked the necessary detachment when writing about Ireland. His tone could become shrill, strident, his views too obvious. He occasionally fell into the trap of 'showing' rather than 'telling'. To his credit, however, he did recognise that 'writing when in a passion' was injurious to the artistic achievement, a pitfall he nonetheless fell into on a number of occasions. And yet his literary heritage demands a recognition of his accomplishments that is sadly lacking in his country of birth. There is no statue to mark his achievements, no great mention of his vast and varied oeuvre. The annual George Moore conferences are a welcome development in this regard and they have resulted in the publication of some stimulating edited collections.[20] But even these merely represent a welcome start to what needs to be a meaningful reappraisal of Moore's contribution to Irish letters. While he had a somewhat ambivalent relationship with the country of his birth, Moore remains a highly significant figure in international Modernism and the Irish Revival. He died in London in 1933 and

19 *Confessions*, pp. 35–36.

20 Two recent examples of these collections have been cited in this chapter; *George Moore and the Quirks of Nature* (2014) and *George Moore's Paris and his Ongoing French Connections* (2015).

his ashes were returned, in accordance with his wishes, to Lough Carra in Co. Mayo. His tombstone bears the following epitaph:

George Moore
Born Moore Hall 1852, died 1933 London
He deserted his family and friends
For his art
But because he was faithful to his art
His family and friends
Reclaimed his ashes for Ireland.[21]

Even in death, Moore remains an enigmatic figure, a sort of hybrid Irishman who strayed far from his Mayo roots only to return there after death to reassert his unique brand of Irishness. His time in France moulded his artistic leanings and nurtured his literary talents and undoubtedly the reverence in which the French hold their writers and intellectuals convinced the son of a Mayo politician and Catholic landlord that literature was a serious business that demanded hard work as well as talent. His vast and varied oeuvre illustrates that Moore displayed plenty of both qualities.

21 Cited by Frazier, *George Moore*, p. 467.

MICHEL BRUNET

4 Les villégiatures bellifontaines de George Moore

ABSTRACT
While George Moore scholarship rightly expatiates on the author's literary apprenticeship conducted in the artistic circles of Parisian café society in the 1870s, it is a lesser known fact that Moore maintained close contacts with French writers and painters throughout his life. Moore made regular pilgrimages to France and was a frequent visitor at Edouard Dujardin's place of residence at Le Val-Changis, near Fontainebleau. Dujardin's sylvan locale provided him with the opportunity to work collaboratively to conceive some of his works, to practise his French and to strike up friendships with a number of artists gathering around the charismatic figure of his host. Picking up anecdotes about domestic life at Le Val-Changis, the chapter will seek to establish Moore's positioning among his peers within this artistic coterie, showing that his yearly affiliation stands in sharp contrast to the bohemian milieu of his younger days in Paris.

L'image d'homme de lettres cosmopolite de George Moore (1852–1933) n'est pas usurpée. Originaire du comté de Mayo, il a fréquenté les milieux littéraires parisiens, londoniens et dublinois avec une volonté arrêtée de s'affranchir des frontières géographiques et culturelles et de n'avoir de cesse de se construire une identité littéraire en s'associant aux grands mouvements artistiques européens de son temps.

La critique littéraire s'est souvent intéressée à la période parisienne de Moore, en particulier et à juste titre, parce que les années d'apprentissage du jeune homme irlandais dans la capitale entre 1873 et 1880 ont été décisives dans ses choix esthétiques, notamment dans son renoncement à embrasser une carrière consacrée à l'art pictural pour se tourner vers l'expression littéraire. Cette période parisienne a inspiré son premier ouvrage autobiographique, *Confessions of a Young Man*, et marqué ses débuts dans la littérature. Les maîtres du naturalisme et de l'impressionnisme furent, on le sait, ses premiers modèles et sources d'inspiration. C'est oublier cependant que son apprentissage parisien fit naître en lui un profond attachement pour la France et pour sa vie artistique et qu'il entretint des sentiments

francophiles jusqu'à la fin de sa vie à la faveur de nombreux voyages à Paris et en province. Affaibli par la maladie, il effectua son dernier séjour en France en 1930, trois ans avant sa disparition. Ses amitiés françaises lui restèrent fidèles au fil des années, au nombre desquelles on retiendra plus particulièrement celle d'Édouard Dujardin (1861–1949) dont l'influence artistique sur Moore fut déterminante.

Le présent essai se donne pour projet d'explorer le lien privilégié entre les deux hommes de lettres au travers des séjours que Moore effectua chez l'écrivain français dans sa propriété du Val-Changis, près de Fontainebleau, au sud-est de Paris. Il s'appuiera sur une approche documentaire des villégiatures bellifontaines de Moore mais il suggérera, d'autre part, des réflexions d'ordre littéraire dans la mesure où il est difficile de dissocier, chez l'écrivain irlandais, sa vie de son écriture. Ainsi, par-delà les faits et les anecdotes qui seront rapportés, nous nous interrogerons sur l'importance de ses villégiatures en Seine-et-Marne dans l'évolution artistique de l'auteur et sur la place que l'on peut leur accorder dans le champ littéraire de l'époque.

Moore et Dujardin s'étaient rencontrés dans les locaux de la *Revue Indépendante* dans les années 1880 et revus chez Mallarmé dans le cadre des fameux 'Mardis de la rue de Rome'. De cette rencontre et de ces retrouvailles parisiennes naquit une amitié profonde entre les deux hommes de lettres et Dujardin ne tarda pas à inviter Moore à Fontainebleau. Avant de s'installer à Avon, commune qui jouxte celle de Fontainebleau, Dujardin avait résidé à Samois, puis loué une maison, la Villa Bella au Haut-de-Changis dans la partie supérieure d'Avon. Moore le priait alors de bien vouloir lui réserver 'une chambre dans la jolie auberge',[1] 'dans votre voisinage'.[2] Par la suite, en 1898, Dujardin fit l'acquisition d'une propriété, le

1 Lettre de Moore à Dujardin, du vendredi 13 août 1897, in Robert Becker (ed.), *The Letters of George Moore, 1863–1901*, Thèse de Doctorat (Université de Reading, 1980), p. 1080.

2 Lettre du 20 juin 1898, Becker, 1153. Mallarmé avait aussi invité Moore à passer une semaine à Valvins. Ils firent des promenades et du canotage sur la Seine dans la fameuse yole que Mallarmé avait récemment acquise. Voir dans le *Supplément Littéraire du Figaro* du samedi 13 octobre 1923, l'article que Moore publia pour le vingt-cinquième anniversaire de la disparition de Mallarmé.

Val-Changis, qui comprenait un modeste pavillon qu'il fit détruire pour édifier sa demeure en 1901.[3] Moore prit alors l'habitude de répondre à son invitation annuelle de venir passer un mois, souvent le mois de mai, et ses séjours bellifontains devinrent un pèlerinage, pendant près de vingt ans, hormis pendant la Grande Guerre.

Moore avait coutume de passer quelques jours à Paris à son arrivée en France. Il descendait souvent à l'hôtel Continental, rue Castiglione, ou à l'hôtel Brighton, non loin de là, et envoyait un télégramme à Dujardin pour l'informer de son arrivée : 'Puis-je venir par le train de 11h 50 ?', ou encore 'Je prends le train de cinq heures'.[4] Partant de la Gare de Lyon, Moore descendait à Fontainebleau-Avon après un trajet d'un peu plus d'une heure. On venait le chercher, on chargeait sa malle et, en quelques minutes, il était arrivé au Val-Changis. Ce n'était pas très loin et sans bagage, le chemin se faisait aisément à pied par les rues et les venelles d'Avon. Le visiteur pouvait accéder à la propriété par le parc, en franchissant une petite porte pratiquée dans le mur d'enceinte.[5] Le parc, 'un grand parc à la Watteau', selon André Billy,[6] s'offrait alors à son regard et ouvrait une majestueuse perspective sur la demeure blanche, 'si française avec sa terrasse en pierre et son jardin avec ses gazons maigres et ses allées sablonneuses qui serpentent parmi les grands arbres forestiers'.[7] Aristide Marie, ami proche de Dujardin, nous a laissé une description de la bâtisse et des précisions sur son architecture d'inspiration classique :

3 La propriété du Val-Changis, située au 2, rue des Basses Loges à Avon, a aujourd'hui disparu.

4 Télégramme daté du 6 avril 1902, Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet à Paris (désormais BLJD). Télégramme du 13 août 1905, BLJD.

5 'Turning into a quiet street, with high stone and plaster walls on either side, we came shortly to an old door sunk deep in a crumbling wall. This was the entrance to Dujardin's house, Le Val Changis.' Barrett H. Clark, *Intimate Portraits* (New York : Dramatists Play Service, 1951), p. 130.

6 André Billy, *Le balcon au bord de l'eau* (Paris : Arthème Fayard, 1949), p. 106.

7 George Moore, Epître Dédicatoire, *The Lake* (Gerrards Cross : Colin Smythe, 1980 [1905]), p. vii.

> Le plan, conçu selon le style modernisé du XVIIIème siècle, était l'œuvre du maître lui-même, assisté d'Anquetin qui avait dessiné la décoration de la façade : au fronton du pavillon central, un aigle éployait ses ailes au-dessus du quatrain épigraphique. La grande salle, haute de six mètres, qui sera la salle à manger, se prolonge dans la grisaille d'une fresque de fond où un Apollon hausse sa lyre près d'un grand Pégase blanc, cabré, les ailes étendues, au milieu d'un cercle de poètes. [...] Un luminaire approprié, créé par deux vastes candélabres, se complète d'un grand lustre, descendu d'un plafond décoré par Anquetin de quatre muses dorées.[8]

Moore connaissait bien l'artiste-peintre Louis Anquetin, ami de longue date de Dujardin rallié à la cause du wagnérisme. Dans 'The End of Marie Pellegrin', il en fait le portrait à peine déguisé, sous les traits d'Octave Barrès, et accorde plus d'intérêt pour son autoportrait que pour ses grandes compositions ou *grandes machines* où figurent, on ne manquera pas de noter en passant, Pégase et des Vénus roses portant des corbeilles de fleurs : 'He did not look like a modern man, but like a sixteenth-century baron; his beard and his broken nose and his hierarchial air contributed to the resemblance'.[9] Dans une de ses dernières autobiographies, *Conversations in Ebury Street*, Moore fait incidemment référence à la grande fresque inachevée d'Anquetin dans une description de la demeure de Dujardin : 'a great fresco and a ceiling on which three bronze-coloured maidens whirl in a mad dance round the stem of the chandelier'.[10] Il ne se prononce cependant pas sur la qualité de cette fresque d'inspiration mythologique et sur la décoration quelque peu baroque. Pour lui et selon ses propres termes en français, la demeure lumineuse du Val-Changis était : 'une vraie maison d'été',[11] lieu de villégiature qu'il avait plaisir à retrouver chaque année.

8 Aristide Marie, *La forêt symboliste. Esprits et visages* (Paris : Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1936), p. 107. Selon le vœu de Dujardin, la grande fresque mythologique fut laissée inachevée.

9 George Moore, *Memoirs of my Dead Life* (London: William Heinemann, 1906), p. 25.

10 Moore, *Conversations in Ebury Street* (London: William Heinemann, 1924), p. 176.

11 En français dans le texte, Moore, *Conversations*, p. 177. Une chambre lui était réservée dans une aile de la bâtisse.

Moore séjournait au Val-Changis en qualité d'hôte payant ; en 1923, il proposait à Dujardin trois cents francs par semaine pour s'acquitter de ses frais de pension.[12] Il n'était pas insensible aux plaisirs de la table et appréciait particulièrement la cuisine bourgeoise de Madame Beau. 'Je place mon espoir non pas sur une nombreuse valtaille (sic) mais sur la cuisine de Madame Beau. Vive Madame Beau', écrivait-il un an plus tôt.[13] Son état de santé s'altérant, Moore dut cependant préciser à son hôte qu'il était soumis à un régime alimentaire strict : 'Hélas, mon médecin exige un traitement étroit. Je ne peux plus manger les plats sucrés [...] très peu de pain, un peu de vin coupé avec beaucoup d'eau'.[14] Les repas se prenaient dans la grande salle et le café était servi dans le salon-bibliothèque, où les étagères étaient encombrées de livres hétéroclites et de nombreux documents manuscrits.

Pour l'écrivain étranger qu'il était, ces villégiatures au Val-Changis apportaient une forme de dépaysement et étaient, dans une certaine mesure, des vacances qu'il s'octroyait loin de l'Angleterre. De retour à son domicile londonien au 121 Ebury Street, Moore adressait à Dujardin une lettre de remerciements : 'Mon séjour chez vous fut fort agréable, et je m'en souviens encore. Il fut un tel changement de ma vie ici – changement de cuisine et changement de langue. Pendant tout un moi (sic) je n'ai pas dit un seul mot en anglais'.[15] Ces villégiatures bellifontaines étaient aussi des séjours linguistiques qui permettaient à Moore de pratiquer la langue française sous la direction de Dujardin. Leur correspondance révèle que, si Moore était désireux de parfaire son français, il se montrait également rebelle aux remarques et corrections que lui apportait son ami. Moore était parfois inventif en matière de conjugaison, notamment de subjonctif imparfait, mode et temps pour lesquels il éprouvait une certaine fascination. L'intérêt de Moore pour la culture française ne se limitait pas à un désir de perfectionner ses compétences linguistiques par la pratique assidue de la langue française. La vie domestique quotidienne de l'époque et la décoration

12 Lettre de Moore à Dujardin, 13 mars 1923, BLJD.

13 Lettre de Moore à Dujardin, 27 janvier 1922, Harry Ranson Center, Université du Texas à Austin (désormais HRC).

14 Lettre de Moore à Dujardin, 28 janvier 1921, HRC.

15 Lettre de Moore à Dujardin, 22 mai 1921, BLJD.

française de la demeure attisaient sa curiosité sous bien des aspects. Un meuble en particulier retenait son attention : le bidet, au point de vouloir passer une commande chez un brocanteur parisien fournisseur dudit objet sanitaire. Et Moore de préciser : 'non pas un bidet ordinaire mais un meuble qui incarne l'esprit de mon grand siècle le XVIII [...] un bidet qui garde encore le souvenir d'une maîtresse de Louis XV'.[16] Dans une lettre suivante, il confirmera, non sans humour, son désir d'acquérir ce meuble de toilette pour sa résidence londonienne : 'Mon bidet, mon royaume pour un bidet – une demande plus modeste que celle de Richard III'.[17]

Les séjours au Val-Changis présentaient naturellement, aux yeux de Moore, un intérêt éminemment plus artistique. C'était une retraite propice à la création littéraire en solitaire, mais c'était également un lieu d'échanges, de collaboration et d'élaboration artistiques particulièrement fructueux. Le mois de mai retrouvait les deux amis 'causant, toujours causant',[18] et fumant le cigare sur la terrasse jusqu'à une heure avancée de la nuit. Dujardin se faisait le confident, le conseiller et le mentor privilégié de Moore. Il est indéniable que l'écrivain français a exercé une influence déterminante sur les orientations et les choix esthétiques de Moore. Wagnérien de la première heure,[19] féru d'études théologiques, menant des recherches sur les origines du christianisme,[20] Dujardin sensibilisa et initia Moore à l'exégèse et aux thèmes bibliques.[21] L'influence de Dujardin se fait également sentir

16 Lettre de Moore à Dujardin, 26 juin 1922, HRC.

17 Lettre de Moore à Dujardin, 16 juin 1923, BLJD. Edward Martyn (1859–1923), son cousin, s'était moqué du goût particulier de Moore pour les meubles de toilette du XVIIIe siècle dans sa pièce *The Dream Physician* (1914), en le ridiculisant sous les traits d'un vieux journaliste, George Augustus Moon, amateur de ce type de mobilier. Il entendait se venger, ainsi, de son portrait désobligeant dans *Ave* (1911).

18 Moore, Epître Dédicatoire, *The Lake*, p. vii.

19 Dujardin assista à la première de *Parsifal* à Bayreuth en 1882.

20 Dujardin publia plusieurs ouvrages sur les origines du christianisme et des religions primitives, notamment *La Source du Fleuve Chrétien* en 1906.

21 Dujardin lui apporta une somme de renseignements sur l'histoire Juive dont Moore tira parti pour écrire son roman *The Brook Kerith*. Intéressé à son tour par les écrits de Saint Paul et l'histoire de la vie de Jésus, Moore entreprit un voyage en Terre Sainte au début de l'année 1914.

au plan formel de l'écriture. Moore a lu avec enthousiasme *Les Hantises* de Dujardin, recueil paru en 1886, et surtout *Les Lauriers sont coupés* (1887)[22] et a pressenti l'intérêt de la technique novatrice du monologue intérieur. 'Dans 'Les Lauriers' vous avez trouvé [...] la forme la plus originale de notre temps', écrivit-il à son inspirateur français.[23] La composition d'un certain nombre d'ouvrages de Moore, comme *The Lake* (1905), *The Apostle* (1911) et *The Brook Kerith* (1916) semble bien le fruit d'échanges, de 'causeries', comme Moore aimait à le formuler, qui ont eu comme cadre le Val-Changis : 'It was there, at Dujardin's house, that I have done much of my writing. Dujardin is one of the most extraordinary men I have ever known [...] I have written many pages under his trees'.[24] La dette de Moore envers Dujardin était grande, bien que ce soit évidemment difficile de déterminer le rôle de chacun dans ce qui s'apparentait, de près ou de loin, à un travail de collaboration littéraire.[25] Sollicitant, à son habitude, le concours d'autres plumes, Moore recevait aussi ses propres amis au Val-Changis. En 1922, il demanda à Dujardin de convier l'homme de théâtre américain Barrett H. Clark pour que tous deux pussent travailler à une nouvelle adaptation théâtrale de son roman naturaliste *Esther Waters*.

Par-delà le huis clos de ce dialogue privilégié, soutenu et passionné avec Dujardin, il y avait les rencontres amicales et littéraires en ce lieu de sociabilité voulue et instaurée, pour ne pas dire mise en scène, par Dujardin.[26] Le cercle des amis qu'il réunissait chaque dimanche avait quelque chose d'informel, mais par certains aspects, il tenait du cénacle littéraire. C'était, tout d'abord, un cénacle au sens étymologique, puisque les membres de cette confrérie d'artistes, écrivains, peintres et musiciens étaient rassemblés

22 Edouard Dujardin, *Les Hantises* (Paris : L. Vanier, 1886). *Les lauriers sont coupés*, édition pré-originale publiée dans plusieurs numéros de la *Revue indépendante* en 1887 et en volume (Librairie de la Revue indépendante, 1888).

23 Lettre de Moore à Dujardin du 22 juillet 1897, Becker, p. 1078.

24 Clark, *Intimate Portraits*, p. 107.

25 Moore n'était pas en reste ; il apporta son aide à Dujardin dans l'écriture d'une comédie. Lettre de Moore à Lady Cunard, un dimanche d'août 1905, Rupert Hart-Davis (ed.), *George Moore, Letters to Lady Cunard 1895–1933* (London : Hart-Davis, 1957), p. 44.

26 Secondé, par la suite, par sa jeune femme, Marie Chenou, qu'il avait épousée en 1924.

pour un dîner donné sous la coupole de la grande salle de la demeure et présidé par le maître de céans dont le charisme naturel ne faisait qu'ajouter à la solennité du décor. André Billy apporte ici son témoignage : 'Le soir, à la lueur des bougies, quand Dujardin présidait une table de vingt-cinq convives, sa belle tête blanche, se détachant sur le clair-obscur de la toile d'Anquetin, était d'une parfaite noblesse. On se serait cru chez quelque vieux gentilhomme, au pays de Barbey d'Aurevilly'.[27] Cette congrégation ne se donnait pas a priori comme un véritable cénacle mais elle en présentait certains traits caractéristiques. Elle réunissait des amis qui partageaient un même idéal artistique fortement inspiré, à l'origine, par le mouvement symboliste. Le groupe se voulait, il est vrai, sans exclusive ou ligne dominante, si ce n'était le culte de la nouveauté et une estime réciproque des divers talents représentés. On se souviendra, bien à propos, que la fresque allégorique d'Anquetin, qui ornait la grande salle, ne représentait pas un Apollon entouré de Muses, mais triomphant au milieu d'une pléiade de poètes. Résident régulier du Val-Changis, Moore côtoyait les amis proches ou collaborateurs de Dujardin, notamment Louis Anquetin, Paul Dukas, Aristide Marie et Rémy de Gourmont, dont il admirait grandement le style,[28] mais aussi les fidèles de ce réseau de sociabilité artistique résidant, pour bon nombre d'entre eux, à Fontainebleau ou dans les environs, comme George d'Esparbès et Edouard Franchetti. On se remémorait les voyages à Bayreuth. On parlait littérature, peinture et musique ; le wagnérisme, le symbolisme et l'héritage poétique de Mallarmé, ami commun prématurément disparu en 1898, étaient au centre des conversations et scellaient les affinités électives. Eclectisme et indépendance étaient toutefois les maîtres-mots dans ces réunions dominicales, un peu à l'exemple des deux revues dirigées par Dujardin, *La Revue Indépendante* et *La Revue des Idées*.[29]

27 Billy, *Le balcon au bord de l'eau*, p. 107.

28 Lettre de Moore à Dujardin, 9 février 1904, *George Moore*, *Letters from George Moore to Édouard Dujardin*, *1886–1922*, trad. John Eglinton (New York : Crosby Gaige, 1929), p. 49.

29 *La Revue Indépendante* s'était, en effet, fixé comme objectif d'être une publication 'avancée mais sérieuse, progressiste mais raisonnable'. Lettre de Dujardin du 4 octobre 1886, citée par Alain Vaillant, Jean-Pierre Bertrand et Philippe Régnier, *Histoire de*

Moore affichait, pour sa part, une certaine réserve ou dissimulait mal son manque d'intérêt pour la nouveauté, son individualisme caractéristique le portant peu à aller à la découverte des représentants de la génération montante.[30] L'écrivain irlandais ne se reconnaissait pas dans les nouvelles esthétiques de l'époque, notamment de celles de l'après-guerre, et ne pensait pas, réciproquement, que ses orientations littéraires pussent retenir l'attention de ses cadets. Moore avait peu lu Proust, mais il déclarait ne pas être sensible à son écriture. Son scepticisme critique se vérifiait aussi à l'encontre des contemporains de ce dernier : 'I am out of sympathy with his generation ; and I imagine that I cannot as an artist appeal to the intellectual sympathies of the present generation'.[31] L'évocation du roman musical *Jean-Christophe* de Romain Rolland, dont la publication s'est échelonnée de 1903 à 1912, suscitait son intérêt mais Moore s'empressait de déplorer la longueur excessive de l'ouvrage et de s'interroger sur ses ambitions profondes. Enfin, et de manière révélatrice, si son ami Dujardin se faisait le défenseur du vers libre,[32] Moore persistait à écrire en français, pour son amusement et celui de ses amis, des poèmes de circonstance dans la plus pure tradition, se voulant peut-être en cela le disciple tardif de Mallarmé. Devenu réfractaire à l'idée de toute affiliation littéraire inconditionnelle, ou se lassant aisément des propos tenus lors des réunions cénaculaires, Moore se montrait peut-être encore plus méfiant du caractère nécessairement compassé des coteries qui tendent à se couper du monde et à cultiver l'élitisme des lettres.

L'exclusivité du lieu de sociabilité que constituait la propriété du Val-Changis se trouvait matérialisée, en quelque sorte, par l'architecture de la grande demeure. Elle offrait, en effet, au regard, un mur aveugle côté village, comme pour signifier le repli du groupe sur lui-même et son rejet implicite de l'extériorité et de la réalité sociale. Cette configuration bien particulière

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la Littérature Française du XIXè (Rennes : Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2006), p. 413. *La Revue Des Idées*, fondée en 1904, se voulait également généraliste.

30 Il appréciait le talent d'Edmond Jaloux, jeune écrivain avec lequel il entretiendra une correspondance en anglais jusqu'à ses dernières années.

31 Clark, *Intimate Portraits*, p. 131.

32 Le vers libre fut introduit, dès 1886, dans la *Revue Indépendante*. Voir Dujardin, 'Les Premiers Poètes du Vers Libre', *Mallarmé par un des siens* (Paris : Messein, 1936).

était : 'an architectural defect, according to the servants, who [found] themselves cut off from the stirs and quarrels of the streets and the yards'.[33] Moore appréciait le calme de la retraite, les ombrages du parc et les sorties en forêt si proche, mais aimait aussi se promener dans Fontainebleau et aller à la rencontre de ses habitants : 'A Fontainebleau, où on l'aimait beaucoup, il causait longuement avec les gens de la rue. Il s'entretenait avec les boutiquiers et s'intéressait à leur vie, car il était curieux de tout.'[34] Ses pas le menaient souvent chez leurs amis communs bellifontains, le critique littéraire Aristide Marie et le truculent conservateur du château, Georges d'Esparbès.

Si le Val-Changis représentait 'a sylvan retreat'[35] pour Moore, la propriété de Dujardin était aussi un espace de sociabilité artistique entre et avec ses pairs français. Il constituait un lieu privilégié qui permettait à Moore de rester proche des milieux artistiques français et de s'ouvrir aux courants de pensée de son temps sur le continent avant de s'en inspirer ou de s'en démarquer dans ses propres œuvres. Endroit propice à la réflexion intellectuelle et à l'échange culturel, le Val-Changis servait, en quelque sorte, de laboratoire ou d'atelier d'écriture où le singulier de la création littéraire se construisait dans le pluriel de la rencontre collégiale : 'J'ai écrit nombre de pages sous les beaux arbres du Val-Changis. C'est dans cette maison que j'ai raconté plusieurs de mes livres, invitant mon ami et ses convives à m'adresser leurs critiques et leurs suggestions'.[36] Conjuguant nature et culture, la grande demeure de Dujardin opérait, en quelque sorte, une symbiose parfaite entre l'image de la retraite créatrice et celle de stimulantes rencontres littéraires.

Mais le Val-Changis signifiait peut-être plus pour Moore. Le lieu était étroitement lié à des moments d'amitié virile et exclusive, partagés entre 'compagnons de vie' :[37] 'Nous passerons ensemble le mois de juin au Val-Changis, en bachelors, nous fumerons des cigares',[38] promettait Moore à

33 Moore, *Conversations in Ebury Street*, p. 176.

34 Témoignage de Dujardin cité par Georges-Paul Collet dans *George Moore et la France* (Genève : Librairie E. Droz ; Paris : Librairie Minard, 1957), p. 35.

35 Moore, *Conversations in Ebury Street*, p. 178.

36 Cité par Collet dans *George Moore et la France*, p. 204

37 Lettre de Dujardin à Moore, 22 septembre 1930, BLJD.

38 Lettre de Moore à Dujardin, 8 mars 1924, BLJD.

son confrère. Le nom du lieu-dit se faisait expression métaphorique du lien amical renoué chaque année. Dujardin parlait, bien à propos, d'un petit Val-Changis',[39] comme pour cristalliser l'expérience instituée et connotée au fil des années. De son côté, Moore ne pouvait envisager un séjour bellifontain sans la présence tutélaire de Dujardin : 'Je ne saurais rester à Fontainebleau un mois sans vous. Qu'irais-je y faire ?'.[40] Sous la plume de Moore, l'évocation des lieux semblait osciller entre le souvenir des moments passés et la perspective réjouissante d'une prochaine rencontre, mais les années passant, quand il ne fut plus possible pour Moore de séjourner dans la propriété de son ami,[41] ce fut avec nostalgie et inquiétude qu'il se remémora ces instants de communion intellectuelle : 'Les jardins de Chanzy (sic) existent-ils encore ? Et vous souvenez-vous, en vous promenant dans les allées qui serpentent de l'ami absent ?'.[42] Les villégiatures bellifontaines de Moore laissèrent probablement une empreinte profonde chez l'homme, et chez l'écrivain, et le poème qu'il écrivit directement en français semble aujourd'hui porter témoignage de la mesure de son attachement à ses séjours au Val-Changis :

> Adieu, Val, adieu à jamais
> Forêt, pelouse et la terrasse
> Où se groupait tout le Parnasse
> Depuis vingt ans au mois de mai

39 Lettre de Dujardin à Moore, 3 septembre 1923, BLJD.

40 '[…] me promener dans le jardin ou dans la forêt, retourner à la maison pour lire. Et ça du matin jusqu'au soir ?', lettre de Moore à Dujardin du 9 mars 1912, HRC. 'La forêt est belle, le jardin souvent décrit en vers et en prose, est charmant, les rossignols délicieux le soir à une seule condition qu'il y a quelqu'un pour vous dire, Mon dieu, que la nature est belle […] mais cher ami, Changy (sic) ne serait pas Changy sans vous.' Lettre du 4 février 1921, HRC.

41 Dujardin n'était plus en mesure d'assurer financièrement l'entretien de sa résidence et de recevoir Moore. La maison fut mise en location. En 1937, elle fut donnée au département de la Seine-et-Marne pour y fonder l'Académie Mallarmé, à l'initiative de Dujardin et de quelques-uns de ses amis ayant connu le poète symboliste.

42 Lettre de Moore à Dujardin du 17 mai 1928, BLJD, citée dans Joseph Hone, *The Life of George Moore* (London : Victor Gollancz, 1936), p. 423.

Nous ne reverrons désormais
La nymphe de si bonne face
Qui pose le pied avec grâce
Malgré mon très mauvais français[43]

Par-delà l'histoire anecdotique des villégiatures bellifontaines de George Moore, qui trouve aisément matière dans la somme de ses échanges épistolaires avec Dujardin et dans les témoignages des artistes qui s'agrégeaient autour de la figure de dandy de son hôte charismatique, il convient de s'interroger sur le sens profond qu'il faut accorder à sa participation saisonnière, devenue presque rituelle, aux rencontres artistiques du Val-Changis. Son affiliation quelque peu distante mais tacite, épisodique mais assidue à ce compagnonnage d'intellectuels français ne manque pas de soulever, en l'espèce, des questions sur les pratiques du champ artistique de l'époque et du positionnement de Moore dans le microcosme de l'institution littéraire. Certes, le modèle des soirées dominicales et, a fortiori, des garden-parties que Dujardin donnait ne pouvait définir véritablement ces rencontres comme celles d'un cénacle littéraire ou encore, pour le moins, d'une école, bien que tous ses membres revendiquassent l'héritage symboliste mallarméen. Le groupe constitué ressemblait plus à une forme lointaine ou dérivée du salon littéraire élitaire et défendait une conception de la sociabilité littéraire se fondant sur l'intimité et la confidentialité de l'échange cénaculaire. Espace de rencontres amicales et informelles, le Val-Changis n'était pas 'un lieu de collision',[44] pour reprendre l'expression de Julien Gracq. La résidence de Dujardin était le lieu de rassemblement d'une phalange d'artistes se vouant au culte de l'art et à laquelle Moore s'associait bien volontiers en dépit de ses divergences de vues en matière d'esthétique littéraire et picturale et de son scepticisme grandissant à l'égard de la nouveauté artistique des premières décennies du XXe siècle.

La socialité du Val-Changis entrait, en quelque sorte, en résonance, dans un rapport d'opposition,[45] avec la pratique de la socialité des cafés de

43 Hone, *The Life of George Moore*, pp. 400–401.
44 Julien Gracq, *En lisant, en écrivant* (Paris : Corti, 1980), p. 60.
45 Cette analyse est inspirée par l'article de Vincent Laisney, 'Cénacles et cafés littéraires : deux sociabilités antagonistes', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 110 (2010), pp. 563–588.

la fin du XIXe siècle, telle que l'avait connue Moore dans sa période parisienne, à l'époque où il fréquentait le cercle d'artistes qui se réunissaient à La Nouvelle Athènes, dans le quartier de la Place Pigalle, et rencontrait ses illustres habitués, Édouard Manet, Edgar Degas, Villiers de L'Isle-Adam, Catulle Mendès et Paul Alexis. On sait combien ce café, haut lieu de la culture française d'alors, a contribué à la formation artistique du jeune homme irlandais venu faire son apprentissage dans la capitale. La Nouvelle Athènes dessinait un espace ouvert, égalitaire et se démarquait notoirement du schéma de la socialité cénaculaire dans son mode de fonctionnement et dans ses objectifs. Il s'agissait de conjurer les forces conservatrices incarnées par l'académisme ambiant en lui opposant une énergie créatrice ouvrant la voie d'un avant-gardisme pictural et littéraire. Même si les fidèles amis du Val-Changis affichaient une ouverture d'esprit à l'innovation artistique, leur regroupement élitaire autour de Dujardin semblait faire contrepoint, par-delà les années dans la carrière artistique de Moore, au monde de la bohème conventionnellement associé au café littéraire fin de siècle. Les membres de cette coterie occupaient, tout comme Moore lui-même d'ailleurs, une position sociale, établie et reconnue au sein du champ littéraire, quand ils n'appartenaient pas au Tout-Paris artistique élargi au journalisme mondain.[46] Ils incarnaient une fraction caractéristique du monde artistique, loin de la sociabilité et de l'espace décloisonné des cafés de sa jeunesse. Ainsi, si les lieux et les milieux où se sont nouées les amitiés littéraires marquantes de Moore correspondaient à des étapes cardinales de son évolution créatrice, ils reflétaient de manière symptomatique son itinéraire social dans le champ littéraire, entre le monde marginal des artistes bohèmes et celui des hommes de lettres 'arrivés' ou occupant une position symboliquement établie dans l'institution.

La mise en regard de ces deux formes de sociabilité littéraire antagonistes aide à mieux cerner le positionnement de Moore par-delà le fractionnement du champ littéraire et de son histoire. On peut avancer que

46 Pour un compte rendu d'une garden-party donnée par Dujardin dans sa propriété d'Avon, voir Laurent Tailhade, *Les 'commérages' de Tybalt, petits mémoires de la vie, 1903–1913* (Paris : G. Crès, 1914). Parmi les invités, figuraient, entre autres, Paul Dukas, Louis Anquetin, Willy, Rachilde, Myriam Harry, J. H. Rosny, Paul Fuchs, Jane Hugard.

ses appartenances communautaires successives ont façonné son œuvre artistique et son identité littéraire, mais il n'en demeure pas moins vrai que dans ces moments d'affiliation élective ou affective, loin de souscrire à une posture consensuelle et durable, Moore s'est souvent montré soucieux de s'en affranchir et d'afficher une indépendance d'esprit critique en cultivant volontiers l'image de l'écrivain étranger. Bien qu'il fût familier et grand connaisseur de la vie littéraire française, il entendait poursuivre son œuvre selon ses propres inspirations et décider de ses choix artistiques. Il ressort également de l'étude des influences artistiques qui ont pu marquer, de manière significative, la carrière de Moore que l'écrivain se révélait être certainement moins le réceptacle des idéologies ou des mouvances esthétiques du moment qu'il n'était sensible à l'ascendant intellectuel de quelques-uns de ses chefs de file ou de ses représentants emblématiques.

On ne saurait dans cette dernière hypothèse sous-estimer la présence tutélaire de Dujardin, et l'importance du commerce entre les deux hommes de lettres, placé d'emblée sous le signe de l'influence du maître de céans lors des nombreux séjours de Moore au Val-Changis. Leur correspondance se fait, pour nous, l'écho de leurs échanges et conserve la trace de leurs discussions érudites, souvent poursuivies jusqu'à une heure avancée de la nuit, mais c'était par la parole, selon Moore, que son ami français prodiguait au mieux son enseignement :

> I had begun to look upon Dujardin as a sower who scattered thoughts for others to harvest, thereby putting him above the endless scribblers among whom we live. I was beginning to think of him as one of the great teachers, one of those who teach by the spoken word more than by the written.[47]

Moore accordait beaucoup de crédit à l'échange verbal, au plaisir et aux vertus formatrices de la conversation – et de la controverse. En dépit de certaines divergences de vue et d'une relation amicale parfois tumultueuse,[48]

47 Moore, *Conversations in Ebury Street*, p. 183.

48 Sur la longue amitié, parfois tumultueuse qui unissait Moore à Dujardin et sur leur correspondance, voir Michel Brunet, 'Mais qui voudrait me lire en français ?': Reading George Moore's Letters to Édouard Dujardin, Fabienne Dabrigeon-Garcier

Moore était conscient de l'ampleur de sa dette envers Dujardin et lui rendit un hommage appuyé dans *Conversations in Ebury Street* :

> [...] to none have I given so ardent an ear as I have to Edouard Dujardin. Manet, Degas, and Monet were casual contributors, but were I asked to tell in whose field I have harvested most profitably, I should answer: In Dujardin's.[49]

Il est intéressant de noter que Moore, à l'heure des bilans et des retours sur soi, ne pouvait s'empêcher d'évoquer l'influence marquante de Dujardin sans faire référence à celle des maîtres parisiens de sa jeunesse.

On comprendra, dès lors, que les villégiatures bellifontaines de George Moore revêtent une plus grande importance et signification qu'il n'y paraît. Loin d'ouvrir des parenthèses dans le parcours artistique de l'écrivain, le soustrayant, pour un temps, à l'agitation de la vie littéraire et mondaine dublinoise et londonienne, elles ont été déterminantes dans ses recherches esthétiques. Venant, en quelque sorte, se poser en contrepoint et en complément de ses années d'apprentissage dans le Paris bohème de la fin des années 1870, les séjours bellifontains de Moore n'étaient pas seulement associés à une amitié et à une fidélité cinquantenaires, ils concouraient, dans une large mesure, à l'écriture de l'aventure intellectuelle et artistique de l'auteur.

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et Christine Huguet (dirs), *George Moore, Across Borders* (Amsterdam : Rodopi, 2013), pp. 125–136.

49 Moore, *Conversations in Ebury Street*, p. 184.

MARY PIERSE

5 To Bayreuth via Clapham Junction: George Moore, Cultural Tourist *Par Excellence*?

ABSTRACT
Did Irish writer George Moore (1852–1933) establish a roadmap for the cultural tourist and a pattern for the littérateur when he wrote accounts of his visits to Bayreuth for Wagnerian opera between 1892 and 1910? His reports on those trips are certainly humorous, opinionated and rich in digression and diversion; descriptions of the journeys deliver even more entertainment than does attendance at the opera. Displaying broad artistic interest, Francophile Moore ranges from gothic windows to fountains and Palestrina masses. This chapter seeks to depict a selection of the important sights, burning issues and cultural asides recorded by the pen of this somewhat sceptical Bayreuth tourist.

Setting Out

When a new cultural attraction emerges, those who discover it may be in pursuit of excellence in a particular field but there is often a subsequent tendency for their zeal to entice innumerable followers of fashion who are drawn in less by the art than by the excitement and presumed prestige of the social milieu surrounding any related events. A case in point would be the Wagnerian enthusiasms of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Once Wagner's Festival Playhouse or *Spielhaus* opened in 1876, the Wagner Festival at Bayreuth became a tourist Mecca for music enthusiasts and also for a social set. Visitors included such luminaries as the Sultan of Egypt, the Khedive of Turkey and Mark Twain, all of whom made very lengthy journeys to partake of the musical and spiritual experience. In 1890s Britain, Wagner and his operas became the talk of socialites; a measure of the rampaging enthusiasm is that numerous Wagner Societies were

formed. Not everyone was uncritical, however. The profiles and obsession of so-called 'Wagnerites' were sufficiently extraordinary to attract forensic dissection by George Bernard Shaw in *The Perfect Wagnerite* (1898), as well as at least one merciless sketch by Aubrey Beardsley.[1] The approach of Irish writer George Moore (1852–1933) was rather different. He made several visits to Bayreuth between 1892 and 1910 and his accounts of those trips are humorous, opinionated and rich in digression and diversion. A noteworthy aspect of Moore's reports of expeditions to Bayreuth is that they are significantly coloured by his French and Irish experiences, and at times, he is in France in his mind. His journeys to Germany were slotted in between visits to France, perhaps one might venture to say that the Bayreuth trips were punctuated and even relieved by joyful sallies into France. Moore, as Wagner pilgrim, is an interesting tourist, he is a *voyageur avec bagages*, he is the travelling artist, on his way to a festival, intent on cultural tourism, and all his sensory and cultural antennae are out.

Moore delivers many descriptions of those journeys – in the main in his book *Hail and Farewell*[2] – and the accounts point up some of the central planks of the potential tourist experience: planning, travelling, reminiscing, comparing, engaging with others whether travel companions or people encountered on the way, and reaching out to connect with readers of his travel tales. For Moore, actual travel time has the added advantage that it provides an opportunity that may be used for other important matters. Moreover, while the going is to be experienced, it must then be regurgitated and reformed into art. Most especially since George Moore was art critic of *The Speaker* in the 1890s, judgements on art and architecture, seen and unseen, must be delivered both for a wider public, and for posterity.

1 A particularly memorable one was *The Wagnerites* (Victoria & Albert Museum) which was first published in *The Yellow Book* and it suggested the 'otherness' and decadence of both audience and the artist, Aubrey Beardsley (1872–1898).

2 George Moore, *Hail and Farewell*, ed. Richard Allen Cave (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1985). *Hail and Farewell* was originally published in three separate volumes '*Ave*', '*Salv*e' and '*Vale*' between 1911 and 1914. The edition used for this chapter is the complete single-volume book edited by Richard Allen Cave. Most of Moore's reportage on travelling to Bayreuth (and his commentary on matters Wagnerian) appears in sections V, VI, VII and VIII of 'Ave', pp. 146–183.

When George Moore wrote *Hail and Farewell*, he constructed a composite picture of his various trips to Bayreuth, amalgamating the events and experiences of several visits into one large panoramic depiction.[3] His starting point is illustrative of the Moore approach to travel: he declares his intention to use the train and boat journeys to discuss the revision of a play with Edward Martyn,[4] who was his travelling companion on more than one pilgrimage to the Wagnerian centre. Moore anticipated some opposition on this score. Nonetheless, despite his strong urge to edit and chop up Martyn's text, he felt it would be 'lacking in courtesy' to talk about such a sensitive matter before Clapham Junction and thus Clapham Junction is designated as the time and place for action.[5] There might have been more than courtesy involved in the slight postponement since, when it came to Clapham, there was a further delay as the two men enjoy cigars, and they comment on their quality until Moore can contain himself no longer and criticism of Martyn's play then finally begins at Croydon. It was not destined to last for long: another traveller's account intruded when the pair, intentionally or otherwise, were diverted by Edward Martyn recounting aspects of his recent archaeological trips around Ireland, visiting 'pagan remains' in Donegal and Aran and some Christian ruins, monasteries and round towers. Deferring conflict over the play, the two men then discussed

3 See also Adrian Frazier, *George Moore 1852–1933* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 244–245, 265, 275–278.

4 Edward Martyn was a cousin of George Moore. A complex character, he was Oxford-educated, wrote plays, was the first President of Sinn Féin, funded the Palestrina Choir in Dublin, founded the Irish Literary Theatre with Lady Gregory and W. B. Yeats, and encouraged indigenous church art and music.

5 Was there a particular additional import attaching to Clapham? Certainly, Moore's acquaintance with Oscar Wilde would have left him more than aware of the significance of Clapham Junction for Wilde whose account of his humiliating experience on 20 November 1895 reads: 'From two o'clock till half past two on that day I had to stand on the centre platform at Clapham Junction in convict dress and handcuffed, for the world to look at. […] Of all possible objects I was the most grotesque. When people saw me they laughed. Each train as it came in swelled the audience. Nothing could exceed their amusement. […] For half an hour I stood there in the grey November rain surrounded by a jeering mob.' Merlin Holland and Rupert Hart-Davis (eds), *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde* (London: Fourth Estate, 2000), pp. 756–757.

Wagner's Ring cycle all the way to Dover. Although that port is the departure point for the sea voyage element of their trip, Dover does not merit even a syllable of comment.

Dawn is breaking as their ship steams into Holland and, at this point, a visual art commentary begins in earnest. In Moore's description, 'a dim light had just begun to filter through some grey clouds, like the clouds in Van Goyen's pictures'. It might be suspected that the recent acquisition of a number of Van Goyen paintings by the National Gallery in London had reminded Moore of the painter's style, and knowing the new ease of access, he wished to encourage the public to make closer acquaintance with Dutch paintings.[6] Lauding Jan Van Goyen, Moore says that the whole country of Holland 'is itself a picture', and in quick succession, he draws attention to the Saloman Ruysdael-like imagery in the bay[7] and then to the woods that are so like what had been painted by Meindert Hobbema.[8] Next, they see cattle and pastoral scenery, a vision straight from the depictions by Nicolaes Berchem and his pupil Karel Dujardin.[9] As the train sped onwards, a cattle herd – typical of those rendered by Aelbert Cuyp (1620–1691) – was seen

6 The National Gallery in London had received four Van Goyen paintings through the 1910 Salting bequest: *A River Scene with Fishermen laying a Net* (1638), *A Windmill by a River* (1642), *A Scene on the Ice by a Drinking Booth; A Village in the Distance* (1645), and *Sailing Vessels on a River in a Breeze* (c.1650). Each of these paintings shows the distinctive low horizons of Jan Van Goyen (1596–1656) which left at least two-thirds of the picture devoted to clouds.

7 In 1873, the National Gallery in Dublin had purchased *View of Alkmaar with the Grote Kerk, Winter* (1647) by Saloman Van Ruysdael (1602–1670) and the colour in the canvas is suggestive of early morning light. Van Ruysdael's *Le Bac* and *La Grosse Tour* were on display at the Louvre (bought in 1899 and 1903 respectively).

8 At that time, London's National Gallery owned a selection of such paintings of woods by Meindert Hobbema (1638–1709) who had been taught by Jacob Van Ruysdael, nephew of Saloman Van Ruysdael.

9 Moore could have seen paintings of cattle by Nicolaes Berchem (1621–1683) in the National Galleries in Dublin and London, or in the Louvre. However, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam had a much better selection. *Woman with Cattle and Sheep* is one of the few cattle paintings by Karel Dujardin (1622–1678) in London's National Gallery and the Rijksmuseum has a similar canvas, both acquired in the nineteenth century.

through the mist. Or was it seen at all? While it appears plausible that Moore and Martyn should view Holland in the light of artistic images, and that tourists might often perceive what they expect or hope to encounter, it is definitely the case here that the art critic has rapidly catalogued the premier landscape painters of the Dutch Golden Age in the seventeenth century. Moore has identified their period and their favourite subject matter in a neatly packaged overview, only to say: 'I don't like Holland; it looks too much like pictures; and pictures I have wearied of'.[10] That judgement is a nod to the cognoscenti: direct your attention elsewhere or risk being outmoded in your artistic preferences. Nonetheless, at the same time as the subtle warning is delivered, so, too, the reader receives useful prompts for viewing and interpreting the Dutch landscape, as well as for summarising core features of Golden Age painting.

A long train journey brought Moore and Martyn to a place that Moore names as Aix-la-Chapelle. This is an intriguing indication of Moore's French lens because the town, once the favourite city of Charlemagne, is not in France but actually on the German border with Belgium and the Netherlands. While it was known as Aix-la-Chapelle for the brief period between 1801 and 1815, the fall of Napoleon meant that it became Aachen again, and although that was a good eighty years prior to the Moore-Martyn visits, Moore stuck firmly with the name Aix. Their first stop was the cathedral, yet neither its status, antiquity, Charlemagne's throne, Barbarossa chandelier, unique structure nor other treasures receive any comment. Rather, the two men argue over the age of the stained glass windows and Moore was pleased to score a victory over Martyn by identifying them as recent installations. On balance, could Moore have decided that such competitive jousts are an attractive part of sharing a journey, and that the fame of the cathedral was such that visitors would flock there anyway, all armed with guidebooks that would focus on its treasures and history? Or was he distracted from architectural and historical connections by the spat? Whichever of these reasons obtained, it could be seen as equally apt for tourist experiences in any age or place.

10 *Hail and Farewell* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1985), p. 148.

From the cathedral, the travellers went on to the picture gallery where Moore's eyes and heart were beguiled by the painting of a cockerel. The storyteller now has a choice: to tell the reader the name of the artist concerned, or to conceal the name. Moore opts to tantalise, saying that the reader should 'be sure to stop at Aix-la-Chapelle on his way to Bayreuth to see the most beautiful cock that ever trod a hen on a dunghill – a glowing golden bird'.[11] Given his enthusiasm, the reader could not but be enticed to research the artist and to contemplate the painting. However, no such painting is to be found in the galleries of Aachen today and Moore's hints seem insufficient for certain identification of the painter or the picture. While he says that the artist was not Melchior d'Hundecoeter, Aelbert Cuyp or Frans Snijders, that still leaves the field fairly open. Did subsequent wars eliminate the painting? Was it removed by someone? It is an interesting facet of this tourist account that what cannot now be found remains in the memory of readers and Moore's teasing reference has something of the same effect as place names in Dan Brown's *Da Vinci Code*.

Another long train journey then took Moore and Martyn on to Mainz and Moore's judgement on their fellow travellers is a long way from being diplomatically phrased:

> [...] our carriage was filled with large-bellied Germans, and whenever the train stopped and any of our travelling-companions got out, other Germans as large-bellied as those who had left us, climbed in, followed by their *Frauen* – swaying, perspiring, German females, hugely breasted, sweating in their muslin dresses, and tediously good-humoured.[12]

Possibly because it was very hot weather, but perhaps additionally because it is not France, Mainz gets short shrift: 'Mainz is a pompous town – imitation French, white streets with tall blue roofs, and some formal gardens along the river.' The two men get the Rhine boat there – and there follows a less-than-warm appreciation of the trip; 'a couple of hours of Rhenish scenery [...] tamed our enthusiasm'. The on-deck music did not meet with approval either since it failed to relate at all to anything Wagnerian. Worse

11 *Hail and Farewell*, p. 151.

12 *Ibid.* p. 151.

than that, as they passed the spots connected with the Ring, 'the harpist and the fiddler continued to scrape out their waltzes'.[13]

The travellers gladly got off the boat at Boppart, 'a charming little village on the banks of the river' and they climbed a hill to see Boppart's church and assess its architectural merits. The verdict was that it was 'a straight, stiff building with flying buttresses, fine in a way, built in the fourteenth or fifteenth century when everything was beautiful – even in Germany'.[14] Those last three words reflect a value judgement that may have been influenced by the arduous train and boat journeys but could also result from a firmly Francophile prism, or be merely a cursory dismissal of fifteenth-century church design. While the church was fairly summarily rejected, it is wistfully intimated that the village holds magical memories for Moore from previous visits: 'my heart is full of memories of Boppart.' Discreet silence is observed concerning names and dates but the atmosphere is recalled: 'the hours dream themselves away. We awake at midnight as from fairyland. [...] for on Boppart's balcony we leave the casual and inferior interests of our daily lives to mingle with Gods and Goddesses.'[15] To live once more in a Wagnerian moment, 'with minds uplifted to Valhalla', more than compensates for the disappointment of the Rhine boat voyage.

Next stop is Nuremberg (yet a further train journey away) where Moore again opts to tease and tantalise the reader:

> [...] we were stopped by the most beautiful fountain in the world, to which all the folk come to draw water. The drawing of the water is accomplished by some strange mediaeval device [...] a grooved iron (one cannot call it a pipe) is tipped over, it fills with water and then it is tipped back again, and the water runs out very prettily.[16]

However, as Moore then says, the last time he went to Nuremberg, the fountain could not be discovered and so he floats the idea of another mystery to engage the reader. He asks if this beautiful artefact had really been destroyed

13 *Hail and Farewell*, p. 152.

14 *Ibid.* p. 153.

15 *Ibid.* pp. 152–153.

16 *Ibid.* p. 154.

on health and safety grounds. Reinforcing the intention to connect with readers, Moore asks 'if some reader who knows German would enquire the matter out when he is next in Nuremberg, and publish, if he discovers it, the shameful order for the destruction of the fountain.' Although many were destroyed during wars, several splendid old fountains still survive in Nuremberg today and none matches Moore's description. While he went to some trouble to locate and describe his favourite, he failed to mention three rather spectacular specimens: the *Schöner Brunnen* [Beautiful Fountain], the *Gänsemännchenbrunnen* [Goatsherd Fountain], and especially the *Tugendbrunnen* [Fountain of Virtue], one which seemed a monument likely to draw his attention, given his earlier appraisal of train companions. The latter fountain dates from the 1580s and it has three tiers – the figure of justice on the top tier, then the cherubim holding the coats of arms of the city, and on the third tier below, the seven virtues are represented by very substantial female figures from whose breasts the water is ejected with some force.

Other treasures of Nuremberg which received approving mention were 'the two painters who make Nuremberg memorable': François Boucher and Lucas Cranach the Elder.[17] In particular, Cranach's strong portrait of Martin Luther was judged favourably (the picture is still in the Nuremberg art gallery), as was Boucher's head and shoulders painting of a woman, although its title was not given. Such a Boucher canvas does not appear in any current Nuremberg gallery listings.[18]

Notwithstanding the lengthy journeys already undertaken, and the hardship of sharing carriages with geese and fat Germans, the two apparently indefatigable travellers left Nuremberg to go to Rothenburg, some 60 miles

17 *Hail and Farewell*, pp. 155–156.

18 Although 90 per cent of the centre of Nuremberg was destroyed by bombs in 1945, it is claimed that most Nuremberg art had been safeguarded in rock cellars under the city. It is not clear if the interest in Boucher's paintings by Joachim von Ribbentrop and Hermann Goering could have resulted in their transfer elsewhere. A canvas that matches Moore's description (*Portrait of Marie-Jeanne Buzeau*) is currently in Nymphenburger Schloss, Munich. Marie-Jeanne was Boucher's wife and the painting had been exhibited at the 1761 Salon.

away. The attraction of this city for them was that they understood that it had remained exactly as it had been in the fifteenth century. Could it be that, at this point, tourist Moore had reached a point of cultural overload? Certainly, he takes a different tack in Rothenburg, noting that he revelled in the beauty of the sky and of the passing girls. Meanwhile, Martyn visited the church and admired the hillside with its houses, just like the houses in Dürer's pictures.[19] Perhaps Moore had not quite reached the point of complete surfeit of stone and canvas since reference to Dürer spurred him to compare the relative treatment and merits of peasant thighs as rendered by Dürer in his peasant pictures as against those painted by Edgar Degas, most notably in his laundress and bathtub canvases. The art critic has thus bridged the centuries through linked subject matter, while determinedly drawing attention to the groundbreaking work of a late nineteenth-century painter – who was, of course, French.

There were many other digressions and the reader perceives that between Clapham Junction and Bayreuth, the conversations, remarks, squabbles, agreements and disagreements and artistic considerations ranged from music to the economics of publishing, from clean sheets to the necessity of breakfast, from Rhenish gods, China tea and Havana cigars to comparative landscapes. In evaluation of these landscapes, Germany loses out again because all along the Rhine, Moore deplores the rows of vines:

> [...] mile after mile of ugly shapeless hills, disfigured by ruins of castles in which one would fain believe that robber-barons once lived, but one knows in one's heart that they were only built to attract tourists. And to make the hills seem still more ugly, vines have been planted everywhere, and I know of nothing more unpicturesque than a vineyard.
>
> [...] trees in Germany seem to lose their beauty; they clothe the hillside like gigantic asparagus.[20]

19 Martyn's attraction to Dürer's art extended to having a table made, according to the style of one in a picture by Dürer, for his own house in Tulira, Co. Galway. See *Hail and Farewell*, p. 186.

20 *Hail and Farewell*, p. 152.

Journey's End?

At long last, they reach Bayreuth. A contemporaneous assessment by Virginia Woolf describes Bayreuth as 'like an English market town'.[21] However, Moore does not record any such likeness although he ventures that Bayreuth was 'an uncomfortable town to live in' in that period. He resorts once more to French experience and to French language: 'Bayreuth is very yesteryear, *suranné* as the French say'.[22] Looking at the countryside around the town, he opines:

> In our appreciation of the German landscape there is […] only the pine, and we, being tree-lovers think the pine a tedious tree, if it can be called a tree; it isn't in our apprehension of one, only being intended by Nature for what the French call *bois charpentier*.[23]

Thus is intimated the lack of congenial sensory experience: there are no birds here, no undergrowth, no chance of the pleasure of sitting under a tree. It was perhaps just as well that an enchanting atmosphere was sensed around the performances at the *Spielhaus*; moreover, there was the delight of evening strolls after performances, and then discussions on the next musical outing, whether to Munich for Mozart or to Münster for Meyerbeer. It is undoubtedly the case that the influence of companions on reactions or remembrance of place could lead to a rather different presentation of Bayreuth. In 1906, when Moore sought to persuade a woman of Bayreuth's attractions, he claimed: 'Bayreuth is such a charming place to meet – I like the woods and the hills and the restaurants and the old cobblestones in the streets and the Margrave's Theatre'.[24] In 1908, he wrote to Maud Cunard:

21 In her letter to Vanessa Bell, dated 7 August 1909, *Collected Letters Vol. I*: 403. Her comment is featured on the Bayreuth University website: <http://www.anglistik.uni-bayreuth.de/en/basic_info/boulevard/woolf> [Accessed 17 May 2015].

22 *Hail and Farewell*, pp. 165, 170.

23 *Ibid.* p. 171.

24 Letter 35 in David B. Eakin and Robert Langenfeld, (eds), *George Moore's Correspondence with the Mysterious Countess* (Victoria, Canada: University of Victoria, 1984). The

'Bayreuth is the most enchanting place in the world, or would be if you were here.'[25] Far from complaining about German landscape, he went on to laud the Bayreuth location, construing it in historical terms and through French artistic reference: 'about the wooded hill are beautiful undulating hills, very Roman (*dans le goût de Poussin*)'.[26] Mood has moved the writer some distance from '*suranné*' and '*bois charpentier*'! For the tourist, companions colour the picture.

Moore makes only casual mention of his meeting with 'Madame Wagner' in Bayreuth. While acknowledging that Cosima Wagner was then a woman between sixty and seventy years, he saw her as vital, 'full of cordiality, full of conversation and pleasant greeting.' He was totally smitten: 'Am I going to run away with her'; and 'what an extraordinary fascination she must have been' was his emotion.[27] This formidable woman, daughter of Franz Liszt (and 'with his inveigling manner' according to Moore), had been Richard Wagner's muse and had directed and expanded the Bayreuth Festival for more than two decades following his death, and had turned it into a profitable enterprise. It is typical of Moore to recognise and acknowledge female talent rather than view Wagner's widow as important only in her connection to the deceased composer. Moore presented her with a copy of his book *Esther Waters.* He was rather mesmerised by her son Siegfried, too, seeing him as the image of his father but, as Moore reckoned, without the genius. In fact, Moore was 'glad to escape from his repelling blankness', and he labelled Siegfried 'a sort of deserted shrine'. He later amended somewhat the harshness of those verdicts, allowing that Siegfried was 'A man of talent, son of a man of genius, without sufficient vitality to be very much interested in anything; his life a sort of diffused

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letter was written from Moore's house in 4 Upper Ely Place, Dublin, and dated 17 February 1906.

25 George Moore, *Letters 1805–1933 to Lady Cunard* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1957), p. 63. The letter was written from Bayreuth and dated 16 August 1908.

26 *Ibid*. p. 64.

27 *Hail and Farewell*, p. 174.

sadness like a blank summer day when the clouds are low'.[28] Moore's meetings with the Wagners are not flaunted, nor are they highlighted – but evidently they were encounters that were not easily available to any but the privileged tourist. Anyone who followed in his path might only aspire to seeing the Wagners at a distance. Even in meeting the Wagners, there is a further French connection for Moore since he knew both Judith Gautier and her husband Catulles Mendès in Paris and would have been aware of Gautier's affair with Richard Wagner in 1876.[29]

How would Moore's depictions of Bayreuth tally with the accounts of others in the same era? There should be several assessments available since, as Jacques Barzun has described, around 1895 Wagnerian opera achieved 'a vast extension of his [Wagner's] public'. This was accomplished 'thanks to an organised propaganda built on the subject, the message, and the musical system of *The Ring of the Nibelungen*.' The result, in Barzun's eyes, was that 'for the first time now literary people *en masse* took to music'.[30] Conscious of that trend, Arthur Conan Doyle allowed Sherlock Holmes to rush to a 'Wagner night at Covent Garden', although the detective did not travel as far as Bayreuth.[31] At that time, Virginia Woolf was another visitor who was struck by German physique and her letters repeatedly mention size. Her private comments seem to compare English and German to the disadvantage of the latter and, looking around at people passing, she wrote, 'My God, they are hideous!'[32] She also commented, 'The grossness of the race is astonishing [...] monster men and women drink great jugs of beer and eat meat'.[33] However, she noted the presence of *art nouveau* in restaurants: 'Everything is new art – the restaurants have single lines drawn up the walls with triangles suddenly bursting out – the kind of thing one sees in the

28 *Hail and Farewell*, pp. 174–175.

29 Gautier, a poet and novelist, was the daughter of Théophile Gautier, and part of the artistic milieu frequented by Moore in Paris.

30 Jacques Barzun, *From Dawn to Decadence* (New York: Harper Collins, 2000), p. 637.

31 The Adventure of the Red Circle (set in 1897 and published in 1911 in *His Last Bow*).

32 In a letter to Vanessa Bell from Bayreuth in August 1909. Nigel Nicholson and Joanne Trautman (eds), *Collected Letters 1888–1912 Vol. 1* (London: Hogarth, 1975), p. 403.

33 *Ibid.* pp. 404–405.

Studio.'[34] In contrast, in 'Impressions at Bayreuth', her published account in *The Times*, she concentrated on music and Wagnerian opera, and declared that the performance level fell below that of London's Wagner productions.[35] Woolf would later furnish a combination of operatic appreciation and chauvinistic attitude in her first novel *The Voyage Out* (1915).[36] Her opinion of the presentation at Bayreuth echoed that of Arturo Toscanini who visited Bayreuth in the 1890s and had been equally unimpressed by musical standards. Toscanini, subsequently renowned and deeply appreciated by the Wagners for his Wagnerian operatic interpretations, wrote that he 'could only deplore the lack of good ensemble among orchestra, chorus and singers; the last, I can tell you just between us, are dogs.'[37] He also said: 'these Bayreuth performances are a real hoax for people like me who are hoping to hear perfection'.[38] Shaw agreed: 'The singing was sometimes tolerable, and sometimes abominable'.[39]

When George Bernard Shaw first arrived in Bayreuth in 1889, he found it 'a desperately stupid little town'.[40] With Shavian sharpness, he opined: 'Any English enthusiasm for Bayreuth that does not take the form

34 *Ibid.* p. 403.

35 *The Times*, 21 August 1909.

36 Woolf liked *Parsifal* and she makes several references to Wagner and his operas in her fiction. In her first novel *The Voyage Out*, Clarissa Dalloway, who remembers a performance of *Parsifal* at Bayreuth, asks Rachel if she has been to Bayreuth, and then says 'I shall never forget my first *Parsifal*—a grilling August day, and those fat old German women, come in their stuffy high frocks, and then the dark theatre, and then the music beginning, and one couldn't help sobbing. […] It's like nothing else in the world.' *The Voyage Out* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1975), pp. 48–49. Although first published in 1915, Woolf began writing the book around 1906–1907.

37 On a postcard, dated 29 July 1899, sent to Pietro Sormani who was his assistant conductor at La Scala. Harvey Sachs (ed.), *The Letters of Arturo Toscanini* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 66.

38 Quoted in Christopher Dyment, *Toscanini in Britain* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2012), p. 5.

39 Bernard Shaw [1898], *The Perfect Wagnerite; A Commentary on the Niblung's Ring* (London: Constable, 1926), pp. 146–147.

40 George Bernard Shaw, *Music in London Vol I* (London: Constable & Co., 1932), p. 722.

of clamour for a Festival Playhouse in England may be set aside as mere pilgrimage mania.'[41] However, the *Spielhaus* met with his approval as 'the most perfect theatre in the world for comfort, effect and concentration of attention.'[42] Mark Twain visited two years later and was struck by the demeanour of Bayreuth audiences by comparison with those in New York:

> Every seat is full in the first act; there is not a vacant one in the last [...] This audience reminds me of nothing I have ever seen and of nothing I have read about except the city in the Arabian tale where all the inhabitants have been turned to brass and the traveler finds them after centuries mute, motionless, and still retaining the attitudes which they last knew in life. Here the Wagner audience dress as they please, and sit in the dark and worship in silence. At the Metropolitan in New York they sit in a glare, and wear their showiest harness; they hum airs, they squeak fans, they titter, and they gabble all the time.[43]

While the verdicts of Shaw and Twain coincide on the worshipping and enraptured audiences, Twain's opinion on the dress code, although in no way detailed, would seem near to that of Woolf. Twain noted the obsessive fans and the 'pilgrimage mania': 'I feel strongly out of place here. Sometimes I feel like the one sane person in the community of the mad'.[44] He also deplored the European sycophantic attitude to minor royalty.[45] Auguste Renoir visited Bayreuth in 1896 but apparently was bored by the length of the operas. According to his son, he disliked the innovation of the darkened auditorium since it prevented him from surveying the other spectators.[46] Walter Crane, English illustrator and cartoonist, visited Bayreuth and

41 Shaw [1898], *The Perfect Wagnerite* (London: Constable, 1926), p. 146.

42 Shaw, *Music in London Vol I* (London: Constable & Co., 1932), pp. 716–717.

43 His visit was in 1891. Mark Twain, 'At the Shrine of St. Wagner', in David H. Fears (ed.), *Mark Twain Day by Day: 1886–1896* (Michigan: Horizon Micro Publishing/ University of Michigan, 2009), p. 633.

44 Quoted in Edward Lockspeiser, *Debussy: his life and mind* (London: Cassell, 1962), p. 95, n.2.

45 In this case, he identified 'the daughter-in-law of an emperor'. Mark Twain, 'At the Shrine of St. Wagner' in *What is Man? & Other Essays* (New York: Harper Bros, 1917), pp. 224–225.

46 Quoted in L. J. Jordanova, *The Look of the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 199.

the opera and made a rather irreverent sketch of 'Ye Bayreuth Pilgrims' (Figure 5. 1). From the responses of each and all of these visitors, it is clear that, for them, Bayreuth *was* the opera and the company of the opera-goers – no matter how one viewed them – and that the town itself was insignificant, deficient in good restaurants and short of accommodation. Those conflicting elements suggest a considerable wealth of tourist conversation topics.

At the close of the festival, Moore's images of the departing Wagner pilgrims convey some idea of the rich and influential visitors, in particular the French and English, who flocked to Bayreuth:

> [...] when the performance is over the railway-station is crowded [...] with the snobbery (I use the word in its French sense) of both capitals. The trolleys are piled with aristocratic luggage, and the porters are followed by anxious valets; ladies in long, fashionable dust-cloaks are beset by maids with jewel-cases in their hands.[47]

Moore and Martyn left Bayreuth but their homeward path was neither speedy nor direct. Soon Moore admits to being very taken by a magnificent lion in a zoo, 'an extraordinary, silent and monumental beast that used to lie, his paw tucked in front of him [...] his wonderful presence, majestic, magnificent, forlorn [...] his great brown melancholy eyes'. That zoo was at Münster, in Moore's words 'a town which I praise God I shall never see again'.[48] Their next destination would be Antwerp, there to visit a Van Dyck exhibition, as well as to view Rubens' *Descent from the Cross* in Antwerp Cathedral. Here the anticipation and pleasure were intense: 'Edward, isn't it wonderful that we should this moment be walking down a street to see Rubens? Let us never forget it. Let us try to fix it in our memories now before we enter.'[49] From Antwerp, they moved to Ghent to see what Moore calls a Van Eyck masterpiece, the *Adoration of the Lamb*. From Belgium, they travelled to further explorations in Holland, to *anywhere* that there

47 *Hail and Farewell,* p. 176.

48 *Ibid.* pp. 178, 180.

49 *Ibid.* p. 181.

was an art gallery, but especially to ones in Amsterdam, Haarlem and Den Haag [The Hague].[50]

From London to Bayreuth and to Amsterdam, Moore has featured visual art and architecture, he has commented on music, personalities, agriculture, and landscape, he has recorded his feelings concerning close encounters with Germans and long train journeys, and he has shared his reminiscences – many of them relating to art in Paris. That was not all, there was poetry, too. On their art tour through the Lowlands, Moore felt inspired by a Rubens portrait and he wrote two stanzas of somewhat questionable value – not in English, definitely not in German, but in French:[51]

> 'Vers'
> Pleine de grâce et de pâleur
> Elle vit ainsi qu'une fleur
> Evoquant une fraîche odeur
> Par la transparente couleur
>
> Néanmoins, pour toute âme humaine,
> Sa vie inconsciente et saine
> Est bien l'apparence certaine
> De la vie éphémère et vaine.

The poem is the work of an art tourist, enamoured of a painting, maybe even intoxicated by it, and definitely immersed in the artistic aspect of tourist experience. It is a measure of the enduring impact of his Rubens moment that Moore would include the poem in two later publications. *A propos* Moore's turn to poetry in French, it may be noted that he once wrote: 'To write mediocre English poetry is unpardonable, whereas he who loves verse and is not a great poet may write in French, just as a nobleman may indulge

50 *Ibid.* pp. 180–182, 183.

51 'Vers' was published in *Dublin Daily Express* in 1899. Moore later included it in the first edition of *The Lake* (1905), and then in the fourth edition of *Confessions of a Young Man*, renaming the poem as 'Pour le Portrait de Hélène Froment par Rubens' and then as 'Pour un tableau de Rubens'.

in private theatricals but should refrain from the public stage'.[52] Moreover, he had contended that 'to live in a country and not speak the language is trying to one whose greatest pleasure is conversation'[53] and hence perhaps some mitigation of his lack of appreciation for things German.

The Tourist Experience

Addressing a core element of tourist perception and consideration, Moore cogitates as to whether the experience of visiting Bayreuth would be more real in six months' time than at the time of visiting. If that were to be so, would that indicate that it could be better for the visitor to live for the memory of a trip rather than to relish the moment? His answer seems clearly to lean to the side of enjoying things as they happen and as the hours and miles go by, and that such immediate satisfaction makes for good companionship.[54] Plausibly, such immersion in the 'now' could only enrich the memories, too. Although Moore did not say so, relishing each minute also made for plenty of argument and for mould-breaking portrayals in *Hail and Farewell* where his accounts – of planning, travelling, viewing, assessing, reminiscing, comparing and encountering – all coalesce to reach out to readers, to bring them along the road, to furnish vicarious travel happenings for them, and to guide their artistic judgement. The authority of the art critic is subtly persuasive: it is simultaneously informative and confident, and sufficiently *au fait* with prevailing intellectual snobbery to provide the essential quick guide while injecting it with unfashionable doubt, a little gossip, and some tempting clues that linger in the memory

52 George Moore, *The George Moore Calendar*, ed. Margaret Gough (London: Frank Palmer, 1912), p. 58.

53 In his letter from Paris in November 1903 to 'Gabrielle'. In David B. Eakin and Robert Langenfeld (eds), *George Moore's Correspondence with the Mysterious Countess* (Victoria, Canada: University of Victoria, 1984), pp. 22–23.

54 *Hail and Farewell*, p. 173.

and thereby inspire a chain of further tourist excursions. Rather than shy away from the daring and the unpredictability of a George Moore account, it would seem that those attributes are just the qualities that would best serve the interests of those who seek to promote tourism today.

Figure 5.1: *Ye Bayreuth Pilgrimage* by Walter Crane, RWS (1845–1915). Ink drawing.[55] Source: Charles Rowley, *Fifty Years of Work without Wages* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911), p. 162. University of California at Los Angeles copy made available online by *Internet Archive.* Web. 9 November 2012.

55 <http://www.victorianweb.org/painting/crane/drawings/7.html> [Accessed 9 July 2015].

Michèle Milan

6 Travelling Correspondents of the *Nation*: Travel Writing, Translation and Transnationalism

With raids to many a foreign land to learn to love dear Ireland most.

— Charles Gavan Duffy

You travel all over the world, only to find out that there is nothing like Paris.

— Anon., the *Nation*

ABSTRACT

This chapter explores the role of travel and foreign correspondence in the cultural nationalist tradition of Young Ireland. The *Nation* (1842–1897), organ of the Young Ireland movement, is generally known for its patriotic ballads and its rhetoric of romantic cultural nationalism. The multiple ways in which the *Nation* writers interacted with foreign cultures remain, however, largely unexplored. Drawing on articles, translations, correspondents' reports and travel accounts in the *Nation*, this chapter highlights some aspects of the interlocking areas of travel and translation, and the ways in which travel and translation were both critical to the development of transnationalist perspectives within the cultural nationalist movement. The chapter also takes up the question of non-translation in travel writing in its relation to cross-cultural transmission and representation. Further, in examining the travel articles written in France by two 'women of the *Nation*', it not only highlights their role as cultural mediators, but also draws attention to their active participation in the movement.

The *Nation* and the World

> I recollect to have made a sort of promise, that I should write to you occasionally from France, if I saw anything that suggested any means of benefiting our own dear land. I have found much in the amusements of the people, and in the way in which public monuments are thrown open to them, that would be worthy of our imitation, and which we might, to a certain degree, adopt.[1]

Written from Paris and Versailles by Margaret Hughes Callan in the year 1843, and published in the *Nation* newspaper under the heading 'A day at Versailles', this quoted article encapsulates much about the role of travel writing and foreign correspondence in the cultural nationalist tradition of Young Ireland. The *Nation* (1842–1897), principal organ of the Young Ireland movement, is generally known for its patriotic ballads and its rhetoric of romantic cultural nationalism. The multiple ways in which the *Nation* writers interacted with foreign cultures, however, remain largely unexplored. Not only were they actively engaged in the translation of foreign writings, but a majority of these writers and poet-translators experienced migration, exile and/or travel in distinct ways. Apart from notorious cases of transportation and forced or voluntary exile, the travel element itself is as yet scarcely documented.

This chapter focuses on the correspondents of the *Nation* who travelled to France, many of whom resided in Paris temporarily, and some of them permanently. It draws on a range of articles contributed by a number of anonymous and known figures, paying particular attention to the travel writings of two female contributors to the *Nation*, Margaret Hughes Callan and Mary Eva Kelly O'Doherty. The travel and migrant experiences of the 'Women of the *Nation*' have received little attention. At the very least, I hope to cast further light on the two above-named 'women of the *Nation*', and highlight their roles as cultural mediators and social and historical agents in their own right.[2] This chapter seeks further to show that a compel-

1 [Margaret Hughes Callan], 'A day at Versailles (From a correspondent in Paris)', *Nation*, 29 July 1843, p. 666.

2 On the 'Women of the Nation', see Brigitte Anton, 'Women of "The Nation"', *History Ireland* I/3 (1993), pp. 34–37; Michael Cronin pays due attention to Jane Francesca

ling case may be made for using the *Nation* as a fulcrum for an examination of Irish travel in the nineteenth century, and for a broader investigation of travel, language and translation.

Based on a selection of correspondents' reports, travel accounts, translations and verse narratives, this chapter highlights some aspects of the interlocking areas of travel and translation, touching on the metaphorical and empirical links between travel and translation in terms of displacement, interpretation and representation. From this perspective, travel and translation are identified as critical to the development of cultural and national frames of reference. This chapter also interrogates the significance and impact of 'non-translation' in travel accounts, that is, the practice of importing foreign, untranslated terms into the text. While a great number of *Nation* writers are skilled linguists and translators, they sometimes prefer to insert untranslated terms, even entire sentences, in their accounts. For example, writing from Paris in 1857, this correspondent demonstrates some code-switching ingenuity: 'I am utterly deficient in resignation when *il s'agit de quitter* Paris!'[3] The use of foreign words is of course common to much travel literature, but the *Nation* has hitherto never been considered as a store of travel descriptions. To translate or not to translate – thus becomes the question of cultural transmission and representation.

Travel and Translation

There exist both metaphorical and empirical links between travel and translation, particularly in terms of displacement, interpretation and representation. Firstly, at the etymological root of the term *translation* lies the idea of being 'carried across', which refers to the movement of people or things across space. Much travel writing, like translation, involves a movement

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Elgee as a translator in: Michael Cronin, 'Jane Wilde, ou l'importance d'être Speranza', in Jean Delisle (ed.), *Portraits de Traductrices* (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 2002), pp. 267–290.

3 Anon, 'The Ball at the Hotel de Ville', *Nation*, 12 July 1856, p. 731.

across languages and cultures – and arguably across time. Translators and travellers move between languages and cultures.[4] One of the *Nation*'s poet-translators, Denis Florence MacCarthy (1817–1882), was once criticised for his 'wanderings' in Spain in the *Dublin University Magazine*. The critic was strictly referring to MacCarthy's translations from Spanish.[5]

Secondly, both travel and translation may be seen as channels of cultural mediation, transmission and exchange. In recent decades, a number of scholars have pointed to the connected and connective nature of travel and translation, as well as the extent to which both travel writing and translation are representational practices.[6] They both involve acts of interpretation and representation of the Other. Both travel writing and translation indeed recast the foreign for readers at 'home'. In travel and translation, identities are forged, resisted and negotiated through cultural encounters. Translation and travel-writing expose the cultural stakes in the receiving culture at a particular moment in time. Thus, exploring travel accounts and translations, and the possible links between them, helps us consider the ways in which they mediate expressions of identity, ideology and cultural values. From this perspective, travel and translation can be identified as critical to the development of cultural and national frames of reference.

4 Cronin, *Across the lines*, pp. 4, 150.

5 'M'Carthy has no call to wander off to Spain', in 'Denis Florence M'Carthy's Calderon', *Dublin University Magazine* 59 (1862), p. 440.

6 For an examination of the profound relationship between travel, language and translation, see Michael Cronin, *Across the lines: Travel, Language, Translation* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2000); Michael Cronin, 'Travel and Translation', in Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer (eds), *Handbook of Translation Studies*, vol. 4 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins, 2013); see also Mirella Agorni, *Translating Italy for the Eighteenth Century: British Women, Translation and Travel Writing (1739–1797)* (Manchester: St Jerome Publishing, 2002), pp. 194–199; Loredana Polezzi et al., 'Translation, Travel, Migration', *The Translator* 12/2 (2006).

Travel, Translation and Transnationalism

Translations of poems, news reports and stories were a common feature of the *Nation* newspaper.[7] They bear evidence of considerable intercultural contact. The writers of the *Nation* contributed to the shaping of Irish nationalism through their fusion of cultural and political nationalism, and central to Young Ireland's educational agenda was the writing and teaching of Irish history, using historical narratives to inculcate patriotism.[8] But the *Nation*'s programme of popularising Ireland's cultural and historical heritage as well as bringing continental literature to its readers through translation was both nationalistic and internationalistic in outlook. In this regard, translation played a role in the development of transnationalist perspectives in nineteenth-century Ireland inasmuch as translation involved a transfer of socially and culturally constructed ideas and models, including patriotic values and ideas about nationhood.[9]

In their second number, on 22 October 1842, the *Nation* launched a series of articles entitled 'Continental Literature'. The first instalment of this series was a selection of translations from French.[10] Authored by Thomas Davis, founder-member of the *Nation*, the anonymous introduc-

7 Owing to a general focus on verse translation, and on the salient figure of James Clarence Mangan (1803–1849), the less obvious processes of translation in the *Nation* have hitherto been overlooked.

8 See Christine Kinealy, *Repeal and Revolution: 1848 in Ireland* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2009); and James Quinn, *Young Ireland and the Writing of Irish History* (Dublin: UCD Press, 2015).

9 See Michael Cronin, *Translation in the Digital Age* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 30; Michèle Milan, 'For the People, the Republic and the Nation: Translating Béranger in Nineteenth-Century Ireland', in Ben Keatinge and Mary Pierse (eds), *France and Ireland in the Public Imagination* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014), pp. 79–98; for German-specific connections, see Patrick O'Neill, *Ireland and Germany: A Study in Literary Relations* (New York: Peter Lang, 1985).

10 Although the series itself only ran for two or three issues under this heading, the *Nation* nonetheless pursued in other ways its objective of discussing and translating continental literature.

tion to the translation serves to articulate the aims and aspirations of the *Nation*: 'The literature of the continent has been hitherto a sealed book to the Irish public.'[11] Davis explains why, in his view, this literary deficiency needs to be remedied:

> It may be stated as a general truth, that the more intimately acquainted the people of any country are with the sentiments, the actions, and the condition of their neighbours – the more aspiring, the more liberal, and the more intolerant of oppression, that people will be. [...] It is an indisputable fact, that there are no two nations whose people have more points of resemblance, more passions and prejudices in common, than France and Ireland; and none whose people differ so widely in character and sentiment as England and Ireland.[12]

After presenting his rationale, which is thoroughly transnationalist and francophile in orientation, the translations that followed are thus introduced:

> The passages we have selected will serve as an example of that remarkable correspondence between French and Irish sentiment, upon which we have been insisting. Where could we find expressed with more eloquence and truth the two leading passions of the Irish heart – patriotism and piety?[13]

The founders[14] of the *Nation* therefore express their commitment to continental literature as part of their cultural and political programme for the transmission of knowledge and ideology to their readers. They thereby prompt an active engagement with translation as cultural political practice.[15] This passage also illustrates well the ways in which they emphasise a connection between the French and the Irish, and how this connection is cultivated and celebrated in contrast to the opposition they draw

11 [Thomas Davis], 'Continental Literature', *Nation*, 22 October 1842, p. 26.

12 'Continental Literature', p. 26.

13 *Ibid*.

14 Thomas Davis (1814–1845), John Blake Dillon (1814–1866) and Charles Gavan Duffy (1816–1903).

15 For translation as 'cultural political practice', see Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (New York: Routledge, 2nd edn 2008 [1995]), p. 15.

between Ireland and England. While this is arguably a well-known fact about Thomas Davis,[16] as will be seen, other, lesser-known writers in the *Nation* also contributed to the same project by adopting a range of representational strategies in their travel writings and foreign correspondence.

Although there is no mention of travel in Davis's article, one further point should be borne in mind from the perspective of the triangular relationship between travel, translation and transnationalism.[17] One of the translations introduced by Davis is entitled 'The Exile', thereby creating a subtle linkage between displacement and translation. Both exile and translation imply notions of crossing borders and being driven away from home. There may be a sense of loss, or a shift in identity, and certainly a process of change. Underpinned by notions of belonging and identity, the poetry of exile in the *Nation* is in this respect a significant channel for patriotic expression.

The French source of 'The Exile' was not explicitly acknowledged, and the translations were anonymous. Yet the translator was none other than John Blake Dillon, and the texts were passages from *Paroles d'un croyant* ('Words of a Believer'), a controversial work written by the Abbé de Lamennais (1782–1854). Published in 1833, *Paroles d'un croyant* was the subject of a papal encyclical (*Singulari Nos*) which was designed specifically to condemn Lamennais's work. The translations reveal Dillon's proficiency in French and his rendering was clearly based on close reading of the original. Lamennais's text, with its gospel-like style and imagery of peoples in chains and nations rising, was deemed a fitting text for exposing social and political injustices. Furthermore, as shown in the following line, 'The Exile' is illustrative of the ways in which the *Nation* writers used translation to disseminate patriotic sentiments: 'Those trees are beautiful, those flowers are fair; but they are not the trees or the flowers of my country: they speak not to me. The exile is everywhere alone.'[18]

16 On Davis's francophile outlook, see Mary Buckley, 'French influences on Young Ireland (1842–1845)', Études Irlandaises 7 (1982), pp. 99–113.

17 Note that 'travel' is understood here in the broadest sense of the term.

18 'The Exile' in 'Continental Literature', *Nation*, 22 October 1842, p. 26.

The idea of travelling abroad only to confirm the incomparability of one's homeland is a recurring trope. The first epigraph to the present chapter, taken from Charles Gavan Duffy, the main editor of the *Nation*, is another sound example: 'With raids to many a foreign land to learn to love dear Ireland most.'[19] The narrative of exile certainly increases the potency of the trope in the nationalist context of the *Nation*. What is more, Thomas Davis wrote his own version of this passage,[20] this time a versified piece. In the eighth stanza, Davis chose to bring Lamennais's text closer to home:

> When soft on their chosen the young maidens smile,
> Like the dawn of the morn on Erin's dear isle [...][21]

There is no mention of 'Erin' in the source text. The choice of texts to translate was in no small measure governed by ideology and the need to convey patriotic and nationalist self-confidence. It appears from this example that some textual adjustments were occasionally made to that end. While neither Dillon nor Davis had experienced exile at the time of writing and publishing these translations, it is worth noting that six years later, following the failed Young Ireland rebellion in 1848, Dillon would go into exile to America.[22]

The transnational and translational links are multiple in the *Nation*, including, for example, Speranza's translations from the German of Georg Herwegh (1817–1875), which, as in Dillon's translations from Lamennais, present a transnational vision of the struggle for political independence, exhorting nations to wake and break their chains. The role played by travel (or exile) and translation in the development of transnationalist perspectives also appears clear from William Smith O'Brien's journal of his 'Three

19 Charles Gavan Duffy, 'The Patriot's Bride', *The Book of Irish Ballads*, ed. Denis Florence MacCarthy, p. 197.

20 The title 'The Exile' was especially created for the translations; Lamennais's chapters were untitled.

21 'The Exile' (versified from the French), *Nation*, 4 February 1843, p. 266.

22 Davis never lived to see the events of 1848 – including the suppression of the *Nation* in July that year – since he died suddenly in September 1845, one month short of his thirty-second birthday.

Months in Greece',[23] published in the *Nation* in 1857. In these recollections, O'Brien (1803–1864), one of the Young Ireland leaders, includes some of his own translations from modern Greek. The focus of his attention is directed towards vernacular Greek songs. One such translation, a martial song against Turkish oppression, was published in the *Nation* on 25 July 1857, the same number that also contained an article devoted to reporting the death and funeral of the French songwriter Pierre-Jean de Béranger. The latter was an important figure at the time, whose songs offered Irish cultural nationalists a source of patriotic inspiration and rhetoric, which they imported through translation.[24]

Both O'Brien's translation activities, which were produced while travelling, and the various translations from and commentaries upon Béranger, all underscore the *Nation*'s emphasis on the use of popular and folk songs as a means to cultivate a sense of cultural-national identity and to foster patriotic sentiment. As Joep Leerssen has amply demonstrated, this needs to be seen both as a national and a transnational process.[25] In other words, cultural nationalism in the nineteenth century is not merely an insular, remote process, but a transnational search for distinguishing features of nationality and nationhood across Europe.

23 O'Brien, who had been transported to Tasmania in 1848, was awaiting his full pardon in continental Europe. A conditional pardon had been issued in 1854.

24 Michèle Milan, 'For the People, the Republic and the Nation: Translating Béranger in Nineteenth-Century Ireland', in Ben Keatinge and Mary Pierse (eds), *France and Ireland in the Public Imagination* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014).

25 To name but one of his studies, Joep Leerssen, 'The Cultivation of Culture', *Nations and Nationalism* 12/4 (2006), pp. 559–578.

The *Nation* in France

France, particularly Paris, was a key destination for many writers of the *Nation*. It is a known fact that Paris was an important site of interaction and refuge for Irish nationalists in the long nineteenth century.[26] More broadly, the importance of Paris in the nineteenth century as an intercultural or (geo)-cultural centre and a multicultural node in Europe cannot be overstated. The number of Young Irelanders and writers of the *Nation* who were in France at one point in their lives is greater than is generally acknowledged,[27] and the reasons for travelling to France were equally diverse. Some received part of their education or training in Paris. Among them, George Sigerson (1836–1925), who contributed translations from Irish to the *Nation* in the 1850s, went to school in the Parisian suburban town of Montrouge.[28] He came back to Paris in the 1870s to study under the French neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot, whose lectures at the Salpêtrière hospital were renowned and attended by leading intellectuals and scientists.[29] Most notably, they included the physician and neurologist Sigmund Freud.

John Patrick Leonard (1814–1889), one of the main Paris correspondents of the *Nation*, entered the college of the Sorbonne in 1829. He returned to Ireland after a year, but came back to France in 1834, remaining there

26 To include, for example, John O'Leary and James Stephens. See R. V. Comerford, 'France, Fenianism, and Irish Nationalist Strategy', *Études Irlandaises* 7 (1982), pp. 115–125; Niamh O'Sullivan, *Aloysius O'Kelly: Art, Nation, Empire* (Dublin: Field Day, 2010), p. 16.

27 Given the space constraints, it is simply not possible to provide any detailed list of these individuals here. For a more comprehensive review, see my forthcoming (Peter Lang, 2017) *Translation in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: A Study of Franco-Irish Translation Relationships*.

28 J. B. Lyons, 'Sigerson, George', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, vol. 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 945–946.

29 Sigerson published English translations of Charcot's lectures. See Michèle Milan, 'Found in Translation: Franco-Irish Translation Relationships in Nineteenth-Century Ireland', PhD thesis (Dublin City University, 2013) <http://doras.dcu.ie/17753/>, p. 168.

until his death in 1889.[30] John Martin (1812–1875), John Mitchel (1815–1875) and Father John Kenyon (1812–1869) – 'The Three Johns' – met several times in Paris in the 1860s. They resided at various addresses, one of which was 26, rue Lacépède, near the Jardin des Plantes.[31] This was also, as we shall see further in this chapter, where Mary Eva Kelly O'Doherty ('Eva of the *Nation*') and her husband Kevin Izod O'Doherty resided when they came to Paris in the mid-1850s.[32] Two other contributors to the *Nation*, Margaret Hughes Callan and her brother Terence MacMahon Hughes (1812–1849), travelled to France in the 1840s. Terence, a writer, poet and translator, travelled across France to Spain, and then Portugal. Margaret visited Paris and Versailles with her husband John B. Callan, and it is to one of her articles that we now turn.[33]

'A day at Versailles' with Margaret Hughes Callan

Very little has been written about Margaret Hughes Callan (c.1817–c.1883). She is mostly known as a cousin of Charles Gavan Duffy. She is also included in references made to the 'Women of the *Nation'* for the brief role she played, aided by Jane Francesca Elgee, as stand-in editor of the *Nation*

30 Milan, 'Found in Translation', p. 92.

31 L. Fogarty, *Father John Kenyon, A Patriot Priest of Forty-Eight* (Dublin: Mahon's Printing Works, c.1921), pp. 135–136, 185.

32 Kevin O'Doherty spent several years in Tasmania as a political prisoner. He was pardoned in 1854 on condition that he did not return to Ireland. In Paris he resumed his medical studies, and a full pardon was eventually received in 1856. Christine Kinealy, *Repeal and Revolution: 1848 in Ireland* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 211, 261.

33 While Terence MacMahon Hughes's writings would certainly provide a fitting example for this chapter, we could not possibly include them here. Research is currently planned for an essay devoted to the subject.

following Duffy's imprisonment in Newgate and the dispersal of the Irish Confederation in July 1848.[34]

She published two pieces of travel description in the *Nation* in 1843, 'A day at Versailles' and 'A day in Paris'. In 'A day at Versailles', she begins by comparing France and England, arguing that French society demonstrates greater respect towards the more disadvantaged classes. She then reports a conversation which she initiated with a Frenchman on the train. Early on in the conversation, she ensures that her interlocutor knows that she is not *Anglaise* but *Irlandaise*. Although she is not known as a translator *per se*, there is ultimately a process of translation in her article, in which the dialogue is reported in the English language. There are a number of French phrases and words thrown into the dialogue, possibly as a means of transporting her readers back to that moment of intercultural encounter. The Frenchman's accolade to Daniel O'Connell emerges in the narrative both in English and in French, giving special value to the words: 'His is the greatest name of our age – "*le plus beau nom du siècle*."'[35]

As noted above, Margaret Callan's description of Versailles is of interest for the ways in which she highlights the use in France of historical sites and national monuments to foster patriotic pride and national unity. Democratic access to public monuments, which are 'thrown open' to the people, is presented as a necessary condition for national and cultural revival. On entering the Chateau de Versailles, she notices that '[o]ver each of the principal entrances to the palace is inscribed, in letters of gold, *Aux Gloires de la France*'. Pointing to the various portraits of historical figures, she exclaims:

> *Now, why should we not have a national monument, where the deeds done by our countrymen should be preserved to instruct this and future generations*? We need not hope for a grant for such a purpose from an English parliament; but one of the first

34 Sinéad Sturgeon, 'Callan, Margaret (née Hughes), Blake', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Anon, 'Women', p. 35.

35 Callan, p. 666. Original italics, as is the case in all quotations from the *Nation*.

> acts of an Irish legislature should be, to perpetuate on glowing canvass the memory of our struggles.[36]

Margaret Hughes Callan's discourse is therefore particularly pertinent to the cultural nationalist agenda advanced in the *Nation*. Tools such as popular history, public monuments, national songs, literature and arts would assist Ireland in preparing for political independence. The project was designed to awaken (or re-awaken) the Irish national spirit.

It is equally worth noting that her travel account is not without a certain liveliness. Following a tour of the palace, she describes her visit to the royal gardens. There was going to be a special display of waterfalls in the Bassin de Neptune, an event not-to-be-missed. When she sees the Bassin, she exclaims 'Ah! *le voila*! the grand water of Neptune!', but quickly gives full expression to her disappointment: 'What! That stupid, dirty pool, I say to myself.' She nevertheless felt compelled to wait for the water display, sitting very uncomfortably amongst the swelling crowd of spectators. In the end, however, there is a decided feeling in favour of 'authentic' home scenery: '[…] the effect is beautiful; but after all the pomp – shall I confess it? – I would prefer the sight of a good rush of water down a mountain torrent in our own hills, to all this artificial display.'[37]

'Eva of the *Nation*': Crossing Cultures and Languages at the *Table d'Hôte*

The following travel accounts of [Mary] Eva Kelly O'Doherty (1830–1910), aka 'Eva of the *Nation*', are of a very different nature, and while they do not advance any obvious political agenda, they offer valuable keys to our understanding of cross-cultural transfer in the *Nation*, and for a broader investigation of travel, language and translation. It appears likely that 'Eva'

36 *Ibid*.
37 *Ibid*.

began translating Béranger's songs while residing in Paris. John Patrick Leonard, a translator himself, once reported that he sent Béranger translations of his own songs 'from the pen of our Irish Poetess 'Eva'.[38] She is known as a poet of protest, and one of the 'Women of the "*Nation*"'.[39] She moved to Paris in 1855, around the time she married Young Irelander Kevin Izod O'Doherty (1823–1905), and resided there for about a year. Eva is mostly known for writing nationalist ballads, but she also wrote several translations, principally from Béranger. A number of other poems are presented as translations from Irish.

Much lesser-known is a piece of writing which would appear to belong to the genre of travel description. Published in the *Nation* in 1858, and entitled 'The Little Grocer's Daughter of the Rue St Victor', the article principally describes a *pension* in Paris, situated Rue Lacépède near the Jardin des Plantes, and where she resided as mentioned earlier in the chapter.[40] In her article, Eva captures the energy of the place using long sentences heaving with semicolons and teeming with adjectives. It is not only remarkable for her use of cultural markers, but it is arguably an unusual piece of writing for the *Nation*, for it contains vivid descriptions of French gastronomic delights.

Eva's description of the boarding-house is peppered with French words such as *locataires*, *salle à manger*, *dejeuners*, *cotelettes de mouton* and 'the *cuisine*'.[41] This pattern of otherness progressively intensifies as the text unfolds, the foreign words becoming increasingly conspicuous. *Salle à*

38 John Patrick Leonard, 'Beranger: Personal Recollections of the Poet', *Nation*, 19 September 1857, p 42. Leonard's writings will not be discussed in this chapter. On Leonard and Béranger, see Milan, 'For the People', pp. 93–94; more general insights in Janick Julienne, 'John Patrick Leonard (1814–1889), chargé d'affaires d'un gouvernement irlandais en France', *Etudes Irlandaises* 25/2 (2000), pp. 49–67; Milan, 'Found in Translation', pp. 91–93, 135–136, 138–139.

39 See Brega Webb, 'Eva of the "Nation" and the Young Ireland Press', MPhil Diss. (NUI Galway, 1997).

40 'E. O'D.', 'The Little Grocer's Daughter of the Rue St. Victor', *Nation*, 3 April 1858, p. 390. Several Irish nationalists stayed at Rue Lacépède, including Eva's close friend John Martin.

41 All terms and quotes from the *Nation* are faithfully reproduced as they appear in the source; this includes several omissions of accents.

manger becomes *salle à manger en face*. More than merely embedding a few established loan-words, the mode adopted here amounts to a pattern of code-switching. Take also this description of the pension cook: 'Marie was the sole and only *artiste*'. If the 'e' of the French spelling had not been used, there would have been no effective code-crossing. Arguably, the impact may be twofold here: a foreignising effect and a particular stress on the word 'artist', which results in turning a bright spotlight on Marie.

The female subject is indeed given a leading role; Eva is utterly fascinated with Marie's culinary performances. In one of her breathtaking descriptions she notes:

> […] her hand alone it was which produced the *pommes de terres sautees et a la maître d'hotel* […] Nor must allusion be omitted to the haricots verts, and blancs, hot and savoury, mashed up with oil or butter; nor *les épinards* chemically purified from every tinge of constitutional bitterness, so often left to reside therein after a process of *cuisinerie*. British or Hibernian – no; *les épinards* were never cooked to greater perfection than by the hands of Marie – sweet was it as hazel nuts gathered in the Glen of Aherlow, verdant as shamrocks clustering bright at the base of Knockmaldhoun.[42]

No doubt Eva's experience takes on a momentum of its own with *les* é*pinards*.[43] The sensory cue triggers an imaginary journey back home, and it is thus remarkable how, in that instant, French cookery elicits memories of Ireland. The pleasant memory of French cuisine is associated with the pleasant memory of a landscape in the Irish exile's homeland, the green of the French spinach dish providing a link with the 'verdant' shamrock beds of Tipperary.

The following passage offers another example of code-mixing, and bears vivid testimony to Eva's fascination with French cooking:

> From the *table d'hôte* of the Chateau Copeau[44] with its *bouilli*, *bouillon*, *gigots de mouton*, gigantic turkeycocks, with antediluvian thigh bones, poulets of gutta percha

42 Other spellings: Knockmealdown / Cnoc Mhaoldomhnaigh / Cnoc-Maol-Donn (Co. Tipperary).

43 In contrast with other foods mentioned in this text, the term épinards retains its own article *les*.

44 The pension's informal name.

> consistency, fried and sauce-disguised dices of filrine [sic][45] beef – withered pruneaux floating in a saccharine fluid – confitures of unknown fruits, red and yellow, served in infinitesimal portions – *des biscuits glacés* more sugary than sugar itself (*deux pour mon plat*) incorporated like the Siamese Twins; and then the *vin ordinaire*! – the throat-excoriating, heart-burn creating *vin ordinaire*, at twelve sous the bottle (*un demi bouteille* for each person), the sweetened potato-pudding, flavoured with orange-flower water! and the mashed chestnuts – these are delicacies not to be forgotten, and I do not forget them.[46]

The article also includes a dialogue that takes place between the hostess and her lodgers – reported mostly in French. Eva simply does not concern herself with translating the conversation for her readers. On the one hand, the strategies of *borrowing*, namely, 'a word or expression borrowed directly from another language, in its form and meaning',[47] and code-switching or code-mixing, that is, 'the shifting adopted by speakers between one variety of dialect or language and another',[48] give readers a flavour of the original language experience and of the foreign culture experience in a metonymical way. It may confer a sense of authenticity on the account. On the other hand, if the reader does not know the language, it can also impart a strong flavour of obscurity. In its most extreme form, as in Eva's reported dialogue, 'non-translation' challenges target-language expectations as it may restrict the reader's understanding.

Eva's text is replete with cultural markers, mostly related to food and gastronomy. These culture-specific markers are drawn from the social and cultural matrix of the 'translated' foreign culture. Imported words, unless they have become established loan words in the target lexicon, can be seen

45 Other obvious typographical errors have been silently corrected; here, one may suggest 'fillet'.

46 Eva, 'The Little Grocer's Daughter', p. 390.

47 Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics of French and English: A Methodology for Translation*, trans. Juan C. Sager and M.-J. Hamel (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins, 1995), p. 340.

48 Katie Wales, *A Dictionary of Stylistics* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014 [1990]), p. 63.

as exoticist borrowings, lexical novelties or even imported commodities.[49] Code-mixing, or linguistic switching, draws attention to cultural difference. The decision to insert or import untranslated terms or passages, thereby adopting a strategy of 'non-translation', can be seen as a process of resistance to translation. This mode concerns both travel narratives and actual translations. It provides culture-specific resonance and cultural distance. As Michael Cronin notes:

> Language is an important source of the detail that confers a plausibility on an account and makes the foreign textually apparent. Words become the souvenirs brought home to the expectant reader. These words often relate to culture-specific items that have no equivalent in the target language of the traveller.[50]

There is a process of re-contextualisation, the use of a reporting code, particularly for dialogues, as a means of transporting the reader across space and time (*translation*). In the metaphorical sense of 'borne across', it is the reader who is then translated. Eva's description of the *pension bourgeoise* stresses otherness, *la couleur locale*. In this regard, it is worth noting that Irish cultural distinctness was sometimes emphasised through linguistic strategies by Irish nationalists writing for the *Nation* – albeit the Gaelic words which were thus inserted into English-language texts often took on a Hiberno-English form. Leerssen identifies this form of *couleur locale* as a 'linguistic, phraseological mode of self-authentication'.[51] In particular, words such as *macushla* and *machree* peppered the writings of poets – including Eva of the *Nation*.[52]

49 For a study of borrowings, see for example Alexander Onysko, *Anglicisms in German: Borrowing, Lexical Productivity, and Written Codeswitching* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2007).

50 Cronin, *Across the lines*, p. 40.

51 Joep Leerssen, 'Language Revivalism before the Twilight', in Joep Leerssen et al., *Forging in the Smithy: National Identity and Representation in Anglo-Irish Literary History* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1995), p. 144.

52 For instance in her poem 'The Patriot Mother (A Ballad of '98)'. Only occasionally appeared a small amount of Irish-language writing and translation in the *Nation*; this was essentially an English-language press.

Paris and the Parisians according to the *Nation*

Since travel is critical in the development of cultural and national frames of reference, this begs the question of what image of France, and particularly Paris in the following examples, the *Nation* writers had shaped for themselves and for their readers. The travelling correspondents of the *Nation* generally present Paris and the Parisians in a friendly and sympathetic light while also seeing Parisian folk as rather excitable and extravagant people.[53] For example, one article claims that 'The difficulty with a Frenchman excited by pleasure – and how little excites him! – is to keep himself quiet. He must let off the steam somehow.'[54] Elsewhere, a correspondent writes that the Parisians are sometimes subject to:

> [...] sudden paroxysms of temporary madness [...] The busy population strolling along the streets, sunning themselves in the public gardens, or smoking away long hours in their *cafes*, often undergo as great a metamorphosis, and buzz about and work themselves into the most extraordinary agitation. Something like the outbreak of an epidemical disease, this delirium of a truly democratic nature extends its influence to any particular political party.[55]

Unsurprisingly, the travelling correspondents of the *Nation* often present France as the antithesis of England. They are inclined to underline tensions between the two countries, as this correspondent does at the end of the Crimean War: 'To a French ear today, in spite of the alliance and in spite of the war, *Les Anglais* is a harsher and more grating sound than *Les Russes*.'[56] Here, the strategy of code-switching is intended to make a stronger impact by giving a voice to the 'original speaker'. In the above-quoted 'Paris Gossip', which includes reports of the Queen of England's

53 In her article, Eva also refers to them as a 'melancholy people', as well as 'singes-tigres' (after Voltaire's 'tigres-singes').

54 'Paris Gossip', *Nation*, 25 August 1855, p. 793.

55 'Paris, Peace, and the Carnival. (From Our Own Correspondent.)', *Nation*, 9 February 1856, p. 378.

56 'Paris, Peace, and the Carnival', p. 378.

visit to Paris in 1855 by two correspondents, the *Nation* claims that the sentiment there is universally unfavourable, thereby upholding the truth-value of their reportage:

> These saucy Parisians care not a fig more, for a legitimate than an illegitimate sovereign. [...] This boasted Ally, too, whose prestige has been the defeat and ignominy of French arms – what, they ask, has she done to wipe out the hatred of ages that they should throw themselves under her chariot wheels? This is the sentiment of universal France.[57]

The next example not only contains evidence of that dichotomy which some of the *Nation* writers establish between France and England, but it illustrates further the use of travel writing to communicate a cultural nationalist message to the *Nation*'s readers.

A Patriotic Irishman in Paris: John T. Rowland, Lecturer at the Mechanics' Institute

John Thomas Rowland (1825?–1875) was a translator from French and Irish, a solicitor, and a lecturer at the Mechanics' Institute of Drogheda. In February 1858 he gave a 'Lecture on Béranger' in Drogheda.[58] During the talk, he provided several English-language renderings of Béranger's songs, which served, he argued, as a lesson on patriotism and national self-confidence. Two years previously, on 10 March 1856, he had given a lecture on 'Paris and the Parisians' at the same institute. Extracts of this lecture were published in the *Nation* a week or two later. Rowland took the opportunity of his lecture on Paris to convey a sociopolitical critique of England. He compares what he perceives as a democratic system in the streets of the French capital against 'the Aristocracy of England':

57 'Paris Gossip', p. 793.

58 Milan, 'For the People', pp. 84, 97.

> What strikes one most on entering the Garden of the Tuilleries is the freedom of entry, and liberty of enjoyment of its beauties, and grateful shades, afforded to the Parisians. [...] I am inclined to believe that the Aristocracy of England is the proudest and vainest on earth. They stand apart from humanity, and scorn the humble and the poor.[59]

He also attempts to address misconceptions about the Parisians, ultimately entering into further criticism of London:

> Someone will on hearing this description be inclined to say – 'A pretty place' – 'No doubt it is a den of wickedness.' No. Here is the brightest feature of the whole place. [...] All is properly conducted, and decently enjoyed. Different, far different, in this respect from the halls of London![60]

His following comments are resolutely cultural nationalist in outlook for a piece of travel writing. Rowland's predilection for 'national' songs is clearly evident from this passage, in which he takes a stroll around Bastille:

> One day [...], I took a stroll on the Place de la Bastille. Here were two street musicians and an attendant. One played a violin, another sang French ballads. The attendant sold the songs: and such songs! Not resembling the trash our peasantry have about heathen goddesses encountered one morning in June with a milk-pail, or those anti-Irish, ribald satires on Irish life that make the bulk of Paddy's Resource: on the contrary, the French have reached the Eminence which the writers of THE NATION would have us jump to at a bound. They have historical ballads – and good French – thoroughly French – songs. Who ever hears in our streets the Melodies of Moore or the Ballads of Burns: the Lyrics of Mackay or the Songs of Hood? Yet in the streets of Paris you may hear well-sung ballads older than Percy's, and the best lyrics of Beranger, Berat, and Desaugiers.
>
> The French are French. The Irish are not Irish. The death of Nelson is more known amongst us than the death of Owen Rowe, or Brian, and until we know ourselves and acquire a high character of our own, in arts and manners, we will remain imitators, and hold a secondary place.[61]

59 'Paris and the Parisians', *Nation*, 22 March 1856, p. 478.

60 'Paris and the Parisians', p. 478.

61 *Ibid*.

This is uncompromising cultural nationalism: in order to break the chains and achieve 'first place', that is, self-government, and make a name for itself in the international arena, a people needs to know its own history and cultivate ('acquire') its own distinct cultural-national identity through national history and songs. It may be worth briefly noting the ways in which Rowland uses the concepts of 'imitation' and 'secondary place' to address the political context of Ireland in the nineteenth century – over a hundred years before postcolonial theory emerged and began to articulate the coloniser-colonised experience in similar terms.[62] It certainly shows that a certain mode of political thinking among the writers of the *Nation* somewhat anticipated twentieth-century postcolonial writers. Indeed Thomas Davis articulated a connection between colonial conquest and translation long before postcolonial studies addressed issues of power inequalities in terms of translation.[63]

In and Beyond the *Nation*

This chapter has sought to elucidate themes of both travel and translation in the context of the *Nation*. Several articles in the *Nation* point to the ways in which ideas of national and cultural revival stimulate certain processes in democratisation of the cultural sphere, and vice-versa. Such perspectives were, at least in part, borne out of cross-cultural experiences. Foreign correspondence and translations provide evidence for the ways in which the idea and project of nationhood might have been transnationalised and conceived in transnational ways.

The strategy of 'non-translation' can be seen as a representational strategy, and always at stake is the issue of identity. For Irish cultural nationalists,

62 See for example Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 114–115 and 64–66.

63 Milan, 'Found in Translation', pp. 54–55.

this may be relative to a wider search for cultural authenticity. Translations and travel accounts can be used as a means of asserting and legitimising a distinct cultural and political identity. By extension, emphasis on language and cultural distinctness through linguistic strategies could also be seen as part of this general programme of nation-building. Accordingly, some of the travelling correspondents of the *Nation* used their writings and translations to convey a critique of England and English rule. Although difficult to evaluate accurately, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the *Nation* readers' images of foreign places and people were partly shaped by these articles. The *Nation* is a useful source for studying the constructed nature of travel writing and of translation, and the ways in which the foreign culture is presented and framed in the text.

Travel accounts and translations are sites of cultural mediation and interaction in which language plays a powerful role and functions as a shaper of memory, reality and identity – particularly that of the Self and the Other. The practice of 'non-translation' at the textual level has implications for both translation itself and travel writing – and perhaps language at large. The travel correspondence of writer-translators, such as 'Eva of the *Nation*', is useful in demonstrating the ways in which difference is negotiated through language, bouncing between processes of translation and non-translation. Eva's article, moreover, offers a first-hand account of an Irish expatriate experiencing, and indeed enjoying, French cuisine in the mid-nineteenth century.

The *Nation* provided women with an outlet not only for literary and cultural expression but also for promoting the nationalist cause. This was a platform for the expression of their views, a platform from which they could participate in the public cultural and political sphere, albeit often in anonymous or pseudonymous manner. It has been argued that the nationalist cause, at least for most of the nineteenth century, was generally given priority over gender equality and women's rights, and did not necessarily promote women's advancement in all spheres of life. The 'Women of the *Nation*' worked within a nationalist discourse which reflected socially and culturally constructed gender roles and expectations.[64] Bearing in mind

64 To name but one, essential reading on the question includes Maria Luddy, 'Women and Politics in Nineteenth-century Ireland', in Maryann Gialanella Valiulis and Mary

that women's works were under the scrutiny of male editors, the *Nation* nonetheless made their writings accessible to a relatively broad readership. Because of their exclusion from formal politics, it is essential to pay special attention to women's activism in informal politics during that period. This chapter has thus sought to present two 'Women of the *Nation*' and their travel writings from two angles, as social and historical agents in their own right and as witnesses to the continuous and multi-layered process of cultural mediation that operates in travel writing and translation.

The *Nation* contains a number of travel accounts and articles of foreign correspondence which, while generally reflecting a similar ideological convergence, offer more variety in terms of travel and cross-cultural experiences than they are commonly thought to hold. From a wider perspective, it is hoped that a study of the peripatetic writers and translators of the *Nation* has and will continue to shed further light on the history of Irish travel in France, on the Continent, and further afield.

O'Dowd (eds), *Women & Irish History: Essays in Honour of Margaret MacCurtain* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1997), p. 95. Conventional gendered discourse of nationalism included, for example, the notion of 'man' as active and 'woman' as supportive, if not even in need of assistance.

TERRY PHILLIPS

7 'Out on a Great Adventure': The Travels of Patrick MacGill

ABSTRACT
This chapter focuses on six novels, some autobiographical and some purely fictional, published during and after the First World War, by the Irish writer Patrick MacGill who served in the British Army in France, mainly as a stretcher-bearer, in 1915, and who made a subsequent visit in 1918, after being wounded and transferred to the Intelligence Unit. His writing gives the reader unusual insight into the lives of the ordinary people of France during the war, an aspect neglected by many English-speaking First World War writers, displaying sympathy and admiration as well as being recounted with characteristic humour. Two of his accounts focus on the experiences of American and Australian soldiers, respectively. His work not only informs the reader about the First World War but manifests intense curiosity and interest in different nations and the response of their peoples to one another.

Patrick MacGill came from an extremely poor family in west Donegal, and left home at a young age to earn his own living in Scotland, initially as a potato picker, and then as a navvy on the Glasgow railway, and on the construction of the hydroelectric works at Kinlochleven. His early life is recounted in *Children of the Dead End*, through the persona of Dermod Flynn.[1] Subsequently, he began a career in journalism, before taking up a post in Windsor Castle Library, and was beginning to make a name for himself as a writer when the First World War broke out and he enlisted in the London Irish Rifles. MacGill's accounts of his service in France, mainly as a stretcher-bearer, which began with his unit's arrival in March 1915 and ended when he was wounded at the end of October that year, are included in *The Red Horizon* and *The Great Push*, both published in 1916, which may be termed fictionalised autobiography, the narrator 'Pat' clearly represent-

1 Patrick MacGill, *Children of the Dead End* (London: Caliban Books, 1995).

ing the author himself.[2] They are powerful accounts of the period leading up to the Battle of Loos and of the battle itself. MacGill later wrote two accounts of Americans and Australians in the war, *The Dough Boys* and *The Diggers*, and two further novels, *The Brown Brethren*, published in 1917, and *Fear!*, published in 1921.[3] Both of these are fictional works, without the obviously autobiographical elements of *The Red Horizon* and *The Great Push*. While his experience in France can hardly be described as tourism it furnishes him with material which provides a series of illuminating traveller's accounts. His books are written, in a spirit of internationalism, from the perspective of someone who has an urge to learn about other people, a curiosity about other nations. They are enriched by his instinctive sympathy, and indeed admiration for those amongst whom he finds himself. For this reason they provide the modern reader with an unusual insight into aspects of life in wartime France.

A sense of MacGill's approach to his experience is conveyed in his account of his unit's arrival in France, in *The Red Horizon*: 'It was a new country, a place far away in peace and a favourite resort of the wealthy [...] In fact, the poor man was having his first holiday on the Continent [...] We were out on a great adventure, full of thrill and excitement'.[4] It is worth noting that at this time, although travel was becoming popular, it was accessible only to the wealthy, a world vividly evoked in the writings of F. Scott Fitzgerald, for example. In relation to the First World War, the poetry of the largely public-school educated protest poets has obscured the fact that the lives of the majority of recruits from Ireland and Britain were harsh and unrelieved by any kind of holiday, travel being something of which they could only dream. Other comments in *The Red Horizon* show that

2 Patrick MacGill, *The Red Horizon* (London: Caliban Books, 1916); Patrick MacGill, *The Great Push* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd, 2000), first published, London: Herbert Jenkins, 1916.

3 Patrick MacGill, *The Dough Boys* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1918); Patrick MacGill, *The Diggers* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1919); Patrick MacGill, *The Brown Brethren* (New York: Doran, 1917); Patrick MacGill, *Fear!* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1921).

4 MacGill, *The Red Horizon*, pp. 25–26.

MacGill was under no illusions about what awaited him in France, but the quotation shows an important element of the spirit in which this man of little formal education embarked on his travels.

The urge to learn about others alluded to in the introduction, which is present in so much of MacGill's writing, is evident from a perusal of *Children of the Dead End*, which recounts his developing enthusiasm for reading. Among the books he mentions are Hugo's *Les Misérables* and Montaigne's *Essays*.[5] However, it extends beyond the written word, and is a feature of his recording of his experiences in France, where he is very conscious that the people he is meeting are people of other nations. This sense of nationality and national difference is an important part of MacGill's observations. Having left Ireland in 1904, he was largely uninfluenced by cultural developments there, such as the Gaelic League and the Literary Revival. As David Taylor puts it, he was 'isolated from much public discourse in Ireland'.[6] He nevertheless had an awareness of cultural particularity. Indeed, in this period of the growth of national consciousness across Europe it would have been difficult for it to have been otherwise. MacGill has a sense of himself as Irish which for the most part is no more than what Ernest Renan describes as 'instinctive consciousness'.[7]

This consciousness of Irish identity occurs at a number of points. He speaks, for example, of a German captive who was 'saved by Irish hospitality'.[8] Indeed there are times when he goes so far as to perform his Irishness, for example when he tells 'a tale of two trench-mortars, squat little things that loiter about the firing line and look for all the world like toads ready to hop off'.[9] He claims to have encountered them 'speaking to

5 MacGill, *Children of the Dead End*, p. 138.

6 David Taylor, *Memory, Narrative and The Great War: Rifleman Patrick MacGill and the Construction of Wartime Experience* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), p. 96.

7 Ernest Renan, 'What Is A Nation?', in *The Poetry of the Celtic Races and Other Essays*, trans. William Hutchinson, digitised (London: W. Scott, 1896), p. 74 <https://openlibrary.org/books/OL7030583M/The_poetry_of_the_Celtic_races_and_other_essays> [Accessed 12 March 2015].

8 MacGill, *The Red Horizon*, p. 77.

9 MacGill, *The Red Horizon*, pp. 187–188.

one another'. The story is enriched by the arrival of 'Wee Hughie Gallagher of Dooran', a frequent presence in all the stories 'Pat' tells. Here, MacGill might be accused of complicity with an imperialist manoeuvre to exoticise Irishness, possibly rather enjoying his role as stage Irishman among his comrades, suggesting something of Matthew Arnold's description of the Celt as '[s]entimental, – *always ready to react against the despotism of fact*'[10] or of Renan's comment of the Celtic race that 'it has worn itself out in taking dreams for realities, and in pursuing its splendid visions.'[11] It is hardly surprising that in an age when national affiliation was an increasingly important element in identity, the traveller beyond his own native shores defines himself, in relation to those around him, by his nation, so that even in Scotland amongst a band of mainly Scottish and Irish navvies the self-identification is important.

However, this self-identification never becomes an assertion of superiority. Some element of political consciousness may, for example, be seen in Dermod Flynn's reactions to his first Irish employer Joe Bennet, who hires him at a fair in Strabane. He recounts his anger at the sight of Bennet's large picture, *King William Crossing the Boyne*.[12] Later, moving on to another farm, he is politically aware enough to recognise very quickly that the farm is boycotted and to understand the implications.[13] However, political consciousness is never a strong element and MacGill's national consciousness includes no sense of other nations as inferior to his own, only as different. He embarks on his journeys, defining himself as Irish, but with a curiosity to see what lies beyond his own place and nation.

As an individual, conscious of national identity and travelling abroad for the first time, engaging in an increasingly international war, he inevitably

10 Matthew Arnold, 'On the Study of Celtic Literature', in *Lectures and Essays in Criticism*, ed. R. H. Super, The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1962), pp. 291–395 (p. 344).

11 Ernest Renan, 'The Poetry of the Celtic Races', in *The Poetry of the Celtic Races and Other Essays*, trans. William Hutchinson, digitised (London: W. Scott, 1896), p. 9 <https://openlibrary.org/books/OL7030583M/The_poetry_of_the_Celtic_races_and_other_essays> [Accessed 16 November 2015].

12 MacGill, *Children of the Dead End*, p. 34.

13 MacGill, *Children of the Dead End*, pp. 51–52.

defines people by nationality. There were combatant writers during the war years who were indifferent, or even hostile, to the French population. However, MacGill's awareness of the population among which he finds himself is striking, both in terms of interest in and sympathy for them. In this context it is worth noting John Galsworthy's preface to R. H. Mottram's *The Spanish Farm*, published in 1924, in which he complains that one of the central characters, Madeleine, is 'the only full, solid, intimate piece of French characterisation' to come out of the years the British Army spent in France.[14] Even Robert Graves, who made no secret of his Irish family connections, and who might therefore be supposed to have greater understanding of the ancient ally, exhibits not mere lack of interest but outright hostility to his French hosts. In *Goodbye to All That*, he quotes from a letter he writes home, 'I find it very difficult to like the French here [...] I have not met a single case of the hospitality one meets among the peasants of other countries.'[15] One suspects that this is an attitude which stems from an imaginative failure, on the part of those who write such comments, to appreciate the sufferings of those around them. By contrast, early in *The Red Horizon* MacGill, the self-educated man, writes, 'I had learned to love this place and these people whom I seemed to know so very well from having read René Bazin, Daudet, Maupassant, Balzac and Marie Claire',[16] his range of reading being in itself a tribute to the internationalism of his outlook, confirmed when on another occasion he says: 'Old Montaigne in a dug-out is a true friend and a fine companion'.[17]

MacGill's attitude to his French hosts, his respect for and knowledge of their culture and history, remains a significant element in his work and occurs throughout his war writing. One interesting example is provided by this description of Peronne, which occurs in *The Diggers*:

14 John Galsworthy, 'Preface to The Spanish Farm', in *The Spanish Farm Trilogy*, by R. H. Mottram (London: Chatto and Windus, 1930), p. ix.

15 Robert Graves, *Goodbye to All That* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960), p. 140.

16 MacGill, *The Red Horizon*, p. 37.

17 MacGill, *The Red Horizon*, p. 119.

> The town, although of little industrial import, has a history dating back to the days of Clovis II. It is the burial-place of Charles the Simple, who died of starvation in a dungeon in the castle of Peronne, which castle was also the prison of Louis XI for some time.[18]

In the context of writing about a soldier's experience in the Great War, this is quite an extraordinary description. Few narratives of soldiers from any countries outside France display much interest in French history, let alone history reaching back to the seventh century.

However, his attitude to the French people is much more than a mere idea and an abstract application of his reading. As well as a sense of them as a nation, his writing reflects a personal knowledge and appreciation of them as individuals. In *The Red Horizon*, a whole chapter is entitled 'The Women of France'.[19] The chapter is in many ways typical of the way MacGill engages with those of other nations. It demonstrates affection, admiration and humour. The chapter opens with 'Pat' and his friend Pryor discovering a man and his wife in the back room of an estaminet. The woman was 'sweating over a stone' while her husband was 'sitting on the floor peeling potatoes into a large bucket.' They engage in a conversation about the progress of the war and the Frenchman, expressing understandable hostility to 'the Boche', dramatically expresses his utter confidence that the Germans will be beaten back, not just by his words but by sending 'a potato stripped clean of its jacket up to the roof, but with such precision that it dropped back into the bucket', thrusting his knife into a potato and whirling it into the air 'where it spun at an alarming rate'.[20] This is a slightly exaggerated and mildly comic version of the observed determination of the French to drive the hated enemy out of their country. However, the man reveals himself as much more than a talker, having returned that very day from Souchez, where, although in answer to a question he says he has not seen much fighting, it becomes obvious that he has in fact seen a great deal.[21]

18 MacGill, *The Diggers*, p. 55.

19 MacGill, *The Red Horizon*, pp. 279–291.

20 MacGill, *The Red Horizon*, pp. 280–281.

21 As David Taylor observes, during his time at the Front, MacGill 'experienced heavy bombardments and witnessed the devastation of villages such as Festubert and Souchez', Taylor, p. 99.

They are interrupted by his wife who tells them in no uncertain terms, '[y] ou're keeping him from his work [...] chattering like parrots. Allez-vous en! Allez-vous en!'[22]

It is an utterly practical voice, and as they leave the house, the narrator reflects, 'The women of France are indeed wonderful.' Later in the chapter he expands:

> The women of France! what heroism and fortitude animates them in every shell-shattered village from Souchez to the sea! What labours they do in the fields [...] The plough and the sickle are symbols of peace and power in the hands of the women of France in a land where men destroy and women build.[23]

What MacGill admires about these women is their utter adaptability, as in the case of the woman who sells *café noir* for three sous a cup 'in a jumble of bricks that was once her home'. She used to sell *café au lait* for four sous a cup until her cow got shot in the stomach.[24] The whole chapter manifests admiration not just for the women but also for men like the brave soldier in the estaminet, whose story is told with MacGill's typical humour.

Another feature of the women MacGill describes is their human warmth. In *The Great Push* he describes the reaction of the woman with whom he is billeted at Les Brebis, when the soldiers return from the front-line, and how she always counts them when they return. He writes of one such occasion:

> The missing man wore spectacles. She remembered him and all his mannerisms. He used to nurse her little baby boy, Gustave, and play games with the mite's toes. What had happened to him? He was killed by a shell, we told her [...] Then a mist gathered in the woman's eyes, and two tears rolled down her cheeks.[25]

Although this is a fond recollection of one particular woman, it suggests a female population prepared to look beyond their own suffering, and respond with care and tenderness to the billeted soldiers.

22 MacGill, *The Red Horizon*, p. 285.
23 MacGill, *The Red Horizon*, pp. 288–289.
24 MacGill, *The Red Horizon*, p. 290.
25 MacGill, *The Great Push*, p. 17.

MacGill's postwar novels clearly draw on the experiences and impressions distilled from his time in France, and take up some of the same themes, including the hard work of women. The central character of *Fear!* is an Englishman, Ryder, a conscript with no enthusiasm for the war. However, it is perhaps significant that it is the Irish character, MacMahon, who introduces a philosophical speculation on the futility of women and children 'hard at work gettin' the hay and corn in' only to find it trampled down by troops engaged in military exercises:

> Ye're a learned man, Ryder ... With your nose always stuck in a book, but I'll bet that ye never heard this old proverb, that I heard at home in Ireland, and this is it: 'There are three thin things and the world stands on them. One is the thin stream of milk from the breast, one is the thin blade of green corn on the field, and one the thin thread through the hands of the spinner'... And the women are seeing to it now. Men break down and women build up.[26]

The reference to Ireland is important, suggesting a readier connection to some aspects of French life made by the rural Irish recruit than the typically urban English soldier might make. Ryder himself is a small town barber, but nothing in the earlier chapters, on his life before his conscription, suggests a connection with the countryside.

MacGill's outlook is international. Much though he is drawn towards the French, to some extent influenced by the old connection between the two countries, it is very much a feature of his outlook as the traveller 'having his first holiday on the Continent', that 'Pat' remains fascinated by the mix of nations he encounters. On hearing the sound of guns on his first night in France, while billeted in a farm, he speculates, initially in the abstract:

> men were fighting and killing one another: soldiers of many lands, of England, Ireland and Scotland, of Australia, and Germany; of Canada, South Africa, and New Zealand; Saxon, Gurkha, and Prussian, Englishman, Irishman, and Scotchman were engaged in deadly combat.[27]

26 MacGill, *Fear!*, p. 292.

27 MacGill, *The Red Horizon*, p. 33.

Of course, the narration of such thoughts was undoubtedly influenced by subsequent knowledge but they suggest always the instinct to explore, to know more of one's fellow human beings. Something of the sense of the newcomer's excitement is conveyed a couple of pages later:

> Here we met all manner of men, Gurkhas fresh from the firing line; bus-drivers, exiles from London; men of the Army Service Corps; Engineers, kilted Highlanders [...] French soldiers, Canadian soldiers [...][28]

After MacGill returned wounded to England he was transferred to the Intelligence Unit. According to David Taylor, it was widely believed that this was intended to restrict his writing about the war, which had met with disapproval in some quarters.[29] It is perhaps for this reason that *The Brown Brethren* (1917) was published under the pseudonym John O'Gorman.

MacGill's fascination with the multiplicity of nations to be encountered led him to write two texts, often bracketed together, but in style and form very different, *The Dough Boys* and *The Diggers*, describing respectively the contributions of American and Australian troops. Of course, MacGill had not fought alongside American soldiers, although he may possibly have met some on his visit to France in late 1918, and possibly the inspiration for *The Dough Boys*, published in New York in the autumn of that year, was the addition of the Americans to the panoply of fighting nations described in *The Red Horizon*.

Like *The Brown Brethren*, it was first published under the pseudonym of John O'Gorman and, in its concentration on the emotions and actions of individual characters, is similar to MacGill's previous writing on the war, both autobiographical and fictional. It is an account of a group of American soldiers just arrived in France, focused through the character of Philip Burke, the son of a New York store owner and his friends, Murtagh Sullivan, an Irish emigrant who had worked in a New York bar, and Sammy Stiff, originally from London. It is significant that these key characters have Irish and English origins and therefore may draw on MacGill's own

28 MacGill, *The Red Horizon*, p. 35.

29 Taylor, p. 8.

experience of his comrades. Although the story is focused on Americans it continues MacGill's portrayal and continuing admiration for his erstwhile French hosts, allowing him also to comment on the likelihood of their forming good relationships with their new American visitors, and accompanied as always by elements of the comic.

The following passage returns to the subject of the conditions of the native inhabitants:

> A middle-aged energetic woman with a wicker creel on her shoulders carried the provisions for her household home from the market, toiling valiantly behind the motor wagons which were bringing the rations to the American soldiers in their camps on the outskirts of the village [...] An American military policeman [...] looked on the old man at the pump and smiled condescendingly as he watched him. The two were worlds apart, but for all that there was already a mingling of tone and colour becoming noticeable in the place. The people of one Republic were accommodating themselves to the ways and manners of the other.[30]

This long passage demonstrates once more MacGill's sympathy for the sheer hard work of the French population, particularly the women, manifested in *The Great Push*. However, it is also interesting in that it conveys a strong spirit of internationalism, evidenced through the American and French characters portrayed, of the very human desire to communicate, in spite of language differences. The passage concludes with a description of the French newspaper seller quoting his price in cents, and the French girls and American soldiers attempting to speak one another's languages. However, the passage goes further than just an expression of a general desire to communicate, true of so many of the people of various nations represented in MacGill's writing, and actually makes a political point, comparatively rare in his writing, but never completely absent in the use of the term 'Republic' to acknowledge the shared ideology of the revolutionary French and Americans; an implicit acknowledgement of the 'spirit of 98'.

The ending of the narrative is very moving. In a village, nicknamed 'Bomb-dump' by British soldiers, the three friends have been billeted at the Café Bienvenu, where they meet the owner's son Gustave, who collects war

30 MacGill, *The Dough Boys*, pp. 19–20.

souvenirs. Sullivan, the Irishman, whom the boy calls 'Toolivan', befriends the child and promises him the prize souvenir of a German helmet, which he later finds and keeps for him. In the final chapter of the novel, entitled 'The War Waif', the narrator tells the story of a 'youngster', a collector of souvenirs, who has been orphaned by the war, suffering not only the loss of his father in battle, but his mother killed at the village pump by an exploding shell.[31] The youngster is rifling through the possessions of some newly arrived American troops and is severely reprimanded by Sullivan for extracting the helmet, saved for Gustave, but his cry of 'Toolivan' reveals him to be that very Gustave.[32] In the final action of the novel, Burke remembers a scheme run by an American newspaper in collaboration with the Red Cross whereby if a group raises sufficient funds they can educate a named child. The three men agree that they will do this for Gustave. It is a powerful and moving conclusion. It is perhaps significant that Gustave shares his name with the baby of the woman who was so moved by the death of the soldier billeted with her, in the autobiographical *The Great Push*; another example of the way the fate of these hospitable French people so touched MacGill. It suggests that this earlier experience was never far from his mind in his portrayal of the adventures of his imaginary American soldiers.

The story is not without its comic elements, and indeed the mild humour which is present in much of the story contributes to the effect of the conclusion by removing the likelihood of it being simply dismissed as sentimental. Burke, the New York store-owner's son, is a rebellious character who, when the story opens, has had his mouth washed out with soap for his rudeness to the head cook, whom he dismissively terms a 'Dog-robber' (a term of abuse applied in the US Army to cooks and batmen). All he wants is to get to the front lines. This slightly comic tone is present in the naming of the unidentified village in which they spend much of their time as Mud-Wallow.

A degree of humour is also present in the representation of the love affair between Stiff, the American soldier who came originally from London, and Babette, the daughter of the *patronne* of the Café Moulin

31 MacGill, *The Dough Boys*, pp. 296–299.

32 MacGill, *The Dough Boys*, p. 302.

Rouge. With the honest realism which is evident in so much of MacGill's writing, the narrator informs his reader that '[t]he girls whom he had loved were many and the girls whom he had forgotten were also quite a number.' Their attempts to communicate in French are mildly comic: '"Your hand, très joli" but then Stiff reflects, "If I could only speak the damned lingo [...] Why did people speak in such different tongues?"'[33] Perhaps it is not reading too much into this comic incident to see it as a plea for better understanding between nations. The Americans, known to MacGill mainly by repute, are portrayed sympathetically, particularly in their relationship with the French, which suggests again that open-mindedness and curiosity about the people of other nations which colours so much of his writing.

The Diggers, published a year later than *The Dough Boys*, is an account of a journey made by MacGill with Australian troops out of Amiens in 1918. It is markedly different from *The Dough Boys* and MacGill's earlier war writing in that it is in a purely documentary form, lacking the characterisation of individuals. David Taylor comments on the visit which included MacGill's journey with the Australians that, 'although MacGill does not say so, the visit to France must have been officially endorsed and almost certainly state-funded.'[34] Taylor, with good reason, describes the account as 'a factual but propagandist account of antipodean valour'. The more serious and determinedly factual tone is indicated, for example, by the exact naming of French villages, rather than the use of terms like 'Mud-Wallow'. The Foreword was written by the then Australian premier, the Rt Hon W. M. Hughes. It acknowledges the importance of the war to the nation, 'the war has made of Australia – a young community without traditions – a nation',[35] and expresses great confidence in MacGill's portrayal of his countrymen: 'Although I have not seen the manuscript of *The Diggers*, with such a theme it is impossible that the author of *The Children of the Dead End* and *The Great Push* can fail.'[36] Nevertheless, for all its elements of propaganda, the book does have its comic elements and presumably reflects something of MacGill's impressions of the Australians he encountered.

33 MacGill, *The Dough Boys*, pp. 86 and 88.

34 Taylor, p. 146.

35 MacGill, *The Diggers*, p. 8.

36 MacGill, *The Diggers*, p. 11.

He reveals that he has in fact met Hughes during a visit of the latter to his troops at Amiens, when 'he told us many amusing stories of his life in Australia', and one of the stories contributes something to the more humorous elements of the book. Hughes recounts being put forward as a political candidate in a little township, 'where party strife was rife and where now and again matters of import were decided not by peaceful argument and gentle discussion, but by the heavy fists of angry men'. The culmination of the story occurs when, after the voting:

> he noticed a man in shirt sleeves coming tearing towards him, his face and neck beaded with perspiration.
> 'What's wrong?' Hughes exclaimed.
> 'The voting,' was the answer. 'You're chosen. Run for your life!'[37]

A similar, and somewhat stereotypical view of Australians, as pugnacious and argumentative is expressed in the story of a German gun, captured by the Australians, which, the story has it, will be sent to Australia, 'where sightseers in Sydney or Melbourne will look with awe on the mighty weapon captured by the Diggers in the great struggle'. However, MacGill recounts meeting an Australian in London who tells him that 'it would be wise to leave the gun where it is' as Melbourne and Sydney will fight over it.[38]

Such ever so slightly dismissive comments are, however, only a small part of the narrative, and quarrelsomeness is perhaps intended to be seen simply as the shadow side of the Australian quality of courage, frequently emphasised by the narrator, in part no doubt for the 'propagandist' reasons alluded to above, and shown, for example, in the description of the cost of their recapturing of Villers-Bretonneux in April 1918:

> Dawn saw the village cleared of the enemy and saw, too, the dead lying in heaps on the pavement and gutters [...] The Peninsula was terrible, Pozieres horrible, Polygon ghastly, but Villers-Bretonneux was sheer, undiluted hell.[39]

37 MacGill, *The Diggers*, pp. 106–107.
38 MacGill, *The Diggers*, pp. 89–90.
39 MacGill, *The Diggers*, pp. 37–38.

There follows a description of the camaraderie between the Americans and the Australians:

> In the fighting that ensued they [the Americans] showed themselves worthy of their new mates, attempted feats almost impossible and accomplished superhuman deeds. The Australians are loud in their admiration for the Americans and consider the Yankees as soldiers of muscle and mettle second to none.[40]

On the one hand this may be seen as a possibly exaggerated account of the courage of the Americans, in keeping with the officially sanctioned view, but it is also very typical of MacGill's interest in the way in which the nations who meet in the theatre of war form friendships. An amusing recurring theme is the judgement of the Australians that the Americans are 'Great fighters, but damned bad moppers-up!'[41] This remark typifies MacGill's method of somewhat stereotypical representation. Whole nations are summed up in a somewhat sweeping characterisation, but the characterisation is marked by good will, and faults are outweighed by virtues.

A similar fellow feeling to that between the Australians and Americans is evoked between the French and the Australians: 'Cordial relations bind the poilu and the Digger in terms of friendship, for the Australians love the French, and the French love the Australians.'

The narrator goes on to compliment both peoples, and his comments on the French reflect the themes of his earlier writing:

> This courtesy and kindness is not for a certain occasion with these people, it is their very nature. They seem to like to see everybody happy and in good spirits, and go out of their way to befriend and succour the men in khaki when these latter are in need of help.[42]

Of the Australians he says:

> Wherever the Diggers go they seem to win the universal affection of women and children. An officer told me how these big men, rough in many ways, fiery in language

40 MacGill, *The Diggers*, p. 42.
41 MacGill, *The Diggers*, p. 43.
42 MacGill, *The Diggers*, pp. 111–112.

> and frank to the point of brutality at times, when they come to the ruined homes near Villers-Bretonneux, set themselves during lulls in the fighting to the kindly job of repairing the houses, salving the property, setting the religious pictures at correct angles on the walls and mending the broken shrines.[43]

This is a comment, generalised though it is, which, by its acknowledgement of faults avoids idealisation and at the same time is a further example of the author's awareness of the great sufferings of the host French people. Throughout *The Diggers*, while the focus is on the Australian troops there are many reminders of the devastation inflicted on their French hosts, and on the beautiful land of France:

> the rich pastures of the Somme are barren wastes, the factories and distilleries huddles of charred wood, twisted iron, and broken bricks. [...] the eye wearies and the heart is heavy at the sight of the horror which has been heaped on the once fair land of France.[44]

Despite the exhilaration evident when the narrator of *The Red Horizon* first arrives in France in the early months of 1915, throughout MacGill's accounts of his time spent with the London Irish Rifles in France and his later portrayals of the Americans and the Australians, there is constant awareness of the suffering of the land and the people among whom he finds himself. Writing of *The Brown Brethren*, the reviewer in *The English Review* comments that MacGill 'hides nothing of the grim horror of the battlefield; he lets us see it with much the same vividness as Henri Barbusse in *Under Fire*',[45] a reminder that the French writer, witnessing the devastation of his own native land, was one of the first to reveal the real horror of the war.

MacGill portrays the devastation of the landscape, but also demonstrates the perspective of the rural Irishman, well aware of the hardships of life, who has real insight into the sufferings of the women and children of the country in which he finds himself. His portrayals of the French women, while they have some elements of the stereotyping arising from

43 MacGill, *The Diggers*, p. 113.

44 MacGill, *The Diggers*, p. 18.

45 'The Brown Brethren, By Patrick Macgill', *The English Review* 25 (1917), p. 480.

a strong awareness of nationhood and national difference, are insightful and sympathetic without being unduly sentimental.

His interest in the idea of differences between nations is present, not only in his accounts of the French but also of his own country, as well as the Australians and Americans whom he portrays affectionately, but always as displaying distinctive national characteristics. Even the Germans, portrayed in *The Great Push* as the enemy of whom he knows little, and with somewhat greater hostility in *The Dough Boys* and *The Diggers*, are complimented on their skill in trench building:

> In the building of these habitations of fear the German soldier has no equal. The Australian soldier may have more dash and energy in fighting than the Boche, the English soldier more pluck and resource, the Scot more stubbornness, but none of them can fashion better dug-outs than the German.[46]

The modern reader tends to read such generalisations negatively, as defining the individual purely by his national identity, but they should be seen as expressions of interest and curiosity coming from the pen of someone meeting the people of other nations for the first time and seeking a way of knowing them. In fact, with his instinctive sympathy for those amongst whom he finds himself, he succeeds in showing them as individuals. They provide the modern reader with an unusual insight into aspects of life in wartime France.

The final words of *The Dough Boys*, spoken by the Irishman, Sullivan, as he looks at young Gustave, demonstrate that beyond national affiliation, there is something more important: '"They're all the same wherever ye are," said Sullivan. "The boy in a billet is kin to the boy in a bungalow and children are children all the world over."'[47]

46 MacGill, *The Diggers*, pp. 83–84.

47 MacGill, *The Dough Boys*, p. 306.

BEN KEATINGE

8 'Of dream and deed sown in my travelling': Denis Devlin's Poetics of Travel

ABSTRACT
As a professional diplomat, Denis Devlin spent most of his adult life outside Ireland living in Italy, Turkey, the USA, as well as in France. Devlin's work has long existed outside the frame of domestic views of Irish poetry and his metropolitan outlook has often been interpreted in terms of Modernist paradigms of exile established by Joyce and Beckett. This chapter explores travel in Devlin's work in terms of Devlin's meditative religiosity as well as his more pragmatic, professional persona of diplomat. It offers elucidation of such major poems as 'Lough Derg', 'Meditation at Avila', 'Jansenist Journey' in terms of his *Via Contemplativa* and such poems as 'Memoirs of a Turcoman Diplomat' and 'Anteroom: Geneva' in terms of his *Via Activa*. Devlin's poetics of otherness and his 'travelling' are thus viewed in counterpoint via his dual appreciation of spiritual and worldly orientations.

Foreignness

As a professional diplomat, Denis Devlin spent most of his adult life outside Ireland living in Italy, Turkey and the USA, as well as in the UK and France. Unlike his friend Brian Coffey, he did not feel the insistent tug of his homeland and he was quite happy, in 1935, to join the Irish diplomatic service, as his contemporary Mervyn Wall suggests, simply to 'get out of Ireland'.[1] Unlike Joyce and Beckett, he did not see exile from Ireland as an enforced choice which needed to be explicitly formulated in terms akin to Stephen Daedalus' 'silence, exile and cunning', a kind of premeditated abandon-

1 Mervyn Wall, 'Michael Smith Asks Mervyn Wall Some Questions about the Thirties', *The Lace Curtain* 4 (1971), p. 79.

ment of national belonging. He was neither a provincial insider, like Patrick Kavanagh, nor a fully exiled outsider, like Samuel Beckett. Indeed, J. C. C. Mays, editor of Devlin's *Collected Poems*, argues that: 'For Devlin, even to think in terms of a national literary tradition is provincial and limiting.'[2] While sometimes associated with the so-called 1930s Irish Modernists – alongside Samuel Beckett, Brian Coffey and George Reavey – in reality, his development and publication history suggest a level of autonomy and independence from the mid-1930s onwards, and an outsider status.

Arguably, the necessity of living abroad became an integral part of his overall feeling of foreignness and detachment which melded with personal and spiritual dimensions of his outlook and deportment. Susan Schreibman suggests that the international dimension of Devlin's work conveys a diplomat's sense of '[f]oreigners, foreignness, being a foreigner in one's own land, being a foreigner abroad, being foreign to those one loves and is loved by, as well as one's self […]'[3] and Devlin's Irishness is conveyed in a poetics of distance and detachment. Hugh Haughton sees Devlin as a 'kind of latter-day "metaphysical" poet, caught between his two possible vocations of priest and diplomat'[4] noting also that 'His work thrives on a kind of unintegrated "foreignness"'.[5] Devlin's calling as a diplomat-poet allowed him to meld his personal reserve into a poetic style of hieratic authority and impersonal rhetoric, features which prompted Brian Coffey to characterise him as a 'poet of distance' whose work 'manifests […] the immensity within which all of us are […] interned'.[6] Devlin's detachment has the dignity and 'immensity' of a diplomat observing protocol, or a priest conducting the liturgy.

2 Denis Devlin, *Collected Poems of Denis Devlin*, ed. J. C. C. Mays (Dublin: Dedalus, 1989), p. 39.

3 Susan Schreibman, 'Denis Devlin 1908–1959', *The UCD Aesthetic*, ed. Anthony Roche (Dublin: New Island, 2005), p. 100.

4 Hugh Haughton, 'Denis Devlin and the Lines of Communication', *Krino 1986–1996: Anthology of Modern Irish Writing*, ed. Gerald Dawe and Jonathan Williams (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1996), p. 145.

5 Haughton, p. 151.

6 Brian Coffey, 'Denis Devlin: Poet of Distance', *Place, Personality and the Irish Writer*, ed. Andrew Carpenter (Gerrard's Cross: Colin Smythe, 1977), p. 137.

If Devlin's career renders the binaries of home and abroad or Ireland and elsewhere somewhat redundant, other binaries seem highly pertinent to his *oeuvre*. Several of his poems are dialogic, involving dialogues of self and soul in which a scrupulous self-questioning dramatises 'Frightened antinomies!' within the self, such as those in 'Est Prodest'.[7] But arguably the biggest antinomy is between the *Via Activa* of the well-travelled diplomat and the *Via Contemplativa* of spiritual self-examination found in so many of these poems. Devlin's diplomatic career – his *Via Activa* – is represented in such poems as 'Memoirs of a Turcoman Diplomat', 'Anteroom: Geneva' and 'Annapolis', where the poetic voice is worldly, ironic and sceptical. However, Devlin's intense Catholic spirituality – his *Via Contemplativa* – is evident in such landmark poems as 'Lough Derg', 'Meditation at Avila' and 'Jansenist Journey', to name just three representative poems, where the voice is spiritual, anxious and metaphysical. There is, then, throughout Devlin's *oeuvre*, the outward and the inner journey, the engagements of the professional and the spiritual self, sometimes converging, often diverging. More often than not, the voices are dramatised, rather than lyrical, and the self seems to appear as a foreigner within the fabric of the poem. Sometimes the voice is fully dramatic, such as that of the Turcoman diplomat. There is an interplay between outer and inner journeys; it is not a conventional poetics of travel, to be sure, but it is a poetry where foreign places and foreign parts play a crucial role both within and outside the self.

Devlin and the Golden Age of Travel

Devlin's diplomatic career coincided with developments in modern travel, notably the advent of civilian air travel as well as the age of the motor car. His career also coincided with the earliest phase in the development of Ireland's diplomatic corps and reflected its widening geographic range. In

7 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 153.

an early diplomatic assignment, Devlin accompanied Taoiseach Eamon de Valera to the League of Nations in Geneva in 1935. In 1938 he was posted to Rome as First Secretary and during the Second World War, he was based in the USA, first in the Irish Consulate in New York in 1939, and from 1940 as First Secretary in the Irish embassy at Washington DC. After the war, he was posted to London and in 1950 to a senior posting as 'minister plenipotentiary' of the Irish legation in Italy. After a spell in Turkey he returned to Italy as Irish Ambassador in 1958. He died in Dublin from leukaemia in August 1959. One of the most iconic photos of Devlin – reproduced in Alex Davis' book *A Broken Line: Denis Devlin and Irish Poetic Modernism* – is of Devlin descending the steps of an early Aer Lingus aeroplane,[8] probably at Shannon Airport, which, by 1947, was servicing transatlantic and European civilian air travel.[9]

The interwar and post-war era have witnessed the further evolution of travel from the privilege of a leisured elite towards being a mass phenomenon encompassing tourism, rapid inter-city transit and business travel. As David Paul reminds us in a review of sixteenth-century essayist Michel de Montaigne's *Travel Journal*:

> [...] it is difficult to think back to a time when all extended travel was something between an organised expedition and a pilgrimage, or a voyage that might extend to months and years; and only the leisured and wealthy, or those driven by need or vocation, were given to travel on any scale.[10]

Devlin's professional itineraries and the different foreign settings of his poetry reflect the gathering pace of change from a more leisurely age of travel to a more modern age. Some of his itineraries bear comparison with tourist itineraries of the period, especially with travel for religious purposes in the form of pilgrimages. For example, a travel brochure from 1936 produced

8 Alex Davis, *A Broken Line: Denis Devlin and Irish Poetic Modernism* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2000), p. xii.

9 See <http://www.shannonairport.ie/gns/about-us/history-of-shannon-airport.aspx>; the author thanks Professor Alex Davis, University College Cork for information concerning the photo of Denis Devlin on the steps of an Aer Lingus aeroplane.

10 David Paul, 'Meandering with Montaigne', *The New Criterion* 2 (March 1984), p. 70.

by the Catholic Travel Association demonstrates that those with means and leisure could choose from a wide variety of pilgrimage destinations in continental Europe during the 1930s, including guided tours of such important Catholic shrines as: Lourdes, Lisieux and Rouen, Rome, Salzburg and Vienna, Munich and the Catholic heartlands of Bavaria.[11] This might appear beside the point were it not for the important role which religious journeys – pilgrimages – played in the 1930s and beyond in opening up continental Europe for Irish people. Indeed, the two reasons an average Irish person might have had for travel in de Valera's Ireland would have been pilgrimage or emigration.

Denis Devlin was a comparatively sophisticated traveller; nevertheless, one of his best-known poems, 'Lough Derg', which describes the well-known pilgrimage site in Co. Donegal, seems to rest on a certain ambiguity between the poet's natural aloofness, even snobbery, and his spiritual communion and shared devotions with others. The first stanza implies social detachment:

> The poor in spirit on their rosary rounds,
> The jobbers with their whiskey-angered eyes,
> The pink bank clerks, the tip-hat papal counts,
> And drab, kind women their tonsured mockery tries,
> Glad invalids on penitential feet
> Walk the Lord's majesty like their village street.[12]

But this aloofness seems to have mellowed by the final stanza where the poet appears to accept his spiritual equality with others within the pilgrimage itinerary. He is on equal terms with 'This woman beside me murmuring *My God! My God!*'[13] at the poem's conclusion; an unexpected spiritual equality has surprised the poet. Perhaps this rests on the central ambiguity of pilgrimage: does the religious journey dissolve social boundaries or reinforce them? Is it a holiday from hierarchical norms or just ideological

11 The Catholic Travel Association, *Pilgrimages and Tours: Programme for 1936* (London: Catholic Travel Association, 1936), pp. 18–33.

12 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 132.

13 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 134.

ballast to those norms, or a combination of both? Devlin's poem doesn't answer these questions, but it does suggest that both emotions are possible in the mind of the sophisticated pilgrim.

Even if a comparison of Devlin's more rarefied locales and the prosaic realities of interwar tourism and travel may appear inapposite, nevertheless, looking at Devlin as a writer who has travelled offers a welcome opportunity to ground some of his more abstract poems in the tangible places to which they refer. It is, perhaps, in the simultaneous grounding and transcending of that ground that Devlin's poetry is best appreciated, that is, in a geographic variation of the mixture of *Via Contemplativa* and *Via Activa* which his career as a whole follows. In fact, one might stretch a point and use the term 'empirical mysticism' to describe what Devlin is doing in several poems.[14] Even in Devlin's spiritually aloof mode as, for example, in *The Heavenly Foreigner*, there are often geographical markers to be found, such as the (often ecclesiastical) locales which punctuate the poem: St Malo, Wells, Chartres, Schwabing, Ile-St-Louis, Geneva, Galway, Dublin, Sirmione, Irvine, Notre Dame de Paris. These markers are important and they provide a useful point of access to a poet whose work is sometimes felt to be unapproachable.

The *Via Contemplativa*

Another diplomat-poet whose work bears comparison with that of Devlin is former Secretary General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld (1905–1961), whose posthumously published volume *Markings* reveals an intensely introspective and spiritual dimension to a man who often had to

14 I borrow this term from *The Catholic Encylopedia* entry on St John of the Cross which includes the sentence: 'In the absence of any conscious or unconscious influence of earlier mystical schools, his own system, like that of St. Teresa, whose influence is obvious throughout, might be termed empirical mysticism.' See: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08480a.htm/> [Accessed 24 January 2016].

deal with diplomatic crises of a highly public nature. Originally published in Swedish as *Vägmärken* in 1963, Hammarskjöld's spiritual inward journeys are revealed to be at least as interesting as his travels in the wider world. In the Foreword, W. H. Auden states that 'the title of the book' could, in a 'literal translation', be rendered *Trail Marks* or *Guide Posts*, options which were rejected by Auden and co-translator Leif Sjöberg due to associations with the 'Boy Scout' for the 'British or American reader'.[15] The rejected title versions perhaps capture more accurately the sense, in both Hammarskjöld and Devlin, of life and poetry as being best represented by stations or staging-posts, such as those observed by pilgrims in the Lough Derg pilgrimage and at other pilgrimage sites and patterns. One senses, in Devlin and Hammarskjöld, that man is a 'momentary tourist' in this world, as Devlin suggests in 'Casa Buonaroti', and his wayfaring should best be viewed spiritually.[16] Hammarskjöld comments in *Markings* that 'The longest journey / Is the journey inwards'.[17]

In 'Meditation at Avila', Devlin refers to 'my viaticum, journey-food'.[18] The word 'viaticum', in Latin, means 'provisions for a journey' and, of course, it refers to the last rites in the Catholic faith which provide the soul of the dying person with his or her 'journey-food' for the hereafter. Devlin's poetics of travel need to be understood in this context as providing his soul with 'journey-food' for the Christian traveller. But the reference to 'dream and deed sown in my travelling' in the very same stanza of 'Meditation at Avila' reminds us that there is a practical side to Devlin as an 'empirical mystic' whose poems bridge the obligations of a world-weary pilgrim and a worldly wise observer of protocols. As Daniel Murphy suggests, Devlin's poems enact an 'agonised pursuit of a fulfilment transcending the conflicts of matter and spirit', and it is in the interstices of these 'tensed interrelations' – between matter and spirit or self and soul – around which many of these

15 Dag Hammarskjöld, *Markings*, trans. Leif Sjöberg and W. H. Auden (London: Faber and Faber, 1964), p. 26.
16 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 147.
17 Hammarskjöld, *Markings*, p. 65.
18 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 164.

poems pivot.[19] So the journey always has two levels: transcendent and earthbound, a timeless and time-bound set of co-ordinates which integrate the metaphysical and physical realms.

'Meditation at Avila' exemplifies this dilemma. The opening lines hold the promise of mystical experiences, such as those described by St Teresa and St John of the Cross, both associated with the Carmelite Order at Avila.

> Magnificence, this terse-lit, star-quartz universe,
> Woe, waste and magnificence, my soul!
> [...] Soul, my dear friend,
> Welcome as always;[20]

But if these lines imply a meditation of self and soul, with Devlin listening for spiritual 'magnificence', the silence is soon broken by the sounds of Devlin's fellow travellers:

> The Moroccan traveller says good night on the marble staircase
> That rises round the great hall too blank for ghosts.
> Flames in the brazier crouch; the hound chitters;
> The traveller's housewife
> Like a wife too long shut away in a new suburb
> Chatters: [...][21]

Even though the images of the travellers have an unreal quality, due to the poet's heightened state of consciousness, they nonetheless impinge on the otherwise 'terse-lit, star-quartz' scene. The Castilian landscape in 'Meditation at Avila' is perceived 'Harsh as the forehead of Iahveh' and Devlin displays an Old Testament contempt for the banalities of social discourse in such a setting. But the banalities subsist, both in 'Meditation at Avila' and 'Lough Derg', as an awkward reminder of the all-too-human realities of everyday human exchanges. They also recall the humanist credo

19 Daniel Murphy, *Imagination and Religion in Anglo-Irish Literature 1930–1980* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1987), pp. 92–93.

20 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 162.

21 *Ibid*.

of 'Man his own actor, matrix, mould and casting'[22] which ignores 'the Lord's majesty'[23] and His '[m]agnificence', as affirmed in Catholic teaching, which Devlin's poems often endorse.

There is another aspect to this hieratic rhetoric which returns us more closely to a poetics of travel in Denis Devlin's work: it is his evocation of the sublime. 'Meditation at Avila' evokes 'the Castilian highlands' which are austere and inhospitable, 'intolerant' and 'impalpable', provoking 'Fear' in the beholder.[24] In 'Est Prodest', a similarly fearful psychogeography is evoked:

> Tablelands of ice
> Bastions of blocks of light
> […] Boulders of ice, gentian,
> Daring, dominant
> As a tower drags up the eyes.[25]

There is nothing domestic or homely in these poems: their psychogeography is one of awe and submission. This, of course, can be read in the context of a Catholic spirituality, but the imagery also co-opts the rhetoric of the sublime which has been, especially since the eighteenth century, a topic of fascination for poets and travel writers. In his recent book *The Art of Travel*, Alain de Botton usefully summarises how 'the sublime' customarily impacts upon the traveller or pilgrim:

> Sublime landscapes […] allow us to conceive of a familiar inadequacy in a new and more helpful way. Sublime places repeat in grand terms a lesson that ordinary life typically teaches viciously: that the universe is mightier than we are […] Because what is mightier than man has traditionally been called God, it does not seem unusual to start thinking of a deity in [sublime places]. The mountains and valleys spontaneously suggest that the planet was built by something other than our own hands, by a force greater than we could gather, long before we were born […][26]

22 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 135.

23 *Ibid.* p. 132.

24 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 162.

25 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 150.

26 Alain de Botton, *The Art of Travel* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 169.

As de Botton reminds us, 'the lesson written into the stones of the desert or the icefields of the poles'[27] is exactly this feeling of inadequacy and consequent need to bow down and worship a force greater than our own. The psychogeography of Devlin's poems is closely linked to this sense of an immensity and force which overpowers us. In 'Est Prodest', this force is 'dominant', 'desperate' and overpowering: 'He is me otherwise'.[28] Similarly, in 'Meditation at Avila', the focus of devotion, Saint Teresa, is a 'Covetous, burning virgin!' whose presence is sensed amid the 'absolute blow / Of linear Castilian night' where 'Rock and sky' dominate the landscape.[29] The poet is psychologically pinioned by the spiritual 'magnificence' he senses around him.

Bordering on Devlin's sublime landscapes is the exoticism of the poem 'Ank'hor Vat' which dwells on the Eastern mystery of the temple complex at Angkor Wat in modern-day Cambodia. This archaeological heritage site, located in what was French Indo-China until 1953, became increasingly celebrated through the nineteenth century, popularised by French travel writers and artists. Devlin again feels the fear and awe of a divinity, what he calls 'the lissom fury' of a non-Western god.[30] Originally a Hindu shrine, since the thirteenth century Angkor Wat has been associated with Theravada Buddhism. By the poem's end, Devlin's response is similar to his response to a Christian deity:

> Let us lie down before him
> His look will flow like oil over us.[31]

Not unlike T. S. Eliot's fusion of Eastern and Western mysticism in *The Waste Land*, Devlin imagines a god of power, a distant and angry god who seems as strange and threatening as the jungle surrounding the temple complex. The co-option of foreignness or exoticism here serves the same psychological purpose as the co-option of the sublime elsewhere in Devlin's

27 *Ibid.*
28 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 150.
29 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 163.
30 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 159.
31 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 160.

oeuvre. Devlin is not at home with his god or himself and he admits his 'mental distance' from his surroundings.[32] Somehow, however, the poem reconciles '[t]he prolific divinity of the temple' with a more familiar god, and via this reconciliation, reaches its mellifluous conclusion by which anxiety and doubt are dissolved in the 'oil' which will 'flow' from the '[l]ook' of the divine.[33]

The *Via Activa*

Devlin's more worldly poetic voice can be heard in poems deriving more directly from his experiences as a diplomat. In 'Anteroom: Geneva', we find a poet alert to the possibilities of diplomatic intrigue especially to the detriment of small nations, such as Ireland, or Czechoslovakia, countries emerging from the rubble of empires, but not yet fully established in the world order:

> Better not let these private letters
> Reach the President. He gets worried, you know,
> About the personal misfortunes of the people;[34]

This poem, which was published after the war in Devlin's widely acclaimed collection *Lough Derg and Other Poems* (1946), would have left a chill with any reader alert to the actual results of politics and a diplomacy which disregards the rights of what this diplomat terms 'totally unnecessary people'.[35] As the site of the League of Nations during the inter-war period, Geneva represents a site of failed interwar diplomacy and alludes to the polite cynicism of *realpolitik* which plunged Europe into a second World War in 1939 which the idealistic League was impotent to prevent.

32 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 159.

33 *Ibid*.

34 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 169.

35 *Ibid*.

Devlin achieves a no less devastating effect in the poem 'Memoirs of a Turcoman Diplomat', published in 1959, in which he portrays the mind-set of a world-weary and cynical Turkish diplomat who is seemingly unconcerned by the human cost of the wars in the Balkans in the wake of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, from 1912 onwards. The poem includes nonchalant allusions to the Armenian genocide, the slaughter at Gallipoli, population displacements and ethnic cleansing of Greeks in Ottoman lands and sundry massacres in the Balkans.

> In the Foreign Office, they humorously ask my advice,
> My father had money, I was posted from place to place:
> What can I tell them? even if I got it right?
> There would be protocol about the right time and the right place.
>
> [...] And that our Westernising dictator, though free was no longer free
> When at Smyrna he tumbled the chatterbox Greeks into the sea,
> Turk lieutenants, waxed moustaches and all, and spiritless mugs of tea.[36]

The Turcoman diplomat enjoys a comfortable retirement untroubled by the millions 'wiped off the page'[37] during his lifetime and this insouciance towards humanitarian disaster is in keeping, perhaps, with the 'protocol' of diplomatic detachment. One senses Devlin's professional understanding of his mouthpiece's cynicism even as he deplores his nonchalance and unethical perspective. There is nothing mystical or transcendent here; we are dealing, rather, with a worldly and pragmatic view of things, shorn of any idealism.

One of the major themes of 'Memoirs of a Turcoman Diplomat' is the religious and ethnic conflicts which plagued the Balkans in the twentieth century. The diplomat-speaker of the poem admits 'we robbed Greece', but he discounts 'those comedians with their epics' with the simple statement: 'Why should a Turk care about that ilk?'.[38] In a region where Islam, Orthodox Christianity and Catholicism have vied for supremacy, the

36 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, pp. 297–298.
37 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 301.
38 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 298.

Turcoman diplomat both acknowledges the complexity of these ethnic problems while also evincing a world-weary fatigue with 'talk of genocide, and nation and race!'.[39]

The diplomat's memoirs are written at the twilight hour of the Ottoman Empire, but they allude to the conquests of 'Suleiman the Magnificent' (1494–1566)[40] whose armies overran Belgrade and almost reached Vienna in 1529. The poem bookends Devlin's awareness of the history and politics of early modern Europe which is also on display in a much earlier poem 'Before Lepanto: The Turkish Admiral Speaks to His Fleet', first published in Devlin's jointly authored volume *Poems* (1930), which also contained work by Brian Coffey. 'Before Lepanto' refers to a naval battle of 1571 in which the Turkish fleet suffered heavy losses at the hands of a joint Spanish, Venetian and Genoese fleet. The Turkish admiral of the poem exhorts his men to 'put on youth again' and face the 'Christian cannon crackling'.[41] The speech, much like the memoirs of the Turcoman diplomat, reads as a valediction as much as a call to action, with the admiral seeking 'benediction' from the evening's 'fair sunlight' when they set sail.[42]

More than just an educated diplomat's reflections on the currents of history, these poems illustrate how Devlin's European interests are mediated by his Catholicism. As a diplomatic representative of Ireland in both Turkey and Italy, he had reason to reflect on the clashes between East and West. But he shows also an awareness of one of the key elements of successful imperial expansion: an ability to integrate diverse ethnic and religious identities within a wide geographic space. The Ottoman Empire, like the Roman Empire preceding it and the contemporaneous British Empire, was nothing if not heterogeneous. Devlin, who worked during an age of intense nationalisms and international conflicts, had reason to reflect on an older, but more tolerant and plural type of polity.

Indeed, one of his intellectual exemplars was Michel de Montaigne on whom Devlin wrote his MA thesis at University College Dublin entitled

39 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 300.

40 *Ibid*.

41 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 98.

42 Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 99.

Montaigne Intime. Montaigne, who had first-hand experience in France of religious intolerance, was a strong advocate of tolerance and pluralism, even defending supposedly primitive peoples in his famous essay 'On the Cannibals'. Like Devlin, Montaigne was a well-travelled intellectual who, after several years of seclusion, made a long journey via (modern-day) Germany, Austria and Switzerland to Italy, where he enjoyed an extended sojourn in Rome from November 1580 to April 1581. In Rome, Montaigne was apparently:

> [...] dazzled and awe-stricken at the spectacle of the vast and ruinous habitation which then sheltered the greatest unifying influence still existing in the world; but, impressed as he was by the majesty of Papal power, he made it quite clear that this was not for him the true Rome.[43]

The historic destiny of Rome as an imperial centre must have similarly impressed Devlin, who was appointed Ireland's first Ambassador to Italy in 1958. It finds expression in Goethe's *Roman Elegies*, a selection of which Devlin translated from the German, in which he successfully conveys the dazzle and awe of the Italian capital in a mode which mirrors the evocation of the sublime in his own work:

> Stone and brick, O say me your name, Oh speak you lofty palazzi!
> Streets, pronounce one Word! Genius, you will not flare up?
> Yes, all that is life in thy holy walls was enlivened,
> Rome, only for me all is silent and still.
> O! who whispers to me, in what window do I perceive the
> Blessed creation once that brings me to life with fire?
> Do I suspect not the way through which for ever and ever,
> Backwards and forwards to her, I may offer expensive Time?
> Now, I consider churches and palaces, ruins and columns,
> As a conscientious tourist exploits his tour with care.[44]

43 W. G. Waters, 'Introduction', in Michel de Montaigne, *The Journal of Montaigne's Travels in Italy by Way of Switzerland and Germany in 1580 and 1581*, trans. and ed. W. G. Waters (London: John Murray, 1903), p. 15.

44 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Roman Elegies*, trans. Denis Devlin, in Denis Devlin, *Translations into English*, ed. Roger Little (Dublin: Dedalus, 1992), p. 293.

Both professionally and poetically, Devlin was a 'conscientious tourist' as his *Translations into English* suggest; this volume ranges from French, to Italian, to German poems translated into English and Irish. Chiara Sciarrino comments that:

> It was the years spent in Italy as a Minister Plenipotentiary first and as an ambassador later that made him an avid reader of European literature, and a frequent participant to literary meetings organised by the editor of *Botteghe Oscure*.[45]

But as we have seen, Devlin had, from his undergraduate years, an avid interest in different currents of European poetry and these interests were broadened and deepened during his time in Italy.

Of course, the predominant continental influence on Devlin's poetry came from his reading and translation of modern French poetry, especially the work of Paul Éluard, René Char and his close collaboration with Saint-John Perse (1887–1975). It is evident that there is a close affinity between Saint-John Perse's mature style and Devlin's later writing and it is as diplomat-poets whose work is imbued with a poetics of exile that this relationship can best be charted. Nevertheless, the intense abstraction of Perse's poetry, in such long poems as *Exil*, *Pluies* and *Neiges* – all translated by Devlin – seems to evoke a generalised homelessness or foreignness which is an important, but not the only ingredient, to Devlin's poetics of travel. If Devlin can be read, via Perse, as a '[p]recarious guest of the moment, man without proof or witness',[46] he is also a poet whose credentials have a geographical orientation which needs to be clearly defined.

45 Chiara Sciarrino, 'Influences, Translations, Settings: An Evaluation of the Literary Relations between Ireland and Italy', *Studi Irlandesi* 1/1 (2011), p. 224.

46 Saint-John Perse, 'Snows', trans. Denis Devlin, in Devlin, *Collected Poems*, p. 256.

Irish Cosmopolitanism

Samuel Beckett's review of Devlin's volume *Intercessions* (1937) suggests that Devlin's poetry should be 'free to be derided (or not) on its own terms and not in those of politicians, antiquaries (Geleerte) and zealots'.[47] He further suggests that 'the common rejection as "obscure" of most that is significant in modern music, painting and literature' is due to a vulgar preoccupation with 'social reality' whereby a 'solution' is 'clapped on a problem like a snuffer on a candle'.[48] Beckett defends Devlin against the charge of his 'form as overimaged' and rather insists, in a well-known admonition, that 'art has nothing to do with clarity', thereby defending the 'passionate intricacy' of Devlin's volume.[49]

In spite of Beckett's defence of Devlin's style against an alleged obscurity, the perception that Devlin's form is sometimes wilfully 'overimaged' has not gone away. For example, in an analysis of *Intercessions* in the context of 1930s Irish poetry, Alan Gillis trenchantly accuses Devlin of writing poems which are 'pompously Parnassian'[50] and 'evangelistic'[51] with a style characterised by 'outlandish grandiloquence'.[52] It seems that this kind of discussion about form cannot be readily resolved and while Beckett's and Gillis' insistence that Devlin's poetry be viewed 'on its own terms' – in terms of form – is to be welcome, we should also be alert to the contexts in which Devlin's formal difficulties are often read.

Gillis admits that, in spite of its 'non-referentiality', Devlin's poetry 'registers the historical upheavals of the 1930s'.[53] Indeed, Gillis implies that Devlin veers between the role of 'solipsistic malcontent' and a poetry which

47 Samuel Beckett, 'Intercessions by Denis Devlin', in Samuel Beckett, *Disjecta: Miscellaneous Writings and a Dramatic Fragment*, ed. Ruby Cohn (London: John Calder, 1983), p. 91.

48 Beckett, *Disjecta*, pp. 91–92.

49 Beckett, *Disjecta*, pp. 93–94.

50 Alan Gillis, *Irish Poetry of the 1930s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 98.

51 Gillis, p. 109.

52 Gillis, p. 99.

53 Gillis, p. 100.

is 'historically effective'.[54] As we have seen, this ambiguity between a poetry which engages with social reality and a more solipsistic poetry might more usefully be viewed in terms of the *Via Contemplativa* and *Via Activa* which, as has been argued, encompass the dominant modes of Devlin's writing. It remains, by way of conclusion, to briefly reconsider the particular modes of dislocation that Devlin's poetry presents us with and to see whether the term 'Irish cosmopolitanism' might be a useful way of defining the kind of deracination sometimes perceived in Devlin's poetic career.

In his book *Irish Cosmopolitanism: Location and Dislocation in James Joyce, Elizabeth Bowen, and Samuel Beckett*, Nels Pearson uses the term 'cosmopolitanism' to describe:

> [...] forms of travel in which world territory, although frequently or broadly traversed, is never a vague and dim, un-bordered universe, but a continually physical or material, if cartographically layered and historically overlapping, ground.[55]

The sense in Devlin of a universal foreignness, of being always elsewhere, exhibits both concrete and abstract dimensions, as we have seen, but it corresponds quite closely with 'cosmopolitan approaches' which are described by Pearson as resulting from:

> [...] the awareness that living and thinking 'beyond' the homeland begins with the understanding that 'home' is not easily understood in terms of fixed space and linear or sequential time, and that one's 'country' signifies incongruent and deferred associations between political sovereignty, shared territory, and historical or cultural identity.[56]

Thus, the claim made at the outset of this chapter that Devlin is neither a fully exiled outsider, nor a provincial insider, may be further elucidated. The point here is that there is not a mode of belonging which is then forsaken, or a point of orientation which is superseded by disorientation, or a stable construct of home to be rejected; rather, the homeland is in process

54 Gillis, p. 108.

55 Nels Pearson, *Irish Cosmopolitanism: Location and Dislocation in James Joyce, Elizabeth Bowen, and Samuel Beckett* (Gainesville: Florida University Press, 2015), p. 68.

56 Pearson, *Irish Cosmopolitanism*, p. 73.

and the mode of rejecting or moving beyond the homeland is necessarily also in process. Thus, Devlin's career, arguably, moves beyond the home/elsewhere binary. Instead, it offers us a cosmopolitan view of 'dream and deed' – contemplation and action – which are 'sown' in the process of 'travelling'. These 'cartographically layered' experiences are both concrete and abstract involving people and places which surface and resurface throughout Devlin's poetic career and which serve as useful staging-posts through which to view his poetic achievement.

PART II

Voyage, Gastronomy, Marketing and Sport

Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire

9 The Influence of French Travellers on Irish Gastronomy

Abstract

For centuries, French culinary practice has been hegemonic among the elites in the Western world. This exploratory chapter adopts what the Annales School christened *la longue durée* approach as it investigates the influence of French travellers on Irish gastronomy. The study of food history is multidisciplinary and indeed trans-disciplinary in nature and this chapter uses a variety of sources to broaden our understanding of the influence French travellers (including various explorers and traders, Anglo-Norman colonists, political migrants, visitors/commentators, and migrant workers) had on shaping Irish gastronomic practice over time. French tourist numbers increased dramatically after President de Gaulle's visit and the beginning of the roll-on roll-off car ferries between Cherbourg and Rosslare in the early 1970s. The chapter concludes that by 2011 Irish gastronomy was recognised to be on a par with that of France and suggests that in the future the influence may be reversed.

For centuries, French culinary practice has been hegemonic among the elites in the Western world. This was not always the case and has in recent years experienced some diminution in the face of competition from Oriental, Spanish and Nordic cuisines. This exploratory chapter adopts what the Annales School christened *la longue durée* approach as it investigates the influence of French travellers on Irish gastronomy over the long period of history.[1] The study of food history is multidisciplinary and indeed trans-disciplinary in nature and this chapter uses a variety of sources from numerous disciplines to broaden our understanding of the influence French travellers had on shaping Irish gastronomic practice over time. The word 'gastronomy' derives from two ancient Greek words: *gaster* (the stomach and by extension the digestive system) and *nomos* (rule or regulation).

1 S. Watts, 'Food and the Annales School', in J. Pilcher (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Food History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 3–22.

Yet it is two Frenchmen, Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin (1755–1826) and Alexandre Balthazar Grimod de la Reynière (1758–1837) who are noted as the fathers of gastronomy. Most modern dictionaries define gastronomy as 'the art or science of good or delicate eating',[2] far narrower than that of Brillat-Savarin who considered gastronomy to pertain to 'a range of disciplines including natural history, physics, chemistry, cookery, commerce and political economy'.[3]

This chapter will discuss various explorers, traders and adventurers; colonists (Anglo-Normans); political migrants (Huguenots); visitors/commentators (Le Gouz, Jouvain, Cartier-Bresson);[4] migrant workers (French chefs, bakers, waiters, restaurateurs, confectioners); but also French tourists, whose numbers increased dramatically after President de Gaulle's visit and the beginning of the roll-on roll-off car ferries between Cherbourg and Rosslare in the early 1970s.

Travel between France and Ireland is not just a recent phenomenon resulting from the convenient connections provided by Ryanair, Irish Ferries or Brittany Ferries. Clonycavan Man, a bog body found in County Meath in 2003 and now on display in the National Museum of Ireland, had a form of hair gel containing resin that originated in the Mediterranean, showing that there was trade in luxury products between Ireland and southern France during the Iron Age nearly 2,500 years ago.[5] Analysis of the stomach contents of Clonycavan Man shows a diet rich in vegetables, suggesting he was killed in the summer or early autumn months. Advances in analytical techniques such as osteo-archaelogy, stable isotope analysis, not to men-

2 B. Santich, 'Hospitality and Gastronomy: Natural Allies', in C. Lashley et al. (eds), *Hospitality: A Social Lens* (Oxford: Elsevier, 2007), pp. 47–60.

3 J.-A. Brillat-Savarin, *Physiology of Taste* [Translation by Ann Drayton of *Physiologie du Goût*.] (London: Penguin, 1994), p. 379.

4 F. de La Boullaye de la Gouz, *The tour of the French traveller M. de La Boullaye Le Gouz in Ireland, A. D. 1644* (1644): <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100076.html> [Accessed 2 November 2015]; Albert Jouvain *Description of England and Ireland under the restoration* (1668): <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100075/index.html> [Accessed 6 December 2011]; H. Cartier-Bresson, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: L'Exposition* (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2014).

5 K. Lange, 'Tales from the Bog', *National Geographic* (September 2007).

tion the study of coprolites, reveals a much more nuanced story of our ancestors' diet than previously understood.[6] Along with the luxury hair gel, spices, dried fruits and wines were among the luxury foodstuffs commercially traded between Ireland and the French Mediterranean. Many other foodstuffs that we consider such a regular part of our ancestors' diet and indeed part of the Irish landscape were actually introduced by the Normans and did not form part of the indigenous flora and fauna.[7]

The Anglo-Normans

The Anglo-Normans were descendants of Viking raiders who had settled in north-west France in the ninth century. They invaded England in 1066 and by 1100 they controlled vast areas from England to southern Italy and were helping establish the new Crusader states in Palestine. Martin suggests that apart from the introduction of Christianity, no other event has changed the destinies of Ireland as the Norman arrival in 1169.[8] Norman contribution to Irish life was dramatic and impressive. They introduced feudalism, guilds, and improved agriculture, established towns, built castles and churches, and introduced new monastic orders. The monastic communities of Celtic times were superseded by highly organised abbeys and priories. By the thirteenth century, Lamb and Bowe propose that the Augustinian Priory of Kells, Co. Kilkenny, would have had eel weirs, fish from the river, and a diverted watercourse that would drive the mill that ground wheat and corn from the monastery's granges and farms.[9] Separate enclosures within the priory gardens would have produced fruit, roots and herbs.

6 M. Mac Con Iomaire, 'Gastro-Topography: Exploring Food-Related Placenames in Ireland', *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 38 (1&2) (2014), pp. 126–156.

7 J. P. Mallory, *The Origins of the Irish* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2013).

8 F. X. Martin, 'The Normans: Arrival and Settlement (1169–c.1300)', in T. W. Moody and F. X. Martin (eds), *The Course of Irish History* (Cork: Mercier, 1990), p. 123.

9 K. Lamb and P. Bowe, *A History of Gardening in Ireland* (Dublin: The Stationery Office for the National Botanic Gardens, 1995), p. 11.

New culinary techniques and recipes were also introduced in the twelfth century by the Anglo-Normans, including the built up oven, and the use of spices and sweet and sour combinations. The Normans also introduced new varieties of animals, birds and fish, including the white fleeced sheep, domesticated duck, mute swan – as opposed to the native whooper swan – pike, rabbits, pheasants, pigeons and fallow deer.[10]

The Anglo-Normans adopted Irish culture rapidly, intermarried with Irish families and their surnames were 'Gaelicised', with the Norman 'Fitz' and 'de' differentiating between the descendants of the invaders and the natives who used 'Mac' (son of) or 'Ua' (grandson of). Despite Norman control of two-thirds of the country by 1366, the year the Statutes of Kilkenny were passed to prevent the English from adopting Irish ways, Gaelic culture prevailed. By the end of the fifteenth century the English crown ruled only a small area around Dublin, known as the Pale.[11]

The Origins and Spread of French *Haute Cuisine*

In Europe, during the Middle Ages, the use of spices was one of the markers that separated the tables of the wealthy from the less well off. The development of sea-routes to the Orient led to wider availability of spices and the French nobility gradually began to spurn their use. French classical cuisine was born with the publication of La Varenne's *Le Cuisinier François* in 1651, and was refined further by the *nouvelle cuisine* writers of the eighteenth century, such as La Chapelle, Marin and Menon. These writers promoted the idea that the specific flavour of food should be highlighted rather than

10 R. Sexton, 'Ireland: Simplicity and integration, continuity and change', in D. Goldstein and K. Merkle (eds), *Culinary cultures of Europe: Identity, diversity and dialogue* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 2005), pp. 227–240 (p. 230).

11 B. Smith, 'The Conquest of Ireland', in S. Duffy (ed.), *Atlas of Irish History* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1997), pp. 32–49 (p. 35).

masked, and developed the use of stocks and sauces to capture the essence of individual ingredients, preferring the use of herbs such as parsley, thyme and bay leaf to the previously used spices of the Orient. The increased use of sugar, vegetables, New World foods and beverages, and the fashion for ices all occurred during this period. Two types of cuisine, never completely distinct or interchangeable, developed side by side: *haute cuisine* in the larger kitchens, and *cuisine bourgeoise* in the small kitchens of the prosperous classes.[12] This use of new ingredients and flavour combinations and the development of new cooking techniques which interacted to give birth to *haute cuisine* originated in France, and above all, in Paris. The new model of French cuisine became dominant among the elite throughout Europe, although variously mediated by local customs. One of the primary sources of evidence for this cuisine is the cookbooks and culinary manuscripts found throughout Europe and indeed in Ireland. Many of the French cookbooks such as La Varenne's were translated and published in England. Some were also published in Dublin, avoiding English copyright laws. Some notable English cookbooks have recipes with a distinctly Irish flavour such as 'Tripe a la Kilkenny'.[13]

There are three recipes in Lancelot de Casteau's book *Ouverture de cuisine* which have the term 'in the Irish style' in their titles.[14] De Casteau's book was published in Liège, where he had previously served as master cook to three prince-bishops in the sixteenth century, which may explain the Irish influence. It is considered the first cookbook to be published in French in the Low Countries and is a blend of Medieval and the emerging *haute cuisine*. One of the commonalities of the three recipes is the use of butter, wine and cinnamon as a flavour combination. Spanish wine features

12 B. K. Wheaton, *Savouring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300–1789* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1983), p. 231.

13 H. Glasse, *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy* (London, 1788); R. Briggs, *The English Art of Cookery, According to the Present Practice* (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1788); J. Farley, *The London Art of Cookery and Housekeeper's Complete Assistant* (London: Scratcherd and Whitaker, 1792).

14 L. de Casteau *Ouverture de cuisine* (Liège, 1604).

in Irish songs and poetry of this period,[15] and this reference predates the Irish merchant's settlement and development of wine in Bordeaux.

A leg of mutton roasted in the Irish style

Take your leg, & beat it well strong without tearing the skin: then put it to temper in vinegar three or four hours: afterwards taking it out, & make it sweat with a cloth. & put cloves therein, & little pieces of cinnamon the length of a little finger, & lard it with a little sage & marjoram, & put to roast on a spit, & always basted well in butter & Spanish wine: when well cooked cut two citrons into little slices, & cast on with the fat that is in the pan, & a little vinegar, & serve so.

To garnish a duck in the Irish style

Put to boil a good duck, when cooked take some *malvoisie*, new butter, and take the roots of radishes well ground: put sugar & cinnamon therein, and make it boil, and cast it onto the duck, and serve so.

To make a peeled veal head in the Irish style

Take a veal head with the rind, & put it that it is well salted, & let it cook well: when cooked remove the rind close by hand, then take the brains out from therein, & array like the other brains: then have trenchers of bread well held, & put the brains between two trenchers, & make to fry in butter: then take prunes, raisins, dates cut in two, & pine nuts, & put all to boil with Spanish wine, sugar & cinnamon therein cast on the head, & the fried brains around the plate, & serve so.

French Influence in Irish Courtly Cuisine

There has been French influence in the dining of the Irish elite since the late seventeenth century. An Anglo-Irish Gentry class emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with a rich and varied cuisine, influenced by the professional French chefs who had become a fashionable addition

15 Mac Con Iomaire, 'Gastro-Topography: Exploring Food-Related Placenames in Ireland' (2014).

to their kitchens. Keeping a male cook was the height of sophistication, but a French cook carried extra cachet.[16] The supply of French or French trained chefs increased during the nineteenth century. The pinnacle of this French influence was in the courtly cuisine of the Lord Lieutenants in Dublin Castle and the Viceregal Lodge in the Phoenix Park. Changing courtly style permeated down through the kitchens and dining rooms of the Anglo-Irish gentry who attended castle events and travelled widely as part of the 'Grand Tour' around Europe, which was an important part of their education during this period.

For example, Robert Smith, who wrote the *Court Cookery* or *The Compleat English Cook*,[17] notes on the frontispiece that he was cook (under Mr Lamb) to King William, as also to the Dukes of Buckingham, Ormond, D'Aumont (the French Ambassador) and others of the nobility and gentry. The named Duke of Ormond is James Butler, who was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1643, attended Charles I in Hampton Court Palace in 1646 and in 1648 joined the Queen and the Prince of Wales in Paris to avoid arrest by parliament.

From 1767, Lord Lieutenants took up full-time residency in Ireland, resulting in the Irish court reaching its peak of brilliance and extravagance during the last three decades of the century. The 1st Earl of Harcourt had served as court chamberlain in St James' and as ambassador in Paris prior to taking residence in Dublin (1772–1776). He was a man of immense personal wealth who gave and expected extravagant hospitality.[18] On commencing his viceroyalty, the Duke of Rutland (1784–1787) dispatched the chief cook of Dublin Castle to France to expand his culinary repertoire by completing *stages* (internships) at French royal courts such as the renowned gourmets, the Franco-Irish Bishop of Narbonne, Arthur Richard Dillon,

16 M. Mac Con Iomaire, 'The emergence, development and influence of French Haute Cuisine on public dining in Dublin restaurants 1900–2000: an oral history', PhD Thesis (Dublin Institute of Technology, 2009) <http://arrow.dit.ie/tourdoc/12/> [Accessed 2 November 2015].

17 R. Smith, *Court Cookery: or*, *The Compleat English Cook* (2nd Edn) (London: T. Wotton, 1725).

18 J. Robins, *Champagne & Silver Buckles: The Viceregal Court at Dublin Castle 1700–1922* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 2001), pp. 61–62.

and the Duc d'Orleans.[19] In 1786, he sent another member of his household to France to purchase the best 'Sillery' and 'Hautvillers' champagne for the castle cellars, which were deemed at the time to be the growth preferred in Paris to any other.[20]

Bordeaux Claret 'Irish Wine'

Claret, the red wine of Bordeaux, was consumed so widely and with such relish during the Georgian period in Ireland that Dean Swift referred to it as 'Irish wine'.[21] Strong links with Bordeaux had been formed prior to the Georgian period, indeed an Irish College had been founded in Bordeaux in 1603. However, it was during the eighteenth century that socio-economic links between Bordeaux and Ireland reached new levels of importance thanks particularly to what the French termed *les oies sauvages* but more particularly what Murphy christened the 'winegeese'.[22] Murphy's term refers to the members of the Wild Geese who became involved in the wine trade in France and made Bordeaux their 'home' in a spiritual and cultural sense: families such as Lynch, Ffrench, Kirwan, Dillon, MacCarthy and O'Byrne whose surnames became synonymous with the wine trade. Chad Luddington argues that it was the Irish winegeese families and other English merchants that provided the finance to elevate Bordeaux wine into a luxury good.[23]

19 M. Mac Con Iomaire and T. Kellaghan, 'Royal Pomp: Viceregal Celebration and Hospitality in Georgian Dublin', in H. Saberi (ed.), *Celebration: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 2011* (Devon: Prospect Books, 2012), pp. 163–173.

20 Robins, *Champagne & Silver Buckles: The Viceregal Court at Dublin Castle 1700–1922* (2001).

21 T. Kellaghan, 'Claret: the preferred libation of Georgian Ireland's élite', Dublin Gastronomy Symposium 2012: <http://arrow.dit.ie/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1028&context=dgs> [Accessed 4 November 2015].

22 T. Murphy, *A Kingdom of Wine: a celebration of Ireland's winegeese* (Cork: Onstream, 2005), p. 35.

23 Speaking at the inaugural meeting of the Beverage Research Network affiliated with the Dublin Gastronomy Symposium at IT Tallaght, 7 October 2015.

They purchased the Bordeaux wine from the producers, and then invested the capital to age the wine in warehouses along the quayside until it was ready for the lucrative London market, thus transforming it into a superior product. This illustrates the two-way influence in Franco-Irish trade and interaction. These Hiberno-French merchants did not rely solely on the Irish market; their clients also included the upper echelons in England and later in America.[24] Ludington describes the politics of wine consumption in Britain from 1649 to 1862, noting that claret was a royalist wine later favoured by the Tories, although also consumed privately by the Whigs.[25] There are many examples of Irish travellers in Britain complaining to tavern and chop-house keepers about the quality of wines served, assuring them, as in one incident in 1761, that they 'belonged to the kingdom that knew the difference between good and bad claret'.[26] It was through the connections with the Hiberno-French merchants, often through marriage, that Irish wine merchants established a reputation for the excellence of their claret which lasted well into the Victorian era, with George Berkley musing, 'was there any kingdom in Europe so good a customer to Bordeaux as Ireland?'.[27]

French Huguenot Influence

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries French Calvinist Protestants were persecuted and alienated by a Catholic monarchy, causing as many as 500,000 of them to flee the country. A small number of them, almost all from around the French city of La Rochelle, ended up in Ireland, settling in small communities in Youghal, Waterford, Cork, Lisburn, Dublin and

24 T. McConnell, 'Ireland in the Georgian Era: Was there any Kingdom in Europe so good a customer at Bordeaux?', in B. Keatinge and M. Pierce (eds), *France and Ireland in the Public Imagination* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014), pp. 223–240.

25 C. Luddington, *The Politics of Wine: A New Cultural History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2013).

26 T. Barnard, *A New Anatomy of Ireland: The Irish Protestants, 1649–1770* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 332.

27 Murphy, *A Kingdom of Wine: a celebration of Ireland's winegeese*, p. 159.

perhaps most famously in Portarlington in Co. Laois (formerly known as Queen's County). By 1700 there were more than 500 French people living in Portarlington on land which had been granted to the Marquis de Ruvigny by King William. The 280-strong French Huguenot communities in 1692 Dublin had swollen to 3,600 by 1720, evidence of which is still visible in the Huguenot cemetery beside Dublin's Shelbourne Hotel, St Stephen's Green.[28] More than 200 different surnames are recorded on headstones in this cemetery, giving an indication of just how large the community was at one time. Almost none of those names are now found in Ireland. Huguenot names still popular in Ireland today include Cobbe, Deverell, Guerin, Blanc, Champ, Millet and Trench.

French Huguenot refugees brought expertise in practical horticulture, and introduced new vegetables to Ireland. A bill for seeds bought by Huguenots from The Hague includes among others 'asparagus, radishes, tomatoes, sensitive plants, several sorts of lettuces and about sixty sorts of flower seed, lemon or citrus trees, mhirtle balls in pots and turnip seed'.[29] Clearly not all Huguenots were master weavers or silversmiths and they all would have brought French culinary practice and techniques with them either professionally or through domestic practice. The instance of Huguenot and continental names such as Audouin, Villebois, Bertrand, Leseure, Caneur, Vignau, Maziere and Dubedat amongst the sugar bakers of Dublin by the 1700s is noteworthy.[30] In the ranking of guilds the most prestigious were those whose members sold to wealthy clients, so confectioners were often ranked higher than, for instance, ordinary bakers. Cashman[31]

28 R. Vigne, '"*Le Projet d'Irlande*": Huguenot migration in the 1690s', *History Ireland* 2/2 (1994), p. 21; J. S. Powell, 'Languedoc in Laois: the Huguenots of Portarlington', *History Ireland* 3/1 (1995), p. 29.

29 K. Lamb and P. Bowe, *A History of Gardening in Ireland* (Dublin: The Stationery Office for the National Botanic Gardens, 1995), p. 26.

30 B. Mawer, *Sugarbakers: From Sweat to Sweetness* (London: Anglo-German Family History Society Publications, 2011).

31 D. Cashman, 'French Bobbys and Good English Cooks: The Relationship with French Culinary Influence in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Ireland', in B. Keatinge and M. Pierce (eds), *France and Ireland in the Public Imagination* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014), pp. 207–222.

notes a number of French confectioners working in Dublin during the Georgian period, including Peter Mequinon who came to Dublin in the employ of the Marquess of Townsend during his tenure as Lord Lieutenant (1767–1772). He appears to have served with the Marquess for a year as in 1768 he is established in Britain Street, now Parnell Street, as a pastry cook. According to Strickland[32] he afterwards moved to Sackville Street, now known as O'Connell Street, then Park Street, subsequently opening a tavern in Dawson Street. Another sugar baker working in Dublin, Paul Seguin, is identified by Strickland[33] as a Huguenot refugee from Guienne in south-west France, and may be related to another Seguin working in York in 1764, describing himself as a 'Confectioner from Paris'.[34]

French Visitor Commentary of Irish Gastronomy

As previously mentioned, during the medieval period food throughout the courts of Europe was similar in that it was highly spiced and had high quantities of butcher's meat and game as a sign of wealth and status. One French traveller to Ireland in the seventeenth century, just after La Varenne had revolutionised French cooking, shows how food in Ireland still maintained strong medieval links. Describing a salad he is presented with in the town of Dromore, Albert Jouvain says that it was:

> made according to the mode of the country, of I know not what herbs; I think there were sorrel and beets chopped together; it represented the form of a fish, the whole without oil or salt, and only a little vinegar made of beer, and a quantity of sugar strewed over it, that it resembled Mount Etna covered in snow, so that it is impossible to be eaten by any one not accustomed to it. I made my host laugh heartily

32 W. Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists* (2 vols) (Dublin: Maunsel & Company Ltd, 1913).

33 *Ibid.*

34 L. Mason, *Sugar-plums and Sherbet: The Prehistory of Sweets* (Devon: Prospect Books, 1998), p. 26.

> in the presence of a gentleman, a lord of the town, on asking for oil to season this salad, according to the French fashion, and after having dressed it, I persuaded the gentleman to taste it, who was pleased to hear me speak of the state and customs of France, and told me he was extremely desirous of seeing France.[35]

Another French traveller visiting Ireland, François de La Boullaye de la Gouz, notes that salmon, herring and butter were exported and along with wool and cloth were traded for French wine.[36] He also notes that the Irish gentlemen eat 'a great deal of meat and butter and but little bread. They drink milk and beer, into which they put laurel leaves, and eat bread baked in the English manner.' He continues to note that the poor grind barley and peas between stones to make a rough bread which they eat 'with great draughts of buttermilk'. He notes that 'their beer is very good, and the *eau de vie* which they call Brandovin Brandy excellent.' He concluded by stating that the 'butter, the beef and the mutton are better than in England'. He also comments on the hospitality of the Irish and notes that the Irish are fond of strangers and on entering a house, once you offer some snuff to your host, you will be received with admiration and given the best they have to eat. In *A Frenchman's Walk throughout Ireland, 1796–1797*, Chevalier de La Tocnaye also praises the hospitality of the Irish and notes that in six months he was only six times at an inn, and that when refused lodgings by a priest one night in Waterford, he was shown hospitality by a beggar woman in her cabin in the company of nearly half a dozen nearly naked children, a pig, a cat, a dog, two hens, and a duck.[37]

Another glimpse of the complexity of the relationship between Ireland, England and France is afforded by Bishop Stock's narrative of the French invasion of Mayo in 1798. Kennedy demonstrates how Bishop Stock, held captive in his castle by French officers under Lieutenant Colonel Charost, found the French ways of easy sociability much more congenial than those

35 Jouvain, *Description of England and Ireland under the restoration* (1668), p. 421.

36 M. de La Boullaye Le Gouz, *The tour of the French traveller M. de La Boullaye Le Gouz in Ireland, A. D. 1644*.

37 C. de La Tocnaye, *A Frenchman's Walk Through Ireland 1796–1797*, trans. John Stevenson (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1984).

of their English liberator, 'They dined, drank and spent long evenings conversing together'.[38] The theme of food and conviviality runs through the narrative, 'as he candidly admitted, during his captivity he had enjoyed fine food and excellent wine that the French had requisitioned from the cellars and larders of his loyal neighbours'.[39] In a form of reverse hospitality Stock's narrative demonstrates the importance of food and hospitality in establishing affections between Ireland and France, despite contradictory allegiances to England.[40]

French Chefs and Confectioners in Ireland

There is evidence of French chefs working outside of France prior to the French Revolution, but their numbers increased dramatically following 1789. Many of these, such as the famous Beauvilliers, had been working for the Aristocracy and Nobility and found it safer to leave France for fear of facing the Guillotine. Although the phenomenon of the restaurant first appeared in Paris nearly three decades before the Revolution, their numbers dramatically increased in post-Revolutionary Paris.

Despite the Revolution disrupting gastronomic institutions, particularly the aristocratic households which were the centre of *haute cuisine* until this time, Wheaton proposes that more survived than were lost.[41] She points out that although some cooks went abroad, 'others went to work for the newly important restaurants and the notables at the top of the reshaped

38 C. Kennedy, 'Our Separate Rooms: Bishop Stock's Narrative of the French Invasion of Mayo 1798', *Field Day Review* 5 (2009), pp. 94–107.

39 Kennedy, 'Our Separate Rooms: Bishop Stock's Narrative of the French Invasion of Mayo 1798', p. 102.

40 Cashman, 'French Bobbys and Good English Cooks'.

41 B. K. Wheaton, *Savouring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300–1789* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1983), p. 232.

social structure'. Jerrold[42] cited in Trubek[43] writes: 'If the princely kitchens have decayed, the number of people who know how to eat has vastly increased. Clubs (and restaurants) have spread among men knowledge of refined cookery, The Revolution has democratized the kitchen'. Mennell notes that the new restaurant going public also meant that in matters of culinary taste, there was now such a thing as public opinion.[44] He wrote, 'a restaurateur could now establish a reputation which carried through the new public by word of mouth, by the new gastronomic press, and by the influence of opinion leaders'.

The development of *grande cuisine*, he suggests, can be understood in this new situation, more in terms of competition between restaurateurs for clientele than the more general competitive social display between rich patrons. The new gastronomic press was pioneered by Grimod de la Reyniere and Brillat-Savarin, previously identified as the fathers of gastronomy, as they provided the rules in their writings by which newly wealthy or aspiring members of society could climb the social ladder, and at the same time display both their new found wealth and status through their dining choices. Food had always been a social signifier, but from this period onwards, where and how you dined was a clear marker of your cultural capital.

The supply of French chefs and confectioners increased in Ireland during the nineteenth century. Trubek notes that there were over 5,000 French chefs working in Britain by 1890. Analysis of the 1901 and 1911 census for Dublin reveal a number of French chefs, cooks, confectioners, restaurant proprietors, managers, club managers and waiters working in the city.[45] A more detailed trawl of the 1901 and 1911 censuses for the whole country reveals that over 10 per cent of the chefs listed in both censuses

42 W. B. Jerrold, *The Epicure's Yearbook and Table Companion* (London: Bradbury, Evans, 1868), p. 145.

43 A. B. Trubek, *Haute Cuisine: How the French invented the Culinary Profession* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 41.

44 S. Mennell, *All Manners of Food* (2nd Edn) (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), p. 143.

45 M. Mac Con Iomaire, 'Searching for Chefs, Waiters and Restaurateurs in Edwardian Dublin: A Culinary Historian's Experience of the 1911 Dublin Census Online', *Petits Propos Culinaires* 86 (2008), pp. 92–126.

were born in France.[46] Some of the most prominent chefs identified with Ireland include Alfred Suzanne, Michel and François Jammet, Camile Fauvin, Pierre Rolland and Patrick Guilbaud.

French Chefs and Restaurateurs in Ireland

Alfred Suzanne, born 1829 in Normandy, arrived in Dublin in 1847, during the Famine, to work as chef in the kitchen of the Earl of Clarendon, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1847–1852). He cooked for Queen Victoria, who stayed with the Clarendons at the Viceregal Lodge during her visit to Ireland in 1849.[47] Both Suzanne's father and grandfather were notable chefs.[48] In the subsequent forty years he spent in Ireland and England he also worked for the Earl of Wilton and the Duke of Bedford.[49] Suzanne was one of the top French chefs who collaborated with Auguste Escoffier on *Le Guide Culinaire*.[50] In 1894 he published *La Cuisine Anglaise et sa Pâtisserie*, probably the only book on English cooking written by a French chef for a French audience.[51]

The Irish Times' advertisements give evidence of the first French restaurant, the 'Café de Paris', attached to a Turkish Baths in Lincoln Place in 1861. The Burlington Restaurant was opened by Henry Kinsley on 2 January 1865, but the renamed Burlington Restaurant and Oyster Saloons was taken over in 1872 by Joseph Corless, formerly manager of Burton Bindon's on D'Olier Street and late of Hynes, Dame Street. In November 1884, Thomas

46 M. Mac Con Iomaire, 'Haute cuisine restaurants in nineteenth and twentieth century Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 115C (2015), p. 377.

47 Robins, *Champagne & Silver Buckles: The Viceregal Court at Dublin Castle 1700–1922* (2001), p. 124.

48 Anon., 'Celebrated Chefs – No. IX: Alfred Suzanne', *The Chef: A Journal for Cooks, Caterers & Hotel Keepers* 1/9 (1896), pp. 1–2.

49 Trubek, *Haute Cuisine: How the French invented the Culinary Profession*, p. 77.

50 Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, p. 160.

51 Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, p. 176.

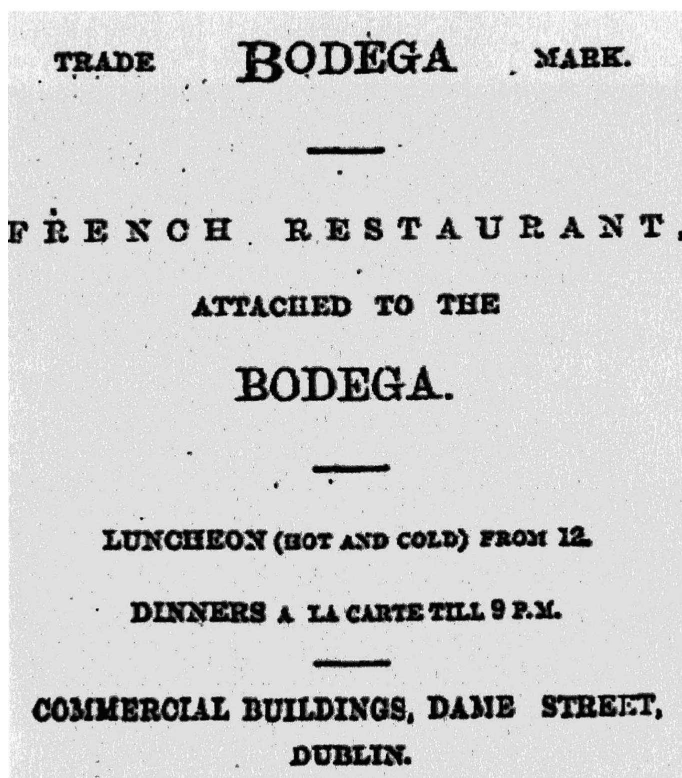
Corless advertises a 'First-class French Cook' in 'The Burlington Restaurant and Dining Rooms', Andrew Street and Church Lane.[52] Next to Hynes in Commercial Buildings Dame Street (now where the Central Bank is) was the Bodega, and in 1890 an advertisement notes a French restaurant attached to the Bodega (Figure 9.1).

The leading French restaurant in Dublin during the twentieth century was Restaurant Jammet (1901–1967). Jammet's was opened in 1901 in the former location of the Burlington Restaurant and Oyster saloons in Andrew Street by Michel Jammet, who had worked as a chef for five years in the Viceregal Lodge, and his brother François, who had married into the *Boeuf a la Mode* restaurant in Paris. Jammet's moved to Nassau Street in 1926 when the lease of the Andrew Street building reverted to the Hibernian Bank. In the new premises, which had formerly been Kidd's Empire Restaurant, there were two entrances: one from Nassau Street, and the other from Adam's Lane off Grafton Street to the Oyster Bar. Louis Jammet took over the family restaurant from his father Michel and along with his wife, Yvonne Auger, was central to the French Benevolent Society in Dublin all his life. A photo of a meeting of the Society in 1930 (Figure 9.2) includes the French Consul-General to Dublin, Monsieur Blanche and also Camille Juhel, who is listed in the 1911 Census as a French Confectioner who was married to a Dublin girl. Louis Jammet had fought in the French Army in the First World War and would later become and remain a committed Gaullist.[53]

Camille Fauvin was a French chef who was born on 18 August 1859 in Chateau Landon, Seine et Marne, and went to London as part of a scheme to improve the standard of food in England. He received acknowledgement for his culinary art from the Duke of Clarence, cooked for the Royal Family in London on many occasions, married Susannah McIntosh from Kent and

52 *The Irish Times*, 1 November 1884, p. 4.

53 Mac Con Iomaire, 'Searching for Chefs, Waiters and Restaurateurs in Edwardian Dublin'; Mac Con Iomaire, 'The emergence, development and influence of French Haute Cuisine on public dining in Dublin restaurants 1900–2000: an oral history'; For further detail on his life, see: M. Mac Con Iomaire, 'Louis Jammet', in J. McGuire (ed.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), vol. 4, pp. 956–958; A. Maxwell and S. Harpur (eds), *Jammet's of Dublin: 1901–1967* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2011).



TRADE BODEGA MARK.

FRENCH RESTAURANT,

ATTACHED TO THE

BODEGA.

LUNCHEON (HOT AND COLD) FROM 12.

DINNERS A LA CARTE TILL 9 P.M.

COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS, DAME STREET,

DUBLIN.

Figure 9.1: Advertisement for French restaurant attached to the Bodega. Source: *The Irish Times*, 28 August 1890, p. 4.

came to Dublin in 1899 to work as a chef in the Stephen's Green Club,[54] where he remained for ten years before opening the Restaurant Continental in 1909 in 1 Upper Sackville Street and Earl Street. *The Evening Mail* 15 April 1909 states, 'there can be no doubt that the Restaurant Continental with its distinctive and original features will command the support of all who recognise that to the French has been granted exceptional skill in the

54 Therese Murray (grand-daughter of Camille Fauvin), telephone interviews and written correspondence with Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire, December 2004.

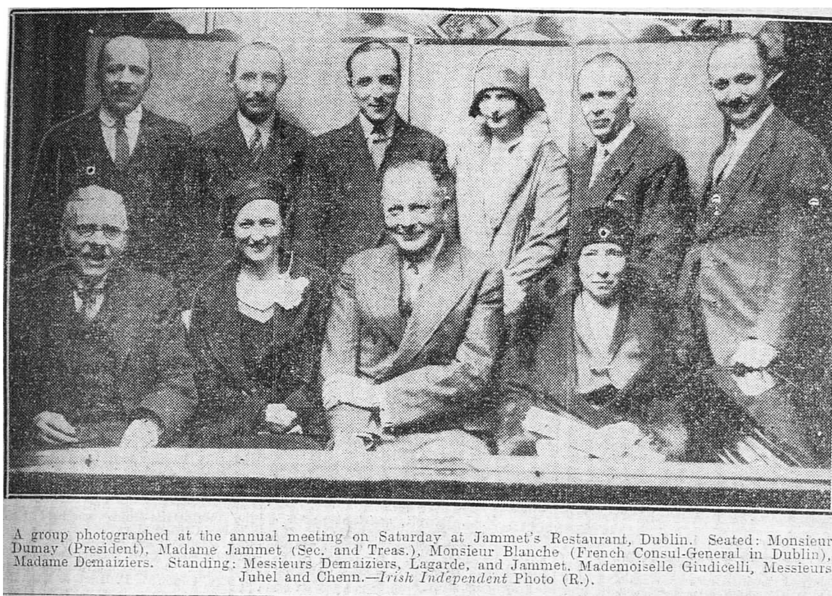


Figure 9.2: The French Benevolent Society in Jammet's Restaurant.
Source: *Irish Independent*, 28 April 1930.

art of preparing food.' The Restaurant, however, was destroyed during the 1916 rebellion and all that was rescued from the ruins was a fork. Fauvin returned to England where he died in 1926. His wife came back to Dublin after his death.

The Red Bank Restaurant on D'Olier Street originated as Burton Bindon's Tavern in the mid-nineteenth century and got its new name from the Red Bank Oysters that it was famous for – which came from the border of Co. Clare and Galway near Muckinish Castle. It was renowned for its seafood and game, which can be seen depicted still today on the reliefs of the building and it oscillated over the twentieth century between *haute cuisine* and *cuisine bourgeoise*. One of its most famous French chefs was Jean Rety from Macon in the post-World War II years. The menu had all the classical French fish dishes such as Prawn Bisque, Sole Bonne Femme, Lobster Thermidor and Coquilles St Jacques Mornay. The Red Bank closed in 1969 and the head chef and some of the team moved to the Lord Edward

Restaurant, which still had these classical French fish dishes on its menu until it closed in 2016.

Kenneth Besson of the Russell and Royal Hibernian Hotels brought over a number of talented French chefs and managers including Pierre Rolland, Roger Noblet, and Monsieur Maurice.[55] In 1956, both the Russell and Restaurant Jammet were awarded recognition by the American *Holiday Magazine* as being among the most outstanding restaurants in Europe. An article on The Russell and its head chef Pierre Rolland in *The Irish Hotelier*[56] described the cooking as 'frankly of the Cordon Blue category, as befits a *chef de cuisine* who is numbered among the ten most distinguished culinary experts in France'.[57] The article suggests that 'only a gourmet educated in the finer aspects of gastronomy can fully appreciate the quality of the cuisine'. Declan Ryan of Arbutus Lodge trained and later dined in The Russell and commented that it was absolutely top class and that the discerning customers at that time were the last of the Anglo-Irish families and the international guests who would visit, particularly for Horse Show Week and the various race meetings. Róisín Hood (née Jammet) explained how the French and Italians were great restaurateurs because it was a family affair and all members of the family did their bit to help the enterprise, mostly unpaid, in a similar way that the Irish are great horse people, and the horse industry in Ireland is very much run by members of the extended family working together, mostly unpaid, in feeding, mucking out and exercising the horses.[58] The Irish love for horseracing is clear in the classic photograph by renowned French photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson (1908–2004) at the Thurles races in 1952 which featured on the

55 M. Mac Con Iomaire, 'Pierre Rolland', in J. McGuire (ed.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, vol. 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); pp. 594–595; M. Mac Con Iomaire, 'Kenneth George Besson', in J. McGuire (ed.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 505–506.

56 *The Irish Hotelier*, February 1954.

57 Pierre Rolland is the grandfather of the Irish international rugby referee Alain Rolland, whose father Henri was also an award-winning chef, who had his own restaurant in Killiney, County Dublin.

58 R. Hood, Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire Interview with Róisín Hood (Jammet), 18 January 2006 in Enniskerry.

cover of the book accompanying an exhibition of his work in the Centre Georges Pompidou.[59]

In 1981, Patrick Guilbaud opened a purpose built restaurant in Dublin. Guilbaud was born in Paris and had catering on his mother's side of the family. He apprenticed as a chef in one of the leading restaurants of Paris, *Ledoyen*; in the British Embassy in Paris; in Munich, Germany; and back to Paris to a seafood restaurant called *La Marée*. Wanting to improve his English he took a position in the Midland Hotel in Manchester. After a year or so, he became manager of a French restaurant in Manchester called *La Marmite*. Guilbaud notes that when he opened his own restaurant, *Le Rabelais*, in Alderley Edge, Cheshire, one of his customers was an Irishman, Barton Kilcoyne, who invited him and his wife to Ireland for a holiday.[60] They were impressed by Dublin, sold the restaurant and built their Dublin restaurant with Kilcoyne as a minor shareholder.

Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud was awarded one Michelin star in 1989 and was awarded two-Michelin stars in 1996.[61] They have trained generations of chefs and waiters (both Irish and foreign born) who have gone on to open their own restaurants in Ireland, and Patrick Guilbaud, his chef Guillaume Lebrun and manager Stéphane Robin, must be credited with the rise in quality of Irish gastronomy. *Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud* is currently the only two Michelin starred restaurant in Ireland.

De Gaulle's 1969 Visit and the Rise of French Tourism to Ireland

On 27 April 1969, France voted against reform of the Senate and of the regions; General de Gaulle resigned his office as President of the Republic. A few days later, on 10 May, a GLAM aeroplane brought the famous man,

59 H. Cartier-Bresson, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: L'Exposition* (2014).

60 Patrick Guilbaud interview with Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire in *Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud*, 20 February 2008.

61 Mac Con Iomaire, 'Haute cuisine restaurants in nineteenth and twentieth century Ireland', p. 401.

his wife and his *aide de camp* to Ireland for a holiday, far from the centres of power and the elections to come. They stayed in Kerry, Connemara, Down and Dublin and the intense media coverage of his visit (interested in which presidential candidate he favoured) influenced many French citizens to visit Ireland in its aftermath. Campbell notes that leading French chefs such as Paul Bocuse and Jean Troisgros came on regular fishing holidays to Ireland and that Bocuse once related that a slightly undercooked dish of wild salmon served in Ernie Evans Tower Hotel in Glenbeigh was 'the birth of nouvelle cuisine'.[62] French tourism to Ireland was also boosted by the appearance of car ferry sailings between both countries.

The first car ferry between Rosslare and Le Havre was operated by Normandy Ferries on 17 May 1968, carrying 31,000 passengers in the first season and doing two sailings a week by 1969. By 1971 they stopped the service and the Irish government requested Irish Shipping and the B&I Line to re-open the service. In 1972, Irish Shipping set up a new company, Irish Continental Line, in partnership with other Irish and Scandinavian interests. A new car ferry, with 547 berths and space for 210 cars, was purchased for the Ireland France route. The ship, named St Patrick, was launched on 17 January 1972 at Schichau Unterweser, Bremerhaven, Germany. With a financially stable ferry operation and a comfortable modern ship, the concept of motoring holidays to France became popular among Irish holidaymakers. This was matched by an equal interest in Ireland among Continentals, particularly French, Germans and Dutch. Hauliers took advantage of the direct sailings to France and the service grew. This also facilitated Irish seafood and other food produce being exported to the French market in better conditions and quicker than previously possible. As the doyenne of Irish gastronomy, Myrtle Allen, once said, 'the best food in France is also grown in Ireland'.[63]

The Blue Book Association was formed in 1974 with eleven founding members who realised that there was a gap between the bed and breakfast accommodation and the larger hotel industry which was not being marketed at that time. By filling this gap the Association has ensured the economic well-being of some of Ireland's historic properties which might

62 G. Campbell, 'Development of Irish food and hospitality', in G. Campbell (ed.), *Egon-Ronay's Jameson Guide 1994 Ireland* (London: Egon-Ronay, 1994), p. 97.

63 Statement by Myrtle Allen, Ballymaloe Restaurant, at official opening of Ballymaloe Cookery School, 14 November 1983.

otherwise have fallen into decay. Many of the Blue Book properties became the centre of fine dining during the 1970s and 1980s, and some were run by French families such as the Graves in Ballylickey House in County Cork.

One such Blue Book proprietor, Declan Ryan of Arbutus Lodge, notes that the French visitors in summer were the arbiters of taste who forced him to stay sharp. He and his brother Michael had completed '*stages*' in the kitchens of Paul Bocuse and the Troisgros brothers in France. Other Irish chefs, such as Kevin Thornton, Ernie Evans and Michael Clifford, also spent some time training in France. Claude Troisgros worked in Arbutus Lodge in Cork for a while, could not settle back in France and ended up in Brazil. A Cork doctor's wife eating in Rio during a medical conference recognised the brilliance of his cooking and asked if the chef was French and had he ever worked in Cork.[64]

Full Circle: Ireland's Restaurants among the Best in the World

The French justifiably have a reputation for producing the world's finest cuisine. As previously mentioned, Myrtle Allen has noted that this fine cuisine often includes Irish raw materials, particularly Irish beef, lamb and seafood. It came as a major – but welcome – surprise in 2011 that France's best-selling travel guide gave Ireland's recession-weary restaurant industry a boost by declaring the dining experience in Ireland even better than what was on offer in France. *Le Guide du Routard*, the travel bible of the French-speaking world, even went so far as to praise Ireland's restaurants for being unmatched the world over for the combination of quality of food, value and service.[65] It seems that after many centuries of French traveller influence,

64 M. Mac Con Iomaire, 'Identified by Taste: The Chef as Artist?' in *TEXT* (Special Issue Website Series No. 26), (2014) <http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue26/MacConIomaire.pdf>.

65 M. Mac Con Iomaire, 'From Jammet's to Guilbaud's': The influence of French Haute Cuisine on the Development of Dublin Restaurants', in M. Mac Con Iomaire and

and nearly a century of independence, Ireland has arrived at a moment in time when a young, well-travelled, highly educated generation of chefs and restaurateurs are beginning to make a mark on the global gastronomy stage for the quality and creativity of their food.

One such individual is Mark Moriarty, who won the San Pellegrino Young Chef Award 2015, beating off competition from 3,000 applicants from around the world.[66] His dish comprised a piece of celeriac roasted like a joint of meat and blow-torched with an 'Irish miso' pearl barley fermented for seven months. A 'celeriac salt' was grated over the plate made from a piece of celeriac brined and then dehydrated for three weeks so that it looked like a truffle, and the dish was topped with roasted hazelnuts. In a final flourish, hay-smoked tea was served in Moriarty's grandmother's teacup, a wedding present from 1956. The hay was sourced from a champion horse trainer's yard in County Meath, connecting the dish with the Irish passion for horseracing. The tea cup was a nod to nostalgia and a link with Ireland's long tradition of tea-drinking. Hazelnuts have a long Irish heritage and are linked to the mythological tale 'the Salmon of Knowledge'. The fermented pearl barley was a nod to our more famous fermented national beverage 'Guinness'. Moriarty's dish encompassed Brillat-Savarin's[67] description of gastronomy as 'a range of disciplines, including natural history, physics, chemistry, cookery, commerce and political economy' and added to it the current zeitgeist for food that is local, sustainable and linked to heritage.

I conclude this chapter with a prediction that in the next ten years Ireland will become a global destination for gastronomic tourism, and that perhaps in the future French travellers to Ireland will return to France and influence French gastronomy with what they saw, ate and learned in the Emerald Isle.

E. Maher (eds), 'Tickling the Palate': Gastronomy in Irish Literature and Culture (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014), pp. 121–141.

66 D. McQuillan, 'Young Irish chef wins international award in Milan', *The Irish Times*, 28 June 2015 <http://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/food-and-drink/young-irish-chef-wins-international-award-in-milan-1.2265725> [Accessed 2 November 2015].

67 Brillat-Savarin, *Physiology of Taste*.

JOHN MULCAHY

10 Food (in) Tourism Is Important, Or Is It?

ABSTRACT

Tourism is relatively modern, both in the literature (largely from a sociological perspective), and as a concept. Contemporary tourism researchers tend to see tourism as a 'state of mind' and, rather than classify it as a singular experience, consider tourism as a series of experiences (food being a noticeable medium) in which some type of 'otherness' is explored. From another perspective, anthropologists such as Claude Lévi-Strauss[1] have emphasised that eating is not only a basic physical need, but also, and perhaps primarily, a marker of social and cultural belonging.

Ireland is very well known and recognised for the quality of its ingredients and produce. Potentially, the dishes available to the tourist have unmistakably positive connotations as being pure, natural and good. Yet, if food is to be the primary reason for travel, Ireland does not feature in the minds of consumers.

Having outlined these perspectives and context, this chapter will attempt to demonstrate that, instead, gastronomy positively augments the majority of tourist experiences in Ireland. Not only that, the authenticity and sustainability of gastronomy in Irish tourism will be shown to depend on sectors that may not perceive tourism as important, as well as the indigenous population itself. Its importance, therefore, is far-reaching.

Throughout history, practical economic needs have repeatedly motivated people of all classes to improve culinary technology, thereby achieving gastronomic progress.[2] This appears logical, as food, its sourcing, preparation and consumption, has always been fundamental to civilisation and daily life, so much so that modern society has integrated all food activities so comprehensively that they have become disconnected and almost invisible.[3] It is easy to forget that travel and food have always been conjoined throughout history – for reasons additional to the daily need

1 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *L'origine des manières de tables* (Paris : Plon, 1968).

2 G. Rebora, *Culture of the fork: a brief history of food in Europe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), p. x.

3 M. Symons, *The pudding that took a thousand cooks: the story of cooking in civilisation and daily life* (Victoria, Australia: Viking, Penguin Books Australia, 1998), p. 190.

for sustenance. Travellers may have taken their food with them; depended on the food available during the journey or at their destination; sought to establish what the local food might be; in many cases, the reason for travel was food itself, searching for tradable foods, such as spices, which had great economic value in Europe.[4] Anthropologists such as Claude Lévi-Strauss have emphasised that eating is not only a basic physical need, but also, and perhaps primarily, a marker of social and cultural belonging.[5] Indeed, there is an increasing body of work which sees the consumption and experience of food 'on site' as being core, although not mainstreamed as yet:

> In short, foodways and cuisine are a more important part of the tourism system than simply food and food services; they are imbued with cultural meaning, experience and permanence.[6]

These perspectives about food are not new. There is considerable evidence that, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, food was the primary means by which travellers gauged difference between themselves and the people they were meeting on their travels – and they wrote about it in terms of cultural meaning and social markers.[7] In addition, similar to what is expected now, there was a contemporary literature available to prospective travellers offering advice on what, and how, to observe on their journey, with food a prominent element of the recommendations. For example, in 1548, one commentator, Ortensio Lando, perhaps one of the earliest forerunners of food tourism, suggested in his literature a tour

4 S. H. Katz and W. W. Weaver (eds), *Encyclopedia of Food and Culture*, *Volume 3: Obesity to Zoroastrianism*, *Index* (New York: Scribner, 2003), p. 416.

5 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *L'origine des manières de tables* (Paris: Plon, 1968).

6 D. J. Timothy and A. S. Ron, 'Understanding heritage cuisines and tourism: identity, image, authenticity, and change', *Journal of Heritage Tourism* (2013), pp. 99-104, p. 99.

7 E. R. Dursteler, 'Bad Bread and the "Outrageous Drunkenness of the Turks": Food and Identity in the Accounts of Early Modern European Travelers to the Ottoman Empire', *Journal of World History* (2014), pp. 25, 203–228.

for a hypothetical visitor from Sicily north to the Alps, recommending where to stop and eat local food specialities.[8]

It was only in the latter part of the nineteenth century that travel, facilitated by economic and technological improvement, evolved into tourism, both in the literature (largely from a sociological perspective) and as a concept.[9] Contemporary tourism researchers tend to see tourism as a 'state of mind' and, rather than classify it as a singular experience, consider tourism as a series of experiences in which some type of 'otherness' is explored.[10] The difficulty is that there is no single theory for being a tourist and no single practice can define tourism, thus implying a great degree of diversity. It is a matter of perception, which Leiper demonstrates so well in his discussion on tourism by using a poem by John Saxe.[11] The poem illustrates how different blind men encounter various parts of an elephant and relate what each believes the whole to be. One held the trunk and thought the whole to be a snake; a second concluded a tusk to be a spear; while another held a leg, assuming it to be a tree. The elephant is none of those observations, nor is it the sum of them. Similarly, in Leiper's view, observers need to understand what they see when they perceive the tourism industry, or a part of it. Given that perspective, tourism now continues to evolve as part of the contemporary experience economy, and food is increasingly a more obvious and considerable component of that.[12]

With the advent of the digital age, tourism has become even more complex in its production. Each tourist now has more control over the 'what', 'when' and 'how' of their tourism experiences through social media, peer-review sites, and a multiplicity of websites providing the means to self-organise, in real time. Thus, each individual tourist experience is a series

8 M. Montanari, *The Culture of Food* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996), p. 160. M. Montanari, *Let the meatballs rest, and other stories about food and culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

9 N. H. H. Graburn and D. Barthel-Bouchier, 'Relocating the Tourist', *International Sociology* (2001), pp. 16, 147.

10 Katz and Weaver, *Encyclopedia of Food and Culture*, p. 407.

11 N. Leiper, *Tourism management*, Frenchs Forest (N. S. W.: Pearson Education, 2004).

12 G. Richards, 'An overview of food and tourism trends and policies', *Food and the Tourism Experience: The OECD-Korea Workshop* (OECD Publishing, 2012).

of distinct moments, connecting service provider/producer and tourist/consumer, influenced on both sides by need, mood and context.[13] This complexity in the individual compares to the structural complexity and granularity of the tourism and hospitality industry in terms of its ability to service each distinct moment of consumption, whether that is having a meal, getting on a bus, going to an event or visiting an attraction.

So, whether in travel accounts from the early modern period, in contemporary developed economies, or perceived by affluent tourists, while food may well be perceived only as 'fuel' or a survival necessity, it is also perceived as a means of enriching experiences, expressing personal identities, adding to a quality of life. Globalisation has increased interest in, and focus on, the regional identities and roots of our culture. Food habits are fundamentally related to 'national character' and how they reflect people's social and cultural values. Examples of this would include: Jewish or Muslim countries not eating pork, or Catholics not eating meat on Fridays; the Moroccan habit of eating sweet pastries with soup; Italians and pasta; Spaniards and tapas; Ireland and potatoes. Not only that, food arguably occupies a meaningful place in people's consciousness, as evidenced by its huge attraction as a topic of modern public commentary, usually in social media.

So, What Is Food Tourism?

There are an increasing number of examples of destinations embracing food tourism, and there is much academic work theorising about food tourism, but there does not seem to be an agreed taxonomy, or a critical analysis of the subject. It is not entirely clear that there is a common understanding of, or agreement on, what constitutes 'food tourism'. It has been pointed out that, in defining food tourism, there is a real need to differentiate between tourists who consume food as a part of the travel experience and

13 J. D. Mulcahy, 'Future Consumption: Gastronomy and Public Policy', in I. Yeoman, U. McMahon-Beattie, K.Fields, J. Albrecht and K. Meethan (eds), *The Future of Food Tourism: Foodies, Experiences, Exclusivity, Visions and Political Capital* (Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications, 2015).

those tourists whose activities, behaviours and even destination selection is influenced by an interest in food.[14]

Indeed, the phrase itself appears to have become flexible enough (or perhaps sufficiently misunderstood) to be considered to mean, more or less, the same as culinary tourism,[15] gastronomy tourism,[16] gourmet tourism, cuisine tourism and tasting tourism[17] (Figure 10.1).

Gastronomic Tourism	'A means by which visitors can begin to learn about and appreciate a different culture'[18]
	'Gastronomic tourism applies to tourists and visitors who plan their trips partially or totally in order to taste the cuisine of the place or to carry out activities related to gastronomy.'[19]
Food Tourism	'Travel for the specific purpose of enjoying food experiences'[20]
	'As a necessity when travelling'[21]
Culinary Tourism	'the intentional, exploratory participation in the foodway of an Other … considered as belonging to a culinary system not one's own'[22]

Figure 10.1: Definitions of gastronomic, food and culinary tourism.

14 C. M. Hall and L. Sharples, 'The consumption of experiences or the experience of consumption? An introduction to the tourism of taste', in C. M. Hall, L. Sharples, R. Mitchell, N. Macionis and B. Cambourne (eds), *Food Tourism Around the World: Development, management and markets* (Oxford and Boston, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2003). OECD, 'Food and the Tourism Experience: The OECD-Korea Workshop' (OECD Studies on Tourism, 2012), p. 52.

15 L. M. Long, 'Culinary tourism: a folkloristic perspective on eating and otherness', *Southern Folklore* 55: 3 (1998), pp. 181–204.

16 A.-M. Hjalager and G. Richards (eds), *Tourism and gastronomy* (London: Routledge 2002).

17 J. C. Henderson, 'Food tourism reviewed', *British Food Journal* (2009), pp. 111, 317–326.

18 B. Santich, 'Gastronomy and gastronomic tourism', *First Malaysian Gastronomic Tourism Conference* (Kuala Lumpur, 2008), p. 1.

19 United Nations World Tourism Organisation, 'Global Report on Food Tourism', in P. Jordan (ed.), AM Reports (Madrid: World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), 2012), p. 7.

20 D. Getz, R. Robinson, T. Andersson and S. Vujicic, *Foodies & Food Tourism* (Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers, 2014), p. 6.

21 E. Wolf, *Culinary tourism: the hidden harvest* (Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 2006), p. 5.

22 Long, 'Culinary tourism'.

Food Tourism

Drawing on Lucy Long's work,[23] Molz observes that eating and tourism are closely linked as people 'travel to eat' and 'eat to travel' and that the intersection between food and travel, exploratory eating, is identified as culinary tourism.[24] In her review of Lucy Long's book *Culinary Tourism*, Lockwood takes issue with Long's perspective that culinary tourism does not have to include travel. Rather, one can be a culinary tourist when visiting a local ethnic restaurant or supermarket, or when cooking a dish from another culture. So culinary tourism, according to Long, can be any experience, direct or vicarious, with the food of others. For Lockwood, 'armchair tourism' is divorced from context; experience of both food and its culture has to be the essential criterion for culinary tourism.[25]

There is even further confusion on what an expert or enthusiast in the area should be called, starting in 1820 with 'connoisseur' and 'gourmet', through to 'foodie' in 1980, and the American preference for 'culinarian' in 2011.[26] This is complicated by the reality that all these terms have different connotations in different languages, cultures and socioeconomic groups.

A casual review of promotional material, print and digital media would demonstrate that the current discourse uses all these terms interchangeably and, more recently, has invoked the current trend of 'food as experience', for example.[27] In the promotional material for a new German publication, the publisher asserts that '[e]ating is more than a pastime, it's a party; food is more than nourishment, it's a social experience', and describes it as 'new food culture' in the title of the book.[28]

23 L. M. Long, *Culinary tourism* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004).

24 J. Germann Molz, 'Eating Difference: The Cosmopolitan Mobilities of Culinary Tourism', *Space and Culture* (2007), pp. 10, 77–93.

25 Y. R. Lockwood, 'Culinary tourism', *Journal of American Folklore* (2008), pp. 121, 362–363.

26 D. Goldstein, 'Whats in a name?', *Gastronomica: The Journal of Critical Food Studies* (2011), pp. 11, iii.

27 G. Richards, 'Food experience as integrated destination marketing strategy', *World Food Tourism Summit* (Estoril, Portugal, 2015).

28 G. Pines, R. Klanten and S. Ehmann (eds), *The Delicious: A Companion to New Food Culture* (Berlin: Gestalten, 2015).

The result is much commentary which, in my view, is flawed as the underlying foundation is based on an imperfect or superficial understanding of the concept. This understanding assumes that since everyone eats, food tourism has mass market potential. However, not all eaters view food as an experiential event, and are more likely to perceive it as a necessary fact and cost of daily living – touring, in the case of tourism. As a result, food tourism can easily acquire an elitist tone, with the result that it becomes, according to one writer, a Western, colonial, white, food adventure by those who are on a constant search for novelty in their eating experiences.[29] In addition, the discourse appears to have limited perspective, being market-driven with an emphasis on branding, marketing, regional development, and a range of commercial and business imperatives.

On a more prosaic level and from a less academic perspective, what level of familiarity, then, does the ordinary tourist, hotel operator or travel agent have when 'food tourism' is pitched as an option for a holiday? More appropriately, what are competing destinations to do when part of the 'offer' is food tourism, and how can that be marketed, promoted or delivered in a way that contributes to the success of a tourist visit? Clearly, if the delivery does not match the promise, then there are costly consequences ahead as visitor numbers fall away. If gastronomy plays a major role in the way tourists experience the destination,[30] then how can it be included? Perhaps it has more to do with making the distinction between 'Food Tourism' and food *in* tourism, and acting accordingly, as Ireland has done over the past number of years.

29 L. M. Heldke, *Exotic appetites: ruminations of a food adventurer* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

30 A. Correia, M. Moital, C. F. Da Costa and R. Peres, 'The determinants of gastronomic tourists' satisfaction: a second-order factor analysis', *Journal of Foodservice* (2008), pp. 19, 164–176; K. Fields, 'Demand for the gastronomy tourism product: motivational factors', in A. Hjalager and G. Richards (eds), *Tourism and gastronomy* (London: Routledge, 2002); J. Kivela and J. C. Crotts, 'Tourism and Gastronomy: Gastronomy's Influence on How Tourists Experience a Destination', *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research* (2006), pp. 30, 354–377.

Tourism in Ireland: 2012, A Changed Direction

During the aftermath of the recession in 2008, Ireland was in survival mode. This decline was evident in 2009 when overseas visitor numbers fell by 12 per cent and revenue by 19 per cent.[31] This was evidence that new thinking was needed to reignite inbound tourism to Ireland in terms of strategic priorities, target markets and segments, and a strategy was put in place. The new strategic direction[32] led to work being done by the Tourism Recovery Taskforce.[33] In particular, the taskforce looked at the primary source market for tourists to Ireland, Great Britain, which had dropped from 55 per cent to 43 per cent of total overseas visitors in the period 2004 to 2012 irrespective of whether there was growth or not in visitor numbers (Figure 10.2).

Year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Total overseas visitors (000s)	6,384	6,763	7,417	7,739	7,435	6,578	5,945	6,240	6,286	6,686	7,124
Annual growth (+/– %)		6	10	4	−4	−12	−10	5	1	6	7
GB visitors (000s)	3,526	3,640	3,821	3,776	3,579	3,034	2,759	2,799	2,722	2,870	3,018
GB share of total (%)	55	54	52	49	48	46	46	45	43	43	42

Figure 10.2: Performance of GB market, 2004–2014.[34]

31 Fáilte Ireland, 'National Food Tourism Implementation Framework 2011–2013' (Dublin: Fáilte Ireland, 2010), p. 9.

32 Department of Transport, Tourism and Sport, 'Statement of Strategy 2011–2014' (Ireland: Irish Government, 2012).

33 Tourism Recovery Taskforce, 'GB Path to Growth' (Dublin: Fáilte Ireland, 2012).

34 Fáilte Ireland, 'Tourism Facts 2014: Preliminary' (Ireland: Fáilte Ireland, 2015); Fáilte Ireland, 'Tourism Facts, 2008' (Dublin: 2009).

The Tourism Recovery Taskforce commissioned research which involved a robust sample of 10,000 residents of Great Britain who had taken holidays in GB and the island of Ireland at least once in the past three years. The results showed that the island of Ireland was perceived primarily as a short-break destination that competes mostly against domestic British destinations, and that the interest in visiting Ireland was limited to particular, but significant, demographic segments.[35] Studies utilising similar methodology conducted in the USA, France and Germany came to similar conclusions. Given that the four key source markets (Great Britain, USA, France and Germany) constituted 70 per cent of total overseas visitors to Ireland in 2011, this was significant.[36] As a result, radical changes were initiated in the development and marketing of Irish tourism.[37] In particular, Irish tourism has focused on these four key markets where three demographic segments were identified in the research as being most interested in Ireland.[38] These segments, and their relative importance to Ireland in terms of market size, can be characterised as displayed in Figure 10.3.

Demographic Segment (common to all four source markets)	Market Size (% of GB market 'warm' to Ireland)
Social Energisers: (young, fun-loving urban adventurers)	17
Culturally Curious: (over-45s who want to broaden their minds)	22
Great Escapers (younger couples who want to get away from it all)	15

Figure 10.3: Demographic segments and their size.[39]

35 Tourism Recovery Taskforce, p. 15.
36 Fáilte Ireland, 'Tourism Facts', 2014.
37 J. D. Mulcahy, 'Does regionality matter? The experience in Ireland', in C. M. Hall and S. Gössling (eds), *Food Tourism and Regional Development* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 215–226.
38 Fáilte Ireland, *Global Segmentation* (2015): <http://www.failteireland.ie/International-sales/International-sales.aspx> [Accessed 10 October 2015].
39 Tourism Recovery Taskforce, p. 15.

New Target Market Segments, But Where's the Food Tourism?

Total food and beverage spending by overseas tourists in Ireland, whatever the activity, is currently estimated to amount to an annual value of €1.2 billion (if domestic tourism figures are included, this would rise to approximately €2 billion). This is based on the proportion of the revenue from tourists' expenditure on food, estimated at over 34 per cent in 2014,[40] which is in line with other destinations such as Canada, and better than destinations like South Africa, estimated at 8 per cent, and Australia, estimated at 26 per cent.[41] This difference between Ireland and other jurisdictions may reflect the overall development of the tourist product, the level of direct and indirect taxation or, more likely, relative prices of food and beverage products in each country.

Notwithstanding these differences, the fact remains that food and beverage spending by visitors to Ireland constitutes a significant marketplace, offering growth opportunities for a wide range of businesses, not only in tourism, but also in the wider economy. In order to capitalise on these opportunities, however, all stakeholders must understand the motivations and drivers of satisfaction of the overseas visitor to Ireland. To date, the working assumption seems to be that this type of spend by visitors is classed as 'food tourism'. However, as has been highlighted earlier, the notion of 'food tourism' can have many meanings and uses, depending on context and commentator. A common view appears to be that all visitors are some sort of food tourist as they are likely to eat at least once a day, if not three times, that is, breakfast, lunch and dinner.[42] This raises the question, though, of just how important food is to each visitor in terms of their visit – was

40 Fáilte Ireland, *Global Segmentation*.

41 J. D. Mulcahy, 'Transforming Ireland through gastronomic nationalism promoted and practiced by government, business, and civil society', in M. Mac Con Iomaire and E. Maher (eds), *Tickling the Palate: Gastronomy in Irish Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014), p. 165.

42 D. Getz, R. Robinson, T. Andersson and S. Vujicic, *Foodies & Food Tourism* (2014).

food the reason for the visit, or was it something else, such as an event, a specific area of interest such as architecture, equestrian activity or simple leisure, for example?

Whilst food is an important aspect, research undertaken as part of the National Food Tourism Implementation Framework in Ireland highlighted the wider appeal of food for tourists. This work revealed three distinct categories based on the impact food had on their motivation to visit, or their evaluation of the experience once at a destination. Interestingly, 80 per cent of tourists to Ireland consider themselves to be 'food positive', to the extent that food motivates their satisfaction and that food is a part of their larger tourism plans on a visit (Figure 10.4).

Food Enthusiast (10%)	Food Positive Tourist (80%)	General Tourist (10%)
Food motivates travel Seeks authenticity of place through food Concerned about origin of products Gastronomy as a means of socialising, sharing life with others	Food motivates satisfaction Includes food experience in larger tourism plans Enjoys regional specialities Interested in origin of product	'Accidental culinary tourists' who show low levels of participation in most food-related activities.

Figure 10.4: Tourists to Ireland: A typology.[43]

More importantly, only 10 per cent, the 'Food Enthusiasts', are motivated to travel by food, but their opinions and satisfaction levels are important due to their role as influencers, early adaptors and leaders. This typology, as outlined in Figure 10.4, while not as detailed, follows the seminal tourist typology (the bias to pay for local food) of Cohen in 1979,[44] the academic food tourist typology (market size) of Mitchell and Hall in

43 Fáilte Ireland, 'Enhancing Irish Food Experiences – the way forward', *Food Tourism Activity Plan 2014–2016* (Dublin, 2014), p. 26.

44 E. Cohen, 'Rethinking the Sociology of Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research* 6/1 (1979), p. 1835.

2003[45] and the UK work (food-related activity) by Enteleca Research in 2001.[46] All of these were constructed into a simple framework and the correlations between the typologies are evident.[47] More recently, this research outcome was confirmed by the UNWTO, which found that tourists would classify themselves in a similar manner, particularly those that consider themselves to be travelling principally for gastronomy.[48] In contrast to the direction taken by Ireland, Peru, as an emerging global destination, has identified food as a primary strategic lever. Not only can Peru attract those who travel for food (75,000 food tourists visit Lima every year solely to enjoy its food), but it has also grown GDP (restaurants comprise 3 per cent of Gross Domestic Product in Peru), and it has utilised gastronomy as an export industry through franchised Peruvian restaurants.[49]

Clearly, for many tourists to Ireland, food is not a high priority in determining where to visit, but food is an important element of the visit.

45 C. M. Hall and R. Mitchell, 'Consuming tourists: food tourism consumer behaviour', in C. M. Hall, L. Sharples, R. Mitchell, N. Macionis and B. Cambourne (eds), *Food Tourism Around the World: Development, management and markets* (Oxford and Boston, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2003).

46 A. Tregear and M. Ness, Enteleca Research, UK, November 2001 <http://www.origin-food.org/pdf/wp4/wp4-uk.pdf> [Accessed 16 May 2015].

47 S. Everett and C. Aitchison, 'The Role of Food Tourism in Sustaining Regional Identity: A Case Study of Cornwall, South West England', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* (2008), pp. 16, 150–167.

48 United Nations World Tourism Organisation, *Conclusions* (San Sebastián, Spain, 2015): <http://dtxtq4w60xqpw.cloudfront.net/sites/all/files/pdf/conclusions_english.pdf>. Also on <http://www.culinary-tourism.com/en/site/summary> [Accessed 16 May 2015]. United Nations World Tourism Organisation, Global Report on Food Tourism, in P. Jordan (ed.), *AM Reports* (Madrid: World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), 2012).

49 The Economist, 'Cooking up a business cluster: The Peruvian gastronomic revolution, continued', *The Economist* (2014) <http://www.economist.com/news/americas/21596956-peruvian-gastronomic-revolution-continued-cooking-up-business-cluster> [Accessed 22 February 2014].

This is echoed by recent commentators,[50] leading, hopefully, to a better understanding of the broader role of food in the visitor experience and how, as with any experience, factors such as quality, uniqueness, presentation and service are all as important as the underlying product itself. Further confirmation of this can be found in the demographic segments chosen by *Fáilte Ireland* referred to earlier (Figure 10.5).

Demographic Segment (common to all four source markets)	What makes a great food and drink experience for them?
Social Energisers: (young, fun-loving urban adventurers)	Great atmosphere A table in the centre of the action Trendiest restaurant in town Good wholesome foods that are local & tell a story Trendy cocktail list Artisan coffee and quality tea and coffee shops Brunch because 'I like to party late'
Culturally Curious: (over-45s who want to broaden their minds)	Get the best table and be well looked after Peace and quiet with good wine and food Classic Irish menu with a twist Good quality food – 'I'm looking after my health' Personalised service where people call me 'Mr' Mid-morning breakfast, 'so I can sleep in …'
Great Escapers (younger couples who want to get away from it all)	An authentic experience in a local hotel or pub Great quality local food at a value price A good-quality children's menu A high-energy breakfast The option of bringing a picnic lunch An Irish cheese board by the fire at night

Figure 10.5: Attitude to food of demographic segments.[51]

50 OECD, 'Food and the Tourism Experience: The OECD-Korea Workshop', *OECD Studies on Tourism* (2012). G. Richards, 'The role of gastronomy in tourism development', *Fourth International Congress on Noble Houses: A Heritage for the Future* (Arcos de Valdevez, Portugal, 2014).

51 Fáilte Ireland, *Global Segmentation*.

Arguably, for these segments, experiencing local food and beverages, in a range of environments, which express the identity of a destination through culture and heritage, is a sought after component of the travel experience for visitors to Ireland. Clearly, there is no substantial body of evidence that shows food is the motivating reason for the visit in the first place, but it's clear that food is one of the primary motivators of satisfaction. Interestingly, these segments do not specify what it is that they want to eat when they come to Ireland. Instead, the inference is that the food available to them should be an active component of the visitor experience, of good quality, of the place they are visiting, and authentic.

Sources of Authenticity and Sustainability

If food is one of the primary motivators of satisfaction for a tourist in Ireland, then the authenticity and sustainability of food in Irish tourism is critical in contributing to that satisfaction. Raymond Sokolov observed that authenticity is 'as slippery a notion as happiness. Everyone (or almost everyone) is for it, but it is hard to get people to agree on what it is'.[52] Authenticity has become ambiguous from varied usages and contexts. The discourse focuses on three kinds of authenticity: 'objective', seen as the recognition of objects;[53] 'constructivist', where authenticity is the result of the tourist's own construction;[54] 'existential', a state of Being activated by

52 R. A. Sokolov, *Why we eat what we eat: how the encounter between the New World and the Old changed the way everyone on the planet eats* (New York: Summit Books, 1991), p. 219.

53 D. J. Boorstin, *The image: a guide to pseudo-events in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).

54 D. Maccannell, 'Staged Authenticity: on arrangements of social space in tourist settings', *The American Journal of Sociology* (1973), pp. 79, 589–603; D. Maccannell, 'Why it Never Really was About Authenticity', *Society* (2008), pp. 45, 334–337.

tourist activities.[55] Regardless of this lack of clarity and ongoing debate in academia on what authenticity might be, local UK food producers were found to be using all three kinds of authenticity, thereby demonstrating how different understandings of authenticity can coexist within gastronomic tourism.[56] How, then, does one explain the search by tourists for authenticity, for heritage, for 'old' foods and tastes, and the experience of being back at home again (a sense of place, perhaps?), even if the old times were not as comfortable as now? Conceivably the consumer feels safe in the known past, as the future is uncertain.[57] On the other hand, tourists like the thought of an authentic eating experience, but only if it follows a 'culinary imaginary', incorporating some features, rejecting others.[58] For example, a tourist might eat peasant food to ingest simplicity, honesty and rustic health while conveniently neglecting the manual labour, the food shortages and the lack of public health care that a peasant experiences.

Education has been identified as a key driver of authenticity as the educated consumer is more discriminating, prosperous and refined in the choices they make.[59] Therefore, how authenticity is positioned, sold and perceived has emerged as a selection criterion for a tourist.[60] In the context of food, authenticity in tourism is about 'food that is simple, rooted in the region, natural, ethical, beautiful and human – all of the making for a food tourism destination'[61] – and this also makes it sustainable. Food is also

55 N. Wang, 'Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience', *Annals of Tourism Research* (1999), pp. 26, 349–370.

56 R. Sims, 'Food, place and authenticity: local food and the sustainable tourism experience', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* (2009), pp. 17, 321–336.

57 C. Taylor, *The ethics of authenticity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

58 J. Duruz, 'Adventuring and Belonging: An Appetite for Markets', *Space and Culture* (2004), pp. 7, 433.

59 I. Yeoman, *Tomorrow's Tourist: Scenarios & Trends* (Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 2008).

60 I. Yeoman, D. Brass and U. McMahon-Beattie, 'Current issue in tourism: The authentic tourist', *Tourism Management* (2007), pp. 28, 1128–1138.

61 I. Yeoman and C. Greenwood, 'From Fast Food to Slow Food: The Prospects for Scotland's Cuisine to 2015', *Tomorrows World: Consumer and Tourist* (Edinburgh: Visit Scotland, 2006), p. 8.

integral to cultural heritage and heavily influences (and is influenced by) the farming landscape and other environments through its production.[62] These are elements of every destination, providing it with its own unique character and authenticity.[63]

The authenticity and sustainability of the food found in Ireland by tourists, therefore, depends not only on sectors that may not perceive tourism to be important or relevant to them, but also on the indigenous population itself. An example might be the range of businesses, and the food chain behind them, which largely depend on meeting demand from locals for 'international' food while also trying to meet visitor demand for local authentic food.[64] This population might be considered a food landscape, comprised of:

- Primary food producers, such as farmers and fishermen;
- Secondary food producers such as artisans and larger producers;
- Food distributors such as wholesalers, exporters, retailers and farmers' markets;
- Food experiences such as tourist accommodation (hotels, B&Bs), food outlets (restaurants, pubs and coffee shops), transport operators (rail, airlines and ferries), food trucks, pop-ups and supper clubs;
- Food attractions and events such as food fairs and festivals, cookery schools and classes, microbreweries and distilleries, food trails and tours, visitor attractions with food components, and producer visits.

62 C. Sage, 'Food for Thought', *The Irish Times*, 28 June 2005.

63 R. Tellstrom, I.-B. Gustafsson and L. Mossberg, 'Local Food Cultures in the Swedish Rural Economy', *Sociologia Ruralis* (2005), pp. 45, 346–359; R. Tellstrom, I.-B. Gustafsson and L. Mossberg, 'Consuming heritage: The use of local food culture in branding', *Place Branding* (2006), pp. 2, 130–143; I. Yeoman, D. Brass and U. McMahon-Beattie, 'Current issue in tourism'.

64 P. Boucher-Hayes and S. Campbell, *Basket Case: What's Happening to Ireland's Food?* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2009).

This landscape also features, on one side,

- non-governmental industry bodies such as representative bodies and interest groups, and education providers at all levels from primary school to third level,

and on the other side,

- media (TV, radio, print); influencers (social media, critics, guides, celebrity chefs); and indigenous people in the role of consumers.

As discussed earlier, food and beverage spending by visitors to Ireland constitutes a significant marketplace, offering growth opportunities for a wide range of businesses, not only in tourism itself, but also in this food landscape which, in effect, becomes a food tourism landscape as a symbiotic relationship can, or should, exist. If this is true, tourists to Ireland can easily, and sustainably, access the authentic gastronomy of Irish domestic and workplace kitchens, grown by, purchased from, prepared and eaten by Irish residents. As a holistic entity, this food landscape intuitively reflects Irish history, geography, culture, landscape and all the other components that uniquely make Ireland what it is, thereby providing compelling reasons to engage, to visit, to do business.

At this point, Ireland is not a food tourism destination, although it could well be one within years if contemporary developments continue. But Ireland's food has a significant role in tourism, and through that, as a curator of Irish culture, geography, economic growth and as a promoter to the world, through our visitors, of a contemporary vision of the Ireland of today.

MARJORIE DELEUZE

11 'A Unique Sense of Place, Culture and Hospitality': *Fáilte Ireland* and the Rebranding of Ireland's Culinary Culture

ABSTRACT
This chapter sheds some light on the essential role played by *Bord Fáilte* and *Fáilte Ireland*, the Irish tourism authorities, in developing and promoting a national cuisine. Ireland's culinary scene has been undergoing extensive changes since the beginning of the twenty-first century and food tourism is now perceived as a major economic asset for the country. Offering an appealing image of Irish food, reflecting Irishness and 'authenticity', to visitors looking for a real 'taste' of Ireland necessitates measures relying both on innovation and heritagisation. This chapter critically engages with the discourse around 'authenticity' and discusses how the tourism institutions have progressively succeeded in rebranding Ireland's culinary culture.

By pinpointing a number of aspects of the work undertaken by *Fáilte Ireland* to rebrand Ireland as a food destination, this chapter aims to highlight their essential role in the development of a national cuisine and in the recognition at home and worldwide of Irish-grown produce and Irish-made foodstuffs. The most significant policies that have been implemented by *Fáilte Ireland* to promote Ireland as an attractive food destination came about in the second decade of the twenty-first century. Benchmarking, research, communication and rebranding constitute most of their strategy. However, it is important to keep in mind that, beneath the economic motives and incentives, the need to restore confidence and pride in Irish food culture seems to be another driving factor for reinventing Irish cuisine.[1] This chapter,

1 This idea that Irish people are becoming more proud of their gastronomy was recurrent in the interviews conducted for our doctoral research among people working in the food and hospitality industry. Restaurant reviews in magazines, cookery

based on doctoral research, interrogates the implications brought by the notions of authenticity and heritagisation at the heart of the newly forged gastronomic reputation of Ireland.

> How important is food when travelling? At its most basic level, food is merely a bare necessity, at its most elaborate, it becomes an end in itself, imagined as the source of all pleasures. Cautious people stock up on provisions before they leave, the more carefree put their trust in local resources, while some make of their travels culinary tours, and others shy away from the unknown in favour of seeking out the taste of home. But we can be all of these things at the same time or consecutively. Likewise, products and cuisines travel, they are enriched, combined or softened through transmission, migration and adaptation. As a consequence, these foreign products may become integral components of national or regional identities and even be sought out for this very reason.[2]

What Patrick Harismendy rightly points out here is the inextricable link between the food a country has to offer its visitors and the lasting impression it will have on them. When people travel, they might be looking for gastronomic experiences, they might wish to discover local culinary gems, or find comfort food which will remind them of what they have at

programmes and contests (MasterChef Ireland since September 2011 on RTÉ2 and TV3, Aingeal sa Chistin since 2009 on TG4, Paul and Mairtin Surf and Turf, 2012 on RTÉ1, etc.) and documentaries about the food culture of Ireland (Bia Duchais, 2015, TG4, What's Ireland Eating since 2011 on RTÉ1, Rediscovering the Irish Kitchen, 2014 on RTÉ1, etc.) also convey this impression.

2 (My translation) 'Quelle place l'aliment occupe-t-il dans le voyage ? Au plus simple il n'est qu'une nécessaire contingence, au plus élaboré il devient un but en soi, érigé en réservoir des plaisirs. Les prudents avitaillent pour leur expédition, les insouciants comptent sur les ressources locales, quand d'autres dessinent leur parcours du goût ou évitent les surprises de l'ailleurs par la recherche du même. Mais on peut être tout cela, à la fois ou successivement. A l'identique, produits et cuisines voyagent, s'enrichissent, se métissent ou s'édulcorent par transferts, migrations et adaptations. Par retour, ces mêmes produits exogènes peuvent devenir les éléments constitutifs d'identités nationales ou régionales et donc être recherchés pour tels.' Patrick Harismendy, 'Introduction: Goût de l'authentique et construction émotionnelle des paysages touristiques', in Jean-Yves Andrieux and Patrick Harismendy (eds), *L'assiette du touriste : le goût de l'authentique* (Rennes and Tours: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, 2013), p. 11.

home. And they may also look for food by necessity, without showing much interest in it. Whatever their reason might be, it is a fact that eating is a necessary act which, according to a recent survey, corresponds to an average of 36 per cent of their budget if Ireland is their choice of destination.[3] The food on offer has to match the expectations of tourists who, most of the time, will be looking for an 'authentic' experience. But what does 'authentic' really mean and how can it be applied to food? According to Saskia Cousin: 'The notion of authenticity, used to criticise tourism, but also to justify its practises and market its products, is at the core of the assessments, quests and analyses of tourism trade'.[4] It can be perceived as a notion that encapsulates economic, social and political values.[5] In the Irish context, the visitor is meant to see this as a set of values, beliefs and images reflecting Irish identity. 'Authenticity' is the projection of an image of a rather idealised past, but also the projection of features which are regarded as uniquely Irish. In more critical terms such as Wight's, authenticity is 'simply a static and representational concept, a way of communicating a romanticised image to niches in order to maximise visitation'.[6] The quite recent phenomenon of food tourism in Ireland relies heavily on this somewhat fluctuating notion of authenticity. But Ireland is just following a global trend. According to the Global Report on Food Tourism in 2012:

3 Fáilte Ireland, *Food Tourism Implementation Framework 2011–2013*, p. 11 <http://www.failteireland.ie/FailteIreland/media/WebsiteStructure/Documents/3_Research_Insights/1_Sectoral_SurveysReports/Food_Tourism_Implementation_Framework-1-19-07-2012.pdf?ext=.pdf> [Accessed 19 July 2012].

4 (My translation) 'Utilisée à la fois pour critiquer l'activité touristique, pour justifier sa pratique et pour commercialiser ses produits, la notion d'authenticité est au centre des jugements, des quêtes et des analyses du phénomène touristique.' Saskia Cousin, 'Destination Authentique', *Cahier du musée des Confluences* 8 (2011), pp. 59–66. (p. 1) <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00705335/document> [Accessed 15 July 2014].

5 Cousin, 'Destination Authentique', p. 7.

6 Craig Wight, 'Reengineering "Authenticity": Tourism Encounters with Cuisine in Rural Great Britain', in Lawrence C. Rubin (ed.), *Food for Thought: Essays on Eating and Culture* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2008), p. 155.

> Food tourism is an experiential trip to a gastronomic region, for recreational or entertainment purposes, which includes visits to primary and secondary producers of food, gastronomic festivals, food fairs, events, farmers' markets, cooking shows and demonstrations, tastings of quality food products or any tourism activity related to food. In addition, this experiential journey is related to a particular lifestyle that includes experimentation, learning from different cultures, the acquisition of knowledge and understanding of the qualities or attributes related to tourism products, as well as culinary specialities produced in that region through its consumption.[7]

When the Irish tourism industry started to perceive food as a key asset for the Irish economy, the challenge was to convert this global trend on a local scale, hence the importance of projecting a set and coherent image of 'authenticity'. But before getting to that stage in the 2000s, the Irish Tourist Board had to put a lot of effort into rebuilding a gastronomic reputation.

Since the 1950s, the tourism industry has worked hard with professionals from the hospitality industry to improve food standards in hotels and restaurants. However, the realisation that food could attract visitors to Irish shores – food as a *per se* reason to travel to Ireland – only emerged in a concrete way, with the implementation of a marketing strategy, after the collapse of the Celtic Tiger. If the recession possibly fostered new economic motives, many people involved in the food sector have also expressed their wish for Ireland to be recognised for its gastronomy, sometimes in terms verging on patriotism.[8] In this respect, the 'national identity' dimension needs to be considered as a new found pride in the quality and uniqueness of Irish food products permeates the rhetoric of tourism marketing. By promoting their food and culture, *Fáilte Ireland* not only conduct business, they also participate in reinforcing images of Irishness at home and abroad. In *Reengineering 'Authenticity': Tourism Encounters with Cuisine in Rural Great Britain*, Craig Wight remarks that:

7 UNWTO, *Global Report on Food Tourism 2012*, p. 6 <http://cf.cdn.unwto.org/sites/all/files/pdf/global_report_on_food_tourism.pdf> [Accessed 18 July 2013].

8 This can be observed particularly in the media, in cookery programmes on television, culinary contests, or during cooking demonstrations at food festivals for instance. See Marjorie Deleuze, *La dimension identitaire des pratiques, des habitudes et des symboliques alimentaires de l'Irlande contemporaine*, Thèse de doctorat (Université de Lille III, 2015), pp. 38–63.

> The globalisation of food production is considered to challenge traditional foods of Western nations and regions. It has been suggested that food can be a historic time machine and a refuge from globalised food. Most destinations now use culinary products to promote tourism and most use tourism to promote gastronomy. Food has become a means for the visitor to arrive at an understanding of national identity so that when the gastronomy of a region is promoted, so too is its culture.[9]

According to the successive *Visitor Attitude Surveys* conducted by *Bord Fáilte* from 1995, for many years, the reasons why tourists wished to visit Ireland were the landscape and culture (meaning essentially its history, dance and music). Food was almost never mentioned as a specific cultural motivation.[10] For decades, Irish culinary culture, or what seemed to be perceived as the lack thereof, was invariably the subject of jokes in tourist guides. And before the Internet, the first impression tourists had of the country they were about to visit were those guides, acting as trustworthy bibles in spite of their often recycled comments. So, until the beginning of the twenty-first century, tourists took it for granted that unless they could afford to eat in refined *haute cuisine* restaurants, food would not constitute their best memory of Ireland. The tourist guides said so. As a matter of example, in 1969 the influential food critics Gault and Millau drew quite an appalling portrait of Irish fare. Adopting a very patronising tone, they particularly criticised Irish cuisine for being neither elaborate nor varied enough:

> What is terrible about Irish cuisine is not that it is bad, it is that Irish people believe it is very good! Take for example their fluffy mash potato balls: it is the national dish. But, they are served with no other superfluous preparation such as the addition of butter, tomato sauce, juices from the meat, fresh cream or goose fat. As a matter of fact, it seems that not even a drop of water is added, for fear of making them appear less manly [...]. Fueled by whiskey, long confessions have enabled us to better understand the terrible process which led this martyred nation to a true culinary neurosis. The patient is slowly recovering but many bad habits had to be broken. As an old nation of fishermen, Irish people would almost never touch fish and shellfish. They

9 Wight, 'Reengineering "Authenticity"', p. 156.

10 Only 3 per cent of tourists surveyed mentioned food in 1995. Bord Fáilte, *Visitor Attitudes Survey*, 1995.

> loathed game, despised pork – with the exception of exquisite bacon – and shunned offal. […] They liked their meat as well-done as possible so that it lost its entire flavour. And still they forget the old recipes, such as Irish stew, which could enhance the reputation of Irish cuisine. In these circumstances, it was not surprising, indeed it was unavoidable, to lunch over and over, 365 days a year, almost everywhere in Ireland, on the following: canned grapefruit juice, cream of mushroom soup (from a sachet), overcooked roast beef, tennis ball *parmentier*, watery cabbage, watery carrots, a banana or an orange – no drink.'[11]

Their colleagues from the *Lonely Planet* in 1995 were no less forgiving:

> It's frequently said that Irish cooking doesn't match up to the ingredients and traditional Irish cooking tends to imitate English – i.e. cook until it's dead, dead, dead. Fortunately, the Irish seem to be doing a better job than the English in kicking that habit and you can generally eat quite well. Of course if you want meat and fish cooked until it's dried and shrivelled and vegetables turned to mush, there are plenty of places that can still perform the feat.[12]

11 'Le drame de la cuisine irlandaise, ce n'est pas qu'elle soit mauvaise, c'est que les Irlandais croient qu'elle est très bonne. Prenez par exemple, la pomme de terre en boule, plucheuse : c'est le plat national, mais elle n'est assortie d'aucune préparation superflue telle que l'adjonction de beurre, de sauce tomate, de jus de viande, de crème, de graisse d'oie. Non, il semble même qu'on n'y verse pas une goutte d'eau, de crainte de la rendre moins virile. […] De longues confessions, chauffées au whiskey, nous ont permis de comprendre le terrible processus qui a mené ce peuple martyr à une véritable névrose culinaire. Le malade est en voie de guérison mais il a fallu lutter contre de bien fâcheuses habitudes. Fils d'un peuple aquatique s'il en est, il ne mangeait à peu près aucun poisson, coquillage, crustacé. Il méprisait le gibier, dédaignait le porc – sauf l'exquis lard fumé – ignorait les abats. […] Il mangeait sa viande aussi cuite que possible afin qu'elle perde la totalité de sa saveur et il oublie encore les vieilles recettes qui pourraient faire sa gloire, comme l'*Irish Stew*. Dans ces conditions il n'était pas surprenant, il était même inévitable de faire, presque partout en Irlande, et répété 365 jours par an, le déjeuner que voici : jus de pamplemousse en conserve, crème de champignons en sachet, rôti de bœuf bien gris, balle de tennis parmentier, choux à l'eau, carottes à l'eau, banane ou orange – pas de boisson –.' Henri Gault et Christian Millau, *Guide Julliard de l'Irlande* (Paris : Julliard, 1969), pp. 10–16.

12 Fionn Davenport, *Travel Survival Kit: Ireland* (Melbourne, Australia: Lonely Planet, 1996), p. 68.

Confronted by such remarks, it was necessary for the Irish Tourist Board to do something to change the perception that tourists had of Irish food. But, far from being a straightforward process, integrating food into the tourists' positive impression of Irish culture was only possible thanks to an array of societal factors. The globalisation of cuisines, the influence or exchange of knowledge from other countries that are recognised for their gastronomy or simply the demand coming from the Irish themselves, who have travelled abroad and wish to eat the same kind of products at home, have naturally shaped the current food on offer.

Less obvious is the role the Irish Tourist Board has played for years in creating a radical shift in perception with regard to the quality and variety of food available in Ireland.[13] Apart from a few articles dedicated to Irish culinary culture and hospitality in *Ireland of the Welcomes*, a bimonthly magazine published by the tourism board and praising Ireland's tourism assets since 1952, the promotion of gastronomy as such in Ireland was scarce until the onset of the twenty-first century.[14] The brochures distributed abroad would sometimes allude to the quality of raw produce and to Ireland's exceptional hospitality, but compared to nowadays, the topic of food occupied a very insignificant place.

Because Ireland had to construct a gastronomic reputation that was not built on sand, the measures implemented by *Bord Fáilte* to transform the culinary scene were initially aimed at the professionals through training and education, notably with the formation of the Council for Education, Recruitment and Training for the Hotel Industry (CERT) in 1963,[15] and the establishment of the National Craft Curricula and Certification Board (NCCCB) in 1982 (later replaced by the National Tourism Certification Board),

13 This chapter focuses on the role of *Fáilte Ireland*, but other state bodies such as *Bord Bia* and the *Irish Food Board*, set up in 1994, have also greatly contributed to this rebranding.

14 Irish companies from the business travel sector such as Aerlingus or Ryanair have also contributed to the promotion of Irish restaurants and hotels in their on-flight magazines from the 2000s.

15 Frank Corr, 'Training for Tourism', in *Ireland of the Welcomes* 55/5 (September–October 2006).

enabling Irish catering schools to set their own standards and distance themselves a little from the British system.[16] In order to reach a certain level of satisfaction among visitors and progressively rebrand Ireland's culinary culture, *Bord Fáilte* also fostered innovation and competition in the hospitality sector. Dining guides were published from the 1970s (*Guide to Good Eating*, 1972; *Thought for Food*, 1977; *Dining in Ireland*, 1977; *Dining in Dublin*, 1978, etc.) and catering exhibitions were organised.[17] But most importantly, after Noel Lemass suggested in the Dáil in 1973 that it was necessary to 'eliminate poor standards in restaurants, [...] to have all such premises graded as to their standards and to publish a list showing the estimated standard of each restaurant',[18] it was decided that *Bord Fáilte* would carry out the supervision of grading restaurants and standards were subsequently raised thanks to the application of homogeneous norms. The introduction of *The Intoxicating Liquor Act* in 1988, allowing restaurants to serve alcohol with meals, also made a big difference to the industry.[19] People did not have to go to hotels anymore to enjoy their meal with a glass of wine or a pint of stout. Eating in restaurants became more democratic as a result as the number of premises offering a more diverse range of cuisines for all kinds of budgets soared.[20] The awareness that food could be a real asset for tourism slowly emerged around 2000:

> Dining has now become one of Ireland's great product strengths. But if we are to succeed in building up new Developing Tourism Areas, this will need a complementary

16 Frank Corr, *Hotels in Ireland* (Dublin: Jemma Publications, 1987), pp. 76–78.

17 Corr, *Hotels in Ireland*, p. 74.

18 Dáil Éireann Debate, Thursday, 5 July 1973, vol. 267, no. 3 <http://oireachtasdebates.oireachtas.ie/debates%20authoring/debateswebpack.nsf/takes/dail1973070500018?opendocument> [Accessed 22 January 2013].

19 Seanad Éireann Debate, Tuesday, 28 June 1988, vol. 120, no. 9 <http://oireachtasdebates.oireachtas.ie/debates%20authoring/debateswebpack.nsf/takes/seanad1988062800011> [Accessed 22 January 2013].

20 See Deleuze, *La dimension identitaire des pratiques, des habitudes et des symboliques alimentaires de l'Irlande contemporaine*, pp. 102–108; *Bord Fáilte Diary and Tourism Directory* (Dublin: *Bord Fáilte*, 1995); and *Fáilte Ireland Tourism Employment Survey* (2010). <http://www.failteireland.ie/FailteIreland/media/WebsiteStructure/Documents/3_Research_Insights/3_General_SurveysReports/2010-Tourism-Employment-Survey.pdf?ext=.pdf> [accessed 22 January 2013].

> investment in new and interesting restaurants. Initially, existing pubs and accommodation proprietors could show a lead. We believe an 'Irish Farmhouse Restaurant' product, specialising in local produce, could prove popular in each area.[21]

As the industry was doing better and better thanks to its highly qualified chefs, as the demand for good quality restaurants was increasing and also because the *Visitor Attitudes Surveys* showed that more and more tourists were satisfied with the food on offer, food started to be identified as a key element in attracting visitors to Irish shores. In 2003, *The Hospitality Survey* pointed out two issues that needed to be tackled: the high cost of food, and the originality and choice of the dishes on offer. If the cost of food reflected the high living standards of the wealthy Irish elite during the Celtic Tiger, something could definitely be done about offering a more diverse range of dishes. That is where *Fáilte Ireland*, the National Tourism Development Authority since 2003, concentrated their efforts.

Since 2009, *Fáilte Ireland* has helped food artisans and producers, restaurants and pub owners to advertise their products as well as the quality of service they provide. The core idea is to offer a coherent image of Irish food, an image that would reflect Irishness and 'authenticity' to visitors looking for a real 'taste' of Ireland. The first far-reaching policy, implemented in 2012, was the 'Place on a Plate' concept. According to a document issued the same year:

> The purpose of 'place on a plate' is to encourage you to adopt an ethos of offering fresh, locally sourced, seasonal food, on your menu and just as importantly, make sure you are telling your customers about it. The reason is simple: research has shown that in recent years experiencing local foods and beverages, which express the identity of a destination through food culture and heritage, has become a sought after travel experience for both domestic and international visitors.[22]

It was soon followed by the nomination of 'food ambassadors' (chefs, artisan cheese-makers, food festival organisers) whose role is to communicate

21 Bord Fáilte, *Tourism Development Strategy 2000–2006 (*Dublin: *Bord Fáilte*, October 2000), p. 24.

22 *Fáilte Ireland* website <http://www.failteireland.ie/FailteIreland/media/WebsiteStructure/Documents/2_Develop_Your_Business/3_Marketing_Toolkit/6_Food_Tourism/Place-on-a-Plate_brochure.pdf> [Accessed 14 June 2014], p. 3.

worldwide and at home on the uniqueness and quality of Irish produce.[23] Businesses in search of inspiration also have access to a whole array of suggestions. On *Fáilte Ireland*'s website,[24] they can learn how to create their own unique food story, how to develop a food trail or a food festival, and what the local and global food trends are at the moment. They can even find inspirational recipes that celebrate 'Ireland's food heritage' through 'modern Irish cookery' such as Braised Shoulder of Lamb with Spiced Couscous and Roast Parsnips or Honey and Whiskey Crème Brûlée.[25] These businesses are thus provided with a highly standardised image of 'authenticity', one that is coherent but definitely (re)created for economic and patriotic motives and purposes.

The most common ingredients constituting this new Irish cuisine project cultural, historical and symbolic representations of what Irishness should be on a plate. Beef, lamb and pork represent the strongly rooted tradition of cattle-rearing on the island and the narrative does not hesitate to allude to mythological heroic tales to remind the visitor or the consumer of their ongoing position of importance in the Irish diet. Seafood – especially salmon and seaweed – evoke the bounty and the vivacity of the Irish seas and shores. Dairy produce such as butter, cream and artisan cheese are always associated with lush pastures, purity and peaceful grazing. Venison, elderflowers, honey, hazelnuts, wild garlic and organic apples express the wild character of Irish landscapes and the strong connection between nature and the people. These ingredients, embodying the Irish *terroir* and heritage, must evoke emotions and not only project a certain sense of identity but also legitimise the creation of a new cuisine rooted in Ireland's past. The sense of identity is usually metaphorically associated with a pristine environment and the warm, welcoming Irish people. Here

23 Fáilte Ireland, *Enhancing Irish Food Experiences, the Way Forward: Food Tourism Activity Plan 2014–2016*, p. 55. <http://www.failteireland.ie/FailteIreland/media/WebsiteStructure/Documents/2_Develop_Your_Business/3_Marketing_Toolkit/6_Food_Tourism/Food-Tourism-Activity-Plan-2014-2016.pdf?ext=.pdf> [Accessed 14 June 2014].

24 *Fáilte Ireland* website <http://www.failteireland.ie/In-Your-Sector/Food-Tourism-in-Ireland.aspx> [Accessed 14 June 2014].

25 *Fáilte Ireland* website <http://www.failteireland.ie/Business-supports/Food-Tourism-in-Ireland/Menu-ideas-and-recipes.aspx> [Accessed 14 June 2014].

is an example of the rhetoric used to inspire potential food businesses and legitimise the new found pride in their national gastronomy:

> Ireland has long been recognised for the beauty of its landscapes and seascapes, the buzz of its cities, and the warmth of its people. Now visitors are coming for our food and drink too.
>
> And that's hardly surprising. For Ireland has a natural, honest approach to food – and an easy-going, warm style – that's both rooted in tradition and very 21st century.
>
> Thanks to our mild climate, clean seas, fertile soil … and yes, the rain too … we have some of the best raw ingredients in the world. And, on this small island, local rules. You'll eat seafood straight off the boat. Dairy from local pastures. Beef, lamb and pork raised within a few miles. Sea veg harvested on nearby strands. Wild food foraged from hedgerows. Greens picked that same day.
>
> Expertly prepared, then served simply, and fresh as can be … it's as if you can really taste the place: the Atlantic swells, the mountain mists, the turf fires and the small, green fields.
>
> In Ireland, good food is just the start: you'll shake the hand that feeds you too … in shops and smokehouses, on harbours and farms, at micro-breweries and markets, in traditional pubs, small-town cafés, city bistros and Michelin-starred restaurants … There's the chance to visit producers, to follow food trails, to take part in food festivals, to learn traditional skills, to forage and fish … or simply to join in the chat at the bakery, on the quayside or at the bar. People will wish you '*céad míle fáilte*' – and it will come from the heart. For Ireland believes in small. We believe in local. And we believe in personal.[26]

The passion of the producers and artisans for their products and their country is also an important part of the persuasion speech. Sometimes history and the locality are even depicted in exaggerated and excessive terms relying on fixed stereotypes: the products belong to an ancient culture, they are the best in the world and prove that Ireland still protects and cherishes its unspoilt areas. Food sociologist Fischler's principle of incorporation may perhaps shed some light on the importance of this kind of narrative:[27]

> In both a real and a symbolic sense, taking food into oneself involves the incorporation of some or all its properties: we become what we eat. This process of incorporation is

26 *Fáilte Ireland* website <http://www.failteireland.ie/Supports/Food-Tourism-in-Ireland/Telling-Ireland-s-food-story/The-food-story.aspx> [Accessed 14 June 2014].

27 Claude Fischler, *L'Homnivore* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2001), p. 68.

> at the basis of our identity. [...] Such incorporation is also at the foundation of collective identity and, as such, Otherness. Food and the art of cooking are key elements lying at the very heart of our sense of collective belonging. [...] Though it implies a risk, each act of incorporation also implies possibility and hope: the possibility of becoming ever more what we already are, the hope of becoming what we wish to be. Food constructs the eater. It is thus only natural that the eater should seek to construct himself or herself by the act of eating.[28]

In our context, the eater, consuming Irish products, is endowed with the purity, strength and wildness of Ireland's landscape and biodiversity. In a world of 'hyperconsumption', this appeals to contemporary urban visitors in search of greater authenticity, but also hedonism and escape from their daily routine as the *Visitor Surveys* have shown in recent years.[29]

Leaving marketing and economic motives aside, we might ask if this discourse is legitimate, in the sense that this process of creation can be justified by means of defendable arguments. The idea of rebranding Ireland as a food destination consists of showcasing Ireland's craftsmanship, *terroir* and heritage. But history tells us that due to its violent past of famine, poverty and above all colonisation, Irish culinary culture has been beset by many challenges and constraints (potato monoculture, acculturation to British foodways, abandonment of cheese-making in the nineteenth century, etc.). Today we are witnessing a re-creation, a reinvention of Irish cuisine which consists of safeguarding a few aspects of the old culinary culture while making it more attractive in order to catch the eye of tourists and Irish

28 (My translation) 'Incorporer un aliment, c'est, sur un plan réel comme sur un plan imaginaire, incorporer tout ou partie de ses propriétés : nous devenons ce que nous mangeons. L'incorporation fonde l'identité. [...] L'incorporation est également fondatrice de l'identité collective et, du même coup, de l'altérité. L'alimentation et la cuisine sont un élément tout à fait capital du sentiment collectif d'appartenance. [...] Outre un risque, chaque incorporation implique aussi une chance et un espoir : devenir davantage ce que l'on est, ou ce que l'on souhaite être. L'aliment construit le mangeur : il est donc naturel que le mangeur cherche à se construire en mangeant.' Fischler, *L'Homnivore*, pp. 69–70.

29 Fáilte Ireland, *Enhancing Irish Food Experiences. The Way Forward. Food Tourism Activity Plan 2014–2016*.

people themselves, thanks to a combination of modern techniques often borrowed from foreign cuisines, contemporary aesthetics and a new ethos of production and consumption. In his study of British traditions, Eric Hobsbawm calls this phenomenon 'the invention of tradition':[30]

> 'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.[31]

The policy which consists of reinventing gastronomy for the purpose of attracting tourists and asserting one's identity fits quite well into this idea of 'invented tradition'. In terms of marketing strategy, advertising the uniqueness of local products with a strong story rooted in the past is quite a common practice everywhere in the world. Many countries are going through a similar reinvention, drawing on their past to recreate traditions and invent a gastronomy of their own. In Corsica, for instance, the first Corsican beer, the Pietra, a beer flavoured with Corsican chestnuts, is advertised as a 'beer with a taste of terroir and nature [...] brewed according to traditional and artisanal methods', although brewing only began in 1996.[32] In Norway, the *Smalahove*, in other words a whole sheep's head salted and smoked, has been revived and is now almost exclusively served to tourists due to its appeal as a 'scary' or 'extreme' food.[33] The Peruvian gastronomic revolution is another noteworthy example.[34] Endowed with one of the richest ecosystems in the world, Peru has identified gastronomic

30 E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

31 *Ibid.* p. 1.

32 (My translation) 'bière de terroir et de nature [...] brassée selon des méthodes traditionnelles et artisanales', Brasserie Pietra website <http://www.brasseriepietra.corsica/fr/bieres/pietra/> [Accessed 7 April 2015].

33 Smalahovetunet Voss <http://www.visitvoss.no/en/Product/?TLp=514535> [Accessed 7 April 2015].

34 Simeon Tegel, 'Why Peru's gastronomy is a bigger draw for tourists than the Incas?', *The Independent*, 10 January 2016 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/

tourism as a potential magnet for business and once again the persuasive rhetoric amply draws upon references to the past:

> Peruvian cuisine, considered among the best in the world, inherited its innovation, mix and flavors from Peru's history. Its culinary fusion developed over a long process of cultural exchange between the Spanish, Africans, Chinese, Japanese and Italians among others … Lastly the trend of Novo-Andean cuisine boasts indigenous foods worthy of the most elegant settings, reclaiming the national flavor that is such an important part of our identity.[35]

Every country is creating stories to legitimise their food products and cuisine, old and new. So why shouldn't Ireland go through the same marketing process? 'Countries have been branding themselves deliberately and systematically for centuries' remarks Simon Anholt.[36] According to him, 'the better strategies recognise that the principal resources of most places, as well as a primary determinant of their 'brand essence', is as much the people who live there as the things which are made and done in the place.' Branding Ireland, branding its cuisine, restaurants, chefs and raw produce is not only essential in terms of economic, social and cultural development for the country, but also crucial in order to achieve recognition worldwide in an area long dominated by the colonisers. Anthony Patterson insists on this point when he says that 'to fully appreciate the social construction of popular history that has created Brand Ireland, it should be understood that it was born out of Ireland's struggle to be unlike England'.[37] Gaining a cuisine of their own, being recognised for their innovative abilities and traditional skills to produce and transform Irish grown produce, is part of a 'culture of resistance' that has 'stimulated cultural pride, functioned

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world/americas/why-perus-gastronomy-is-a-bigger-draw-for-tourists-than-the-incas-a6805026.html> [Accessed 10 July 2016].

35 Peru Travel <http://www.peru.travel/en-us/what-to-do/Peru-of-today/food.aspx> [Accessed 10 July 2016].

36 Simon Anholt, 'Branding Places and Nations', in R.Clifton and J. Simmons (eds), *Brands and Branding.* (London: Profile Books, 2003), p. 213.

37 Anthony Patterson, 'Brand Ireland', in *Irish Marketing Review* 20/2 (2009), p. 91.

as a means of community building'[38] and which is at the heart of what Patterson calls 'Brand Ireland'.

Ireland is entering what could be seen as a dualistic phase of gastronomic innovation and heritagisation, called in French *patrimonialisation de l'alimentation*, in other words applying the notion of cultural heritage to its gastronomy in order to protect and legitimise it. Food sociologist Jean-Pierre Poulain defines it as follows:

> The phenomenon of food heritagisation constitutes an ideal means of analysing social change. It entails a transformation of commonly-held understandings of the role of food within society and turns food products (refined or not), the means by which these products are crafted, transformed, preserved and consumed, as well as the social codes, 'the arts of cooking' or of 'eating and drinking' – what in the western world is referred to as 'table manners' – into cultural objects that are expressions of the history and identity of a given social group. In a constantly changing world, it thus behoves us to preserve them as markers of social identity.[39]

After centuries of domination and acculturation to English food fads and fashions, after decades of collaborative work between the Irish Tourist Board and the hospitality industry, twenty-first-century Ireland finally showcases its own cuisine and pride for its *terroir*. If the gastronomic revolution slowly started a few decades ago with the opening of the *Ballymaloe* restaurant, a new generation of chefs such as Dubliner Mark Moriarty, who won the World Young Chef of 2015 with his dish of variations of celeriac and fermented 'Irish miso' pearl barley, is now leading the way and confirming that

38 Patterson, 'Brand Ireland', p. 93.

39 (My translation) 'Le phénomène de patrimonialisation de l'alimentation se pose en lieu de lecture privilégié des mutations sociales. Il consiste en une transformation des représentations associées à l'espace social alimentaire et pose les produits alimentaires (qu'ils soient ou non élaborés), les objets de savoir-faire utilisés dans leur production, dans leur transformation, dans leur conservation et dans leur consommation, ainsi que les codes sociaux, "les manières de cuisiner" ou "les manières de manger et de boire" – ce qu'en Occident on nomme "les manières de table" – , comme des objets culturels porteurs d'une part de l'histoire et de l'identité d'un groupe social. Dans un monde en mutation, il convient donc de les préserver comme témoins d'une identité culturelle.' Jean-Pierre Poulain, *Sociologies de l'alimentation. Les mangeurs et l'espace social alimentaire* (Paris: Quadrige/PUF, 2002), pp. 25–26.

the ongoing efforts of the tourism and hospitality institutions have paid off. By hitting the headlines with such events and continuing to advertise authenticity and uniqueness – no matter how debatable these notions might be – Ireland will progressively succeed in being recognised worldwide for its cuisine. Food critics' reviews are generally excellent and they completely overshadow those of the past:

> Ireland's recently acquired reputation as a gourmet destination is thoroughly deserved, as a host of chefs and producers are leading a foodie revolution that, at its heart, is about bringing to the table the kind of meals that have always been taken for granted on well-run Irish farms. Coupled with the growing sophistication of the Irish palate – by now well-used to the varied flavours of the world's range of ethnic cuisines – it's now relatively easy to eat well in all budgets.[40]

Passion, motivation, innovation and pride in their *terroir* are at the core of *Fáilte Ireland*'s rebranding strategy. They also want to emphasise the fact that what the Irish artisans, chefs and other key players in the industry mostly have to offer is simple, natural and beautiful food. In a world where industrialised processed food is so widely consumed, Ireland represents a kind of 'Garden of Eden' and perfectly satisfies the need for escapism expressed by contemporary urban tourists. However, the image they want to convey remains somewhat ephemeral because outside of restaurants, farmers' markets and food festivals, processed food and what the food sociologists call 'convenience food' is extremely popular in Ireland. The Irish have a terrible record of fast food consumption, one of the worst in Europe according to a 2014 survey.[41] And in people's minds, because its ambassadors appear on television, work in upscale restaurants and write numerous trendy books, the gastronomic revolution taking place is still seen as the preserve of the most affluent. And there is no doubt that the wealthiest, at home and abroad, benefit the most from the revamp of Irish culinary culture. So if this rebranding is to succeed, governmental

40 Fionn Davenport, *Discover Ireland* (Melbourne, Australia: Lonely Planet, 2012), p. 348.

41 Alison Healy, 'Ireland's growing appetite for fast-food', *The Irish Times*, 31 March 2014.

institutions will also have to invest in education as good healthy local food should be accessible to anyone regardless of their income. Healthy eating programmes such as 'Food Dudes' and 'Cook It' need to be adopted on a large scale in schools and communities.[42] Great places to socialise and an alternative to the monotonous lunchbox, canteens serving at least a few local products could be set up in schools. The Green Party, in association with influent chefs, seem to back this idea as they would like to see their School Dinners Policy project, 'offering at least one meal a day at school', implemented in schools.[43] Growing your own food – even in towns – and foraging, very popular activities on television but far less in real life, should be taught in primary schools through projects such as Incredible Edibles,[44] which adopts a hands-on approach to learning more about food origin and production. Neither hippie nor old-fashioned practices, they are clever ways to be less dependent on supermarkets and make sure of the quality of what is ingested. In order to reconnect with food, understand where it comes from, how and in which conditions it is produced and how it can affect health, serious common sense measures need to be adopted, and not just in Ireland. Reaching the whole population of Ireland and especially urban dwellers, by integrating good, simple and local food into their way of life, would make for a real authentic experience that is not reserved solely for tourists.

42 Fooddudes website <http://www.fooddudes.ie/html/parents_what.html> [Accessed 10 July 2016] and HSE website <http://hse.ie/eng/about/Who/healthwellbeing/Health_Promotion_and_Improvement/Training/Stheast/cookit.html> [Accessed 10 July 2016].

43 Green Party Ireland <https://greenparty.ie/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Green-Party-School-Dinner-Policy-2015-1.pdf> [Accessed 10 July 2016].

44 Incredible Edibles <http://incredibleedibles.ie/> [Accessed 15 December 2016].

TONY KIELY

12 'From Tullycross to La Rochelle': Festival Food, French Connections and Relational Tourism Potential

ABSTRACT
In recent years, many of Ireland's rural towns and villages have witnessed an exponential growth in 'gastronomically' themed festivals. Furthermore, visitor interest in such festivals is increasingly viewed as providing economic opportunity, wherein celebrations may be specifically tailored to excite and develop tourist demand. However, while the attendant enhancement of local pride is often a welcome byproduct for those living within isolated host communities, for others, the protection of place and community integrity from uncontrolled visitor numbers overrides economic benefit. Based in Tullycross, on Ireland's most westerly coastline, the Connemara Mussel Festival, while established to promote the excellence of locally farmed mussels, has grown to become an eclectic celebration of local food, culture and heritage. Interestingly, it is also the home place of a local fisherman, Patrick Walton who, as a consequence of sailing from Tullycross to La Rochelle in 1290, 'accidentally' discovered the *bouchot* method of mussel farming, as universally practised in the fishing villages of western France to this day. Using Tullycross in an illustrative context, this chapter will explore the potential for regional relational tourism between France and Ireland in this most liminal of spaces.

Since earliest times, the urge to travel has been triggered by a diverse set of deeply personal needs, evidenced in the popularity of pilgrimage, the romance of the battlefield, the acute need for employment, or the opportunity to consume what were deemed 'iconic experiences' by pioneering travel enthusiasts.[1] Interestingly, within many of these engagements, the

1 R. Croft, T. Hartland and H. Skinner, 'And Did Those Feet? Getting Medieval England "On Message"', *Journal of Communication Management* 12/4 (2008), pp. 294–304; J. Towner, 'The Grand Tour: A Key Phase in the History of Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research* 12/3 (1985), pp. 297–333.

host communities, in becoming materially aware of the economic windfall associated with population inflows, were opportunistically propelled to satisfy traveller need with experiential availability.[2]

In a similar context, contemporary inducement strategies have actively targeted visitor footfall towards local or regionally themed festivals to exploit social and economic benefits that might accrue to resident communities.[3] Accordingly, while the word 'festival' conjures up visions of 'public gaiety', local festivals have increasingly been positioned as sources of cultural exchange which deliver significant locational exposure, create community cohesion, trigger attitudinal change to tourism and generate entertainment.[4] And yet, while such festivals appear to make perfect sense, they are often complicated arrangements due to inherently conflicting themes associated with the provision of revenue streams for the host community versus the protection of community integrity, encapsulated in a willingness or unwillingness to facilitate cultural exchange between locals and visitors, particularly within isolated rural communities.[5]

2 A. Frank, 'The Pleasant and Useful: Pilgrimage and Tourism in Hapsburg Mariazell', *Austrian History Yearbook* 40 (2009), pp. 157–182; R. Voase, 'Visiting a Cathedral: The Consumer Psychology of a "Rich Experience"', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 13/1 (2007), pp. 41–55; D. Tilson, 'Religious-Spiritual Tourism and Promotional Campaigning: A Church-State Partnership for St. James and Spain', *Journal of Hospitality and Leisure Marketing* 12/1–2 (2005), pp. 9–40.

3 B. Quinn, *Key Concepts in Event Management* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2013).

4 C. Newbold, C. Maughan, J. Jordan and F. Bianchi, *Focus on Festivals: Contemporary European Case Studies and Perspectives* (Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers Ltd, 2015); H. E. Wood and R. Thomas, 'Festivals and Tourism in Rural Economics', in J. Ali-Knight, M. Robertson, A. Fyall and A. Ladkin, *International Perspectives of Festivals and Events: Paradigms of Analysis* (California: Academic Press, 2009); R. Sims, 'Place and Authenticity: Local Food and the Sustainable Tourism Experience', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 17/3 (2009), pp. 321–326.

5 B. S. Blichfeldt and H. Halkier, 'Mussels, Tourism and Community Development: A Case Study of Place Branding Through Food Festivals in Rural North Jutland, Denmark', *European Planning Studies* 22/8 (2014), pp. 1587–1603; K. Jaeger and A. Viken, 'Sled Dog Racing and Tourism Development in Finnmark: A Symbolic Relationship', in A. Viken and B. Granás (eds), *Tourism Destination Development:*

Nonetheless, despite such challenges, the exponential growth of food or 'gastronomically themed' festivals has become increasingly evident, with many towns and villages in Ireland tapping into ephemeral appreciations of localised gastronomic culture. Popularised in France in the early years of the nineteenth century with the publication of Charles Louis Cadet's *Carte Gastronomique*, the first formal study of gastronomy was undertaken by Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, which, according to Kivela and Crotts, was 'most eloquently published in *La Physiologie du Goût*, in 1825'.[6] However, while gastronomic culture has been traditionally rooted in scientific studies of food and the senses, gastronomic tourism is a relatively new phenomenon which has comfortably aligned with the proliferation of local food festivals, wherein cultural interaction is actively promoted.[7] Likewise, Chronis et al. argue that the promotional value of intangible motivators such as myth, imaginings, narratives, heritage and place affinity must also be understood if such festivals are to prosper and grow.[8] And while the competitive climate for tourist footfall entices some communities to envisage their local festival as a conduit for increased income generation, for others it is the commemoration of a local hero, an ancient legend, or perhaps a generationally

Turns and Tactics (Abingdon, Oxford: Routledge, 2014); I. Lee and C. Arcodia, 'The Role of Regional Food Festivals for Destination Branding', *International Journal of Tourism Research* 13/4 (2011), pp. 355–367; K. Jaeger and R. J. Mykletun, 'The Festivalscape of Finnmark', *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 9/2 (2009), pp. 327–348; M. Kneafsey, 'Tourism, Place Identities, and Social Relations', in *the European Rural Periphery*, *European Urban and Regional Studies* 7/1 (2007), pp. 35–50.

6 J. Kivela and J. C. Crotts, 'Tourism and Gastronomy: Gastronomy's influence on how tourists experience a destination', *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Research* 30/3 (2006), pp. 354–377.

7 C. A. Silkes, L. A. Cai and Y. L. Lehto, 'Marketing to the Culinary Tourist', *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 30/4 (2013), pp. 335–349.

8 A. Chronis, A. J. Arnould and R. D. Hampton, 'Gettysburg re-imagined: the role of narrative imagination in consumption experience', *Consumption Markets and Culture* 15/3 (2012), pp. 261–286.

embedded tradition, that is more significant.[9] Indeed, such communities, in seeking to protect the authenticity and sustainability of their indigenous culture, may act to inhibit the commercialisation of their festival, wherein the preservation of local meaning often trumps economic benefit.[10]

One wonders, therefore, if traditionally differentiated concepts of 'preserving identity' and 'promoting tourism' might co-exist at a locally developed food festival. Analysing this conundrum, Richards[11] argues that they are but two sides of the one coin in that tourists will seek out authentic experiences even when they are not advertised as tourist attractions, while participating communities may simultaneously be emboldened by factors such as the external endorsement of their festival, the leveraging of connectivity with 'the other', or simply by the temporary presence of visitors in their locale.[12] Drawing on research from interviews carried out with the organising committee, local residents and festival attendees at the Connemara Mussel Festival 2015, this chapter will consider the rationale for the creation and development of a local food/cultural festival in Tullycross, a small picturesque village situated in rurally remote Connemara, on the most westerly coast of Ireland. Moreover, it will attempt to ascertain if the festival could be instrumental in generating 'relational tourism' through evaluating stakeholder attitudes to increased visitor activity, by leveraging historical and cultural connections with France.

9 B. Quinn, 'Arts Festivals and the City', *Urban Studies* 42/5–6 (2005), pp. 927–943.

10 R. W. K. Lau, 'Revisiting Authenticity: A Social Realist Approach', *Annals of Tourism Research* 37/2 (2010), pp. 478–498; G. Richards, 'Culture and Authenticity in a Traditional Event: The Views of Producers, Residents and Visitors in Barcelona', *Event Management* 11 (2007), pp. 33–44; H. Kim and T. Jamal, 'Touristic Quest for Existential Authenticity', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 34/1 (2007), pp. 181–201.

11 Richards, 'Culture and Authenticity', 2007.

12 J. M. Rickly-Boyd, 'Authenticity and Aura: A Benjaminian Approach to Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research* 39/1 (2012), pp. 269–289; B. S. Blichfeldt, 'Unmanageable Place Brands', *Place Branding* 1/4 (2005), pp. 388–401; P. F. Xie, 'Visitor's Perceptions of Authenticity at a Rural Heritage Festival: A Case Study', *Event Management* 8 (2004), pp. 151–160.

Liminality and Festival Creation

Dominated by a rugged tapestry of mountains and peat bogs, the village of Tullycross houses a community of less than 100 residents. Additionally, though opportunistically situated on the 'Wild Atlantic Way' (the longest defined coastal drive for tourists in the world), it is operationally encumbered in being serviced by just one hotel, one café, one local shop and two pubs. And while the surrounding hinterland of Connemara is popularly represented as one of Ireland's most scenic regions, it, too, is a wild and isolated landscape which became a much demeaned destination in seventeenth-century Ireland when, following Oliver Cromwell's occupational conquest (1649–1653), Irish landowners, who were dispossessed of their holdings, were forcibly transported to the worst of lands, with the infamous watchword of 'To Hell or to Connaught' ringing in their ears.[13] Consequently, over ensuing centuries the starkness of emotional and physical isolation embedded a sense of 'creative impoverishment' among descendants of the original occupants, which incrementally triggered necessity-driven urges to travel to Britain and America for employment. Indeed, evidence still exists in Tullycross of a local booking office offering passage for locals on the Titanic prior to its fateful voyage to America in 1912, which poignantly highlights their economic need to escape the pervasive liminality in the hope of finding a better life across the pond.

Hence, it might be assumed that the creation of a food festival could prove daunting for such a community due to what might be a preordained inability or unwillingness to visualise festive activity in a region where pain and suffering have traditionally been the norm. Contemporising such inertia, Boyne and Hall[14] argue that the combination of sparsely populated locations, lack of leadership, and critical accommodation constraints, create major challenges that can exacerbate an already difficult situation for remote

13 J. Cunningham, 'Conquest and Land in Ireland: The Transplantation to Connaught 1649–1680', *Royal Historical Society* (London: Boydell Press, 2011).

14 S. Boyne and D. Hall, 'Place Promotion through Food and Tourism: Rural Branding, and the Role of Websites', *Place Branding* 1/1 (2004), pp. 80–92.

locations aspiring to attract new or increased visitor flows. Furthermore, Blichfeldt and Halkier worryingly posit that many rural communities increasingly face the prospect of marginalisation due to the exponential demand for tourists among competing urban locations, which reinforces the community's intrinsic sense of being operationally disconnected from visitor need.[15] Nevertheless, an increasing number of community leaders perceive their local festival as a significant aid in overcoming social and economic disadvantage, wherein the availability of unique, locally sourced and authentic food offers 'outsiders' a reason to become 'tourists', while simultaneously creating opportunities for promoting locational attractiveness.[16]

On the other hand, in depicting home-grown festivals as underfunded celebrations blossoming in rural or semi-rural areas of low population, both O'Sullivan and Jackson[17] and Moscardo[18] argue that should they wish to remain sustainable, they must be constituted as tourist tempters, wherein the parallel attractions of history, heritage and ethnicity are embedded within the festival celebration. Indeed, research argues that where communities actively embrace such differentiated activity, they will ultimately incline towards a greater acceptance of temporary visitor inflows, which in itself will promote the enhancement of local morale.[19] Addressing the significance of morale enhancement, Van Rekom and Go[20] suggest that outside-in endorsement significantly contributes to 'preserving those identity markers that catch the tourist's attention, provided members of the

15 Blichfeldt and Halkier, 'Mussels, Tourism and Community Development' (2014).

16 K. Jaeger and R. J. Mykletun, 'Festivals, Identities and Belonging', *Event Management* 17 (2013), pp. 213–226; Lee and Arcodia, 'The Role of Regional Food Festivals for Destination Branding' (2011).

17 D. O'Sullivan and M. J. Jackson, 'Festival Tourism: A Contributor to Sustainable Local Economic Development?', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 10/4 (2002), pp. 325–342.

18 G. Moscardo, 'Analysing the Role of Festivals and Events in Regional Development', *Event Management* 11 (2007), pp. 23–32.

19 A. Cela, J. Knowles-Lankford and S. Lankford, 'Local Food Festivals in Northeast Iowa Communities: a Visitor and Economic Impact Study', *Managing Leisure* 12 (2007), pp. 171–186.

20 J. Van Rekom and F. Go, 'Being Discovered: A Blessing to Local Identities?', *Annals of Tourism Research* 33/3 (2006), p. 767.

destination population leverage opportunities to engage in tourism related activities'. Likewise, in championing the impact of cultural exchange on community morale, Comunian[21] proposes that such engagement will 'nurture the impetus for communities to look outwards', a perspective which would suggest opportunities for relational tourism development with specific interest, or occupationally aligned visitors.

Festival Promotion, Imagination and Identity

From a promotional perspective, Quinn[22] proposes that festival offerings should be strategically aligned with the embedded expectations of prospective visitors, wherein experiential intangibility is considered in conjunction with the active role that consumers play in shaping their desired experience. Indeed, much research has focused on how festival promotion increasingly targets the innate sensory receivers of consumers by exploiting their innermost expectations and fantasies, in an attempt to pique their interest and draw them towards these destinations.[23] Associating with this perspective, Lichrou et al. contend that tourism destinations might be more usefully framed as narratives that 'drive an impulsive travel intent'.[24] This would suggest that the active deployment of popular culture in a promotional

21 R. Comunian, 'Festivals as Communities of Practice: Learning by Doing and Knowledge of Networks Amongst Artists', in C. Newbold, C. Maughan, J. Jordan and F. Bianchi (eds), *Focus on Festivals: Contemporary European Case Studies and Perspectives* (Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers Ltd, 2015), p. 53.

22 Quinn, *Key Concepts in Event Management*, 2013.

23 B. Trauer and C. Ryan, 'Destination Image, Romance, and Place Experience', *Tourism Management* 26/4 (2005), pp. 481–491; C. Iwashita, 'Media Construction of Britain as a Destination for Japanese Tourists: Social Constructionism and Tourism', *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 4/4 (2003), pp. 331–340.

24 M. Lichrou, L. O'Malley and M. Patterson, 'Place-Product or Place Narratives: Perspectives in the Marketing of Tourism Destinations', *Journal of Strategic Marketing* 16/1 (2008), p. 27.

context, particularly through locational representations in song, film, literature or art, would facilitate the unconscious construction of 'a-priori' imagery in the mind of the traveller, resulting in an 'agency-driven' travel intent. Adopting this perspective, Hjalager and Corigliano propose that where locally sourced food is used as 'an appealing eye-catcher in brochures, videos and television programmes', travellers will eagerly anticipate 'sharing local culture in a cognitive and participatory moment'.[25] Interestingly, it is also argued that the residual benefits of such embedded promotion could comfortably coexist with the construction of enhanced self-image among resident communities who are made aware of such narratives.[26]

According to Connell and Gibson and Sommers-Smith,[27] music can play an effective role in stimulating vicarious imaginings through its ability to seamlessly align invested meaning with locational attractiveness. Such emotional symbiosis is cogently evidenced in Michel Sardou's *Les Lacs du Connemara*, a popular French recording that whimsically romanticises Connemara's wild and dangerous landscape within its emotionally charged lyrics.[28] Co-written in the early 1980s with Jacques Revaud and Pierre Delanoë, the song, by way of an effortless ability to link intergenerational musical taste, is regularly sung at festive gatherings in France, where its jaunting hypnotic melody and rhythmic sing-along beat, coupled with pervasive infusions of exhilaration, unconsciously induces a visual connectivity between those who sing the song and their imaginings of a mythically seductive location. Further evidencing such associative connections, Breton harpist Alan Stivell's *Suite Irlandaise* and *Gaeltacht*, the latter of which incorporates imagery of Connemara in a visual montage, have

25 A. M. Hjalager and M. A. Corigliano, 'Food for Tourists: Determinants of an Image', *International Journal of Tourism Research* 2/4 (2000), p. 281.

26 Chronis et al., 'Gettysburg re-imagined' (2012); J. L. Borgerson and J. E. Schroeder, 'Ethical Issues of Global Marketing: Avoiding Bad Faith in Visual Representation', *European Journal of Marketing* 36/5–6 (2002), pp. 570–594.

27 J. Connell and C. Gibson, 'Vicarious Journeys: Travels in Music', *Tourism Geographies* 6/1 (2004), pp. 2–25; S. K. Sommers-Smith, 'Traditional Music: Irish Traditional Music in a Modern World', *New Hibernia Review* 5/2 (2001), pp. 111–125.

28 Translation of *Les Lacs du Connemara* by Michel Sardou, available at <http://www.greatfrenchsongs.com//michel-sardou-les-lacs-du-connemara>.

contributed to promoting evocative myth-making imagery of the landscape. Similarly, it is said that the popularity of renowned Irish ballad group 'The Dubliners' during the period 1965–1985 critically influenced many of their admirers in France, Holland and Germany to visit Ireland, while a similar association is also represented in how Paul Henry's spectacularly romantic paintings of wild skies and thatched cottages of Connemara were successfully employed by *Bord Fáilte* (Ireland's national tourism promotion body) to draw French visitors to the region during the 1940s and early 1950s.[29]

Addressing the significance of locational affinity, Sillar considers it 'an empathetic desire for places and things that are deemed to have social identities', adding that 'everyone invests some places with more emotional engagement than others'.[30] Equally, Shanahan considers the importance of such intentional agency when arguing that being part of a community of practice internalises the motivation for identity-related behaviour.[31] And while a broad belief abounds that food festivals play a significant role in attracting both emotionally attached and ephemerally curious visitors, research also suggests that they serve to embed an integrated form of destination branding, particularly when applied to rurally isolated locations.[32] Hence, in acknowledging how food tourists willingly submit to gastronomic cues that depict culinary activity at particular locations, Kivela and Crotts[33] argue that the feel-good factor resulting from the prospect of food consumption at a local festival 'is a marketing tool that should not be underestimated' in efforts to increase visitor attendance, a prospect that

29 M. Bourke and S. Edmondson, *Irish Artists Painting in France 1860–1915 at The National Gallery of Ireland* (Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland Press, 2014).

30 B. Sillar, 'The Social Agency of Things? Animism and Materiality in the Andes', *Cambridge Archeological Journal* 19/3 (2009), p. 369.

31 M. C. Shanahan, 'Identity in Science Learning: Exploring the Attention Given to Agency and Structure in Studies of Identity', *Studies in Science Education* 45/1 (2009), pp. 43–64.

32 Blichfeldt and Halkier, 'Mussels, Tourism and Community Development' (2014); Sims, 'Food, Place and Authenticity' (2009).

33 Kivela and Crotts, 'Tourism and Gastronomy' (2006), p. 355.

has prompted many festival stakeholders to re-imagine festival experiences as economic assets rather than elitist entities.[34]

Relational Connections with France

In acknowledging the significance of relational tourism as a community development tool, Beeton argues that tourism within communities is not simply a case of 'whether or not to encourage visitors, but rather what type of visitor, and what type of tourism the community decides it wants'.[35] This would suggest that if attempting to satisfy both visitor expectation and local need are primary promotional considerations, then the leveraging of a related connectivity between 'subject' (the person) and 'object' (the place) will become a key factor in developing a more 'acceptable' tourism format for peripherally located communities.[36] Conversely, in advocating caution, Blichfeldt and Halkier suggest that for remote locations, uncontrolled tourism growth might well become problematic in that were it too successful it could strip the local community of the very thing that makes it attractive to the visitor.[37] Accordingly, one wonders if the active leveraging of Ireland's engagement in what has been a legacy of social, historic, political, literary and artistic relationships with France, and more recently through the growth in musical and sporting connections, might offer sustainable opportunities to attract a more manageable visitor footfall to the Connemara Mussel Festival and the surrounding hinterland.

34 B. Garcia, 'Cultural Policy in European Cities: Lessons from Experience, Prospects for the Future', *Local Economy* 19/4 (2004), pp. 312–326; K. Kim, M. Uysal and J. Chen, 'Festival Visitor Motivation from the Organiser's Point of View', *Event Management* 7 (2002), pp. 127–134.

35 S. Beeton, *Community Development through Tourism* (Collingwood, Australia: Landlinks Press, 2006), p. 2.

36 Beeton, *Community Development through Tourism* (2006); Trauer and Ryan, 'Destination Image, Romance, and Place Experience' (2005).

37 Blichfeldt and Halkier, 'Mussels, Tourism and Community Development' (2014).

Over successive generations, Ireland has happily weaved political and military relationships with France, evidenced in how Napoleon Bonaparte who, in providing hope and inspiration for Ireland's rebellions of 1798 and 1803, is valorised in many Irish musical compositions. Interestingly, a historic military connection also aligns La Rochelle with Killala, a small fishing village within driving distance of Tullycross, where, on 6 August 1798, 1,000 soldiers, under the command of General Humbert (a lieutenant in the army of Napoleon Bonaparte), sailed from La Rochelle to support Theobald Wolfe Tone's United Irishmen in their fight for freedom. In what became known as The Year of the French, Humbert's troops are said to have declared this most westerly province as Ireland's First Republic.[38] Politically, Ireland first turned to France in 1848 for the design of what is now our National Flag. Made from the finest French silk, the tricolour was created by a group of French women who were openly sympathetic to Ireland's cause. Further political associations record how Irishman Patrick McMahon became the first President of the French Republic in 1873, while Samuel Beckett, one of our 'shared' Nobel Laureates, in fighting for The French Resistance in 1941, famously declared that he would prefer 'France at war, to Ireland at peace'.[39]

A unique suite of literary and artistic relationships also flourished over the decades, evidenced in how the cream of Ireland's writers and artists were drawn to France for the freedom of expression and cultural inspiration on offer. For example, having escaped the suffocating grip of Catholic Ireland, James Joyce lived most of his adult life in his beloved Paris, where he finished *Ulysses* and wrote *Finnegan's Wake*.[40] Indeed, when *Ulysses* was considered 'unpublishable', 'dangerous' and 'obscene', Parisian publishing house Shakespeare & Co. Ltd bravely funded the publication of what

38 T. Flannagan, *The Year of the French* (New York: New York Review Books, 1979).

39 P. Gaffney, *Healing Amid the Ruins: The Irish Hospital at Saint Lo (1945–1946)*, (Dublin: A. & A. Farmar, 1999), p. 25.

40 R. Ellmann, *James Joyce*, New and Revised Edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

many consider one of the finest works of modern literature.[41] Similarly, literary giant Samuel Beckett, who believed that he was directly descended from French Huguenots, also made Paris his creative home for over fifty years, while completing the main body of his work in French, a language which he considered to be his first tongue.[42] Equally, from a fine art perspective, an enriching cultural connectivity flourished when a significant number of well-known Irish artists, notably Nathaniel Hone, Sir John Lavery, William Leech, Sarah Purser, Roderic O'Connor, Constance Gore-Booth, Walter Osbourne and Paul Henry, were culturally seduced by late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century French Impressionism, Avant-Garde Conceptualism, Realism, and Naturalism,[43] and who, having honed their skills in France, became highly regarded for painting the seascapes and fishing villages of Brittany and Normandy, a landscape not unlike that of Connemara.

Leveraging Local Connections

While acknowledging the tourism potential of broadly brushed global associations, leveraging local to local attractiveness by way of the availability of a more locally nuanced suite of 'connections' might well be more appropriate in attracting a relational tourist footfall to Tullycross. One such opportunity is exemplified by way of a historic mussel-farming relationship that has linked Tullycross with La Rochelle since the thirteenth century. Legend states that in 1290 a local fisherman, Patrick Walton, set sail from Tullycross for France where unfortunately, due to the onset of a violent storm in the Bay of l'Aiguillon, he was shipwrecked off the Charente-Maritime

41 K. Birmingham, *The Most Dangerous Book: The Battle for James Joyce's Ulysses* (London: Head of Zeus Ltd, 2015).

42 A. Cronin, *Samuel Beckett: The Last Modernist* (London: Harper-Collins, 1996).

43 Bourke and Edmondson, *Irish Artists Painting in France* (2013).

coastline, quite close to La Rochelle.[44] Having safely made it ashore (after first driving tracing poles into the seabed to which he attached fishing nets to catch seabirds for food), Walton later returned to find clusters of local mussels clinging to his nets and tracing poles. Accordingly, the recognised method of mussel farming, known in France as the *bouchot* method (growing mussels on long lines or ropes), was accidentally born, and accredited to Walton. History also records that in subsequent years, Walton was responsible for the ingenious invention of flat wooden crafts called 'Vials' or 'Barnacles' which for many centuries enabled local *Boucholeurs* to pilot the shallow waters of the Bay of l'Aiguillon without suffering the misfortune of sinking waist-deep into the soft mud which permeated its shallow regions.[45] Consequently, though all but forgotten in Ireland, Walton became highly regarded in the maritime culture of western France where the *bouchot* method of mussel farming is still practised in small fishing villages. Interestingly, from a relational tourism perspective, this would suggest opportunities for the enactment of reciprocal travel arrangements between those hosting the Connemara Festival and communities involved in similarly themed events in villages such as Esnandes and Marsilly in Charente-Maritime.

Viewing literary associations through a more parochial prism might also suggest the potential of a small cohort of locally connected writers, who themselves were drawn to France in various guises, to facilitate the co-creation of interest-piquing narratives for French visitors to Tullycross. Such potential is attributable to Nobel Laureate William Butler Yeats, who was a frequent visitor to France from 1896 until his death there in 1939, but composed what was arguably his finest poetry in nearby Renvyle while in romantic pursuit of Irish revolutionary, suffragette and actress Maud Gonne MacBride, who Yeats considered to be the most magically beautiful woman in Ireland.[46] An equally intriguing narrative might also be attributed to writer

44 J. Prou and P. Goulletquer, 'The French Mussel Industry: Present Status and Perspectives', *Bulletin of the Aquaculture Association of Canada* 102/3 (2002), pp. 17–23.

45 *Ibid*.

46 T. Brown, *The Life of W B Yeats* (Dublin: Gill & MacMillan, 1999).

and noted socialite Oliver St John Gogarty, winner of a bronze medal in mixed literature for Ireland at the 1924 Paris Olympics,[47] who was famously caricatured as 'stately, plump Buck Mulligan' in the opening pages of Joyce's *Ulysses*.[48] Infamous for his wild behaviour, Gogarty, in an act of apology to his locally born long-suffering wife, is said to have commissioned a sumptuously decorated window from Harry Clarke (Ireland's most celebrated stained glass artist) to commemorate the memory of her parents. This renowned window, which incorporates a depiction of St Bernard of Clairvaux, a twelfth-century French Abbott, who ironically was noted for his ability to arbitrate, counsel and reconcile disputes, is on public view in Christ the King Church, Tullycross.[49] Additionally, traditional musical affiliations, albeit more recent, might equally create opportunities for the development of relational tourism. For example, the renaissance of interest in Celtic music along the west coast of France has been notable, exemplified in the popularity of The Festival Inter-Celtique in Lorient, which annually attracts over 700,000 visitors, and The Rencontres Musicales Irlandaises de Tocane in Saint Apre, to which many Irish musicians travel annually to perform.

Appraising Travel Opportunity

As indicated in the literature, the inclination to create and develop local festivals in what are deemed 'liminal locations' can prove challenging for both residents and organising committees. On the other hand, success and

47 Art competitions were included in the Olympic Games between 1912 and 1948; see: <http://www.full-stop.net/2012/08/13/features/essays/tyler-malone/a-stately-plump-bronze-medalist-john-gogarty-and-the-olympic-art-competitions/> [Accessed March 2017].

48 U. O'Connor, *Oliver St. John Gogarty; A Poet and His Times* (Dublin: The O'Brien Press, 2000).

49 N. Gordon Bowe, *Harry Clarke, The Life and Work*, (Dublin: The History Press, 2012); L. Costigan and M. Cullen, *Strangest Genius: The Stained Glass of Harry Clarke* (Dublin: The History Press, 2010).

sustainability, if appropriately mediated, may instead create a cohesive desire among the resident community to incrementally increase visitor numbers over a protracted period. One wonders, therefore, if the Connemara Mussel Festival, in embodying the alignment of locational liminality, a unique food product, a diversified suite of cultural/heritage attractions, and the potential to exploit distinctly leveragable connections with particular regions of France, might create opportunities to develop a mutually acceptable form of relational tourism? In attempting to provide answers to these questions, the findings were grouped under three main headings, namely:

- Festival Creation, Development and Promotion
- Attitudes to Increased Visitor Flow
- Potential for Relational Tourism

Festival Creation, Development and Promotion

Now in its tenth year, the Connemara Mussel Festival was 'imagined' following a serendipitous meeting between locals who were idling the night away in Paddy Coynes pub, and a visiting fisherman, who in referring to a bucket of shellfish he had collected that morning, casually asked if there was 'any chance of cooking up a feed'? In recalling what happened, the pub owner suggested that it was 'one of those nights when you don't expect anything to happen, but after a few pints and some cooked mussels, we had planned to have a go at a mussel festival'. Asked why the creation of a festival was important for their village, one local commented, 'mainly to give locals something to do, but also to promote the delicious shellfish of the locality, and to get visitors to stay for a couple of nights'. This perspective appeared to suggest a desire to shake off the shackles of locational liminality, coupled with an astute awareness of the revenue generating potential of visitors. From a promotional perspective, the leveraging of external validation was actively employed to attract visitors. For example, the festival brochure cites renowned food critics John and Sally McKenna who, when awarding Tullycross the 'Best Small Festival Award' in 2014, remarked: 'You can reckon that you've seen it all, and then something as small, community-focused, and simple as this great weekend, simply takes your

breath away'.[50] Similarly, the awarding of a Coq d'Or to the locally sourced 'Connemara Smokehouse Salmon' at the biannual food and wine festival in Chalonnes-sur-Loire boosted the confidence of locals, who invited The Brotherhood of Fins Gousiers d'Anjou to the 2014 festival, prompting one local to famously quip 'sure even the French think we are good'.

In endeavouring to satisfy the differentiated imaginings of travellers, the festival was incrementally enriched with an eclectic mix of cultural attractions to entice visitor footfall. For example, visitors to the 2015 festival were treated to a diverse set of experiences, ranging from the official festival opening, which incorporated the lighting of a fire under a bed of mussels set upon a bed of pine needles, to create the spectacular and delicious French speciality *éclade de moules*, to visiting 6,000-year-old Megalithic tombs, exploring prehistoric cave art, reliving local history, and enjoying performances of classical and traditional Irish music. Attitudinally, a strong appreciation of the incorporation of such differentiated attractions was articulated by both residents and attendees, evidenced in one local who commented that 'some of us who live here don't like fish, you know, so that's why the other stuff is important'. Equally in referencing the residual impact of cultural immersion, a return visitor to the festival commented, 'my wife and I came here last year and attended a lecture on Harry Clarke's stained glass windows by Dr Nicola Gordon Bowe in the church across the road, and it was so inspiring that we have visited every church in the west of Ireland where his windows are to be found'.

Attitudes to Increased Visitor Flow

Over the May Bank Holiday each year, the village of Tullycross awakens from being a sleepy hamlet to successfully accommodating a substantial festival presence, a fact that would appear to suggest the potential for developing a more regular visitor flow to the village and the surrounding area outside the festival timeframe. As such, attitudinal perspectives on expanding the visitor season were taken from local residents and members of the business community. Generally speaking, responses reflected the

50 <http://www.guides.ie/megabites/food-festival-year> [accessed January 2015].

presence of a strong, albeit cautious desire for increased visitor numbers, which, while ephemerally viewed by some as providing a transient level of activity (perhaps reflecting local concerns over their peripherality and marginalisation), was accompanied by a pragmatic desire for the creation of local employment. Such utterances ranged from 'the festival livens up the place' and 'it's good to see people from outside coming in, because having nothing to do around here can get monotonous', to one young resident who poignantly concluded, 'we need to bring young people back, because only three of my class are still living and working here. So maybe tourism would help to create jobs for young people like me'.

Equally, albeit perhaps from a utilitarian perspective, members of the local business community articulated the potential for vicarious alignments through the unconscious branding of local products in the psyche of potential visitors which, according to one producer, 'might be really useful in creating a curiosity about Connemara'. Commenting on this potential, the proprietor of the locally sourced, award-winning 'Connemara Smokehouse Salmon' recalled that 'the trip to France to receive our award was really worthwhile, not just in terms of giving exposure to the fantastic products we have here, but also as a means of promoting the area to French visitors'. Likewise, a local artisan, championed the pulling power of vicarious imaginings when stating, 'look, I can count on the fingers of one hand the number of times that I have travelled abroad. But I have a map of the world here in my shop, pinned with the location of every piece of my glass that I have sent across the world', adding, 'I also know that many customers who have bought my glass come here on holidays, because they visit my workshop, and then go on to see the Connemara locations that I have depicted for them in my glass'.

However, despite such broad enthusiasm, fears associated with the dilution of community ambience due to an over-influx of visitors were also evident, with one local commenting: 'we need more controlled tourism, because some of us here are afraid of being overrun by tourists from the Wild Atlantic Way'. Acknowledging this worrying prospect another resident, in referring to the festival crowds, commented: 'this village has not changed much over the last fifty years, so I would not like to see busloads of them coming here', adding, 'I know that on the quiet days here, there are times when you would welcome a stranger for a bit of a diversion, but I

certainly would not like every day to be like this'. Furthermore, in acknowledging the lack of an adequate accommodation infrastructure, another local complained that, 'despite the obvious benefits of wider promotion, we have capacity problems here in Tullycross. And although people might stay in nearby villages, the roads in and out of here are narrow, and there is little or no public transport'.

Potential for Relational Tourism

During the interviews, it was apparent that while supporters of increased visitor flow encompassed the business community, employment seekers and social energisers, long term residents articulated a fear of being overwhelmed by uncontrolled visitor numbers. Accordingly, in attempting to illuminate a mutually acceptable visitor format, perspectives on relational awareness and visitor impulse were taken from members of the organising committee and attendees at the festival. When questioned on the origin of festival visitors, one committee member answered: 'visitors are made up of French, American, Spanish, German, Italian, British and Irish', adding, 'French visitors are the highest grouping outside of the Irish'. This appeared to suggest opportunities for developing relational tourism with French visitors, which in turn might satisfy the dissonant perspectives of locals who seemed troubled by the prospect of uncontrolled tourism surges in their community spaces. However, while the business community appeared to acknowledge the vicarious intentions of French travellers, it was surprising that more tangible cultural associations with France were not considered significant attractors by the organisers. Indeed, one obvious omission related to Patrick Walton who, though widely known and respected in the fishing villages of western France, was not central to the festival activity. Equally, there seemed little awareness of relational opportunities through exploiting occupational similarities with mussel farming villages in the Charente-Maritime Region. Commenting on this strategic inertia, a member of the organising committee commented that things were 'just pulled out of the air each year', while another acknowledged that they were 'only beginning to understand the potential of the festival beyond buy in from the local community'.

Furthermore, while there was little awareness of the village of Tullycross among French visitors to the festival, evidenced in responses such as: 'I came across it by accident', their appreciation of being warmly welcomed and included was openly expressed, with one commenting, 'these people don't behave like we are outsiders at their festival', while a family group from Brittany observed that they would certainly come back because 'coming here is like belonging to a family'. Overall, a striking affinity with Connemara emerged, with numerous French visitors speaking of the 'spectacular scenery' as being a major travel motivator. This motivational pull was also exemplified by a couple who were impressed by the depiction of Connemara in *Un Taxi Mauve* (a popular French film from 1977 directed by Yves Boisset), when admiring how the landscape 'does not feel that it has to apologise for how it looks'. But by far the most common travel motivator was the 'imagining' of Connemara through the lens of Michel Sardou's rendition of *Les Lacs du Connemara*, which was universally cited as a primary reason for visiting the area. Comments such as 'It's Michel Sardou, don't you know him?', and 'the song makes Connemara seem such a magical, mystical place', appeared to resonate with their sense of subliminal connection to the area. This awareness was eloquently captured by an Irish girl visiting the festival who recounted that when she had visited her boyfriend's family home in Paris for Christmas, 'everyone was singing that song about Connemara, and I was so embarrassed that I did not know it as well as they did'.

Concluding Observations

This chapter inquired if the needs of a rural community, for whom a local celebration, sprinkled with a manageable influx of visitors, would satisfy expectations, might coexist with those of the archetypal festival visitor, for whom food provenance and interactive cultural immersion both seduce and excite travel intent? Broadly speaking, the findings would suggest that the articulation of a palpable enthusiasm for increased tourism presence

was tempered by a concern that the corresponding visitor impact might overtly disturb the ambience of the village. Such antithesis towards utilitarian benefit aligns with Massiani and Santori's capacity management thesis, which argues that disproportionate visitor/resident ratios often modify the quality of life of the local population while simultaneously negating the attractiveness of a destination for the visitor.[51] Indeed, evidence suggests that an increasing number of tourist destinations struggle with suffocating visitor flows which, despite generating much needed revenue streams, can become a thorn in the side of the local community, exemplified in the tiny village of Haworth, which has witnessed a disproportionate growth in Bronte aficionados driven by the popularity of film and television representations of their literary heroines.

Nonetheless, despite the presence of such attitudinal obstacles, opportunities for a more discrete tourism format appeared to suggest a relational solution for those concerned with being overrun by uncontrolled visitor numbers. For example, the research unearthed an underdeveloped relationship between Tullycross and fishing villages in the Charente-Maritime region of western France in that a unique and sustainable local product, the rope grown mussel, is embedded in their respective gastronomic histories. Interestingly, the potential for a 'local' product to be recognised as 'authentic' or 'locally produced' by being awarded 'Product Designation of Origin' (PDO), or 'Protected Geographic Indication' status by the EU, can create travel inducement opportunities for rural communities. Hence, the case of the 'Waterford Blaa' makes for interesting reading. Brought to Ireland in 1693 by French Huguenots, this white pan evolved from the French *pain blanc* to the locally designated 'Waterford Blaa'. Waterford Tourism has recently decreed the consumption of the Blaa as a 'must do' activity for visitors, thus signifying the place of origin as a 'must visit' location for culinary tourists. So might not a similar case be made for The Connemara Mussel in that it is locally grown in Killary Harbour,

51 J. Massiani and G. Santoro, 'The Relevance of the Concept of Capacity for the Management of a Tourist Destination: Theory and Application to Tourism Management in Venice', *Rivista Italiana di Economia Demografia e Statistica* 66/2 (2012), pp. 141–156.

has occupational associations for fishing communities in western France, and would seamlessly promote the locational attractiveness of the region?

In evaluating the prospect of developing alternative visitor flows, it is worth noting that Tullycross has much to offer, in being proximate to Connemara National Park (a popular amenity for hill walkers), the world famous Benedictine Abbey at nearby Kylemore, and noted film locations (*The Quiet Man* – John Ford, 1952; *The Field* – Jim Sheridan, 1990; *Un Taxi Mauve* – Yves Boisset, 1977; and *Man of Aran – Robert Flaherty, 1934*). Moreover, it is but a short drive from Clifden, home of the Connemara Pony, location for Marconi's first commercial transatlantic radio broadcast in 1907, and landing site of the world's first non-stop transatlantic flight by aviators Alcock and Brown in 1919. Moreover, the activation of such opportunities could create the potential for Tullycross to become a travel hub by developing locally based business networks, for example community linked bed and breakfast networks working in conjunction with local bus and bicycle services for those wishing to explore Connemara. This would suggest that the 'availability' of French visitors outside of the narrow festival timeframe, if leveraged, could create differentiated opportunities for fruitful and reciprocal travel relationships. However, in order to achieve this the communities would need to grasp the opportunity to develop relationships that are anchored in their respective communities.

In conclusion, while this chapter primarily concerned itself with the operational constraints of festival creation, the awareness of cultural connections with France, and the potential for relational tourism, it is fundamentally about a forgotten man who set sail from Tullycross in the thirteenth century on a long and hazardous journey towards the west coast of France and who, while credited with 'accidentally' inventing mussel farming which sustained fishing communities for centuries, has been written out of local history for over 700 years. Accordingly, isn't it fitting that the self-same man might be instrumental in 'accidentally' creating relational tourism between linked communities in France and Ireland? Perhaps the time has come to afford Patrick Walton his rightful place in the collective memories of both communities.

BRIAN MURPHY

13 Cognac, Scotch and Irish: Lessons in Gastronomic Identity

ABSTRACT
Cognac from the Charente region of France is one of the world's best-known *terroir*-focused grape spirits. Down through the centuries it has become rooted in what some refer to as 'an integrity of somewhereness'. Scottish whisky is another beverage that trades very heavily in terms of its *terroir* distinction. Like Cognac it has a strong association with place and possesses a very specific sense of gastronomic identity. Up until now there has been something of a lacuna in Irish whiskey's own *terroir*-based identity, particularly at a local level. Because of this, Irish whiskey has much to learn in terms of identity from its liquid cousins, Cognac and Scotch. In this chapter I suggest ways in which such a lacuna might be addressed so that Irish whiskey's own unique gastronomic identity can be enhanced and it, too, can take its rightful share of the increased global interest in gastro-tourism.

Tourism has become a truly global business in recent years. According to the United Nations World Tourism Organisation, 1.1 billion tourists travelled abroad in 2014. With an increase of 4.7 per cent this was the fifth consecutive year to record growth since the 2009 economic crisis and the UNWTO predicts another increase in 2015 of 3 to 4 per cent.[1] Of course there are a myriad of reasons why people travel to particular destinations. They travel for business or to visit friends and relatives. They travel to enhance their knowledge and learn; they travel purely for leisure purposes. In recent years food and drink has become an essential ingredient in that motivational mix and increasingly it is proving to be an important reason for travel. According to Taleb Rifai, UNWTO Secretary General:

1 United Nations World Tourism Organisation, 'Over 1.1 billion tourists travelled abroad in 2014': <http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2015-01-27/over-11-billion-tourists-travelled-abroad-2014> [Accessed 2 February 2015].

> For many of the world's billions of tourists, returning to familiar destinations to enjoy tried and tested recipes, or travelling further afield in search of new cuisine, gastronomy has become a central part of the tourism experience.[2]

As competition between destinations increases, it is often the quality of the food and beverage tourism experience that can act as a differentiating factor when potential tourists are choosing their destination. For the purposes of this chapter I will interpret the term food to include beverages imbibed as part of the epicurean experience. This work explores a trilogy of historic beverages that relate very specifically to three separate destinations. It looks at the beverage-place relationship of each individual drink and posits that some place-specific relationships, through regional identity, are superior to others. Such superiority enhances the potential for food tourism development in a market increasingly demanding premiumisation.

There has always been a very strong relationship between food and identity. Within their particular gastronomic DNA many countries also carry elements of their past and present beverage cultures, ones that are uniquely identified with a nation. In this chapter I focus on three such countries: France, Scotland and Ireland. I explore Cognac's relationship with the Charente region of south-west France, single malt whisky and its relationship with the regions of Scotland and finally Irish whiskey's relationship with Ireland. I will argue that the Irish whiskey sector, in particular, has tremendous potential to benefit from the gastro-tourism sector if its nascent revival can take cognisance of the necessity for delimited place-based relationships between the product and its associated provenance. Richards states that 'with the disintegration of established structure of meaning, people are searching for new sources of identity

2 United Nations World Tourism Organisation AM Report vol. 4 'Global Report on Food Tourism': <http://www.google.ie/url?url=http://dtxtq4w60xqpw.cloudfront.net/sites/all/files/pdf/global_report_on_food_tourism.pdf&rct=j&frm=1&q=&esrc=s&sa=U&ei=jOJ2VbW7GKTP7Qab50K4AQ&ved=0CB8QFjAC&sig2=S3NKQVo_PC0SjnXdD_Hhqw&usg=AFQjCNHAflWNZrGqoZT5n9cOBmLD8VSZPg> [Accessed 2 February 2015], p. 4.

that provide some security in an increasingly turbulent world'.[3] He goes on to cite Hewison, noting that 'heritage and nostalgia have provided a rich source of identity, particularly in tourism'. As we shall see, Irish whiskey has the potential to provide for this desire for heritage and nostalgia. Because of their unique history and the place-based nature of their beverages, both Cognac and Scotch offer a good template for positioning Irish whiskey in the gastro-tourist's mind as a beverage based on provenance and delimited place.

Cognac

Cognac has been made in the Charente region of France for 300 years. Its reputation as one of the world's best-known grape spirits is beyond reproach and has led many to extol its virtues. Victor Hugo referred to it as 'the liquor of the gods'. But Cognac is much more than just a well-regarded name or brand. Over three centuries it has become rooted in what Amy Trubek refers to as 'an integrity of somewhereness'.[4] The success of Cognac reflects a deeper understanding of *terroir* than one might typically associate with beverage products. The Cognac region covers mainly two French Departments, Charente-Maritime and Charente, which plays host to the town of Cognac itself. Like many French drinks, Cognac is first and foremost tied by name to its physical place. There are many other examples of this as anyone who enjoys a glass of Bordeaux, Champagne or Burgundy can attest to. This crucial place-emphasis French culture bestows on its food and drink offering is very important when it comes to making gastro-tourism locations attractive. The other players in our

3 Greg Richards, 'Gastronomy: An essential ingredient in tourism production and consumption?', in A.-M. Hjalager and G. Richards (eds), *Tourism and Gastronomy* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 4.

4 Amy B. Trubek, *The Taste of Place: A Cultural Journey into Terroir* (London: University of California Press, 2008).

beverage trilogy don't have that same place advantage; there is no town called 'Irish whiskey', no region called 'single malt'. Such place associations are written large across the Cognac drinks category. It is divided into six districts: Grande Champagne, Petite Champagne, Borderies, Fins Bois, Bons Bois and Bois Ordinaires. Each of these districts is strongly associated with slightly different styles of Cognac and as evidenced in many place-based epicurean products, the best are from the three districts that immediately surround the town of Cognac itself.[5] Cognacs are all blended from a minimum of two-year-old grape spirit and even the moderately good tend to be aged considerably longer. This drink has three grades of quality. The fact that the acronyms associated with each grade are in English indicate a strong Anglo-Saxon association.[6] They are VS (Very Special), a blend of a minimum of two years in age; VSOP (Very Special Old Pale), a minimum of four years aging in wood; and finally XO (Extra Old), the very best, which are aged for a minimum of six years in oak. Because of this very defined identity, the town of Cognac and its surrounding districts have acted as an important gastro-tourism site as food tourism has increased in recent years. As with other famous beverage tourism destinations such as Bordeaux, a very strong association between the place and key family names has enhanced the gastro-tourism potential of Cognac. Visitors can experience the cellars of world-famous Cognac houses such as Hennessy, Martell, and Otard. They can learn the history of these great Charentais families, visit where they lived, experience, through taste, the brandies they have brought to the epicurean world throughout 300 years of beverage history.

The integrity of Cognac's association with place is guaranteed through its strict *Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée* (AOC) rules and regulations. Delimited as far back as 1909 and subsequently named an AOC in 1936, producers of Cognac must adhere to a strict set of regulations that are overseen by the *Institut national de l'origine et de la qualité*. These are all

5 Christopher Fielden, *Exploring the World of Wines and Spirits* (London: Wine and Spirit Education Trust, 2005), p. 196.

6 Cognac.fr: <http://www.cognac.fr/cognac/_en/2_cognac/index.aspx?page=faq#anglais> [Accessed 5 July 2015].

contained, as with other *appellation* products, in strict regulations as determined by the *Institut* in Cognac's comprehensive *Cahier des Charges* which lays down enforced regulations that cover areas such as definition of origin, methods of production and key characteristics that ensure the product is entitled to the particular classification.

Another important aspect that ties this beverage to its place comes in the form of the *Bureau national interprofessionnel du Cognac* (BNIC). The BNIC has an important role in both protecting the Cognac name and promoting the interests of producers. Comparisons can be drawn between its role and that of the very protectionist *Comité interprofessionnel du vin de Champagne* (CIVC) in Champagne which has been very prominent in protecting the coveted identity of champagne down through the years. Like the CIVC, the BNIC's mission is to 'develop and promote Cognac, representing the best interests of all Cognac professionals including growers, merchants and members of other activities related to the Cognac trade'.[7] It is involved in organising the structure of the region, promoting the *appellation*'s identity and facilitating market access. The BNIC is the mechanism that all Cognac parties use to promote and protect Cognac's regional identity. As we shall see later Scottish whisky has the Scottish Whisky Association which performs a similar role in Scotland, and the recently formed Irish Whiskey Association will hopefully perform the same function in an Irish context.

Modern Markets Tied to Place through Historical Association

In recent years Cognac has also developed a somewhat less than traditional following among a younger Afro-American audience. These drinkers are less typical of those interested in the austere history of a classic beverage tied to a particular region. It is rare that the growing demands of a

7 Bureau National Interprofessionnel du Cognac: <http://www.bnic.fr/cognac/_en/4_pro/index.aspx?page=missions> [Accessed 1 April 2015].

particular market can be tied down to particular events but the release of Busta Rhymes' song 'Pass the Courvoisier Part 2' triggered a boomlet in sales of Courvoisier and other Cognacs and opened the floodgates to references to 'yak' in hundreds of hip hop numbers.[8] And yet even this much more modern aspect of Cognac's identity can be traced back to an historical association with place. A number of authors note the connection between Cognac's history and Afro-American culture. It is a story familiar to Cognac aficionados. According to Mitenbuler, the recent attention garnered through the Busta Rhymes hip hop hit hides the fact that Cognac's relationship with African Americans stems back to when black soldiers were stationed in south-west France during both world wars. This relationship was most likely bolstered by the arrival onto the Paris jazz and blues club scene between the wars of black artists and musicians like Josephine Baker.[9] Mulcahy notes that Hennessy Cognac in particular held a special place in the heart of African-American markets. She cites Maurice Hennessy:

> He also explains one of the reasons why rappers like Cognac. Or at least why they favour Hennessy Cognac. In 1951, he says, Hennessy was the first spirit to advertise in *Ebony* magazine, while in the late 1960s, the brand made the bold move of promoting African-American Herbert Douglas (bronze winner at the 1948 Olympic Games in London) to vice president, making him one of the first African American VPs in corporate America.[10]

8 Wayne Curtis, 'Cognac's Identity Crisis: How the liquor's marketing success among both rappers and codgers has blinded consumers to its subtler pleasures', *The Atlantic Magazine*, June 2012: <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/06/cognacs-identity-crisis/308982/> [Accessed 4 February 2015].

9 Reid Mitenbuler, 'Pass the Courvoisier: The decades-long love affair between French cognac producers and African-American consumers': <http://www.slate.com/articles/life/drink/2013/12/cognac_in_african_american_culture_the_long_history_of_black_consumption.single.html?print> [Accessed 3 April 2015].

10 Orna Mulcahy, 'Roll out the Barrells', *The Irish Times Magazine*, 18 April 2015, p. 33.

Place-Specific Touristic Events

Such a strong regional identity in the south west of France allows Cognac to leverage gastro-tourism elements to the mutual benefit of both local tourism and the drinks industry. Cognac's identity is rooted in history and nostalgia, which undoubtedly provides a unique selling point when it comes to attracting tourists to the region. Such a sense of *patrimoine* can be exploited in a number of ways from museums to Cognac house tours, from vineyard walks and trails to Cognac-themed music festivals. The annual three-day *Fête du Cognac* festival is a case in point and typifies the French passion for celebrating their unique food history through a range of place specific cultural events. The *Fêtes du Champagne* and *Beaujolais Nouveau* celebrations offer other examples of drinks products being linked to cultural events. These events would not be taking place if the particular drinks in question were not firmly rooted through history and law to well defined places. As we shall see this celebration of the association between place and particular drinks is not unique to France.

Single Malt

There are strong similarities between Cognac and Scotch when it comes to understanding their regional place identity. Scotch is a very dominant player on world markets. The industry contributes approximately 5 billion pounds to the UK economy 'making it bigger than the UK's iron and steel, textiles, ship building and computing industries'.[11] Though not immediately obvious to the quotidian drinker, Scotland's whisky industry is made up of two quite different products. Firstly we have blended Scotch, which is by

11 Lauren Eads, 'Scotch industry "bigger than iron and steel"', *The Drinks Business*: <http://www.thedrinksbusiness.com/2015/01/scotch-industry-bigger-than-iron-and-steel/> [Accessed 20 April 2015].

far the biggest selling variant of Scotch on world markets through strong export brands like Johnnie Walker and Ballantines. Blended Scotch is much less place-specific than the other main Scotch variant, single malt. This high-end whisky is made from 100 per cent malted barley whisky from a single distillery location. Recent figures indicate that 'the value of single malts increased by 4.5% in the last year and it has enjoyed a massive 190% growth over the past decade'.[12] The strong place-relationship with single malt helps drive the demand for blended Scotch and, even though sales are more limited, the association with place is more defined and much stronger. In a sense a 'halo effect' exists between the two products.

Single malt whisky trades very heavily in terms of its *terroir* distinction. Like Cognac it has a strong association with place and possesses a very specific sense of regional gastronomic identity. The international prominence of its single malt has contributed to Scotch becoming one of the world's most successful spirits. Also just like Cognac, its rich gastro-tourism potential helps bolster its position as an attractive destination through a unique *terroir*-based identity. Renowned Irish wine writer Tomás Clancy recently said of Speyside, Scotland's most prominent whisky appellation:

> Here was a region of the world with similar soils, landscape, even weather to our own, but which had held onto a rich, beautiful tradition of whisky making and now offered excitement like that of visiting Bordeaux or Burgundy as you passed each small very beautiful distillery with its pagoda topped malting towers and a name that leaped from the signpost.[13]

It is this powerful sense of place as described so beautifully by Clancy that has allowed Scottish whisky tourism to flourish. There are many examples of single malt Scottish distilleries exploiting these place-based associations. Indeed fifty-two Scotch whisky visitor centres and distilleries play host

12 Becky Paskin, 'The Top Ten Scotch Whiskey Brands', *The Drinks Business* (2013): <http://www.thedrinksbusiness.com/2013/09/the-top-10-scotch-whisky-brands/> [Accessed 4 May 2015].

13 Tomás Clancy, 'Scotland the brave and wise', *The Sunday Business Post Magazine*, 1 June 2014, p. 10.

to approximately 1.1 million visitors each year.[14] In general, beverage attractions in Scotland compare very favourably with other tourist attractions:

> Data also reveals that distilleries, breweries, and wineries also attract the greatest proportion of overseas visitors of any other visitor attraction throughout 2013. Figures from the Visitor Attractions Barometer indicate that distilleries, breweries, and wineries also generate the highest average spend per trip by visitors, with £12.60, significantly higher than other visitor attraction types. Distilleries, breweries, and wineries also generate the highest figure for average total retail per attraction, with £624,161 in 2013.[15]

At a regional level gastro-tourism benefits diverse rural areas and helps consumers form relationships with individual whisky brands based on their place-association. As with the six districts of Cognac, such place-based relationships form an integral part of the spirit's brand identity and encourage sales. *The Scotch Whisky and Tourism Report 2011* poses a key question in this regard. Does Scotch whisky drive tourism or does tourism drive Scotch whisky?

It may not matter. The tourist who visits Speyside to watch the wildlife and visit a distillery may take a bottle home. Having a reminder of Scotland sat on the shelf may encourage them, or friends and family, to return in future years. In this sense Scotch whisky and tourism are a perfect blend and likely to complement one another.[16]

Scotland has five key whisky regions/appellations. They include Highland, Speyside, Islay, Lowland and Campbeltown. Each region produces whiskies of a defined style with certain common characteristics. Speyside, in particular, offers the gastro-tourist a unique insight into its place-based identity, with over half of all single malt distilleries in Scotland situated there. The region is home to the Speyside Malt Whisky Trail, a

14 VisitScotland, 'Whisky Tourism – Facts and Insights March 2015': <http://www.visitscotland.org/pdf/Whisky%20Tourism%20%20Facts%20and%20Insights2.pdf> [Accessed 10 February 2015], p. 1.

15 VisitScotland, 'Whisky Tourism', p. 5.

16 VisitScotland, 'Scotch Whisky and Tourism 2011': <http://www.scotch-whisky.org.uk/media/16876/scotchwhiskyandtourismreport.pdf> [Accessed 10 February 2015], p. 5.

gastro-tourism initiative that allows tourists to experience seven of Speyside's finest distilleries in an organised and coherent manner. Advertised as the only Malt Whisky Trail in the world, the initiative has proved very successful in the promotion of Scottish whisky among tourists.

Speyside mimics Cognac's *Fête de Cognac* with its 'Spirit of Speyside Festival' which has taken place in Speyside since 1999. This three-day festival celebrates the region's whisky heritage through a variety of whisky-themed events that most recently included The Great Speyside Bake Off and The Sound of Aberlour event which involved:

> Cask Strength boys Joel Harrison and Neil Ridley deliver a tasting with a difference, matching five distinctly different expressions of Aberlour with five different pieces of music, each expressing a story or style all of its own.[17]

As with Cognac, legislatively, Scottish whisky is heavily anchored to its own delimited place of origin. Its production in recent years has been governed by the Scottish Whisky Act 2009 which clearly lays down production methods, defines individual places of origin and protects the terms single malt and blended malt. This comprehensive piece of legislation regulates Scottish whisky in a similar way to the AOC legislation in Cognac. Although some producers find it somewhat restrictive, it protects the identity of Scottish whisky and ensures its authenticity in an increasingly homogenous spirit-scape.

In 2011 the Scottish Whisky Association report, mentioned above, heavily emphasised the crucial link that exists between the promotion of Scottish whisky and the promotion of tourism in Scotland. It coined the term 'the distillery effect' where:

> Clusters of tourism and culture related activities have developed around whisky distilleries across Scotland. The 'distillery effect' was found to support an additional 60 jobs in the local community in sports, recreational and cultural industries and an additional 70 jobs in accommodation around each distillery. This suggests on average an additional 130 jobs clustered around each distillery.[18]

17 Spiritofspeyside.com, available at <http://www.spiritofspeyside.com/best_new_event> [Accessed 1 May 2015].

18 VisitScotland, 'Scotch Whisky and Tourism 2011', p. 3.

Highlighting the link between Scotch whisky and overseas tourism the report cites two separate research examples from the wine sector noting the positive impact wine tourism can have on the price of a bottle of wine and that tourism can provide a vehicle for smaller producers in particular to add value to their product.[19]

It is quite evident that there is a strong and positive relationship between exports of Scotch whisky to individual countries and tourism activity from those countries. Though considerably more advanced, the link between this iconic product and tourism can help point the way in terms of developing our own Irish whiskey tourism model. It is very clear that what differentiates both single malt whisky and Cognac from others is that they both provide strong regional anchors to the land in terms of their individual identity. Each of these 'place-anchors' has a story to tell, whether that story concerns the people, the regional flavour profile, a specific soil type or indeed the story of the ingredients and processes that go to make up that individual drink.

Irish Whiskey

It is the unique place-specificity mentioned above that can provide the last member of our gastro-trilogy with some possible direction. According to a recent *Bord Bia* report, Irish Whiskey is now the fastest growing subsection of the entire whiskey category globally. Jameson is indisputably the main engine behind this.[20] As with Cognac and single malt, Irish whiskey is also strongly linked to our own cultural identity. Of course some of Ireland's associations with alcohol are negative and much has been made of that in recent years, but it is very important to note the positive aspects of this ancient Irish product. Many believe that the origins of all whiskey lies buried deep in the soil and history of Ireland. Old Celtic ruins near Cashel

19 VisitScotland, 'Scotch Whisky and Tourism 2011', p. 18.

20 Bord Bia, 'The Future of Irish Whiskey Report 2013': <http://www.bordbia.ie/.../bbreports/.../The%20Future%20Of%20Whiskey.pdf> [Accessed 11 March 2015].

in Tipperary include what are reputed to be the remnants of bronze age distillation equipment and around the end of the twelfth century, when the English invaded Ireland, 'it is claimed that they discovered the inhabitants drinking uisge beatha [….] which became corrupted to a more anglicized "whiskybae" eventually shortened to "uishigi" or "whiski"'.[21] We always had a strong reputation for our whiskey and in 1823 Ireland had no less than eighty-six distilleries in operation.[22] However, a number of factors led to the demise of the sector. These included the diversion of raw materials to support the war effort during World War I, Prohibition in the United States from 1919 to 1933, and a devastating 1932 trade war with our former landlords and trading partners, Great Britain, which led to our exclusion from 25 per cent of world markets. By 1953 there were only six distilleries operating here and this was ultimately reduced to just one company, based in both Midleton and Bushmills, in 1973. The 1975 development of the Midleton distillery by Irish distillers, and the later 1988 takeover by French giant Pernod-Ricard, led to a renewed heavy investment in this Irish spirit, and subsequently a renaissance in Irish whiskey. It can be argued that the near mono-structure of the whiskey industry in Ireland during most of the last thirty years has contributed in no small way to the current situation where our product, though very successful, now lacks a certain degree of regional identity and the provenance requirements of future drinkers may, in theory, prove difficult to meet.

People's gastronomic horizons have been broadened in recent years, as has our desire for more interesting food and drink experiences. Ireland's burgeoning restaurant scene attests to this. We have also shown demonstrable expertise in food and drink export markets and these exports are currently worth approximately €10.5 billion to the Irish economy.[23] Consumers of

21 Neil Ridley and Gavin Smith, *Let Me Tell You About Whiskey* (London: Pavillion Books, 2014), pp. 12–13.

22 Department of Agriculture, 'Irish Whiskey Technical File': <https://www.agriculture.gov.ie/…/IrishWhiskeytechnicalfile141114.pdf> [Accessed 4 March 2015].

23 Bord Bia, 'Export Performance and Prospects: Irish Food, Drink and Horticulture 2014': <http://www.bordbia.ie/…/MarketReviews/…/Export-Performance-and-Prospects- 2015.pdf> [Accessed 10 February 2015].

high-end food and drink products increasingly crave the experiences offered by authentic place-driven producers. This has encouraged the emergence of small artisanal drinks businesses. We now have sixty-two independent craft brewers in Ireland. We are also seeing the long-awaited renaissance of independent distilleries with approximately twenty Irish distilleries currently at various stages of planning and development.

Words like 'artisan', 'place' and 'story' pepper our food narrative, but when it comes to whiskey, Ireland is sometimes found lacking in this regard. In a recent article, David Havelin epitomises this lacuna by referencing an interesting quote from a rather obscure source:

> Irish whiskey has a perception problem. And not just among our foreign comrades. Here's Bono, doing a bit of soul-searching over U2's last album: '[...] the album should have had more of the energy of the musicians and those who inspired it … a bit more anarchy, a bit more punk. We didn't want a pastiche of the era so we put all those 70s and early eighties influence in the juicer and a blend emerged … more like an Irish whiskey than a single malt.'[24]

Like many whiskey drinkers in Ireland and elsewhere, Bono is using *single malt* as a synonym for both *Scotch* and *quality whiskey*, and as an antonym for *Irish whiskey*. I'm not singling out Bono; this usage is common in Ireland. The news has yet to trickle out that we produce our own quality single malts, along with single pot stills that can stand toe-to-toe with anything from Scotland.[25]

The dominance of a small number of large distilleries until relatively recently has undoubtedly assisted Irish whiskey's efforts to develop a strong national presence on the world stage. Indeed the role that the Jameson brand plays should not be underestimated. Jameson's whiskey alone is responsible for 3.4 million of the 5 million cases exported.[26] However

24 <http://www.u2.com/news/title/little-book-of-a-big-year/> [Accessed 10 February 2015].

25 David Havelin, 'The curse of accessibility', *Liquid Irish.com:* <http://www.liquidirish.com/2015/03/the-curse-of-accessibilty.html> [Accessed 2 April 2015].

26 Bord Bia, 'The Future of Irish Whiskey Report 2013'.

such great success has led to a certain regional identity deficit among international consumers. I would argue that Ireland is perceived among external markets as being one single region when it comes to whiskey production and that in order to future proof the sector there needs to be much more identifiable regional depth in terms of Irish whiskey's authenticity and story. This lacuna in whiskey's regional identity could become a problem as consumers continually seek out new paths to premiumisation and connoisseurship. Having a regional identity is key in a locavore-driven market and one might look to the model of Cognac and Scotch to help illustrate the point. When externally viewed, both products express strong local identities that prove very attractive to the global whiskey enthusiast. As it moves toward premiumisation, this global market increasingly demands a depth of local regionality that Irish whiskey simply doesn't have at present. These regional differences offer specific place identities that are expressed through soil types, production methods, types of cask, raw ingredients and of course strict *appellation contrôlée*-style laws. Once determined, such identities can then be reinforced through other means, and gastro-tourism has an important role to play in this regard. Scotland, in particular, is a 'country which saw from the 1770s onwards but particularly from the early 19th century a massive increase in tourism both domestic and external'.[27] Cognac and Scotch are, therefore, appropriate examples.

Scottish whisky is not a new product, was not created by or for tourism, but much promoted through tourism and the marketing of Scotland; the hand of welcome held out by the Highlander on the railway poster should have had a glass in it, perhaps from the Royal Lochnagar distillery. Blackpool rock (or indeed Ferguson's Edinburgh rock) was a souvenir; Scotch whisky became a taste. The regional – indeed regional even within Scotland – became national and international, and while there were other mechanisms of diffusion, tourism played some part in this.[28]

27 Alaister Durie, 'The periphery fights back: Tourism and Culture in Scotland to 2014', *International Journal of Regional and Local Studies* 5/2 (2009), pp. 30–47, p. 31.

28 Durie, p. 30.

Gastro-tourism in Ireland has a similarly important role to play in addressing Irish whiskey's regional identity issues. It can help tell the Irish whiskey story. As with Cognac and single malt, these stories must be individual and unique to particular regions. This is where the small individual distilleries have a very important role to play, just as they did in Scotland. This point is captured in the recent *Bord Bia* report entitled *The Future of Irish Whiskey*.

Emerging consumers associate whiskey with aspirational value. The high social cachet around Scotch single malt has fuelled its global demand to such an extent that demand is now outstripping supply in some markets.[29]

Irish Whiskey: The New Australian Chardonnay?

Not unlike Irish whiskey today, Australian wine throughout the late eighties, nineties and early noughties was a true marketing success story. The Australians unlocked the complexity of wine for a new generation, introducing simple varietal wines, with clear and informative labels and branding. They broke the chains of complex *appellation contrôlée*-style regulation typically associated with Old World wine. However, perhaps more attention should have been paid at the time to the fact that these chains were also the ties that bound these Old World wines to their place. Despite all their faults and restrictions, such place-anchors offered them a very strong regional identity. Australian wine triumphed in subsequent decades and the beverage world fell in love with Australian varietals like Chardonnay and Shiraz. Much of this dominance was achieved by substantial non place-specific branding. However, in more recent years the Australian wine sector has recognised that the market is becoming more quality-driven.

29 Bord Bia, 'The Future of Irish Whiskey Report 2013'.

They have begun to question an approach that perceives associations with *terroir* in a negative light:

> Historically, many Australian winemakers have derided the French approach to making wine, especially the idea that the finest wines come only from a *terroir* – the union of climate and soil characteristic of each place. Australian producers instead pride themselves on what they regard as a less snooty and more democratic approach: blending grapes from different regions to achieve a consistent wine. But some are now asking whether marketing an Australian wine's locality, as much as its grape variety, might not work better.[30]

In 2009, David Aylward recognised the growing demand among wine consumers for a wine product that possessed what he referred to as value added qualities. He suggested that Australian wine, a very dominant player in the wine sector throughout the 1980s and the 1990s, lacked what Aylward defined as a cultural identity. This cultural economy would 'weave individual and community values, passion, care, identity, and *terroir* together with the more tangible aspects of production, distribution, price points and marketing'.[31] Aylward stresses the point that because of wine education, the proliferation of wine critics, writers, and the influence of changing consumer demands, trends that were once about simple product differentiation were now about 'developing into a quest for product story, a wine experience, and an appreciation for its cultural qualities'.[32] Parallels can be drawn between Aylward's thesis and one possible future that the Irish whiskey industry might have. If more regional identity and differentiation can be introduced into our Irish whiskey repertoire then gastro-tourism is one of the vehicles that can affirm that regional identity by fulfilling the consumer's quest for product story as determined by Aylward.

30 *The Economist*, 'From quantity to quality' (2008): <http://www.economist.com/node/10926392> [Accessed 7 May 2015].

31 David Aylward, 'Towards a Cultural Economy Paradigm for the Australian Wine Industry', *Prometheus* 26/4 (2008), pp. 373–385, p. 373.

32 Aylward, p. 374.

Conclusion

Modern Ireland has a rapidly growing whiskey sector that has, up until recently, been dominated by a single player. We now have numerous distilleries emerging phoenix-like from the ashes of a once prominent and truly regional distilling sector. Many of these distilleries are independent and located throughout the country in places such as Meath, Kerry, Dublin and Carlow. We can see from observation and action that most of them understand that gastro-tourism is an important ingredient in helping contribute to their own drink's identity. Throughout this chapter we have noted that due to their strong sense of place-integrity both Cognac and Scotch have been well positioned to benefit from recent upsurges in gastro-tourism and there is good potential for further exploitation. We have also posited that there has been something of a lacuna in Irish whiskey's own *terroir*-based identity, at a regional level. The Irish whiskey sector needs to learn from the authentic place-based identity of its liquid cousins, Cognac and Scotch, so that its own unique gastronomic identity can be enhanced. As an industry it must find a way to capture the regionality and uniqueness of the Irish whiskey product. Among the plethora of whiskey styles produced across the island we must begin a process of clear differentiation. By doing this Irish whiskey will be better positioned to take its own rightful share of an increased global interest in gastro-tourism. As a synergistic consequence, this approach will also help position Irish whiskey firmly in the mind of the international consumer.

In truth the sector has already made some substantial progress.

- In October 2014 the Department of Agriculture published a technical file setting out the specifications with which Irish whiskey must comply. This is a very important step in allowing Irish whiskey to be unique among a growing range of spirit products and gives it important GI status at European level.
- The 2014 technical file also defines the production of a uniquely Irish style of whiskey, 'Pot Stilled Whiskey'. This is a style that has a strong association with Ireland and offers great potential as a key point of differentiation among other spirit styles.

- We have also had the development of the Irish Whiskey Association. Like the BNIC in Cognac and the Scottish Whiskey Association in Scotland, this organisation is key to developing a cohesive strategy for Irish whiskey in the coming years.
- Existing distilleries like Midleton have a very strong whiskey tourism product. In fact, as tourism destinations in their own right, Irish beverage attractions like Midleton and The Jameson Experience regularly feature in *Fáilte Ireland* lists of the most popular of all tourist attractions in the country. We have also had the recent development of the Irish Whiskey Museum near Trinity College in Dublin.
- Finally, we can see that the newly developing distilleries already recognise the importance of gastro-tourism in promoting their product's identity as many are already investing heavily in on-site visitor centres as an integral part of their development plans.

All of this recent progress is very laudable. However, for me, one key element is lacking. This chapter is based on the premise that Irish whiskey would greatly benefit from being developed along more regional lines in a similar way to Cognac and single malt. These regional lines should be affirmed by regulation akin to AOC laws. A failure to do this may, in time, limit Irish whiskey in the mind of the increasingly erudite consumer who seeks a level of connoisseurship that we haven't witnessed in markets before. Irish whiskey may be travelling down the path of the more generic Australian wine products of the noughties, providing a good quality product as demanded by the market, yet ultimately lacking in place authenticity as the consumer slowly moves along the route to premiumisation.

It is at this nascent stage of development that the sector should come together and begin to tease out regional differences and points of product identity that can be enhanced in the coming years. Once developed, gastro-tourism will play a strong role in highlighting these regional identities to very good effect as the industry progresses. The promotion of premium, regionally identified whiskies will also help with the success of more generic Irish whiskey, just as the exclusivity of single malt whisky in Scotland has aided the world wide success of blended Scotch. By learning the place specificity lessons of Cognac and Scotch and exposing Irish whiskey to a

more regional identity, we will encourage regionally specific gastro-tourism events, whiskey trails, cultural celebrations and festivals, thus broadening and deepening potential markets.

Irish whiskey has been more than 1,000 years in evolution. It has lived, breathed and matured through many difficult periods of our history. It has somehow survived temperance and Prohibition, international take-overs, two world wars and an oppressive taxation regime that stymied its development on global markets. Throughout all this time it has always remained authentically Irish. For too long it has not held its rightful place among the world's great beverages. Because of a near mono-structure down through the years, Irish whiskey has become too generic, too rooted in a national rather than the substrata of a regional identity. Its core international identity in export markets still relates to the island of Ireland as a whole, as evidenced by the dominance of Jameson. Unlike Cognac and single malt, it doesn't have any clear regional differentiation between, for example, western Irish whiskey and southern Irish whiskey or perhaps Dublin whiskey and Dingle whiskey, where each regional style and taste might somehow be enshrined in its own particular identity. Some methods of differentiation between styles that could be suggested might include the local barley used, water content, tradition or story. Regardless of what we use, each whiskey should have an authentic anchor to a regional style and place. If emphasised, these place-based styles will enhance the potential development of both the Irish whiskey sector and its associated gastro-tourism elements in a world that is continually seeking out new layers of authenticity and provenance. As with Aylward's Australian wine example, the emerging gastronome may, in time, no longer be satisfied with Irish whiskey's purely national identity. They will continue to seek out place-based tastes and styles, a sense of what the French refer to as *goût du terroir*. Gastro-tourism can both help sell that *goût du terroir* and define it among a cohort of increasingly knowledgeable and food curious consumers. It is the Irish whiskey sector that must now position our authentic national beverage above quotidian drinks in a way that allows the modern epicurean traveller to clearly identify its place-specificity. Only then will this ancient Irish drink possess a true integrity of somewhereness.

SYLVAIN TONDEUR

14 A New Phenomenon: Whiskey Tourism in Ireland

ABSTRACT
The late 2000s have witnessed the development of a new side of tourism in Ireland, namely whiskey tourism. This phenomenon is clearly connected to a renewed global interest in Irish whiskey and poses the question as to what extent tourism is an integral part of the renewal of the whiskey industry in Ireland. The tourism and the whiskey industries seem to be working hand in hand for their mutual benefit. The current popularity of Irish whiskey around the world is an opportunity for the tourism industry to renew its offer, broaden its exposure and even to attract new kinds of visitors. Moreover, whiskey tourism allows the distilling industry to root whiskey in the culture and history of the country, legitimising it as a cultural and historical Irish symbol which, in turn, can be used in marketing campaigns.

There were eighty-eight licensed distilleries in Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century. Irish whiskey was praised for its quality and its affordability, especially in the USA where it was arguably more popular than Scotch whisky. However, the industry underwent a period of dramatic decline throughout the twentieth century and by 1975 there were only two operating distilleries left in Ireland: the Midleton Distillery in County Cork, producing brands such as the iconic Jameson, but also Powers, Paddy and, until very recently, Tullamore Dew, and the Old Bushmills Distillery in County Antrim, Northern Ireland. It wasn't until 1987 that a third, independent, distillery was established: the Cooley Distillery in County Louth. As a comparison, at the same time, Scotland had more than 100 operating distilleries. But since the mid-1990s, Irish whiskey has achieved an incredible comeback, becoming the fastest-growing spirit in the world over the last twenty years (in 2013, Irish whiskey exports had grown by

220 per cent since 2003 and were valued at €350 million).[1] Spearheaded by the French Group Pernod Ricard, which took over Irish Distillers Group (owners of the Midleton Distillery) in 1988, Irish whiskey gained in popularity and the industry slowly began to flourish again. Pernod Ricard took up the challenge of reviving interest in Irish whiskey, providing massive distribution opportunities and promoting Jameson as its flagship product, with the US as its key market. It proved to be a winning bet: in 1988 Jameson sold less than half a million cases worldwide; in 2012, they sold 4 million cases and the 5 million landmark was reached in 2015.[2] Jameson has now experienced twenty-six years of successive growth and is Pernod Ricard's second-largest brand in the US market. Following this example, other major alcohol companies such as Diageo (which also owns Guinness), William Grant & Sons, and Beam, purchased Irish distilleries and the main brands they produced. But the renewed interest in Irish whiskey has also led to the opening of new distilleries in Ireland for the first time in twenty years, beginning in 2007 with the reopening of the Kilbeggan Distillery. In May 2015, there were nine distilleries in operation in Ireland, three under construction and at least a dozen more are planned in the coming ten years, all of which is testimony to the enthusiasm surrounding Irish whiskey.

The production of whiskey in Ireland marks the dawn of a new era, the beginning of an Irish whiskey renaissance. Whiskey lovers can look forward to a number of new products and manifestations of Irish whiskey. Along with the renewed interest in Irish whiskey as a product, a new phenomenon has developed in recent years in Ireland: whiskey tourism, which is the main focus in this chapter.

One could argue that the first landmark of whiskey tourism in Ireland was probably the conversion of the abandoned Old Jameson Distillery in Dublin into a visitor centre, which opened as an attraction in 1997. Joining the Old Kilbeggan Distillery or the Old Bushmills Distilleries, it quickly

1 Aoife Barry, 'Whiskey's going to be bringing a lot of dosh to Ireland over the next 10 years …', *TheJournal.ie*, 9 April 2014: <http://www.thejournal.ie/whiskey-sector-investment-ireland-1405946-Apr2014/> [Accessed 20 November 2015].

2 J&E Davy, Davy Research, 'Equity Report – Pernod Ricard' (25 July 2011), pp. 1–4.

became one of the main tourist attractions in Dublin. In 2012, the Jameson, Midleton, Kilbeggan and Tullamore distilleries combined attracted more than 400,000 tourists.[3] In addition to these old facilities, many of the new distilleries mentioned earlier also plan on opening visitor centres in addition to the distilleries themselves. In the words of Jack Teeling, founder of the Teeling Whiskey Company: 'We wouldn't have stuck the distillery in the centre of [Dublin] if we didn't think we'd attract a lot of visitors'.[4] Thus, one can expect to see many new visitor centres open in the coming years. Also worth mentioning is the opening of the Irish Whiskey Museum in 2014 right in front of Trinity College, in Dublin city centre. But maybe more interestingly, the increased number of whiskey-related attractions has also allowed a new type of tourism, namely the 'Irish Whiskey trails'. Whether they are set within the city of Dublin or in other parts of Ireland, including Northern Ireland, these trails lead the visitor to what they claim is a total experience of Ireland, by including the history, culture, scenery and gastronomy of the country.

Therefore, the current popularity of Irish whiskey around the world is an opportunity for the tourism industry to promote a new range of products, to broaden its exposure and even to attract new kinds of visitors. At the same time, whiskey tourism could also help Irish whiskey to become a cultural and historical symbol of 'Irishness' which, in turn, can be employed in marketing campaigns. Thus, the question arises as to what extent tourism is an integral part of the renewal of the whiskey industry in Ireland. This chapter will begin by highlighting the opportunities offered by whiskey tourism and will then discuss the legitimacy of Irish whiskey as a cultural ambassador. From there, the benefits for the distilling industry in tourism investment, both in terms of marketing, future prospects and political influence, will be assessed.

3 Drinks Industry Group of Ireland (DIGI), 'Submission to the Minister for Finance for Budget 2015' (2014), pp. 13–14 <http://www.finance.gov.ie/sites/default/files/DIGI%20Budget%202015%20Submission.pdf> [Accessed November 2015].

4 Mark Paul, 'That's the Spirit: Teeling Whiskey Company Completes its Italian Job', *The Irish Times*, 5 December 2014.

The opportunities offered by whiskey tourism in Ireland are twofold: it will attract a new type of visitor and will provide new tourism concepts. In the words of Keith McDonnell, founder of the Irish Whiskey Museum: 'Irish Whiskey acts as an ambassador for Ireland all over the world'.[5] By which he means that whiskey could act as a means of attracting visitors to Ireland. But who are these potential visitors?

Whiskey enthusiasts are clearly an important cohort of the population attracted by whiskey tourism. But whiskey-related attractions are also designed to be enjoyable for non-specialists. The Irish Whiskey Museum, for instance, does not focus on the technical side of whiskey making; instead, the emphasis is on history, stories, legends, and the mandatory whiskey tasting at the end of the tour is carefully managed – you don't have to be a whiskey connoisseur to appreciate it. Everything is presented in such a way that there is something for everyone. In addition, whiskey tourism is not all about whiskey; it also includes many other activities, from a pub crawl in Dublin to a trip to the Giant's Causeway. As advertised by the Ireland Whiskey Trail website:

> The Kilbeggan Distillery is a must for anyone remotely interested in Irish whiskey. However, a visit shouldn't be reserved just for whiskey fans – the setting of the distillery, along the river Brosna is spectacular and there is a very good restaurant on site called The Pantry, making it an ideal place to stop for anyone travelling the Dublin-Galway route.[6]

Whiskey tourism seems to appeal in a particular way to the North American market. This should not come as a surprise considering that Irish whiskey has been very successful in the United States for the last decade, but also because the United States has a tradition of distilling and is familiar with such things as the American Whiskey Trail (since 2004) or the Kentucky Bourbon Trail (since 1999). Moreover, the large Irish

5 Becky Paskin, 'Irish Museum Finally Opens in Dublin', *The Spirit Business* (23 January 2015): <http://www.thespiritsbusiness.com/2015/01/irish-whiskey-museum-finally-opens-in-dublin/> [Accessed 20 November 2014].

6 <http://www.irelandwhiskeytrail.com/?pg=lockes_distillery_tour_kilbeggan_ireland.php> [Accessed 20 November 2014].

diaspora in North America should not be forgotten. As a matter of fact, many of the recently created 'whiskey trails' have been set up by American tour operators. This American interest in whiskey tourism is a good thing for Irish tourism overall, as North America is currently the third largest source of tourists to Ireland, with 1 million visitors in 2013, behind Great Britain (2.9 million) and other European countries (2.3 million). The American market still has some margin for expansion.[7] The capacity for tourists in whiskey tourism is expected to grow by more than 60 per cent over the next ten years, from 500,000 to 830,000 tourists visiting Irish whiskey facilities by 2025.[8]

The opportunities offered by whiskey tourism are also visible in terms of attractions. As mentioned above, distillery museums and visitor centres, in both old and new distilleries, are flourishing in Ireland. They are probably inspired by the huge success of the Guinness Storehouse in Dublin which, with more than a million visitors annually (that is five times the number of people visiting the Old Jameson Distillery), has been the number one fee-charging attraction in Ireland for the past ten years.[9] The theme of whiskey also provides an opportunity to update and improve existing offers. The pub crawl, for instance, can be reinvented thanks to the development of 'whiskey pubs', with a large variety of brands available. The Cork Whiskey Way, a self-guided tour launched by the Irish Distillers Group, or several other whiskey tours in Dublin, are good examples of that. Whiskey attractions are also pretexts to discover and visit, other landmarks of Irish tourism. The Irish Whiskey Museum is owned by a tourism company called Extreme Ireland and here is what they suggest on the museum's website: 'After visiting the museum, why not take an enchanting adventure and visit some of the most popular destinations in Ireland including the

7 Anthony Foley (commissioned by the DIGI), 'The Contribution of the Drinks Industry to Tourism' (August 2014), p. 10. <http://www.drinksindustry.ie/assets/Documents/The%20Contribution%20of%20the%20Drinks%20Industry%20to%20Tourism%20Report.pdf> [Accessed 20 November 2015].

8 Irish Whiskey Association, 'Vision for Irish Whiskey: A Strategy to Underpin the Sustainable Growth of the Sector in Ireland' (May 2015), p. 21 <http://www.abfi.ie/Sectors/ABFI/ABFI.nsf/vPagesSpirits/Home/$File/Vision+for+Irish+Whiskey+May+2015.pdf> [Accessed 20 November 2015].

9 DIGI, 'Submission to the Minister for Finance for Budget 2015', pp. 12–14.

Cliffs of Moher, Giant's Causeway, Belfast, Connemara, Cork & Blarney Castle and some eerie night tours too!'[10]

In addition, whiskey tourism represents an opportunity to boost tourism in areas where it is typically quite underdeveloped. The Old Kilbeggan and the Tullamore Dew distilleries are perfect examples of this. Michael Ring, Minister of State for Tourism and Sport, talking about the Tullamore visitor centre, pointed out that: 'This fine centre is a very welcome tourism boost for the Midlands […]'.[11] Located in County Westmeath and Offaly respectively, areas that typically don't attract a lot of tourists, the distilleries of Kilbeggan and Tullamore offer a pleasant stop-over on the Dublin–Galway route.

Finally, the multiplication of whiskey-related attractions throughout the country has made possible the development of various 'Ireland Whiskey Trails', a recent offering for tourists visiting Ireland. Modelled on a concept that gained popularity in Scotland (which is still considered as *the* whiskey nation) as early as the 1980s, Ireland whiskey trails offer new possibilities to visit the island. These trails are particularly interesting as they claim to provide a total experience of Ireland, assimilating history, heritage, scenery, folklore, top pubs, gastronomy and even literature. One can therefore discover the country, both geographically and culturally, through the theme of whiskey, which provides an interesting added value. Thus the most ambitious trails will promote Ireland as a whole while bringing the distilling heritage of the country into sharper focus, a strategy which could appeal to specific yet substantial categories of tourists, including both whiskey enthusiasts looking for a place to go on vacation and people who want to visit Ireland in a different and ultimately more satisfying way.

But what is the legitimacy of Irish whiskey as a cultural attraction?

The distillation of grain to make whiskey is thought to have been born in Ireland, and then brought to Scotland. The Old Bushmills Distillery

10 <http://www.irishwhiskeymuseum.ie/about-us/> [Accessed 20 November 2015].

11 'Tullamore Dew Visitor Centre Opens', *Drinks Industry Ireland* (26 September 2012) <http://www.drinksindustryireland.ie/tullamore-dew-visitor-centre-opens/> [Accessed 20 November 2015].

is allegedly the oldest licensed whiskey distillery in the world, its licence having been granted in 1608 by King James I. The Old Kilbeggan Distillery dates back to 1757 and is the oldest in the Republic of Ireland.[12] The notion of heritage often associated with Irish whiskey is therefore legitimate. Interconnections between the history of Irish whiskey and the political history of Ireland itself are also numerous: the family that owned the Kilbeggan distillery was involved with the United Irishmen and the Rebellion of 1798. William Jameson's distillery in Marrowbone Lane and Roe's Distillery in James' Street were both outposts of the Irish Republicans during the Easter Rising of 1916 and were severely damaged as a result.[13] The troubled history of whiskey in Ireland reflects the chaotic history of the country itself. As British authorities tried to control the distilling industry in Ireland in the early nineteenth century, illicit distillation started to flourish throughout the country. The infamous *poitín* and its producers became symbols of rebellion against the colonising British. Illicit distillers, smugglers, *poitín* making and other *shebeens* became part of Irish folklore through songs and stories around that time. The nature of Irish whiskey itself (traditionally a triple distilled blend of malted and unmalted 'green' barley, referred to as 'pot still whiskey') is the direct result of heavy taxation on malted barley by the British authorities.[14] Thus, subjects as varied as the Great Famine, the struggle for independence, temperance movements, the two World Wars, or even Prohibition in the US, must all be tackled in a proper discussion of the history of Irish whiskey.

Whiskey, then, was the drink of choice for all celebrations throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, from baptisms to weddings to

12 Peter Mulryan, *The Whiskeys of Ireland* (Dublin: The O'Brien Press Ltd, 2002), pp. 11–17; Andrew Bielenberg, *Locke's Distillery: A History* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1993), p. 4.

13 Andrew Bielenberg, *Locke's Distillery: A History*, p. 16; National Library Ireland, *The 1916 Rising: Personalities & Perspectives*, *an Online Exhibition*, Chapter 7: <http://www.nli.ie/1916/pdf/7.7.pdf> [Accessed 20 November 2015].

14 E. B. McGuire, *Irish Whiskey: a History of Distilling, the Spirit Trade and Excise Controls in Ireland* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1973); K. H. Connell, *Irish Peasant Society, Four Historical Essays, Illicit Distillation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

wakes. Many traditional Irish songs mention the drink or its illicit sibling. As Roland Barthes pointed out, some food items (such as wine in France) can become 'institutions' which involve images, dreams and values. While he mentioned the example of songs written about wine in France, a parallel can obviously be drawn with whiskey in Ireland (the traditional Irish song *Whiskey in the Jar* arguably being the epitome of the Irish 'drinking song').[15] Whiskey is thus an 'institution' of Irish folklore and traditions.

As a consumer product, whiskey can of course be associated with food, which is of significant importance as the culinary scene has been blossoming in Ireland for the past ten years. And above all, whiskey can of course be consumed, discussed and enjoyed in the pub which, it should be remembered, has been identified by tourists as the number one attraction in Ireland, with 80 per cent of visitors mentioning it as an intended experience that influenced their decision to visit Ireland, according to recent polls.[16] At the same time, this allows an association with traditional music (also a major tourist attraction) and the so-called *craic* (the Irish word for fun and enjoyment) for which Ireland is renowned.

Finally, distilleries are often located in areas that can offer complementary attractions, from historical sites and galleries in Dublin to scenery in the north and in the west, to heritage and tradition in the Midlands. The possibilities offered by Irish whiskey in the realm of tourism are therefore not only real, but also very promising. At the same time, an association with the tourism industry may be very valuable for the whiskey industry in the long term.

There are three things that characterise a whiskey: its taste, its production (raw materials, distilling process, etc.) and its provenance. The element of Irish whiskey that seems to have been particularly emphasised since the early 2000s is the provenance, or more specifically, the notions of heritage, history, legends and the connections with the land.

The case of Jameson provides a telling example: at the beginning of Pernod Ricard's attempt to make Jameson fashionable again in the US,

15 R. Barthes, 'Pour une Psycho-Sociologie de l'Alimentation Contemporaine', *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 16/5 (1961), p. 978.

16 DIGI, 'Submission to the Minister for Finance for Budget 2015', p. 12.

their first marketing argument was taste. Irish whiskeys are known for their smoothness, they are typically less complex and challenging than Scotch whisky and therefore are more accessible to young people and inexperienced drinkers. Thus, Pernod Ricard focused on the drinkers themselves, arguing that Jameson drinkers were 'easygoing'. With the most recent campaign, however, the focus is really on the notions of heritage and place: 'Born in the streets of Dublin'. Even though the product itself has not been made in Dublin since the 1970s, the new campaign underlines the origins of the brand, its past, its deep links with the capital, with all the subconscious references that implies, with all the tourists' representations of the city. Interestingly, the slogan is similar to that used by Teeling – 'The Spirit of Dublin' – and the Dublin Whiskey Company also claims to 'revive Dublin's true spirit'.[17]

The same analysis can be made about whiskey tourism: a crucial element of the distillery tours is the notion of heritage. Tours regularly focus on the past and involve an evocation of the back story associated with the product. Tullamore Dew's brochure for the distillery tour says: 'in the near future take a step back in time', and their website proclaims:

> Situated right in the heart of Ireland, there is an incredible experience that has been waiting for you since 1829. Join us at the newly renovated home of Tullamore D. E. W. Irish Whiskey and immerse yourself in the history and magic that lies inside the walls of this 19th century bonded warehouse, where our whiskey making tradition began.[18]

Talking about the Kilbeggan distillery, the Ireland Whiskey Trail's website states that: 'to celebrate 250 years of existence on the same site, an ancient pot still that was last used in the 19th century (it is believed to be the oldest operational copper pot still in the world) was painstakingly refurbished' and adds: 'you will be transported back two centuries. You will hear, see, smell and taste Ireland's oldest distillery still producing

17 <http://www.dublinwhiskeycompany.ie/> [Accessed 20 November 2015].

18 <http://www.heritageisland.com/attractions/tullamore-dew-visitor-centre/> [Accessed 20 November 2015].

their world famous Kilbeggan whiskey'.[19] Substantial investments were made by the Beam Suntory group in the renovation of the old distillery in order to accentuate the heritage aspect of the place. The old distillery's manager declared:

> Whiskey is all about heritage, and no other country in the world can compete with Ireland's whiskey heritage. Kilbeggan has put considerable effort in transforming the global upsurge in interest in Irish whiskey into tourists visiting Ireland to experience first-hand the heritage and craftsmanship of Irish Whiskey.[20]

Even brand new distilleries are seeking a connection with the past. The Teeling brothers, for instance, hope that their new distillery tour will tell 'a story about Dublin whiskey'.[21] Even though it is a new distillery producing new products and encouraging new modes of consumption, like cocktails for instance, many of the press releases focus on the past:

> 'Independent Irish whiskey maker the Teeling Whiskey Company has launched Teeling Irish whiskey to celebrate 231 years of whiskey distilling tradition within the Teeling Family. The Teeling family's whiskey heritage dates back to Walter Teeling who set up a distillery in 1782 in Marrowbone Lane in the Liberties, Dublin'; and, 'Located in an ancient market square called Newmarket, an area long associated with brewing and distilling, our new distillery is a three copper pot still operation reviving the traditional style of Dublin whiskey distillation'.[22]

It is also interesting to note that almost all the ancient distilleries of Ireland (Bushmills being the exception) have two facilities: a brand new state-of-the-art distillery, producing large quantities of spirits, and an old

19 <http://www.irelandwhiskeytrail.com/?pg=lockes_distillery_tour_kilbeggan_ireland.php> [Accessed 20 November 2015].

20 'Kilbeggan Distillery to Undergo Additional Renovations to Further Enhance its Heritage Centre' (5 December 2013) <http://www.whiskyintelligence.com/2013/12/kilbeggan-distillery-to-undergo-additional-renovations-to-further-enhance-its-heritage-centre/> [Accessed 20 November 2015].

21 Sinead O'Carroll, 'The Liberties chosen as site for new €10 million whiskey distillery', *TheJournal.ie*, 29 January 2014 <http://businessetc.thejournal.ie/teeling-whiskey-distillery-1286732-Jan2014/> [Accessed 20 November 2015].

22 <http://teelingwhiskey.com/our-story/> [Accessed 20 November 2015].

one that had been closed down, abandoned for many years, and has now been converted into a visitor centre, or a museum, and used for tours on which the 'historical' aspect of the old distilleries is emphasised. Most of what remains in the Old Kilbeggan Distillery today is how the building looked and operated during the nineteenth century. In the end, what visitors are likely to remember from the distillery are the recently renovated waterwheel and the old copper pot, that is, the history and heritage aspects of the place, and not the big industrial complex, producing massive quantities of whiskey using modern techniques. The same can be said about the Old Jameson Distillery and its lovely courtyard in the middle of Dublin, a representation that is very far removed from the present day industrial production of Midleton. In addition, this emphasis on heritage and history is interesting given that 40 years ago the industry was threatened with extinction. When Kilbeggan advertises that 'you will hear, see, smell and taste Ireland's oldest distillery still producing their world famous Kilbeggan whiskey', they fail to mention that production was discontinued for more than 50 years.[23]

Here we can see that in order to build the future of Irish whiskey, entrepreneurs are focusing on, or even glorifying, its past. But why are these large industrial groups investing in renovating their old distilleries and therefore in promoting whiskey tourism in Ireland?

Irish whiskey has three major competitors in its category: Scotch whisky, North American whiskey (that includes Canadian whiskey and American whiskey, including bourbon) and Japanese whisky. Each whiskey provenance has what we could call 'general points of differentiation': Scotch has been praised for its excellence, Japanese whiskies have made their reputation on innovation and consistency, and American whiskeys are known for their accessibility and versatility, being used in classic cocktails, for instance, such as the 'Old Fashioned' or the 'Manhattan'. As mentioned earlier, Irish whiskey is mostly renowned for its smoothness, for being rather easy to drink, but if its producers want to increase their market share they need something else, something that will differentiate Irish whiskey even

23 <http://www.kilbeggandistillery.com/> [Accessed 20 November 2015]; Bielenberg, *Locke's Distillery: A History*, pp. 103–110.

more. The answer to that might be found in the Irishness of the product, more specifically in the 'authenticity' conveyed by the notion of Irishness.

The concept of Irishness is partly based on a heritage and a history in which whiskey certainly plays a role, but Irishness also includes the *craic*, the warmth and friendliness of the Irish pub, its conviviality. By emphasising its provenance and its heritage, Irish whiskey could be a central part of the general subconscious representation of what Irishness is: when you drink Irish whiskey, you drink a part of Ireland, its history, its traditions, its heritage. Jack Teeling said: 'If you build a replica Irish whiskey distillery in Scotland and used the same ingredients to produce the same spirit, it would more than likely taste the same. But after leaving it in Ireland for three years to mature I can guarantee the whiskey would taste different'.[24] Meaning that what makes Irish whiskey unique is the fact that it is made in that very 'special' place that is Ireland.

Emphasising the provenance and the heritage of Irish whiskey can give the product the status of a cultural symbol, an added value from which producers can build the future of the product. Shane Hoyne, Tullamore Dew's global brand director, noted: 'We want to establish a different definition of 'Irishness' – as something that people can relate to the world over, rooted in the incredible spirit of the people'.[25] According to Barthes, food can be understood as 'a structure of communication' and the notion conveyed by a given food item can potentially transcend the purely physical state of that item.[26] His theories seem to apply perfectly to Irish whiskey: the notion of Irishness can transcend Irish whiskey as a physical product. As explained above, drinking Irish whiskey allows the consumer to experience a heritage, a sense of place, a tradition, and even, to some extent, a way of life. Whiskey can be considered a 'signifier' of Irishness, which itself is a meaningful unity that also includes other foods, dishes or beverages such as Guinness and the 'traditional Irish stew'. Whiskey thus becomes a

24 Bord Bia, 'The Future of Irish Whiskey' (2013), p. 26.

25 Lucy Shaw, 'New Look for Tullamore Dew', *The Drinks Business* (21 September 2011) <http://www.thedrinksbusiness.com/2011/09/new-look-for-tullamore-dew/> [Accessed 20 November 2015].

26 Barthes, 'Pour une psycho-sociologie de l'alimentation contemporaine', pp. 980–982.

meaningful term within the lexical field of Irishness, it is a vehicle that partly conveys what Irishness is about. This is where the notion of authenticity plays an important role. In order to fulfil its role as a signifier of Irishness, Irish whiskey needs to be perceived as an 'authentic' product. Whiskey has to convey a sense of ancestral traditions, rooted in the history of the nation. Through the product, whiskey consumers must be able to 'experience' Irish history and more specifically a romanticised idea of rural Ireland.[27] This may explain why a significant amount of whiskey advertisements are either set in the Irish countryside (or at least in the public representation of what the Irish countryside is supposed to be) or in Dublin, placing emphases on 'rural Ireland' and 'national Ireland' respectively. It must be noted that, as explained earlier, Irish whiskey and *poitín* have a genuine legitimacy, from a purely historical point of view, as signifiers of Irishness. However the ways Irish whiskey is made and consumed also need to be perceived as 'authentic'. To this end, whiskey entrepreneurs have come up with marketing ploys that set their products (and their production processes) within an 'Irish tradition'. The fabricated association of Irish whiskey with triple distillation is a very good illustration of this reconstruction of 'traditions'; the smoothness and non-peatiness of Irish whiskey are the two other main illustrations. This is supported by marketing strategies (labels, advertising, etc.), themselves backed by the Irish tourism industry. Many tours and visitor centres will inevitably mention the 'triple distilled for smoothness' misconception as 'Irish whiskey's point of differentiation'. These artificial places (as a reminder, the Old Jameson, Old Kilbeggan and Tullamore Dew distilleries stopped being operational decades ago) have thus become propaganda tools to promote 'facts' about Irish whiskey in order to establish the 'authenticity' of its nature and its fabrication.

To ensure a complete integration of Irish whiskey into Ireland's cultural identity, the tourism industry is indeed a very powerful ally to the drinks industry. It is no coincidence that Irish whiskey brands are sponsoring high-profile pubs all over Dublin at the moment, given that millions of tourists will spend time in them while visiting the city. Just like

27 Barthes, 'Pour une psycho-sociologie de l'alimentation contemporaine', p. 983.

the idea of drinking Guinness when in Ireland, having a glass of whiskey might be a well-established element of the tourist experience today. But above all, the consumption of Irish whiskey needs to be perceived as an 'authentic' experience and therefore must to be associated with the Irish pub. Ultimately, the consumption of a glass of Irish whiskey must encapsulate the atmosphere and the rituals of the Irish pub, regardless of where it is drunk – again, something Guinness has been particularly successful at achieving.[28] Moreover, museums and visitor centres will help legitimise the product as part of the history and heritage of Ireland. Marketing is all well and good, but a real and visible association with the land is even better. Carving '1829' on Tullamore Dew bottles is one thing, but being able to legitimise it with an 'authentic' nineteenth-century-style distillery that everyone can see and visit is altogether better. As Mark McGovern observes: 'Adverts for Irish beers and spirits also parallel the tourist images of Ireland as a rural natural and anti-modern place'.[29] Meeting the tourists' expectations with actual 'anti-modern' places such as a waterwheel-powered nineteenth-century distillery can only help to demonstrate the 'honesty' and 'authenticity' of Irish whiskey marketing. Once the Irishness of the products has been clearly established, brands can then build on it and innovate. And through those innovations, the Irishness of Irish whiskey can even be reinforced: at least two brands (Jameson and Teeling) are planning to release whiskeys aged in craft stout barrels, that is, barrels used to contain a Guinness-like beer. And what could better embody Irishness than a combination of Irish whiskey and Irish stout beer?

28 The whiskey industry in Ireland is arguably mimicking what Guinness succeeded in doing many years ago: helping to build an alcohol-centred Irish identity (through the sponsoring of Irish pubs all around the world with its partnership with the Irish Pub Company for instance) and placing itself at the centre of this identity. Mark McGovern, '"The Cracked Pint Glass of the Servant": The Irish Pub, Irish Identity and the Tourist Eye', in Michael Cronin and Barbara O'Connor, (eds), *Irish Tourism: Image, Culture and Identity* (Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications, 2003), pp. 86–92.

29 McGovern, '"The Cracked Pint Glass of the Servant": The Irish Pub, Irish Identity and the Tourist Eye', p. 88.

Whiskey tourism thus helps the distilling industry to root whiskey in the culture and history of the country, legitimising it as a cultural and historical Irish symbol, making it a meaningful signifier of Irishness, a status that Irish whiskey needs in order to stand out from the competition.[30] However, the whiskey industry also uses the tourism industry for other, more pragmatic purposes.

Alcohol excise duty rates in Ireland are very high. In fact, in 2014 Ireland had the highest wine excise in Europe, the second highest cider excise, the third highest spirits excise (after Finland and Sweden) and the third highest beer excise (after Finland and the United Kingdom). And these rates have significantly increased over the past ten years. In concrete terms, excise duty represents more than 68 per cent of the retail price of a bottle of whiskey in Ireland, or €16 on a €24 bottle. The whiskey industry is particularly impacted by this as a high excise rate is more visible on the higher price of a bottle of whiskey than it is on the lower prices of bottles of beer or cider.[31] The following quote was taken from their latest report on the DIGI (Drinks Industry Group of Ireland):

> We are now in the bizarre position that Ireland is one of the most expensive places in the word to buy Irish whiskey [...]. In fact the €17.37 tax take on a bottle of Jameson in Ireland is more than the total price of that same bottle (€16.61) in New York. This not only prevents us from establishing a foothold in our domestic market but it also prevents our brand from building a relationship with tourists when they are here as those tourists simply think that they are being ripped off.[32]

The whiskey industry is in a position of power within the drinks industry due to its economic success over the past ten years. Jameson now boasts twenty-six successive years of growth despite troubled and uncertain

30 Giving Irish whiskey a cultural and historical aspect is in turn good for the tourism industry: if people enjoying Irish whiskey all around the world perceive it as a cultural symbol, as they do Guinness, they will most probably be more inclined to visit whiskey-related attractions. Whiskey would then be yet another ambassador for Irish tourism.

31 It is worth mentioning here that Scotch whisky suffers from a similar situation, the UK also having a high spirits excise.

32 DIGI, 'Submission to the Minister for Finance for Budget 2015', pp. 3, 16.

economic times since 2008. The distilling industry is playing a significant role in the economic recovery of the country. The Minister for Agriculture, Food and the Marine, Simon Coveney, recently announced that the Irish whiskey sector was 'set to invest over €1 billion in Ireland in the next 10 years'.[33] The drinks industry intends to make the most of its strong position and especially of its ties with the tourism industry. Indeed, by being involved in the tourism industry, by financing new attractions and therefore new jobs, by attracting tourists to Ireland, the drinks industry has more influence and leverage on the government regarding the question of excise and other alcohol-related laws and general policies. The involvement of the drinks industry in tourism allows the DIGI to claim that 'excise is a tax on tourism'.[34]

This is a powerful argument since tourism is a key element of Ireland's economy and the government has plans to develop this sector even further. In July 2014, the Minister for Transport, Tourism and Sport published the draft National Tourism Policy covering the period to 2025. It states that 'the overall ambitious tourism goal of the Government is that overseas tourism revenue will increase to €5 billion in real terms compared to the level of €3.3 billion in 2013'.[35] Whiskey tourism, with all the new attractions and possibilities it offers, will undoubtedly play a significant part in achieving the government's goal. The drinks industry in Ireland, with the whiskey industry at its head, therefore points to the paradox of the Irish government wanting to develop tourism while heavily taxing products that could potentially invigorate the sector. Indeed, the drinks industry visitor attractions are particularly important in overseas tourism. In 2012, 91 per cent of the Old Jameson Distillery and Midleton Jameson Experience visitors were from overseas, with 43 per cent from the United States.[36] The alcohol

33 Pamela Newenham, 'Irish whiskey sector to invest over €1bn in new distilleries', *The Irish Times*, 9 April 2014.

34 DIGI, 'Submission to the Minister for Finance for Budget 2015', pp. 2, 3, 4, 12.

35 Foley, 'The Contribution of the Drinks Industry to Tourism', p. 9.

36 'Distillery a big hit with tourists', *TheHerald.ie*, 12 February 2013 <http://www.herald.ie/news/distillery-a-big-hit-with-tourists-29066011.html> [Accessed 20 November 2015].

industry argues that excise is not just a tax on Irish consumers but a tax on the tourism industry as a whole, impacting all its sub-industries such as food or entertainment. To support their claim, they can rely on recent surveys indicating that of the disadvantages most frequently mentioned by tourists visiting Ireland, drink costs came third, behind the weather and the high cost of living.[37]

Nevertheless, the issue of alcohol excise raises another question. The Irish government justifies the high excise rates as being part of an overarching public health policy. In other words, high taxes on alcohol are part of a strategy designed to reduce alcohol consumption and therefore to limit the damage to the nation's health and to society more generally. According to a survey conducted by the Health Research Board in 2013, 54 per cent of Irish drinkers are considered as 'harmful drinkers', as defined by the World Health Organisation, and an additional 7 per cent are dependent, that is, alcoholics.[38] Moreover, as pointed out in a 2013 *Bord Bia* report, the cost of alcohol misuse on Irish society as a whole cannot be overlooked:

> There is increasing awareness of the social costs of alcohol misuse to individuals, communities and governments. These include costs for healthcare associated with binge drinking, associated social work, public safety (fire and rescue), motor accidents, criminal justice and employment absenteeism. The Irish Department of Health estimated the cost of alcohol-related harm to society at €3.7 billion annually.[39]

This data outlines the challenge that the Irish authorities will have to tackle in the near future: how to reconcile the public health of the country and a tourism industry that is increasingly driven by an alcohol-centred Irish identity? How can Ireland continue to attract more tourists to its pubs, showcasing the country as the place for *craic*, while limiting the damaging effects of alcohol within the Irish population itself?

37 DIGI, 'Submission to the Minister for Finance for Budget 2015', pp. 3, 12.

38 Jean Long and Deirdre Mongan, *Alcohol Consumption in Ireland 2013: Analysis of a National Alcohol Diary Survey* (Dublin: Health Research Board, 2014), p. 13.

39 Bord Bia, 'The Future of Irish Whiskey' (2013), p. 12.

Conclusion

There is currently a surge in global demand for Irish whiskey. However, in spite of its incredible growth rate over the past fifteen years, Irish whiskey still only represents 4 per cent of global sales, far behind Scotch whisky (about 60 per cent) and North American whiskeys (about 35 per cent).[40] Irish whiskey has a crucial need to differentiate itself from its competitors. Rooting the product in the notion of Irishness by emphasising its origins and heritage may be a good way to achieve that differentiation, and the tourism industry can definitely help to attain that goal. Whiskey tourism offers a possibility for the drinks industry to legitimise the marketing of Irish whiskey as authentic and rooted in the history of Ireland, with all the internal representations conveyed by the country and its identity. Of course, the increasing exposure of whiskey around the world is a plus for the Irish tourism industry. Therefore, it could be argued that whiskey tourism is becoming a vital part of the whiskey industry in Ireland, with one helping to sell the other.

As Irish whiskey is expected to grow global market share by 300 per cent by 2030 – from 4 per cent to 12 per cent – the drinks industry will undoubtedly contribute significantly to the government's goal of further developing Irish tourism.[41] But at what cost? If alcohol has been part of Irish identity for a long time, its place is becoming increasingly central and the effects of this alcohol-centred social life on the Irish population are alarming.

40 J&E Davy, Davy Research, 'Equity Report – Pernod Ricard' (25 July 2011), p. 18.

41 'Irish Whiskey's Global Market Share to Rise By 300% by 2030', *Whisky Magazine* (13 May 2015) <http://www.whiskymag.com/news/31457.html> [Accessed 20 November 2015].

TANGUY PHILIPPE

15 Wrestling in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Ireland and the Ethnic Stereotype of the Irish Fighter in the USA

ABSTRACT

Sport forges a symbolic bond between different elements of a group and may nurture and strengthen social representations insofar as they can be an identifying feature of the group. In Ireland, the National Folklore Collection indicates a great diversity in the way sports were performed in the traditional context. The popularity of strength sports and even blood sports, the pre-eminence of Irishmen in boxing and wrestling during the nineteenth and early twentieth century in the USA, in addition to the ethnic stereotype of the Irishman as a fighter, led us to investigate the organisation of these sports in the context of local and seasonal fairs, and how, having undertaken their own voyage, they came to be associated with Irishness.

Sport is a cultural phenomenon through which we may gain insight into how a social group functions. It forges a symbolic bond between different elements of the group and may nurture and strengthen social representations insofar as they can be considered as identifying features. Some sports, including wrestling, have a remarkable longevity and, as part of the cultural and social baggage of voyagers, have been adopted and adapted as they travel around the globe.

In previous research on the culture of wrestling,[1] I hypothesised that institutionalisation and change in this sport are driven by a synergy between sociocultural representation, rule creation and the sporting event itself, with each aspect contributing to its popularity. Sociocultural representation and sport is a fertile field of investigation. The relationship between sport and

1 Tanguy Philippe, *Les Routes de la Lutte*, PhD Dissertation (Université Rennes 2, 2012).

language,[2] for example, illustrates the part sport plays in a broader process of social naming and categorising, which contributes to the processes by which social groups build their representations.[3]

In Ireland especially, folklore collections indicate great diversity in the way sports were performed in the traditional context. Different sports and athletic activities are described as common events in fairs and festivals in the nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries, notably in the National Folklore Collection (henceforth NFC) at University College Dublin, as well as by various authors.[4] Quite often, the sports or games are set in a seemingly well-established and timeless local athletics programme. The frequency of strength sports and even blood sports, the pre-eminence of Irishmen in boxing and wrestling in the same period in the USA, together with the ethnic stereotype of the Irishman as a fighter, led me to investigate the organisation of these sports in the context of local and seasonal fairs in Ireland, and how, having undertaken their own voyage, they came to be associated with Irishness in the USA.

Several hypotheses have been proposed to explain the rationale that underlies Man's urge to gather in groups for celebration. However, the aim of this chapter is not to go into explanations of what determines social gatherings, but rather to attempt to understand their form and social impact in turn-of-the-twentieth-century Ireland, as far as *social gathering and amusement* is synonymous with *fighting*. An important contribution to this field is the work of Caroline Conley, *The Agreeable Recreation of Fighting*,[5]

2 Tanguy Philippe, '"Gleb" – Analyse croisée des registres sportifs et langagiers dans le cas du *gouren*/lutte bretonne', *La Bretagne Linguistique* 20 (2016).

3 Melissa Williams and Julie Spencer-Rodgers, 'Culture and Stereotyping Processes: Integration and New Directions', *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 4/8 (2010), pp. 591–604.

4 For the Irish sources see, among others, Sean O'Sullivan's *Folktales of Ireland* (London: Routledge, 1966) and *The Folklore of Ireland* (London: Batsford, 1974); and Kevin Danaher's *The Year in Ireland* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1972). Other references include: Charles M. Wilson, *The Magnificent Scufflers* (Brattleboro: The Stephen Greene Press, 1959) and Graeme Kent, *A Pictorial History of Wrestling* (Middlesex: Spring Books, 1968).

5 Carolyn Conley, 'The Agreeable Recreation of Fighting', *Journal of Social History* 33/1 (1999), pp. 57–72.

which is particularly informative. Her research on faction fighting inspired this approach to sport in fairs and festivals and allows cross comparisons. Furthermore, in contrast to other physical activities in these contexts, I would like to highlight the liminal nature of wrestling. Symbolising as it does a physical opposition without the intent to harm, it in fact constitutes a permanent questioning of violence.

Wrestling as a Code that Reveals a Culture's Relation to Strength and Violence

Wrestling is a codified form of combat that is considered legal and harmless. It is widespread, especially as a preliminary to group or social life, and it is even present in nature: several mammals and birds indulge in playful bouts of wrestling without prior stimulus or any obvious clear purpose.[6] It may be that by grabbing and clinching, some elementary social or interactional rules are learned, one of the first being a basic notion of mutual agreement. As a representation of strength, competing in wrestling may act as a coming-of-age ritual[7] and contribute to the definition of masculinity and femininity.

Wrestling is present in early cultural productions and has alternated between periods of popularity and marginality throughout history. In the epic of Gilgamesh,[8] a mythological narrative (circa 2000 BC) that takes place in the city of Ur in modern-day Iraq, there is a progression from a natural existence to sophisticated city life in which wrestling plays a key role. In a crescendo sequence of initiation, the champion representing Nature, Enkidu, experiences human sexuality on his way to the city, and tastes food (bread and beer) made by ordinary people living in a group.

6 Dalila Bovet, 'Comportement animal' [Animal Behaviour], *Encyclopedia Universalis online* [accessed 25 June 2011].

7 Arnold Van Gennep, *Les Rites de Passage* (Paris: Picard, 1981 [1909]), pp. 177–183.

8 Léo Scheer, *Gilgamesh* (Paris: Léo Scheer, 2006).

He challenges King Gilgamesh to a wrestling bout at the gates of the city and in winning the bout he earns the right to pass through the gates. By wrestling he is initiated into civilisation, in the etymological sense of the term, that is, *entering the city*. Sometimes preceding verbal interaction, wrestling can thereby constitute a liminal process of social aggregation in the form of a framed physical interaction composed of a basic agreement, an acceptance of the other and a conclusion.

Wrestling is generally defined as physical hand-to-hand opposition between two people in the form of a game.[9] In early French dictionaries it is also defined as an exercise to test one's strength.[10] It is organised according to a system of rules, generally specific to a cultural zone, persistent over time and constituting a style of wrestling. These styles are transmitted, transformed and exported in a complex acculturation system involving travel, influence, opposition and cultural reinterpretation.[11] The differences between styles include the way of taking hold, codes of interaction (such as shaking hands or explicitly committing to fair play), limits of time and space or accepted behaviour, and their goals vary from, for example, lifting or throwing to controlling. The practical consequence of the different rules is that wrestlers adapt their posture to gain efficiency. The general aspects of wrestling styles differ and the wrestler's typical postures are distinct, consisting in a difference in the typical angles of articulation between the players' bodies.

Styles are generally viewed in quite a conservative way and although observance of the rules can vary, core rules are vigorously defended. For instance, in early brochures from the 1930s, officials involved in Breton

9 'Lutte' [Wrestling], *Le Petit Robert de la langue française* (Paris: Le Robert, 2011).

10 Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle* (Paris: Garnier, 2002 [1880–1902]); CNRS, *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (Paris: CNRS, 2010); Edmond Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du 16e siècle* (Paris: Garnier, 2004 [1961]); Robert Estienne, *Dictionnaire françois-latin* (Paris: Estienne, 1549); Jean Nicot, *Le grand dictionnaire françois-latin* (Geneva: Stoer, 1606); Randle Cotgrave, *A dictionarie of the French and English tongues* (London: Islip, 1611).

11 A recent issue of the *International Journal of the History of Sport* is devoted to this subject (vol. 31/4, 2014).

wrestling (somewhat contemptuously) contrasted their style with Greco-Roman wrestling – including groundwork – by calling the latter 'reptile wrestling'.[12] Variations in style rely on a dual definition. The more visible aspect is the rules, which indicate how to win and what is forbidden in the game. This corresponds to a less explicit social norm about what is encouraged and what is frowned upon in a given society. The rules of the game also represent the temporary establishment of the social conception of the sport between generations. Even in a traditional context, non-written forms of institutionalisation can usually be observed, at the very least patronage provided by a local embodiment of authority or a sort of moral control by former or current contenders. Connoisseurs or *moral entrepreneurs*[13] participate in and validate the game. The definition of strength is thus both a physical and a social challenge.

In most styles, wrestling takes the form of a symbolic game and allows temporary escape from our world by means of a setting in a particular time or location. Additionally, wrestling seems to correspond to Huizinga's definition of play as 'a voluntary activity or occupation executed within certain fixed limits of time and place, according to rules freely accepted, but absolutely binding rules, having its aim and accompanied by a feeling of tension and joy, and the consciousness that it is different from ordinary life'.[14]

Wrestling is part of a wider context in both a narrative and material sense, with symbolic rights and status at stake.[15] The French anthropologist Caillois developed an analysis of games by establishing a distinction in game logic between *agôn*, *alea*, *mimicry* and *ilinx*, defined by a logic

12 FALSAB, 'Programme du tournoi de Quimper' (Quimper, 1934).

13 The expression *moral entrepreneurs* refers to a particular group of people contributing to establishing norms and somehow benefitting from them; in Howard S. Becker, *Outsiders* (New York: The Free Press, 1963).

14 Johann Huizinga, *Homo ludens* (Paris: Gallimard, 1951 [1938]), p. 51. English quote from: Johann Huizinga, Homo ludens *A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1955), p. 28.

15 Tanguy Philippe, 'La lutte dans la culture irlandaise: *pop art* au service de la justice' [Wrestling in Irish Culture: Pop Art in the Service of Justice], in Laurent Daniel (ed.), *L' Art et le Sport* (Biarritz: Atlantica Séguier, 2010).

of competition, chance, imitation and vertigo, respectively.[16] In the *agôn* category (unlike the others), victory is directly linked to the efforts made by the contenders. Wrestling is thus *agôn*, setting contenders against each other in an effort to select the best. The frame of opposition is designed so as to prove the winner's value and '[e]qual opportunity is artificially created to make antagonists face each other in ideal conditions likely to give an exact and indisputable value to the winner's triumph'.[17] This physical opposition is thus social, intelligible and accepted by everyone.

In developing the notion of the game, Geertz shows how it may reflect different layers of movements and interests within society.[18] Games may also be understood as a liminal moment of anti-structural reconsidering of ordinary life and rephrasing of social roles.[19] The liturgy of games (time, place and sequence) leads us to consider the notion of ritual, which involves a sort of re-creation of the structure of the world. Groups organise a moment of tension that allows uncontrolled forces to come into play. This moment of tension then provides reassurance via a sacrifice or a gift and re-establishes social rules by the eurhythmics of the ceremony, creating a climax in social life. Then, at the conclusion of the performance, the players 'succeed in abolishing that uncertainty, not in the way they thought by controlling the forces of nature, but by controlling themselves and by presenting a more united front to the buffets of fickle nature'.[20] At an individual as well as a collective level, sports and games may constitute a rite of passage, defined by a liturgy as well as a change in status. Games evoke expectations of prosperity or good luck. They are played or performed by sub-groups, in a context of coming-of-age or collective renewal, in full view

16 Roger Caillois, *Les jeux et les hommes* [Of Games and Men] (Paris: Gallimard, 1967 [1958]), p. 50.

17 *Ibid*.

18 Clifford Geertz, 'Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight', in *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 412–453.

19 As analysed by Ball, after the approach of Turner: Michael Ball, *Professional Wrestling as a Ritual Drama in American Popular Culture* (New York: E. Mellen Press, 1990); Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors.* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974).

20 Arthur Hocart, *Kingship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969, 1927), pp. 56–57.

of the whole community. Additionally, the place of the game is ritually defined and during a fixed time the arena or the ring becomes the 'centre of the world'[21] where fate can be challenged.

The different anthropological explanations of the significance of sport and particularly wrestling reinforce the idea that sports and games are deeply rooted in culture and provide a means of understanding the world in action.[22] As a consequence, sports and games should not be investigated without taking into account their internal logic and placing them in a wider context.

Aspects of Wrestling in Ireland

Various sources indicate the presence of wrestling in Ireland from early times. It is a sport associated with different mythological characters such as Lugh and Cúchulainn.[23] It is also present in different narratives and engraved on various religious monuments. A French author, Jaouen,[24] has described the presence of images of wrestling on religious monuments – notably High Crosses – in counties Meath (ninth century, Kells), Derry (tenth century, Kilrea), Laois, Kildare and Tipperary. In the early stages of the creation of the Gaelic Athletic Association, Archbishop Croke published an article in which he supported the re-establishment of *typical* Irish sports, including wrestling.[25] The exploration of different accounts from Irish folklore shows the presence of wrestling in a majority of counties in

21 Bernard Jeu, *Le Sport, l'émotion, l'espace* (Paris: Vigot, 1977), p. 32.

22 Based on the approach of Claude Lévi-Strauss: Patrice Maniglier, *Le vocabulaire de Lévi-Strauss* (Paris: Ellipses, 2002), pp. 32–33.

23 Thomas Kinsella, *The Táin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

24 Guy Jaouen, *Les Luttes Celtiques de Bretagne et du Cornwall* [The Celtic Wrestling Styles from Brittany and Cornwall] (Morlaix: FALSAB, 2005).

25 Thomas Croke, article published in *Nation*, 27 December 1884, quoted in Derek Birley, *Sport and the Making of Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).

Ireland throughout its history. The NFC is of vital importance for research on the subject as it houses an extensive collection on various aspects of folklife. Different sources in this collection mention wrestling, sometimes as a game for children, or as part of a list of popular activities. A majority of counties in Leinster and Connacht – as well as the Midlands – are concerned and these sources refer to periods from the late eighteenth century to the 1940s. Wilson, in his work devoted to the 'Collar and Elbow' style in North America, mentions certain counties as having a reputation for providing good wrestlers, particularly Leinster.[26]

In sources from the nineteenth century onwards, customary practice in rural Ireland seems to follow a common pattern. During the annual fair, different athletic activities were performed, with a selection specific to every parish. Some focused on strength sports, including wrestling. These accounts are based on memory and oral tradition and have the character of myths. Thus, they may be analysed as timeless stories whose logic lies in the narrative structure rather than in historical accuracy. Wrestling is depicted together with other strength or even blood sports such as cockfighting or dogfighting, or as part of other combat activities.[27] There also seem to be dedicated places – strands, earth rings[28] – and dedicated times or seasons[29] of liminal character that associate it with amusement and renewal. Some folklore accounts are more elaborate and are embedded in a larger narrative frame. In county Meath, for example, wrestling is associated with the ancient Tailteann Games.[30] It also figures on a sculpture on the Market Cross in Kells. Some of the Ordnance Survey Letters report the existence of a popular gathering that was a continuation of the ancient Tailteann Games until the early nineteenth century and included dancing, boxing and wrestling:

26 Wilson, *The Magnificent Scufflers*.

27 For example NFC Document 407 about the Carlow Fairs.

28 Dermot Mac Ivor, 'Town Land of Kilpatrick', in *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society* 10 (1944), p. 330.

29 Danaher, *The Year in Ireland*.

30 For a description of the Tailteann Games, see: <http://library.la84.org/SportsLibrary/NASSH_Proceedings/NP1977/NP1977g.pdf>.

> About thirty years ago, the Meathians carried the Nassa of Looee to such a pitch of violence after they had introduced potteen instead of metheglin,[31] that the Clergy, the Magistrates, and all those who consulted for the welfare of the people thought it advisable to abolish the sports of Tailteann and thus put a stop to Olympic Games, which had continued to amuse the people for a period of more than two thousand years! What a pity they were not able to let them continue by re-introducing metheglin instead of whisky![32]

Alcohol and morality were used as reasons to justify its abolition. Other customs are mentioned, such as the Tailteann trial marriages, which provided another moral reason for the authorities to ban the games.

There are also some detailed reports from County Mayo, particularly two different stories with related or comparable narrative schemes. A first account, *Martain Mór a Graith*,[33] is the biography of a local strongman. The narrative comprises a bricolage of different sequences and folklore motifs, with a cyclical unity which allows a structural and sequential approach to its analysis.[34] The first parts of the narrative concern the then teenage Martain's feats of strength. According to the narrative, at seventeen he faced Royal Irish Constabulary officers on illicit distillation duty and opposed the requisition of his spade to destroy the plantation:

> He was digging potatoes, and one of the revenue men approached him and demanded from him the spade with which he was working, in order to destroy a malt house. The young fellow said he would not give him the spade, whereupon the officer got a hold of it in anger and attempted to wrench it out of the boy's hands. The lad resisted and a tussle followed which developed into a rough and tumble between the pair. The result was that young McGrath in this rough and wrestling contest brought his man to earth every time and the officer had to desist.[35]

31 A spiced mead (*vin de miel épicé* in French).

32 NFC 1223, 'The Fair of Tailteann', in *Ordnance Survey Letters Meath* (August 1836), pp. 87–88.

33 NFC 1242, Michael Corduff, Kilcommon, *Martain Mór a Graith* (May 1941), pp. 449–458.

34 Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'La structure des Mythes', in *Anthropologie Structurale* (Paris: Plon 1974, 1958), pp. 235–265.

35 Corduff, *Martain Mór a Graith*.

With a paradoxical disregard for (illegal) violence, the other policemen appear enthusiastic about this demonstration of strength: 'Some of the other officials looked on and merely enjoyed the bout between the pair. When it was over, the officer in charge of the Revenue party said to the young hero, "My boy, if God gives you health, in a few years you will certainly be the best man in Mayo"'. The status of best man is associated with a certain approach to justice and fairness, which seems immanent and a definition of his whole personality.[36] That conception of justice appears to be so linked with the notion of fighting as to conflate the notion of legality with that of physical opposition and to equate the status of dispute arbitrator with the status of strongman:

> He also had a penchant for going to fairs, funerals, football matches and all kinds of gatherings. His heart was in assemblies of people, particularly if there was any physical competition in question, even up to the late years of his life. Even when he ceased to be a competitor in athletic events, he wished to be a spectator, and perhaps arbitrator in disputes relative to the events. Though he was compelled by advancing years to relinquish his claim to superiority in athletics which right he asserted in his earlier years he never admitted inferiority to any man in the parish or adjoining one in a hand to hand fight until he died.[37]

A clear distinction appears in this narrative between legitimate and illegitimate violence. This seems not to require animosity between the fighters but is instead strongly associated with principles – which make a claim legitimate – and to fighting conditions, which determine when a fight starts or stops. The strongman was involved in faction fighting and another biographical episode relates how he is challenged to a fight when without any help. After the first skirmishes he remains standing, but is outnumbered, facing three opponents alone. Two unknown fighters *spontaneously* propose to join in to make it a fair match and a negotiation starts, with the three locals refusing to resume the fight. According to the story, the riot

36 Based on the analysis by Roland Barthes of professional wrestling and its perception: Roland Barthes, 'Le monde où l'on catche' [The World of Wrestling], in *Mythologies* (Paris: Seuil, 1957), pp. 13–23.

37 Corduff, *Martain Mór a Graith*.

dies down and gives way to drinking and celebrating. On another occasion, Martain attends a football match where the prize for the winning team is the ball, which is refused by the local team who have just lost the game. The strong man proposes to keep and defend the ball despite a local priest's plea:

> The Conways then demanded the ball off Martain Mór, but he wouldn't give it up, then Father Michael Smyth CC who was present appealed Martain Mór in the interest of peace to hand over the ball to the Inver men. Martain Mór turned to me and asked 'will I hold the ball Johnny? If you say yes I shall hold it.' I said 'Don't part with the ball for any man priest or anybody else. We are entitled to hold it, and for the sake of principle, I am ready to lay down my life on the sandbanks of Glengad today in defence of my principle and honour, though I don't care a chew of tobacco for the ball as far as that goes'.[38]

Ball games have a strong symbolic association with fertility, renewal, and intra-group wealth.[39] These games may originate from a sort of raid and pursuit to ensure common prosperity symbolised by the ball. The attitude of Martain as a defender of the ball indicates an association between legitimate fighting and the defence of a group's prosperity.

Fighting may also act as a group ritual. Another story from the same source and the same parish, Ross Port, describes the yearly activity of shovelling sand eels. Taking advantage of the low tide, both sides of the town gather for the eels, which is also a pretext for athletic contests. The groups do not mingle and the contests take place between them. Running, jumping, weight throwing and wrestling take place on the strand, as well as faction fighting on a small scale:

> Men and women were dressed up for the occasion, in the manner of a pattern. It was in all respects a gala day in the life of the peasantry, and they made the most of the outing. One feature which distinguished it from other gatherings was the absence of drink. There was no potheen sold at or in the vicinity of the meeting, a fact which contributed largely to the absence of serious disorder.[40]

38 *Ibid*.

39 Jeu, *Le Sport*, *l'émotion*, *l'espace*.

40 NFC 1242, Michael Corduff, Kilcommon, *Going to sand eels* (May 1941), pp. 551–555.

The *stronger side* of the town gave the signal to shovel the eels as fast as possible before high tide forced them off the strip of strand. This narrative illustrates fighting as a liminal activity and a status-defining ritual.

The various accounts from county Mayo show different sequences in which there is effective or symbolic violence. We can identify in the different stories:

a. A first instance of intergroup interaction, stimulated by an initial moment of tension.
b. Side-taking, and in-group reinforcement, in the case of the football match. Showing strength creates opposition between the parishes and strengthens the teams.
c. Asymmetrical balanced alliance, with both sides of the town cooperating in a temporary and strength-negotiated alliance, in the case of the faction fighting and shovelling the eels.

The presentation of the different constituent parts of the story: outgroup interaction, in-group bonding and alliance-cementing is a paradigmatic shift of a similar sequence of explanation. Violence here acts as a key element to define the outcome of the social encounter. It does not fully explain the narrative sequence, but acts as a threshold (and potential turning point) of the story, driving it toward its finale.

Development of the Sporting Culture in North America

An important part of our knowledge on the Irish 'Collar and Elbow' style of wrestling comes from North America and it is necessary to compare with Ireland to examine how the association between fighting and legality may change with the context. Sources from Canada and the United States indicate the first significant presence of an Irish style of wrestling and the presence of identified Irish wrestlers in New England and Quebec. According to Wilson, the Irish style of wrestling appeared in colonial

America in the early eighteenth century, performed notably by many of the first Presidents of the United States. At the height of its popularity, the epicentre of the Collar and Elbow style was Vermont, in a population largely composed of Irish emigrants, and it was supported by the Catholic Church as an unorthodox form of Muscular Christianity.

The Collar and Elbow style consisted of a fixed hold to the collar and the elbow of the opponent, which constituted a structural guarantee of fair play: 'Such an opening barred – more literally boxed off – bull-like charges, flying tackles or other onrushes; from then on it was a matter of deftness, balance and leverage allied with strength, permitting a man to win by means of skill instead of sheer might and weight'.[41] The structural control of the violence in the sport is a possible explanation for its popularity in all kinds of contexts and the support of institutions such as the Catholic Church. It may equally explain how wrestling acted as a proof of strength, skill and fitness in places where it was required: the countryside and the army. In fact, the American Civil War was an important factor in the development of sporting excellence and spreading the style. Military championships had produced early stage champions who could later boast of their titles while starting a professional career. Champions such as George Flagg (Vermont), Champion of the Army of the Potomac, and Colonel James McLaughlin (New York), Champion of the 24th Cavalry, were among the most popular at an early stage of the professional era. These champions chose Collar and Elbow style and went on to wrestle with an emphasis on a local identity:

> Wrestling is, and for long years has been, the popular sport of her sturdy yeomanry; town meetings, fairs, cattle shows, house raisings &c. being incomplete and void of special interest without a wrestling tourney to wind up with [...] September 8th 1883, a collar and elbow and catch as catch can match, best three in five, between Dufur and Duncan C. Ross of Coburg, Ontario, Canada, was wrestled at Marlboro, Massachusetts, and won by Dufur in three collar and elbow bouts.[42]

41 Wilson, *The Magnificent Scufflers*, p. 5.

42 Anonymous, *Biographical sketches of Col. James H. McLaughlin of Detroit, Mich., and Henry M. Dufur, of Marlboro', Mass.* (Marlborough, MA: Times publishing printers, 1884).

Wrestling spread throughout the USA, growing into a structured business of gambling, prizes and territorial markets.

In the same period, different styles of wrestling were common in Canada. Native Americans had their own styles, and the French settlers brought elements of their own sporting culture, displayed in fur trade markets by the *coureurs des bois* (seventeeth- to nineteenth-century French Canadian traders). Leyshon, in his detailed history of wrestling in Canada, mentions the almost complete absence of the Irish style, except in Quebec. He suggests the possibility that many wrestlers were Irishmen from Vermont:

> Yet across the border in Quebec there was little activity. The Montreal Athletic Games in 1843, for example, included a Collar-and-Elbow tournament, with a prize of 5 pounds. It was, however, taken uncontested by a gentleman named Eastcott. Upset that the event was won so easily, a little Irishman named O'Connor later challenged Eastcott for the prize in a private match and beat him easily. (It is interesting to note that Wilson, author of *The Magnificent Scufflers*, subscribes to the idea of collar-and-elbow wrestling originating either in Ireland or Cornwall and further that Vermont was heavily settled by the Irish who practiced the sport there. It is more than possible that O'Connor came from Vermont to win Canadian money).[43]

In addition to the geographical proximity between Vermont and Quebec, patronage by the Catholic authorities on both sides of the border may be another explanation for the regional importance of wrestling. In a later stage of the development of the sport, championships were set up with a system of title claimer, titleholder, and challengers: 'Dashing John McMahon had made several forays into bad, tough California to win the Pacific coast championship, and soon was to claim the Canada title as well'.[44] At this stage of development, in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the stakes somehow changed from continental to international, which encouraged the wrestlers to defend their titles – with an eye to winning the title of World Champion – and the efficiency of their technique. The different accounts and literature on the subject indicate that wrestlers were

43 Glynn Leyshon, *Of Mats and Men* (London, Ontario: Sports Dynamics, 1984), p. 32.

44 Wilson, *The Magnificent Scufflers*, p. 32.

used to travelling between North America and Ireland, especially to meet contenders and claim titles.[45]

In 1901, a group of wrestlers toured the Klondike to organise a series of grudge matches, which can be seen as the genesis of contemporary entertainment wrestling as well as the mixing of styles; Svinth and Hewitt have analysed this tour and its financial success.[46] The organisation of events seemed to particularly target the Irish audience, notably by the evocation of Irishness through patronyms and the production of Irish sporting heroes:

> Carroll would show up in a gold rush boomtown such as Dawson City in the Yukon Territory and proclaim himself 'the champion of the Yukon.' He would then orchestrate a series of challenge and 'grudge' matches between himself and other wrestlers, in this case Col. J. H. McLaughlin and Gotch. McLaughlin had been a pro wrestler since the post- Civil War period and claimed the world Collar and Elbow championship since 1870. Gotch meanwhile was the 'ringer.' His cover was that of 'Frank Kennedy' of Springfield, Missouri, and he was a Filipino-American War veteran prospecting for gold.[47]

The styles of wrestling were then used as gimmicks to create suspense – each wrestler was supposed to master one style – and the better wrestler in the first two bouts could choose the style of the third. For this particular tour, the last event was a mixed (boxing-wrestling) match between Frank Kennedy and Frank Slavin. This event reinforces the idea that sport and the 'quest for the best man' act as an opportunity to display strength and skills.

The Collar and Elbow style seems to have disappeared at the beginning of the twentieth century. It probably blended with other techniques, especially after an important period of mixed style matches. It was then restructured to inspire the creation of US Collegiate Wrestling by coach Edward Gallagher at the Oklahoma A&M (Agricultural and Mechanical),

45 Wilson, *The Magnificent Scufflers*.

46 Joseph Svinth, 'Gotch in Talk of Dawson: The Yukon World', *Journal of Combative Sport* (November 1999).

47 Mark S. Hewitt, 'Professional Wrestling: Frank Gotch in the Klondike', in *Journal of Manly Arts* (September 2001): <http://www.ejmas.com/jmaly/articles/2001/jmanlyart_hewitt_0901.htm> [Accessed March 2016].

later Oklahoma State University.[48] Some key elements of this style, notably the starting clinch, can be seen in professional wrestling matches today.

Structured Physical Opposition as a Means of Socialisation in Irish Culture

The analysis of the different accounts of wrestling and fighting associated with Ireland or Irishness indicates the effectiveness of wrestling as a mode of socialisation. To follow the traditional explanation by Elias and Dunning,[49] there appears to be little distinction between the players and the audience, even though some *strength statuses* are clearly identifiable. The characterisation of strong men seems to be at stake during the contests, linked to the notion of collective opposition. The imaginary of the players and the audience somehow merges as the sub-group of contenders represent and champion the larger social group. Wrestling and, to some extent, fighting act as a defining moment of strength, fairness, legality and social cohesion. This rough physical nexus takes place in the presence of other elements of the social group, especially the moral authorities and younger generations.

The physical aspect of the opposition is connected to a contest of values and justice. The narratives use wrestling as a motif to relate a struggle for rights, combined with the notion of fairness and legitimate violence, as we have already mentioned. Wrestling or combat appears to be a mechanism for constructing rules or a judicial sequence made of:

> Individual damage or harm – Claim // Contest // Issue – New social cohesion

This sequence of trial by ordeal is also an aggregative one as it implies the acceptance of social rules, to whose definition it also contributes. The main

48 Especially Wilson, *The Magnificent Scufflers* and Jaouen, *Les Luttes Celtiques*.

49 Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, *Quest for Excitement, Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

part of the sequence is not always an objective one – as we can see in both the narratives and the wrestling tours – but appears more clearly as the quest of a climax of verbal and physical tension. The sequence concludes with a strengthened social cohesion.

Strength here appears to be a symbol. It does not therefore have one direct meaning,[50] but acts as a support for the self-comprehension of the group. Strength is then perceived differently according to the various positions and interests in the brawl, which allow for different individual representations. Thus, sport and narration enable the social and intergenerational transmission of value, as well as individual definition. It is frequently remarked that wrestling acts as a rite of passage for young men and women, and I would keenly support this idea. Fighting seems to distribute different roles within the group so as to contribute to a collective saga. The story of Martain Mór, who 'never accepted inferiority to any man', is the illustration of the requirements for chieftainship. It appears that this character is the leader of a faction and that implies that he should ideally remain standing on all occasions and associate his fighting with showing his pride. As a consequence there is strong encouragement, at a group level or at meetings, to take sides and to participate in the physical redefinition of justice, as well as the reinforcement of in- and out-group positions.

The mechanism of social or ethnic categorisation (clichés and stereotypes) is related to the notion of difference and the understanding of others and their apparent way of acting and behaving. In the context of cultural encounters, it is a symbolic approach that enables us to find logic in what is new by recycling one's own prior references. Thus, it is probable that different modes of socialisation and values helped to develop the image of the Irish fighter. The notion of *recreational fighting* as indicated by Conley[51] probably indicates that fighting-socialisation was a reality for the Irish that differed from the other cultural groups' prior references. This type of interaction contrasts with other cultural sub-groups and other sporting cultures, particularly in the context of the American melting pot. The appeal of fighting plays a part in a cultural pattern seemingly illogical

50 Gilbert Durand, *L'imaginaire symbolique* (Paris: PUF, 1964).

51 Conley, 'The Agreeable Recreation'.

to others, which may have contributed to the building of an ethnic stereotype for the Irish.

Mass media production of Irishness has long employed similar motifs. For a whole generation, in the USA and abroad, this was epitomised by the character portrayed by John Wayne in *The Quiet Man*.[52] The plot of the film concerns a former boxer tormented by a self-imposed control of physical violence. He finally manages to balance his relationship to fighting and is eventually socially integrated. For younger generations, the figure of Mickey Rourke embodies similar questions. His personal relationship to professional boxing and his portrayal of Randy 'The Ram' in *The Wrestler*[53] address the issue of the culture and values of physical opposition being somehow associated with Irishness.

The presence of combat sports and activities in narratives associated with Ireland and Irishness is an element of a larger representation of violence and strength. These sports are embodied by their performers, who are actors in a ritual of violence and strength. These rituals are described as climactic moments of tension within the social groups that lead to a strengthening of the groups. Thus, the violence experienced by the characters is not in fact physical – the physical opposition seems almost casual – but instead is symbolic of the struggles within society.

52 John Ford, dir., and Frank Nugent and Maurice Walsh, *The Quiet Man* (Los Angeles: Argosy Pictures, 1952).

53 Aron Aronofsky, dir., and Robert Siegel, *The Wrestler* (Los Angeles: Fox Searchlight Pictures, 2008).

PATRICIA MEDCALF

16 Sport: Part of the DNA in National and Brand Identities

ABSTRACT
This chapter explores how sporting traditions in Ireland helped shape national identity and that of one of its most famous brands, Guinness. When under English rule, the Irish took to cricket, and by the mid-nineteenth century, it was the most popular sport in Ireland. Later that same century, a renaissance in indigenous culture helped the Irish reclaim their identity and shake off the shackles of their colonial past. Players of Gaelic sports were banned from participating in English sports. The end of this ban and a more pluralist society saw the Irish embrace 'foreign' sports again. Munster's famous 1978 rugby victory over the All Blacks was immortalised on stage in 'Alone it stands', and more recently it featured in the Guinness ad 'David and Goliath.' Today, Irish emigrants cling steadfastly to their identity and see sport as a way of safeguarding it.

For centuries, sport and national identity have been bound together and form an integral part of many nations' histories. As highlighted by Cronin and Holt, the British introduced natives to cricket and rugby in many of the countries that they colonised.[1] Not only did this give the ex-patriots a sense of place, but inhabitants in faraway lands embraced these foreign sports to such an extent that it was not long before they were engrained in their own national identities. However, the manner in which these sports are played by sports people and followed by fans is not necessarily universal, but instead betrays the personality traits inherent in individual national identities. This is evident when referring to rugby. For example, the French team is renowned for playing with flair and self-expression, the English with a trench warfare mentality, and the Irish with an underdog's fighting spirit. Teams that do not conform to their national stereotype are

1 M. Cronin and R. Holt, 'The Globalisation of Sport', *History Today* (July 2003), pp. 26–33.

criticised by the media and their fans, and run the risk of being accused of letting their nations down.

Taking Guinness as an example, this chapter explores the relationship between sport, advertising and identity. The 1960s marked the start of a voyage that would see Guinness articulate its values by placing sport at the heart of many of its advertising campaigns in Ireland. In time, this approach helped to align the brand with Irish national identity. However, as the cross-winds of globalisation gather pace in the twenty-first century, a change of course has seen those at the helm of Guinness's advertising harness sporting stories of heroism, tenacity and triumph from as far afield as South Africa. Such themes are capable of transcending national identities, and hold more universal appeal, thus resonating with consumers outside Ireland. The homeland is never far away, but like the Irish diaspora, Guinness's propensity to travel the world has enriched its experiences, and added dimensions to its storytelling capabilities.

During the colonisation of Ireland, the Irish participated enthusiastically in their ruler's favourite sports, as evidenced by the popularity of cricket in the nineteenth century. The landlords' estates were home to Ireland's cricket pitches because they had enough land at their disposal to give over to leisure pursuits. Players from across the class divide united and formed teams that competed against each other. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, rebellion and nationalism ignited the revival of indigenous sports and a mistrust of sportsmen and women who played so-called 'foreign' sports was fostered. More recently, pluralism and migration have instilled pride in all sports in which individuals and teams are active participants, both at home and abroad. When Irish sports fans travel to support their national heroes in events at stadia (which are often named after commercial brands or national heroes), national pride and identity are pushed to the fore. Such phenomena go some way towards explaining why sport lends itself to the construction of national identity. At its most potent, it brings groups of people together to form closely knit communities or tribes. The focus of their attention often becomes a metaphor for the world in which they live. For example, the struggles of county GAA teams mirror the economic troubles of those same counties as talented young sportsmen emigrate to find employment, charging those who are

left behind with carrying the hopes of the tribe. Irish rugby has come to symbolise the stoicism and resilience of the entire Irish nation as its teams surprisingly managed to dominate the European competitions during the most humiliating recession in the history of the Irish state.

Of course, identity is not a static construct but evolves in response to new and changing influences. Ward[2] acknowledges this and states that, depending on the agenda favoured by key influencers like politicians and the media, particular elements of a nation's identity might be emphasised or downplayed. The evolution of Ireland's identity is testament to this. Perhaps the country's many upheavals can be attributed to its island status, a geographical reality that makes its people open to many influences, from economic and political to cultural and technological. However, equally it could be argued that, in the past, this geographical isolation has served those with the ability to influence the shape of Ireland's identity very well. Archbishop McQuaid's leadership of the Roman Catholic Church in Dublin brought with it a period of introspection and conservatism when the majority of the Irish population was aligned to Catholic values, all of this at a time when secularism was on the rise in mainland Europe. In their article on national identity, Maguire and Tuck build on the concept of *habitus* posited by Elias and describe it thus: 'at the social level, there reside a collection of personality characteristics which individuals share with other members of 'their' group. The social habitus of people forms a foundation from which more individual feelings can develop.'[3] In the past, identity was largely determined within the confines of a nation's boundaries and was easily understood and interpreted. Ward identifies a number of identity change agents that were of great relevance and influence in the late nineteenth century, such as the rise in adult literacy, the spread of mass media, in particular newspapers, and the extension of the franchise.[4] Important news items and fashion trends were no longer the preserve of the elite and the general population was exposed to a narrative

2 T. Ward, 'Sport and National Identity', *Soccer and Society* 10/5 (2009), pp. 518–531.

3 J. Maguire and J. Tuck, 'National Identity, Rugby Union and Notions of Ireland and the Irish', *Irish Journal of Sociology* 14/1 (2005), p. 88.

4 Ward, 'Sport and National Identity'.

from places beyond their traditional points of reference. News of national and international import was consumed and stories of sporting victories and losses from beyond the parish could be followed.

Fast forward to the late twentieth century and O'Toole identifies different catalysts for identity change, in particular the fact that Irish people find themselves exposed to multiple cultures and identities as a result of their insatiable appetite for global media.[5] Allied with unprecedented levels of inward migration during the early years of the new millennium, O'Boyle observes that: 'Irishness is no longer single but multiple.'[6] O'Brien posits that Irish people of the twenty-first century have more in common with their contemporaries in Western Europe and the United States than with past generations of Irish people, something he attributes to the mass media.[7] Some believe that all nations, Ireland included, are marching towards a global mono-culture. Like so many commentators, Fanning concedes that globalisation is unavoidable and will continue. However, rather than viewing this as the death knell of Irish identity, he believes that it will serve as a rallying call to people in individual countries to preserve and display all that is different about their identities.[8]

As the attention of the Irish population transitions from conflict with the 'old enemy' (England), sport is a source of both concern and enjoyment for many Irish men and women. For generations, the prospects of extinction and domination have helped preserve Irish identity, both among those living in Ireland and those who live abroad. Maguire and Tuck found that Ireland, Scotland and Wales use rugby to challenge England's economic and political dominance.[9] It gives these teams the opportunity to challenge England's supremacy on a very visible platform. International

5 F. O'Toole, *The Lie of the Land* (London: Verso, 1997).

6 N. O'Boyle, 'Managing Indeterminacy: Culture, Irishness and the Advertising Industry', *Cultural Sociology* 6/3 (2012), p. 355.

7 E. O'Brien, *Kicking Bishop Brennan up the Arse: Negotiating Texts and Contexts in Contemporary Irish Studies* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009).

8 J. Fanning, *The Importance of Being Branded: an Irish Perspective* (Dublin: The Liffey Press, 2006).

9 Maguire and Tuck, 'National Identity, Rugby Union and Notions of Ireland and the Irish', pp. 86–109.

fixtures between England and these three countries serve as rallying cries for each nation to get behind their team. Scully discovered that the well-established juxtaposition of English superiority and Irish inferiority help frame the identity of the Irish, in particular those living in England.[10] For many years, this position was replicated on the rugby pitch whenever the two teams played against each other. Inevitably, England beat Ireland, despite the valiant efforts of the Irish. However, when Ireland marked the centenary of the 1916 rising against its English rulers, its population had been imbued with greater confidence in many spheres of life, in particular sport. Back-to-back triumphs in the Six Nations Rugby Championship in 2014 and 2015 underlined Irish rugby's transformation from perennial underdog to regular favourite.

Sport, specifically rugby, gives rise to unfamiliar feelings of superiority among the Irish over England, thus forming an important catalyst for the evolution of a national identity. This proposition fits well with Maguire and Tuck's contention that national identity 'works by contrasting the best elements of "us" (the established) with the worst elements of "them" (the outsiders)'[11] and that the Irish have an innate desire to shake off the feelings of shame and disgrace that arise from being colonised. Such feelings emerged again when Ireland was colonised by a new and unwelcome occupier, the Troika.[12] An air of embarrassment and shame hung over the Irish nation and sport provided a conduit for rebuilding pride and confidence. Rugby helped restore morale during a time of severe economic hardship in Ireland when Leinster was victorious in the prestigious European Rugby

10 M. Scully, 'The Tyranny of Transnational Discourse: "Authenticity" and Irish Diasporic Identity in Ireland and England', *Nations and Nationalism* 18/2 (2012), pp. 191–209.

11 Maguire and Tuck, 'National Identity, Rugby Union and Notions of Ireland and the Irish', p. 89.

12 Troika: term 'increasingly used during the eurozone crisis to describe the European Commission, International Monetary Fund and European Central Bank, who formed a group of international lenders that laid down stringent austerity measures when they provided bailouts, or promises of bailouts for indebted peripheral European states – such as Ireland […]' <http://lexicon.ft.com/Term?term=troika> [Accessed March 2017].

Championship three times in four years. While there is intense competition between Leinster and the other three provincial teams in Ireland, particularly Munster, their victories on a European stage brought out a sense of pride in all Irish rugby teams and most fans, just as Munster's newsworthy victory over New Zealand in 1978 had done. Van Esbeck's piece in *The Irish Times* the next day captures the pride of the nation and leaves the reader in no doubt that rugby in Ireland is of great national importance:

> For the better part of this century, successive generations of Irish rugby men have had unsatisfied longings of seeing an All Blacks side beaten on Irish soil. Yesterday at Thomond Park, a ground that embodies so much of the rugged splendour of the way we play the game, that long wait was terminated when Munster wrote a chapter into Irish rugby history of romance and glory. And all those privileged to have seen it will talk with pride of this victory to the end of their days.[13]

Van Esbeck's words proved to be prophetic because those who were there still talk about the triumph. More significantly, those who were not there or who were not yet born, recount the significance of the day with great fervour.

Like nations, corporations and brands have identities that give them personalities and direction. Byrne stresses that statements of corporate identity should articulate where it is that the organisation wants to be[14] or, as Kiriakidou and Millward posit, it forces organisations and brands to ask the question 'Who are we?'[15] They define corporate identity as 'the tangible representation of the organisational identity, the expression as manifest in the behaviour and communication of the organisation. Therefore, efforts to manage corporate identity should reflect the organisational identity of the company (members' beliefs about its existing character).' This defini-

13 E. Van Esbeck, 'Munster Achieve Magnificent Victory', *The Irish Times*, 1 November 1978.

14 J. D. Byrne, 'Strategic Corporate Identity and Corporate-Image Research in Ireland', in T. Meenaghan and P. O'Sullivan (eds), *Marketing Communications in Ireland* (Dublin: Oak Tree Press, 1995).

15 O. Kiriakidou and L. F. Millward (eds), 'Corporate Identity: External Reality or Internal Fit?', *Corporate Communications: An International Journal* 5/1 (2000), p. 51.

tion easily transfers to the concept of brand identity if the word 'corporate' is substituted by 'brand', and offers some insight into the complexities of being able to successfully navigate a brand towards success and longevity. The late Wally Ollins passionately believed that a brand's identity must be 'visible, tangible and all- embracing', because it can articulate a brand's *raison d'être* to its various audiences, including staff and consumers.[16] If this is achieved, audiences will understand and relate to the brand more easily. Melewar and Saunders see this as an imperative if a brand is to be successful and they argue that corporate visual identity can enhance reputation and goodwill, thus persuading customers to 'buy the company.'[17]

In many instances, consumers have too much choice. Many products and services are similar so their main points of difference are found in the expression of their personalities and values. In support of this, Balmer puts the success of effective management down to the ability of the brand to communicate, differentiate and enhance.[18] The expression of identity is achieved through a combination of names, symbols, logos, colours and communications like advertising and sponsorship, but it should always be remembered that these elements merely identify a brand. Upshaw goes much deeper than this and likens a brand's identity to its core meaning or, as he puts it, 'its strategic DNA'.[19] A key component of its DNA is a brand's personality that tends to be constructed on emotion.[20] Therefore, custodians of the brand should be adept at bringing emotion to their brand (emotion that enables the brand to connect with the target audience) if it is to enjoy longevity and success. Fanning refers to this important task as storytelling, which entails emphasising various aspects of the brand, maintaining core values and telling the brand's story in such a way that it will

16 W. Ollins, *Corporate Identity: Making Business Strategy Visible through Design* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1989), p. 7.

17 T. C. Melewar and J. Saunders, 'Global corporate visual identity systems: using an extended marketing mix', *European Journal of Marketing* 34/5–6 (2000), p. 539.

18 J. M. T. Balmer, 'Corporate Identity, Corporate Branding and Corporate Marketing: Seeing through the Fog', *European Journal of Marketing* 35/3–4 (2001), pp. 248–291.

19 L. B. Upshaw, 'Transferable Truths of Brand Identity', *Design Management Journal* (Winter 1997), p. 9.

20 *Ibid.*

capture and hold the attention of the intended audience.[21] He goes on to state that brand survival depends on whether or not it can capture the high ground when it comes to values and being relevant to the target audience.

Upshaw identifies a number of transferable truths that can be found in all successful brands.[22] Three of these truths are particularly interesting in the context of this chapter and they are that successful brand managers should understand their customers' lives (this understanding enables them to construct brand stories that will resonate and generate real interest); successful brands provide stability in turbulent times (this makes sense because in times of uncertainty, consumers turn to those that they can trust and derive comfort from); and very importantly, brands with strong personalities create compelling reasons for preference. In order to achieve these 'transferable truths', brand managers must understand the key associations that consumers have with their brand and the way in which their lifestyles fit with it.[23]

Sport is a vehicle that fuels conversations among consumers and this is exploited by many brands. They do this in the knowledge that consumers 'consume meanings and not just functions'.[24] Rather than focusing on the product and its features and attributes, stories about brands are crafted around themes that reoccur in national conversations. Brands deploy advertising as a way of starting or joining conversations with their target audiences. Fanning believes that advertising campaigns based on cultural aspects can be instrumental in enabling a brand to stand out and strike a more intimate chord with the consumer.[25] He asserts that 'the best advertising is not only "creative" – in whatever way we choose to define that

21 J. Fanning, 'Tell Me a Story: The Future of Branding', *Irish Marketing Review* 12/2 (1999), pp. 3–15.

22 Upshaw, 'Transferable Truths of Brand Identity'.

23 K. Waters, 'Dual and Extension Branding: Using Research to Guide Design Decisions and Branding Strategy', *Design Management Journal* (Winter 1997), pp. 26–33.

24 K. Budha, 'Semiotics: A Sign of the Times', *Admap* (February 2012), p. 2 <http://0-www.warc.com.illennium.it-tallaght.ie/Content/PrintViewer.aspx?MasterContentRef=84790a40-9312-44cf-87fb-9e4cc181439e> [Accessed 28 March 2015].

25 Fanning, *The Importance of Being Branded*, p. 230.

sometimes elusive concept – but is advertising which could only have been created for and work within the society in which it originates.' This assertion provides some insight into the reasons why the 'managers' of national and brand identities might intervene to reinforce or accentuate certain personality characteristics shared by the Irish or by consumers who might purchase a particular brand. They achieve this by investing in sponsorship and advertising so that they become inextricably linked to Irish sporting identity, thus creating stronger bonds with their target audiences.

Despite Fanning's compelling argument in favour of localising advertising campaigns, the globalisation debate forms the backdrop to much discussion in the world of advertising. In their quest to deliver efficiencies, global brand managers are under pressure to focus on the similarities between consumers across each of their markets so that they can commission the creation of standard advertisements that will resonate across cultures. For national advertising agencies, Fanning's prediction that globalisation will serve as a rallying call for the preservation of national identity is a more palatable option. If this is true, it is preferable that advertising campaigns based on national insights be created for each individual market. A willingness to do this suggests that some brands still pay homage to variations in national culture and identity and take into consideration the ways that people communicate with each other through language, visual images and music.[26] This scenario contrasts starkly with the spectre of standardisation that would condemn the Irish advertising industry to operate in a regional backwater that merely provides Irish voiceovers for advertisements that have been created in advertising hotspots like London and New York.

Many iconic brands associated with Ireland have Irish values at their core but no longer promote them explicitly.[27] For example, to focus on the provenance of the brand may be a waste of resources when its origin is firmly embedded in the mind of the consumer. Consumers are familiar

26 R. Lawes, 'De-mystifying Semiotics: Some Key Questions Answered', *Market Research Society: Annual Conference, 2002* (2002) <http://0-www.warc.com.millennium.it-tallaght.ie/Content/PrintViewer.aspx?MasterContentRef=eb96b22c-f865-4b83-bfa1-3a4555d66574> [Accessed 19 March 2015].

27 A. Patterson, 'Brand Ireland', *Irish Marketing Review* 20/2 (2009), pp. 89–98.

with the Irish roots of brands like Guinness, so their 'stories' can be crafted around alternative themes. This is not to say that those themes should not have an Irish flavour; instead, they might fit with aspects of identity that are important to the Irish consumer other than country of origin. Even in the early days of Guinness advertising, the focus was not so much on its Irishness but rather its strength and health-giving properties (e.g. *Guinness for strength*, *Guinness is good for you)*. A popular theme in relating brand stories is sport, a theme that provides brand managers with rich subject matter when weaving meaningful stories. In his research on the Irish diaspora in Scotland, Bradley found that sport 'has the capacity to embody, actualise and express a multiplicity of identities – national, cultural, ethnic, religious, social, political, economic and community – in a way few other social manifestations can.'[28] While he focused on football, this premise can be applied to other sports, including rugby. Equally, the concept can be applied to the embodiment of brand identity.

One brand that embraces sport as a way of building brand identity is Guinness. Considering the brewery was founded in the eighteenth century, it is perhaps surprising that it did not launch a proper advertising campaign in Ireland until 1959, thirty years after the first Guinness ad appeared in the United Kingdom. Up until then it did not need to advertise because its product was the clear market leader in Ireland where choice was limited. Two other reasons conspired to make 1959 the right time to start advertising Guinness in Ireland. Firstly, it marked the 200th anniversary of the foundation of the brewery by Arthur Guinness in 1759. Secondly, draught Guinness beer was launched in Ireland and this exciting development had to be shared with Irish beer consumers. From that first ad in Ireland, it did not take long for sport to feature in its Irish advertising campaigns because Guinness identified it as a way of connecting with its consumers. In the 1960s alone, Guinness used rugby, golf, hurling, football, athletics, cycling, tennis, bowls, show jumping, cricket, badminton, boxing, rowing, greyhound and horse racing to position itself firmly in the daily lives of Irish adults. As it transitioned from a scenario where it did not run campaigns

28 J. M. Bradley, 'Sport and the Contestation of Ethnic Identity: Football and Irishness in Scotland', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32/7 (September 2006), p. 1197.

in Ireland, not only did it enthusiastically embrace the power of press and poster advertising to promote its products, it displayed its commitment to Irish life by sponsoring a wide range of activities.

Until the later decades of the twentieth century, many companies treated sponsorship as an ad hoc, reactionary tactic. Several activities and events were sponsored at short notice, often resulting in associations that were inappropriate or meaningless for some brands. However, as more marketing professionals took up senior positions in Irish companies from the 1980s onwards, sponsorship was recognised as a potentially powerful activity with the capability of contributing towards the achievement of long-term strategic goals. Sponsored entities were treated as partners and lengthy commitments were given on either side, thus enabling both parties to plan for the future. In 1995, Guinness embarked on what was to be an eighteen-year sponsorship of the GAA's Hurling Championship. According to Meenaghan, at the outset Guinness identified a number of objectives that it hoped to achieve through this relationship.[29] It wanted to make an emotional connection with loyal Guinness drinkers, as research revealed that there was an overlap between this cohort and GAA supporters. Also, it was keen to forge an association with an entity whose brand values would rub off in a meaningful way on the Guinness brand. Finally, it wanted the sponsorship to provide a 'lifestyle backdrop' that would enable it to start conversations with loyal Guinness drinkers. He cites Broadbent and Cooper's 1987 research that identified a number of Guinness' brand values, including 'masculine, individual, in control and mature.'

These values were highlighted as far back as the 1930s when Guinness launched the iconic series of posters in the United Kingdom aimed at persuading audiences to drink 'Guinness for Strength'.[30] The characters in the 1930s posters were shown in work situations that involved manual labour and included a cleaner rewarding himself with a Guinness having worked on an immense statue of Hercules, a workman carrying a gigantic steel

29 T. Meenaghan, 'From Sponsorship to Marketing Partnership: the Guinness Sponsorship of the GAA All-Ireland Hurling Championship', *Irish Marketing Review* 15/1 (2002), p. 9.

30 J. Davies, *The Book of Guinness Advertising* (Dublin: Guinness Publishing Ltd, 1998).

girder, a lumberjack making light work of felling an enormous tree, and a farmer towing a work horse that sits happily in a cart. The audience is left in little doubt that Guinness represents a masculine, powerful cohort and that consumption of the product will transfer these values to the drinker. Guinness' sponsorship of the Hurling Championship was an Irish-centric move. Admittedly, not all hurling followers are based in Ireland but the overseas fan-base is predominantly made up of a passionate cohort of Irish emigrants and people with Irish roots. Following the exodus of young people after the collapse of the Celtic Tiger this was particularly true, but the main target for Guinness was the more established, mature Guinness drinker.

Thompson argues that mythologies permeate consumer culture and that advertising and mass media draw on them when creating salient stories for their audiences.[31] He alludes to the fact that mythic archetypes are grounded in 'the most fundamental concerns of human experiences such as […] struggles between the weak and the strong.' Maclaran and Stevens contend that today myths are mediated through commercial entities like television, brands and advertising.[32] They present the multifaceted persona of the Celtic man who represents two contrasting sides of Irish masculinity – 'the warrior' (strength, mastery and action) and 'the artist' (sensitivity, sentimentality, emotionality).[33] Perhaps it is the heroism displayed in sporting contests that so often pit the weak against the strong, coupled with the warrior personality inherent in rugby and GAA players that appeal to Guinness. In the 2001 *Free In* TV ad depicting a player taking a free in hurling, the warrior theme could not have been more evident.[34] The urgent music score, the tribal roars of the crowd, the expressions on their faces, all combine to create a warlike scenario where the actions of the hurler are

31 C. Thompson, 'Marketplace Mythology and Discourses of Power', *Journal of Consumer Research* 31 (June 2004), p. 162.

32 P. Maclaran and L. Stevens, 'Magners Man: Irish Cider, Representations of Masculinity and the Burning Celtic Soul', *Irish Marketing Review* 20/2 (2009), pp. 77–88.

33 *Ibid.* p. 85.

34 Guinness Rugby – *Player taking a free in Hurling*, 2007. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZoPM4RwOCW8> [accessed 29 April 2015].

a matter of life or death. As he tees up to hit the most important free of his career, important not only to him but to his tribe, images of Guinness are coursing through his mind, giving him the strength to continue. The warrior side of Irish masculinity is on show for all to see and his reward for a job well done is the adulation of his fellow county men played out in a pub where the drink of choice is, of course, Guinness. The advertisement signs off with the word 'Believe', but the message throughout harks back to the early days of its advertising when the company tried to convince its audience of the proposition 'Guinness for strength'. However, the product is portrayed by sporting titans rather than working-class heroes. In 2013, Guinness brought an end to its eighteen-year sponsorship of the All-Ireland Hurling Championship but it remains a 'Proud Partner' of the GAA and Croke Park.[35] Eighteen years is a long time to sponsor a sporting organisation so while remaining one of the GAA's partners, attention has turned to rugby, which affords Guinness the opportunity to build relationships with consumers in other countries including England, Scotland and Wales.

In naming the advertisements in its 2014/15 series that coincided with the Autumn rugby international campaigns and the Six Nations Championship, the titles of three of the four advertisements encapsulate the spirit of triumph over adversity – *David and Goliath*, *Mind over Matter* and *Irrepressible Spirit*. Despite its less overt title, the *Merci* ad follows a similar theme. All aim to evoke an emotional and nationalistic response and, in doing so, the Guinness brand finds itself closely aligned to these feelings, thus strengthening its personality. Whereas before, Guinness advertisements associated with sport depicted the warrior, this series marks a subtle transition that picks up on some of the characteristics inherent in the artist. Diageo explains that the advertisements focused on 'inner qualities like humility, dedication, self-belief and irrepressible spirit.'[36] The warrior

35 Setanta Sports, 'Guinness step aside as hurling sponsor', 3 May 2013 <http://www.setanta.com/ie/guinness-steps-aside-as-hurling-sponsor/> [Accessed 1 April 2015].

36 Diageo (no date), 'Guinness celebrates integrity and character in rugby' <http://post.brandsofdiageo.com/public/read_message.jsp;jsessionid=0;apw60?sigreq=-960818402> [Accessed 19 March 2015].

character is not ignored since the strength of the main protagonists in the advertisements is indisputable.

David and Goliath[37]

> One team dominates the game of rugby – the All Blacks. Rivals surrender before a ball is even kicked.
>
> 'And that's your fate today,' the Munster team was told.
>
> But none of them listened, not even their smallest player. With a single tackle, he stopped Goliath – dead. And every Irish man grew twelve feet taller.

The commentator can be heard saying: 'It's over. Munster have won. History has been made.'

In conclusion, the following text appears:

> 31 October 1978
> The day fifteen brave Munster men beat the unbeatable.

The title of the ad and the closing text perpetuate the mythical qualities that the victory has assumed. The further back in time it recedes, the less willing rugby fans and commentators are to assign the match to a rarely mentioned place in history. Guinness exploits the reverential status of that memorable day and reawakens the pride and euphoria that ensued. The entire nation gets behind the provincial team and acknowledges their achievement, a team of warriors not afraid to exhibit emotion and what the win means to them. The black and white footage adds to the atmosphere and places the victory in a historical context.

37 Guinness Rugby – *David and Goliath*, 2014 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CyNWKsuchaU> [accessed 21 April 2015].

Irrepressible Spirit[38]

In reaching out to a Scottish audience, Guinness tells the story of Bill McLaren in *Irrepressible Spirit*, a man who, despite the disappointments brought about by chronic health problems, refused to be beaten. The text of the advertisement tells his story in an engaging and emotional way:

> To be told you have tuberculosis, you'll never play rugby again on the eve of playing for your country would break most people. But not Bill McLaren. He started commentating on the hospital ping pong 'to make others smile,' he said. And in doing so, found his way back to the game he loved.

The advertisement is interspersed with McLaren's instantly recognisable voice, a voice that was inextricably linked with rugby commentary on the BBC. In another nod to our fascination with the struggles of the weak, the advertisement signs off with a poignant piece of copywriting:

> Bill McLaren
> The irrepressible voice of rugby
> And ping pong.

Surely McLaren is at the same time a warrior and an artist, someone whose fighting qualities sit comfortably with his talent for words, words which captured the spirit of rugby matches – and of course, ping pong!

Mind over Matter[39]

> Strength, size, power, these are the things a man needs to play rugby. 'And you have none of these Williams,' they said. But they were wrong. It was the size of his heart, the power of his ambition, the strength of his character.

38 Guinness Rugby – *Irrepressible spirit*, 2014 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OgpMyuILYFg> [accessed 21 April 2015].

39 Guinness Rugby – *Mind over matter*, 2014 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z4MpaUdd2Ec> [accessed 21 April 2015].

As if to emphasise his achievements, the advertisement signs off:

> Shane Williams
> Eighty-seven caps, fifty-eight tries
> And too small to play rugby.

Another ode to triumph over adversity, this advertisement recognises the immense strength of character that has made Shane Williams such an icon of Welsh rugby. The copy is crafted so as to accentuate Guinness's values, and bring them to life by relating them to a person who embodies masculinity, control and maturity. He is clearly a warrior but in referring to the 'size of his heart', emotion and sentimentality are introduced to give this Warrior a softer side.

Merci[40]

The emotive script of *Merci* pays tribute to the injury-ravaged Jonny Wilkinson who bravely put his body on the line for French club, Toulon. This was to be his swansong and despite his English nationality, he conquered the French.

> He arrived in Toulon – his body a little broken.
> Because of his injuries, everyone had their doubts.
> But he was dedicated, body and soul.
> Humility, courage, solidarity – he was a gentleman.

The advertisement finishes:

> Jonny Wilkinson
> Humble hero, loved by the English
> Adored by the French.

40 Guinness Rugby – *Merci*, 2014 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mjMh07lsb2s> [accessed 21 April 2015].

While Wilkinson remains one of England's most loved and revered sportsmen, Guinness opts to use his time at French club, Toulon, as the backdrop to the narrative. The script is narrated in French and translated by way of subtitles, so it is conceivable that the advertisement is capable of eliciting an emotional response from English and French audiences, although strict French laws relating to the advertising of alcohol prohibit the ad from being broadcast on television in France. Having served his country so well and been instrumental in helping England secure a World Cup victory, the English feel that they 'own' Wilkinson. At the same time, it is clear that he also held a special place in the hearts of Toulon supporters when he played out his final years as a rugby professional at the club. Interestingly, the main focal points in *David and Goliath* and *Merci* are local rather than national. Both Munster and Toulon are provincial teams that enjoy the passionate support of their fans. Equally, fans of opposing sides harbour a deep-rooted dislike of the teams. However, the narrative in both advertisements transcends tribal loathing and the emotional copy rises above inter-cultural rivalries.

All four advertisements close with the following words:

> Guinness made of more
> Proud partner of Home Nations Rugby.

While the tagline might be interpreted as being about the product itself and its attributes (for example, taste, quality and possibly even value), the real meaning goes beyond the rational. Supported by the content of the advertisements, the *Guinness Made of More* sign-off creates an emotional connection with its audience by using real stories of triumph over adversity to evoke a passionate response and start conversations.

Some of the most memorable advertisements ever made were based on ideas that were communicated across a series of ads, sometimes spanning months, years or even decades. When such ideas are hatched, they not only lessen the need to return to the drawing board whenever an ad is required, but the brand's personality is also strengthened and stands out from the crowd. Public reaction to the Guinness *Made of More* campaign was very positive and a further series of ads was created to coincide with the 2015 Rugby World Cup. Themes of isolation, fear and inner turmoil are evoked

in *The Right Path* and *Never Alone*. In *The Right Path*, Ashwin Willemse, the Springbok rugby player, recounts how his life might have taken a very different path had he not been given a lifeline by the game of rugby.[41] The other path required him to be part of a criminal gang, a path that would most likely have led to prison or even death. While imagery of both possibilities is pieced together, Willemse's voiceover recounts his struggles:

> In my life, I had to choose between two teams.
> One had all the power.
> They told me what to do.
> They told me who to be.
> But in my time of need, they were gone.
> The other was always there for me.
> They gave me strength, they carried me forward.
> Together we showed the world who I could be.

The advertisement draws to a close:

> Ashwin Willemse
> Born into a gang.
> Grew into a Springbok.

The Springbok team gives Willemse strength, a word that is evocative of the early advertising that declares 'Guinness for strength'.

In *Never Alone*, Gareth Thomas lays bare his emotions when he recounts the turmoil that he went through when garnering the courage to tell his teammates and the public of his sexuality.[42] He excelled in a sport defined by its masculinity and toughness, one that struggles to accept difference, in particular difference in sexual orientation. He recounts his struggles, both physical and emotional:

> Every impact, every rib cracked, every bone broken – that was nothing compared to the demons tearing me apart.

41 Guinness Rugby – *The right path*, 2015 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xHqa-ajnboQ> [accessed 13 September 2015].

42 Guinness Rugby – *Never alone*, 2015 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rBOTKSQ89M8> [accessed 13 September 2015].

> In my darkest hour, I turned to my teammates. Telling them I was gay – that was the toughest thing I've ever done.
> But when I needed them the most, they were there for me.

The advertisement concludes with an empathetic piece of copy:

> Gareth Thomas
> Thought he was alone
> Always part of a team.

Never Alone foregrounds the 'artist' as depicted in Maclaren and Stevens[43] by showcasing Thomas's sensitivity and emotion, but his warrior side comes through because without strength, he might not have had the courage to come out to his team mates, his family and friends and the public. In *The Right Path*, Willemse's depiction as a warrior is unmistakeable – his strength to turn his back on a criminal lifestyle, characterised by fear and lack of control over his actions, is depicted. By doing this, he turns to a sporting lifestyle that is characterised by comradery and action. Nevertheless, the emotion of the artist is never far away as he travels on this journey of redemption.

It is interesting to observe the evolution of this 2014/15 campaign. All of the ads transcend sport and pick up on the inner struggles facing sports heroes on a daily basis. Audiences can relate to and empathise with their heroes and, in turn, it is hoped that they will transfer these feelings to Guinness. However, in *The Right Path* and *Never Alone*, as well as tapping into the audience's passion for rugby, Guinness captures the zeitgeist by bringing to the fore subjects of societal significance – homosexuality in the macho world of men's rugby, and the prevalence of gang culture among young men.

This approach is not without its critics, as articulated by Keith Duggan in *The Irish Times*: 'Guinness holds a peculiar place in Irish culture: part cliché, part cultural institution [.....] but [....] the manipulation shines through here. These stories are too real and important to be used in what is, when stripped down, just another advert for booze.'[44] In fact, perhaps

43 Maclaran and Stevens, 'Magners Man'.

44 K. Duggan, 'Guinness's Co-opting of Real-Life Heroism Risks Leaving Bitter Taste', *The Irish Times*, 12 September 2015.

it is Duggan's claim that Guinness is part cultural institution that makes the brand so well placed to reach out to the tormenter and the tormented. In a society where the written word has been replaced by the screen image for many younger drinkers, and in which content is shared and amplified across social media, determination by Guinness to make a difference (and not just to its bottom line) and start a conversation is an attribute of this multi-faceted campaign.

When the brave and determined Munster team recorded its historic win against the mighty All Blacks in 1978, little did the players know that memories of their victory would be relived and revered in the twenty-first century. In an era when only amateurs played rugby, the encounter transformed ordinary sportsmen into warriors, and their tribe was given hope that miracles do happen, that the mighty can be slain by the minnows. Arthur Guinness was a man of humble beginnings, and when he first started brewing beer in Leixlip, Co. Kildare in the 1750s, he, too, was a minnow. His commitment to a 9,000-year lease on the brewery in James's Street in 1759 underlined an immense belief in himself and in his successors. It is this drive to succeed, regardless of the challenges, that epitomises the Guinness brand, thus making it a firm favourite, not just in Ireland but also on the global stage. Due to their struggles and ultimate triumphs, Munster, Jonny Wilkinson, Bill McLaren, Shane Williams, Gareth Thomas and Ashwin Willemse have all secured their places in history. Guinness recognised their iconic status and interesting back-stories, and knew exactly what it was doing when it chose to build an advertising campaign around them. The fighting spirit and emotional intelligence of each makes them ideally suited to bring the Guinness brand to life. Their struggles and achievements are metaphors that give meaning to the brand's values (as identified earlier in this chapter) – masculine, individual, in control and mature. Obviously, the role of this chapter is not to judge Guinness's motivation but to appraise whether or not the ads work. In my opinion, they certainly do work and this is primarily attributable to the fact that they succeed in telling stories that people can relate to.

Julien Guillaumond

17 Marketing Irishness Today: A Study on Authenticity in French Businesses

Abstract

The years of the Celtic Tiger coincided with a wider diffusion abroad of Irish culture and products, one particular example being Irish pubs flourishing in many cities across Europe and in the world, leading some commentators to identify a globalised Irish identity. Originating in a ten-week seminar on 'marketing Ireland' with research conducted by a group of graduate students, this chapter examines representations of Irish identity and *Irishness* adopted in the marketing and communication strategies of several businesses in France through the concept of authenticity. Two Irish pubs and one business selling Irish products in Clermont-Ferrand are examined, in conjunction with the marketing strategies of other relevant websites (e.g. the Irish Tourist Information website), to demonstrate how Ireland and Irishness are consumed and sold in France. Questions on branding Ireland for businesses in France together with the importance of changing/unchanging images of Ireland and Irishness for French people will also be examined. As such, this chapter is part of a project exploring how the economic crisis has impacted on Irish identity abroad.

In April 2015, I met with two Irish students on their Erasmus exchange semester in Clermont-Ferrand and asked them whether they had any experience of the Irish pubs in the city.[1] They quickly replied that such pubs were

1 In this chapter, 'Irish pubs' will refer to the French expression *pubs irlandais*. Readers should note that the expression does not posit a link between customers and their nationality. Suffice it to mention here the similitudes that exist, with the distinction that McGovern (2002, p. 95) draws between 'Irish pubs' and 'Irish themed bars', the former being Irish in the sense that they provide a focal point for many Irish people in Britain, thus referring to its customers' origins, while the latter only refers to those licensed premises created recently which have adopted certain marketing and design strategies to suggest an Irish environment. See: M. McGovern, 'The Craic Market: Irish Theme Bars and the Commodification of Irish Identity in Contemporary British Society', *Irish Journal of Sociology* 11/2 (2002), pp. 77–98.

not genuine and could not be called Irish pubs. An Irish pub, they went on, could only be Irish if the owner or the manager was an Irish national or if, they conceded, at least one of the staff was Irish. They also both agreed that they expected to get something from home in an Irish pub while being in Clermont-Ferrand, somewhat echoing the original social functions of pubs for Irish emigrants abroad. Listening to Irish music – contemporary Irish music or Irish folklore – was also an essential criterion, as were the drinks served on the premises. Indeed, for one pub in particular, both were adamant that the cider was not Irish at all: 'The cider is not Irish. It is sold as an Irish drink, Millers, that's the name, but a true Irish cider is Bulmers'.[2]

If some Irish students could assert that an Irish pub in France was not genuinely Irish *per se*, in spite of the owner's efforts, why are these *pubs irlandais* popular? Also, why are businesses in France playing the 'Irish card' at all? What makes these businesses truly authentic for French people and why? Consequently, as Slater rightly contends, if the Irish pub is a 're-created space for the consumption of goods',[3] what type of authenticity is being conveyed, and what are the main characteristics of Irish culture presented to French customers and used to define it? Ireland's self-confidence reached its peak during the Celtic Tiger era as Irish pubs spread around the world,[4] but have recent changes in Ireland's economic fortunes had consequences on how businesses market Ireland and Irishness in France? Muñoz, Wood and Solomon have argued that 'Irish pubs allow consumers to be immersed into Irish culture, past and present'.[5] If that is so, do we have more of the past or more of the present in the *pubs irlandais* in France?

2 Bulmers is the leading cider in Ireland, part of C & C Group. Magners is the international equivalent, produced by the same company; Millers is the American brand. <http://www.candcgroupplc.com/about> [Accessed 11 May 2015].

3 E. Slater, 'When the Local Goes Global', in E. Slater and M. Peillon (eds), *Memories of the Present. A Sociological Chronicle, 1997–1998* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 2000), p. 247.

4 M. Carter, 'The miracle of St Patrick', *The Independent*, 17 March 1997.

5 C. L. Muñoz, N. T. Wood and M. R. Solomon, 'Real or Blarney? A Cross-Cultural Investigation of the Perceived Authenticity of Irish Pubs', *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 5/3 (2006), p. 223.

The Authenticity Concept and Businesses Selling Ireland and Irishness in France

Authenticity has become a most-valuable marketing concept, part of a strategy to differentiate one business from another, particularly with the rise of themed restaurants and pubs in the 1990s. Even so, hardly any work has been conducted on businesses selling Irish products in France. Such an apparent lack of research is likely related to the difficulties associated with the multiple dimensions of the concept of authenticity. It may also be due to the image French people and consumers have of Ireland.

One of the first difficulties encountered is the process of negotiation between two cultures and the outcome thereof. Lu and Fine have referred to the negotiation between an 'ethnic culture' and a 'host culture', and the necessary adjustments made to suit the host culture's tastes.[6] Their research concerning the adaptation of Chinese cuisine for the US market in a given area is certainly relevant for a business selling Irish culture embedded in its products.

A second aspect lies in the intrinsic value of the concept itself as it relates to the subjectivity of the consumer. Successful marketing depends on reaching and predicting customers' points of view, which is directly underpinned by understanding their knowledge of Ireland, and their expectations as to what they would like (or hope) to find in a business selling Irish products. O'Mahony, Binney and Hall have rightly pointed to a paradox pertaining to any analysis of authenticity as there is a gap between what one expects to find in a pub based on one's experience of pubs in Ireland, and what one could expect without any previous experience of pubs at all, thus 'expressing their perceptions of what an authentic Irish pub *might* [sic] be like'.[7] At the same time, customers are also influenced by the pub itself and its interior decoration.

6 S. Lu and G. A. Fine, 'The Presentation of Ethnic Authenticity: Chinese Food as a Social Accomplishment', *Sociological Quarterly* 36/3 (1995), pp. 538 and 543.

7 B. O'Mahony, W. Binney and J. Hall, 'Irish Theme Pubs. An Evaluation of Environmental Cues', in C. Coopers, C. Arcodia, D. Solnet and M. Whitford (eds),

The actual environment has thus been singled out as an element demonstrating authenticity in a business, and that is particularly true for Irish pubs. O'Mahony, Binney and Hall have referred to those 'environmental cues' which play a large part in influencing customers of these pubs: the store layout, and the internal environment and display of products in the shop, all influence 'consumer evaluations and behaviours'.[8] These elements strongly influence consumers' experience and therefore play a role in the store's turnover.[9] The wholistic but inanimate environment, including the display of artefacts and memorabilia that demonstrate or are related to elements of Irish culture and/or history, is important for customer satisfaction and experience, as is music of an identifiably Irish nature. Irish staff also seem to be a prerequisite, thus bringing an extra layer of authenticity to the experience.[10] All these environmental aspects point to the strong association that Knowles and Howley have underlined between 'the continual use of Irish symbols, formats and themes' and the image which has become part of the Irish pub branding strategy.[11] Indeed, the deliberate business strategy that has been implemented creates, through the general design and 'the selection and placement of cultural artefacts' such as photos, beverage merchandising or instruments, a 'realistic set'[12] which allows customers to enter the world of Irish and Celtic culture.

Molloy and McGovern, among others, have argued that Irish themed pubs became very popular from the early 1990s on[13] – the concept being

Creating Tourism Knowledge. A Selection of Papers from CAUTHE 2004 (Altona Vic, Australia: Common Ground Publishing Pty Ltd, 2014), p. 162.

8 *Ibid.* p. 157.

9 B. Grantham, 'Craic in a box: Commodifying and exporting the Irish pub', *Continuum* 23/2 (2009), p. 258.

10 O'Mahony et al., 'Irish Theme Pubs. An Evaluation of Environmental Cues', p. 163.

11 T. Knowles and M. J. Howley, 'Branding in the UK Public House Sector: Recent Developments', *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management* 12/6 (2000), p. 368.

12 Muñoz et al., 'Real or Blarney?', p. 224.

13 C. Molloy, *The Story of the Irish Pub: An Intoxicating History of the Licensed Trade in Ireland* (Dublin: Liffey Press, 2002), p. 82.

exported internationally – as Irish culture and 'all things Irish' were growing in popularity.[14] The trend has become so fashionable and profitable – with Irish brewing companies eager to expand their business abroad[15] – that even pubs in the early 2000s in Dublin, Belfast and Cork were given the 'theme treatment', thus causing 'real' Irish pubs' to be displaced by 'replica 'Irish' pubs.[16] 'Exporting the 'ambience' of the Irish bar', McGovern notes, 'became the means to increase the volume consumption of Irish alcoholic products'.[17] It has also been argued that the Irish Pub Company discourse during the 2000s on their promotional website was to associate authenticity with success, with authenticity being claimed as the distinct competitive advantage.[18] It has been shown in studies on pubs in the UK that branding as an Irish pub has a positive impact on turnover, such pubs tending to be more profitable than other styles of pubs across the UK.[19]

While Irish pubs as a concept seem to be either on the rise, or at least still presenting good prospects for success, the opposite is true in Ireland as the number of pubs is falling and pub culture as a whole is not as buoyant as it once was. In 2012, stressing the decline of public houses in Ireland, Bramhill suggested that while pubs are opening abroad at a rate of one every

14 Slater, 'When the Local Goes Global', p. 247.

15 McGovern, 'The Craic Market', pp. 82–83; R. Runyan, 'Where's the Real Craic?: a Resource-Based View of Authenticity in Irish Pubs', *Journal of Business and Retail Management Research* 3/2 (2009), p. 48. See, for instance, the description of the IPC: 'The Irish Pub Company was established in 1990 as the original creators of the authentic Irish Pub Concept. [...] The Irish Pub Company were appointed by Guinness as their sole Irish pub concept designer and created the concepts that have become a global phenomenon. [...]', Irish Pub Company website: <http://irishpub-company.com/> [Accessed 19 May 2015].

16 S. Brown and A. Patterson, 'Knick-Knack Paddy-Whack, Give a Pub a Theme', *Social Science Research Network* (2000), p. 648 <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2003477> [Accessed 11 December 2014].

17 M. McGovern, '"The cracked pint glass of the servant": The Irish pub, Irish identity and the tourist eye', in M. Cronin and B. O'Connor (eds), *Irish Tourism: Image, Culture and Identity* (Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications, 2003), p. 89.

18 Runyan, 'Where's the Real Craic?', p. 47; C. K. Lego, N. T. Wood, S. L. McFee and M. R. Solomon, 'A Thirst for the Real in Themed Retail Environments: Consuming Authenticity in Irish Pubs', *Journal of Foodservice Business Research* 5/2 (2002), pp. 61–74.

19 Knowles and Howley, 'Branding in the UK Public House Sector', p. 367; McGovern, 'The Craic Market', p. 85.

three days, more than 1,500 have closed in Ireland over the past five years.[20] Pub culture in Ireland appears to be in decline as Irish people tend to drink more at home,[21] but also because pubs seem to be out of date, unfashionable and, even more surprisingly, unwelcoming for some people in Ireland.[22] The economic recession has also had an impact in accelerating this trend, with factors such as health campaigns targeting alcohol consumption and drink-driving, as well as the ban on smoking, also playing their part. For some people in Ireland, pubs have become big profit-making machines,[23] thus marking a rejection or a loss of the pub's historical ethic as a place of hospitality and celebration.

Images of Ireland abroad do add another layer of complexity to the concept of authenticity examined here. Brown and Patterson have rightly noted that 'Ireland's reputation as a friendly, forthcoming, fond-of-drink nation, where celebration, conviviality and the *craic*[24] come first, is proving eminently exportable'.[25] One study of images of Ireland held by French visitors to the country suggested that the key images of Ireland remain welcoming people, beautiful scenery and the relaxed pace of life.[26] The grail in tourism marketing is for countries to differentiate themselves from others. O'Connor has pointed to the depiction of Ireland as a place 'of picturesque scenery and unspoiled beauty, of friendly and quaint people, a place which is steeped in past traditions and ways of life. In short, it is

20 N. Bramhill, 'Easier to Find Irish Pub Abroad than at Home as Demand Grows', *Irish Examiner*, 14 January 2012.

21 P. Cullen, 'The Pub Loses its Pulling Power', *The Irish Times*, 18 February 2012; C. Pope, 'Is Alcohol too Cheap?', *The Irish Times*, 18 October 2010.

22 G. C. Buckley and A. Wright, 'The Domestic Death of a Global Icon? A Situational Analysis of the Irish Public House', *Journal of Social Science for Policy Implications* 2/1 (2014), pp. 85–99.

23 *Idem.* p. 95.

24 Borrowed from the English 'crack' into Irish usage and then spelled with Irish morphology, the word refers to a good time and/or a friendly and enjoyable talk.

25 Brown and Patterson, 'Knick-Knack Paddy-Whack, Give a Pub a Theme', p. 652.

26 S. O'Leary and J. Deegan, 'People, Pace, Place: Qualitative and Quantitative Images of Ireland as a Tourism Destination in France', *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 9/3 (2003), p. 214.

represented as a pre-modern society',[27] something unchanged, unspoiled,[28] and full of mysticism.[29] To that must be added the hospitable, friendly and welcoming character of Irish people, all present in tourist publicity and among the main elements when asking people about Ireland. Green and picturesque countryside is the final key image for French people. This is quite similar to what O'Leary and Deegan have found, emphasising that in recent decades, 'the core elements of Ireland's appeal as a tourism destination [forming] the basis of *Bord Fáilte*'s promotional approach for over 40 years were summarised […] as being 'people, pace and place'.[30] These images or conceptions of Ireland do correspond to some extent to what tourists expect when they go to Ireland: scenery and people, living culture and the Guinness connection (plus the weather) were the most prominent associations made by French tourists in the study.[31]

Pubs remain important nodes for Ireland's tourism strategy since a new initiative was launched recently to support a platform of Irish pubs around the globe, connecting 6,500 Irish pubs and Irish suppliers. Once again, the initiative has both commercial and tourist objectives as these pubs can promote Ireland and be a source of business, as the list of sponsors for the initiative shows.[32] For the purpose of this study, two pubs advertising themselves as Irish pubs in Clermont-Ferrand and one retail shop, part of

27 B. O'Connor, 'Myths and Mirrors: Tourist Images and National Identity', in B. O'Connor and M. Cronin (eds), *Tourism in Ireland: A Critical Analysis* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1993), p. 70.

28 B. Quinn, 'Images of Ireland in Europe: a Tourism Perspective', in U. Kochel (ed.), *Culture, Tourism and Development. The Case of Ireland* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), pp. 61–73.

29 G. Neville, 'The Commodification of Irish Culture in France and Beyond', in E. Maher and E. O'Brien (eds), *La France face à la Mondialisation / France and the Struggle against Globalization* (Lewiston, ME: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007), pp. 143–156.

30 O'Leary and Deegan, 'People, Pace, Place', p. 217.

31 *Ibid.* p. 218; such elements were confirmed when an informal survey was done on students' ideas about Ireland.

32 *Irish Pubs Global*, 'Irish government to connect to diaspora through its pubs', *The Irish World*, 31 January 2015.

the *Comptoir Irlandais* chain store, were selected,[33] and we looked at representations of Irish identity and Irishness adopted in the marketing and communication strategies of these businesses.

Kerry's Pub

Located slightly outside Clermont city centre, Kerry's Pub opened thirteen years ago and is a good example of negotiation between two cultures stretched to the limit. From the outside, it doesn't really look like a pub, save for the extra terrace opened for lunch time during the summer. And yet, walking through the first set of doors takes the customer into a different era as the outside glass building truly surrounds an inside atmosphere modelled on an old Irish pub, or so it seems at first glance. Curious customers can then gaze at the amazing display of objects that were provided by the French architect of the project, who 'did the whole thing'.[34] The designer looked for old memorabilia and delivered a ready-to-use pub. Upon closer examination, the full display of memorabilia is almost overwhelming, but it does contribute to the overall *décor*.

Why would customers go to Kerry's Pub ? The manager explained that patrons come first for the ambience and atmosphere (*l'ambiance*) with all-evening parties from Thursdays on. They do come for the food and beer, of course, but also for the *décor*.[35] However, the word 'Irish' has an extra

33 The first pub is located in the city centre together with the *Comptoir Irlandais* retail store, the other pub in an industrial area close to many shops and companies. Based on literature reviews and on-field research with interviews conducted with managers/owners when available, and staff and customers whenever possible, the results presented here are tentative and need further research.

34 All quotes are from on the spot interviews, unless otherwise stated.

35 See the following extract from the website : 'Le Kerry's Pub c'est l'ambiance des pubs irlandais pour une sortie réussie à Clermont. L'assurance de soirées réussies avec concerts tous les jeudi[s], et soirées à thème tous les vendredi[s]. Retransmission du rugby et de tous les évènements sportifs comme la coupe du monde de foot sur grand écran en Full HD. C'est aussi un restaurant de 150 places qui vous accueille du lundi

value since it allows a form of distinction or differentiation from a French *brasserie*. There is a large selection of beers on offer including, Guinness of course, a genuine 'Irish' stout, and others. As in Ireland, drinks are not served by the staff; customers go directly to the bar to order.

Such apparent authenticity quickly falls apart upon a close examination of the display of photographs and various signs. In one corner upstairs, a note in French on a small black board – *Ici Comme à Clifden*, *Service au Comptoir* bearing a small shamrock (Figure 17.1) – reminds customers to go to the bar to be served, evoking traditional pub culture and manners. Even though the idea seems here to strengthen the link with Ireland while evoking the county and, hence, the name of the pub, Clifden ironically is not in Co. Kerry. Patrons are thus led to believe they are experiencing a part of Irish life, they are in Ireland and have to act like the Irish (although the word *comptoir* is very much a reference to the French café).

Quotations on the walls are there to create a warm environment, a friendly kind of place: 'Here there are no strangers, only friends you haven't met yet.' Sociability and conviviality are constructed as part of what McGovern has termed a 'stage' Irish, a 'constructed' Irishness considered to be the epitome of Irish people'.[36] However, there is a stark contrast with the *plat du jour* notice and the advertising sign outside on the main thoroughfare (Figure 17.2).

The music is not Irish at all, and the food is more like a *brasserie* type of food. Customers eager to discover Irish food can opt for an Irish stew with Guinness … or nothing, because 'they don't have that many specialities there'. The Irish stew is an Irish recipe, the manager agreed, but 'we don't use lamb, people don't like it, we use beef instead. We have made some adjustments to suit our customers' tastes.' There's a small basket of

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au dimanche, plat du jour à 9,50 euros, formules, carte de qualité qui vous change des grandes chaînes' [Come to Kerry's Pub for an Irish pub atmosphere and a good night out in Clermont. We have great concert nights on Thursdays and theme nights on Fridays. You can watch the rugby and all the major sports events like the football World Cup on a full HD big screen TV. Visit our 150-seater restaurant which is open every day: dish of the day at 9.50€, menus, and quality dishes à la carte, which makes a change from pub chains] : <http://www.kerryspub.com/> [Accessed 12 May 2015].

36 McGovern, '"The Cracked Pint Glass of the Servant": The Irish Pub, Irish Identity and the Tourist Eye'.

Figure 17.1: *Service au comptoir* (service at the bar), Kerry's Pub.

Figure 17.2: Kerry's Pub.

bread which comes with the club sandwich, chips and cheese sauce from the Auvergne region. When the manager was asked if he had ever been to Ireland he said he had not, and he does not speak English either. It is rather comical to find another quote, attributed to George Bernard Shaw, painted in white on a second wall: 'An Irishman's heart is nothing but his imagination'.[37] This quote could be taken to suggest that Kerry's Pub is nothing but an imagined Ireland, or at least that all the objects are placed there to let customers imagine their own Ireland, leading them to a vision of an unchanging Ireland. Will the next pub negotiate differently between the two cultures?

37 G. B. Shaw, *John Bull's Other Island* (UK: Echo Library, 2006 [1904]), p.23.

The Still Irish Bar

Located in the city centre, *The Still Irish Bar* has operated in Clermont-Ferrand for thirteen years.[38] As one of its owners and founders said, the pub was built from scratch in a place which initially housed a small *café/bar* that they bought and refurbished. The interior was built by an Anglo-Irish company that worked on the overall design, bringing materials, the furniture and a whole array of memorabilia from Ireland. Unlike Kerry's Pub, the two owners seemed to be deeply committed to creating an authentic Irish pub independently, as they did not want to be franchisees of another company. Before opening their own business they visited Beamish and other pubs with their drink distributor, Kronenbourg, and then designed their pub to resemble as closely as possible what they had seen in Ireland.

In choosing the style of the design they opted for something 'with wood, something rich, comfortable, something classic as well', something which could be defined as a *pub de ville*. The interior was chosen mainly to match the architecture of the place, the vaulted room upstairs and with respect to the city centre location. Extra materials were added to the initial interior design when one of the pub owners went to Ireland the following year, touring the country to see more pubs in rural areas and bring back extra materials, as the pub's decor was deemed too 'light' when the business first opened.

This pub seems to have a life of its own: a place that can be enriched by what customers bring back (memorabilia from Ireland, and postcards they send), and yet something that remains atemporal, that is to say apart from the patina that the entire establishment gains as the years pass. The pub owner could be presented as a *connoisseur*, a true businessman, who is managing his business in the balanced context of cultural negotiation, well aware of the place occupied by pubs in Irish history and society, their role in community life and as places of social interaction. For him, customers come

38 The opening line of the homepage on the website: 'Bienvenue au STILL, retrouvez l'ambiance d'un authentique Pub Irlandais à Clermont-Ferrand' (Welcome to the STILL, where you will find the atmosphere of an authentic Irish Pub in Clermont-Ferrand) <http://www.still-pub.com/view/> [Accessed 12 May 2015].

because they are looking for a friendly place, a bit like being at home. They want this specific kind of ambience, to have a drink in a quiet and relaxed atmosphere, but they are not all foreign people. What is created is a mix of several elements: the place, the atmosphere, the products, the staff, that is, an alchemy. The owner acknowledges that his business has striven to be a true representation of Ireland in France in terms of ambience, product as well as programming: the pub offers an Irish music session twice a month, which has been very successful with their customer base.

Coming to the end of the interview, he said: 'we have not talked about the name!' The name refers to two things: the English word 'still' (*un alambique* in French, a reference to whisky stills), and secondly the 'style', a play on words to show they were trying to get as close as possible to the style of an Irish pub;[39] 'bar' was used in preference to 'pub', as the latter seemed to be overused without much reason or meaning. 'At the time', he concluded, 'our aim was to get as close as possible to a pub; that was the challenge'.

Comptoir Irlandais

Also located in the city centre, this retail outlet is part of the *Comptoir Irlandais* chain, and the manager has been there for more than a decade. There are three types of customers. In some ways, it seems that customers come to buy a product but also for a short cultural experience. Some customers enter the shop to explore, with curiosity being their primary motive. Others, who know or have heard of the shop, visit for more concrete motives, that is, because they have been to Ireland and are somewhat nostalgic, possibly because they might want to find products they tried in Ireland. The rest are English-speaking expatriates (students and families) and Celtic culture enthusiasts who are specifically looking for products they need (and cannot find anywhere else) when they cook, or products they

39 'Style' and 'still' are pronounced the same way – 'steel' – by most French speakers, hence the pun.

used when they were living back home. The shop fronts for the *Comptoir* stores differ, and the most recent, at the time of our visit, was explicitly designed to attract customers by reminding them of the facades of Irish pubs, according to the Clermont store manager.

Upon entering the shop, the customer sees a surprising amount of things displayed on the walls and is immersed in music used to create an Irish atmosphere. Indeed, the customer may be taken aback by the *décor*, particularly by what looks like a brick-wall, indicating a true authenticity. However, displaying the products on the wall is a way of signifying to customers that they are for sale (there are, for example, several *bodhran*[40] and a mirror). They also contribute to the ambience, creating that special quality of providing a bit of authenticity that is alienable for the store, a piece of Irishness the customer can not only consume, but also keep. The store manager confirmed that the wallpaper was chosen more to hide imperfections on the walls than to make it truly authentic. However, she did say that the wallpaper made the shop look like a pub, even though she has never been to Ireland herself before.

The products sold in the shop (tea, biscuits, clothes, Celtic jewellery, whiskey) are organised around key areas corresponding to their importance in terms of sales, but also the specificities of the shop; for instance, the whiskey is located close to the cashier to avoid shop-lifting. Even though she has never been to Ireland, the store manager is adamant that the staff have to give a welcoming image, looking totally confident when she quoted a phrase she hears very often: *Mon Dieu, que ces gens sont accueillants* (these people are so welcoming), which can be understood as a reference to the idea of empathy. They are also strongly encouraged to stress the authenticity of the products. This is quite close to the language used by *Comptoir Irlandais* on its commercial website: authenticity and some form of corporate responsibility when dealing with products from outside Ireland.[41]

40 A bodhrán is a shallow Irish drum that is held sideways and played with a short wooden stick.

41 <http://www.comptoir-irlandais.com/fr/content/6-qui-sommes-nous> [Accessed 11 May 2015].

It would appear that Ireland's present economic and social situation is not much discussed, as the shop seems to be selling a static image of Ireland, an Irish letterbox juxtaposed with a tricolour, woollen jumpers and Donegal socks, cans of Guinness, beer glasses and other under-licence products such as crisps, etc … From their investigative foray, the students insisted on a 'warm and welcoming place like the image of Ireland, [seeing] plenty of sheep [even though there were very few of these] and Irish flags all over the shop'. There are not so many, and they might have been influenced by their own perception of Ireland or some of the products that were displayed inside the shop. 'When you enter the shop', students wrote, 'you feel you're in a real Irish shop'. The marketing strategies of the chain are obviously powerful signifiers and effective tools.

Misrepresenting an Authentic Ireland

It has been argued that the interior characteristics of an authentic Irish pub could be described as having 'fireplaces, bar, wooden floor and furniture, dark lighting, the colour green, Irish memorabilia, photographs, beer signage, and simply being [or seeming to be] "old" […]'.[42] These elements are among those found in the three businesses examined in Clermont-Ferrand, and hence perceived as genuine vectors of authenticity by students in the seminar. As students had to take photos of all the elements representing Irish authenticity, many came back with photos of such diverse memorabilia.

Throughout this study, it was hard to strike the right balance between two positions: firstly, as a customer, seduced by the effect of the *décor* and consequently brought to a distant Celtic land for a time, as many students were; secondly, as a researcher with appropriate objectivity and a scientific demeanour. There is no denying that Irishness is used to create a particular atmosphere, probably close to what others have termed 'the

42 Muñoz et al., 'Real or Blarney?', p. 229.

craic' in Irish pubs, and attract more customers. In other words, 'Irish' is something added to get an extra value for a pub, onto which other cultural ideas are crafted such as 'the craic', the drinks and images of life in Ireland. The interior *décor* does the rest, as with the example of Kerry's Pub. However, contrary to what Hearns states in his oft-quoted book on pubs in Ireland, a customer entering a *pub irlandais* or a business selling Irish products around Clermont-Ferrand seems to be more of a *spectator* than a participant,[43] and consumes as such. Slater has argued that in order to 'achieve full authenticity, the sense of Irishness needs to penetrate as many activities and objects as possible in order to create and re-create an Irish identity'.[44] In that sense, the whole interior design and *décor* plays its part to ensure that there is proven authenticity, creating a sense of nostalgia for some, and/or a form of longing for an idealised place.[45] These elements remain part of the marketing strategy chosen by the three businesses examined. A strategy that seems to be relatively successful, regardless of the authenticity of the Irishness on offer.

This study remains exploratory in nature, and our conclusions remain tentative. 'Irishness' is still a marketable concept, but it offers a static version of Irish society, very much in contrast to what Irish society has experienced over the last two decades. In that respect, it seems that what Grace Neville wrote when she stressed the need to develop some new forms of marketing presenting Ireland as a multicultural and multinational society has not been fully considered.[46] This is certainly true with reference to the image of itself that Ireland is offering in France. As cultural and national identities are constructed elements, constructed from the representation which certain people both inside and outside our culture produce for us,[47] these two *pubs irlandais* and the *Comptoir Irlandais* in Clermont-Ferrand play on strengthening the same key images people have of Ireland, old images

43 K. C. Kearns, *Dublin Pub Life and Lore. An Oral History* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1996), p. 28.

44 Slater, 'When the Local Goes Global', p. 249.

45 Slater, 'When the Local Goes Global', p. 251.

46 Neville, 'The Commodification of Irish Culture in France and Beyond', 2007.

47 O'Connor, 'Myths and Mirrors', p. 68.

initially formed in the past from Ireland's almost top-down enforced poverty and lack of industrial and cultural development. This left Ireland as a preindustrial, premodern, unspoiled garden. This Ireland is problematic in that, as we can see, it is very useful for marketing, but it no longer, and indeed may never have existed in this conceptualised fashion. These images are thus contributing to maintaining some distant 'invented tradition'. They remain a good marketable concept as people see them as quite positive and, in some way, they act as a 'form of tourism without travel',[48] particularly in the case of the pubs. However, they reduce Irish culture to a caricature, misrepresenting Irish society as it exists today, and thus misrepresenting an authentic Ireland.

48 McGovern, 'The Craic Market', p. 94.

CORINNE FEÏSS-JEHEL AND PIERRE-JÉRÔME JEHEL

18 Paysages du tourisme irlandais : Une approche par l'image photographique

ABSTRACT

Tourism in Ireland depends essentially on the attraction of its landscapes and their visual representations. Tourist images of such landscapes interact with stereotypes constructed from acquired representations. In approaching the representation of Irish landscapes, we use photography as a means of investigation. This chapter proposes to analyse the tourist images associated with Ireland and to put into images some situations and attitudes revealing new challenges for the Irish landscape. Undoubtedly, in their evolving form, landscapes are becoming tourist landscapes: natural spaces or planned parks and towns. As for museums, these landscapes pose a problem of mediation: How does the visitor access these landscapes? The *Visitor Centre*, *Heritage Centre*, *World Heritage Site* are enclosed landscapes, and, therefore, in some sense they might equate to *Disney landscapes* which prevent us from exploring the authentic evolved scenery in inhabited areas.

Le tourisme en Irlande repose essentiellement sur l'attrait des paysages et de leur représentation. En premier lieu, ce sont les paysages naturels qui sont valorisés pour leur aspect pittoresque ou chatoyant : les falaises abruptes plongeant dans les vagues, les lumières dans l'averse, la verdure des prairies. Visions d'une terre de contraste au caractère sauvage qui sont autant de clichés soutenus par les discours et représentations touristiques. C'est la force du stéréotype que de 'faciliter la communication' par une simplification excessive.[1] Le culturel aussi devient un sujet de voyage. Histoire, géologie, culture populaire sont aujourd'hui sur le même plan et sont destinés à attirer les visiteurs. Les différentes représentations utilisées constituent une forme de *doxa* qui permet certes une lecture aisée de ces paysages (sauvages/culturels) mais en donne une vision réductrice. Le paysage, qu'il

1 P. Mannoni, *Les représentations sociales* (Paris: PUF, 1998), p. 25.

soit naturel, mis en forme (parcs et jardins) ou urbain, semble ne pas avoir à être simplement regardé mais doit faire l'objet d'une expérience.

Après la conformation aux stéréotypes 'ensauvagés', une quête de savoir, un goût pour 'les temps anciens'[2] viennent diriger le cheminement des touristes. A travers les images et les discours touristiques se révèle cette prise en main du visiteur qui cherche à retrouver ces schémas de lecture. Ainsi se constitue une représentation sociale des paysages. Le paysage 'réel', le 'pays' pour reprendre l'expression d'Alain Roger,[3] est ainsi perçu à travers ces représentations. En ce sens, le monde suggéré par les images semble l'emporter sur le monde réel. Nuances et émotions s'effacent au profit d'un répertoire social codifié en stéréotypes.

Le paysage est donc pris ici dans le sens d'un espace sur lequel est projetée une représentation. Le passage du 'pays' au 'paysage' par une forme 'd'artialisation' conceptuelle ou *in situ*[4] franchit encore une étape quand il devient 'paysage touristique'. Il devient façonné par un discours, voire par une intention mercantile.

Les photographies promotionnelles donnent une existence à ces représentations et le touriste semble se voir tenu de retrouver ces images pour capter ses propres photos. La photographie 'touristique' n'ouvre donc pas forcément sur un univers sensible personnel mais sur une identification, une appartenance à un groupe qui est venu à un endroit et qui veut en témoigner par l'image. Les images des touristes créent un discours univoque sur l'espace, en s'introduisant dans un système de sens où elles acquièrent une valeur reconnaissable par tous. Produites en quantité par le groupe, ces images sont autant de parties d'un monde codifié, comme forgé par ces multitudes d'images qui le réitèrent.

Pour parfaire l'organisation des regards sur le terrain, des aménagements viennent accompagner le promeneur et constituent une sorte de muséographie des territoires : cheminement de points de vue en points de vue remarquables, sentiers balisés, audioguides. Comme pour le musée, les paysages posent la question de la pertinence de la médiation. Elle doit

2 J. Baudrillard, *Le système des objets* (Paris: Gallimard, 1968), p. 105.

3 A. Roger, *Court traité du paysage* (Paris : Gallimard, 1997).

4 *Ibid.*

proposer une lecture ou des lectures du paysage sans masquer l'approche sensible. Nous avons choisi quelques sites touristiques significatifs parmi trois grands ensembles : espaces naturels, parcs aménagés, villes de mémoire, dont les paysages, par leur représentation, nous paraissent caractériser l'image touristique de l'Irlande.[5]

Pour approcher ces représentations des paysages irlandais, nous proposons d'utiliser la photographie. Les choix photographiques : cadrage, point de vue, distance, proportion, composition, créent des images qui font sens. Le paysage touristique est montré avec ses acteurs et ses indices : les touristes sont intégrés au cadrage, la signalétique fait partie de la composition, les aménagements deviennent le sujet central. La proposition consiste donc à ne pas voir en l'image photographique seulement une source d'illustration, mais un moyen d'investigation.[6] 'Représentation muette, l'image photographique fait penser'.[7] Nous proposons donc ces photographies comme des objets à penser, qui mettent en images des situations ou des comportements pour révéler les nouveaux enjeux du paysage irlandais.[8] La polarisation entre 'sauvageté' et héritage historique n'affaiblit-elle pas la force de la rencontre avec ces paysages ? Une médiation extrême par un balisage systématique

5 I. Gelsenan Nordin et C. Zamora Llena ont proposé une analyse très complète de l'importance des paysages urbains et ruraux dans l'imaginaire collectif irlandais qui se projettent sur l'image de l'Irlande. Irene Gilsenan Nordin and Carmen Zamorano Llena, 'The urban and the rural in the Irish collective imaginary', in Irene Gilsenan Nordin and Carmen Zamorano Llena (eds), *Urban and Rural Landscapes in Modern Ireland*, Reimagining Ireland (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2012), pp. 1–15.

6 Nous nous référons en ce sens au renouveau de l'approche documentaire en photographie, depuis le courant américain des New Topographics des années 1970. Pour une synthèse sur la question voir : J. Kempf, 'La photographie documentaire contemporaine aux États-Unis', *Transatlantica* 2 (2014) <http://transatlantica.revues.org>/7127> [Consulté le 18 juillet 2016] jusqu'à l'approche engagée de Allan Sekula (voir notamment : *Fish Story* (Düsseldorf : Richter Verlag, 1995)).

7 S. Maresca, *La photographie, un miroir des sciences sociales* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996), p. 241.

8 Nous ne pouvons présenter ici pour des raisons d'espace, la série complète de ces images. Elle est accessible sur le lien suivant : <http://a-m-e-r.com/mots-regards/paysages_du_tourisme_irlandais>.

ne risque-t-elle une muséification ou une vaste métamorphose en parc d'attraction ? Le 'paysage touristique' en Irlande ne conforte-t-il pas les stéréotypes d'un programme marketing efficace ?

Images d'Irlande : un parcours en stéréotypes

Le paysage est perçu instantanément comme une entité : paysage de bord de mer, de tourbière, de montagne, de ville. Il est reconnu. Il apparaît, instantanément, associé à une lecture culturelle. En Irlande, les espaces naturels attirent d'abord le voyageur. Des images y sont immédiatement associées : la côte se doit d'être sauvage et escarpée, les vallons verdoyants et les tourbières dans l'averse émerger au loin de la brume.[9] Les images touristiques fonctionnent en effet d'abord sur le ressort de leurs stéréotypes, construites par des représentations acquises.[10] Les paysages sauvages sont une forme de mythe entretenu autour de l'Irlande.

Dans les années 1970, les services du tourisme irlandais (*Bord Fáilte)* choisissent de jouer à la fois sur des paysages grandioses de 'nature sauvage' et sur les mythes de la société rurale irlandaise.[11] Il s'agit alors de mettre en valeur les régions de l'Ouest qui étaient demeurées à l'écart du développement économique et qui conservent les stigmates de l'émigration depuis le milieu du XIXe siècle. Lorsqu'en mai 1969, le Général de Gaulle décide de séjourner à titre privé en Irlande, les services du *Bord Fáilte* sont ravis de cette publicité soudaine dans la presse internationale et de ce qui se

9 L. Goeldner-Gianella and C. Feïss-Jehel, *Pictorial and Social Representations of the Coastline : the Ties that Bind. D'une rive, l'autre, paysages et scènes des bords de l'eau – Peintres anglais et français au XIXe siècle* (Mauguio: Pure impression, 2013), pp. 62–76.

10 Y. Luginbühl, *La mise en scène du monde. Construction du paysage européen* (Paris : CNRS, 2012).

11 Voir Martin Mac Loone qui souligne que l'identité gaélique est d'abord rurale : M. Mac Loon, *Irish Film: The Emergence of a Contemporary Cinema* (London: British Film Institute, 2000), p. 18.

découvre dans les images publiées : une haute silhouette enveloppée dans un grand imperméable, parcourant les sites ventés du Kerry, arpente la plage de Derrynane, enjambant les flaques d'eaux.[12] L'Irlande apparaissait à la fois comme un pays rude et pluvieux, mais aussi comme un lieu authentique au caractère sauvage, loin des fracas politiques. La fameuse image de la promenade de Charles de Gaulle sur la plage devient alors emblématique de cette image de l'Irlande.

Le développement rapide de l'économie des années 1980 et la mutation vers une société technologique des décennies suivantes ont transformé les 'beaux paysages' aux rudes climats en autant de décors pour des activités de loisirs. L'évolution générale des loisirs qui lui est associée en Europe les a reclassés en *activities and adventure* ('outdoors') et *arts*, *culture and heritage*.

Quelques sites remarquables aux configurations spectaculaires sont les fleurons de ces destinations. Les falaises de Moher 'offrent un spectacle à vous couper le souffle', elles 'plongent à la verticale dans les tréfonds de l'océan déchainé'.[13] Le plateau calcaire du Burren est présenté comme 'un désert de pierre, paysage presque effrayant'[14] qui offre des 'sentiers sauvages [...] surplombant des panoramas inoubliables'.[15] L'Office du tourisme d'Irlande du Nord vante le grand site et la féerie des falaises basaltiques de la Chaussée des Géants qui se déploient sur plus de 30 km. Ici, les voyageurs sont poussés à venir 'admirer la beauté sauvage à l'état pur'.[16] L'Océan déchaîné, la 'férocité des tempêtes atlantiques'[17] sont évoqués pour susciter le dépaysement vers ces côtes sauvages. Le site qui s'étage en marches

12 Certaines de ces images furent présentées à Paris au Centre culturel Irlandais en 2011 sous le titre 'Charles de Gaulle, a quiet holiday' <http://www.centreculturelirlandais.com/agenda/charles-de-gaulle-a-quiet-holiday> [Consulté en juillet 2016].

13 <http://www.guide-irlande.com/sites-touristiques/falaises-de-moher/> [Consulté en juillet 2016].

14 <http://www.terresceltes.net/irlande/burren> [Consulté en juillet 2016].

15 <http://www.guide-irlande.com/sites-touristiques/burren-way/> [Consulté en juillet 2016].

16 <https://www.visitbritainshop.com> [Consulté en juillet 2016].

17 À propos de la côte de la Chaussée des Géants, 'a natural rampart against the unbridled ferocity of Atlantic storms' <http://www.giantscausewayofficialguide.com/> [Consulté en juillet 2016].

prismatiques vers la mer, tel un immense amphithéâtre, attire plus d'un demi-million de visiteurs par an. Le caractère sauvage de ces terres est renforcé, voire validé, par des photographies contrastées baignées d'une brume inquiétante.[18]

Si la prééminence des grands paysages de l'Ouest garde une image attractive, les territoires touristiques s'élargissent aujourd'hui à toute l'Irlande.[19] Dans les régions du centre et de l'Est, ce sont par exemple des parcours dans les *Wicklow Mountains* ou des croisières paisibles sur les lacs du Shannon qui enrichissent la diversité des destinations. En Irlande du Nord, non seulement les sommets des *Mourne Mountains* et la côte d'Antrim participent à cette valorisation touristique mais les villes deviennent des destinations incontournables.

Aussi bien que les parcs et châteaux anglo-irlandais restaurés, les grandes propriétés et les demeures sont désormais affichées au premier plan. Les souvenirs de la domination anglaise ne sont plus relégués dans un passé à oublier. Les zones d'ombres de l'histoire s'estompent peu à peu. Le parc de Glenveagh au cœur des montagnes du Donegal garde le souvenir de l'éviction de 240 fermiers au milieu du XIXe siècle. Le château, lourde bâtisse néo-médiévale constitue un attrait touristique par sa dimension historique et son caractère pittoresque. Dans cet écrin au cœur des pentes granitiques nappées de bruyère rase se déploie un des jardins les plus célèbres d'Irlande. Créé par Henry Mc Ilhenny en 1940, il sera développé jusqu'aux années 1980. La terrasse italienne ornée de sculptures antiques compose un espace idyllique. Sur le diptyque proposé (Figure 18.1), l'image de gauche reste conforme au point de vue du prospectus touristique. Le promeneur chemine dans le souvenir idéalisé d'une époque insouciante. Celle de droite

18 On pourra consulter notamment les sites <http://www.giantscausewayofficialguide.com/> ou <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/giants-causeway> [Consulté en juillet 2016].

19 L'organisme responsable de la promotion touristique de l'Irlande (*Tourism Ireland*, voir son site <http://www.ireland.com>) a été créé dans le cadre de l'accord du Vendredi Saint (Belfast) en avril 1998, dans le but de développer le tourisme vers l'île dans son ensemble. Il collabore avec *Fáilte Ireland*, pour la République d'Irlande, et *Tourism Northern Ireland*, pour l'Irlande du Nord.

révèle dans cette nature foisonnante le parcours fléché d'une mise en scène : le charme est rompu, il s'agit bien d'un site touristique et la silhouette stylisée du monument affiche un véritable stéréotype du château écossais à retrouver dans le paysage.

Ainsi, progressivement, ces sites du XIXe siècle sont intégrés au florilège des sites gaéliques et prégaéliques. 'Welcome to a Land of Stories' clame la dernière campagne de l'Office du Tourisme avec la silhouette de Newgrange prise à contrejour, un ciel nuageux laissant filtrer les rayons du soleil couchant. Comme pour les sites sauvages, le caractère exceptionnel est mis en avant sur les articles promotionnels, en insistant cette fois sur un aspect culturel ou historique : 'l'un des plus célèbres et importants sites archéologiques de l'Irlande, le légendaire Emain Macha';[20] 'son impressionnant éclairage au moment du solstice d'hiver a fait de Newgrange une tombe à couloir au rayonnement international'.[21]

L'histoire contemporaine devient également un sujet touristique. Longtemps évitée, cachée, elle peut maintenant séduire le touriste. Les villes de Belfast et Derry[22] ont vu glisser leurs *murals* d'intimidation et de revendication vers un art de ville à visiter (Figure 18.8). Sur le diptyque mettant en parallèle Derry et Belfast, la saturation des couleurs est frappante. Les peintures murales et la verdure environnante paraissent soigneusement entretenues et l'on découvre deux touristes affairés à se photographier devant une fresque à la mémoire du 'Bloody Sunday'. F. Ballif note que les guides des éditeurs internationaux les présentent comme étant 'des lieux incontournables'[23] et que les médias les citent 'comme les premières attractions touristiques au Royaume-Uni'.[24]

20 <http://www.armagh.co.uk/navan-centre-fort/> [Consulté en juillet 2016].

21 <http://www.ireland.com/fr-fr/activit%C3%A9s/attractions-patrimoine-b%C3%A2ti/irlande-historique/articles/newgrange/> [Consulté en juillet 2016].

22 Derry fut choisie en 2013 comme la ville de la Culture du Royaume Uni, devant Birmingham, Sheffield et Norwich.

23 F. Ballif, 'Belfast en temps de paix : la guerre civile comme attraction touristique', *Téoros* 34/1–2 (2015) <http://teoros.revues.org> [Consulté le 27 avril 2016].

24 'Murals UK's Top Attraction', *BBC News*, 6 août 2007.

La transformation de ces espaces mutilés en zone à valeur économique était difficile à concevoir. Les fresques murales de Belfast, souvenir brûlant de la guerre civile, ont été repeintes et font l'objet de panneaux explicatifs. Les terrains vagues, les rues interrompues entre le quartier autour de *Shankill Road* des unionistes d'une part et de celui autour de *Falls Road* catholique de l'autre, parsemés de pavés et de projectiles divers, ont été engazonnés de douces pelouses. Les ruelles mitoyennes, étranges couloirs aux murs rehaussés de briques puis de barbelés, ont été rénovées. L'histoire et ses fractures ont été réinvesties. Le voyageur est invité à visiter les places traumatisées du conflit historique et un canevas des pignons repeints tisse la promenade. Bien lisses, sans impact, ces fresques murales recopiées *in situ* balisent le chemin des randonnées urbaines. Le détournement joue ici à contre-sens. Il n'est pas provocation, intimidation ou marquage de territoire comme les fresques d'origine ; mais réintégration et réappropriation. Les portes blindées des 'peace walls' qui fermaient et ferment encore les quartiers ont été conservées et, comme les murs d'enceinte de Philippe-Auguste à Paris, font partie de la visite.

La construction des paysages

La métamorphose des lieux en paysage pour le touriste nécessite une mise en forme. Les discours et les images préétablis ne suffisent pas à opérer l'alchimie. Les espaces les plus vertigineux doivent être aménagés, domestiqués, et font l'objet de circuits de visite bien identifiés. Le visiteur arrive aux falaises de Moher par les 'terres du Centre des visiteurs' en suivant un chemin tracé à travers la lande. Sur le diptyque (Figure 18.2), les deux aspects du site s'opposent. À gauche, la rudesse sauvage d'une falaise vertigineuse qu'il convient d'observer du balcon aménagé au *Visitor Centre*. A droite la tour néogothique du propriétaire terrien O'Brien d'où l'on pourra profiter du point de vue et se connecter à internet pour envoyer ses photos. Les touristes restent dans le cadre et 'obéissent' aux indications des pancartes. La signalétique efficace en pictogrammes rompt le tableau naturel des herbes

folles de la lande. Le panneau en trois langues marque la fin de la zone sous contrôle matérialisée par une paroi construite et un sol dénudé en gravier.

Le dépaysement est sécurisé, assisté, livré 'émotions clef en main'. Le touriste devient aussi scientifique éclairé, historien, naturaliste. Sur la photo (Figure 18.3), les visiteurs semblent obéir aux injonctions des guides à apprécier l'exceptionnelle diversité de la flore du Burren. Géologie, sciences naturelles, légendes et histoire sont déclinées dans les *Visitor Centres* et *Heritage Centres* aux côtés des torchons celtiques et des *mugs*.

Le promeneur est conduit en pays sauvage. C'est sur cette logique que s'est construit le *Wild Atlantic Way*.[25] Les paysages de mer jouent à la fois comme producteur de scènes[26] et correspondent à une destination privilégiée depuis les années 1750.[27] Le concept de *wilderness*, l'espace sauvage, dont Augustin Berque précisera que ce n'est qu'au XXe siècle qu'il en est venu à être célébré comme paysage aux Etats-Unis se décline en stéréotypes accessibles.[28] Le dépaysement est vendu dans un cadre. Sur le diptyque (Figure 18.4), la recherche de ce monde sauvage devient un jeu de piste, une sorte de course d'orientation dont les indices sont autant de panneaux bleus zébrés de blanc qui mènent au trésor. Mais à chacune de ces étapes, ses habitudes et son confort sont satisfaits : il pourra se restaurer, s'instruire, garer sa voiture, recharger ses batteries etc. Des installations standardisées rythment son parcours d'explorateur jusqu'à interdire, comme à la Chaussée des Géants, l'accès au site naturel en dehors du chemin imposé. Pour les îles, l'accès est d'autant plus facilement contrôlé qu'elles sont desservies par des ferries. Le port de Ros an Mhíl situé à 23 miles du centre de Galway[29] a fait

25 Ce dispositif mis en place en 2013 par les services touristiques irlandais a été une opération d'envergure pour valoriser la côte ouest comme un produit très attractif dans l'offre touristique de l'Irlande.

26 P. J. Jehel and C. Feïss-Jehel, 'The Photogenic Quality of the Irish Landscape: Reflexions on Photographs of Ireland', *LISA* XII/3 (2014).

27 A. Corbin, *Le territoire du vide. L'occident et le désir du rivage (1750–1840)* (Paris : Flammarion, 1990).

28 A. Berque, *Les raisons du paysage, de la Chine antique aux environnements de synthèse* (Paris : Hazan, 1995), p. 126.

29 On estime à 3,47 millions le budget alloué aux réaménagements du port depuis 2014 <http://www.advertiser.ie/galway/article/82027/

l'objet d'un réaménagement complet. Gare routière, parking à proximité du terminal, quai digne d'un aéroport facilitent les embarquements vers les îles d'Aran. Une fois sur l'île, l'organisation est parfaite et bien rodée. Les commentaires sont prêts : 'fort préhistorique, situé sur l'île d'Inishmore, le fort de Dun Aengus a été bâti sur les contreforts des falaises de l'île, au milieu d'une nature sauvage où les collines verdoyantes plongent à pic dans l'océan Atlantique déchaîné'.[30] Pouvons-nous encore ne plus y aller ? En arrivant à pied, il faudra prendre un ticket, grimper par le chemin aménagé pour contempler la Nature … Même les îles, qui ont été les derniers refuges à conserver une identité forte, se convertissent en parc à thème.

Les parcours touristiques baladent les voyageurs des espaces naturels aux grands domaines en opérant de façon similaire. Les aménagements bâtissent une standardisation des espaces pour créer le paysage. Au parc de Glenveagh, il faut attendre le minibus pour traverser le décor naturel et accéder à l'histoire : le parquet ciré, les tapis et les meubles d'époque sont des invitations aux voyages romantiques. Dans le domaine de la Kylemore Abbey aux bâtiments de style néo-médiéval, la corde romantique et féerique se déploie. Sur le diptyque (Figure 18.6), d'un côté, le touriste est emmené à l'intérieur du décor, il traverse la nature, contemple la lande mouillée et venteuse et se laisse surprendre par l'averse depuis la fenêtre d'un petit bus chauffé, de l'autre le décor feutré d'un intérieur encaustiqué attend l'arrivée des invités.[31]

Le tumulus de Newgrange situé au Nord de Dublin, bien connu pour ses pierres gravées de l'Age du Bronze, a été nettoyé au point que les galets de quartz blanc qui le ceinturent semblent tout neufs. Les forts circulaires préceltiques souvent perdus sur les collines deviennent accessibles. Les vestiges

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major-funding-for-ros-an-mihl-harbour/> [Consulté en juin 2016].

30 <http://www.guide-irlande.com/sites-touristiques/dun-aengus/> [Consulté le 22 novembre 2015].

31 On pourra consulter aussi le diptyque avec une vue sur le château de Kylemore mis en parallèle avec un flot de touristes le photographiant depuis un point de vue imposé : P. J. Jehel et C. Feïss-Jehel, 'Le paysage irlandais, un espace photogénique', *LISA/LISA e-journal* XII/3 (2015) <http://lisa.revues.org/5951> [Consulté le 25 novembre 2014].

du christianisme, considérés comme le centre de l'authenticité gaélique, sont mis sur le devant de la scène. Sur la photo (Figure 18.7), l'oratoire de Gallarus, près de Dingle, autrefois perdu au milieu des champs est encadré par un immense parking, une *tea shop* à la construction irréprochable en fausses pierres sèches ; un panneau rassurant et standardisé indique toutes les installations qui accueillent le visiteur. À gauche du diptyque, le tumulus préhistorique de Newgrange paraît enserré dans un tapis de gazon. Entre les deux images circule le même chemin gris de gravier uniforme qui semble relier commodément tous les sites à travers le pays. Ces choix d'aménagement et de présentation des lieux historiques s'exercent sur le même modèle pour satisfaire le touriste. En ce sens 'le patrimoine n'est pas un artefact des données transmises du passé au présent mais un processus qui utilise des sites, des idées [....] pour satisfaire différents besoins contemporains'.[32]

En Irlande du Nord, les grandes villes se tournent vers le futur. Des quartiers entiers sont reconstruits et ces aménagements doivent petit à petit effacer le passé et les troubles politiques qui lui sont directement associés. Elles sont comme emportées dans une parodie touristique.

Les *black cabs* londoniens se succèdent et s'entrecroisent le long des *murals* de Belfast.[33] Reprenant la bannière des grand héros celtes, la compagnie de taxis exploite ce passé mythique et l'histoire proche des *Troubles* pour drainer les visiteurs vers les quartiers jusque-là infréquentables. Le *Free Derry* est devenu un arrêt aménagé, prêt à accueillir les visiteurs amenés régulièrement par des autobus à deux étages.

Les deux repères antagonistes de la Divis Tower[34] et du Clocher de la Cathédrale St Peter sont aujourd'hui des 'spots' touristiques de Belfast.

32 G. Ashworth, 'In search of place-identity dividend', in John Eyles et al. (eds), *Sense of Place, Health and Quality of Life* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 185–195; Gregory Ashworth: 'Heritage is not an artefact or site associated with pasttimes, conditions, events or personalities. It is a process that uses sites, objects, and human traits and patterns of behaviours as vehicles for the transmission of ideas in order to satisfy various contemporary needs'.

33 On pourra consulter la série photographique 'Belfast, la modification' sur <http://a-m-e-r.com/mots-regards/belfast_modification/> [Consulté le 25 novembre 2014].

34 Immeuble d'une soixantaine de mètres inséré dans un complexe d'habitations construit en 1966, il domine le quartier à l'interface de Falls et de Shankill. L'armée britannique

Dans le recueillement de la grande cathédrale où les signes du conflit politico-religieux sont omniprésents, on croise aujourd'hui les touristes asiatiques en manœuvre pour réaliser quelques *selfies*.

Aujourd'hui la mutation se poursuit. À Belfast, les pelleteuses redéfinissent les quartiers et gomment les différences : une nouvelle urbanité se construit.[35] Le Fonds international pour l'Irlande a lancé en 2012 un appel à projets vers les associations locales pour la démolition des *peacelines*, en allouant 2 millions de livres à ce programme. La normalisation des espaces urbains post-conflit est réalisée par effacement[36] et développe un nouvel espace touristique.

Les anciens docks ont été eux aussi investis d'un attrait touristique. Sur une logique de parc d'attraction, le *Titanic quarter* aspire les visiteurs en quête de retrouver la belle époque des transatlantiques. Les chantiers navals noirs de graisse ont été repeints, les bâtiments de briques sont restaurés, la rouille devient un élément décoratif. Les espaces de travail industriel et portuaire sont devenus espace de loisir aux apparences d'un parfait décor. Les visiteurs se photographient, casquette de commandant sur la tête, sur le pont du légendaire Titanic.

Les déplacements des voyageurs sont de plus en plus encadrés et s'effectuent vers des centres privilégiés. Le paysage voyagé doit se superposer à l'image connue, qui agit comme un stéréotype et codifie ainsi une mémoire sociale que le voyageur va pouvoir photographier. Ce choix de sites-phares sanctuarise les sites choisis en conduisant souvent à une défiguration des secteurs aux alentours. Qu'il s'agisse de parcs, de villes ou de milieux naturels, l'espace est apprêté, paysagé, amélioré. Les aménagements et les repères paysagés créent en ce sens une codification paysagère. Il s'exerce sur le pays

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y avait installé un poste d'observation et occupait les deux derniers étages. Il est totalement réhabilité en immeuble d'habitation depuis 2009.

35 F. Ballif, 'Les traces de la guerre civile : la pérennisation des *peacelines* à Belfast', in C. Vallat, *Pérennité urbaine, ou la ville par-delà ses métamorphoses. Vol. I : Traces* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009), pp. 49–58.

36 Communiqué de presse : 'International Fund for Ireland announces £2m Peace Walls Programme': <http://www.internationalfundforireland.com/media-centre/449-internationalfund-for-ireland-announces-p2m-peace-walls-programme/> [Consulté en novembre 2014].

une uniformisation de l'espace par ses aménagements, qui façonne peu à peu les paysages accessibles au touriste en paysages touristiques.

Vers des 'paysages touristiques'

La seule nature ne suffit souvent plus à attirer, d'autant que l'offre des espaces sauvages s'est démultipliée. C'est pourquoi la corde historique a fortement été sollicitée dans la dernière campagne de l'Office du Tourisme irlandais. Le clip diffusé sur internet intitulé 'Ireland's Ancient East'[37] (les Terres Ancestrales d'Irlande), retrace une odyssée fantastique à travers les sites historiques et préhistoriques les plus fameux de l'est : Newgrange, Rock of Cashel, Tara, Castletown.

Les appels au voyage se font sur le refrain : 'chaque site irlandais a sa légende'[38] et nous pourrions ajouter : 'si elle n'existe pas encore, elle se bâtira …'. Le plateau d'Antrim propose d'autres haltes basaltiques à côté de la Chaussée des Géants, comme le petit port de Ballintoy qui a été popularisé par le tournage de *Game of Thrones* puis aménagé.[39] Sur place, un panneau avec les héros de la série attend les visiteurs qui aiment à se photographier devant.

On retrouve le même ressort pour le *Titanic quarter* où le goût pour l'histoire est glorifié par une relecture cinématographique. Cette fiction historique amplifiée par de tels films à succès mondial vient conforter un attrait pour les temps anciens fantasmés. Le cadrage stéréotypé tente de s'éterniser encore un peu dans un monde perdu, tel un bastion de l'imaginaire à la fois rural, authentique et historique. Un mouvement analogue que Baudrillard soulignait face à l'attrait pour les objets anciens, ' […] ce

37 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HedPnkWVy4k/> [Consulté en juillet 2016].

38 <http://www.vivre-en-irlande.fr/visite/republique-irlande/parc-national-du-burren/> [Consulté en juillet 2016].

39 <https://www.visitbritainshop.com/france/game-of-thrones-and-giants-causeway-tour/> [Consulté en juillet 2016].

phénomène d'acculturation qui porte les civilisés vers les signes excentriques dans le temps et dans l'espace à leur propre système culturel, vers les signes toujours antérieurs [...]'.[40]

L'image de l'Irlande se joue en deux mouvements visuels, une recherche d'un paysage naturel non anthropisé, sauvage, et un regard recomposé vers un passé idéalisé. En Irlande, les arts et traditions populaires deviennent un filon touristique et l'on fait visiter le petit village de chaumières entourées de ses tourbières du *Ring of Kerry* où l'on idéalise cette vie rurale disparue. Les aménagements les plus récents qui recomposent un passé vont plus loin en proposant de 'vivre comme'. Il ne s'agit plus seulement de regarder, d'être stupéfait, mais de faire l'expérience. Le touriste n'aura plus désormais 'l'œil désœuvré'.[41] Il sera transporté d'expérience en expérience. Les paysages touristiques sont ceux du simultané, de la juxtaposition du lointain et du proche. Il est proposé une forme d'identification par l'expérience 'c'est à votre tour, soyez un celte',[42] 'vivez l'histoire, immergez-vous', 'vivez une expérience authentique et drôle', 'ne vous contentez pas de regarder mais faites l'expérience de la Chaussée des Géants [...].'[43]

Il faut voir, faire, apprendre, comprendre,[44] ne pas rester inactif. Dans la société 'le *loisir* est la règle, l'*oisiveté* forme une sorte de déviation'.[45] Sur le diptyque (Figure 18.3), on parcourt les espaces naturels avec une tâche à mener, comme pris par le temps de la promenade. Il faut identifier et photographier les plantes avant de repartir en Pullman, explorer les grands

40 Baudrillard, *Le système des objets*, p. 106.

41 Roger, *Court traité du paysage*, p. 27.

42 'Look, touch and listen to the story of Navan and its legend ... a chance to experience to being a celt [...] a memorable and interactive experience' peut-on lire sur la brochure du Navan Centre & Fort (<http://www.navan.com>) [Consulté en août 2016].

43 'Don't just see the Giant's Causeway – experience it' encourage le National trust d'Irlande du Nord. <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/giants-causeway/features/your-experience-at-giants-causeway/> [Consulté en août 2016].

44 <http://www.navan.com> 'learn of mystical characters of Navan ... understand the history' [Consulté en août 2016].

45 M. Foucault, 'Des espaces autres, Dits et écrits' (conférence au Cercle d'études architecturales, 14 mars 1967), in *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* 5 (1984), pp. 46–49.

espaces minéraux, consulter le règlement sans même avoir le temps d'enlever son casque de cycliste. En ce sens, ces objets touristiques imitent les mécanismes des parcs d'attraction car, comme une étudiante citée par D. Harvey le note à propos de *Disney World* : 'Il s'y passe toujours quelque chose de différent et c'est bien mieux pour s'amuser.'[46]

Même les *murals* de Derry ou de Belfast deviennent lieu d'expérience. F. Ballif[47] souligne qu'il est proposé aux touristes de faire l'expérience des lieux 'comme proposée dans les guides'. Nous glissons vers une forme de *commodification*[48] des paysages.[49] La patrimonialisation d'une coulée de lave fluide basaltique expulsée à l'ère tertiaire et datée d'environ 40 millions d'années, puis érodée par la mer, a valu à la firme irlandaise Heneghan Peng Architects d'être choisie pour bâtir un building de plus trois millions de livres.[50] Les investissements dans la régénérescence des quartiers des docks a conduit également vers une 'Titanification' de l'urbanité. Philip Rea place les enjeux du développement du quartier du Titanic à l'échelle de l'internationalisation.[51] Les nouveaux quartiers se superposent à une réimagination spatiale dans une société post-conflit qui conduit à une homogénéisation culturelle et une forme de 'commercialisation de la culture'.[52] Si nous sui-

46 D. Harvey, 'Spaces of capital: towards a critical geography' (New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 396: 'At Disney World something different happens all the time and people are happy. It's much more fun.'

47 F. Ballif, 'Belfast en temps de paix' (2015).

48 La commodification correspond à la transformation de quoi que ce soit en marchandise; 'anything intended for exchange', Arjun Appadurai (2005).

49 A. Appadurai, 'Definitions: Commodity and Commodification', in Martha Ertman and Joan C. Williams (eds), *Rethinking Commodification: Cases and Readings in Law and Culture* (New York : University Press, 2005).

50 <http://www.e-architect.co.uk/ireland/giants-causeway/> [Consulté le 20 novembre 2015].

51 P. Rea, 'How useful is it to understand Belfast as a Global City?' *Divided Cities/Contested States* 26 (2012), p. 4: 'The most prominent and internationally attractive development being undertaken in Belfast is that which is on-going in the "Titanic-Quarter"'.

52 W. Neill, 'Return to the Titanic and lost in the Maze: the search for representation of "post conflict" Belfast', *Space and Politic* 10/2 (2006), pp. 109–120: 'The continuing difficulties associated with government supported attempts to reimage

vons cette idée pour comprendre la mutation des anciens lieux de conflits de Belfast, il est possible de percevoir ces paysages urbains comme des *traumascapes*[53] et ces *traumascapes* en *touristscapes* comme l'avance Naef à propos des lieux de conflit de l'ex-Yougoslavie.[54]

Par ces aménagements, l'Irlande apparaît comme un pays résolument tourné vers la modernité où la nature elle-même doit être moderne. Audioguide, applications pour *smartphone*, les expériences interactives guident le voyageur. Le trajet touristique est guidé et le temps contrôlé. Une fois l'objectif atteint, on redescend, la sortie ne s'effectuant que par la traversée de la boutique. Sur la photo (Figure 18.5), le vaste amphithéâtre de la Chaussée des Géants fourmille de touristes occupés à découvrir cette curiosité géologique ou à se photographier. On leur a fait parcourir quelques centaines de mètres à pied ou en bus depuis le *Visitor Centre* monumental. Les dispositifs multimédias sont variés : projection en image de synthèse, vitrines didactiques, décors immersifs ont cherché à aiguiser leur curiosité. Mais sur place le lieu est victime de son succès et il faut éviter son voisin pour cadrer les orgues basaltiques. L'espace touristique ne devient-il pas un paradoxe alors qu'attiré par le sauvage et le 'surnaturel' le visiteur se retrouve au milieu d'une foule ?[55]

On retrouve dans la construction du paysage touristique des enjeux proches d'une muséographie. La question de la médiation dans les musées est un sujet souvent polémique entre les différents acteurs : conservateurs,

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and represent through development what has now been called the "post-conflict" city. The argument is made that competing symbolic cultural endowments of space, which construct 'Belfast' in spatial imagination, still leave scant non-controversial representational resources for official place promotion [...] (The fact that) the new Titanic town will be launched in the shallowest of water appears to reflect the sentiment of many of Belfast's inhabitants, and links into a wider debate regarding the global homogenisation and commercialisation of culture.'

53 M. Tumarkin, *Traumascapes: the Power and Fate of Places Transformed by Tragedy* (Victoria : Melbourne University Publishing, 2005).

54 P. J. Naef, 'Du traumascape au touristscape. Regards croisés sur Vukovar et Sarajevo', *Tsantsa* 16 (2011), pp. 164–168.

55 'Giant's Causeway : un voyage dans le surnaturel' : <http://www.vivre-en-irlande.fr/visite/chaussee-geant-antrim/> [Consulté le 13 juillet 2016].

muséographe, scénographes, responsables culturels.[56] Pour les œuvres d'art, il s'agit de savoir comment aborder la diversité des connaissances du public 'des codes de compréhension des œuvres'.[57] Serge Chaumier analyse ainsi que l'enjeu actuel de la muséographie consiste à trouver un équilibre entre perception sensible des œuvres et médiation culturelle. Les dispositifs muséographiques réussis participent à une ouverture culturelle. Pour les paysages, l'approche devra être analogue et réussir à accéder au sensible et au culturel. Les enjeux sociétaux sont immenses et touchent à la fonction et à 'l'invention' du musée par rapport au rôle de l'éducation. Ces discussions ne sont pas récentes,[58] mais les nouveaux outils de communication viennent les renouveler et peuvent proposer des solutions adaptées. Une forme de technophilie excessive risque aussi de donner une dimension ludique systématique où l'intention marketing l'emporte sur la démarche culturelle. Pour D. Harvey, le marketing tend à détruire l'expérience esthétique.[59] Ces outils 'embarqués' (smartphones, tablettes, audioguides) risquent en tous cas d'anéantir une approche sensible ou poétique des lieux. Pierre Chazaud souligne à propos des audioguides, qu'ils font plus que se substituer au guide en devenant des 'espèces de prothèses de savoir imposé et de rêverie'.[60] Il s'agit maintenant non pas seulement d'avoir des images en tête (comme on l'a vu des images fortement stéréotypées) mais de suivre en temps réel les indications de ce qu'il faut voir et où il faut circuler, non plus d'avoir lu ou de parcourir un guide touristique écrit, mais de suivre le commentaire en *voix off* de sa propre randonnée. Le visiteur gagnera en

56 S. Chaumier, 'La muséographie de l'art, ou la dialectique de l'oeuvre et de sa réception', in *Culture & Musées* 16 (Paris: Actes-Sud, 2010), p. 16.

57 *Ibid.*

58 Schématiquement, aux deux extrémités de l'échiquier on peut placer Malraux et Bourdieu. Pour l'un, la mise en présence d'une œuvre suffit par sa nature à faire ressentir cette œuvre, à créer le 'choc électif', pour l'autre, laisser croire à ce 'goût inné' est une forme d'exclusion de celui qui n'a pas un bagage culturel suffisant.

59 Harvey, *Spaces of Capital*, p. 396: 'the marketing itself tends to destroy the unique qualities (particularly if these depend on qualities such as wilderness, remoteness, the purity of some aesthetic experience)'.

60 P. Chazaud, 'Marketing de la visite culturelle et implication du public', in *Publics & Musées* (Lyon: Presse universitaire, 1997), p. 51.

savoir, mais l'expérience intime du voyage risque d'être amoindrie. Il doit 'tout à la fois regarder, se déplacer et donner un 'sens' à sa visite'.[61] Bien entendu, le visiteur a le choix de suivre ou pas les indications, de retourner sur les lieux pour les apprécier différemment.

Une fois entrés sur ces vastes espaces, tels que la Chaussée des Géants ou les Falaises de Moher, les visiteurs sont encouragés à une pratique indissociable de la visite touristique : prendre des photographies. Sur les documents promotionnels, le touriste est souvent montré l'appareil photo en main, par exemple sur le clip promotionnel *Ireland's Ancient East*, un couple se photographie devant un monument, ou encore on peut lire ailleurs 'prévoyez un bon appareil photo, prêt à être dégainé pour immortaliser le moment'.[62]

Cet acte, en retour, contribue à entretenir les images-stéréotypes : on cherche à retrouver les images que l'on a en tête et le point de vue est souvent mentionné sur place ou dès les préparatifs du voyage.[63] Il y a nonobstant une inadéquation entre le paysage construit et la promesse de dépaysement. En effet, celle-ci provient soit de la difficulté à reconnaître les objets qui composent le paysage, soit de celle à déchiffrer leur agencement. Nous ne découvrons pas un paysage, mais nous le reconnaissons comme l'image attendue. Il ne nous est pas permis de nous perdre, le chemin est balisé bien régulièrement. Dans un paradoxe stupéfiant, le marketing paysagé communique et vante justement l'inattendu. Le dernier clip du *Wild Atlantique Way* diffusé par l'Office du Tourisme d'Irlande est un appel au dépaysement grâce à des 'paysages à couper le souffle'.[64] L'itinéraire s'étend sur 2500 km et se présente comme la 'plus longue route côtière balisée au

61 Chazaud, 'Marketing de la visite culturelle', p. 53.

62 <http://www.guide-irlande.com/sites-touristiques/falaises-de-moher/> [Consulté en juillet 2016].

63 'La tour se situe sur le plus haut point de vue du site, et est souvent le lieu où les touristes se prennent en photo!' : <http://www.guide-irlande.com/sites-touristiques/falaises-de-moher/> [Consulté en juillet 2016].

64 <http://www.ireland.com/fr-fr/campaign/normal-campaign/2013/12/wild-atlantic-way-cote-sauvage/> [Consulté le 22 novembre 2015]. Cette campagne publicitaire a connu un grand succès. Elle a été vue par près de 40 millions de personnes et a reçu plusieurs récompenses aux 'Clio awards' à New York en 2014 (les 'Oscars' de la publicité).

monde' ponctuée de 159 'points de découverte' (Figure 18.4). Respectant ce plan de route, le voyageur n'échappera pas aux sites phares et spectaculaires.

Les paysages touristiques s'apparentent ainsi à un décor de théâtre, ils deviennent un arrière-plan du portrait ou du *selfie*. La représentation de la nature est réalisée par l'assemblage des points à visiter. Comme les paysages entrevus par les fenêtres de la fin du moyen âge, les paysages donnés à voir aujourd'hui recompose une image idéale. Dans la peinture du XVe siècle, le paysage n'est qu'une fenêtre, une *vedutta* composée. Ainsi, dans 'La Vierge au chancelier Rollin' de Jan van Eyck,[65] la scène religieuse ouvre à travers les trois arches du second plan sur un paysage panoramique.[66] Traité avec précision, il n'est cependant pas l'image fidèle d'un paysage unique, identifiable, mais une vue composée à partir de plusieurs paysages. Certains éléments typiques du paysage peuvent même être réutilisés dans plusieurs tableaux.[67] Le paysage n'est pas le sujet principal du peintre ni celui du touriste, il est une médiation de l'épisode religieux ou touristique.

Par ailleurs, le touriste fait d'abord acte de mémoire. Chacun cherche à s'approprier non pas le paysage mais le moment où il y a été conduit. La photographie est d'abord une preuve de sa visite. Comme dans la fable de La Fontaine, le pigeon épris de voyage souhaite pouvoir dire 'j'étais là ; telle chose m'advint'.[68] Il n'y a donc apparemment rien de nouveau dans cette démarche du voyage et de son récit. Pourtant les 'paysages touristiques' visités, photographiés et mis en ligne témoignent d'une expérience qui n'a rien de personnel. Il s'agit plutôt d'un 'prêt-à-photographier' reconnu par tous. Falaises vertigineuses des *Cliffs of Moher*, parcs paysagés de *Glennveagh*, murs peints de Belfast ne sont plus que supports et fonds d'écran. Les écrans de la nouvelle modernité sont connectés et pourtant paradoxalement ils

65 *La Vierge au chancelier Rollin* de Jan van Eyck, 1434–1435, musée du Louvre.

66 Roger, *Court traité du paysage*.

67 Chez Piero di Cosimo, on constate l'utilisation d'une même découpe de rocher dans les œuvres 'Le combat entre les centaures et les Lapithes' (vers 1500), 'Portrait de femme dit de Simoneta Vespucci' (vers 1480) et 'La nativité avec Saint Jean' (vers 1495) in Lionello Venturi, *La peinture italienne*, *La Renaissance* (Genève, Suisse : Editions d'Art Albert Skira, 1950), p. 46.

68 Jean de La Fontaine, 'Les deux Pigeons', Fable no. 2, Livre IX : <http://www.lafontaine-ch-thierry.net/deuxpig.htm> [Consulté en juillet 2016].

peuvent faire écran. Les fenêtres, les *windows* numériques débitent et se rechargent de nouvelles images collectées, simple jeu visuel aux dialogues déjà écrits qui se réitèrent à l'infini.

Avec le *selfie* le paysage quitte le devant de la scène qu'il avait dans les cartes postales. Il partage un instant et le paysage devient une scène de vie. Mais le 'je' doit apparaître dans une Irlande reconnue par tous. Il ne doit pas tant avoir vu qu'être vu. La photographie devient une trace d'identité sociale, le témoin qui authentifie une présence du moi à un moment donné dans un paysage précis. Diffusées sur un réseau social, les photos 'documentent la vie, participent au jeu de l'auto-présentation et servent à des fins référentielles'.[69] L'acte photographique rejoint ici cette idée de représentation sociale où 'l'individu ou le groupe reconstitue le réel auquel il est confronté et lui attribue une signification'.[70] L'Irlande peut alors être perçue et reconnue dans sa doxa visuelle. Les paysages touristiques s'approchent du mythe au sens où Roland Barthes écrivait 'le mythe est une parole'[71] : il est un système de communication, un message lié à une certaine société à un moment précis de son histoire.

Avec le *smartphone*, le temps choisi est celui de l'immédiateté. Les SMS, les photos rejoignent, dans l'instantanéité leurs destinataires. Le temps est celui d'une culture du flux, du partage immédiat. Les pratiques de l'image connectée mettent en évidence que sur les réseaux sociaux, la photographie est plus sociale qu'esthétique,[72] mais elles constituent une nouvelle forme de conversation.[73] On n'échange pas seulement à propos des photos mais par les photos. Sur les marches de basalte, le touriste délaisse son appareil photo

69 A. Gunthert, 'L'image conversationnelle', *Études photographiques* 31 (2014) <https://etudesphotographiques.revues.org/3387/> [Consulté le 10 Septembre 2016].

70 J. C. Abric, *Coopération, compétition et représentations sociales* (Fribourg: Cousset Del Val, 1988), p. 64.

71 R. Barthes, *Mythologies* (Paris : Seuil, 1957), p. 181.

72 Ce qui est le propre de la photographie amateur comme l'avait souligné Bourdieu : P. Bourdieu, *Un art moyen*, *Essai sur les usages sociaux de la photographie* (Paris: éditions de Minuit, 1965).

73 Jean-Samuel Beuscart, Dominique Cardon, Nicolas Pissard et Christophe Prieur, 'Pourquoi partager mes photos de vacances avec des inconnus ? Les usages de Flickr', *Réseaux* 154/2 (2009), pp. 91–129.

au profit de son *smartphone* pour photographier sa compagne prenant la pose sur les étranges formes prismatiques. Il met en ligne l'image et déjà engage le dialogue avec sa famille ou ses amis. Cette pratique, qui entraîne donc une immédiateté, fait du passage à l'acte photographique un acte systématique. Les 'occasions photographiques' que Pierre Bourdieu avait à l'époque identifiées[74] ne sont plus des moments exceptionnels, mais sont un continuum à documenter. L'activité touristique, indéniablement liée à la photographie, caractérise, par un retournement, les pratiques actuelles quotidiennes: 'le mobile transforme chacun de nous en touriste du quotidien'.[75] André Gunthert qui analyse ces nouvelles pratiques, souligne que ces images donnent ainsi une réalité à notre quotidien, invisible jusque à présent. Le smartphone permet une redécouverte permanente de notre quotidien. Mais cette banalisation du geste photographique risque d'atténuer la perception du touriste pour qui la découverte du paysage n'est finalement qu'un événement du quotidien. Par un effet de saturation, la photographie du touriste n'est plus le témoignage d'un dépaysement, 'cet égarement atténué qui porte à regarder'.[76]

Le voyage devient-il une espèce menacée ?

Les paysages visités d'Irlande sont clairement en mutation et deviennent des paysages touristiques. Notre proposition photographique cherche à mettre en évidence cette évolution en montrant non seulement ce que nous

74 '[…] Le champ du photographiable ne saurait s'étendre à l'infini et la pratique ne saurait survivre à la disparition des occasions de photographier', P. Bourdieu, *Un art moyen* (1965), p. 57.

75 Gunthert, 'L'image conversationnelle', 2014.

76 Bourdieu, *Un art moyen* (1965), p. 57. Bourdieu associe à l'époque la photographie amateur presque exclusivement à une pratique familiale. Les vacances et le dépaysement en sont une des occasions favorites.

devons regarder mais également ce qui n'a pas été sélectionné.[77] Montrer ce qui n'est pas à voir, montrer par la photographie pour échapper au cadre, paradoxe s'il en est un. Ces photographies deviennent finalement des objets à penser qui incitent l'observateur à se poser des questions sur les significations de ce qu'il voit et lui proposent de 'jouer le jeu' ou de faire 'un pas de côté' à travers le 'je' du photographe. Si nous avons bien à l'esprit les images, souvent caricaturales, de Martin Parr sur les touristes à travers le monde,[78] nous portons une attention particulière au travail d'Allan Sekula. Pour lui 'la photographie est une pratique sociale, liée au monde et à ses problèmes'.[79] Par des images documentaires allusives et symboliques, il présente la mer, cet 'espace oublié' comme une métaphore des échanges sociaux et économiques mondiaux. Les paysages irlandais pris dans cette mutation du regard relèvent d'une métaphore analogue.

Les paysages touristiques sont vendus et deviennent une construction simplifiée et réductrice. En développant l'idée d'une écologie politique, A. Gorz s'interroge comme le souligne F. Gollain,[80] 'sur la qualité de l'expérience vécue et à sa capacité de juger', ce qui pose la question de l'expérience proposée dans les paysages touristiques visités. Dans cette logique, les *Visitor Centres*, *Heritage Centres*, *World Heritage Sites* constituent des opérations d'enfermement des paysages, et construisent des *Disney Landscapes* en nous privant des cheminements, et du dépaysement véritable des paysages habités. La patrimonialisation et la mise en tourisme de grands sites naturels et urbains entrent dans la mondialisation où le touriste est invité à 'naviguer'[81] en temps réel depuis son ordinateur comme dans le vrai parcours.

77 Dont sont extraits les quelques diptyques de l'article et qui est accessible sur le lien suivant <http://a-m-e-r.com/mots-regards/paysages_du_tourisme_irlandais>.

78 M. Parr and R. Taylor, *Quel Monde !* (Paris : Marval, 1985).

79 Michel Rein, cité sur <http://michelrein.com/cspdocs/exhibition/files/as_cp_bi.pdf> [Consulté en juin 2016].

80 F. Gollain, 'André Gorz était-il un écologiste ?', *Ecologie & politique* 1/44 (Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 2012), p. 82.

81 'Naviguez avec le menu sur votre droite pour commencer votre aventure dès maintenant' <http://www.ireland.com> [Consulté en juillet 2016].

Ainsi des marges sauvages, des parcs aux villes, la traversée des paysages touristiques proposés est devenue un important enjeu économique pour l'Irlande.[82] Les dispositifs d'accompagnement qui cherchent à faire découvrir la diversité des paysages ont souvent conduit à des aménagements de plus en plus visibles. La relation culturelle et sensible au paysage existe nonobstant, et l'approche muséographique peut en proposer une lecture. L'esprit du lieu est fragile, résistera-t-il à l'accélération des enjeux économiques ?

82 L'augmentation de la fréquentation touristique en Irlande est en progression constante, elle est estimée à + 12 pour cent en 2015 par rapport à 2014 pour atteindre près de 8 millions de visiteurs. L'objectif visé est de 10 millions en 2025 : <http://www.veilleinfotourisme.fr/irlande-boum-de-la-frequentation-touristique-154023.kjsp?RH=1340266754992> [Consulté en juillet 2016].

Figure 18.1 : Parc national de Glenveagh (Glenveagh National Park), 2013.

Le château, lourde bâtisse néo-médiévale et ses jardins fleuris constitue un attrait touristique par sa dimension historique et son caractère pittoresque.

Figure 18.2 : Cliffs of Moher, 2013.

Quelques sites remarquables aux configurations spectaculaires comme la Giant's Causeway, les Cliffs of Moher ou le plateau calcaire du Burren sont les fleurons de ces destinations.

Figure 18.3 : Dans le Burren (In the Burren National Park), 2013.

Les visiteurs semblent obéir aux injonctions des guides à apprécier l'exceptionnelle diversité de la flore du Burren.

Figure 18.4 : *Wild Atlantic Way*, Péninsule de Dingle
(The Wild Atlantic Way, Dingle Peninsula), 2015.

La recherche de ce monde sauvage devient un jeu de piste, une sorte de course d'orientation dont les indices sont autant de panneaux bleus zébrés de blanc qui mènent au trésor.

Figure 18.5 : Site de la Chaussée des Géants (Giant's Causeway), 2013.

Le vaste amphithéâtre de la Chaussée des Géants fourmille de touristes occupés à découvrir cette curiosité géologique ou à se photographier.

Figure 18.6 : Domaine de l'abbaye de Kylemore (Kylemore Abbey), 2013.

Le touriste est emmené à l'intérieur du décor, il traverse la nature [...] le décor feutré d'un intérieur encaustiqué attend l'arrivée des invités.

Figure 18.7 : Le site de Newgrange et l'Oratoire de Gallarus (Newgrange site and Gallarus Oratory), 2010, 2015.

Entre les deux images circule le même chemin gris de gravier uniforme qui semble relier commodément tous les sites à travers le pays.

Figure 18.8 : Derry 2015, Belfast 2010.

Derry, Belfast ont vu glisser leurs *murals* d'intimidation et de revendication vers un Art de Ville à visiter.

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