

A Decade of Irish Literary Periodicals: 1904-1914

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the history and development of three Irish periodicals, published between 1904-1914, with emphasis placed upon the literary magazine as a distinct genre and the impact of this genre on the literary and cultural landscape of Ireland at a crucial time in its nascent development. My research considers the manner in which each magazine was established and run, with an emphasis on varying editorial personalities and their impact upon each periodical. Each chapter is dedicated to an individual magazine and is structured in chronological order, with the first focused upon Dana, the second dedicated to Uladh (both published from 1904-1905) and the final chapter focused upon The Irish Review (1911-1914). The aim is to provide an assessment of those journals, acknowledging how key figures of the period made use of their pages to promote their own views and the movements that they supported. This thesis will emphasise the significance of the literary magazine as a historical resource that reveals much about the period in which it was published. Until now the history of these literary periodicals has remained largely untold, as have the events surrounding the lives of their editors and contributors during their publication years. My primary purpose is to tell these stories in the detail they deserve.

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Introduction

The literary periodical in Ireland, whereby politics and art frequently coincide, makes the journal a powerful means of understanding Irish cultural and historical trends.¹

– Frank Shovlin, *The Irish Literary Periodical 1923-1958*.

“The difficulty is to begin”: so opened the newly formed literary magazine *Dana* in May 1904. Similarly, when it comes to writing a history of periodical literature in any given period, it is difficult to know where to begin. Much has been written about the decade 1904-14, in which a number of revivalists - like Thomas MacDonagh and Joseph Mary Plunkett - were transformed into revolutionaries.² At the turn of the twentieth century, the country’s most influential writers – including: John Eglinton, Bulmer Hobson and Roger Casement - were contributing to debates on the literary revival prospering in Dublin, and spreading further afield to the rest of Ireland. This study focuses on that period to analyse the cultural significance of literary magazines and the networks and relationships built between those publications’ editors and contributors. The literary circle (editors, contributors, subscribers) of any given journal is a powerful force in shaping the creative direction it follows as well as determining who and what is published within its pages. The blend of artistic and political matters published in the chosen

¹ Frank Shovlin, ‘Introduction’ in *The Irish Literary Periodical 1923-1958* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), p. IV.

² For example: Declan Kiberd and P. J. Mathews (eds.), *Handbook of the Irish Revival: An Anthology of Irish Cultural and Political Writings 1891-1922* (Dublin: Abbey Theatre Press, 2015); Roy Foster, *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland 1890 - 1923* (London: Penguin Group, 2014); Gabriel Doherty (ed.), *The Home Rule Crisis 1912-14* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2014); P. J. Mathews, *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Fein, the Gaelic League and the Co-operative Movement* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2003); Alana Hayes and Diane Urquhart (eds.), *The Irish Women’s History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2001).

magazines makes the periodical press an important avenue of understanding Irish culture and history.

Though the literary periodical in Ireland had suffered a major decline as a result of the famine in the decades prior to the turn of the twentieth century, by 1904 a new wave of magazines burst upon the cultural scene, including: *Sambain*, *The Irish Homestead*, and of course *Dana* and *Uladh*. Therefore, the year 1904 became the ideal start point for this thesis. Similarly, the decision to finish a decade later in 1914 was paramount; during these ten years, Ireland's periodical press had documented the remarkable events that had greatly changed the country – including, the Gaelic Revival, the Home Rule Bill, the Ulster response to this bill in the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant and Women's Declaration, the Labour Lockout, the establishment of the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and the Irish Volunteer Force (IVF) and the outbreak of World War One. During this decade, Ireland's literary periodicals recorded primary responses to such events, as well as charting the relationships of its editors and contributors, and their motivations and movements that created a vibrant artistic culture at a time of immense political change.

Roy Foster, one of the most astute commentators on this period in Irish history, has argued passionately for a fresh look at the years that led to 1916:

A new look at the pre-revolutionary period in Ireland is all the more necessary, because traditional approaches to understanding revolutionary change in terms of class or ideology seem inadequate today. We search now, instead, to find clarification through themes of paradox and nuance; we have become interested in what does not change during revolutions, as much as what does.³

In the decade prior to Easter 1916, for anybody interested in keeping up with current literary, cultural and political debates, Ireland's little magazines were essential reading. The aim of this thesis is to provide an assessment of those journals, acknowledging how

³ Roy Foster, *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland 1890-1923* (London: Allen Lane, 2014), p. xvii.

key figures of the period made use of their pages to promote their own views and the movements that they supported. This thesis will therefore emphasise the significance of the literary magazine as a historical resource that reveals much about the period in which it was published.

In the fourteen years since the publication of Frank Shovlin's seminal work *The Irish Literary Periodical 1923-1958* (2003), the study of literary magazines in Ireland has become an increasingly popular scholarly pursuit.⁴ Through his study Shovlin showed that the literary journal is a genre in its own right and he outlined the inter-personal relations between the editors and contributors of six particular literary reviews: *The Irish Statesman* (1923-1930), *The Dublin Magazine* (1923-1958), *Ireland To-Day* (1936-1938), *The Bell* (1940-1954), *Envoy* (1949-1951) and *Rann* (1948-1953), offering an overview of post-independence Ireland through the lens of these titles. My intention is to create a work that serves as a sort of prequel to Shovlin, providing an in-depth critical insight to the selected literary reviews during the decade of 1904-1914. In the introduction to his work, Shovlin included a brief consideration of Ireland's periodical history in the first twenty years of the century leading to his start date of 1923. He comments upon a number of reviews published during the first two decades of the century, beginning with D. P. Moran's *The Leader* (1900-71), and moving on to *Sambain* (1901-08), *Dana* (1904-05), *Uladh* (1904-05), *The Irish Review* (1911-14) and A.E's *Irish Homestead* (1895-1923). Another periodical was also considered at slightly greater length in his opening chapter - *The Irish Statesman* (1923-30), which was also edited by A. E. Any of these publications would have proven an excellent topic to study, and he suggests an abundance of possible

⁴ For examples of this growing trend, see: Frank Shovlin, *The Irish Literary Periodical 1923-1958* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003); Tom Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines: An Outline History and Descriptive Bibliography* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2003); Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (ed.), *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Kelly Matthews, *The Bell Magazine and the Representation of Irish Identity* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012); and Niall Carson, *Rebel by Vocation: Seán O'Faoláin and the Generation of The Bell* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

threads as primary points of research. But choices have to be made - over the ten-year period that forms the epicentre of my work, there emerged three literary magazines, these are *Dana*, *Uladh* and *The Irish Review*. The full story of the three chosen journals remained incomplete at Shovlin's time of writing, and as discussed later in this introduction, not enough has been done to locate their place in the broader context of Irish cultural and historical change at a time of increasingly revolutionary foment.⁵

Aside from Shovlin's text, the other great influence upon this study was Michael Shelden's *Friends of Promise: Cyril Connolly and the World of Horizon* (1989), which focused upon the magazine of its title, *Horizon* (1940-50) and its legendary Anglo-Irish editor Cyril Connolly.⁶ *Friends of Promise* chronicles the history of the magazine and its contents alongside the activities of Connolly and his literary circle. Shelden successfully blends literary criticism and cultural history, as well as stressing the importance of biography and just plain gossip in understanding the dynamics of a literary magazine. Though *Horizon* is not connected to those within this thesis (it was London based and published twenty-six years after the decade focused upon within this study) Shelden captures better than any other critic to date the importance of the editor and the journal in recording the history and culture of the time in which it was published. This approach has been emulated in relation to the chosen titles of this thesis, their editors and coteries.

Until Niall Carson's recent study of Seán O'Faoláin and *The Bell*, no similar study had existed for an Irish little magazine. In fact, prior to Shovlin's work, few attempts had been made to highlight the importance of literary reviews in understanding Ireland's cultural and political landscape. Published in the same year as Shovlin's work, Tom Clyde's *Irish Literary Magazines: An Outline History and Descriptive Bibliography* (2003) has been a useful starting point for further research into my chosen periodicals; as the

⁵ This is discussed within this Introduction on pages 5-7.

⁶ Michael Shelden, *Friends of Promise: Cyril Connolly and the World of Horizon* (London: Minerva, 1990).

subtitle states, Clyde's text provides a bibliographical survey of Irish literary magazines, as well as a short critical analysis of each; his sharp eye for detail and encyclopaedic knowledge of the field makes his book an invaluable reference point for anyone interested in the progress of the literary magazine in Ireland. Prior to this publication, the most serious attempt to research, interpret and promote the literary periodical in its Irish context was *Three Hundred Years of Irish Literary Periodicals* (1987), edited by Barbara Hayley and Enda McKay. This collection of essays covered a vast expanse of the history of Irish magazines, though only one article concentrated upon the periodical press in the twentieth century.

Peter Brooker's and Andrew Thacker's *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Volume 1 Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (2009) devotes two chapters to Irish magazines, thus providing more nuanced context for modern Irish periodical culture. More recently, Kelly Matthews has published *The Bell Magazine and the Representation of Irish Identity* (2012), a work focused exclusively on the journal of that title. The author chronicles the history of the magazine, using developments in post-colonial theory to interpret the cultural significance of *The Bell* itself, as well as assessing the magazine's response to the transformation of Irish society in the mid-twentieth century (particularly war and war-time censorship). Niall Carson's *Rebel by Vocation: Seán O'Faoláin and the Generation of the Bell* (2016) provides a more comprehensive study of the influential literary group associated with *The Bell*. Carson tells their story through painstaking archival work and letters between members of the magazine's circle, thus contextualising its place in Irish writing. This book has proven influential to my thesis through its illumination of the relationships and disputes of the contributors to *The Bell*, revealing how such contextual history defines a literary periodical and what it publishes.

That the decade 1904-1914 of Ireland's literary magazines requires further research and study is evinced by the scarcity of scholarly writing on it. For example, though *Dana*

may survive in the occasional footnote from Joycean scholars commenting upon his involvement and rejection by the editors of the little magazine, few have attempted a more comprehensive analysis of the review itself. Similarly, an essay within *George Moore: Dublin, Paris, Hollywood* (2012), edited by Adrian Frazier and Conor Montague, titled ‘George Moore’s *Dana* Controversies Revisited: A Plea for an Irish Théâtre Libre?’ by Michel Brunet considers an article Moore published in *Dana* that was a scathing attack on W. B. Yeats and the theatre in Dublin. Within Brunet’s essay, the magazine itself is a footnote to the Moore and Yeats scenario (discussed in greater detail within my first chapter).⁷ The best study of the magazine is Dathalinn M. O’Dea’s short article ‘Modernist Nationalism in *Dana*: An Irish Magazine of Independent Thought’, in which he studies the journal in relation to its editors, John Eglinton (the pseudonym of W. K. Magee) and Fred Ryan, and the autonomy they promoted for their magazine.⁸ In addition to this, he considers the particular brand of progressive nationalism the editors endorsed, though he does not attempt to contextualise the place of the magazine in Irish culture during its publication run whilst narrating the issues published within its pages.

Similarly, neither *Uladh* nor *The Irish Review* have received the critical attention they deserve given the quality of contributions and the import of editorial analysis. Both of these literary periodicals provide a unique assessment of the period and the hardening nationalism that led to Easter 1916. To date the chief analysis of *Uladh* remains Eugene McNulty’s *The Ulster Literary Theatre and Northern Revival*, yet, as the title reveals, the work itself is more focused upon the northern theatre rather than its accompanying magazine. Nevertheless, McNulty succeeds in recreating the events and relationships of those

⁷ See page 47-58.

⁸ Michel Brunet, ‘George Moore’s *Dana* Controversy Revisited: A Plea for an Irish Théâtre Libre’, in Adrian Frazier and Conor Montague (ed.), *George Moore: Dublin, Paris, Hollywood* (Kildare: Irish Academic Press, 2012); Dathalinn M. O’Dea, ‘Modernist Nationalism in *Dana*: An Irish Magazine of Independent Thought (1904)’, in *Eire-Ireland*, vol. 45: 3-4 (Winter 2010).

involved in the years leading to *Uladh*'s publication and those afterwards. Another scholarly criticism on *Uladh* is Marnie Hay's 'Explaining *Uladh*: Cultural Nationalism in Ulster'.⁹ Hay's article interprets the magazine in a cultural nationalist light, and has been extremely useful to my thesis; however, little scholarship has been completed that contextualises and presents the origins of *Uladh* and its place in Irish writing as well as analysing the tensions and divide between the north and south of Ireland in relation to the journal and its publication run. Another valuable source is Richard Kirkland's *Cathal O'Byrne and The Northern Revival in Ireland, 1890-1960*; as the title suggests Kirkland places emphasis on the individual writer and his involvement with northern figures and their revival, though it is useful in the depth of context it provides on Francis Joseph Biggar and the Ardigh coterie that were subsequently involved with the founding of *Uladh*. Kirkland's chapter dedicated to the origins of the northern revival has been particularly useful in analysing the events prior to *Uladh*'s founding.¹⁰

The most authoritative criticism of *The Irish Review* is Ed Mulhall's *From Celtic Twilight to Revolutionary Dawn: The Irish Review 1911-1914* (2015), published recently on RTÉ's digital pages. Mulhall's essay surveys a number of cultural issues highlighted within the magazine, placing each in the context of the period, though the fact that Mulhall surveys only a small number of submissions to the review means that several important issues are bypassed and, if not, only briefly referred to. Mulhall touches upon the contextual history of *The Irish Review*, though he does not delve into its planning or production, neither does he consider the importance of literary networking and relationships with regards to shaping Irish magazine culture. The article rehearses the standard history of *The Irish Review*, whereby critics believe that it was simply the sale of the magazine from David

⁹ Published within: Betsey Taylor FitzSimon and James H. Murphy (ed.), *The Irish Revival Reappraised* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 119-131.

¹⁰ Richard Kirkland, *Cathal O'Byrne and The Northern Revival, 1890-1960* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006).

Houston to Joseph Mary Plunkett in the summer of 1913 that led to the volatile and hardened politics it is now chiefly remembered for. The fact that both Plunkett and Thomas MacDonagh (the two editors of the magazine during its final year of publication) were executed in the aftermath of the Easter Rising supports this view. *The Irish Review* tends to be remembered more because of its associations with many of the figures involved with Easter 1916, rather than because of its own literary merit.

The most vital research tool for *The Irish Review* chapter has been University College Dublin's (UCD) invaluable network – revival2revolution.omeka.net. This source was created alongside, and to support, the centenary conference of the same name focusing upon the life and works of Thomas MacDonagh held in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin in June 2015. Attending this UCD event proved crucial to the structure and progression of this chapter, as well as impacting the thesis as a whole – in particular, my immersion into the contextual history of not only the magazine itself, but also the editors and contributors associated with it, and their involvement with one another. This impacted the way I approached and re-edited my previously written chapters. Kurt Bullock in 'From Revival to Revolution: Thomas MacDonagh and *The Irish Review*' in *Ireland and the New Journalism* (2014) also provided some useful insight into MacDonagh and his dominance of *The Irish Review*. The title of Bullock's essay enforces a concept addressed throughout this thesis (in particular within the final chapter): how a revivalist movement that encouraged Ireland's return to the rich cultural heritage of the past led to a generation of revolutionaries who organised one of the most devastating and far reaching moments in Ireland's history – Easter 1916.

Over recent years as the centenary celebrations for the Easter Rising approached, this period has received an abundance of renewed historical attention. In particular, Roy Foster's *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland 1890-1923* (2015) provides a terrific portrait of not only the rebels involved with Easter 1916, but those figures

associated with the Irish revival and nationalism in the two decades before its turn to militancy.¹¹ Foster does not simply consider the events of Easter 1916, he looks to those figures involved, their lives, jobs, loves and the events and personal experiences that carried them into those fatal days of the Rising. He also considers the importance of figures such as *Dana's* editors John Eglinton and Fred Ryan, who promoted a unique nationalism in the decade prior to such events but did not support the revivalist nationalism that dominated Irish society and culture. Furthermore, he stresses the importance of such prominent thinkers who felt the nationalism promoted in the revival was fraudulent. Within his work Foster legitimises the use of literary magazines as significant historical sources, quoting freely from Alice Milligan's and Ethna Carbery's *Shan Van Vocht* (1896-1899), as well as *Dana* and *The Irish Review*. Prior to Foster's work, Charles Townshend's *Easter 1916* (2011) provided a comprehensive overview of the events surrounding the Rising from the build up to the event itself and the destruction and devastation born from it.¹² Townshend's study has been particularly useful with regards to *The Irish Review* chapter of my thesis; however, he fails to acknowledge the journal's full significance when he briefly mentions its involvement with The Irish Volunteer Force (IVF). *The Irish Review* is not granted the attention it rightfully deserves for the platform it provided for the promotion of the IVF's ideals, manifestos and debates, as well as for its own literary merits.

Until now the history of these literary magazines has remained largely untold, as have the events surrounding the lives of their editors and contributors during their publication years. My primary purpose is to tell these stories in the detail they deserve. The decision to isolate three literary periodicals for scholarly attention means that a number of journals published within the decade remain unexamined. In a selection of magazines

¹¹ Roy Foster, *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland 1890 - 1923* (London: Penguin Group, 2014).

¹² Charles Townshend, *Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion* (London: Allen Lane, 2005).

with such varied publication history, format, content and contributors, an exhaustive analysis is beyond the scope of any one thesis. By focusing upon three magazines I am able to execute an in-depth analysis of each, which has not been considered before.¹³ In an attempt to do justice to the selected themes of: the politicisation of art, the complexity of nationalism and unionism, feminism, internationalism and literary networks, a large number of submissions to each journal (essays, poems, plays, short stories and reviews) have inevitably been excluded, whilst emphasis is put on a limited number of writers and issues. Such selections will form a cohesive whole within the thesis, and their inclusion will be justified ahead of any other that could have equally taken their place. The main themes of the thesis, as mentioned above, have been chartered through the content of each literary magazine and organised structurally under sub-headings within each chapter. Yet, at times it has been problematic to explore the exact themes for each periodical. For example, whereas the *Dana* and *Irish Review* chapters of this thesis consider the politicisation of art as a central theme, the second chapter differs as it denotes *Uladh* as more highly politicised regarding the divide between the north and south of the country. Similarly, each chapter addresses themes more specific to each individual magazine; for example, the *Dana* chapter considers literary networks in the same manner as the latter chapters, though it also considers a literary spat between W. B. Yeats and George Moore and its relevance to the magazine, as well as James Joyce's involvement with the periodical. Despite such differences, where applicable the central themes of the thesis discussed above will be addressed within each chapter.

Whereas other debates may dwell on a move away from the literary revival, this study offers a fresh critical perspective on responses to revivalism that dominated Irish culture

¹³ I am confident D. P. Moran's *The Leader* would have been a rich topic to consider for this study, though my reason for not including it is simply due to its chronology reaching far beyond the scope of this thesis. The reason for excluding Yeats' theatre magazines, *Sambain* and his earlier publication *Beltaine* (1899-1900) is that both have already been the focus of extensive critical attention. See, for example, Alex Davis, 'Yeats and the Celtic Revival: *Beltaine* (1899-1900), *Sambain* (1901-08), *Dana* (1904-05) and *The Arrow* (1906-09)', in Brooker and Thacker (eds.), *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955*, pp. 152-175.

through the periodical press. Besides such assessments of Ireland's revivification, this thesis will consider how a number of remarkable writers, artists and political thinkers contribute to the gestation of Easter 1916, shifting from revival to revolution in the decade leading to this event. Over this decade, names recur and their connections with each magazine become apparent. For example, Padraic Colum is published in the pages of both *Dana* and *Uladh*, and is involved with the founding of *The Irish Review*, acting as editor for a year of its run under David Houston's ownership. Similarly, *Dana's* editor and contributor, John Eglinton, is published within *The Irish Review*, and years earlier (a month after *Dana* had ceased publication), an editorial published within an issue of *Uladh* praised his writing style and editorship of *Dana*. Such connections occur throughout the history of Ireland's literary journals within this decade, and this thesis will establish the relevance of such friendships in shaping the periodical press.

Each chapter is dedicated to an individual magazine and is structured in chronological order, with the first focused upon *Dana*, contextualising the origins of the review and situating its role in Irish society. To this end it will attempt to acknowledge the platform for independent and intellectual debate that *Dana* provided; the editors were adamant that their magazine could deliver an unbiased assessment of the culture in which it was published, in their willingness to include articles in favour of common nationalist sentiments in mid-1904, as well as those in opposition. This chapter traces *Dana's* relationship with the revival, which was far from straightforward, documenting various articles within the journal and acknowledging the significance and contributions of the Celtic revival on Irish culture. Other contributions champion the importance of individualism in avoiding an insular nationalism promoted by revivalist figures, all the while relating *Dana's* publication debates to the wider context of the period.

While the aim of the chapter is to analyse the critical importance of *Dana* as a source of literary, historical and cultural chronicling, it is also keen to explore contentions and

points of divergence, and to acknowledge the context of such vigorous debates as they unfold within the magazine's pages. Thus, for example, George Moore's 'Stage Management in The Irish National Theatre' cannot be fully understood or appreciated if it is read without sufficient background knowledge.¹⁴ Submitted to *Dana* under a pseudonym, upon first glance readers might not be aware that this scathing attack on Yeats and his theatre movement stemmed from Moore's long-held personal grievances. Tracing the editors' dominance of the review (a quarter of the essays and debates published during *Dana's* year long run were by John Eglinton and Fred Ryan), I will bring a new understanding to the interactions and responses that stemmed from their input. For example, Fred Ryan's collection of articles in rejection of the revival are considered alongside a detailed analysis of the responses from revivalist writers that were often published within *Dana's* pages. The story of the literary magazine is told through the involvement of some of its most prominent contributors. It follows George Moore's involvement with the magazine, and contextualises his friendship with Eglinton prior to its founding. It also follows James Joyce's connections with the magazine, detailing his response to the editors' rejection of his work in early 1904, and the subsequent publication of a poem he submitted to the journal in the summer of the same year. Also considered is a range of contemporary debates prominent in Irish society that was commented upon within the magazine, including female suffrage and Ireland's education system.

The calibre of articles, poems, essays and short stories published within the pages of the review reveal *Dana's* willingness to be bold and experimental in subject matter. Of course in focusing upon these specific writers and highlighting their importance in *Dana's* story, others are neglected. The journal's list of contributors reveals diverse personalities, all of whom have an interesting story to be told in relation to their own

¹⁴ Paul Ruttledge, 'Stage Management in The Irish National Theatre' in *Dana* (5, September 1904), pp. 50-54.

history and that of their involvement and submissions to the magazine during its run. The selected writers that form the focus of the first chapter, and the themes discussed, have been chosen due to the quality of new material available to researchers and because of the light it sheds on the importance of *Dana* as a prominent creative space that encouraged intellectual debates liberated from the constraints of societal expectation. My work on *Dana* will therefore comment upon the progressive writing published within the pages of the periodical which challenged the literary norms of the day and looked for new trends in the landscape of both Irish and international writing.

Whereas the first chapter of the thesis focuses upon a Dublin-based magazine, and its response to the revival and other cultural matters, it is in the analysis of *Uladh* that the pre-partition hostilities between the north and south of Ireland become clearly apparent. It narrates the tensions related to the revival from the northern perspective. In order to frame this period, the chapter first analyses the origins of Ulster nationalist movements at the end of the nineteenth century and rehearses the actions of the small grouping of northern writers who attempted to locate Ulster's place within the wider revival in the years prior to *Uladh's* founding. It is necessary to begin with such contextual history to demonstrate the impact these figures, such as Alice Milligan and Francis Joseph Biggar, had upon Bulmer Hobson and David Parkhill, the two men who established *Uladh* in 1904. The story of the magazine begins in the years prior to its first publication, when the northern group attempted to establish a nationalist theatre for Ulster; their motivations were similar to those imperatives that led Yeats, Lady Gregory and Edward Martyn to found their Dublin-based theatre movement. Though the backdrop to the theatre was Belfast, *Uladh* was to be a representation of a cultural revival in Ulster more generally. It was with this in mind that the men planned the formation of a sister branch to Dublin's Irish Literary Theatre. The theatre was to present plays that would reconnect audiences with the culture of the north, whilst hoping to form an indispensable part of

the revival more generally. However, this chapter analyses how the rising tensions between Dublin and Belfast were far more deeply rooted than theatrical rivalry; it reveals the cultural, regionalist and political differences between the two cities. The chapter refutes criticisms that *Uladh* faced which accused the journal of a deliberate northern segregation, and being at the spearhead of a northern revival detached from that occurring in the rest of Ireland.¹⁵ As with *Dana*, the second chapter will trace the story of how *Uladh* came to be, focusing upon its most prominent contributors, including its key founder, David Parkhill, who is so often absent from literary scholarship but is central to the story of the magazine's birth.¹⁶ Other northern writers such as Rutherford Mayne and Forrest Reid will feature to move them from the periphery to centre of revivalist debates. My chief aim is to address the reasons behind the founding of the magazine, and analyse the divide between the north and south of Ireland, questioning to what extent the foundation of *Uladh* was motivated by perceived southern rejections of the north.

The final chapter focuses upon *The Irish Review* and considers its three-year publication run, rather than solely focusing upon its final year when it became associated with the Irish Volunteer Force (IVF) and promoted their ideals, manifestos and movements. This telescoped approach has been a common methodological error in previous research into the review.¹⁷ Once again the importance of the literary circle is central in influencing what a magazine publishes and secures its place within Irish culture and writing of that time. The publication life of *The Irish Review* is traced, from what initially emerged as a literary magazine designed to address all aspects of Irish culture and art, to a journal dominated by its hardened position on Irish political matters. Critically *The Irish Review* remains today an important resource in documenting the years building to the most

¹⁵ See: F. M. Atkinson, 'A Literary Causerie' in *Dana* (8, December 1904), p. 252.

¹⁶ An example of this exclusion of David Parkhill is: Marnie Hay, 'Explaining *Uladh*: Cultural Nationalism in Ulster', in *The Irish Revival Reappraised*, ed. Betsey Taylor FitzSimon and James H. Murphy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004).

¹⁷ This narrow focus is apparent in: Charles Townshend, *Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion* (London: Allen Lane, 2005).

significant moment in modern Ireland's history, Easter 1916. It is for this reason that *The Irish Review* may be looked upon as a political magazine transformed from its literary origins due to its change in ownership from David Houston to Joseph Mary Plunkett in the summer of 1913.

However, literature and the arts remained a focus of the journal, and that did not change during its run. My contention within this chapter is that the ideological vision of *The Irish Review* was altered in later years by the emergence of the IVF and the editors' involvement with such; literary matters may have continued to fill more than half of each edition of the magazine's pages but politically Ireland was changing at a faster rate than perhaps any periodical could track. By 1914 tensions between nationalist and unionists were increasing daily with the formation of their own volunteer movements, and Britain's troubles, on the brink of war with Germany, provided Ireland's nationalists with a new opportunity for political liberation. In the final year of publication, non-political articles continued to dominate *The Irish Review* in terms of quantity, yet it was the quality of those political submissions that created the received view in contemporary critical and historiographical circles that the magazine is best understood through a revolutionary nationalist lens.¹⁸ Due to the involvement and eventual execution of some of *The Irish Review's* editors and contributors (Thomas MacDonagh, Joseph Mary Plunkett and Roger Casement) for their part in Easter week 1916, this chapter will consider *The Irish Review* as vital in documenting, often in an outspoken manner, the increasing tensions and position of Ireland's politics during those years. My study will exploit new archival research into Thomas MacDonagh showing how he developed from a writer and lecturer at UCD into a revolutionary figure in Ireland's history. Access to MacDonagh's private letters held at the National Library of Ireland has assisted in mapping the history of the review and the

¹⁸ See Tom Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines: An Outline and Descriptive Bibliography* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2003), p. 161.

relevance of his own personal friendships in shaping its development. MacDonagh was the only member of the literary circle involved from its founding to the end of its publication run, though Padraic Colum's years as editor under David Houston's ownership are also granted attention. Other figures such as James Stephens and Mary Colum (née Maguire) are also considered, and emphasis is placed upon the inter-relations between contributors, editors and owners of the magazine during its run.

Despite the importance of literary periodicals in shaping Ireland's cultural landscape, with the publication life of a magazine commonly cut short, critics have often neglected the significance they can have as sources in documenting the germination of a variety of debates from given periods in Irish history. This thesis considers the literary magazine in Ireland as important in providing new critical insight into the writers prominent during the decade. In its own individual way each journal studied within this thesis created a publication forum in which intellectual debate and creative excellence were fortified, and freedom of expression, whether it be controversial or majoritarian, was upheld. Despite the key role played by these publications in shaping Irish culture, much of what they published has been ignored by literary scholarship. The three magazines that are at the centre of this thesis are unavailable to all but a select readership: *Dana* has been reprinted in its entirety as a text titled *Dana: An Irish Magazine of Independent Thought* (1970), though it is not readily available in most libraries. In order to access *Uladh's* complete publication run I attended the National Library of Ireland Archives. Alternatively, *The Irish Review* is perhaps the most accessible of the three considered within this study with each issue now available on the online database JSTOR. By bringing such research to the forefront of literary scholarship, it is hoped that this thesis will facilitate a new perspective on the period.

A more recent publication, the Declan Kiberd and P. J. Mathews edited *Handbook of the Irish Revival: An Anthology of Irish Cultural and Political Writings 1891-1922* (2015) features

a collection of insightful writings covering the period focused upon within my thesis. The importance of this publication in relation to my thesis is its inclusion of a number of articles reprinted from *Dana*, for example Eglinton's 'A Thought Revival', as well as the manifesto of the Ulster Theatre, originally published in *Uladh*. The editors have successfully located such articles amongst contemporary discussions and debates from that time, offering a wider contextual analysis of the period which has proven useful to my own research. This thesis attempts to follow on from Kiberd's and Mathews' introduction, which provides a thought provoking commentary of the period that engages with the various events and voices, stating that "the intention here is to return to the moment that produced these texts and to see the contributors as they saw themselves: to recognise the sense in which each contribution to the developing debate was at the mercy of its moment of enunciation".¹⁹ This approach of scrutinizing original publishing contexts forms a central methodological plank of this dissertation.

As Kiberd and Mathews have suggested, if there is anything that defines this period it is the belief that the gap between ideas and actions could be closed. It is in this context that my thesis is written, not in accepting a too comfortable interpretation of the years between 1904-1914, whereby editors, writers and their magazines all provided a single, cosy approach to Irish culture, and the artistic movements that dominated society, but in revealing the conflicting views and intellectual debates that led to a richly varied historical and cultural tapestry. The three literary magazines considered within this thesis are important contributions to Irish history and are themselves part of the culture that brought about revolution in 1916. Over the decade that forms the central focus of this thesis there emerges the story of three literary periodicals that interpret and promote their own individual conceptions of a possible Irish future.

¹⁹ Declan Kiberd and P. J. Mathews (ed.), 'Introduction', in *Handbook of the Irish Revival: An Anthology of Irish Cultural and Political Writings 1891-1922* (Dublin: Abbey Theatre Press, 2015), p. 25.

The Last Lucifer Match: *Dana* (1904-1905)

The existence of a completely independent organ of opinion of any high level, and with serious aims, is impossible in Ireland.

- *Uladh* (May 1905)

Literary Networks

The ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ episode of *Ulysses* (1922) opens in the director’s office of the National Library, where Stephen Dedalus presents his theory on Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* to John Eglinton (the pseudonym of William Kirkpatrick Magee), A.E. (the pseudonym of George Russell), T. W. Lyster and Buck Mulligan (Joyce’s fictionalized version of Oliver St. John Gogarty). The participants in this discussion would all contribute to the little magazine *Dana* during its yearlong publication run from May 1904 to April 1905. Joyce’s characterisation of Eglinton during the discussion reveals that Dedalus was “the only contributor to *Dana* who asks for a piece of silver” – a detail reflecting reality given that Joyce was the only paid contributor to the magazine for his poem ‘Song’ published in the fourth issue.¹ Stephen’s response to Eglinton is characteristically droll: “for a guinea, you can publish this interview” (*U*, 242). Aside from co-editing the magazine, Eglinton contributed an article to almost every issue published; A.E. submitted several poems and essays across a number of the twelve publications, T. W. Lyster’s 1895 lecture on Jane Austen (discussed in more detail later in the chapter) was spread over four issues of *Dana*, and Oliver St. John Gogarty would see three poems published in the journal during its run.² Throughout ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ a variety of other figures associated with, and published in, *Dana* are mentioned: the magazine’s co-editor, Fred Ryan: “Fred wants a space for an article on economics” (*U*, 275); Edward Dowden, Professor of

¹ James Joyce, *Ulysses* (London: Penguin Classics, 2000), p. 242. Further references will be cited parenthetically in the text.

² For further reading on T. W. Lyster’s lecture series see pages 39-41.

Oratory and English Literature at Trinity College Dublin, and George Moore – “shall we see you at Moore’s tonight?” (U, 245) Eglinton asks A.E. “Young Colum” (U, 246) is also discussed, a prominent literary figure in the decade from 1904-1914, appearing in all three of the magazines examined within this study; A.E. “liked Colum’s *Drover*” (U, 242), revealing to the participants of the library scene, “yes, I think he has that queer thing, genius” (U, 246). And, of course, Joyce himself was published within the pages of *Dana*. Though Synge is not present in the library scene, nor was he published within the pages of *Dana*, Joyce refers to the writer through the title of his play *In The Shadow of the Glen* within the library scene, and Buck Mulligan goads Dedalus about the possible consequences of a bad review he has written of Synge’s work. *The Shadow* is the focus of an article published in the final issue of the magazine, and is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. Synge’s lack of publication within *Dana* was not through his own choice; in later years, Eglinton confessed that he could not stomach an article that Synge had sent him for publication and decided against using it.³

This library scene occurs during the early afternoon – “it is this hour of a day in mid June” (U, 235) – a little over a month since *Dana*’s opening issue appeared in print, and the whole episode can be read as an editorial meeting for the new magazine. In fact, within the episode, Joyce refers to “mother Dana” directly (U, 249). The first number of *Dana* appeared in print in May 1904, though no correspondence exists to reveal any insight into the planning, production and publication of this first issue. Initially, it was subtitled “a magazine of independent thought”, though subsequent editions revealed an updated banner with a more nationalist intent: “an Irish magazine of independent thought”. During its publication run, *Dana* provided a useful window into several of the cultural controversies of the period. I have isolated five of these controversies, beginning with an analysis of the magazine in relation to the revival. I intend to examine the editors’

³ E. H. Mikhail (ed.), *J. M. Synge: Interviews and Recollections* (London: MacMillan, 1977), p. 96.

response to the revival, in particular Fred Ryan's articles critiquing the Gaelic League. 1904-1905 was a prominent year for growing militant nationalism in Ireland: as well as Arthur Griffith's founding of Sinn Féin, the revival continued to dominate the cultural landscape, yet this chapter will highlight how, though *Dana* often addressed the significance of the revival, it promoted its own individual beliefs that avoided what the editors believed to be the insular nationalism promoted by many revivalists.⁴ Following this, I intend to address George Moore's involvement with the magazine, through his submissions and his friendship with John Eglington. Moore, along with W. B. Yeats, is also vital to the third controversy examined within this chapter, one centred on an article published in the fifth issue which was written by Moore under a pseudonym as a criticism of the Irish National Theatre.

Dana was positioned as a progressive magazine that provided unbiased commentary on the society in which it was published. Aside from nationalism, revivalism and its connections with some of Ireland's most celebrated writers, the magazine interrogated other societal issues of the period. The final controversy published within the review that is to be considered is the position of women. Through short stories and articles, *Dana's* editors challenged the traditional patriarchy that had long dominated Irish society – promoting forward thinking rather than a maintenance of the status quo. Despite only running for twelve issues, the five controversies to be addressed reveal why the magazine was a fruitful choice for this thesis. The calibre of articles, poems, essays and short stories published within the pages of the magazine reveal *Dana's* willingness to be bold and experimental in subject matter. In *300 Years of Irish Periodicals*, Peter Denman called *Dana* Ireland's first twentieth-century "little magazine". Though he is unsure of the

⁴ There were many other key events that occurred in 1904 in relation to the theatre; in February, the Irish National Theatre Society first performed J. M. Synge's *Riders to the Sea* at Molesworth Hall, Dublin. Towards the end of the year, on 1st November, George Bernard Shaw's comedy about Ireland, *John Bull's Other Island*, opened at the Royal Court Theatre in London – Yeats who believed it did not accurately represent the Irish tradition had rejected a performance by the Dublin theatre company.

origin of the label “little magazine”, he comments how critics have wrongly associated the term with Margaret Anderson’s Chicago-based *Little Review* (1914-1929), when the editorial note in the opening edition of *Dana*, a decade earlier, had labelled itself as such. He so rightly states how Eglinton and Ryan’s introduction was “by no means self-deprecatory”.⁵

Any fair and detailed assessment of *Dana* must consider its connection with James Joyce. Besides his publication in the fourth issue of the magazine in August 1904, Joyce was published three times in another Dublin-based periodical, *The Irish Homestead*, during that same year. Under the editorship of A.E., the *Homestead* published ‘The Sisters’, ‘Eveline’ and ‘After the Race’. These three short stories, all of which would later be published within his collection *Dubliners* (1914), were written using the pseudonym Stephen Daedalus whereas in *Dana* Joyce published under the name James A. Joyce, using his middle initial for the only time in his writing career – possible reasons for this decision will be examined here. *Dana* is often remembered – if it is remembered at all – as the journal that rejected James Joyce’s essay ‘A Portrait of the Artist’ in 1904 (Joyce would later edit and expand this essay into his seminal novel *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*). While Joyce, at the tender age of twenty-two, felt that a memoir of his own artistic becoming was overdue, *Dana*’s co-editors, Eglinton and Ryan, did not share his optimism. “I did not care to publish what was to myself incomprehensible”, objected Eglinton to the hero’s exploits.⁶ Eglinton later regretted this decision, noting that “it (*Dana*) might have had a rare value now in the book market if I had been better-advised

⁵ Peter Denman, ‘Ireland’s Little Magazines’, in Barbara Hayley and Enda McKay (eds.), *300 Years of Irish Periodicals* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1987), p. 124. In a subsection to their introduction, titled ‘Defining Littleness’, Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker outline what they deem to be the definition of a little magazine: “often short-lived, committed to experiment, in constant financial difficulties and indifferent or directly opposed to commercial considerations”. For further reading, see Brooker and Thacker (eds.), ‘Introduction’, in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955*, pp. 11-16.

⁶ John Eglinton, *Irish Literary Portraits* (London: Macmillan, 1935), p. 136.

one evening in the National Library, when Joyce came in with the manuscript of a serial story, which he offered for publication”.⁷

Prior to this rejection, Joyce was already well acquainted with Eglinton from the National Library of Ireland in Kildare Street, where he often studied and Eglinton worked as the sub-librarian (he was later promoted to head) alongside T. W. Lyster. According to Richard Ellmann, Joyce committed many lines from Eglinton’s essays on literary subjects to memory.⁸ As well as this, Ellmann highlights how young Joyce and Gogarty often mocked Eglinton, typically via the limerick:

There once was a Celtic Librarian
Whose essays were voted Spencerian
His name is Magee
But it seems to me
He’s a flavour that’s more Presbyterian.⁹

Eglinton (1868-1961) was born in Dublin, the middle child of three sons of Hamilton Magee, a Presbyterian minister and the superintendent of the Dublin City Mission (first established in 1828 to provide care, support and aid to the city’s poor), and Emily Clare Magee (nee. Kirkpatrick). As an adolescent, he attended the same school as W. B. Yeats (who entered in 1881 after the Yeats family returned to Dublin from London), the High School Dublin (founded in 1870), before attending TCD. At university, Eglinton twice won the vice-chancellor’s prize for English verse (1889, 1890). It was during this time that he first adopted the pseudonym ‘Eglinton’, from Eglinton Street in Kingstown (now Dún Laoghaire), where his father lived.

Though Eglinton remained friendly with Yeats after their school days, he contested elements of the Irish literary revival occurring in Dublin that Yeats and his circle had pioneered, opposing the movement’s more cultural nationalist elements. The

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 118.

⁹ Ibid.

term 'Irish Revival' emerged as a description of Ireland's nationalist spirit from the early 1890s through to the Easter Rising of 1916, and reflected the growing interest in the revival of Ireland's culture from the past. It was hoped that a revivification of distinctly Irish sport, literature, language and mythology would restore Ireland's cultural prominence, and ensure greater independence from England. An early successful example of such cultural nationalism was the founding of the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) under the leadership of Michael Cusack, a teacher born in County Clare, in 1884; Cusack's frustrations with English sports dominating Irish society and diminishing national spirit, led to the formation of the GAA. Initially the GAA promoted athletics and later Gaelic football and hurling; within two years members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) dominated the movement, using it as a space to recruit new members, as well as endorsing it as an openly nationalist organization. Membership was refused if a person spectated at or participated in any sports imported from England, or if they were members of the British police or armed forces. In *A Portrait* Joyce conveys such nationalism through the character of Davin; he is optimistic about Ireland's future and independence, and tries to convince Stephen that the country comes before everything else, including art. Similarly, in the 'Cyclops' episode of *Ulysses* Joyce presents the Citizen (who works as an amalgam of Michael Cusack and Arthur Griffith) sitting tucked away in the corner of the pub with his dog, Garryowen. He is a staunch nationalist, addressing his pet only in Irish; he thinks that the restoration of the Irish language is inevitable. The Citizen dominates the conversation, racially abuses Leopold Bloom, and characters gravitate towards him to listen to him discuss the strength of the Irish nation and the weaknesses of England.

Similarly, such cultural nationalism in Ireland progressed further with the emergence of the Gaelic League, in 1893. Eoin MacNeill and Douglas Hyde (two nationalist figures who appear constantly in the decade discussed within this study) were involved with the

founding of the movement to restore both written and spoken Irish. Eglinton objected to the more nationalist strains of his contemporaries, promoting a more universal and cosmopolitan subject matter than that commonly pushed by the revival.¹⁰ His first book, *Two Essays on the Remnant* (1894), calls for its readers to follow their poetic conscience; this sense of mysticism, which owed more to Wordsworth than any other writer, was unusual for an Irish writer in the 1890s. Though much of his work remained scattered throughout various reviews, periodicals and newspapers, his later books *Literary Ideals in Ireland* (1899), *Pebbles From a Brook* (1901) and *Bards and Saints* (1906) constitute Eglinton's core contributions to literature.

Fred Ryan (1873-1913), *Dana's* other editor, was already an established playwright and journalist at the time of the magazine's inaugural issue. Born in Dublin, Ryan became a member of the Celtic Literary Society in 1896, a debating club organised by William Rooney and Arthur Griffith, which would later form the basis of the Sinn Féin party. Initially, Ryan supported the philosophies of Sinn Féin but gradually his bluntness caused quarrels with Griffith; Ryan would eventually reject his concept of nationalism as too narrow. John Kelly has stated how at one time or another Ryan "found himself arguing against practically every received Irish opinion".¹¹ As a journalist Ryan was often published under the pseudonyms Irial or Finian, submitting articles for publication in the Dublin and London press. He wrote regularly for the *United Irishman*, *Irish Independent* and *Freeman's Journal*; his contributions to Griffith's *United Irishman* criticised the paper's refusal to see the Irish struggle from an international perspective. It was his friendship with Frank and William Fay that led Ryan to join the amateur

¹⁰ Dathalinn M. O'Dea suggests that the editors of the magazine differed in their outlook from the ideals of the revival, as they promoted a "cosmopolitan impulse in politics and art" (discussed in further detail later in the chapter). According to O'Dea, this cosmopolitanism shaped the magazine's tenor and artistic progression, as the material published within the pages of *Dana* was so varied. See Dathalinn M. O'Dea, 'Modernist Nationalism in *Dana: An Irish Magazine of Independent Thought* (1904)', in *Eire-Ireland*, vol. 45: 3-4 (Winter 2010), pp. 95-123.

¹¹ John Kelly, 'A Lost Abbey Play: Fred Ryan's *The Laying of the Foundations*' - www.ariel.ucalgary.ca/ariel/index.php/ariel/article/download478/470 -Accessed January 2014.

Ormonde Dramatic Society in 1901, and in 1902 he took a small part in their production of plays by A.E. and Yeats (this movement eventually led to the establishment of the Irish National Theatre Society). It was for the Ormonde Dramatic Society that he wrote *The Laying of the Foundations*, which was first performed for Cumann na nGaedheal at the Ancient Concert Rooms in 1902.¹² Later that same year, Ryan was elected secretary of the new society, a position he held until 1904 when he was made treasurer. Although he was deeply involved with the theatre, Ryan continued writing journalism. Kelly suggests that Ryan grew “increasingly weary of the orthodoxy and superficiality of most Irish periodicals and newspapers and in 1904 he and John Eglinton tried to redress the balance by launching *Dana*”.¹³

Like many literary periodicals, *Dana* relied heavily on contributions from its two editors; in fact Eglinton and Ryan contributed nearly a quarter of the articles to the magazine. Pieces such as ‘Political and Intellectual Freedom’ which appeared in the first issue of the magazine, and ‘On the Possibility of a Thought Revival in Ireland’, printed in the third, reveal *Dana*’s willingness to debate issues not often given sufficient ventilation in Ireland of the early twentieth century.¹⁴ The inaugural editorial note acknowledges the difficulties of launching an independent magazine at the time, with no attachment to other cultural movements or organisations:

The difficulty is to begin: and to make a beginning is especially difficult in a country like Ireland, where our bards and prophets have never learned to deal directly as men with elements of human nature, and to dispense with traditional methods and themes. We are in the position of a marooned civilian who has struck his last Lucifer match in a desolate isle, and who, with the intention of broiling the fish which he has snared, or the beast which he

¹² In the March 1900 edition of the *United Irishman*, Griffith published an article which called for a movement that would bring together nationalist groups; the result was the formation of Cumann na nGaedheal towards the end of that same year. Like many Irish nationalist movements, this organisation promoted a restoration of Ireland’s cultural past. In 1907, Cumann na nGaedheal merged with the Dungannon Clubs (discussed in detail in the *Uladh* chapter of this study), and with the Nation Council to form Sinn Féin.

¹³ Kelly, ‘A Lost Abbey Play’, p. 30.

¹⁴ ‘Political and Intellectual Freedom’ was published in *Dana* (1, (May 1904), p. 30); ‘On the Possibility of a Thought Revival in Ireland’ was published in *Dana* (3, (July 1904), p. 98).

has slain, is making his first pathetic efforts with flints or with dry sticks.¹⁵ (1, May 1904, p. 1).

Dana's uniqueness within an Irish context was this autonomy from any parent movement. As later chapters will reveal, *Uladh* was the organ of the Ulster Literary Theatre and *The Irish Review* would eventually become a publication closely associated with the Irish Volunteers. The absence of such connections in *Dana's* establishment and growth liberated Eglinton and Ryan from promoting any institution, and granted the magazine the opportunity to provide a platform for sundry controversial social debates. It was promoted as a journal of literary, cultural and political innovation, serving as a forum for such discussions and inviting “thinkers, dreamers, observers dispersed throughout Ireland and elsewhere, who do not despair of humanity in Ireland, to communicate throughout Ireland and elsewhere, who do not despair of humanity in Ireland, to communicate through our pages their thoughts, reveries and observations” (1, (May 1904), p. 3). The opening editorial argued that there is “a certain hollowness in the pretensions of Irish literature – of trying to promote an artificial sentimental unity in Irish life by carefully ignoring all those matters as to which Irishmen as thinking and unthinking beings hold diverse opinions” (1, (May 1904), p. 2). Published within its pages were original poetry, short stories and essays, literary reviews and articles on Irish life; the diversity of such artistic, political and religious opinions revealed its appeal to a wide readership.¹⁶ The fact that *Dana* was published in London, as well as Dublin, suggests that the autonomy promoted within the periodical projected an image of an Irish identity that traversed the country's borders. O'Dea has stated: “reading *Dana* in light of the

¹⁵ *Dana* was published monthly from May 1904 through April 1905 in Dublin by Hodges Figgis & Company, and in London by David Nutt. The short-lived monthly journal has been reprinted as *Dana: An Irish Magazine of Independent Thought* (New York: Lemma Publishing Company, 1970). *Dana* is also available through Brown University's online Modernist Magazine Project and can be accessed via their website – http://modjourn.org/render.php?id=1117807766801454&view=mip_object - Further references will be cited parenthetically by issue number, date, and page numbers of this reprint.

¹⁶ See Appendix A for the cover image of *Dana's* inaugural number.

period's debates and the landscape of early Irish modernism underscores the role such magazines played in shaping political and artistic sentiments at a time of national self-definition".¹⁷

Like every little magazine before and since, *Dana* was not established for financial gain, and reflected the editors' personalities, views and sympathies. Eglinton and Ryan aimed to solicit submissions that both engaged with and challenged contemporary issues. The opening editorial is an exemplary reflection of this worldview:

Let us not be suspected of any disposition to be truculent or nasty in the cause of what is called Free Thought. In truth, the more distinctly religious press in this country does not present a standard impossible to emulate in the furtherance of the gospel of peace and good-will to men. We would simply assume that people are sincere when they advocate tolerance, understanding by tolerance not a conspiracy of silence in regard to fundamental and essential matters, but a willingness to allow the freest expression of thought in regard to these. We would have our magazine, however, not merely a doctrinaire but a literary, or rather a humanist, magazine; and we would receive and print contributions in prose and in verse which are the expression of the writer's individuality with greater satisfaction than those which are merely the belligerent expression of opinion. Each writer is of course responsible for the opinions contained in his own contribution, and the editors, beyond the responsibility of selection, are by no means bound by the views of any contributor [...]

And we venture to hope that a magazine, starting with such general designs, should profit by whatever is genuine in the new life and movement which of late years have manifested themselves in the country. (1, (May 1904), pp. 3-4).

With its broadly socialist agenda, *Dana* aimed to comment upon, yet remain detached from what it felt was the insularity of the revival.

Dana's relationship with the revival was not straightforward; various articles within the magazine acknowledge the significance of the then flourishing rejuvenation of Irish culture, whilst others champion the importance of individualism in avoiding an insular nationalism promoted by revivalist figures. At times, *Dana* placed itself in direct opposition to the central contentions of the revival. In an attempt to promote their own

¹⁷ O'Dea, 'Modernist Nationalism in *Dana*', p. 3.

concept of Irish nationalism, Eglinton and Ryan endorsed articles that discussed the country's social and political frictions, as well as the sectarian issues the nation faced. P. J. Mathews has argued that the standard conception of Irish Nationalism in the early twentieth century "invariably occludes the complex range of political positions that were developing and competing within nationalism at this time".¹⁸ *Dana* is a signal example of such complexity. Each issue of the magazine revealed a commitment to publishing essays, poetry and fiction unconventional in opinion and form, strategy that, argues O'Dea, "positioned it at the forefront of early Irish modernism".¹⁹ Though this statement is bold, and one could question whether the magazine was at the forefront of early Irish modernism, through its pages *Dana* did aim to convey this desire to be modern, to look to the future, rather than to a Celtic past.

A letter written by Edward Dowden in 1913, states: "I have always regarded JE (Eglinton) as a writer of exceptional originality and as one whose thoughts are of great value not to Ireland only, but to readers everywhere, who care for things of the mind".²⁰ Yet this was not the universal response to *Dana*: George Moore had hoped the magazine would be simply an "anti-clerical journal", whereas Yeats dismissed it as "Fleet Street Atheism", and Joyce suspected *Dana* to be an "amusing disguise of the proselytizing spirit".²¹ Despite these comments, the editors' desire to publish such a balanced albeit sometimes contradictory assessment revealed the ethos of the journal - in order to reinvigorate Irish culture, Eglinton and Ryan acknowledged the importance of revivalist writers and their attempts to preserve Ireland's cultural heritage. However, the editors

¹⁸ P. J. Mathews, *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Féin, The Gaelic League and The Co-operative Movement* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2003), p. 4.

¹⁹ O'Dea, 'Modernist Nationalism in *Dana*', p. 2. Following this, O'Dea suggests that *Dana* existed not solely as a by-product of a national imagining but as a medium for and manifestation of it.

²⁰ Ernest A. Boyd, 'John Eglinton', in *The North American Review*, vol. 198, no. 696 p. 165 – <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25120125> - Accessed 4th April 2013.

²¹ Eglinton, *Irish Literary Portraits*, p. 137. The fact that three of the most important and successful writers of the period were discussing *Dana* reveal the impact it had upon Irish society during its publication run.

believed that complete focus on the past would forestall the emergence of a modern and relevant Irish culture. In the tenth issue of the magazine, which appeared in print in February 1905, F. M. Atkinson's review of recent revivalist literature accorded with the editors' views:

It seems to me that the method of the so-called Celtic writer is synthetic; he selects various elements that he declares are essentially and peculiarly Celtic, then he builds up his own work with these, and the result is, we are told, genuine Celtic literature. As well might a painter think by mixing the primary colours of the solar spectrum to produce white; he will only succeed in obtaining a dirty grey. So the Celtic school has merely produced a new conventional way of writing, and not content with seeking inspiration from the Old Irish literature and interpreting it to the modern world, they would have us return to the ancient ways of thought and being, moulding our living selves after the fashion of those who lived many centuries ago in a different civilisation and an environment wholly like ours: nay rather, they would have us accept as models the imaginative ideals of certain men of a semi-barbarous age, for who can doubt that the heroic tales of Ireland owed more to the bard than to history. That like a hermit crab – unable to grow a shell of his own and finding himself uncomfortable in his own dwelling, he hunts for a shell whose previous owner is dead and vanished, and takes possession of it. (10, (February 1905), p. 315).²²

As with Atkinson, Eglinton and Ryan's main issue with the revival was its obsession with the past. The editors hoped for the emergence of a national literature that engaged not with a faded history but with a future of cosmopolitan modernity.

An example of such an imperative for social awareness is Thomas Keohler's article, 'The Irish National Theatre', published in the penultimate issue.²³ The article reviewed the second production of J. M. Synge's *The Well of the Saints* staged at the Abbey Theatre on 4th February 1905 (it was repeated for the following six nights). Though the review is mainly a critique of the play, he admires some aspects, such as the aesthetics of the production.

²² Atkinson is discussed again in later chapters of this study, in the analysis of his criticisms of *Uladh* (the magazine that is the focus of the second chapter). Atkinson criticises Yeats in particular, who he deems to be "the most conspicuous figure of the Celtic School" whose verse is "undoubtedly a shaping influence in the verse of today". Despite this, he praises Yeats in later sections of the review as perhaps the best living poet in Ireland, deeming his poetry "exquisite". See F. M. Atkinson, 'A Literary Causerie', *Dana* (10, February 1905), p. 316.

²³ Thomas Keohler (1873-1942) was born in Belfast; his father, Joshua William, was involved in several flour businesses and in 1876 the family moved to Runcorn, England, to run a flourmill. Within a few short months the family had returned to Ireland and settled in Dublin. Keohler is most commonly recognised today as a friend of Joyce (whom he remained in correspondence with until Joyce's death in 1941). See <http://www.jjon.org/jjoyce-people/thomas-keohler> - Accessed September 2016.

However, his criticisms are similar to those of Eglinton and Ryan with regards to the national movement in general. Keohler's chief condemnation is with the incident in which the plot follows the restoration of a blind man and woman's sight by a priest – "the very fact of a play being based on an incident of this nature precludes it in a measure from any vital connection with the tendencies and developments of modern life and thought" (11, (March 1905), p. 351). He acknowledges the author's right to use any incident he pleases, though he questions the adequacy of it:

As we all know, there are thousands of people in this country who believe implicitly in the possibility of such a miracle taking place in this particular manner, and if the play should ever happen to be produced in rural districts, it would most likely tend to strengthen this belief, and in so far as it did so, would be allying itself to the already too numerous forces in the land opposed to intellectual progression [...]

The play can never be popular. Its appeal is chiefly to those who can feel the joy which its literary skill evokes, the delight of the mind in the brilliant and subtle dialect, and the quick keen strokes which exhibit the whimsical, blustering, pathetic old blind man warring against the invincible facts which have so suddenly and ruthlessly destroyed his long-cherished vision of beauty. (11, (March 1905), pp. 351-352).

Keohler indicates that such literary detachments from modern Irish life are a shortcoming of the work itself and the movement to which it belongs. The inclusion of such an article within the pages of *Dana* was a strategic move from the editors, to publish work that stirred intellectual debate as well as supporting and strengthening their own contentions.

Following the opening editorial, the first issue of *Dana* continues with a poem titled 'The Sower', written by Edward Dowden, and the first instalment of George Moore's 'Moods and Memories'. As previously mentioned, in 'Scylla and Charybdis' Eglinton asks A.E. "shall we see you at Moore's tonight?" (*U*, 242). As the conversation flows, Stephen Dedalus is embarrassed not to have been invited to the literary at-home that evening; he attempts to distract himself with thoughts of Aristotle and by looking awkwardly towards

his cane.²⁴ Moore himself remains absent from this impromptu ‘editorial meeting’, and it is worth speculating how he fits into the *Dana* circle. Moore (1852-1933) was born 24th February 1852 at Moore Hall, Ballyglass, Co. Mayo. Unlike most “big houses” built in the Anglo-Irish style, Moore Hall was a Catholic residence. He was the eldest son of George Henry Moore, a founder of the Catholic Defence Association (established in 1851 to support and defend the rights of Catholic farming tenants), a leading figure in the independent Irish party, and a successful breeder and trainer of thoroughbred horses. Moore’s involvement with *Dana* stemmed from his friendship with Eglinton and in *Irish Literary Portraits* Eglinton records their first meeting:

It was at a picture show in Dublin about the year 1898 that Lady Gregory called me over to introduce me to Mr. George Moore. He was at this time turned forty, erect and coldly genial, and but for the curious appearance of his sloping shoulders he looked, with his bowler hat and cane, more like an army officer than a distinguished writer. He had offered himself as a champion of the Gaelic Revival, and had announced his intention to establish himself in Dublin, an accession of strength to the literary movement over which Yeats was in high exultation, through the Romanticist and the satirist were soon to quarrel: ‘The Aristophanes of Ireland’ was the phrase with which Yeats hailed his new ally ... Moore looked me up and down (rather insolently, I thought), rapidly as it seemed to me comparing me with the probably favourable accounts he had heard from AE, and in a strong harsh voice, which impressed me disagreeably, told me he had read my articles in the *Daily Express*. He did not say what he thought of them, and I for my part could think of nothing to say, so that he turned off at once to be introduced to some other hole-and-corner man of letters. An inauspicious beginning to a long and serious friendship.²⁵

In recent years, Adrian Frazier has questioned the dates Eglinton attributes to that first meeting. Though Eglinton recalls it was around 1898, Frazier contests that Moore was not present in Dublin at that time, and Lady Gregory herself did not meet Eglinton until

²⁴ In *James Joyce*, Richard Ellmann discusses another “literary party” to which Joyce was not invited. The hostess of this event was Lady Gregory and Ellmann writes how most of Dublin’s young men with “literary pretensions had been invited, excluding only Joyce”. In this instance Ellmann quotes Eglinton who describes how Joyce attended the party anyway, “with his air of half-timid effrontery, advancing towards his unwilling hostess and turning away from her to watch the crowd”. In relation to the discussion of Moore’s literary event within this chapter, Ellmann also comments upon such rejection. He notes: “He was slighted also by George Moore, who never invited him to his evenings at home, though Gogarty was a constant guest. Moore had seen Joyce’s poems – Russell (A.E.) had showed him some – and handed them back with derision”. See Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 135.

²⁵ Eglinton, *Irish Literary Portraits*, p. 85.

December 1898. Frazier notes how Gregory recorded in her own diary that Eglinton had attended Jack Yeats' picture show on 24th February 1900, along with others, including, it is likely, Moore himself.²⁶

In the 'Ave' chapter of his autobiography *Hail and Farewell*, Moore recounts a conversation with A.E. about the sacred language of the "old Celtic Gods" and A.E.'s lack of knowledge of the Irish language: "But how, then, am I to believe that the Gods have appeared to you? I answered. That Angus and Diarmuid, Son of Angus, have conversed with you? That Dana the Earth Spirit has chanted in your ears?" Moore could not accept A.E.'s comments about the lack of usefulness of the Irish language, and for this reason wished to meet Eglinton to further such discussion: "I turned from him petulantly, let it be confessed, and asked somebody to introduce me to John Eglinton",²⁷ thus revealing that both men were already familiar with one another before their first meeting. Nevertheless, despite such a frosty start, the men formed a friendship within the National Library, a place Moore often visited, which lasted until his death in 1933.

"Moore set himself to conquer me", Eglinton recalled, "and from the first decided to take me as seriously as privately I took myself".²⁸ In *Hail and Farewell*, Moore describes "dear little John Eglinton": "the little shrivelled face and the round head with a great deal of back to it, to the reddish hair into which grey is coming, to the gaunt figure, and I fell to thinking how his trousers had wound round his legs as he had walked down the street".²⁹ Providing such an exact if unflattering description in his narration was typical of Moore and he concludes of Eglinton: "a gnarled and solitary life, I said, lived out in all the

²⁶ Adrian Frazier, *George Moore 1852-1933* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 246.

²⁷ George Moore, *Hail and Farewell* (Worcester: Billing and Sons, 1985), pp. 142-143. This text has proved essential to my study as it provides a primary response to the revival and highlights relationships and tensions between key literary figures during the period.

²⁸ Eglinton, *Irish Literary Portraits*, p. 88. Eglinton later reflected how Moore was "the most familiar of my acquaintance, peering curiously into my privacy, and opening his soul to me more I believe than to others: a soul in contact with some perennial source of caustic insight and salutary disillusionment, yet one that craved affection" (p. 86).

²⁹ Moore, *Hail and Farewell*, p. 585.

discomforts of a bachelor's lodgings".³⁰ It was during conversations at the NLI that the friendship developed and Eglinton provides the following vivid description of Moore in

Irish Literary Portraits:

How clearly I can still see him at a table in the book-stores of the National Library, his large white face lit up with an inquisitive smile, his pale blue eyes (ordinarily rather fishy) every now and then caught in a side light and converted into soft azure depths (old Mr. Yeats, the poet's father, was the only person I ever heard remarking on this peculiarity of Moore's eyes). 'Could there be lovelier poetry than *The Scholar Gypsy*?' he would begin: and instantly I told myself in my self-conscious soul, 'Someone has been telling him, "Try him with Matthew Arnold"!' And actually the impressionable man 'had tears in his eyes' one day when, knowing that I was a Wordsworthian, he wanted to know which of the two poems he had just been reading was the most beautiful, *Yarrow Visited* or *Unvisited*. There was no resisting him, and presently I became a regular frequenter of his Saturday evening gatherings.³¹

There were periods within the friendship when Eglinton claimed to have "lost sight of him" simply because he believed he was of no use to him during such particular moments. However, on such occasions when Moore would find himself in the NLI at closing time, the men would walk to Moore's home or through the suburbs, talking always of writing books. In *Irish Literary Portraits* Eglinton depicts a meeting at Moore's similar to the one discussed in the library scene of *Ulysses*. Eglinton describes Moore "seated stiffly in his chair, his glass beside him though seldom lifted, and smoking his excellent cigar, he would dominate the little company with his strong voice and vivacious presence". He continues: "he gave us dinners, far better dinners than we were accustomed to, and mellowed by his unwonted wines we listened to his trenchant talk or turned out like school boys into the playground of ideas", and later recalls how "he became now and then reminiscent of the intimacies of his Parisian experiences".³²

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Eglinton, *Irish Literary Portraits*, pp. 88-89.

³² Ibid, pp. 90-91.

It was a vivid description of these intimacies that proved to be Moore's most memorable contribution to *Dana*. Moore played a significant part in the publication and development of the periodical; in support of Eglinton, he provided financial support as well as essays. In early 1904, Moore had written a letter to the editor of *The Daily Chronicle* to promote the launch of *Dana*. In March 1904, he surprised Eglinton by handing six articles to be published in serial form within six numbers of the magazine. By January 1905 Moore was working on 'The Lovers of Orelay'- an autobiographical reminiscence of his lover "Doris" (Maude Burke before her marriage). The writing traced the relationship between twenty-two year old Burke and forty-two year old Moore, and reflected upon memories they shared. When it was published in book form in 1906 Moore altered the title to *Memoirs of My Dead Life*, but the original chapters were titled 'Moods and Memories' and were what Moore had given to Eglinton for *Dana*. Prior to this, versions of the articles had been published in the 1890s in *The Hawk*, *Speaker* and *Pall Mall Budget*. However, the articles handed to Eglinton had been edited and slightly re-written for publication in *Dana*. Perhaps the most notable difference was the deliberate attempts to outrage Catholic sensibilities in Ireland.

Despite Moore's awareness of the controversies stirred by his words and the offence caused to devout Catholics by his recollections (in particular the depiction of an unmarried Catholic Dublin girl living in Paris with her lover), he notes: "spires are so beautiful that we would fain believe that they will outlast creeds, religion or no religion we must have spires, and in town and country – spires showing between trees and rising out of the city purlieus" (1, (May 1904), p. 5). Moore reminisces about childhood, and, as he walks, he acknowledges how "fancy follows fancy, image succeeds image, and I look into the face of London" (1, (May 1904), p. 6). Yet his mind wanders to memories of Parisian life: "Paris drew me from these, towards other pleasures, towards the Nouvelle Athenes and the Elysee Montmartre; and when I returned to London after an absence of ten years

I found a new London, a less English London. Paris draws me still” (1, (May 1904), p. 8).

In the July issue of *Dana*, Moore’s instalment of ‘Moods and Memories’ discusses the impact that Paris had upon his life, revealing his aversion to Ireland:

I cannot look upon this city without emotion: it has been all my life to me. I came here in my youth, I relinquished myself to Paris, never extending once my adventure beyond Bas Meudon, Ville D’Avray, Fontaine – bleu – and Paris has made me. How much of my mind do I owe to Paris? And by thus acquiring a fatherland more ideal than the one birth had arrogantly imposed, because deliberately chosen, I have doubled my span of life (3, (July 1904), p. 74).

In his biography of Moore, Frazier acknowledges how some of the alterations Moore made to the chapters before submission to *Dana* reveal his new anti-Catholic approach.

For his fourth instalment, Moore added a paragraph detailing Madame Blanche’s morning ritual of going to Mass, which always postponed breakfast:

Year after year the same affectionate welcome, the same spontaneous welcome in the garden of rhododendrons and chestnut bloom. I would linger in the garden, but I may not, for breakfast is ready *et il ne faut pas faire manquer la messe a Madame. La messe!* How gentle the word is, much gentler than our word, mass, and it shocks us hardly at all to see an old lady going away in her carriage *pour entendre la messe*. Religion purged of faith is pleasant, almost a pretty thing. Some fruits are better dried than fresh, religion is such a one, and religion, when nothing is left of it but the pleasant familiar habit, may be defended, for were it not for our habits life would be unrecorded, it would be all on the flat, as we would say if we were talking about a picture without perspective. (4, (August 1904), p. 106).

The motivation behind Moore’s anti-Catholicism is best revealed in a letter he wrote for publication in *The Irish Times* on 24th September 1904. In the ‘Salve’ chapter of his autobiography Moore recreates a meeting with A.E. to discuss this letter before its submission to the newspaper:

At last the door closed, and I was free to tell him that it was impossible for me to bear with this constantly recurring imputation of Catholicism any longer.

I have written a letter, I said, which should bring it to an end and forever. But before publishing it I should like to show it to you; it may contain things of which you would not approve. The pages were spread upon the table, and A.E. began to suggest emendations. The phrases I had written would wound many people, and A.E. is instinctively against

wounding anybody. But his emendations seemed to me to destroy the character of my letter, and I said:

A.E. I can't accept your alterations. It has come to me to write this letter. You see, I am speaking out of a profound conviction.

Then, my dear Moore, if you feel the necessity of speech as much as that, and the conviction is within you, it is not for me to advise you. You have been advised already.³³

Addressed to the editors of the newspaper, Moore acknowledges the false claims that he had converted to Protestantism due to the eccentricity of his character (which the letter reveals he had been accused of many times). Before his scathing attack upon the Catholic Church, his response begins: "my religion is no one's concern except my own, and I should have preferred my religious preferences to remain private".³⁴ This seems ironic, granted that we can trace the deliberate alterations Moore made to the 'Moods and Memories' chapters for *Dana* which aimed to outrage Catholic sensibilities.

Adrian Frazier has stated how Moore's "bland, painterly and worldly treatment of faith is as deliberately offensive to Irish Catholics as he could make it".³⁵ Moore's response to his shift in religious preference concludes:

I decided to leave the Church of Rome when I read the announcement that the Roman Catholic Archbishop had attended the King's Levee, and that Maynooth was preparing to receive the King in spite of the opinion of Irish Nationalists. I am not a politician, and hold no opinion whether it would be better that Ireland should cheer the King or make a silent way for the King to pass. It was said at the time that Catholic Archbishop consented to attend the King's Levee in order to get a Cardinal's hat. At the time I did not credit the rumour. I was willing to attribute his desertion to weakness of character, but I read in the *Freeman's Journal* that he is to be raised to the Cardinalate at the next Consistory.³⁶

³³ Moore, *Hail and Farewell*, p. 458. In the notes that accompany the 'Salve' chapter of Moore's *Hail and Farewell*, the autobiography's most recent editor, Richard Cave, argued that it was not fitting that Moore should link his political distaste for the religious clergy over the Maynooth incident "with a serious avowal about his religious beliefs". Cave reveals how as well as A.E., Gogarty had also advised Moore not to unite the two incidents in his letter: "they felt rightly that the force of his intention to declare himself a Protestant would be belittled by the facetiousness of the contrast between the two ideas". However, Moore did not listen to the appeals from his contemporaries, and the letter was submitted for publication. For Cave, one of the motivations behind Moore writing *Hail and Farewell* was to recover some of the esteem he suggests he lost through the flippancy of his remarks. See Cave, 'Notes: Salve', in *Hail and Farewell*, p. 727.

³⁴ 'Mr George Moore and The Roman Church: to the Editor of *The Irish Times*', quoted in 'Appendix C' of *Hail and Farewell*, pp. 669-670.

³⁵ Frazier, *George Moore*, p. 346.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

Moore's keenness to be seen as anti-Catholic is evident in the second issue of *Dana* where he evokes a time, twenty years earlier, when he dined with Mademoiselle D'Avary in Paris, and compares her to a "thin and delicate" waitress: "it was interesting to compare her ripe beauty with the pale deciduous beauty of the waitress" (2, (June 1904), p. 57). After some conversation Moore attempts to trace her accent: "you're English", he tells rather than asks. Her response is simple: "I'm Irish. I'm from Dublin". Moore questions how "a Catholic girl reared in its Dublin conventions" found her way to Paris at such a young age (2, (June 1904), p. 58). At sixteen the waitress had travelled to Paris for a job as a nursery governess for a wealthy family; it was during an afternoon in The Luxembourg Gardens that a student sat beside her on a bench; "the rest of the story is easily guessed", Moore notes. With no money to keep her, the Irish waitress worked at the café to earn a living. Moore recalls the ill health the waitress was in ("one lung was gone"): "we spoke of health, of the south, and she said that the doctor had advised her to go away south". A short time later, Moore returned to the café and was to discover the fate of the waitress, and his thoughts are consumed with her. The second instalment finishes with Moore pondering "the poor little Irish girl", "the poor heap of bones".

I bow my head and admire the romance of destiny which ordained that I, who only saw her once, should be the last to remember her. Perhaps I should have forgotten her had it not been that I wrote a poem, a poem which I now inscribe and dedicate to her nameless memory (2, (June 1904), p. 61).

Moore's uses of religious imagery (of the bowed head and his reference to being "ordained") were deliberate attempts to outrage Catholicism in Ireland. He was well aware that this memory of a young Catholic girl living a life that opposed her religious upbringing would cause upset in Ireland. It is for this reason that Moore made such edits to the chapters for publication in *Dana*; his religious preferences had been drastically

transformed and he addressed such distaste for Catholicism through his writing in a magazine that was to be a platform for free thought.

But *Dana's* attitude to Catholicism was far from monolithic. Moore is followed in this issue by an article written by Eglinton himself, titled 'Breaking the Ice', which discusses in admiring terms the literary work and successes of a Catholic priest, Canon Sheehan. Following this is a poem 'The Omen' written by an undisclosed author who signs himself M., and an article by Fred Ryan, titled 'Political and Intellectual Freedom'. Ryan's article reveals the magazine's desire for political liberty and intellectual debate, advocating a "humanist philosophy" to counter sectarian conflicts. Though his writing does not directly attack the Catholic Church or British imperialism, but instead challenges the Irish public to change, he suggests that their willingness to be ruled and governed by England and the systems they have imposed prevents any political or intellectual liberation for Ireland. For Ryan a revival of Ireland's past was not enough; he suggests that it is Ireland's history, in her acceptance of political and religious dominance by England, that has been her greatest error: "And the only road to political wisdom is by way of political responsibility. A people long suffering from political servitude have the vices of slavery, lack of constructive political faculty, lack of initiative, (and) lack of the wise compromise that comes of action" (1, (May 1904), p. 29). Following Ryan's argument, one is reminded of Joyce's description of his countrymen in 'After the Race' – also written in 1904, and published in the December issue of *The Irish Homestead* under A.E.'s editorial control – as "the gratefully oppressed".³⁷ For the liberation Ryan desires for Ireland, he urges *Dana's* readers to "raise our own canons of conduct and scrutinise our own standards of thinking" (1, (May 1904), p. 30). In the penultimate issue of *Dana*, published in March 1905, Ryan's criticisms are further addressed in an article titled 'The Catholic Silence', written under the pseudonym Irial, an article to which I shall shortly return.

³⁷ See: James Joyce. 'After the Race' in *Dubliners* (London: Penguin Classics, 2000) pp. 31-37.

In 'Political and Intellectual Freedom', Ryan's criticism suggests that in order to progress as a country, Ireland must free herself from the complacency she has fallen into: "trampled by alien and unsympathetic rule" the Irish have "more or less contentedly, lain down in their chains soothed by the hope of after-reward" (1, (May 1904), p. 31). Instead of acceding to this pathetic submission, Ryan argues that the people of Ireland must turn their energies from dreaming of freedom to "bettering and beautifying" their current situation (1, (May 1904), p. 31). The article, which is, notably, the final publication in the first issue of the magazine, concludes:

We need in Ireland a spirit of intellectual freedom, and a recognition of the supremacy of humanity. And so far from this prescription being offered as a substitute for national freedom it is urged as a necessity of a true national ideal. For the synthesis of much recent criticism is this: intellectual freedom and political freedom are not opposites. Rightly understood, intellectual freedom and political freedom are one. (1, (May 1904), p. 31).

The final note to conclude the first publication of *Dana* invites contributors to submit articles to 26 Dawson Chambers, Dawson St., Dublin.

Internationalism

Dana's editors did not limit debate to Irish matters alone; instead, Eglinton and Ryan asserted their desire for articles that reflected intellectual life outside of Ireland also. An example of this is T. W. Lyster's lengthy essay on Jane Austen, which was published over four numbers of the magazine, and based upon an 1895 lecture. The first instalment of the essay appeared in the December 1904 issue and praised the English novelist for her passion for literature rather than revolution: "Jane Austen's life was without great events; she was not touched by the ideas of her time, the time of the French Revolution; she never knew any of the other great writers of her day, never mixed in the brilliant literary society of London" (8, (December 1904), p. 245). He continues to praise her ability to "think with interest of the great flood of action and passion which filled the age" (8,

(December 1904), p. 248) in which she wrote. Lyster's praise of Austen continued in the third instalment of the essay, published in the February 1905 number, in which he commends her ability to ensure that her literature remained unbiased with regards to political or social preferences. Lyster notes: "she (Austen) takes no temporary side in temporary controversies, she champions no cause whose interest is now dead. She is on the side of truth, and wisdom is her cause in her account of human life; her art is not to disguise or exaggerate" (10, (February 1905), p. 303). Throughout the four instalments, Lyster presents Austen as an author who comments upon the nationalist sentiments of her time, but resists "devolving into art as propaganda".³⁸ By carefully locating Lyster's essay within the pages of the journal, between Irish fiction, poetry and articles, the editors were operating on two levels – firstly, thematically through Lyster's praise of Austen's detachment from nationalist sentiment and ensuring it did not consume and ruin her literature (clearly a message to Irish writers during the revival), and, secondly, promoting the international intellectual debates the editors sought within their magazine.

For Eglinton, *Dana* served as a forum to combat the provincial apathy of the country and address the need for change in what he felt was an increasingly introspective national literature. In 'The Best Irish Poem', Eglinton revealed his admiration for some Gaelic writing that was not dominated by themes of the past. He finds an example of such modern thought in Brian Merriman's *The Midnight Court*. Originally published in the Irish as *Cúirt an Mbean Oíche*, the poem was unique in eighteenth-century Ireland due to its satirical and direct treatment of sexuality. Eglinton's praise of this poem was due to the social commentary it provided without relying on the resurrection of the past. He suggests that it is proof that: "there is no natural limitation in the Irish mind which disqualifies it for dealing boldly with substantial things, or for free speculation" (10, (February 1905), p. 298). Eglinton proposes that in order to be nationalist one must

³⁸ O'Dea, 'Modernist Nationalism in *Dana*', p. 109.

strive to ensure that literature is socially engaged with the present, rather than limited to complete emphasis on the retelling of folk tales from the past. For the editor, Merriman was an “Irish freethinker” (10, (February 1905), p. 302) and an example of the sort of national figure the magazine was eager to promote and encourage. *The Irish Times*, published on 30th July 1904, was approving of such progressive thinking:

THE AUGUST number of *Dana* well maintains the standard set by the earlier issues. There are poems by Miss Jane Barlow, “Æ,” and Mr. James A. Joyce, each of them possessing rhythmical merit, but all suffering from the obscurity that seems to be almost inseparable from most modern Irish verse; Mr. George Moore continues his astonishing “Moods and Memories,” treating of everything Parisian from pictures by Degas to artificially fattened chickens in the same airy allusive irresponsible style; and Mr. William Buckley tells the story of King Diarmuid.

But these, after all, are not the sort of contributions for which we specially welcomed *Dana*. Irish poetry and romance can find other avenues for their expression. A periodical, describing itself as “An Irish Magazine of Independent Thought,” must stand or fall by the quality of the articles which deal with controversial topics. Is *Dana* fulfilling its mission by providing a platform on which men of all parties and creeds may meet and deliver their opinions without fear and without reservations? Needless to say there is much yet to be achieved in this respect. Probably *Dana* is even yet hardly known to many who would like to make public their views; and the space available for such deliverances is at present strictly limited. Still, a beginning has been made, and already there have been printed several articles giving ground for the hope that ere long the expression of “independent thought” in Ireland will be a good deal freer than it has been for many years.³⁹

Nationalism and Socialism

In a bid to avoid *Dana* being identified and labelled as an anti-revivalist magazine (as they were well aware such could potentially hinder their chances of success), the editors were careful to feature work of revivalist poets within its pages. Following the publication list for the August 1904 issue of the periodical mentioned within *The Irish Times*, *Dana*’s fourth issue featured an article by Dubliniensis, titled ‘On Reasonable Nationalism’. The article described the ‘Celtic Renaissance’ as “A light blossoming of songs and tales in the language of the new Irish nation, this emergence of the old beliefs

³⁹ *The Irish Times*, 30th July 1904 - <http://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/july-30th-1904-1.545147>. Accessed October 2016.

of the Gael in Anglo-Irish literature, in spite of wintry returns of the old unregenerate nationalism, is the sure indication of a new national unity towards which Ireland has now for a long time been tending” (4, (August 1904), p. 104). *The Irish Times* article concludes with a comment about ‘On Reasonable Nationalism’: “We have said enough to show that, whatever we may think of the writer’s opinions, the article is well worth reading. Our chief regret is that the writer has not revealed his real name”. No correspondence exists to reveal the identity of the author behind the pseudonym.

Another article to comment positively upon the revival within *Dana* was Atkinson’s ‘A Literary Causerie’. It praised both Yeats and Synge for their contributions to “the new Celtic literature” (10, (February 1905), p. 315), though Atkinson’s article went on to criticise the revivalist movement more generally. In its attempts to provide a balanced assessment of the revival, *Dana*’s editors were careful to publish articles that supported the Gaelic League, though those articles in opposition to it were higher pitched and more frequent. Founded in 1893 by Eoin MacNeill, and with Douglas Hyde as its first president, the League aimed to promote the use of Irish language in everyday life, to revive Ireland’s heroic past and maintain the country’s individual identity in the face of English influence. Though it was initially promoted as apolitical, the movement soon attracted many Irish nationalists, and was a network of social and cultural movements. P. J. Mathews has commented how movements such as the Gaelic League were examples of ‘self-help politics’ that gained widespread appeal allowing them to effect Irish culture and society; the extent to which these movements had an impact in Ireland were vigorously debated within the pages of *Dana*.⁴⁰

One typical comment piece was titled ‘The Gaelic League and Politics’, which was the first submission to question the Gaelic League’s commitment to furthering the plans and desires for Irish independence. It was written by Alfred Webb (1834-1908), a Dublin

⁴⁰ Mathews, *Revival*, p. 7.

Irish Parliamentary Party politician and Member of Parliament, first elected to the House of Commons in 1890. Webb criticised the language movement for diverting nationalist attention from the politics of the country:

It is impossible that a language movement, an art movement, or a manufacture movement can ever take the place of a political movement. As long as questions of peace and war, of land and labour, of housing, of taxation, of provision for old age, and a thousand other questions that might be named, and above all the obtaining of the proper machinery for a dealing with these matters – as long as these exist, a political movement of some kind there must and will be, however apathetic things might become for a season. (5, (September 1904), p. 142).

Webb's chief criticism of the Gaelic League is the "numbing" effect it had upon Irish society to "the acute sense of political wrong that should subsist in our minds concerning British interference in our national affairs" (5, (September 1904), p. 142). Using a method Ryan would later employ in subsequent issues of *Dana*, Webb refers to great nationalist figures of Ireland's past, such as Swift, Molyneux and Grattan, and wonders whether the country could afford to "blot out" such names because they wrote in the English language. He further suggests that the promotion of a language movement and the energy spent upon it is wasteful and potentially dangerous: "a language movement in itself need not be political. But if its tendencies were permitted to become essentially 'non-political', and it assumed to take the place of politics, it would, in truth, become essentially political in a most mischievous sense" (5, (September 1904), p. 143). Despite this, Webb's article is not a complete dismissal of the Gaelic League, but instead an assessment of its impact upon Irish culture and society. His conclusion reveals similar beliefs to those conveyed by Eglinton and Ryan within the pages of *Dana* with regards to the revival as a whole: "Is it not best to look hopefully forward, garnering the experiences of the ages and of all people, rather than seek to live in and by the far past of our own country alone?" (5, (September 1904), p. 143).

In November 1904, Fred Ryan openly attacked the Gaelic League. His article, titled ‘Is the Gaelic League a Progressive Force?’ revealed the anti-revivalist nature of the magazine’s editor:

Only a nation of slaves would contentedly resign themselves to be governed by another nation. But the mere desire to speak another language does not of necessity at all correlate with the active desire for political freedom. On the contrary, the Gaelic League leaders do not seem to be at all such keen lovers of liberty as plenty of the mere English speaking Irishmen before them. (7, November 1904, p. 217).

Ryan acknowledges how “the desire for political independence is admirable” (7, (November 1904), p. 217), yet criticises the pivot on which he believed the Gaelic League turned – language: “To make Irish, or even the desire to acquire it, the test of Nationalism”, he writes, “would shut out some of the best men who have served the cause of Irish liberty in the past. Parnell did not know Irish or endeavour to learn it” (7, (November 1904), p. 217). Though Ryan (and Eglinton) often positioned *Dana* as an anti-revivalist journal through the content published within it, and he himself was at times opposed to the nationalism promoted by revivalist movements and figures, it is worth noting that he was not against independence for Ireland.

“I ask myself”, Ryan states of the promotion of the Irish language, “is this a step forward or a backward?” (7, (November 1904), p. 218). For Ryan, and *Dana*, the answer to this question was simple: the League’s language movement was a definite step back for Irish society and culture. Three years earlier, in his self-published pamphlet ‘The Day of the Rabblement’ (1901) James Joyce took a similar position with regards to the revival. The rabblement of the title refers to the masses of theatregoers and writers that had succumbed to the revival that dominated society and allowed politics to influence artistry. For Joyce, this compromised any creative progression for Ireland. He argues: “the Irish Literary Theatre by its surrender to the trolls has cut itself adrift from the line of advancement”.⁴¹

⁴¹ James Joyce, ‘The Day of the Rabblement’ (1901), in Declan Kiberd and P.J. Mathews, *Handbook of the Irish Revival: An Anthology of Irish Cultural and Political Writings 1891-1922* (Dublin: Abbey Theatre Press, 2015), pp. 164-165. Within

For Joyce, like Ryan, this surrender to the language of Ireland's past and the dominance of peasant plays in the theatre, limited the artist. In the *Dana* article, Ryan wonders how men are to become "better Nationalists" by speaking the Irish language, or how being English-speaking hinders them in respect of being "active lovers of liberty" (7, (November 1904), p. 218). Though the editors of *Dana* were not revivalists, they certainly hoped to stir a nationalist spirit for the country, though language was not necessarily vital to this – not one of the twelve issues published during the periodical's run included any Irish language material. Similarly, in the 'Ave' section of his autobiography Moore recalled how his desires to meet and become acquainted with Eglinton had stemmed from the latter's knowledge of the Irish language. From a conversation with A.E., Moore had been led to believe that this ancient language had divine provenance, though Eglinton suggests otherwise: "it was not from the Gods that he had learned what he knew of the Irish language; that his was only a very slight knowledge acquired from O'Growney and some of Hyde's folk-tales".⁴² Prior to the publication of *Dana*, Eglinton believed that the Irish language had never been a necessity for furthering Ireland's nationalism. Moore recalled: "all I remember is that in the middle of the discussion John Eglinton dropped the phrase: the Irish language strikes me as one that has never been to school".⁴³

Fred Ryan's dispute with the Gaelic League stemmed from his belief that the desire to speak and write another language does not necessarily correlate with the desire for political freedom. He lists poets, politicians, economists and historians who have spoken and published in the English language: "Swift, Wolfe Tone, Moore, Davis, Duffy, Mangan, Fintan Lalor, Mitchel D'Arcy McGee, John O'Leary, Speranza, Carleton, Kickham, Banim,

the article Joyce also criticised Yeats, Martyn and Moore. Though he acknowledged Yeats' writing had been "of the highest order" in earlier years, Joyce believed that his own self-respect should have urged him to refrain from association with the platform of the revival. For Joyce, Martyn and Moore were "not writers of much originality", though Moore's earlier books had "wonderful mimetic ability".

⁴² Moore, *Hail and Farewell*, p. 143.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

the Sullivans, John Boyle, Standish O'Grady and Yeats" (7, (November 1904), p. 218). No comparable list, he argues, exists for Irish. Rather than waste time encouraging the people of Ireland to restore the language of their ancestors, Ryan believed nationalists should seek to free Ireland from the political constraints forced upon her by England through the emergence of new nationalist political movements. He continues: "to make Irish, or even the desire to acquire it, the test of Nationalism would shut out some of the best men who have served the cause of Irish liberty in the past" (7, (November 1904), p. 217). For Ryan, this promotion of Irish language over English "savours somewhat of priggishness" (7, (November 1904), p. 218), and he states, "it is not surely the language a man writes in that matters, it is the mind that moves him" (7, (November 1904), p. 218). As the article draws towards its conclusion, Ryan promotes the brand of outward-looking nationalism endorsed within the pages of *Dana*: forward thinking rather than retrospective, proving much more modern than that promoted by orthodox revivalism: "a nation is not morally raised by dwelling on its own past glories or its neighbours' present sins; it is raised by increasing its ability to deal with its present problems, political, economic, and social, in a spirit of equity and a spirit of knowledge" (7, (November 1904), p. 220). The final sentence of 'Is the Gaelic League a Progressive Force?' answers the question posed by the very title – no it is not – revealing Ryan his most trenchantly anti-revivalist: "assuredly in the realms of modern science, there are stories as wonderful and at least more profitable than the careers of fabled God and demi-Gods in the Ireland of a thousand years ago" (7, (November 1904), p. 220).

In a bid to provide both sides of the argument for the revivification of the Irish language, the following issue of *Dana* published an article written by Stephen Gwynn, titled 'In Praise of the Gaelic League', written as a direct response to Ryan's. Gwynn was a prominent figure in the Irish periodical press 1904-1905, particularly in the North of

Ireland.⁴⁴ In his opening arguments, Gwynn establishes the successes of the League: “it has brought a spirit of study into the country, has evoked a great amount of self-sacrificing work, and has stimulated a much-needed feeling on indifference for England” (8, (December 1904), p. 239). He continues: “we may fairly ask, what other lever would have heaved Ireland so far out of its stagnant apathy? It is hard to understand how an organisation which has admittedly accomplished these things could be other than a progressive force” (8, (December 1904), p. 243). This defensive tone remains, though he hesitates to directly criticize Ryan, and instead discusses the cultural importance of the Irish language, very much along the lines pushed by Thomas Davis and Young Ireland sixty years earlier:

A national education ought to be founded on a national literature; that the literature of England cannot be accepted as the national literature of Ireland; and that the great bulk of the national literature of Ireland, of the record of Irish thought and imagination, is written in Irish. (8, (December 1904), p. 242)

For Gwynn, as the current education system taught languages such as Latin, Greek, French or German, he argued that the introduction of Irish as a compulsory language for children across the country should not be frowned upon; he referred to their current schooling of foreign languages as “educational gymnastics” and suggests that Irish could be another element to such gymnastics, with an added advantage compared to those others mentioned: “maintaining the spirit of nationality” (8, (December 1904), p. 243). Gwynn contends that the study of Gaelic and English literature can be done in a mutually beneficial fashion; he believes that the majority of the time, if one was to find a lover of English fiction, “he is always heart and soul with the Gaelic League” (8, (December 1904), p. 243). Regarding Ryan’s suggestion that nationalist dedication to the Gaelic League diverts attention from more important political issues, Gwynn responds:

⁴⁴ Gwynn is discussed in greater detail within the *Uladh* chapter of this study.

The consensus is a standing proof of the fact that there is a deal of common ground among all those who sincerely wish to see Ireland prosperous and Irish, however they may disagree on methods, and even on principles. It certainly seems to me wild paradox to suggest that Gaelic Leaguers are in danger of ceasing to be active lovers of Irish liberty. For a movement founded on compromise – if it be a compromise to ignore the religious and political views of those with whom you work towards a definite object – it has the most uncompromising methods. (8, (December 1904), pp. 243-44)

Gwynn concludes the article by reverting his focus back to Ryan's article, reiterating that the League is a force making progress, not just with the Irish language, but also with Irish intellectual life.

The next Ryan piece to appear in print was in January 1905. 'On Language and Political Ideals' was his response to the accusation Gwynn made of being anti-nationalist, a charge he, Eglinton and the magazine itself now faced:

As to the kind of nation that is desirable I have a very clear notion; but as to the "spirit of nationality", and whether a distinctive language is an essential or accidental part of that spirit, whether political autonomy is or is not an essential of nationality, all this is a species of speculation in which you arrive at any desired conclusion by first giving your terms and phrases that required meaning. (9, (January 1905), p. 275).

Though the article does not directly attack the Gaelic League in the same manner his previous article had, Ryan remains wary of its growing popularity: "a movement which is all things to all men is curious, to say the least" (9, (January 1905), p. 273). He insists again on the importance of embracing modernity in Ireland, rather than having recourse to an obsolete past.⁴⁵ As the article continues, Ryan proposes a list of changes required to improve Irish society, which he argues nationalists should be concerning themselves with, even if they do not necessarily stimulate a national feeling. These include: improving working conditions for farm labourers; introducing a tax for wealthy landlords and using the remuneration to provide pensions to the poorer classes; improving education and providing free access to it. He notes: "we should be making a strong and cultivated and self-reliant people. And the reason, I confess, why I stand for Irish independence is

⁴⁵ See O'Dea, 'Modernist Nationalism in *Dana*', pp. 117-18.

because by it alone we can obtain the machinery to produce this” (9, (January 1905), p. 276).

Literary Networks: A Literary Spat

Aside from providing a forum for the discussion of what might be broadly considered identity issues, *Dana* also served as a platform for literary debates within Irish society. The single most interesting controversy to be aired in the magazine involves a rather unbecoming spat between two of the island’s leading writers. When the September issue of *Dana* appeared, it included an article written by Paul Ruttledge, titled ‘Stage Management in the Irish National Theatre’. Ruttledge was a pseudonym – the author was George Moore, using the name of the protagonist of Yeats’ 1902 play *Where There is Nothing* as his alter ego. To understand Moore’s scathing attack on Yeats and the Irish National Theatre that followed, one must consider the context of their relationship. Moore first met Yeats at a London pub, The Cheshire Cheese, in Fleet Street. Aged twenty-nine at the time, Yeats had already published *The Countess Cathleen* (1892), while Moore, thirteen years his senior, had published several successful novels, including *A Modern Lover* (1883) and *Esther Waters* (1894). In the ‘Ave’ chapter of his autobiography, Moore reveals how, after this initial meeting, he desired to continue their acquaintance, but it was more than a year before their paths crossed again; it was whilst both writers lived in the Temple area of London that they met once more.⁴⁶ The meeting occurred at the home of Arthur Symons; Moore knocked at the front door hoping to visit the English poet, literary critic and once editor of *The Savoy*, but it was Yeats who answered and informed him that Symons was not present.⁴⁷ Over the next few years, it was Lady

⁴⁶ Moore, *Hail and Farewell*, pp. 77-83.

⁴⁷ *The Savoy* was a literary magazine edited by Symons in London between 1895-1896, and published both art and literature. During its two-year publication run, the magazine published contributions from both Moore and Yeats. Due

Gregory who ensured the men remained consistently involved with one another. Frazier acknowledges that though Moore was not in the West of Ireland during the summer of 1897 (he was in London), when the plans for an Irish Literary Theatre were first established, “from the very start, however, he was part of the plans for that theatre”.⁴⁸

In ‘Ave’ Moore recalls a visit to his London flat on Victoria Street from Yeats and Edward Martyn, cofounder of the Irish Literary Theatre with Yeats and Gregory. In true Moore fashion, he discusses his confusion at the men arriving together, as their acquaintance was unknown to him, though later realising they had met through him.⁴⁹ Richard Cave has suggested that this meeting likely occurred during January or February 1899 and it was during this conversation that the men outlined their plans for an Irish Literary Theatre.⁵⁰ Moore was less than impressed:

For to give a Literary Theatre to Dublin seemed to me like giving a mule a holiday, and when he pressed me to say if I were with them, I answered with reluctance that I was not; whereupon, and without further entreaty, the twain took up their hates and staves, and they were by the open door before I could beg them not to march away like that, but to give me time to digest what they had been saying to me, and for a moment I walked to and forth, troubled by the temptation, for I am naturally propense to thrust my finger into every literary pie-dish. Something was going on in Ireland for sure, and remembering the literary tone that had crept into a certain Dublin newspaper – somebody sent me the *Express* on Saturdays – I said, I’m with you, but only platonically.⁵¹

Moore’s suggestion of London as a more suitable location was instantly rebuffed: “Martyn would prefer the applause of our own people, murmured Yeats, and he began to speak of the by-streets, and the lanes, and the alleys, and how one feels at home when one is among one’s own people”. Following this, Moore provided the men with an

to his interest in all aspects of art and literature, Symons made lasting friendships with many of the prominent writers and artists at the end of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁸ Frazier, *George Moore*, p. 264.

⁴⁹ Edward Martyn and his involvement with theatre movements in Dublin are discussed in great detail in *The Irish Review* chapter of this study.

⁵⁰ See Pine, *Hail and Farewell*, p. 677.

⁵¹ Moore, *Hail and Farewell*, p. 76.

account of his involvement with the Independent Theatre in London; in 1891, he had been an active member of the Management Committee of the theatre, which was founded by J. T. Grein as an imitation of Antoine's Théâtre (a figure discussed in the *Dana* article published under the name Paul Ruttledge).⁵² On a visit to Paris in 1890 Moore had admired Antoine's theatre and it was for this reason that he became involved with this London replication. Yeats and Martyn did not allow Moore's account of struggling audience numbers and location complications deter them from their movement. Martyn noted: "Ninety-nine is the beginning of the Celtic Renaissance". Moore continued his recollection: "I am glad to hear it, I answered; the Celt wants a renaissance, and badly; he has been going down in the world for the last two thousand years".⁵³

Despite such hesitations Moore was now involved with Dublin's new theatre movement. It was during autumn of that same year that Moore and Yeats agreed to collaborate on a production of a play for the Irish Literary Theatre based on the Irish myth of Diarmuid and Grania. The source of Moore's inspiration was Lady Gregory's translation of *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*, written with the help of Douglas Hyde and published in her 1903 collection *Poets and Dreamers*. In a letter to his sister, dated 1st November 1899, Yeats described the details of his collaboration with Moore to retell this Irish myth:

The scenario that is a very full and rather lengthy account of all the scenes written like a story – and Moore is now writing the play out fully. He will

⁵² Andre Antoine (1858-1943) was a French actor, critic theatrical manager, and perhaps best known for founding the Théâtre-Libre in Paris. The theatre ran from 1887-1893, and during these years it introduced Parisian audiences to the plays of numerous successful playwrights, including Ibsen. The motivations behind Antoine's desire to found the theatre were to embrace both realism and naturalism upon the stage. The Théâtre-Libre inspired a number of theatres around Europe: the Freie Bühne in Berlin and the Independent Theatre in London (discussed within the chapter). Financial losses forced Antoine to close the theatre and for a short period he worked as a co-director for the Théâtre de l'Odéon, before founding the Théâtre Antoine in 1899. Critics throughout the world considered his production and stage management skills a success.

⁵³ Ibid.

then give it to me and I will go over it all putting it into my own language so as to keep the same key throughout and making any other changes I see fit.⁵⁴

As time progressed the collaboration became almost impossible, with both Moore and Yeats increasingly at loggerheads – no finished version was ever published. Moore writes extensively about the many creative complications that arose between the two men, one of which was the dialect of the characters: “we’re writing an heroic play. And a long time was spent over the question whether the Galway dialect was possible in the mouths of heroes, I contending it would render the characters farcical”.⁵⁵ This is an example of one of many conflicts the men had, and a considerable amount of correspondence over the yearlong period exists that highlights such issues: “my dear Yeats”, Moore writes to his collaborator, “if it was your intention all along to be supreme in command, I wish you had taken the scenario and written the play”. Moore would write again in early 1901: “for me to hand over a play the greater part of which is written by me, for final correction is an impossible proposal”.⁵⁶

The friction between the two writers did not stop a production being staged in three acts. Frank Benson’s English Shakespearean Company performed the final version at the Gaiety Theatre in Dublin in October 1901. The play appeared on a double bill, alongside Douglas Hyde’s *Casadh an tSugain* (The Twisting of the Rope), which was performed by Irish speaking amateurs supplied by the Gaelic League (this was the first Irish language play to be performed regularly upon the stage). Frazier has suggested that further problems arose for Moore and Yeats, aside from their own personal differences; a pre-production problem was the inability of the Benson Company’s English actors to master the pronunciations of Irish names within the play. Frazier states: “how were they

⁵⁴ W. B. Yeats, *The Collected Letters of W. B. Yeats 1896-1900*, eds. Warwick Gould, John Kelly and Deidre Toomey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 461.

⁵⁵ Moore, *Hail and Farewell*, pp. 244-55.

⁵⁶ George Moore to W. B. Yeats, 1901, in *Letters to W. B. Yeats*, eds. Richard Finneran, George Mills Harper and William Martin Murphy (London: Macmillan, 1977), p. 78.

to say Caoelte? Yeats proposed ‘Wheeler’. On stage, the actors variously addressed this character as ‘Wheelchair’, ‘Cold Tea’ and ‘Quilty’.⁵⁷ On the opening night, the audience that had turned out to the Gaiety Theatre were largely Irish language enthusiasts, excited at the prospect of such a revivalist-themed play. Due to the dialect issues within the performance of *Diarmuid and Grania*, Hyde’s production was deemed the more successful: “in comparison with which the language of Yeats and Moore, like the accents of the Benson troupe, seemed fraudulent”.⁵⁸ *The Evening Mail* described how the play was “a mixture of oil and water, or Mr. Yeats contaminated by Mr. George Moore”.⁵⁹ *The Freeman’s Journal* stated the characters were “a little too modern”.⁶⁰ It was perhaps the article, entitled ‘Diarmuid and Grania’ in D. P. Moran’s *The Leader*, written by Moran himself, that was the harshest: “a heartless piece of vandalism practiced on a great Irish story”.⁶¹ In later years Eglinton acknowledged how the play was to have been “a great manifesto of the new departure in Irish literature, but it proved a lamentable failure”.⁶²

Within a few short months Moore’s and Yeats’ petty squabbles ascended to something far more serious. Moore was furious with Yeats and accused the writer of stealing the plot of a novel he was currently writing. As Frazier acknowledges, it is unclear whether this conflict started because Yeats had voiced his plans to write a play on what Moore believed to be his scenario, or because Moore wanted to be the first of the men to produce the same ideas within a novel. In September 1902, Yeats produced a speedy publication of *Where There is Nothing* in a supplement that accompanied *The United Irishman*. Yeats was well aware that by publishing and copyrighting the play with John

⁵⁷ Frazier, *George Moore*, p. 304.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ “Reviews” in *The Evening Mail*, 22nd October 1901, p. 46.

⁶⁰ *Freeman’s Journal*, 22nd October 1901, p. 4.

⁶¹ D. P. Moran, ‘Diarmuid and Grania’, *The Leader* (2nd November 1901), p. 158.

⁶² Eglinton, *Irish Literary Portraits*, p. 87.

Quinn, he could prevent any legal action or accusations of plagiarism from Moore. In fact, with a printed version now available, he would have been legally able to take such action against Moore if he was to publish his story. Yeats first addressed the disagreement on a public platform in *The United Irishman* (the same issue that published the play). Titled ‘The Freedom of the Theatre’, Yeats’ article discussed the origins of the play:

Where There is Nothing is founded upon a subject which I suggested to George Moore when there seemed to be a sudden need of a play for the Irish Literary Theatre: we talked of collaboration, but this did not go beyond such rambling talks. Then the need went past, and I gradually put so much of myself into the fable that I felt I must write it alone, and took it back into my own hands with his consent. Should he publish a story upon it some day, I shall rejoice that the excellent old custom of two writers taking the one fable has been revived in a new form. If he does I cannot think that my play and his story will resemble each other. I have used nothing of his, and if he uses anything of mine he will have so changed it, doubtless, as to have made it his own.⁶³

In later years Yeats would make further comments upon the paternity of the play; in *Plays in Prose and Verse*, published in 1922, he recalled: “I wrote in 1902, with the help of Lady Gregory and another friend, a play called *Where There is Nothing*, but had to write at great speed and sudden emergency”.⁶⁴ In the final part of his *Autobiographies*, ‘Dramatis Personae’, Yeats made a further comment: “I had told Moore a fantastic plot for a play, suggesting collaboration, and for twenty minutes or half an hour walked up and down a path in his garden discussing it”.⁶⁵ He concludes the narrative by recalling how he had later written to Moore regretting that he must write the play alone, though Moore did not respond.

⁶³ W. B. Yeats, ‘The Freedom of the Theatre’, *The United Irishman* (1st November 1902), p. 33.

⁶⁴ Quoted in Eamonn R. Cantwell, ‘Crossing Borders: Moore and Yeats in the Theatre’, in Christine Huguet and Fabienne Dabrigeon (eds.), *George Moore: Across Borders* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013), pp. 99-112. Within this article, Cantwell discusses the numerous other comments Yeats published upon the issue with Moore. For example, he quotes a letter Yeats had wrote to his publisher, A. H. Bullen, instructing him not to include the play in his 1908 *Collected Works*.

⁶⁵ W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies: Reveries Over Childhood and Youth and the Trembling of the Veil* (London: MacMillan, 1955), p. 452.

In fact, the final version performed was written with the help of Lady Gregory; by 19th September 1902, Yeats and Gregory had produced a text for *Where There is Nothing*. The name of the play originated from Yeats' own story 'Where There is Nothing, There is God', published in 1896 and included within his 1897 collection *The Secret Rose*. Moore had praised the book in *The Daily Chronicle*. In a letter to John Quinn, dated 8th November 1902, Lady Gregory detailed Moore's reaction. Despite the fact that he had not actually read Yeats' finished play, Gregory recounts Moore's conversation with A.E. (who had in turn shared such details with her) – "does the hero change clothes? Yes. Has he a brother? Yes. O then it's exactly the same thing, absolutely mine". Gregory notes Moore's feelings towards Yeats as "a man who dined with him and stole his spoons".⁶⁶ The correspondence around Yeats and Moore's argument reveals the bias from both sides; for example, Lady Gregory obviously supports Yeats and mocks Moore's position. The letter concludes: "this does not matter now the play is out, Yeats' idea and the absence of Moore's ideas are too clearly manifest. Needless to say there is no talk of an injunction".⁶⁷

In recent years, both Moore's and Yeats' biographers have commented upon this issue. Similar to Frazier, Roy Foster provides a brief summary of these events, but this time from Yeats' perspective.⁶⁸ However, neither scholar comments upon Moore's letters, which outline his plans for a novel built around this scenario.⁶⁹ As Cantwell has suggested, a letter from Moore to Yeats (it is undated, but Cantwell has suggested that it was written late 1901-early 1902) strengthens the evidence to suggest that Moore had developed the ideas for his novel into more than a mere dialogue between the men:

⁶⁶ Lady Gregory to John Quinn, 8th November 1902, in *The Collected Letters of W. B. Yeats*, p. 24.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ See R. F. Foster, *W. B. Yeats: A life, I. The Apprentice Mage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 267-70.

⁶⁹ George Moore letters in The George Moore Papers', The National Library of Ireland, MS 8777.

My Dear Yeats,

Here is a little scenario which you may be able to develop.

I

The university. The tinker has come to steal some thing but to the young man the tinker is a revelation – He goes out with the tinker – Enter students and professors. He re-enters dressed as a tinker. Instead of his expected discourse he delivers a discourse against civilisation. He proves that civilisation is scientific barbarism. He gives up his professorship and goes out in search of the tinker.

V (a ruined monastery)

But he has not been able to consent to marriage and so he has become a hermit and lives in a great odour of sanctity amid the ruins of the monastery. But thereby there is a modern monastery and the monks are jealous of him. They excite the rabble against him – they accuse him of reviving the ancient religions and in his cell are found – the book of Lir, the book of Aunghus, the book of Mananaan, and the book of Dana, also the acts of the Druids. This is sufficient to exasperate the populace and he is overwhelmed. Enter the wife and the tinker. The tinker asks the wife why her husband could not live with her and she tells the tinker that her husband only married her out of charity, that he never regarded her as a wife. Otherwise he was a very nice man and she had no fault to find. The tinker praises him as a friend – he was a good pal. One of the villagers enters and tells what has happened. They look for the victim. They find him. They take him away in a wheelbarrow and now that her husband is dead the wife can marry the tinker.⁷⁰

The protagonist of Yeats' play, Paul Ruttledge, is a young country gentleman disillusioned with life, who abandons his career and property to join a group of tinkers, and even marries one of them. There is a key scene within both play and planned novel where the hero speaks out against the conventions of society: the young professor of Moore's plot delivers a discourse against civilisation, whereas in act four of Yeats' play, Ruttledge has become a monk who rebels against the conventions of his order. Yeats' story itself describes the arrival of Ruttledge, now a beggar, to a group of Monks; eventually, the religious community realise that this saintly figure had fled a monastery,

⁷⁰ A letter from George Moore to W. B. Yeats, undated, in 'The George Moore Papers', The National Library of Ireland, MS 8777. The full letter details each act of the story in great detail.

dressed in rags and lived upon the streets, discovering that where there is nothing there is in fact God. This realisation leads the protagonist to proclaim that everything that has law and number must be destroyed for God. He is expelled from the monastery for this, along with some followers. In both versions of the plot, the hero is eventually overcome by a mob and killed, leaving his tinker wife to mourn him in Yeats, and to remarry in Moore.

It is important to acknowledge the significance of Yeats (with the help of Gregory no doubt) naming the hero of his play 'Paul Ruttledge' – not a particularly common name in Ireland – but interesting because it was the name of Moore's friend and land agent, Tom Ruttledge. Frazier has acknowledged how by using such a surname, perhaps Yeats and Gregory intended the same sort of complicated insult Moore himself loved – "the obscure aggression of a work of art that appropriates some incidental features of one's life".⁷¹ Doubtless it was for a similar desired effect that Moore had selected the same pseudonym for 'Stage Management in the Irish National Theatre' in *Dana*. Prior to the article's publication, in Dublin's Nassau Hotel Gogarty informed Yeats that Moore had written and submitted an article to Eglinton, and was trying to convince him to put his name to it.⁷² With Gogarty's refusal (though Frazier suggests he probably helped Moore write it), Moore opted for 'Paul Ruttledge' – Moore was confident Yeats would recognise the significance.

It had been two years since the problem had first arisen, and yet Moore had returned to attack Yeats once more. Moore resented the disbandment of the Irish Literary Theatre, which consequently led to the end of his relationship with the nationalist theatre movement in Dublin. When the organization eventually reemerged as the Irish National Dramatic Society in early 1903 Moore had been phased out. By September 1904, this

⁷¹ Frazier, *George Moore*, p. 321.

⁷² *Ibid*, p. 273.

society was altered once more, becoming the Irish National Theatre with Yeats as president and William Fay as stage manager. Moore's attack begins with Fay (1872-1947), condemning his stage management abilities, questioning his "method or lack of method" in his staging of Yeats' *The Shadowy Waters*, which had been performed in January 1904.⁷³ In early 1902 William and his brother Frank staged three performances of A.E.'s *Deirdre* and Yeats' *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* in St. Theresa's Hall on Clarendon Street. Initially performed to working-class audiences, rather than the usual middle-class Dublin theatregoers, the productions were a success. The company continued to stage performances at the Ancient Concert Rooms in Dublin, producing Fred Ryan's *The Laying of the Foundations*.

Moore's *Dana* article criticizes Fay's stage management abilities that were in no way "comparable to Antoine", though "he has shown himself possessed of a real sense of humour and a power of infecting his audience with his enjoyment of the drolleries of life" (5, (September 1904), p. 150). Moore continues to mark the failures of Fay in comparison to Antoine, "a great actor" and "a unique stage manager", whereas Fay is deficient in both:

The actors and actresses in a National Theatre play scramble about practically anyhow, and they remind one very often of three little boys and a little girl reciting a story on a barn door. In "The Shadowy Waters" the actors stood in different corners of the stage, and fired off their lines, reminding one of a game of "Aunt Sally"; a line was drawn out and sent whirling across the stage. Mr. Fay seems to delight in what is known in rehearsals as "dropping the scene". The object of every other stage management is to avoid intervals between the speeches, and to weld every part together till the play is but one thing; but Mr Fay's intention, if he has any definite intention, seems to be to disintegrate. The simplest stage tactics are unknown to him. (5, (September 1904), p. 150).

Moore sneers at the "great deal" of praise Fay received from the press: "he has been to London, and Mr. William Archer and Mr. Walkley have spoken of his plays as "folk

⁷³ Born in Dublin, Fay studied at Belvedere College before working with a theatre company touring Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the final decade of the nineteenth century. Upon his return to Dublin, he staged productions throughout the city, with his brother Frank. Eventually, the two brothers formed W. G. Fay's Irish National Dramatic Company, focusing on the development of Irish acting as a craft to be revived within their culture.

plays”, and his talent as “folk talent” and all manner of “folk smoke” has been raised to signal him” (5, (September 1904), p. 152), and is quick to dismiss such compliments from London, deeming them insignificant and worthless: “we hope that Mr. Fay will not be beguiled, deluded, destroyed by the praise of these journalists, who would have praised any little bushman who came over to London with a boomerang” (5, (September 1904), p. 152). At no point during the article does Moore give any hint towards his identity though clearly he wanted Yeats to know it was he who had written the attack through his choice of pseudonym, and one must assume that Eglington was fully aware of the author’s true identity. Moore’s conclusion is ironic: “this article is not written in any carping spirit, it is written by one who has always taken an interest in the stage, who has thought about it, and who foresees that Mr. Fay must apply himself to learn a very complicated and difficult art”. (5, (September 1904), p. 152). Despite such scathing comments about Fay, the attack is more directed at Yeats and reveals the underlying tensions between the two men, with Fay simply caught in the crossfire.

Moore’s words infuriated Annie Horniman, “the admirer” he suggested had purchased Fay the theatre. Her response arrived at the *Dana* offices in the form of a letter of correction, which was published in the December issue of the periodical. Titled ‘Stage Management at the National Theatre: A Correction’, the letter concluded the eighth issue of *Dana*. The editors noted:

Our attention has been drawn to a statement in the article under this title in the September number of DANA, in which it is conveyed that a theatre has been “bought” for Mr. W. G. Fay. The Abbey Theatre, we are informed, has not been “bought” for Mr. Fay or anyone else. It has been acquired by Miss Horniman, who has arranged to lend it on very generous conditions to the National Theatre Society for their performances. But she retains herself the entire proprietary interest in the Theatre. (8, (December 1904), p. 256).

Moore had achieved what he desired; he had caused frictions for the theatre group, though Frazier suggests that the repercussions upon Fay were far harsher than Moore had anticipated. He acknowledged how Moore’s article within *Dana* had “unloosed a

hurricane against poor W. G. Fay”. He continues: “Horniman was not content until she ran him and his brother out of the Abbey”.⁷⁴ ‘Stage Management in the Irish National Theatre’ marked Moore’s final submission to *Dana*, though he remained in regular contact with Eglinton until his death.

Joyce and *Dana*

The August 1904 issue of *Dana* printed a poem titled ‘Song’ by a twenty-two-year-old Dubliner named James A. Joyce. If for no other reason, the presence of this poem makes *Dana* an interesting literary artefact. However, Friedhelm Rathjen suggests that it was in fact another poem published within the pages of *Dana* that is perhaps a greater Joycean find: the poem, which appeared in the February 1905 issue, was written by Joyce’s associate, drinking buddy and soon to be mortal enemy, Oliver St. John Gogarty and was titled ‘Molly’. Rathjen states: “the Joycean alerted by this title may perhaps get the shock of his life when reaching the poem’s last line”.⁷⁵ The poem closes as follows:

So I went intending
To please her if I could,
Pondered then, and bending
Pointed to the bud.

But the moment after
Saw her face illumine
With a peal of laughter
Reaching for the bloom. (10, (February 1905), p. 308)

The ‘Molly-Bloom’ intersection certainly tempts one into seeing the poem as a possible prompt towards the creation of one of the most celebrated characters in all of English-language fiction, and the Joycean association with *Dana* is irrefutable.

⁷⁴ Frazier, *George Moore*, p. 337.

⁷⁵ Friedhelm Rathjen, ‘Molly Through the Garden / Reaching for the Bloom: A Joycean Look at Eglinton’s *Dana*’, *James Joyce Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Fall 1994), pp. 108-112. Within the article, Rathjen states that the inventory of books Joyce made before leaving his Trieste flat lists *Dana*, indicating the magazine was a source of interest for the writer. The article notes that the ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ episode of *Ulysses* “deals with precisely the kind of literary scene whose facets are so vividly documented in *Dana*”. Similarly, Richard Ellmann includes a listing of the writer’s Trieste library, which catalogues *Dana* upon the third shelf. See Ellmann, ‘Notes’, *James Joyce*, p. 786.

In fact, Joyce's connections with the magazine stemmed from events that occurred before its launch. The editors of the magazine had rejected an essay by the writer in January 1904; prior to *Dana's* inaugural publication, Stanislaus Joyce recorded in his diary, dated 2nd February 1904, his brother's response:

He has decided to turn his paper into a novel, and having come to the decision is just as glad, he says, that it was rejected. The paper was rejected by the editors, Fred Ryan and W. Magee ('John Eglinton') because of the sexual experiences in it. Jim thinks they rejected it because it is all about himself, though they professed great admiration for the style of the paper. They always admire his style. Magee has no antipathy for Jim's character, I think. Magee is dwarfish, brown-clad fellow, with red-brown eyes like a ferret, who walks with his hands in his jacket pockets and as stiffly as if his knees were roped up with sugauns. He is sub-librarian in Kildare Street, and I think his mission in Ireland is to prove to his Protestant grandaunts that unbelievers can be very moral and admire the Bible. He is interested in great thoughts and philosophy, whenever he can understand it. Jim is beginning his novel, as he usually begins things, half in anger, to show that in writing about himself he has a subject of more interest than their aimless discussion.⁷⁶

Any ill feeling quickly passed and within eight months the editors published 'Song'. In later years the poem would become no. 7 in Joyce's collection *Chamber Music*, published in 1907 by Elkin Matthews. In a letter to Stanislaus in the same year the collection was published, Joyce revealed:

I don't like the book but wish it were published and be damned to it. However, it is a young man's book. I felt like that. It is not a book of love-verses at all, I perceive. But some of them are pretty enough to be put to music. I hope someone will do so, someone that knows old English music such as I like. Besides they are not pretensions and have a certain grace. I will keep a copy myself and (so far as I can remember) at the top of each page I will put an address, or a street so that when I open the book I can revisit the places where I wrote the different songs.⁷⁷

Robert Boyle suggests that this letter reveals the apparent impression some words of W. B. Yeats had upon the young Joyce.⁷⁸ Three years earlier, in the summer of 1904 (around the

⁷⁶ Quoted in Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 147.

⁷⁷ Richard Ellmann (ed.), *Selected Letters of James Joyce* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), p.28.

⁷⁸ Robert Boyle, "The Woman Hidden in James Joyce's *Chamber Music*?" in Henke and Unkelles (eds.), *Women in Joyce* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1982), pp. 5-6.

time the poem was written and published by *Dana*), Joyce received a letter from Yeats stating: “perhaps I will make you angry when I say that this is the poetry of a young man, of a young man who is practising his instrument, taking pleasure in the mere handling of the stops”.⁷⁹

The poem offers an idealised image of love and femininity, and a purity of vision that stands in marked contrast to Joyce’s most celebrated female character, Molly Bloom of *Ulysses*. In the ‘Penelope’ episode of that novel we witness Molly urinating, menstruating, farting and suffering from an “itchy hole” (*U*, 940). The detailed and insistent exposure of her sexuality in the novel is far removed from the depiction of femininity in ‘Song’ which appears as follows:

My love is in a light attire
Among the apple-trees,
Where the gay winds do most desire
To run in companies.

There, where the gay winds stay to woo
The young leaves as they pass,
My love goes slowly, bending to
Her shadow on the grass;

And where the sky’s a pale blue cup
Over the laughing land,
My love goes lightly, holding up
Her dress with dainty hand. (4, (August 1904), 118).

With stanzas and lines consistently the same length, and with a simple AB rhyme scheme, the tone remains constant throughout as the speaker watches his lover, who appears at one with nature. Ellmann has noted how “on August 2nd (1904) he wrote her (Nora Barnacle) out a copy of ‘Down By the Salley Gardens’, which he had evidently sung for her, and signed it only W. B. Yeats”.⁸⁰ Just a few weeks after sending this poem and singing it for

⁷⁹ Ellmann, *Selected Letters of James Joyce*, p. 23.

⁸⁰ Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 112.

Nora, Joyce would submit 'Song' to *Dana* for publication. It is worth examining the parallels between the two poems.

First published in *The Wanderings of Oisín and Other Poems* in 1889, Yeats' poem runs as follows:

Down by the salley gardens my love and I did meet;
She passed the salley gardens with little snow-white feet.
She bid me take love easy, as the leaves grow on the tree;
But I, being young and foolish, with her would not agree.

In a field by the river my love and I did stand,
And on my leaning shoulder she laid her snow-white hand.
She bid me take life easy, as the grass grows on the weirs;
But I was young and foolish, and now am full of tears.⁸¹

Written fifteen years prior to Joyce's *Dana* submission, this short and celebrated poem has marked similarities to Joyce's 'Song'. Upon a close analysis, the speaker of Joyce's poem seems to echo the earlier speaker of Yeats' – both written in the first person, and using the same conversational style of "my love" when discussing the women they desire, the influence of Yeats upon the creative mind of Joyce is visible. 'Down by the Salley Gardens', like many of Yeats's early love poems, owes much to traditional ballad style with simple rhyming couplets contributing to an easy lyrical tone. Similarly, it was this aspect of Joyce's poetry that most impressed Ezra Pound: "the quality and distinction of the poems in the first half of Mr Joyce's *Chamber Music* [...] is due in part to the author's strict musical training. We have here the lyric in some of its best traditions".⁸² Eglinton's comment on Yeats' desire to remain detached from *Dana* due to the "independent thought" of the magazine could reveal why Joyce's 'Song' was selected for publication. Yeats, a well-established writer in 1904-05, whose involvement would have greatly benefited the magazine in its appeal to a wider audience, was not willing to be a part of a publication that

⁸¹ W. B. Yeats, 'Down By the Salley Gardens' in *The Wanderings of Oisín and Other Poems* (London: Paul Trench & Co., 1889), p. 89.

⁸² Ezra Pound, 'Joyce' in *The Future*, 2nd May 1918 in Ira B. Nadel, *Ezra Pound: A Literary Life* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), p. 94.

lacked a focus that tallied with his aesthetic doctrines. His unwillingness to work with *Dana* was also due to the anti-revivalist tone of many of the articles published within its pages. It would be difficult for a pioneer of the revival to publish work within a periodical that had debated the very relevance of the movement in furthering Ireland's desire for independence.

In later years, Joyce's distaste for his earlier poems was apparent; he confessed to Herbert Gorman, "I wrote *Chamber Music* as a protest against myself".⁸³ Perhaps Joyce, experimenting as a young writer and still in search of his creative voice, had taken inspiration from Yeats' poetry, and it was for this reason that Eglinton and Ryan had published 'Song'. The editors were aware of Yeats' success and hoped that a poem emulating his themes and language would be of interest to the magazine's readership. Joyce was published in *Dana* under the name 'James A. Joyce' – at no other point did he adopt the initial of his middle name, Augustine, for publication. Less than a month after Joyce had submitted 'Song' to Eglinton and Ryan, he had a short story published, 'Eveline', in the pages of *The Irish Homestead*, having submitted the story under the pseudonym Stephen Daedalus, the protagonist of *A Portrait of the Artist* and one of the most celebrated pen names in the Western literary canon. 1904 was proving a year of startling metamorphosis for the young genius.

Joyce's submission to *Dana* under a name he would never use again in his literary career reveals the detachment of the mature writer of *Dubliners* and later *Ulysses* from his earlier work. In April 1907, Joyce's turmoil over the publication of *Chamber Music* led him to inform his brother, Stanislaus, that he was on his way to the post office in Trieste to cable Elkin Matthews and cancel the collection's publication. Stanislaus, who liked the book, pleaded with him to reconsider. Joyce remained adamant, and did not wish to stand behind

⁸³ Ellmann (ed.), *Selected Letters of James Joyce*, p. 44.

his own insincerity and fakery.⁸⁴ Essentially the poems were created for lovers, and he did not believe that he was such a lover. However, Stanislaus persuaded his brother to publish *Chamber Music* despite all of the dishonesty he believed his collection had, so that he may publish other books, with all their honesty. In a letter to Nora, dated 21st August 1909, Joyce discussed the poems that were included within *Chamber Music*: “when I wrote them, I was a strange and lonely boy, walking about myself at night and thinking some day a girl would love me”.⁸⁵ In later years, having matured as a writer and having developed his own individual style, he rejected the poetry of his youth, in this instance ‘Song’.

The unification of love, nature and femininity in ‘Song’ becomes all the more notable if considered alongside the short story on the pages preceding its publication. ‘King Diarmuid’, written by William Buckley, advances often clichéd aphorisms about female morality and sin, through the use of the Aisling.⁸⁶ This story is an example of the Aisling from Irish mythology, represented as an otherworldly woman weeping for her misfortunes, awaiting her masculine saviour: “art thou not Diarmuid of Thomond”, the Aisling of Buckley’s story asks the King, “whose glory it is never to refuse a woman aught?” (4, (August 1904), p. 120). The traditional Aisling apparition of femininity appears sometimes young and beautiful, often old and haggard; the woman of ‘King Diarmuid’ appears as both – the old woman weeping for her past misfortunes, and later, the beautiful, empowered young temptress. As an old woman she informs the King that she once betrayed the honour of a great man, and was cursed to age immediately, and never to die. The feeble woman convinces Diarmuid, who sympathises with her suffering, to help her break the curse. Yet she has tricked him; while he is reduced to “a shrivelled casing of shrunken

⁸⁴ Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 260.

⁸⁵ Ellmann, *Selected Letters of James Joyce*, p. 57.

⁸⁶ In the early twentieth century, the growing interest in the Aisling genre was stimulated by the popularity of Irish revivalists such as Yeats and Gregory whose greatest expression of the Aisling was through *Cathleen Ni Houliban*, first staged in 1902.

bones sharp showing through mouldering rags” (4, (August 1904), p. 122), she is transformed: “with greedy fingers, the greatest masses of golden hair that brightened the sunrise, and, laughing, delightedly, wound the coils over her blue veined wrists in a luxury possession” (4, (August 1904), p. 123). Her transformation has cost King Diarmuid his life, and thus the Aisling is complete. The fact that this short story was printed alongside Joyce’s poem highlights the magazine’s dual representation of the female – the dangerous and the innocent.

Feminism

Depictions of Irish femininity were not always so dreamy. Not surprisingly for a periodical that declared itself progressive, as well as commenting upon nationalism and revivalism, the editors of *Dana* used the magazine to interrogate other societal issues such as the position of women in Ireland.⁸⁷ A piece by Padraic Colum in issue seven takes a wry look at the question:

“And what sort of a country would it turn out to be when the people would be eating butter out of a creamery?” Brian asked. “Every year less and less is being done at home. And what will we do with the women at all, at all I give you my hand and word I’ll never send a pint of milk to them” (7, (November 1904), p. 206).

Once the question “what will we do with the woman at all, at all?” is asked by Brian, it becomes clear that women are not viewed as an integral, active part of society within the story. This was the same in reality; regardless of class, societal expectations enforced the necessity of a narrowly domesticated life for Irish women. However, women’s movement

⁸⁷ Prior to *Dana*’s publication run, several magazines were available for Irish women; magazines by women, and for women, often deciphered the role and position of the female in Irish society (in *Ulysses* Molly Bloom reads popular magazines such as *The Gentlewoman*). *The Lady of the House* (later to become *The Irish Tatler* and *Sketch* in the 1920s) was a literary periodical founded in 1890 and was one of a small number of mainstream magazines aimed at female readership. The opening editorial states how the magazine was “written by gentlewomen for gentlewomen”, though the editor was in fact male (this was very common even in more political magazines aimed at women, for example, the Inghinidhe na hEireann paper *Bean na hEireann*). Unlike *Dana*, which commented upon the plight of women in Irish society, this magazine reported conventional appeals to the desired Irish domesticated middle-class female, addressing issues such as cookery and the management of the home. See John Strachan and Claire Nally, *Advertising, Literature and Print in Ireland, 1891-1922* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 109.

such as *Inghinidhe na hEireann* and *Cumann na nGaedheal* were already established in the years prior to the publication of *Dana* (both were launched in 1900) and aimed to bring about equality for women in society.⁸⁸ Like the women involved with such movements, Colum was a progressive writer and he used these characters ironically to show men as active and women as passive. What had emerged in Ireland at the turn of the twentieth century, along with virtually every other country in western society, was this ideology of separate spheres, the world of work, politics and freedom for men, and the world of domesticity for women. Perhaps most interesting in Colum's story is the response of "an old woman" to Brian's comments above: "nor I either ... though Father K – is pressing me to promise it. Indeed, says I, and I think it shame not to churn every drop I milk".

Unlike Brian or the old woman, Colum's protagonist is a forward thinker, detached from the strict roles that had been consigned to women in Ireland during the nineteenth century, and attempting to look to the future. In speaking of the "intellectual drain from rural places" (7, (November 1904), p. 206), the protagonist highlights this very issue of rigid gender distinctions: "I am always astonished at the amount of fine intelligence still left. One clever boy becomes a priest, another a teacher, another a civil servant. The clever girls emigrate" (7, (November 1904), p. 206). Between 1891 and 1921, more than half – approximately 53% -- of emigrants from Ireland were female.⁸⁹ Like the previous century, which had seen everything a woman owned transferred to her husband once married, Irish society remained patriarchal and the view of women as domestic, doting, loyal and the weaker of the sexes continued to persist. For *Dana*, like Maude Gonne's *Inghinidhe na hEireann*, this traditional and orthodox patriarchy was no longer acceptable.

⁸⁸ For further reading on the women's movements established in the years prior to 1916, see: Senia Paseta, *Irish Nationalist Women, 1900-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁸⁹ In her analysis of patterns of female migration, Hasia R. Diner has concluded that by 1900 the figure of female migration from Ireland was 53.85. See: Hasia R. Diner, 'The Search for Bread: Patterns of Female Migration', in Alan Hayes and Diane Urquhart (eds.), *The Irish Women's History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 175.

A.E. submitted contributions to five of the twelve issues of *Dana*. All but one were poems relating to women. From the representation of motherhood in 'In As Much' (9, January 1905) to the love verse published in the final issue, 'Shadows' (12, April 1905), femininity remained key to his submissions. But perhaps the most revealing submission was an article published in the second number of the magazine, titled 'Religion and Love'. In this piece A.E. presents himself as a feminist, exposing the harsh realities of Irish society for its women: "if a woman be herself she is looked upon unkindly" (2, (June 1904), p. 45), acknowledging, "if there be enchantment in her eyes and her laugh, and if she bewilder too many men, is in our latest code of morals distinctly an evil influence" (2, (June 1904), p. 46). For A.E., Irish society had removed the divinity of the female (though *Dana* itself was so called after the Irish earth goddess of the same name): "the ancients were wiser than we in this, for they had Aphrodite and Hera and many another form of the Mighty Mother who bestowed on women their peculiar graces and powers" (2, (June 1904), p. 45).⁹⁰ A.E. criticises the strict social regulations of Irish society that keep women in the domestic sphere:

Beautiful civilisations are built up by the desire of man to give his beloved all her desires. Where there is no beloved, but only a housekeeper, there are no beautiful fancies to create the beautiful arts, no spiritual protest against the mean dwelling, no hunger to build the world anew for her sake. (2, (June 1904), p. 45).

In the closing lines of the article A.E. acknowledges the dual reality of femininity in early twentieth-century Ireland: the constrictions of what that society enforced a woman to be, and, alternatively, the importance of woman for a truly worthwhile spiritual existence:

From the temples where woman may be instructed she will come forth, not in that shameful ignorance which clergymen even wickedly praise calling it innocence, but radiant, self-possessed, finding a heart in the heavens on which she may lay her earthly heart and make her prayer to it for the eternal beauty to make her body its dwelling to resist all pleading until the lover worship in her that divine womanhood and that through their love the

⁹⁰ The image of the female represented as Aphrodite appears again in the tenth issue of *Dana*. 'The Coming of Aphrodite' was a poem written by James Cousins and echoes A.E.'s representation of femininity as divine.

divided portions of the immortal nature may come together and be one as before the beginning of worlds. (2, (June 1904), p. 49).⁹¹

To our twenty-first-century eyes, this idealisation of womanhood can read like just another form of patriarchy. In her 1924 essay, 'Women and the Future', Dorothy Richardson stated how male writers in the early twentieth century were clinging with nostalgia to some tenuous female ideal from the past: "their crying up, or down, of the woman of today, as contrasted to the woman of the past, is easily understood". First published in *Vanity Fair*, Richardson's essay was reprinted the following month in the British edition of *Vogue*. While the magazine was widely recognised for promoting the newest fashion trends for women, the editor in 1924, Dorothy Todd, sought to promote the newest trends in thought also. Richardson argues that the radical woman of the twentieth century exists in various manifestations throughout history, despite man's desire to disregard such notions: "men are thoroughly disconcerted by the 'Modern Woman', they sigh for an ancient mystery and inscrutability" in femininity. A.E.'s submission to the second issue of *Dana* was an example of such a trend; however, unlike many writers of his time, he did not desire woman's primary role as domesticated, but, instead, as a symbol of a divine union of spirit and nature. With Richardson's arguments in mind, A.E. could be found guilty of over sentimentality in objectifying women – instead of desiring that women be locked away at home, he removes such constraints, chaining them to the domestic, to objectify and define women in another masculine ideal, the divine.

One final telling example of *Dana*'s interest in the issue of woman's place in society comes in the final issue of April 1905, in an essay by R. W. Lynd entitled 'The Nation and the Man of Letters'. Lynd argues that the majority of Irish writers have not grown up in a predominantly Irish atmosphere, "as Hardy grew up in a preponderatingly English atmosphere" (12, (April 1905), p. 371). Born in Belfast in 1879, Lynd was the son of a

⁹¹ See: Dorothy Richardson, 'Women and the Future' in *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women*, 2nd ed., Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar (eds.), (New York: Norton, 1999), p. 1259.

Presbyterian minister, Robert John Lynd and Sarah Rentoul Lynd. He studied at Queen's University, where he became a fluent Irish speaker; after graduation he worked as a journalist for the Belfast based newspaper, *The Northern Whig*. In a bid to further his career as an essayist, Lynd moved to London in 1901. By 1909, Lynd had married the writer Sylvia Dryhurst; the two had met in previous years at Gaelic League meetings in London, thus revealing their commitment to furthering Ireland's nationalist plight. As a nationalist, Lynd acknowledged the problems Irish society faced: "the study of literature in Ireland, has for many years meant the study of English (or foreign) literature" (12, (April 1905), p. 371). Lynd describes the steps being taken to address this issue – he states that there is a small group of writers, such as Yeats and Lady Gregory, engaged in building up in English what he believes to be a truly national literature. In particular Lynd singles out J. M. Synge as exemplary of this new trend of writers working in a distinctly Irish branch of the English language. Lynd discusses the criticisms Synge faced as a result of failing to toe a narrow nationalist line in his then most recent and most controversial play:

The principal charge against Mr Synge is that in *In the Shadow of the Glen* he has made an Irishwoman behave as Irishwomen do not generally behave. If those who are his most earnest detractors condemn him merely on the ground that he has not supplied us with a typical picture of Irish life, but has interested himself in abnormal persons, they must then condemn by implication all the great dramatic literature of the world. (12, (April 1905), p. 373).

The chief criticism from conservative nationalism of *In the Shadow of the Glen* was the plot in which a frustrated peasant woman in the Wicklow Mountains abandons her home and marriage for a life with a "tramp" whose name she does not even know.⁹² Within *Dana*, Lynd attempts to justify the creation of such characters that were condemned as "libels" on

⁹² In the 'Scylla and Charybdis' episode of *Ulysses*, during the fictionalised *Dana* meeting, Joyce refers to Synge's play discussed within *Dana*: "in the shadow of the glen he cooes for them" (*U*, p. 237). In the same *Ulysses* scene, Joyce also refers to "gap-toothed Kathleen". Declan Kiberd has stated: "Synge's influence (upon Joyce) has never been fully appreciated ... If the 'stranger in the house' of *The Shadow of the Glen* was Synge's realist variation upon a Yeatsian theme adumbrated in *Catleen ni Houliban*, then the further variation on the idea played by Blazes Boylan in *Ulysses* may have been a complication made possible for Joyce by Synge's existential drama set in a Wicklow landscape". See Declan Kiberd, 'Deirdre of the Sorrows', in P. J. Mathews (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to J. M. Synge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 74.

womanhood; suggesting that such scathing comments were a result of the “chastity of the Irish mind” (12, (April 1905), p. 374).

Upon completion, Synge had given Yeats and Gregory a copy of the play to read, and on 8th October 1903, it became the first play to be staged by the Irish National Theatre Society. This inaugural performance received mixed responses from audiences – although initially negative, by 1904 the play’s fortunes had greatly improved with a Dublin revival and a well received British tour. But within the pages of the *United Irishman*, Arthur Griffith was scathing:

Man and Woman in rural Ireland, according to Mr Synge, marry lacking love, and, as a consequence, the woman proves unfaithful. Mr Synge never found that in Irish life. Men and women in Ireland marry lacking love, and live mostly in a dull level of amity. Sometimes they do not – sometimes the woman lives in bitterness – sometimes she dies of a broken heart – but she does not go away with a tramp.⁹³

As the *Dana* article continues, Lynd’s tone becomes more forced: “is an artist not justified in making characters that are by general admission not typically Irish the chief persons in an Irish play?” (12, (April 1905), p. 374). The repetition of this tone makes the reader question whether Lynd actually supports the view that this behaviour was untypical of an Irish woman in the early twentieth century, or whether he was unwilling to confront such societal expectations:

Perhaps it was the curiosity rather than the passion of desire that Mr Synge dealt with in *In the Shadow of the Glen*. He imagined a situation, if I remember the play correctly, in which a woman exchanged an old husband for a young lover, and ultimately, finding them both wanting, went out on the windy roads with a tramp. This kind of thing does not, of course, happen every day in Ireland. It may not have happened even once during the past century. Still, if the play does not express what a certain type of woman in this, as in all other countries, might be conceived of as doing if she only dared. (12, (April 1905), p. 375).

The rigid social regulators of Ireland were not ready to accept that the events of Synge’s play could happen. Yet Synge was well aware of the complexities of femininity, and that the

⁹³ *The United Irishman*, October 1904, p. 22.

sexually charged events of *In the Shadow of the Glen* could occur in some distorted sense in everyday life. In the concluding paragraph of his article, Lynd suggests rather unconvincingly that the play is based upon “an ironical comedy and wonderful dream” that one must feel rather than understand.

Dana's Demise

In the third issue of the Ulster magazine *Uladh*, of May 1905, the magazine's editor W. B. Reynolds addressed his Dublin competitor *Dana's* demise: “we regret very much to hear that our excellent contemporary, “Dana”, may cease publication”.⁹⁴ He is quick to assert the hope that this rumour is not founded upon fact and other issues of the magazine may appear in print in the near future. Unbeknown to Reynolds at the time of writing, another issue of *Dana* would never materialise, and there remains no correspondence between the editors to suggest that it was ever considered. When the article was printed in *Uladh*, it had been one month since the last issue of *Dana*, so one can understand the uncertainty and doubt in Reynolds's comments; with no confirmation from the editors themselves, it was early days to believe the hearsay as truth. Reynolds wrote: “We trust that we have been misinformed. If, on the other hand, the rumour is true, let us hope that some patron of the gentle art of criticism, as it ought to be – fearless, lofty, and non ulterior – will come forward and save it from financial extinction” (*Uladh*, 3 (May 1905), p. 2).

Nevertheless, *Dana's* publication run had ended in what would become the usual way for Ireland's “little magazines”: without a concluding word or statement from the editors to confirm the reasons behind the demise.⁹⁵ It seems likely that the magazine, like others

⁹⁴ Access to *Uladh* was available through the National Library of Ireland archives. Further references will be cited parenthetically by issue number, date and page number.

⁹⁵ There was no final word from the editors, instead the closing piece was titled ‘The Seething Pot’, and in the article T. W. Rolleston discusses the short story of the same title by George A. Birmingham. The story depicts various individuals of County Mayo, in particular Gerald Geoghegan; he is the son of an Irish gentleman who had been transported to Australia for heading an abortive insurrection in the Fenian years. Born and bred in Australia, Gerald

addressed within this study, ceased due to a number of factors, namely lack of finance, lack of subscribers, a change in the editorial board's creative desires and their loss of interest in their magazine. Reynolds's comments support the supposition that lack of finances were often the downfall of such publications: "it [*Dana*] failed to secure a sufficient number of subscribers to make the venture financially feasible" (*Uladh*, 3 (May 1905), p. 1). The planning, production and publication of any monthly magazine is an expensive venture, and lack of financial security more often than not results in a foreshortened shelf life. Yet Reynolds assigns blame for *Dana's* demise to Ireland as a whole: "it proves that the existence of a completely independent organ of opinion of any high level, and with serious aims, is impossible in Ireland, where everyone flocks to some standard, and labels himself with the designation of one particular catch-cry" (*Uladh*, 3 (May 1905), p. 1). However, Reynolds praises the legacy of *Dana* and points to the void the literary magazine had filled in Irish culture from its first publication:

"Dana" fills a place in Anglo-Irish literature and thought, which is something new in this country and very much needed. And that it has failed to find the support necessary to carry it on is the greatest proof for its necessity. Before the advent of "Dana" there existed no Anglo-Irish magazine with purely philosophic aims and without ulterior objects [...]

"Dana" did not sufficiently unbend to the petty requirements of the Irish Magazine reader. And although it was somewhat importune, it has set a model for the style of the magazine which is wanted in Ireland, but which Irishmen of to-day are too opportunist and petty to appreciate at its true value. (*Uladh*, 3 (May 1905), p. 1).

Uladh's greatest praise is bestowed upon Eglinton himself, a "thinker and prose stylist of extraordinary attainments and ability". According to Reynolds, though he was already a well-known writer prior to the magazine's publication, it was through the pages of *Dana* that Eglinton was able to display his unique talent as an editor and writer, and his interests in Ireland and its culture: "with the appearance of his articles in its pages there came a new

was taught to love his father's own country and when he returns he succeeds unexpectedly to a baronetcy and a great property in Co. Mayo.

spirit into the discussion of things Irish, a milder and saner and a loftier spirit than we had hitherto obtained in that particular class of writing” (*Uladh*, 3 (May 1905), p. 2).

Reynolds’ suppositions about Eglinton are appropriate; though he remains one of the less considered of the Dublin literary figures involved with the revival, through the pages of *Dana* Eglinton’s talent and commitment to the idea of Ireland are clear. Fourteen years later Ernest Boyd made similar assumptions: “younger men, in reality his successors, have achieved a certain degree of fame or popularity while he remains a figure apart, known only to the few who appreciate the charm of his beautiful prose”.⁹⁶ After *Dana*’s demise Eglinton continued working at the National Library, though he became more of an isolated figure than he had been in the years leading to his editorship of the magazine. This sense of detachment he pursued post-1905 is perhaps the reason he is less recognised today in comparison to other literary figures of the era. Whereas the nationalist revival in Dublin was expanding with the formation of literary and cultural movements, it was Eglinton’s views and interest in the Irish mind that was diverting his attention away from the ideals associated with the movement; he believed a man could no longer claim: “this is my own, my native land” for it “has come to belong to a small number of the sons and daughters of privilege”. He concludes:

Patriotism, in fact, in the old sense, is only possible when the whole life of interest of the individual is compromised within that of the patria. When individuality is hatched and has become independent of the community, the relation of the individual to it must suffer a change. Instead of a receiver he becomes a giver.⁹⁷

The patriotism he encouraged was based upon the relation of a man with his fellow men and nature, rather than to the state, similar to the Wordsworthian poetry that he admired. In 1922 he retired from his post in the library to leave Ireland for Wales, where he lived

⁹⁶ Ernest Boyd, ‘An Irish Essayist: John Eglinton’, in *Appreciations and Deprecations Irish Literary Studies* (New York: John Lane, 1918), p. 51.

⁹⁷ Eglinton, *Irish Literary Portraits*, p. 198.

until his death in 1961, unwilling to live in an independent Ireland. A.E. would also leave the newly created Irish Free State in the early 1930s. The Ireland these men wanted and hoped for had not come to pass and such disillusionment had severed their ties to their homeland.

After *Dana's* publication run had suddenly ended, Ryan began to publish regularly in the *Nationist* and in the *New Age*; O'Dea suggests this work was more profitable than editing *Dana*, and was perhaps another reason for the magazine's abrupt end.⁹⁸ Ryan's friendship with the radical feminist and pacifist Francis Sheehy Skeffington led to attempts to establish a National Democratic Committee under the chairmanship of Michael Davitt (though plans collapsed after Davitt's death in 1906). By 1907, Ryan launched the *National Democrat*; a penny monthly magazine, which ran for seven issues and aimed to continue the work Davitt had intended. Within a few months this publication ended, leaving Ryan very much out of pocket, and he left Dublin for Cairo to assume the assistant editorship of *The Egyptian Standard* (1907-1909). After this venture ended, Ryan returned to Dublin where he remained until 1911, working as the Secretary to the Young Ireland branch of the United Irish League. By 1912 he had moved to London to edit *Egypt*, the monthly journal of the English anti-imperialist Wilfrid Blunt. On 7th April 1913, Ryan was taken ill on a visit to Blunt's home at Horsham, and died soon after an operation for appendicitis.⁹⁹

Upon his death, Francis Sheehy Skeffington described Ryan as "the saint of Irish Rationalism".¹⁰⁰ Within the same article published in *The Irish Review*, he stated how Ryan "never wrote a line which he did not believe and his beliefs were not those popular with dictators of Irish journalistic expression. The severest condemnation of Irish journalism

⁹⁸ O'Dea, 'Modernist Nationalism in *Dana*', p. 121.

⁹⁹ James McGuire and James Quinn (eds.), 'Frederick Ryan' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, volume 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 981.

¹⁰⁰ Francis Sheehy Skeffington, 'Frederick Ryan', *The Irish Review* (May 1913), p. 119.

today is that there was no place in it for Fred Ryan”.¹⁰¹ John Kelly has argued that *Dana* ended because the calibre of the articles published were “too progressive” for the time in which they were published.¹⁰² Similarly, Tom Clyde explains that its abrupt end was a result of the politics it promoted, which remained “a minority taste” in comparison to the popularity of the revival.¹⁰³ Perhaps this was the case; in 1904-05 Irish society was dominated by revivalist nationalism and Eglinton and Ryan’s autonomy from such movements, and their willingness to publish the debates they deemed relevant to Ireland, did not increase the popularity of the magazine.¹⁰⁴

Dana’s attempts to become a progressive independent force were radical in Ireland at the turn of the twentieth century. Through its pages, the editors attempted to establish a new nationalism that differed from that promoted by orthodox revivalism. P. J. Mathews and Declan Kiberd suggest that in *Dana* Eglinton cast himself “in the role of counter-revivalist” who argued that much of the writing during the magazine’s publication run sentimentalised “the more backward elements of Irish life”.¹⁰⁵ It seems that at times Eglinton and Ryan’s magazine was in conflict with itself: attempting to provide a balanced assessment of the period through social, cultural and political debates, and yet taking a definite anti-revivalist standpoint through the articles published that supported the editors’ own views. Mathews and Kiberd state: “a champion of cosmopolitanism in art, Eglinton was a major antagonist of the revival, yet his vibrant contributions to intellectual debate made him somehow an intrinsic part of it”.¹⁰⁶ This

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Kelly, ‘A Lost Abbey Play’, p. 30.

¹⁰³ Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines*, p. 153.

¹⁰⁴ O’Dea suggests that it was the insularity and cultural nationalism of the revival that effaced the magazine’s “less blinkered politics”. See O’Dea, ‘Modernist Nationalism in *Dana*’, p. 123.

¹⁰⁵ Declan Kiberd and P. J. Mathews (eds.), *Handbook of the Irish Revival: An Anthology of Irish Cultural and Political Writings 1891* (Dublin: Abbey Theatre Press, 2015), p. 73.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

was the ideal of *Dana*, a periodical that promoted independent thought in the face of revivalist propaganda, and yet still somehow remained inherently connected with the same movements it criticised due to the commentary it provided during its publication run.

The magazine's importance in Irish periodical history is due to the fact it preserved its autonomy from any movement, whilst remaining open to all; it was ground-breaking in that it nurtured the oppositional voice and challenged the emerging Celtic nationalism. *Dana's* position as a forerunner of Irish modernism at the turn of the twentieth century is why the literary periodical must be considered a vital historical resource in documenting the cultural and political thinking of the significant figures of the period. Despite having a relatively short publication run, lasting for only twelve issues, the magazine is essential to understand the literary networks and movements in the years prior to 1916. *Dana* aimed to define and promote a strand of cosmopolitan, individualistic nationalism counter to the retrospective, inward looking ideology associated with the dominant strands of Ireland's revival – it achieved this aim, giving hope to the imagined marooned Irish citizen who had struck his last Lucifer match on that desolate isle, thus ensuring that the fire of intellectual freedom had been lit.

‘North is North, and South is South’: *Uladh* (1904-1905)

Go forth, go forth, O Valorous Lights of the North!

- Joseph Campbell, *Uladh*.

James Joyce’s ‘Counterparts’ begins with a “furious voice” calling out “in a piercing North of Ireland accent”; the voice belongs to Mr Alleyne, the detestable boss of Farrington, the short story’s central character and a Dublin native. Mr Alleyne appears as a repugnant man who launches a “bitter and violent” tirade of abuse” at the scrivener.¹ The only redeeming quality Alleyne seems to possess is his politeness towards Miss Delacour (“a middle-aged woman of Jewish appearance”) which Joyce suggests is premeditated: “Mr Alleyne was said to be sweet on her or on her money” (*D* 76). Alleyne is obnoxious and smug, as is clearest in his dealings with Farrington, and as the story progresses the reader learns the origins of such tensions: “they had never pulled together from the first, he and Mr Alleyne, ever since the day Mr Alleyne had overheard him mimicking his Northern Irish accent to amuse Higgins and Miss Parker: that had been the beginning of it” (*D* 78). In this story Joyce uses the character of Mr Alleyne, and the strained relationship he has with Farrington, to comment upon the divide and tensions between the North of Ireland and the South in the early twentieth century, with Joyce highlighting a definite Dublin prejudice towards the North.

Yet it is problematic to allude to “the north of Ireland” as a united political and cultural region, given that it is almost impossible to define the boundaries of the area in which the Ulster influence had exercised power. For example, in the years of revolution after the Easter Rising in 1916, when Ireland faced a range of differing reactions to militant nationalism and the ongoing struggle for independence, it was difficult to define what was

¹ James Joyce, ‘Counterparts’ in *Dubliners* (London: Penguin Classics, 2000) p. 77. Further references will be cited parenthetically in the text.

meant by this conception of the north or of ‘Ulster’ – a problem accentuated when the 1920 border excluded three counties of the historic province. This chapter will acknowledge how a sense of regional identity in Ulster was as dominant in society before 1920 as it deemed to be in the years since. Perhaps Ulster’s separation from the rest of Ireland could be attributed to differences in religious and political denominations, which led to the notion of a land not quite as Irish as its southern counterparts, and yet not English either. The discussion of Ulster within this chapter will refer to the historic province of nine counties, as it was at the turn of the twentieth century. Furthermore, this chapter will highlight the attempts made by northern groupings and the movements they established to locate Ulster in Ireland’s nationalist revival occurring for the most part in the south, and particularly in Dublin. Despite criticisms the north faced which argued for a deliberate Ulster segregation from the rest of Ireland, this chapter will locate the northern attempts to integrate with Ireland as a whole, focussing in particular on the short-lived but memorable little magazine *Uladh*.

In the December 1904 edition of *Dana*, F.M. Atkinson reviewed the first issue of *Uladh* (which had been published a month earlier, in November), asserting how “the venture is very interesting and highly suggestive”.² Yet Atkinson questioned the purpose of the magazine, in particular its single-minded emphasis on a distinctive Ulster identity: “*Uladh* is the manifesto of Ulster. And it is sad to find it positively declaring that Ulster means to foster a separate culture from the rest of Ireland”. He continued: “Ulster has its own way of things – yes, but is it the best way?”³ For Atkinson, the local characteristic was of secondary importance, and the national was primary.⁴ Perhaps Atkinson was

² F.M. Atkinson, ‘A Literary Causerie’, *Dana*, 8 (December 1904), p. 252.

³ *Ibid*, p. 253.

⁴ Marnie Hay argues that in his review of *Uladh* Atkinson misses the point of the founding edition; the magazine would look to the Ulster way of life whilst commenting upon Ireland as a whole. For further reading, see Marnie Hay, ‘Explaining *Uladh*: Cultural Nationalism in Ulster’, in *The Irish Revival Reappraised*, ed. Betsey Taylor FitzSimon and James H. Murphy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), p. 125.

correct to make such suggestions, yet he failed to understand what the founders hoped to achieve. One recent study has made similar contentions acknowledging how “at the time of its inception, some critics misunderstood it because of its blatant regionalism”.⁵ In order to understand this proclivity one must look to 1902, two years prior to *Uladh*'s launch, when the idea to insert the province of Ulster more firmly into the Irish Revival was re-established by a creative group who had combined their ideas to found an amateur drama company, later known as the Ulster Literary Theatre (ULT).⁶ The phrase “re-established” seems necessary given that gatherings had already occurred before the end of the nineteenth century that located Belfast and the wider North within Irish revivalist projects. It was not simply the hopes for a Northern revival that the developing ULT and later the founding of *Uladh* had in common with these earlier projects, it was also the social groupings involved. ‘Ardigh’, Francis Joseph Biggar’s house, had been the epicentre of discussions and debates in the years prior to 1902.

Literary Networks

Biggar (1863-1926) was born in Belfast into a protestant family, the seventh son of Joseph and Mary Jane Biggar. Due to his father’s work commitments Biggar was educated for a short time in Liverpool before returning to his hometown in 1880 to study law at Queen’s College Belfast. He qualified as a solicitor in 1887, and within two years had opened his own practice in partnership with George Strahan (whom he had met in Dublin), at Rea’s Buildings, Royal Avenue, Belfast. Throughout his life, Biggar was an enthusiastic historian, antiquarian, cultural philanthropist and archaeologist; in 1884 he joined the Belfast Naturalists’ Field Club (BNFC) which encouraged such

⁵ Hay, ‘Explaining *Uladh*’; Hay suggests that due to the cultural nationalist focus of the magazine, the wider audience outside of Ulster dismissed the magazine, p. 110.

⁶ For further reading on the establishment of the ULT see Eugene McNulty, *The Ulster Literary Theatre and Northern Revival* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2008). McNulty succeeds in recreating the events and relationships of those involved in the years leading to *Uladh*'s publication and afterwards.

interests and where he first learned Irish. Within a matter of months, Biggar was secretary of the club and then later president, becoming actively immersed in northern archaeology and folklore. During these years, he also joined the Gaelic League, quickly becoming a member of its executive committee; it was this involvement with the league that brought him into contact with revivalist figures such as Douglas Hyde and Eoin MacNeill.⁷ Biggar was a promoter of all things Irish and was keen to restore Ulster's heritage through a Northern revival of its own, while aiming to relate to Ireland's wider revival.⁸ As well as his involvement in the founding of the ULT, Biggar helped establish several more cultural nationalist organizations and clubs, among them the Irish Folk Song Society, the Irish Peasant Home Industries, the Ulster Public House Association, and for a time he was patron of the Dun Emer Guild.⁹ Perhaps his greatest archaeological/antiquarian achievement was the restoration of the Elizabethan Castle Sean in Ardglass. After the restoration, it became a model building for the Celtic revival.

'Ardigh' was located on the Antrim Road near to the home of Alice Milligan (1866-1953), whom Biggar had become acquainted with at Irish language classes he had organised within the city.¹⁰ Milligan is often considered the key figure in northern cultural nationalism throughout the 1890s and into the early twentieth century. Eugene McNulty states how Milligan sought:

Not only to engage the North with revival, but also to locate the North firmly within the revivalist re-imagining of Ireland. Milligan's work represents one of the very earliest attempts by a northern nationalist writer to construct a position that

⁷ Eoin MacNeill is discussed in great detail in the final chapter of my thesis that focuses on *The Irish Review*.

⁸ The legacy Biggar has left behind often solely addresses his cultural activities, but he was also a prolific writer of books and articles; he produced in excess of four hundred articles, and contributed to a vast number of periodicals and newspapers during his career. Several of his articles were published as pamphlets, including *The Holy Hills of Ireland* (1907). In 1894, he enjoyed a stint as an editor when he revived *The Ulster Journal of Archaeology*.

⁹ *The Irish Review* chapter of my study addresses the origins of the Dun Emer Guild and its connection with the Plunkett family.

¹⁰ In reference to Biggar's Ardigh home, H. A. MacCartan noted how "to walk into that house was a thrilling experience; you were almost certain to meet an established or rising celebrity". See H. A. MacCartan, 'Belfast: some backward glances', in *Capuchin Annual* (Dublin: Capuchin Franciscan Fathers, 1943) p. 177.

accommodated both the North's specificity and its potential within the wider revivalist project.¹¹

Born in Gortmore, a small village on the outskirts of Omagh, Milligan was the third child of thirteen to Methodist parents Seaton Milligan and Charlotte Burns. Before returning to Belfast and embarking on the founding of the cultural societies we associate her with today, Milligan trained as a teacher in Dublin (where she lived from 1888-91). In *Alice Milligan and the Irish Cultural Revival* Catherine Morris suggests that it was during the years living in the south of Ireland that Milligan found her true calling, immersing herself in the history and customs of ancient Ireland. Upon her return to Belfast, Milligan became actively involved with cultural pursuits. It was at these Belfast language meetings that Biggar and Milligan first encountered figures that would become central to their Northern Revival. Soon a dedicated coterie began meeting regularly at 'Ardigh', forming friendships and organising collaborations. Morris has referred to the Belfast group as "the almost forgotten figures" of the revival, despite their powerful contributions: "these individuals would form the backbone to everything that followed in the north".¹² This quote supports what Roy Foster has suggested in *Vivid Faces*, his study of the revolutionary generation, that Milligan ought to be considered as an "underrated pioneer" of the revival. Though he does accept that this may be true in some ways, he also argues: "her low profile in the cultural history of the period reflects the derivative and banal nature of her writing, and a congenital weakness for bathos". While he suggests her work continued to represent a "Victorian Flavour", he believes her

¹¹ McNulty, *The Ulster Literary Theatre and the Northern Revival*, p. 23. McNulty argues that Milligan was pivotal in founding a Northern revival and inspiring others around her to contribute. For further reading, see 'The North in Search of a Revival' in *The Ulster Literary Theatre and the Northern Revival*, p. 23.

¹² Morris, *Alice Milligan and the Irish Cultural Revival* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013) p. 143. For further reading on the life and work of Milligan see Morris' text. The book is groundbreaking in that it establishes the importance of Milligan as one of Ireland's most innovative cultural pioneers during the revival, as well as providing new interpretations of the revival itself.

contemporaries were defining new territories.¹³

Nevertheless, Milligan was a key influence on the regular attendees at ‘Ardigh’ which included Ethna Carbery (the pen name of Anna Johnston); David Parkhill (who was often published under the pseudonym Lewis Purcell); Roger Casement; Joseph and John Campbell; and James Connolly.¹⁴ Richard Kirkland has stated how ‘Ardigh’ became as much a state of mind as it was a physical location and played a number of different roles for these figures, including as a kind of informal university for any who wished to study Irish Ireland and a place merely of sentimental nationalism.¹⁵ Projects such as the ‘Henry Joy McCracken Society’ and its accompanying newspaper *The Northern Patriot* were developed at such meetings and were central in shaping a potential Ulster revival before the turn of the century.¹⁶ The purpose of this literary society was to publicise knowledge of the North’s past that could inspire a revival in Belfast. Biggar was obsessed, in particular, with the heritage of the United Irishmen and McCracken; an entire room at ‘Ardigh’ was dedicated to items relating to the United Irishmen and he spent much of his time during this period searching cemeteries throughout Ireland for the unmarked graves of their fallen number.¹⁷ In 1909, Biggar reinterred the remains of McCracken at Clifton

¹³ Roy Foster, *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland 1890 - 1923* (London: Penguin Group, 2014) p. 152.

¹⁴ As well as Biggar and Milligan, the other names listed were published in at least one edition of *Uladh*. Although not actively involved in the production and publication, Biggar had articles published in three of the four editions of the magazine. Of the names mentioned, David Parkhill is today the least known, and yet he was perhaps one of the most significant in the founding of *Uladh*. From my research it quickly became clear that unfortunately little is known of Parkhill, beyond his involvement in establishing the ULT, the founding of *Uladh* and his work as an architect. Around 1908 he emigrated to Australia.

¹⁵ Richard Kirkland, *Cathal O’Byrne and The Northern Revival in Ireland*, p. 98.

¹⁶ Established in early 1895, the Ardigh group deliberately selected Henry Joy McCracken, a Belfast man and rebel hero, as the source of inspiration for their new literary society. McCracken was born in 1767 into a family with deep rooted connections to Belfast and the north; his father was captain of a trade ship between Belfast and the West Indies, and his grandfather, Francis Joy, founded the *Belfast News-Letter* in 1737. During his life he was a successful textile printer and progressive political activist; by 1791 he was a member of the Society of United Irishmen, established in Belfast to include members of all religions in the unrepresentative Irish parliament. In the Battle of Antrim (7th June 1798), McCracken disregarded the general of the rebels, Robert Simms, and proclaimed himself commander-in-chief of the United Irishmen in Ulster. The rebels were quickly defeated and, though McCracken initially escaped, he was arrested shortly afterwards. His public hanging on 17th July 1798 was in Belfast’s corn market, land his grandfather had donated to the city decades earlier.

¹⁷ McNulty, *The Ulster Literary Theatre and the Northern Revival*, p. 230.

Street cemetery, Belfast (he had also attempted to locate the graves of several other national figures such as St. Patrick and Robert Emmet). Within the pages of the first edition of *The Northern Patriot*, published October 1895, Milligan commented on the founding of the McCracken society:

A few men met to take counsel with one another, each conscious of the great need that existed for a national literary educational society in their midst. Having given the matter full consideration, a unanimous decision was arrived at, and as an outcome of their endeavours, the above National Society was established in Belfast on 9th February, 1895.¹⁸

The deliberate repetition of “national” reveals the intentions of the Belfast group to appeal to and promote their ideas around the rest of Ireland. As early as 1895, Milligan was highlighting the value the North believed their contributions could have in benefiting the wider nationalist scene; consequently, rejecting the view that Ulster held a separatist view to the rest of Ireland.¹⁹

By the end of 1895, Milligan and Carbery’s departure from the society and journal, led to the founding of their own publication *Shan Van Vocht* in January 1896.²⁰ Their involvement with the *Northern Patriot* had given the women invaluable experience in the

¹⁸ *Northern Patriot*, October 1895. Following the launch of this journal, the founding members hoped it would provide a solution to a problem the North faced; so much was happening in Belfast culturally, that it was becoming an issue to record such a vast number of activities. The founders of the society and its accompanying journal hoped that this new publication would provide a creative outlet to record details of their cultural movements. The *Northern Patriot* was published for three editions, each containing editorials, short stories, poetry and articles about the society, as well as other cultural events taking place within the North.

¹⁹ For further reading on the McCracken Society see Morris, *Alice Milligan and the Irish Cultural Revival*. Morris notes how by the end of 1894 Milligan began to form her own cultural groups that were both nationalist and feminist in their outlook; by November, she had founded three branches of the Irish Women’s Association in the North. Within a couple of months, February 1895, Milligan became vice-president of the McCracken society; she informed readers about both organisations in her weekly column ‘Notes from the North’ (commissioned by the Dublin-based, *Irish Weekly Independent*). According to Morris, following the establishment of the *Northern Patriot*, Milligan’s column and her literary endeavours were now published within the journal. Her friend Ethna Carbery joined Milligan in the role of editor; this partnership would prove vital in shaping both women’s lives and Belfast’s cultural scene. Together they represented the only two women working within the society, and wrote the majority of the journal’s editorials, as well as commissioning all contributions.

²⁰ *Shan Van Vocht* was published monthly and included literature, poetry, historical and political articles, as well as news of various cultural meetings and events. With the centenary memorials of 1798 approaching, Milligan and Carbery included many issues dedicated to the United Irishmen’s rebellion. Contributors included James Connolly, Douglas Hyde, Arthur Griffith as well as the editors themselves. In 1899 the magazine ceased publication due to financial troubles, and subscription lists were transferred to Arthur Griffith’s *United Irishman*. Roy Foster suggests that the magazine folded because “it tried to tread an editorial line of non-sectarianism and high-minded proto-Fenianism without endorsing party or factionalist politics. When Arthur Griffith took over its subscription list to begin his own paper, he would make no such mistake”. For further reading see Foster, *Vivid Faces*, pp. 152-153.

production and publication of a journal. The sudden departure of Milligan and Carbery from the McCracken society was a result of the sponsors discovering that Carbery was Anna Johnston, daughter of the Fenian activist and key figure in the secret organisation the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), Robert Johnston. Carbery refused to resign and was sacked from her position, leading Milligan to resign also, in solidarity with her co-editor. In the weeks following, Milligan aired her frustrations within the pages of *United Ireland*. Though she made her feelings of resentment public about the departure from the society, her dispute was with the sponsors, not with the more informal ‘Ardigh’ grouping with whom she remained involved both on a creative and personal level. It was at one such meeting that Milligan introduced a young Bulmer Hobson to the rest of the circle; she was a friend of the Hobson family and already well aware of Bulmer’s interest in her work before the turn of the century. As early as 1894, the establishment of the Irish Women’s Association (IWA) was Milligan’s attempt to create a new cultural movement for Irish women, though not separating feminism from politics and history. The IWA was located in Belfast, and the wider north, but considered itself a national platform for all Irish women. One member of the movement was Mary Hobson, Bulmer’s mother, and this cultural connection helped strengthen the bond between Milligan and the Hobson family.²¹ The inspiration for this circle derived from the Home Reading Union organised by the London Irish Literary Society, which encouraged members to read a specific text before circulating it to other members within the group.²²

²¹ For more on the ties between Milligan and Hobson, see Austen Morgan, *Labour and Partition: The Belfast Working Class 1905-1923* (London: Pluto Press, 1991), p. 200. This book provides an in-depth study of politics in Belfast during the years mentioned within the title, focusing upon the dominant nationalist and unionist movements, as well as examining the key figures of the period.

²² The Alice Milligan Papers at the NLI contain written correspondence between Milligan and Mary Hobson that reveal the close relationship the women shared. For example, within the collection is an undated letter, though it is sent on a Monday (most likely around 1894-95), in which Mary Hobson informs Milligan that she is staying at “The Inn, Crawford’s burn” until Friday and “could go to see you one day”. Mary Hobson to Alice Milligan, (undated), Alice Milligan Papers (AMP), National Library of Ireland, Dublin MS. 5048 (2).

From as young as ten, Milligan's attendance at the Hobson family home ensured that a young Bulmer was conscious of her powerful presence in many of Belfast's cultural nationalist organizations. Hobson was a teenage member of the GAA, establishing the first Ulster hurling team, and of the Gaelic League's *Tir na nOg*. Over the years leading to the turn of the century and while still a schoolboy, it was Milligan's journalism that served as a source of inspiration to him. In his memoir, *Ireland: Yesterday and Tomorrow*, Hobson recalled how the cultural movements that had interested him from such a young age now distinguished him from the rest of his classmates:

While still a pupil at the Friends' School at Lisburn I learned that Alice Milligan and Ethna Carbery were about to start a monthly paper in Belfast. After a stiff struggle with the teacher, an Englishman, who controlled our pocket money, I became a subscriber to the *Shan Van Vocht*. It caused quite a flutter in the school and definitely marked me as an eccentric. I was not perturbed and in the *Shan* I came for the first time in touch with the new forces that were beginning to stir Ireland.²³

Catherine Morris has argued that though Milligan certainly supported the work that the ULT and *Uladh* were embarking upon to put the north on the map of the revival, "the defensive regionalism of Hobson's agenda would have sounded old hat to Milligan; an echo from an argument that she'd had years before".²⁴ If this was the case – though no written correspondence exists to suggest so – Milligan did not deter the group from the hopes and plans they had for their movement. Morris suggests that Milligan had already attempted to use the platform of a literary magazine to locate the north within the revival; though she and Carbery dissolved *Shan Van Vocht* when cultural events and movements in the north were becoming increasingly regionalist in tone. Milligan sought acknowledgement that the north had, and could, in the future would, play an important role in furthering Ireland's revival. There was never a desire to separate the north from

²³ Bulmer Hobson, *Ireland: Yesterday and Tomorrow* (Tralee: Anvil Books, 1968), p. 2. Within this memoir, Hobson notes how Milligan also energised his nationalist passions by loaning a number of books by Standish O'Grady. See Hobson, *Ireland, Yesterday and Tomorrow*, p.1.

²⁴ Morris, *Alice Milligan*, p. 184.

the rest of the country, at least in the initial plans of the ULT and *Uladh*; instead what the group strove for was a national theatre movement that would find a voice through their supporting magazine supplement.

In the years leading to 1904, Hobson, along with David Parkhill, made it his mission to found a nationalist theatre for Ulster. Their cultural motivations were similar to those imperatives that had led W. B. Yeats, Augusta Gregory and Edward Martyn to found their Dublin-based theatre movement. Though the backdrop of this theatre was Belfast, it was to be a representation of a cultural revival in Ulster and Ireland more generally. They hoped that the emphasis placed upon the North, rather than signal it as a place apart, would move Ulster from the periphery to the centre of Ireland's wider cultural revival. Significantly, it was the isolation of this periphery that inspired the 'Ardigh' group creatively; not only were they attempting to locate themselves within the revival occurring in Dublin, they were engaging with a distinctly northern version also. What is recognised today as this northern separatist attitude was best reflected in the words of Hobson himself, recalling how their theatre aimed to "produce distinctively Ulster plays which would be a commentary on the political and social conditions in the North of Ireland".²⁵ However, an isolated North was not what the group desired.

It was with this ambitious project in mind that the founders planned the formation of a sister branch (albeit and informal one) to Dublin's Irish Literary Theatre. The theatre was to present plays that would reconnect audiences with the culture of the North, whilst hoping to form an indispensable part of the revival taking centre stage in Dublin.²⁶ It aimed to provide a version of a more authentic Ireland, seeking narratives and voices that

²⁵ Hobson, *Ireland: Yesterday and Tomorrow*, p. 35.

²⁶ McNulty notes how in the years preceding Hobson and Parkhill's founding of the ULT, Belfast's nationalist theatre-goers had observed, with growing dismay, a cultural scene in their hometown that left little room for representation (as they saw it) of the real Ireland. Similar to the issues Dublin theatres had faced, Belfast's theatres had become one more regional stop for second rate London based touring companies. For further reading, see McNulty, 'Introduction', *The Ulster Literary Theatre*, p. 3.

audiences would distinguish as their own. McNulty has stated how this original idea had more to do with “a shared nationalist theatre” than it did with some form of “separatist northern nationalism”.²⁷ In the late 1890s, the Belfast playwright and poet, James Cousins, commented on the issues Ireland’s theatres faced: “the materials for cultural sustenance, especially in music and drama, came from or by way of England. The theatres of Dublin and Belfast came within the circuit of London companies”.²⁸ This quote provides an insight into the motives behind the formation of Ireland’s theatrical revival both in the north and south.

With the decision made that the north was in need of a nationalist theatre, Hobson and Parkhill set out on their journey to Dublin to meet with Yeats, Gregory and the other key figures behind the burgeoning dramatic movement. The purpose of the meeting was to gain information, advice and anything else they believed would benefit their new theatre. The men hoped to gain permission to perform some of the Dublin company’s plays upon the stage and believed the assistance they required would be available from the Dublin group who would be more than willing to help. Though this was not the case, the meeting did provide some success for Hobson and Parkhill; they managed to secure an exchange of popular actors to help launch their Northern theatre. Two of Dublin’s main actors, Dudley Digges and Maire Quinn, agreed to travel to Belfast and participate in the ULT’s first productions later that same year. Quinn, who was using Maud Gonne’s house in Rathgar Avenue, which was adjacent to A.E.’s home, had invited Hobson and Parkhill to stay with her. Along with Dudley she arranged for the northern men to meet many of Dublin’s theatre group on Camden Street, among them Yeats, A.E., Cousins, the Fay brothers and Fred Ryan.

²⁷ McNulty, *The Ulster Literary Theatre*, p. 66.

²⁸ James and Margaret Cousins, *We Two Together* (Madras: Ganesh, 1950), p. 47.

However, there was a definite Dublin resistance to the idea of a northern branch of the theatre. In *The Theatre in Ulster*, a text born from various interviews with Hobson in his later life, Sam Hanna Bell recalls how the opposition was most notably from Yeats himself: “everybody was most cordial and helpful except for Yeats – haughty and aloof”.²⁹ This was the beginning of a complex and often-ambiguous relationship the north would have with the Dublin Company. In *Twentieth-Century Irish Drama: Mirror Up to Nation*, Christopher Murray states:

The theatre in the North is, historically, a mirror image of the political relationship between North and South. When the ULT was founded in 1902 it was with the ambition of establishing in Belfast a Northern version of Yeats’s Irish Literary Theatre in Dublin. It was at once a form of imitation and a gesture of independence.³⁰

Perhaps Yeats’ frosty response to the Belfast men was due to their desire to perform *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*, and his unwillingness to allow this. As Hobson recalled in his interview with Bell, it was Maud Gonne who politely took him aside and whispered, “don’t mind, Willie. He wrote that play for me and gave it to me. It is mine and you can put it on whenever you want to”.³¹ As a result of the interviews with Hobson, Bell was able to reconstruct the journey back to Belfast the two men made by train:

One evening in the autumn of 1902, two young men were travelling homeward on the Belfast-bound train from Dublin. They had just parted company from the most remarkable group of men and women in that Ireland of the new century and had achieved more than partial success in the errand that had taken them to the capital.

But Idealists are inclined to chafe under anything less than complete success. Young Mr. Hobson and young Mr. David Parkhill from Belfast were, above all else, idealists. It is not recorded at what point on that historic journey Hobson struck the arm of his seat and exclaimed: “Damn Yeats, we’ll write our own plays!”

²⁹ Sam Hanna Bell, *The Theatre in Ulster: A Survey of the Dramatic Movement in Ulster* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1972), p. 2. From an interview with Bulmer Hobson in later life, Bell’s work is extraordinary in recreating the events of the Dublin meeting between the north/south figures. It provides an excellent historical narrative, yet its critical usefulness may be limited due to Hobson’s potential romanticised personal recollections and bias.

³⁰ Christopher Murray, *Twentieth-Century Irish Drama: Mirror Up to Nation* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000), p. 188.

³¹ Bell, *The Theatre in Ulster*, p. 2.

What can be said is that the blow laid the foundation of the Ulster Literary Theatre.³²

Despite such tensions, the men tried to ignore Yeats's antipathy towards Ulster and returned to Belfast, continuing with their plan to establish a theatre company which they initially named the Ulster Branch of the Irish Literary Theatre. Two decades later, Yeats's hostility towards all things Ulster was publicised in a dialogue he contributed to A.E.'s weekly journal, *The Irish Statesman*.³³ A character states: "I generally dislike the people of Ulster, and want to keep them out".³⁴

Just as Yeats was chary of cooperation with Ulster, the response to Yeats in Ulster was not wholly accepting; his writings for the revival were not always recognised in the north as great examples of nationalism to further the Irish movement. Gerald McNamara's (the pseudonym of Harry Morrow) review of a Belfast audience's reaction to *Cathleen* in 1904 suggests that the nationalist message of Dublin differed to that which the north sought: "the Belfast public were not taken by *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*. Ninety-nine percent of the population had never heard of the lady – and cared less; in fact, someone in the audience said that the show was going 'rightly' until she came on."³⁵ The playwright Rutherford Mayne (the pseudonym of Sam Waddell) recorded a similar reaction to *Cathleen*: "I'm afraid I didn't quite catch what Yeats was at because the audience seemed to take it as a sort of funny peasant play."³⁶ This response suggested

³² *Ibid*, p. 1. In *The Ulster Literary Theatre*, McNulty states how Hobson's angry cry of "damn Yeats, we'll write our own plays" is positioned at the heart of the ULT. He suggests it is a declaration of independence, but also an acknowledgement of a centre against which the ULT would be forced to define itself. For further reading, see McNulty, *The Ulster Literary Theatre*, p. 67.

³³ A.E. edited *The Irish Statesman* from 1923 to 1930; it was an incorporation of *The Irish Homestead*, which he had also edited from 1905. Nicholas Allen has stated how: "*The Irish Statesman* was for seven years the instrument of the highest, most consistent, political and cultural expression of a significant proportion of the Free State's literary community". For further reading, see Allen 'The Politics of a Cultural Journal: George Russell and the *Irish Statesman*' - <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/Bells/article/view/102902>. Accessed May 2016. For further reading, see Frank Shovlin, *The Irish Literary Periodical* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 13-38.

³⁴ Quoted in Bell, *The Theatre in Ulster*, p. 2.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 3-4. Gerald McNamara is discussed in detail later in this chapter. See page: 118.

³⁶ John Killen (ed.), 'Introduction', in *Rutherford Mayne: Selected Plays* (Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, Queens University Belfast, 1997), p. 2.

that the north needed a revival suited to its ideologies, language, mythical past and culture; thus different to Dublin's revival. However, one could question whether these feelings of northern detachment from the ideals of the southern revival were born from the rejection they had suffered in the previous years. Had they been welcomed into the revival by Yeats *et al.* the northern reviewers may have celebrated *Cathleen* instead. Nevertheless, a few years earlier, in November 1902, the Ulster branch staged their inaugural shows in St Mary's Minor Hall, Belfast. Yeats' *Cathleen* was one of the two performed; the other was James Cousins' *The Racing Lug*. True to their word, the Dublin actors made the journey north to take on roles in each production, much to Yeats' dismay. His resentment at this cooperation was most visible in the later reorganisation of the Dublin theatre: a new rule was introduced which prohibited actors taking roles within other drama groups without permission from the higher powers of the Dublin company.³⁷

Though audiences were relatively small for these opening performances, Hobson and Parkhill's company was now progressing in the direction they had hoped; they had launched their theatre into Belfast's cultural scene, and knew nationalists who had previously looked for an outlet for their creative thought would be drawn in. It was at one of these first performances of *Cathleen* that Joseph Campbell had first become aware of this cultural movement. He recalled: "I headed home feeling that I had been cleaned and ennobled".³⁸ The contrast of Campbell's reaction to watching *Cathleen* to that of McNamara and Mayne tells of the complexities in the North's search for a nationalist revival. In the years leading to 1904, Joseph, along with his young brother and sister

³⁷ See Mathews, *Revival: The Abbey Theatre*, p. 88.

³⁸ Campbell made a number of autobiographical broadcasts in his later life, under the title of 'A Northern Autobiography'. These were reprinted in *Journal of Irish Literature*. For further reading, see Joseph Campbell, 'A Northern Autobiography', reprinted by Sr. Assumpta Saunders (ed.), *Journal of Irish Literature: Special Joseph Campbell Issue*, vol. VIII, No. 3 (September 1979), pp. 85-86.

John and Josephine, would become a central figure in the cultural movement occurring in Belfast and heavily involved in their plans.³⁹ Like Hobson, the Campbell siblings were already acquainted with some of the leading northern figures from an early age: they were the cousins of Ethna Carbery, and already familiar with her good friend and creative partner Milligan. Around this time, the Campbells were also frequent visitors to Biggar's Ardigh home.

At one such meeting, the Campbells were introduced to Herbert Hughes (1882-1937), who studied at the Royal College of Music, London, and achieved fame through his arrangement of Irish folk music. Born and raised in Belfast, Hughes was the son of a flour manufacturer. From the age of fourteen he was the honorary organist at St. Peter's Church on Antrim Road (near to the Hobson and Milligan family homes). His brother Freddy, a talented folk singer, was also a regular at Biggar's house.⁴⁰ In August 1903, Biggar, John Campbell and the Hughes brothers travelled to north Donegal for a walking trip, hoping it would be a source of inspiration to recall Ireland's northern folk tales and songs. During this time, John was engaged to the Hughes' sister, Helena Cairns Hughes; though they never married, his art exhibition at the Royal Hibernian Academy in 1910 showcased ink portraits he had sketched during their engagement. Referring to the trip, McNulty notes: "in this regard the Gaelic-speaking regions of Donegal functioned for these northern revivalists in much the same manner as the Aran Islands did for J. M. Synge at the Abbey".⁴¹ This trip to a remote area of Ulster resulted in the publication of a co-authored poetry collection titled *Songs of Uladh* (1904).

³⁹ Joseph Campbell was the seventh of ten children of William Henry, a road contractor, and Catherine Campbell. They were a County Down family, Catholics and nationalists. For further reading on the Campbell siblings' childhood and early life, see Nora Saunders and A. A. Kelly, *Joseph Campbell: Poet and Nationalist 1879-1944, A Critical Biography* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1988), p. 12.

⁴⁰ Fred Hughes had been involved with the ULT from its founding, and, after 1903, Herbert provided the musical score for many of the company's leading productions.

⁴¹ McNulty, *The Ulster Literary Theatre*, p. 69.

Though he was not a member of the Donegal travelling party, Joseph Campbell recalled:

(It was) a carefree, exploratory holiday – breathing mountain ether, eating mountain food, meeting adventures as they shaped themselves on the road. I was not, alas! of their company. Herbert brought his notebook with him, and F.J.B. his camera. They came back with a rich harvest: a veritable treasure-trove of unrecorded airs and peasant photographs. Out of this trip blossomed *Songs of Uladh*. It was published in 1904 at Biggar's expense.⁴²

As a gesture of appreciation for funding the collection, its dedication was written to Biggar. *Songs of Uladh* was published in Belfast by W. J. Baird and illustrated by John Campbell. The words inscribed on the front cover were: “The music of Eire is like the memory of joys that are past, pleasant and mournful to the soul”. This was an early attempt by the artists of the Donegal trip to creatively band together on a literary venture in the name of Ulster, as they would again later in the year with the launch of *Uladh*. Interestingly, correspondence suggests that the publication of this collection was generated as a response to another example of what they believed to be a definite Dublin-based bias towards Ulster.

Though he had not been present on the momentous trip in the summer of 1903, it seems Joseph Campbell's desire to create the collection came from his own disappointment at being excluded from A.E.'s *New Songs* published early in 1904. This book of poetry contained a majority of southern poets (Padraic Colum, Eva Gore-Booth, Thomas Keohler, Susan Mitchell, Ella Young and Seumas O'Sullivan), and only two northern, Alice Milligan and George Roberts (whose loyalty to his Belfast origins will be brought into question later in this chapter when discussing the collapse of any Dublin-Belfast theatre links).⁴³ Similarly, Campbell must have felt disillusioned with A.E., a northern man, who edited and published a predominantly southern revivalist collection which marginalized any northern involvement. *New Songs* was praised in Dublin for the

⁴² Joseph Campbell, *A Northern Autobiography*, p. 94.

⁴³ See pp. 94-95.

contribution it made to further the Irish revival, but his exclusion led Campbell to feel snubbed. Perhaps this was further evidence, he deduced, that the north could not rely upon Dublin for any recognition within Ireland's wider revival. However, the critical reaction to *Songs of Uladh* reinforced to those figures involved that there was a positive public response to a potential northern revival.⁴⁴

By March 1904, the Ulster theatre was ready for its second season of productions; Yeats' *Cathleen* was performed once more, alongside AE's *Deirdre* (both Joseph and John Campbell acted in this production). Rutherford Mayne noted how the Campbell brothers were captivating upon the stage and how their performances had left a lasting impression upon him.⁴⁵ It was during his school years that Mayne had become friendly with Parkhill, and this relationship had led to his involvement with the northern group. Recalling his first attendance at a ULT production, Mayne noted: "one night in digs Purcell (Parkhill's pseudonym) suddenly appeared and induced me to buy tickets to go and see the society he was interested in".⁴⁶ From this first night his connection with the ULT was established. Yet Mayne's connections with the Campbell family were far more involved than the cultural pursuits the northern group were embarking upon; he was becoming a key member of the group during this period, and one member – Josephine Campbell – had attracted his romantic attention. Within a short few months the two were married.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ McNulty notes how despite the disappointment Campbell felt, he was aware of the importance of publications such as *New Songs*, describing 1904 as the year that launched the second wave of Ireland's revival. For further reading on other northern nationalist activities launched during 1904 see McNulty, *The Ulster Literary Theatre*, p. 70. An example of an activity discussed is the first *Feis na nGleann* (Feis of the Nine Glens), which was held on 30th June 1904. Various activities organised during this event were designed to encourage Ireland's native arts and skills, such as music, dancing, history and language. Parkhill, Hobson and Joseph Campbell judged the language recital competition, showing how they were involved in other cultural pursuits aside from the ULT.

⁴⁵ Killen, 'Introduction', in *Rutherford Mayne*, p. 3. In later years, both John and Joseph Campbell would perform in a number of Mayne's plays that he wrote specifically for the ULT.

⁴⁶ Quoted in Killen, 'Introduction', in *Rutherford Mayne*, p. 2. Mayne remained involved with the ULT, not just as a playwright, for the rest of the company's entire existence. For many years he was one of the ULT's leading actors, even taking roles in plays he had written, as well as helping with backstage productions. In later years, his work for the Irish Land Commission resulted in Mayne having to move south, meaning he became less involved with the daily running and upkeep of the ULT though he did remain a central figure within the movement.

⁴⁷ When Josephine died in 1911, Mayne married her sister Fanny.

The arrival of a southern letter addressed up north, written by George Roberts, drastically changed the Ulster drama company and their creative outlook. Roberts – better known now as the chief impediment to the Dublin publication of Joyce’s *Dubliners* in 1912 and villain-in-chief of Joyce’s acerbic ‘Gas from a Burner’ – was a Belfast man and secretary of the Irish National Literary Theatre in Dublin. Roberts wrote to Parkhill informing him that the group had no authority to describe itself as a branch of their southern theatre company and, should they continue to do so, remuneration would be required. Though acting on behalf of the Dublin company, it was Roberts’ letter that altered the creative direction the Ulster theatre group would take. What followed was a swift name change for the Ulster group which signified the severing of any connections the northern theatre had with the southern, and led to the emergence of the ULT. In a letter to Bell, Hobson would later recall: “annoyed by Yeats we decided to write our own plays – and we did”.⁴⁸ Similarly, Mayne would also address this revivalist separation from Dublin: “that caused the birth of the Ulster Literary Theatre, for it drove us to write our own plays”.⁴⁹

The Politicisation of Art

However, the rising tension between the two cities was far deeper rooted than theatrical rivalry; it spoke of striking cultural, regionalist and political differences. The remainder of this chapter will trace the publication life of *Uladh* whilst discussing the relationship between the two cities and question whether the magazine was founded as a reaction to an inbuilt Dublin bias towards Belfast and Ulster. The tensions associated with these regionalist issues, and the ULT’s standpoint on these problems, required a creative outlet.

⁴⁸ Bell, *The Theatre in Ulster*, p. 2.

⁴⁹ Rutherford Mayne and the Bellman, ‘Meet Rutherford Mayne’, *The Bell*, Vol. 4, Issue: 4 (April-September, 1942), p. 4.

So, the ULT launched its supplementary publication *Uladh*, which appeared four times over an eleven-month period (November 1904 – September 1905). As the title suggests, *Uladh* (which derives from the genitive case of “Ulaidh” meaning Ulster in Irish) was to focus on the historic province of Ulster’s nine counties. The magazine was to follow in the footsteps of the *Shan Van Vocht* in its attempts to establish a regionalist Ulster identity. The editors and creative group involved with the founding of *Uladh* were far more concerned with the cultural revival occurring in the rest of Ireland, and the North’s position within the movement, rather than political matters from previous months. For example, though the Devolution Crisis had been the dominant political backdrop for the period in the months prior to the magazine’s founding, it had no tangible impact upon *Uladh* when it began its publication run or in the other issues published over the following year.⁵⁰

If the cultural movements already established in Dublin were addressing the “Irish question”, and they had refused any Ulster involvement within their revival, then it is this chapter’s contention that the nine counties of the North had no other alternative than to focus upon the “Ulster question”. However, the founders’ intention was that *Uladh* was formed to foster a variety of northern nationalism that was detached and yet attached to Ireland’s wider revival.⁵¹ *Uladh* was published under the ULT Company at 109 Donegall

⁵⁰ *Uladh*’s inaugural publication appeared in print a few short months after the Devolution crisis that occurred from August into September of the same year. It stemmed from the Irish Reform Association (1904-1905), which was the attempt to introduce a limited devolved self-government to Ireland by unionist landowners who proposed to adopt something less than full Home Rule. Both unionists and nationalists rejected it: the first believed it went too far, the latter believed it didn’t go far enough. This reform followed from the Land Conference held in Dublin between December 1902 and January 1903, which was backed by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, George Wyndham. On 31st August 1904, the reform association released a report calling for the devolution of larger powers of local government for Ireland. Following this was the publication of a scheme for the devolution of a vast amount of domestic affairs to an Irish council. After the publication, the Devolution Crisis emerged which centred around political intrigue and complex personal dramas.

⁵¹ In relation to the publication of *Uladh* Kirkland has argued that “this combination of ambiguity and assertion begged more questions than it answered” - he questions how a magazine could aim to promote an independent northern revival within its pages and yet embed itself within the wider revivification in the rest of Ireland. See Kirkland, *Cathal O’Byrne and The Northern Revival*, p. 74.

Street, Belfast; it was printed by Davidson and McCormick at 54 King Street, Belfast (with each copy costing six-pence).

Marnie Hay has argued how previous research has employed *Uladh* as a tool to further the study of the ULT, claiming that her work “is the first to examine the magazine as a subject in its own right”. However, *Uladh* exists because of the ULT, and to understand the magazine, we must acknowledge the importance of the years leading to publication. Therefore one would question whether *Uladh* could ever be a subject in its own right, disregarding the importance of the cultural movements (and the relationships of those individuals involved) that led to its formation.⁵² “Its working capital”, Hobson noted in later life, when discussing the foundations of the magazine, “consisted of £5 subscribed by David Parkhill, J.W. Good, John Campbell and myself, and we were the committee in charge, with Reynolds as editor and Campbell as manager.”⁵³ An announcement published in *The United Irishman* on 15th October 1904 listed Joseph Campbell as an editor of the magazine also. Like many editors of these smaller literary magazines at the turn of the century, W. B. Reynolds, who published his own writing within the magazine under the pseudonym William Donn, seems to have had some success in seeking contributors for *Uladh*.⁵⁴ Forrest Reid, who was published on three different occasions within the pages of the magazine, recalled receiving a letter from Reynolds asking him to call upon the editor. Remembering the arranged meeting, Reid noted:

The month was, I think, “the bleak December”, and the hour between seven and eight, when I set out to pay this visit. I lived on the Malone Road, Reynolds in lodgings on the Antrim Road, so I had to take two trams and had plenty of

⁵² See Hay, ‘Explaining *Uladh*: Cultural Nationalism in Ulster’, p. 110.

⁵³ Bell, *The Theatre in Ulster*, p. 4.

⁵⁴ In *A Private Road*, Reid provides a detailed description of Reynolds’ childhood and upbringing: “Reynolds was not town-bred, and had never had so much schooling of any kind. He never talked of the past, but over a period of years I gradually gathered that his father had been a small farmer, and that Willie himself, at the age of fourteen, had been brought to Belfast, where a job had been found for him in one of the big drapers’ shops. His subsequent career had been entirely of his own making. When I got to know him he was a musical critic, and writing music of his own. We had met on the ground of literature, but never afterwards, for, as he admitted himself, he had not the faintest literary sense”. See Forrest Reid, *A Private Road* (London: Faber and Faber, 1940), p. 44.

opportunity to wonder what he wanted and what he would be like. I was at the time very shy of meeting strangers, but the moment I was shown into his sitting room I knew there was no cause for alarm [...]

My first impression of Reynolds was that he looked rather odd. He had thin sandy hair, a smallish face, and large round spectacles through thick lenses of which he blinked at me benevolently [...]

He was, in fact, a distinctly pleasant person, and I liked him from the beginning. He told me of the Ulster Renaissance; he told me of the new quarterly that had been started; he gave me a copy of the first number, and he asked me to write something for the second. He had already received poems from A.E. and Padraic Colum; plays from Joseph Campbell, Parkhill and Bulmer Hobson; he had been promised articles by Stephen Gwynn and Roger Casement.⁵⁵

Reid (1875-1947) was born in Belfast, the youngest son of a Protestant family of twelve, though only six survived. His father was in the shipping trade, and his mother came from aristocratic descent that claimed ancestry from Katherine Parr, wife of Henry VIII. Despite the wistful pride that this brought to a young Reid, the family suffered a fall in circumstances when his father's shipping company collapsed. This economic change resulted in the family spending years keeping up appearances (a trait many young characters of his seventeen novels would later also adopt).⁵⁶ Nevertheless, he was educated at the prestigious Royal Belfast Academic Institution. After a couple of months living in Cambridge, Reid returned to Belfast where he spent the rest of his life. He described the existence of this 1904 Belfast movement as "a very minor echo of the Dublin literary and dramatic movement".⁵⁷

Reid was not a political figure; in fact as the quote below highlights, he was quite the opposite. He was oblivious to Ireland's north and south divide. Recalling that same meeting with Reynolds, he stated:

Reynolds was eloquent, optimistic and extremely enthusiastic: I felt ignorant, bewildered and very much out of it. Although Irish, I had never been interested in politics, ("a bloody scandal!" as Good used to say later), had never distinguished in

⁵⁵ Reid, *A Private Road*, p. 35.

⁵⁶ For further reading on Forrest Reid, see Kris Brown, *Introduction to the Forrest Reid Collection 2008* - <https://www.qub.ac.uk/directorates/InformationServices/TheLibrary/FileStore/Fileupload,606978,en.pdf>. Accessed July 2016.

⁵⁷ Reid, *A Private Road*, p. 33.

my mind north from south, and the Ulster propaganda did not particularly appeal to me. It was not what to-day would be called Ulster propaganda, since it was definitely nationalist, and merely insisted that Ulster play its part in the Irish Revival. I had no objection to that naturally, but I could not see why there should be two camps, nor why what Reynolds called “the Ulster genius” should necessarily be, as he said it was, satiric. If it came to that, it was the first I had heard of “the Ulster genius”, and I had certainly seen no sign of it. Therefore I listened to Reynolds without conviction. I didn’t know what “Ulad” meant; I didn’t know why Joseph Campbell should call himself Seosamh MacCathmhaoil. It seemed to me a most difficult name to pronounce, and since Reynolds got over that by pronouncing it Joe, the difficulty still remains. I asked him what he would like me to write, and received a sudden clue as to the real bent of his interests when he replied without a moment’s hesitation, “an essay on *The Future of Irish Opera*.”⁵⁸

For Reid, there was a problem with what Reynolds had requested: he did not believe in revivalism, nor was he interested in the past, present or future of Irish opera, and it was a subject he had learned to avoid.⁵⁹ After a definite refusal, Reid believed this would be the end of such interviews in which Reynolds would seek contributions for *Uladh*. Yet, he had underestimated the editor; his response was to inform Reid that he could write on any subject he liked, so long as it was connected to Ireland, preferably Ulster, so it could relate to the magazine’s northern emphasis. Despite Reid’s lack of response to such requests, Reynolds persisted, revealing a shrewd and determined editorial skill. “It was not due to obstinacy”, Reid wrote, in reference to such communication failures on his own behalf, “it was merely that I did not see how writing could ever be anything but the expression of an individuality, while Reynolds, I gathered, thought it should be the expression of the policy and aspirations of a group”.⁶⁰ Reynolds strongly asserted that all contributors were required to write expressing the aims of the editorial group, and this was what actually happened. However, for Reid, there was an eventual compromise, and

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 35.

⁵⁹ In *A Private Road*, Reid recalls a comical account of his distaste for opera, referring to his lack of interest in writing the article Reynolds sought, he notes: “it was not that I couldn’t imagine it; it was rather because I could – in all its dreadfulness – having once sat through a performance of Stanford’s *Shemus O’Brien*. But Irish opera, like English opera, was a thing to which I had learned to give a wide berth”. See Reid, *A Private Road*, p. 36.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 37.

he wrote an article on the Lane collection of pictures, then an exhibition in the Harcourt Street Gallery in Dublin.

John Campbell, who was already an established artist in his own right, was tasked with designing the cover of the journal; he would later design a number of other images within the four editions of *Uladh*, signing each (as he often did) in the gaelicized version of his name, Seaghan MacCathmhaoil.⁶¹ Paul Larmour has stated of these images:

Campbell's contributions to *Uladh* included the cover design for all four issues which carried an effective decorative portrayal of an armed Irish warrior, symbolic of Ulster, being urged to 'Go Forth' by a torch-bearing companion, with a framing panel of interlaced ornament. The heroic Celtic symbolism of this design was to set the tone of much of his best work as an illustrator in the years that followed. A similar design was also produced as a bookplate for Francis Biggar and presumably dates from about 1904.⁶²

Aside from illustrating the cover, Campbell provided artwork to accompany many of the articles published within each number of the magazine: in the first he sketched the headpiece to Hobson's 'The Deluge', in the second he illustrated Colum's 'Beauty Forsaken', within the third he illustrated his brother's translation 'MacCrumin' (which Joseph had signed Seosamh MacCathmhaoil), and in the final edition of *Uladh* he once again provided the artwork to complement his brother's article, 'The Women at their Doors'.⁶³ One observation made at the time of publication praised his artwork, stating: "Perhaps the best workmanship in *Uladh* is its drawings; in particular the cover design is striking and effective".⁶⁴ Though this artwork was deemed a success, the constant juxtaposition between the north and south of Ireland remained. One reviewer wrote: "If Jack B. Yeats has been successful in the portrayal of more southern types, John Campbell

⁶¹ See Appendix B.

⁶² Paul Larmour, 'John Campbell: (1883-1962) an Artist of the Irish Revival', in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, vol. 14 (1998), p. 62. Throughout the article, Larmour describes Campbell's career and its many successes, though he states the reputation he carried as an artist rested on his early work of illustration. He argues: "he was dedicated principally to creating an image of a glorious Celtic past".

⁶³ See Appendix B.

⁶⁴ F.M. Atkinson, 'A Literary Causerie', *Dana*, 8 (December 1904), p. 253.

certainly has hit off the northern”.⁶⁵ There seemed to be this idea of the north living in the shadow of the south, so any successes achieved were credited through a comparison to the successes of their southern counterparts. However, this has now changed; more contemporary criticism has ranked Campbell as “one of the most imaginative and individual artists of the Irish Revival”.⁶⁶

Though previous meetings had been regularly held at Biggar’s house, the location for *Uladh*’s editorial planning and production meetings were now held at ‘Loretto’, the Campbell family home. The opening edition of *Uladh: A Literary and Critical Magazine* appeared in print in November 1904. Each of the four issues was named after the Celtic festival celebrated in the season in which the magazine was published; thus, the first was the Samhain issue. Critics such as McNulty have suggested, quite rightly, that *Uladh* was modelled on Yeats’ magazine that accompanied his Dublin theatre, *Samhain*, which began publication in October 1901.⁶⁷ As well as *Samhain*, Marnie Hay has suggested that *Uladh* was modelled on another of Yeats’ theatre journals, *Beltaine*. According to Hay, one of *Uladh*’s striking differences from Yeats’ earlier theatre journals was that the northern magazine “covered a far wider range of cultural topics than theatre”.⁶⁸ In his encyclopaedic overview of the subject, *Irish Literary Magazines*, Tom Clyde states:

Just as the Ulster Literary Theatre was a Northern echo of recent developments in Dublin, so *Uladh* was their version of Yeats’ titles like *Samhain* and *Beltaine*. Ironically (given that it came from the North), *Uladh* can be seen as representing the fullest flowering of the Little Magazine during the Irish Literary Revival – a striking production, with a brown cover like *Samhain*, but an even more confident synthesis of drama, poetry, typography and illustration.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ From ‘The Old Airs of Ulster: The Songs of Uladh’, an undated and unidentified newspaper review by ‘Rathcol’, quoted in Paul Larmour, *John Campbell*, p. 62. In *A Private Road*, Forrest Reid confirms that Rathcol was in fact a pseudonym often used by W. B. Reynolds. See Reid, *A Private Road*, p. 34.

⁶⁶ Paul Larmour, *John Campbell*, p. 68.

⁶⁷ See McNulty, *The Ulster Literary Theatre and the Northern Revival*, pp. 77-78.

⁶⁸ Hay, ‘Explaining *Uladh*: Cultural Nationalism in Ulster’, p. 110.

⁶⁹ Tom Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines: An Outline History and Descriptive Bibliography* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2003), p. 154.

Though *Sambain* was a model on which to base their new literary magazine, there would be one stark difference from its prototype: the group wanted to present their own regional disposition in the North.

The magazine was a literary voice for Ulster: “*Ulad* means Ulster”, the editorial in the first edition of the journal opens with, “we intend to insist”. The use of “we” suggests that Reynolds had constructed this inaugural declaration with the help of Hobson, Parkhill and Joseph Campbell. The magazine was to be a platform to promote a nationalist voice in Ulster, and to the rest of Ireland:

Draw an imaginary line across Ireland from the great bight, Donegal Bay, in the west, to Carlingford Lough, on the east, and draw it not too rigidly; north of that you have Ulster. This Ulster has its own way of things, which may be taken as the great contrast to the Munster way of things, still keeping on Irish lands.⁷⁰

The article comments upon the Irish art of drama already established in Dublin, the successes of which they deem “surprising and exhilarating”. The editorial note highlights how their art of drama will be different from those voices projected from the stage of the Irish National Theatre in Dublin (“dreamer, mystic, symbolist, Gaelic poet and propagandist have all spoken”), which have set a high standard for Anglo-Irish and Gaelic plays: “We in Belfast and Ulster also wish to set up a school; but there will be a difference”. (1, (November 1904), p. 2). Reynolds acknowledges that the talent behind their Northern movement is more satiric than poetic, and this will remain the broad difference between the Ulster and Leinster theatres:

Exactly what the local temperament and artistic aptitude are *Ulad* wants to discuss. *Ulad* would also influence them, direct and inform them. And as the theatre is the most essential of all art activities, and the surest test of people’s emotional and intellectual vitality, *Ulad* starts out as the organ of the Theatre, the Ulster Literary Theatre, but proposes to be as irrelevant to that movement and its topics as deemed necessary. (1, (November 1904), p. 1).

⁷⁰ *Ulad*, 1 (November 1904), p. 1. Access to *Uladh* was available through the National Library of Ireland archives. Further references will be cited parenthetically by issue number, date and page number.

Like many another little magazines, the introductory editorial established its aims: published within its pages would be essays, poetry, artwork, and drama, with contributions from journalists, fiction writers, poets, political activists and composers. It is stated that each issue will include a critical section that focuses on the whole of Ulster's local activities.

The magazine was to be an outlet for northern nationalist voices that longed to be heard, and the editorial notes that *Uladh's* biggest fear was that these young Ulster writers, not given such an outlet, would gravitate towards the "sloblands" of English or American magazines for publication, which they deemed "purely commercial" with "no pretention to literature whatever" (1, (November 1904), pp. 2-3). Confidently, the editorial states how, unlike these other magazines which aimed to be six pence worthy (what each edition of *Uladh* also cost), their new literary venture would aim at being aesthetically priceless:

Ulad will be non-sectarian and non-political; each article will be signed by the writer as an expression of his own views; other views may be put forward in another number. In any case, our pages will be kept free from the party-cries of mob and clique and market-place. Honesty in all matters of taste and opinion will, we hope, characterise our matter. Our contributors are mostly young men, of all sects and grades of political opinion.

The journal will be run on broad propagandist lines. Propagandism on broad lines, we think, is desirable at this juncture. There is a strong undercurrent of culture in the North, and this will we will endeavour to tap, and if possible, turn into native channels. As a good Ulsterman, and a friend of this venture, has truly said: "we have it to effect a great deal – the voice of the press is far-reaching. We may roll the stone that has been only pushed at by others. Then will the heroes of the North ride forth again: at present they only sleep within the cavern of dark prejudice and ignorance and distrust".

If we succeed in accomplishing this much, if we awaken the people to sympathy and life, surely our existence will be justified. (1, (November 1904), pp. 2-3).

Immediately after the editorial note, the first issue continues with a short poem written by Hobson. Entitled 'Ulad', the poem surmises the theme of an awakened North, symbolised through the wind blowing South, East and West; it establishes the cultural and political position of the magazine. The first verse begins:

In the north is the strength of the wind, of the whirlwind;
In the south there are murmuring waters;
The east has a caoine for its song;
In the west is strengthless love. (1, (November 1904), p. 3).

It is not until the final lines of the poem that the reader can acknowledge the importance of the wind, and the comment Hobson was making about the north and south divide: “water touched by the wind, the wind is your master, is strongest!” (1, (November 1904), p. 3). The image of a powerful north and its position as this rightful leader of Ireland reveals the topic addressed in each edition of *Uladh*. Hobson’s revelation at the end of the poem not only locates the north within the wider revival occurring in Ireland, but also more importantly places it at the forefront of any cultural rebirth.

Following this stirring lyric, Seosamh MacCathmhaoil (Joseph Campbell) provides an Aisling-based article for the magazine, similar to Yeats’ play centred on Cathleen; however this female uses the more determinedly Gaelic spelling of Caitlin Ni h-Uallachain. Similar to Yeats’ celebrated figure, in this essay the old woman (who later becomes a beautiful young girl towards the end) attempts to rouse sleeping heroes, except these heroes are specifically Ulster’s. She appears to the sleeping warrior where he rests on the summit of Ailech, Donegal’s ancient fortress overlooking the city of Derry, making her prophesy before she is transformed before his eyes. “The time for the heroes to ride forth”, she utters: “Uladh, go forth! That is the command I speak to you. ULADH, I say, for in you lives the quenchless fire of the northern men. Go forth, go forth, O Valorous Lights of the North! The spirit of Action calls ye” (1, (November 1904), pp. 5-6). Just as Yeats had attempted to rouse Irish nationalists into action within the revival in Dublin with *Cathleen Ni Houliban*, so Campbell was attempting to stir cultural nationalists in Ulster. On 7th November 1904, the *Irish News* acknowledged this and made reference to the “propagandist parable” that *Uladh* had published.⁷¹

The editorial note established that *Uladh* would strive to include a short play within each issue, and it would be another submission from Campbell that would fulfil this for

⁷¹ *Irish News*, 7th November 1904, p. 22.

the first issue; his play, *The Little Cowherd of Slainge* was printed as the conclusion. The dramatic legend opens with the King of Ulster, Ros Ruadh, talking with a noble youth at foster with his family. The youth, Aodh, confesses his love for the King's daughter, Fionnghuala, though it is unrequited. The King believes this to be a great opportunity to connect the two noble families, and as he thinks of Aodh as his son already, he sets off to find his daughter, who is out in the fields with her nurse, Eithne. What he discovers is that his daughter has grown whimsical, hallucinating and talking constantly of her dead mother and a magical cowherd, called Boirche. This magical cowherd only exists in the minds of the peasant people, or the hearts of maidens that he lures to madness with his youthful charm, beauty and skill in playing the bagpipes. The King is devastated, begging Eithne to help restore his daughter to what she had been before, and care for her as a mother would. But it is impossible; the nurse wakes during the night and sees the 'Sac-Ban', an evil spirit who frequents forests and streams, bringing about disaster. She cries:

Eithne: [...] I am heart-fear'd he comes for nothing good. Nay, 'tis an old saying in the North – 'When the Sac-Ban runs, cut cloth for thy shroud and wood for thy coffin'. What happens this night will be a sorrow of story-telling someday. I read the prodigy. I know it, I feel it – she will not see the fall o' the leaf, poor soul. (1, (November 1904), p. 29).

As the play concludes, Fionnghuala cannot be saved and drowns near the forest, leaving devastation throughout Ulster. In *Uladh's* second publication Milligan draws upon this same Northern legend for her poem, 'Fionnuala', a variation of the deceased princess' name. The poem seems to be set around the year in which it was written and published, recalling how the King's daughter should have been dead for centuries, but it is impossible as her ghost floats from shore to shore. The poem concludes:

And yet the spell of hatred fell,
Through ages long,
Harmed not her everlasting soul
Or power of song.
And they mourn for bleeding breast
And broken wing
Shall see her rise in beauty yet,

The child of the King. (2, (February 1905), p. 23).

Keeping with the promotion of their own grouping's creative work, in May 1905 the play was produced and performed under what would be the ULT's third season.⁷²

Amongst other contributions to the first issue of the journal was an article written by Parkhill titled 'The Brick Villa', another poem written by Hobson titled 'The Deluge', and an article by John Horner, an engineer and spinning wheel collector, whose essay titled 'The Spinning Wheels of Ulster' provided readers with a short history of the linen industry in the north. Other articles submitted to the magazine were by Connla and Reynolds (writing under his pseudonym William Donn), which addressed Irish folk music in the concert room. This opening number also included two submissions from Reynolds, one of which was an article titled 'The Ulster Literary Theatre', which critiqued Ireland's acting style. Within this article he viewed the material from which the ULT would be required to shape its actors:

In order to understand our difficulty it is necessary to remember that we live in Belfast, that we are Presbyterian, or that we are Catholic, or Episcopal, with a hard layer of Presbyterian crudeness and repression upon top of that: and crudeness and repression are not good for the stuff out of which actors are to be made [...] we in Ulster have had a great deal to contend with [...]

The paradox that England this last three centuries has not had a purely Anglo-Saxon actor of merit is surely striking. The English actors in that time have been Irish or some other admixture. In Scotland they have never had a drama, their best energies going into hair-splitting, logic-chopping on inessential questions of doctrine and Church discipline, the comedy of which Burns saw and sang. So we have nothing to learn from either England or Scotland in mimicry or pantomime [...] we owe certain mental, if not temperamental characteristics to the Scot [...] And I should not here insist on his separateness but for psychological purposes, and to account for our comparative inability to play in drama. We may become brilliant satirists, even comedy-writers and makers of tragedy; but we shall not for long time be brilliant actors of these [...] In Dublin they have not this temperamental difficulty to contend against, and their results in a short time have been proportionately satisfactory. (1, (November 1904), pp. 7-8).

What follows Reynolds' comments about the theatre in Dublin is an honest and critical account of the first two seasons of drama published and staged by the ULT; he

⁷² This production is discussed in greater detail on p. 110.

acknowledges how aside from Dudley Digges and Maire Quinn, the Dublin actors who had travelled to Belfast to perform in the opening productions, the rest of those involved had everything to learn. Apart from this exchange of Dublin actors in 1902, the ULT ensured each production was staged with its own members. The second season receives praise from Reynolds who suggests that some improvements have been made, though highlighting how the ULT is still far from perfect. The article builds to a conclusion that is an example of logrolling at its finest, promoting the production of two news plays which will be staged in the coming weeks: Parkhill's *The Reformers* and Hobson's *Brian of Banba*. Reynolds writes: "both are Ulsterman, Belfastmen; and they do not exhaust our available local talent in the playwright's art" (1, (November 1904), p. 8). To conclude the article he comments that within the next issue of the review he will have something to say about these ULT performances.

Nationalism: North vs. South

McNulty has stated how *Uladh's* opening issue contains "one of the most remarkable contemporary debates on the various relationships between a nationalist Irish history, the construction of political/cultural discourse and the position of the North at the crossroads of competing hegemonies".⁷³ In 'Art and Culture in Old Belfast' Biggar draws on the city's past to discuss his views on Ulster's cultural importance in Ireland. According to Biggar, it was part of the prologue spoken in 1793 at the new theatre (then erected in Arthur Street) that Belfast was first referred to as the 'Northern Athens':⁷⁴

⁷³ McNulty, *The Ulster Literary Theatre*, p. 81.

⁷⁴ In *History of Belfast*, D. J. Owens suggests that this phrase the 'Northern Athens' was coined and frequently used by John Lawless, who was at the time editor of *The Irishman*. For further reading, see D. J. Owens, *History in Belfast* (Belfast: W. and G. Baird, 1921), p. 318. In 'Regionalism in Ulster' McIvor states how the phrase can be traced back to at least 1826, when an anonymous poem titled 'Northern Athens, or Life in the Emerald Isle, a serio-comico-ludicro-satirical Poem' was published. See Peter K. McIvor, 'Regionalism in Ulster: A Historical Perspective', *Irish University Review*, vol. 13, no. 2, 1983, pp. 180–188.

A spirit of self reliance and independence was then evoked which had a lasting effect. It gave rise to the Volunteer movement which flooded the North with a spirit of patriotism that had been hitherto unfelt and has never since been surpassed. All classes were affected by this spirit. The histories of other nations that had acted on similar lines were studied and lauded. (1, (November 1904), p. 11).

Within the article Biggar recognises the links between Belfast's artistic and cultural decline, and the emergence of the industrial revolution. He notes: "with increased growth and the introduction of large manufactories there is no doubt that Belfast has fallen behind in culture and art; but that she will evolve from this regrettable position there is every reason to hope". (1, (November 1904), p. 12). McIvor suggests:

This nostalgia for the supposed felicities of a pre-industrial age is, perhaps, common to all cities in which a convivial market centre has been replaced by dark satanic mills. Yet the coming of industry into Belfast was associated in the contemporary mind not only with the loss of a more gracious way of life, but also with the loss of cultural identity and, by extension, with the loss of nationality itself.⁷⁵

Whereas the Dublin revival had turned to the peasant culture of the west as a source of inspiration for its cultural pursuits, Belfast, and the wider Ulster, looked back into a somewhat different past. They turned to pre-industrial Belfast before the end of the seventeenth century to commend the culture and creativity of that time. Towards the end of the nineteenth century Belfast had been transformed from a provincial market town to an industrial and manufacturing stronghold. McIvor notes: "this regret for what Belfast might have been had its development not been channelled along an industrial path took many forms, of which a wistful nostalgia became the dominant note".⁷⁶ As well as altering the physical appearance of the city, this industrial boom Belfast had experienced strengthened ties with England, adding a trade link between the two.

The *Uladh* article concludes with Biggar highlighting the importance of art in strengthening a society facing the corruption of modernity; he expresses the hope that

⁷⁵ McIvor, 'Regionalism in Ulster', p. 185.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 84.

Belfast could regain the cultural importance of the past, to be worthy of the title the ‘Northern Athens’ once more:⁷⁷

As it is, we see glimmerings of salvation in the present Gaelic revival and in the art and technical instruction at present being imparted in the city. To bring about a healthy state of affairs art and literature must have a foremost place in any community, no matter how commercial that community may be. Otherwise life becomes sordid and mean, the enrichment of a few is accomplished and the degradation of the masses assured. (1, (November 1904), p. 12).

In another article published in the first issue of *Uladh*, titled ‘Literature and Politics’, the writer Connla urges the people of Ulster to work together in “earnestness and fervour” to promote cultural nationalism. (1, (November 1904), p. 18).⁷⁸ The identity of the man writing under this pseudonym has caused much confusion; in *The Theatre in Ulster*, Bell argues that this contributor was James Connolly, the labour leader writing from America (where he lived from 1903-1910).⁷⁹ Marnie Hay, on the other hand, has identified such writing as the work of the Belfast born Seamus Connolly, who was the successor of George Roberts as the secretary of the Dublin based theatre. However, in the most recent study, McNulty has confidently stated that James Cousins is clearly the author.⁸⁰ Yet, no definite correspondence exists to confirm which of these suggestions are correct. Connla submitted a further article to the second number of *Uladh*, which challenged

⁷⁷ McIvor discusses in great detail the period around 1820, when the demise of the ‘Northern Athens’ first begun. He attributes such failures to the powerful influence of English culture since the plantation; this was due to the fact that Ulster’s Presbyterian and Anglican majority were the descendants of colonisers from England, who inevitably supported the crown rather than the harp. See McIvor, ‘Regionalism in Ulster’, pp. 183-184.

⁷⁸ Connla was the only son of Cuchulainn and Aife; his mother, a famous warrior queen was the enemy of Scathach, who had trained Cuchulainn as a champion. Aife had promised to bear Cuchulainn a son, and when he left, she swore to send the child to him in Ireland in seven years. The champion gave specific instructions that when he was old enough he was to be given the gold ring left for him, that he should journey to Ulster but not identify himself to anyone, and that he should never refuse to go into battle if challenged. When this time arrives, Connla sets out for Ireland. As he draws close to the North of Ireland coast, the king of Ulster’s men witness him training for battle aboard the boat. The king, Concobhar MacNessa, sends a trusted warrior to question who the boy is and what his intentions are. In obedience to his father, Connla will not identify himself, and after a short battle the king’s warrior is defeated. This continues, with Connla defeating numbers of the king’s greatest warriors. When Cuchulainn hears that a mere boy is putting the armies of Ulster to shame, he takes on the fight himself. Twice Connla humiliates his father by holding his head beneath the water. Infuriated, Cuchulainn fatally wounds his opponent, only realising at the last moment that he is his son. This myth forms the basis for W. B. Yeats’s celebrated poem ‘Cuchulainn’s Fight with the Sea’.

⁷⁹ Bell, *The Theatre in Ulster*, p. 62.

⁸⁰ McNulty, *The Ulster Literary Theatre*, p. 88.

some of the aims and arguments established by Reynolds in the opening editorial of the first issue with its dominant tone.⁸¹

Whereas the first issue of the magazine had been criticised for the complete emphasis it had placed upon Ulster, the second issue, the *Féile Brighde* number (which was available for purchase in February 1905, Lá Féile Bride, or St Bridget's Day falling on 1 February), attempted to establish a more unified feeling with Ireland as a whole, with the inclusion of poetry by Padraic Colum.⁸² Yet, following John Campbell's front cover design appeared a series of advertisements for Ulster companies, such as W. J. M'Coy and Sons, promoting their furniture warehouses, offices and machinery stores; and an Irish harpist, James MacFall, based in York Lane, Belfast, who had undertaken the revival of harp making, modelled on the ancient ones in existence.⁸³ Amongst these advertisements was a section dedicated to the ULT with a sub-heading for 'Season 1904-1905', which informs the reader that the new plays produced by the company will be performed at Easter. In maintaining this notion of self-promotion for their creative group, the advertisement states how the plays performed will be Joseph Campbell's *The Little Cowherd of Slainge*, which had appeared in print within the first edition of *Uladh*, and Parkhill's *The Enthusiast*. Once more the aims of the dramatic group are summarised and laid out upon the page, with the advertisement concluding by inviting anybody interested in the development of local dramatic art to become members.

⁸¹ This article will be discussed in further detail later in the chapter. See p. 112.

⁸² It could be suggested that Colum's association with *Uladh* stemmed from his friendship with Joseph Campbell; the two had remained close since their first meeting at an Ulster feis in June 1902. As Colum would recall in an article published many years later in another Ulster regionalist magazine *Rann* (discussed in more detail later in the chapter), the men regularly saw one another, especially in 1905 when Campbell lived in Dublin: "in those days we were a great deal together ... we used to have great talks about poetry – about drama too". See Padraic Colum, 'I Remember Joseph Campbell', *Rann*, 17 (Autumn 1952), p. 11.

⁸³ Advertisements for Ulster-based companies are promoted in the opening and closing pages of each edition of *Uladh*; as well as those companies mentioned within the chapter, a variety of other local businesses often appeared, for example, the W. Erskine Mayne Book Store; and The Irish Decorative Art Association, which was based in Garfield Chambers and advertised the sale of Celtic style furniture, frames, books bound in pigskin and calf and Belleek China painted on the premises.

In *A Private Road*, Forrest Reid once again provides a valuable insight into the ULT. Describing an event that had taken place in early 1905, as the ULT prepared for the production of Campbell and Parkhill's plays, Reid writes:

It was no such Temple of the Muses, however, that he (Reynolds) took me on this damp dark night of January or February, 1905, but to a house in May Street, and there in a brightly-lit and extremely chilly back room upstairs, I watched a rehearsal of *The Enthusiast*. Fred Morrow was stage managing; and W. R. Gordon was there, and Bulmer Hobson, and John Campbell [...]

Rutherford Mayne, who had the part of Rab, the servant man, was not present, but Good came in later, and John McBurney, who with Parkhill, Reynolds and Good, by his personal influence did perhaps more for the cause of art in Belfast than anybody else [...] the whole thing was a revelation to me, it was so fresh, natural and new, and I felt that Reynolds, after all, had not exaggerated its importance.⁸⁴

Parkhill's *The Enthusiast* (which was later published in the third issue of *Uladh*) and Campbell's *The Little Cowherd of Slainge* were staged on 4th to 6th May 1905 in the Clarence Place Hall, Belfast. Norah Saunders and A. A. Kelly have stated how Campbell's play was severely criticised, though they have not included any details of such criticisms.⁸⁵ On 5th May 1905, an article was published in *The Northern Whig* (which could have been written by J. W. Good granted that he worked for the newspaper) that criticised Campbell's dialogue: "there was a slight tendency to regard Ferghal, the dog boy, as a sort of comic relief, a tendency accentuated by the colloquialism of some of his lines". Though the article praised Campbell as a "writer of graceful and original verse", the play was condemned as it "stirs us too much as a picture or a narrative, and not with the living and passionate gesture of life".⁸⁶ In *The Ulster Literary Theatre*, Bell acknowledges another potential criticism of the play from the time of its production: that like Hobson in the previous ULT season, Campbell had written his play to imitate Yeats. However, Bell

⁸⁴ Reid, *A Private Road*, p. 36.

⁸⁵ Saunders and Kelly, *Joseph Campbell*, p. 29. It is also noted that after the publication of 'The Cowherd of Slainge' in *Uladh* and the ULT's production of the play, Campbell contributed no other play to the ULT, though he remained involved with the production of the magazine and continued to act in many of the ULT's productions.

⁸⁶ *The Northern Whig*, 5th May 1905.

notes: “but, remembering the ideological origins of the Ulster Theatre, it is as reasonable to think that the Ulster writers, living in a community indifferent or openly hostile to their aspirations, strove to recall the heroic Gaelic past”.⁸⁷ In the fourth and final issue of *Uladh*, the Lughnasa issue which appeared in print in September 1905, Seosamh de Paor (the Gaelic-language version of Joseph Power) wrote a review of Campbell’s play. In his opinion, there was not very much to be said of *The Little Cowherd of Slainge*. He noted: “That Seosamh MacCathmhaoil can produce good work is indisputable; that he has not done so in this little picture of ancient Ireland is equally so” (4, (September 1905), p. 10).

He continues:

As for the dialogue, it is for the most part, too ornate, with here and there sentences of extreme colloquialism. The long and short of it is that Seosamh MacCathmhaoil has not yet found himself, and he never will attain to the knowledge while he sails such shadowy waters. But in his later work there is promise of better things, and when he does find his true *metier*, he will be well worth reading. (4, (September 1905), p. 10).

How much this sort of criticism reflects a north/south divided in aesthetic approach and public taste must remain moot, but it is hard to get away from a pervading sense of division.

Like the first, the second issue of *Uladh* opens with an editorial note where W. B. Reynolds addresses the criticisms that had accused the inaugural issue of attempting to create a Northern partition from the rest of Ireland: “we shall attempt to mollify our critics and explain, not alone for their benefit, but for the benefit of readers who may also have misunderstood what our objects and ideals are” (2, (February 1905), p. 1).

From Reynolds’ note it seems the confusion centred on the idea of a separatist, regionalist Ulster:

We have not striven to erect a barrier between Ulster and the rest of Ireland; but we aim at building a citadel in Ulster for Irish thought and art achievements such as exists in Dublin. If the result is provincial rather than national it will not be our fault, but due to local influences over which we have no control, but which we

⁸⁷ Bell, *The Ulster Literary Theatre*, p. 19.

shall not deliberately nourish and cultivate. That the work in Ulster will for some time be of a critical and destructive nature, as well as constructive and creative, no one knows the conditions will deny. Here our satire will come. We have not attempted to define a school. To say that our talent in drama will be more satiric than otherwise is not defining a school, but merely stating what may be, and, indeed, is a ruling characteristic. We do not deliberately sit down to write that way; but we do write that way, and our most vital work, little as it is, is of that kind. (2, (February 1905), pp. 1-2).

One such critic that Reynolds was attempting to address through his editorial note was Connla whose article challenging the aims established in the opening editorial was published in the second issue of the journal. In 'Festina Lente', Connla argues that rather than a separation from the rest of Ireland, Ulster should strive to absorb "the same genetic spirit that today is moving the rest of Ireland". (2, (February 1905), p. 13). The article continues: "If we accept the broad fact that Ireland, of which Ulster is part, is a *nation*, we must recognise that provincial difference will be quantitative rather than qualitative" (2, (February 1905), p. 13).

Connla suggests that it is foolish of *Uladh* and the ULT to declare satire as the dominant attribute that marks the company as individual, noting:

We can scarce claim satire, or the need of satire, a unique possession. Dramatic satire demands a plasticity of temperament and a subtlety of word and wit, with which we do not find our average Ulsterman ordinarily gifted. I am not speaking of our dramatists, but of those whose lives afford the dramatic material. To mould their plays from their experience as typified in *The Ulster Irishman* is indeed a worthy aim; better defined as an attempt to realise Ulster to the rest of Ireland than to set up a new "school" of dramatic art. It is a fallacious and fictitious originality which aims at being different from everything else extant. Let us labour patiently at our own material. (2, (February 1905), p. 13).

Perhaps this literary impulse and desire for satire promoted through the magazine owed much to the position the movement found itself trapped between – the contempt of Ulster unionism for nationalism and the condescending patronising attitudes of Southern revivalists. This may account for the fact that satire was the dominant literary mode promoted by the ULT.

As with *Dana's* decision to ventilate arguments for and against revivalism and the Gaelic League, it seems a clever decision of the editor to include such criticism, allowing the reader to see that the magazine was not shying away from such accusations but instead addressing and rectifying each misunderstanding. It was such feedback that Reynolds tackled in the second editorial note. However, Connla's 'Festina Lente' did acknowledge the relevance and importance of some of Reynolds' earlier arguments:

This implies on our part no slavish imitation of method in Dublin, Cork, or Galway, as applied to literature or art, prose, poetry or drama. Local temperament and artistic aptitude will, inevitably, and of themselves, evolve new means and manners of expression. (2, (February 1905), p. 13).

Despite the criticisms *Uladh* faced, which tended to centre around this idea of an isolated north separating itself from the rest of Ireland, the journal often received positive reviews; as mentioned earlier in this chapter, though Atkinson had criticised *Uladh* in *Dana*, he did praise certain aspects of the magazine, such as John Campbell's artwork. A number of the more positive reviews acknowledged and understood the views printed by those involved with the founding of the magazine. For example, critics for the Belfast-based newspapers *Irish News* and, more interestingly, the Dublin-based organ of the Gaelic League, *An Claidheamb Soluis*, were some of those to express their support. *The Irish News* reviewer stated: "*Uladh* merits the hearty support of all who profess to have an interest in the intellectual life of Ireland".⁸⁸

An Claidheamb Soluis ran from 1899-1931 (a considerable publication life for a literary journal). From the launch of the paper, until his bankruptcy in 1901, Eoin MacNeill was editor, and after this the Gaelic League ran the paper. From 1903-1909 Padraig Pearse was the editor and ensured the paper played a key role in the literary revival, publishing original literary works in both Irish and English, as well as devoting a considerable number of pages in each edition to commentary on cultural matters. On 26th November

⁸⁸ *Irish News*, 7th November 1904, p. 4.

1904, the Dublin-based paper stated that *Uladh* was a “new and beautiful periodical” illustrating “that in the so called ‘Black North’ there are young Irish intellects in close communion with Ireland, thinking and writing and singing of and for Ireland”.⁸⁹ This quote reveals much about the complexity of the relationship between the two cities; firstly, it shows that not every Dublin-based revivalist was against Northern involvement in the movement, and that *Uladh* could be viewed in the South as a useful and relevant magazine for the revival. Yet the reference to the ‘Black North’ hints towards a wider Dublin bias to their Northern counterparts. Recent criticism from Roy Foster has described *Uladh* as: “an opinionated literary and dramatic journal which began as a kind of imitation *Sambain*, but soon asserted an interestingly regional perspective, arguing for both a distinct Northern identity and the breaking down of sectarian barriers”.⁹⁰

Following the editorial note, the February 1905 issue continued with a poem by A.E., titled ‘A Prayer’, and Gwynn’s article ‘The Northern Gael’. Gwynn (1864-1950) was born in Saint Columba’s College, Rathfarnham (south Dublin) where his father, John, was a scholar and clergyman of the Church of Ireland.⁹¹ His mother Lucy was the daughter of nationalist William Smith O’Brien; together with John they had ten children, of whom Stephen was the eldest. Shortly after his birth, the family moved to Ramelton, County Donegal, where his father was appointed Parson. In later life, John Gwynn became Regius Professor of Divinity at TCD. After a childhood spent wandering the North of Ireland, Stephen left to study classical moderations at Brasenose College, Oxford, for which he was awarded first-class honours in 1884. After his studies, Gwynn spent a decade travelling Europe, working for a time in France as a schoolmaster. In 1896, he settled in London, working as a journalist focusing on English matters.

⁸⁹ *An Claidheamb Soluis*, 26th November 1904, p. 8.

⁹⁰ Foster, *Vivid Faces*, pp. 100-101.

⁹¹ The area of Rathfarnham appears again in the final chapter of my study, as both David Houston and Thomas MacDonagh lived in the area, and many of *The Irish Review*’s planning and production meetings were held there.

However, when he became aware of the emerging literary revival taking place in Ireland, this soon changed. Gwynn served as the secretary of the Irish Literary Society and this role was the beginning of a successful career writing on Irish subjects. By 1904, Gwynn had returned to Ireland and begun writing about Irish politics. From 1906-1918 he was a nationalist member of parliament for Galway.

In 'The Northern Gael' Gwynn criticises Belfast for thinking itself superior to Dublin, a city he suggests is far in advance both politically and culturally of the Ulster city. Despite the fact that Belfast had recently overtaken Dublin to become a larger city, Gwynn describes it as a "provincial town of little interest, except for those who desire to study almost extinct types of religious bigotry" (2, (February 1905), p. 9). Whereas F. J. Biggar's article 'Art and Culture in Old Belfast' had encouraged the people of Ulster to look back towards their own history to better their current cultural situation, Gwynn's article provides an argument juxtaposed to this. For Gwynn, the North's history has been one of separatism, and its people should not attempt to romanticise it as anything other. It is with this in mind that he opens the article, encouraging the reader not to confuse history with myth:

Northerns in all countries count it natural that the North should lead; and far back in Ireland's history we find the North leading. Outside the limit of ascertained history, yet on the hither side of fable, deeds of the Red Branch heroes rise up, like a range of mountains on the furthest verge of sight. (2, (February 1905), p. 9).

For a moment Gwynn taps into such romantic musings of the north: "yet the mountains have their own distinctness, and so surely as we can see the Mourne range on a clear day from above Dublin, so surely do we know Cuchulain for a man of the north" (2, (February 1905), p. 9). Yet he is quick to squash such romanticism and the article continues to destroy any claims of a northern nationalism detached from the rest of Ireland. He encourages this so-called Northern Gael, a traditional leader in Ireland, to overcome bigotry in order to join the wider Irish cause: "if Ulster, or even Belfast, is

finally divorced in spirit from Ireland, it is a pity of pities: for Ireland, wanting the hand of the North, will go maimed; but Belfast divorced from Ireland will be squalid, undignified and contemptible” (2, (February 1905), p. 12).

Another contribution in February 1905 was ‘The Ulster Literary Theatre’ by J.W; these initials belonged to the writer James Winder Good, a reporter for *The Northern Whig*. It is suggested that he wrote under these initials to conceal his identity from his loyalist employer.⁹² Some contributors were aware that the political views published within the pages of the magazine might cause upset and shame to their families and employers. Unlike Lynd, discussed below, J.W.’s article commenting upon the Ulster theatre does not risk causing upset or shame for his family. Referring to the earlier ULT performances, he is full of praise: “the ease and dignity with which the players performed their parts came as a pleasant surprise, and showed that in addition to the enthusiasm and good-will which one knew they would bring to the task, there was an unexpected reserve of dramatic power” (2, (February 1905), p. 7). The article continues to praise the performances of the actors and the staging and dressing of the production. However, once more, there is an element of the north seeking the approval of Yeats and measuring up to the Dublin standard already established, recognised and appreciated in Ireland. Discussing the staging and costume production, J. W. notes:

Even Mr Yeats who in this respect will not tolerate anything that falls short of perfection, would, I think, have been pleased with Jack Morrow’s dressing and Mr Fred Morrow’s staging of the piece. He would have admired their resolute preference for convention in place of a sham naturalism, the sheer simplicity of the costumes, and the skill in which they composed their colour scheme (2, (February 1905), p. 8).

What was likely intended as a comment to instil confidence in a north that feared its revivalist drama and theatre inferior than “its more famous rivals” results in appearing on

⁹² See Hay, ‘Explaining *Uladh*: Cultural Nationalism in Ulster’, p. 123.

the page as a desperate attempt to measure up to the standard of those Dublin counterparts.

This issue was raised in an article published in *Uladh* by Robert Lynd which appeared in the third number of the magazine, titled ‘Ancestor Worship in Ulster’. As we saw in the previous chapter, Lynd began his literary career as a journalist for *The Northern Whig* before moving to London in 1901 and becoming one of the most successful British essayists of the period, writing and editing for a number of journals and newspapers, including the *Daily News* (later the *News Chronicle*), which he edited from 1912-1947. Writing under the gaelicized pseudonym Riobard Ua Fhloinn, Lynd suggests in his *Uladh* piece that an “unpardonable sin in the eyes of an Ulster father is that his son should hold a different opinion from his own” (3, (May 1905), pp. 10-11). He criticises those Ulster fathers who believe the correct way of educating their children is by forcing their opinions onto them instead of training them to think for themselves and helping them to develop naturally, in the manner of flowers:

Just as there is pain when a child first leaves the body of its mother, so must there be pain when a young man ceases to be a part of the intellectual and spiritual life of his father. In Ulster, however, we are as a rule too timid intellectually and morally to face that pain [...]

If we cannot improve upon the practice and ideals of our fathers, then have our fathers begotten us to unworthy lives. Or rather, if we receive our ideals from our fathers instead of conceiving them ourselves, we shall prove ourselves not passionate followers of the splendid and beautiful things, but, instead, more mechanical dolls repeating a lifeless form of words (3, (May 1905), p. 10).

As highlighted in J. W.’s article, the Morrow brothers were to play a pivotal role in the successes of the ULT; their involvement with Belfast’s cultural scene meant that they were already familiar with the network of individuals and movements working amongst the northern revival. The disbanding of Belfast’s School of Art Sketching Club in 1904 provided *Uladh* with the creative minds they sought.⁹³ The Arts Club was founded to promote and encourage all aspects of art and creativity in Ulster society, and some figures

⁹³ See the advertisement in the second issue of *Uladh*, as mentioned earlier in this chapter.

who had been involved in the Ardigh meetings had also been members; for example, the Campbell family had been involved, and the musician Herbert Hughes. It seems likely that such connections provided the ULT with the services of the Morrow family. Three of the eight Morrow brothers, the sons of the Belfast painter George Morrow, contributed artwork for publication in *Uladh* (Edwin and George in the second edition, and Norman in the first), and another brother, Harry (recognised more from his pseudonym Gerald McNamara), submitted an article to the third number of the magazine.

Of all of the Morrow brothers it is Harry and Fred that are most praised for their involvement with the ULT; Fred's vision brought the performances staged by the drama company success for over thirty years, and Harry became one of the ULT's most important playwrights. However, at one time or another, all of the Morrow sons, as Sam Hanna Bell recalls, had a connection with the ULT, either in the development and production or in performance:

If the Abbey Theatre had its Fay brothers, the Ulster Company had its Morrows. All the Theatre's activities without exception were affected by their energy and genius. Jack, Edwin and Fred acted or staged or produced, Norman, another artist member of the family, contributed three interesting drawings of members of the company to the first number of *Ulad*. Harry, under the pen-name of Gerald McNamara, was one of the two outstanding playwrights of the ULT. No account of the Theatre can ignore the work of Fred Morrow who was its producer for thirty years.⁹⁴

On 20th September 1954, *The Belfast Telegraph* published an article titled 'The Five Brothers', emphasising the important role the Morrow family had played in strengthening the cultural revival in the north at the turn of the century.

Five of the Morrow brothers achieved distinction in the arts. Harry, under the non-de-plume of Gerald McNamara, was the author of *Thompson in Tir na nOg* and other plays, and Fred was the most brilliant producer of the old Ulster Literary Theatre. Norman was a fine poster artist, Eddie was a black and white artist on *The Bystander*, and George, of course, became famous for his illustrations of a series of books by E. V. Lucas and for his many cartoons in *Punch*.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Bell, *The Theatre in Ulster*, p. 16.

⁹⁵ *The Belfast Telegraph*, 20th September 1954.

Though they were not involved in the initial planning, production and publication of *Uladh*, and had joined the ULT after two seasons of performances, the Morrow brothers quickly became vital figures in the progress the company made.

While Bulmer Hobson remained involved with *Uladh* and the ULT, his creative energies were now poured into other movements; in 1904 Denis McCullough swore him into the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), of which he was the head of the Belfast branch. Together the men founded the Dungannon Clubs, whose aim was to celebrate the victory of the 1782 volunteers in restoring Ireland's own parliament. These men believed that Ireland could take some valuable lessons from the volunteers of 1782, in restoring the independence they sought. The first Dungannon Club manifesto quoted: "The Ireland we seek to build is not an Ireland for the Catholic or the Protestant, but an Ireland for every Irishman irrespective of his creed or class".⁹⁶ As the Dungannon Clubs became more popular they expanded as far as Dublin and London. *Uladh* and the ULT were no longer the point of Hobson's focus, thus granting the Morrow brothers the chance to quickly become the most vital figures in the Ulster dramatic company, surpassing any importance the original founders had.⁹⁷ McNulty has suggested that it was in fact the creative talent and commitment of the Morrow brothers to the ULT that allowed Hobson to focus his attentions elsewhere. Though Parkhill remained involved with the ULT and *Uladh* until it ceased publication, his emigration to Australia in 1908 ensured he was no longer a part of any cultural movements in Belfast.

⁹⁶ Charles Townshend, *Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion* (London: Allen Lane, 2005), p. 19. Townshend notes how with Hobson's help, McCullough was able to mobilise the Irish liberation movement in Ulster. It was this alliance with Hobson, who Townshend refers to as "an ally of quite exceptional abilities", that helped McCullough make further headway with his movement.

⁹⁷ As well as the Dungannon Clubs, Hobson's attention was also given to his paper, *Republic*, which he had launched in 1905. The weekly publication, which promoted Ireland's revival of the past and its independence from England, folded after six months and was merged with *The Peasant*. In *Vivid Faces*, Foster notes how the paper, along with others discussing and promoting similar topics would often have to be hidden by its readers from their family members. He refers to this as "a contraband newspaper". An example of this is Richard Mulcahy, a man who worked for the post office in Thurles, who often smuggled copies of *The Republic*, and earlier than this in 1903 *The United Irishman*, into his family home, careful to ensure they were kept out of sight of his civil servant father. See Foster, *Vivid Faces*, p. 148.

Harry Morrow, better recognised today from his writings under the pseudonym McNamara, was born Henry Cooke Morrow in 1865. Morrow's plays provided the ULT with their greatest successes, yet it was not until 1907, and therefore after *Uladh's* publication life (though the magazine was very nearly revived this same year) that he became a playwright. Though he was already an established writer and actor, it was the publication of his play *Suzanne and the Sovereigns* (which he had co-written with Parkhill) that began this career. Regrettably, until recently McNamara's work was neglected by critical study, despite the fact that his popularity during the first two decades of the ULT ensured successes not only in Belfast theatres, but also Dublin. Discussing *Suzanne*, as well as McNamara's *Thompson in Tir-na-nOg*, Foster has noted:

Here, hard nosed Northern values and wit were used to deflate the warring monoliths of Catholic nationalism and Protestant Orangeism; while the pretensions of misty Gaelic never-never lands were reduced to farce by tough Ulster scepticism. It was all a long way from Alice Milligan.⁹⁸

McNamara's career as a playwright spanned from 1907 to 1934 and his work successfully developed the ideas of a northern revival outlined years earlier by the Ardigh grouping: "thus *Uladh's* predicted arrival of an Ulster writer who would reshape the meaning of that term was fulfilled with Gerald MacNamara's intervention into the Irish theatre scene".⁹⁹

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the article to conclude the final issue of *Dana*, 'A Literary Causerie', written by Atkinson, commented upon the second edition of *Uladh*: "it shows very great improvement on the first number, it is much less aggressive in tone and tiptoe in posture; a good deal of its contents are devoted to an attempt to explain away many of the declarations of its predecessor and describe more accurately the aims of the paper" (*Dana*, 12, (April 1905), p. 381). Gwynn's 'The Northern Gael' is praised for its criticisms of the first edition of *Uladh*, similar to Atkinson's previous comments, yet this

⁹⁸ Foster, *Vivid Faces*, p. 102.

⁹⁹ McNulty, *The Ulster Literary Theatre*, p. 134.

review still senses an isolated north within the February edition: “some articles appeal almost entirely to the dwellers in Ulster, but Mr F. J. Biggar’s description of “An Ulster Village Library” is pleasant reading for anyone” (*Dana*, 12, (April 1905), p. 381). Atkinson continues the article with a review of *The Garden of the Bees* by Joseph Campbell, which he notes was printed by the same company responsible for the publication of *Uladh*, “and their work is quite good indeed” (*Dana*, 12, (April 1905), p. 381). The review is harsh, noting how the collection is “unpleasing” and “disappointing”, but the toughest criticism was saved for the conclusion:

Mr MacCathmhaoil shows considerable intimacy with the published work of Mr. W. B. Yeats, as can be seen from some of his phrases, such as “moth – time”, “sleep comes dropping slow”, “thy deep hearts core”. On the whole *The Garden of the Bees* contains nothing new or of any distinction. (*Dana*, 12, (April 1905), p. 383).

Such criticism was entirely reasonable, but must have been deeply wounding for the young Campbell whose work as a poet and playwright of originality would improve vastly over the next forty years of his writing life.

In the Beltain issue of *Uladh*, the third to appear in print in May 1905, Parkhill’s play *The Enthusiast* was published. Bell has suggested that it was the production of this play that ensured the ULT would now be judged as a successful theatre in its own right.¹⁰⁰ James McKinstry, the protagonist of the play and the enthusiast of its title, is a young protestant who has returned home from Belfast (where he lives and works) to his father’s family farm in Antrim with the proposal of establishing a farming co-operative in the area. It is likely that Parkhill’s source of inspiration for the play was Sir Horace Plunkett’s co-operative farming movement, The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society (IAOS), which was founded in 1894 as a response to the mass land reforms of the final decades of the nineteenth century. This was not a new idea for Plunkett; from as early as 1878 he had established a co-operative on his family estate. From the establishment of IAOS, the

¹⁰⁰ Bell, *The Theatre in Ulster*, p. 21.

society became a crucial component of the Irish economy and successfully helped form the Irish dairy industry. With A.E. as the assistant secretary, Plunkett's society was to provide farming advice, business expertise and financial assistance to these rural areas of Ireland, which it managed to do successfully; by 1914, the society had over 100,000 members signed up. P.J. Mathews explains the success of Plunkett's society:

Although the majority of Irish farmers now enjoyed fixity of tenure, most of them lacked the expertise to compete in an increasingly sophisticated and mechanised agricultural market. For this reason the IAOS was set up to educate farmers in modern agricultural practices and encourage them to benefit from economics of scale by farming co-operative societies and credit unions.¹⁰¹

Though it was initially founded as a non-political society, the IAOS was quickly associated with Irish nationalist activities and in particular with the Home Rule movement.

In *The Enthusiast*, the growing concerns of Ulster with the Home Rule issue would be highlighted through the character of an Antrim woman, James' Aunt Marget, who comments upon the community's fear and distrust of the movement. This same character is the first voice heard in the play where she seems worried at the change in her nephew's dress sense since leaving their rural community: "He's bigger swell ivery time he comes hame. Last year it wuz a white, india-rubber tap coat. This time it's yella boots. But maybe he'll be wantin' a drop mair tay" (3, (May 1905), p. 29). Her confusion with James' transformation from country to city fashion trends seems ridiculous, though it foreshadows the much more serious fears of the rural farming community to an invading foreign ideology.

James: (...) my head's full of a great idea and I can think of nothing else.

Father: full o' what?

James: A great idea. I want to explain it to you. I have been reading and thinking a lot lately about the old village communities, and wondering what would have been the logical outcome of that system in the present day. It was simply a sort of co-operation. And I believe that the same principle could be applied here with great advantage to everybody. (3, (May 1905), p. 30).

¹⁰¹ P. J. Mathews, *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Fein, the Gaelic League and the Co-operative Movement* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2003), p. 29.

Through the play, Parkhill merges the rural life of Ireland's north with the politics of the time, drawing upon the issues of Home Rule and Orange Order resistance to it upon the stage; one of the questions addressed in *The Enthusiast* is how easy could Plunkett's views of co-operative forming be transferred to the small community in Antrim.

Plunkett's desire to regenerate Ireland's agricultural landscape came from his first-hand experience of successful co-operatives in America. These ideas greatly appealed to Parkhill, and it is recorded that the men met the previous year, in June 1904, at the *Feis na nGleann*, where Plunkett had been involved with the prize giving. At certain points during the play, James' dialogue suggests that Parkhill was inspired by Plunkett's ideals. Though the enthusiast's mind is "full of great work", his father and brother remain unsure of his hopes, and James is forced to explain in further detail:

James: As it is at present everyone is working blindly for himself. Everyone has more work to do than he can accomplish, if he wishes to get the best results from his land. Suppose now that a dozen farmers agreed to combine their farms and work them on a large scale, as they do, for instance, in America. You would find that, with properly organised labour, it could be made to pay with one-half the sum of work that is expended on the separate dozen farms. Do you follow me? (3, (May 1905), p. 31).

While James passionately explains his ideas for a co-operative committee, his father, brother Sam and Rab's (a worker on the family farm) conversation turns to one of the farm's calves, who has not fed correctly for over 24 hours; they do not even pretend to feign an interest in the suggestions he is making. "Listen, will you", James appeals, to which his father responds, "We're listenin', man. Go on":

James: Well, the business of this committee would be to keep itself informed of all up-to-date farming methods. To disseminate a knowledge of this, and to assist in the formation of co-operative societies throughout the district. To advise upon the purchase of modern farming machinery, fertilizers, etc., for their natural use, and to facilitate the export of your surplus produce, such as butter, eggs, potatoes, fruit, pressed hay (3, (May 1905), p. 31).

This speech fails to awaken any interest from his family and Rab as they are more concerned with the *Christian Herald* Aunt Marget has brought into the home, and reading of Parnell's divorce scandal published within its pages:

Father: Weel – I don't know – just at the minute. I wud need to think it ower a bit. I'm – I'm no' sure about it, Jamie.

James: But I'm sure about it, father. I intend to call a meeting of the countryside and lay the scheme before them.

Father: A meetin'?

Sam: In the orange hall?

James: No, no. It can't be in the orange hall.

Father: But the's no other hall hereabouts.

James: You see, it wouldn't do to have it there. We want everybody into this. Neither Home Rulers or Catholics would come to it. I'll hold it in the big meadow.

Sam: Home Rulers in it?

Aunt Marget: (*throwing down Christian Herald*) An' Catholics? Lord a' mercy!

Father: Jamie, lad, I doubt – doubt –

James: Oh, how long is this damnable division of the people to last? This miserable suspicion. (3, (May 1905), p. 32).

Even a task as simple as deciding the location of the meeting proves problematic for James, as the political issues of Home Rule cannot be forgotten. It seems James' family cannot differentiate between the issues of farming co-operatives and the political-religious boundaries of their community. As well as this, the dialogue above reveals Parkhill's frustrations at Ulster's cultural divisions, which more often than not stemmed from different religious or political beliefs, and the distaste and suspicion between Catholic and Protestant communities.

Though the play is concerned with Plunkett's IAOS, it also highlights such issues as the separation and divisions within Ulster society that the founders of *Uladh* had commented on in their opening editorial. McNulty has noted:

The North thus becomes the location of complexities that must be resolved if a proper Irish nationalism is to be enacted and performed. The play in this way presents the North as the keeper of a nationalism that through necessity has a more acute understanding of the dynamics of history and identity. The task in hand, Purcell seems to suggest, is to arrive at strategies that can accommodate the

various oppositional moments of danger apparent on the island rather than constructing a series of fanciful images that seek to write over such tensions.¹⁰²

As the play draws to its pessimistic conclusion, the meeting proves a disaster for James as it descends into a mass sectarian brawl. When he returns to the farm, Rab relates the events of the meeting to Aunt Marget, revealing the community's distrust of anything different from themselves: "Then somebody shouted 'Socialisms', and Ned Grahme – he wuz drunk – he shouted it wuz a Fenian thing, an' he kep' shoutin' that the whole time" (3, (May 1905, p. 33). Parkhill uses this sense of suspicion and misunderstanding as a constant theme throughout the play, and yet another response could acknowledge the significance of the wider comments Parkhill made about Ireland's north. Perhaps Parkhill used *The Enthusiast* as a platform to comment upon Ireland's revival that had left little room for any northern involvement. In the play the north boldly remains as "the most radical expression of the historical problematics within Irish identity".¹⁰³ Yet Parkhill suggests that the revival occurring in the south of Ireland and its wider regions needed to support the north, rather than dismissing it as they had done.

The play has a gloomy ending, with James hearing how some of the boys who had attended his meeting on the meadow had brought out their Orange Order drums, thus revealing how James' initial dreams were now quashed. Throughout the play his Aunt Marget displays her distaste for Home Rulers on the family farm, the crowds are suspicious of some unknown, and entirely illusory, Fenian plot, and it is eventually the drums of the Orange Order that restore harmony to the community, much to James' upset. The sound of drums dominates the conclusion:

(There is a sound of distant cheering, and then of drums. James starts and sits up straight, listening intently)

James: Listen!

¹⁰² McNulty, *The Ulster Literary Theatre*, p. 132.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, p. 131.

*(A pause. Then the sound of talking becomes louder in the room, and Rab laughs loudly.
Then silence, except for the distant drums)*

James: *(sinking back slowly in his chair)* No – no. (3, (May 1905), p. 35).

The opening editorial in the third issue of the magazine comments upon the responses the play had received from Irish critics; beginning with praise, the note includes remarks from Forrest Reid: “(the play is) infinitely superior to any modern play he had seen in Belfast ... a little work of art” (3, (May 1905), p. 2). The editor considers this “very high praise from the exacting and discriminating pen of Mr Forrest Reid” (whom we know he was acquainted with) (3, (May 1905), p. 2). Yet, what follows is the editor’s response and justification of the play’s ending to its critics:

One little misconception it may be as well to clear away concerning these plays of Lewis Purcell. One writer on the performances says “that both pieces (*The Reformers* and *The Enthusiast*) end to the sound of the drum – with a very distinct indication of the community to which the drummer belongs”. We may explain that it is not worth the while of a member of the ULT to enter the arena on behalf of one kind of partisanship as against another in Ulster. We are all agreed, no matter what our individual opinions and sentiments may happen to be (and we have represented in our members all grades), that so far as the Theatre and this magazine are concerned, there shall be nothing of that sort. If the County Antrim community had more than one kind of drum, all would be equally included in the satire. The drum is merely a symbol, and a symbol of one of the nuisances of Irish public life. And any nuisance of Irish public life Lewis Purcell rightly considers matter for satire.

It is strange how this petty view of things will inevitably creep into Irish affairs, introducing a warping element, something which, with all the goodwill in the world, ends by distorting judgement and defeating the most innocent efforts towards a more amicable understanding. The drum has far too large a say in matters to which it stands in little or no relevancy; it bulks far too hugely in the vision of most people in this island. They must really learn to treat the drum a little less reverently, to take it much less seriously. (3, (May 1905), p. 2-3).

Prior to its publication in *Uladh*, the ULT performed *The Enthusiast* for the first time to an Ulster audience in a Feis hosted at Toomebridge, County Antrim. One attendee, a thirteen-year-old boy, Cathal O’Shannon (who would later become a writer and journalist himself), recalled: “what really did impress me was *The Enthusiast*, because for the first time I saw the kind of people that I knew and lived among in Co. Antrim and Co. Derry

were there alive and talking as they talked at home”.¹⁰⁴ Similar to this, in his review in the final issue of *Uladh*, de Paor (Joseph Power) praised Parkhill’s play for its use of northern country dialect: “he has caught the idiom more cleverly than any previous writer” (4, (September 1905), p. 10). Included within de Paor’s article are artistic sketches by Norman Morrow of *The Enthusiast’s* characters.¹⁰⁵ Another review of the play, written by Forrest Reid for *The Times* states how it is “in one way perhaps more vital than anything the ULT has produced since, for we must remember that from it sprang the more significant of the only two forms of drama it has yet mastered, folk-comedy and fantastic farce”.¹⁰⁶ McNulty argues that *The Enthusiast* was:

The group’s most radical examination of the contemporary problems of history and society in the north during these early years of development. As with the work of Mayne, Purcell’s piece was an attempt to make room within nationalist drama for those ‘northern bodies’ that were the result of a quite particular history.¹⁰⁷

Yet, inevitably, the play also faced some criticism; upon watching a performance of *The Enthusiast* staged by the London branch of the Dungannon Club in 1905, Padraic Colum condemned the defeat of James’ ideals in the demoralising ending: he described it as an “immoral play” as it had “showed no door of hope opening to the idealist and his dreams”.¹⁰⁸ Yet in *Vivid Faces*, Foster correctly notes how the play “struck a more sardonic note in dealing with intercommunal tensions in Ulster; the play ends with Protestants retreating to their tribal drums, and suggests a move on the ULT’s part from Milliganite propaganda to regional consciousness”.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ David Kennedy, *Enter Robbie John*, BBC Northern Ireland, 25th November 1954, quoted in Bell, *The Theatre in Ulster*, p. 25.

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix B.

¹⁰⁶ Quoted in Bell, *The Theatre in Ulster*, p. 25.

¹⁰⁷ McNulty, *The Ulster Literary Theatre*, p. 127.

¹⁰⁸ Quoted in Bell, *The Theatre in Ulster*, p. 25.

¹⁰⁹ Foster, *Vivid Faces*, p. 102.

Another submission to *Uladh*'s May 1905 publication was from Forrest Reid, who had written a short story titled 'Pan's Pupil'. The story tells of a young boy relaxing in nature, who is suddenly transported through a dream-like state to another reality; upon arrival, he meets the god Pan who tells him that one day he will return to this place, but as he is young and has a destiny to fulfil he must return to the world of humans. Along the way the boy encounters mythical creatures, such as fauns and nymphs dancing under a red harvest moon. The story draws upon divinity and adoration, most visible through the boy falling to his knees in worship of Pan. In his memoir, Reid revealed how, prior to the story's publication within *Uladh*, he once again questioned whether his literary work had the prominent Ulster voice which spoke of and for Ulster that the editors were looking for. Though well written and a pleasant read, there are no Ulster themes or a revival of any northern myths that could link the story to the intentions Hobson, Parkhill and Reynolds desired for their magazine. Reid recalled:

I gave it to Reynolds diffidently, and he received it in silence. I guessed what he was thinking while he turned the leaves. There were so many Irish gods, and Pan was not one of them. In self-defence I mentioned that I did not talk in the dialect myself, and for that matter neither did he, though both of us had been born and had lived all of our lives in Ulster. But I could see that to Reynolds the excuse rang hollow. Besides, the story was not satiric, and he had this theory about the Ulster genius firmly embedded in his soul – had even put it into practice himself by writing a parody on the overture to *Tannhauser*, using Orange tunes as his themes.¹¹⁰

Despite all of this, the story appeared in print in May 1905, though some of Reid's other contributions to the magazine did not. He had produced a number of prose articles inspired by a classical Greek Anthology, discussing, among other things, grasshoppers, trees, dogs and Ulster's "old friend" the Lagan.¹¹¹ For Reid, it was impossible as a writer to be more Ulster than that. Recalling such meetings with Reynolds, he noted:

¹¹⁰ Reid, *A Private Road*, pp. 37-38.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 38.

The expression on the face of Reynolds seemed to reproach me. And yet they were Ulster. The grasshopper was as busy and as happy on the banks of the Lagan as ever he had been on those of the Illissos, and it wasn't my fault if he still played the same music. The things had been written on the spot, with my eye on the object, and as the spirit moved me. I admit they were also written with the feeling that if the members of the *Ulad* council didn't like them they could do the other thing.

The visit Reynolds paid me to announce that they didn't like them was memorable. From the hushed solemnity of his manner my first impression was that something tragic must have happened, and that he wanted to break the news very gently. Parkhill, who was with him, looked on in a kind of irritated aloofness. But presently he interrupted the rather elaborate preamble in which Reynolds was displaying so much tact, and said bluntly that if I wanted the things to go in then they would go in, but there had been the hell of a row about them, and there would be another. He and Reynolds were prepared to back me up to the point of wrecking the magazine – and that was all. Parkhill looked cross; Reynolds, for the only time that I remember, looked curiously religious. Fortunately, the situation was eased by the fact that I didn't care whether they appeared or not. Nobody was paid for contributing, so I should lose nothing.¹¹²

Aside from Reid's submission, the May 1905 issue of *Uladh* continued with a poem by Hobson, titled 'Darkness and Dawn' and an article, 'In Piam Memoriam' by Biggar, which detailed the life of Lady Mary Catherine Ferguson, the late wife of Sir Samuel Ferguson. Amongst other contributors was J. W. Good with a continuation of his article on the ULT from the second number of *Uladh*, titled 'The Theatre and the People'; an article by Reynolds on where Ireland stood musically; and an article titled 'On the Prosecution of Irish' by Roger Casement.

Casement opens the article with the striking comment "history repeats itself, and in Ireland perhaps oftener than elsewhere" (3, (May 1905), p. 23).¹¹³ The article does not appeal for a separate revival for Ulster, but instead comments upon the necessity of reviving Irish language for the country as a whole, in the face of adversity that wishes to suppress it. He details the two movements addressing the study of Irish language in society (each issue of *Uladh* contains at least one article published in Irish), the Gaelic League, which "puts a premium on a knowledge of the tongue", and the Dunfanaghy

¹¹² *Ibid*, p. 38-39.

¹¹³ Casement is discussed in greater detail in the final chapter of the thesis.

bench of magistrates (a town of the north-west coast of Co. Donegal) who “impose a penalty” upon it (3, (May 1905), p. 23). Ironically, Casement notes: “the magistrates will probably do as much for the language as the Gaelic League – languages, like religions, thrive on proscription” (3, (May 1905), p. 23). Within the article, Casement informs the reader of an incident where the Dunfanaghy magistrates imposed a fine upon a scholar in Donegal for having his name painted in Irish on his cart, on the grounds he was “resisting the law”.¹¹⁴ Casement addresses how farcical this seems granted that the government in the opposite extremity of Ireland were seeking to attract young Kerry men to join the British army, appealing to them in “that illegal tongue” (3, (May 1905), p. 23). Interestingly, Casement tells of a congested postal matter in Dublin’s General Post Office, a location that would later become hugely significant in the story of modern Ireland, stating “it has been said that the root of the Irish problem lies in the fact of a dull people (the English) trying to govern a singularly witty people” (3, (May 1905), p. 23).

‘On the Prosecution of Irish’ suggests that a united north and south is required to combat the threat of England which is attempting to strip away the culture and history of Ireland:

As an Irishman who retains some regard for the old things of his country’s life, who would not willingly see pass away without one effort to arrest it, the tongue which is common heritage, and which is a vital expression of that Irish character, something of which we each like to think we still individually retain [...] I bethought me that a people’s language was a living thing, and that it was a shameful thing for an Irishman to stand by and see the soul of his country being dragged out through its lips. I accordingly gave up my club in London, and devoted the amount of the annual subscription thus saved to a training college in Munster where Irish teachers are perfected in a fuller knowledge of and more scientific methods of imparting “Kitchen Kaffir”. There are several ways of prosecuting the study of a language, and one of the most successful the mind of man has yet evolved is – to prosecute it. (3, (May 1905), p. 28).

¹¹⁴This issue of Irish language oppression is commented upon again in *Uladh* in an article submitted to the final edition, titled ‘A Plea for Extremists’. The article, by Riobard Ua Floinn, or Robert Lynd in its gaelic form, criticises the people of Ulster who are willing to “fling witty sneers at old men who paint their names on their carts in Irish”, simply because they believe they do not need to restore this aspect of Irish culture to improve the current well being of their lives. See ‘A Plea for Extremists’, *Uladh*, 4, September 1905, pp. 14-17.

This is a bold statement for Casement to make, and an early example of the propaganda used to encourage the formation of a nation separate and independent from Britain that would explode upon Irish society within the following decade. An article of this nature could have seemed at home within the pages of *The Irish Review* a decade later in 1913-14. Casement believed in the importance of a unified Ireland, with all four provinces pulling together, in reviving the ancient culture of the country. Yet this ideology was not apparent in the final edition of *Uladh*.

Perhaps the boldest statement of a blatant separatist north within the pages of *Uladh* is Seosamh de Paor's contribution to the final issue; as mentioned earlier in this chapter, de Paor was the pseudonym of Joseph Power (a man born in Ireland's south), and in the article titled 'The Ulster Literary Theatre', he surveys the staged performances of the ULT from early 1905. Yet, the opening argument seems more significant than the reviews later in the article. In discussing the controversy surrounding the ULT and its accompanying magazine, and the "petty provincialism" displayed by its critics, de Paor notes: "it seems to me that if Ulster be true to its instincts it must of necessity have somewhat different point of view from the rest of Ireland" (4, (September 1905), p. 5).

North is North, and South is South, irrevocably, and though the line of demarcation be not so firmly drawn as between the Occident and the Orient, it nevertheless demands recognition. Ulster *has* 'its own way of things'; Belfast differs as widely from Dublin as Madrid from Seville; and for it to ape the South, East or West were every white as reprehensible as that the people of those districts should continue in slavish imitation of things English. It is not merely the admixture of foreign blood that gives a marked personality to this corner of Eirinn; the people of the North differ from those of the South in every country the world over, and truth of this as it applies to our own land is forced upon every Southerner who, like myself, has spent several years in the country of Cuchullin. Therefore, I do not quarrel with the Ulster Literary Theatre's recognition of the fact that its art of the drama will be unlike that of Dublin, though I think it would do better to avoid defining for the present the particular mode of expression which its talent may assume. (4, (September 1905), p. 5).

De Paor suggests that the divide between the north and south is clearly prominent in Irish culture, but as this is the case in every country, each province should be left to

strengthen its own culture and art. In his conclusion, de Paor hints that in order to suppress any tensions between Dublin and Ulster, the north is required to make some effort also. He comments upon how large numbers of Dublin theatregoers have made the journey northwards to watch the ULT's productions, continuing, "perhaps some day soon the Ultonians may return the visit". (4, September 1905), p. 10). For de Paor, any northern feelings of inferiority are no longer credible, granted the success and praise he bestows upon such ULT performances from earlier in the year. Yet the opening statements provide an image of Ireland with an already obvious, if provisional, border:

At a time when the more genuinely Celtic provinces are casting off the intellectual misfits of generations to clothe themselves in native thought, it is surely unreasonable to ask that the North should continue to cloak its individuality with alien modes of expression (4, (September 1905), p. 5).

This debate highlights the source of the tensions between the north and south of Ireland. At the turn of the century Belfast was to find herself facing a difficult decision: should she follow the revivalist intentions of Dublin, even though she had not received a warm welcome in her attempts to locate the north within the movement, or should she embrace the history of her own province? De Paor suggests that Ulster must embrace the restoration of its own history and culture, giving voice to a province rather than to an entire country.

Other contributions to the final issue were a poem titled 'The Women at their Doors' by Joseph Campbell (though signed in Irish as always in *Uladh*); an article titled 'The Seething Pot' by J.W.; and another article by Alice Milligan, titled 'A Queen of Aileach'. Here Milligan draws on and provides her interpretation of the ancient story of the north, the Sleepers of Aileach in the Derry and Donegal borderlands, discussed in Campbell's article published in the first edition of *Uladh*. J.W. was bestowed with the honour of closing the final issue of *Uladh* with his poem 'The Wild Geese'. The revivalist tone of the poem seems apt for the conclusion of the magazine, reflecting a contemporary

fashion for Jacobite commemoration and foreshadowing the events that would occur in Ireland in 1916.¹¹⁵ The final stanza read:

We go before the dawn, mother, but we'll come again,
With all our drums a-beating for a new campaign;
With all our drums a-beating and all our pikes a-shine,
With those that fought at Aughrim and those that fought at Boyne.
So kiss me for the last, mother, and weep no tears for me,
It's Ireland and honour when the Wild Geese put to sea.
(4, (September 1905), p. 27).

***Uladh's* Demise**

Like many of Ireland's little magazines, the editorial included in the final issue of *Uladh* gives no indication of the magazine ceasing publication. The quote below, from the editor, seems to suggest that it was believed the journal would continue with another issue in early 1906:

This number of *Ulad* ends our first year of publication. We can now stand on the four-cornered tower of our year's building and note the outlook, retrospective and future. We had many critical articles, full of ideas and plans for native art developments. We have also had lyrical and prose poems. Of the poetical matter, that which saw the light was but a small portion of the mass of material submitted, from all quarters. The reason for this was not alone the question of quality and excellence; it lay in the fact that our aim has been from the first a critical rather than a literary magazine. The great want was certainly an independent critical organ in Ulster. So that we accepted nearly all the critical matter submitted to us so long as it showed a critical spirit, and embodied some significant ideas; it was not judged solely as a literary production. We now take the opportunity of inviting critical contributions as being the staple stuff of the magazine. It must not, however, be inferred that purely literary matter, in verse or prose, will not receive our cordial attention. But the space available for this class of matter will of necessity be more limited than that devoted to the other, to our view, at present, more essential. (4, (September 1905), pp. 1-2).

Hobson was most likely too preoccupied with the founding of the Dungannon Clubs to dedicate the time required to write for or to edit *Uladh*; for Reid, the magazine's demise was a result of the editorial group's obsession with plays, and their lack of interest in any other literary form. Beginning by commenting upon the rejections he had received earlier

¹¹⁵ On the retrospective fashion for Jacobitism in the Revival years, see Frank Shovlin, *Journey Westward: Joyce, Dubliners and the Literary Revival* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), pp. 62-121.

in the summer of 1905, and then outlining his views of why he believed *Uladh* folded,

Reid noted:

So without ill-feeling on either side I retired from *Ulad*, and heard no more of the magazine until some six months later, at Cambridge, when I received a letter inviting me to edit it. I don't know what had happened in the meantime; evidently an embroilment of some kind; but I was too busy to undertake the proposed task, and *Ulad* expired, having run as long a course as such ventures usually do. It was attractive while it lasted – well-printed and pleasing to the eye. Strange as this may seem, I am now inclined to think that it perished largely for lack of copy. *Pan's Pupil* was the only story that appeared in it. Reynolds, Good, Parkhill, Joseph Campbell, Alice Milligan, Rutherford Mayne, Gerald McNamara – all were busy writing plays; but a magazine cannot be run on plays alone, and I don't think anybody except myself was interested in any other literary forms. For that matter, I didn't really belong to the movement at all. I had been dragged into *Ulad* by Reynolds and Parkhill, but there my participation ended.¹¹⁶

Reid's supposition that *Uladh* ceased publication due to a definite shift of editorial commitments and a possible lack of good copy is supported by the fact that the final issue consisted of twenty seven pages, compared to the earlier three which were all over thirty two pages. In 'Explaining *Uladh*', Hay suggests that the absence of advertising in the final edition suggests that the review folded due to lack of financial sustenance.¹¹⁷ It seems likely that it was a culmination of all of the factors listed above that led to the demise of *Uladh*.

However, in the months after September 1905 further evidence suggests that the plans for more issues of *Uladh* were being considered. In a letter written to Alice Milligan, dated 23rd December 1905, the poet Alberta Victoria Montgomery notes how *Uladh*'s editors had accepted the poem she had contributed to the magazine for publication in the first issue of 1906, which discussed the large sea loch at Strangford in Co. Down: "I have got a poem on Strangford Lough in the January *Ulad* which I hope you will like".¹¹⁸ Her

¹¹⁶ Reid, *A Private Road*, pp. 39-40. Reid noted how the end of *Uladh* did not sever his friendships with both Reynolds and Parkhill. Though he regularly visited and met with Reynolds, it proved more difficult with Parkhill who "went out to the South Sea Islands and I never saw him again, though I received an occasional postcard".

¹¹⁷ Hay, 'Explaining *Uladh*', p. 128.

¹¹⁸ Alberta Victoria Montgomery to Alice Milligan, 23rd December 1905, Alice Milligan Papers, The National Library of Ireland, MS, 5048 (32). Montgomery (1864-1945) was born and lived in Grey Abbey, Newtonards in Co. Down; her

involvement with the northern group began in September 1905, when Montgomery met Joseph Campbell at Milligan's home in Bangor, Co. Down; within the letter mentioned above Montgomery informs Milligan of this blossoming friendship with Campbell: "You and I haven't communicated for long. I have been further making friends with Seosamh Mac Cathmhoil to whom you introduced me, and I think he is going to dedicate his 'Rushlight' poems to me".¹¹⁹ The two embarked upon an intense love affair until 1911, when Campbell was married to Nancy Maude, an actress he had met in 1909 whilst rehearsing for Yeats' *The Hour-Glass* (by the 1920s the two were romantically involved once more).¹²⁰ Further written correspondence from Montgomery to Milligan, dated 11th January 1906, reveals her surprise that the newest issue of *Uladh* is not yet available in print, as she eagerly awaits the publication of her poem: "I feel utterly uninspired for a good letter at the moment. I am rather surprised Ulad isn't out yet, 11th January".¹²¹

On 14th February 1907, Hobson's newspaper *Republic* was the first to confirm the plan to revive *Uladh* as a monthly magazine. Though another issue did not appear in print after September 1905, correspondence between Casement and Hobson in the autumn of 1907 suggests that these plans of revival were seriously considered. A couple of months earlier, in August, Casement had submitted an essay to Hobson and *Uladh*, discussing the need for an Irish Olympic team.¹²² Yet no correspondence exists to confirm why the plans

mother, the Hon. Mary Elizabeth Ponsonby, was a close friend of Queen Victoria and had been maid of honour at her wedding to Albert. The Queen, who was also Alberta's godmother, along with her husband Albert were the namesakes of Montgomery. Queen Victoria attended Alberta's wedding to Major-General William Edward Montgomery in 1891. In the years leading to the turn of the century, and the first decade of the twentieth, Alberta achieved success as a poet, publishing a number of collections, such as *The Rose and Fire* in 1908.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Joseph Campbell's second collection of poetry (published under the Gaelic form of his name), *The Rushlight*, appeared in print in February 1906. The dedication was written to Montgomery; in *The Collected Letters of W. B. Yeats*, Volume IV: 1905-1907, John Kelly notes how the copy of the poems in Yeats' personal library was presented to him by A.B.V. See John Kelly (ed.), *The Collected Letters of W. B. Yeats*, p. 357.

¹²¹ Alberta Montgomery to Alice Milligan, 11th January 1906, The Alice Milligan Papers, The National Library of Ireland, MS. 5048 (59).

¹²² Roger Casement to Bulmer Hobson, August 1907, The Bulmer Hobson Papers, The National Library of Ireland, MS. 13, 159. Within the article, titled "The Olympic Games of 1908", Casement argues the necessity of Irish nationalists

never came to fruition; perhaps the work seemed too much for the northern group, who had parted ways both physically (in the regions they now lived) and creatively.

Hobson and Parkhill, *Uladh*'s original founders, had embarked on different journeys; Hobson was consumed with furthering Ireland's nationalist movement, and like J. W. Good, he continued to promote these ideologies through the Dungannon Clubs and his newspaper *Republic*.¹²³ Shortly after *Uladh*'s demise Hobson had moved to Dublin to further the nationalist cause he was so actively involved with; though, like Milligan, he never abandoned his Ulster roots. Though Parkhill was still living in Belfast in 1907, and had remained involved with the ULT, within a year he had left Ireland for Australia, never to return. After 1905, Reynolds remained dedicated to the ULT, and through his commitment to *Uladh* during its publication run, it could be suggested that he would have continued to edit and seek out what he deemed the best writings of Ulster had the magazine continued into 1906-07. With the support of the Morrow brothers, Reynolds began discussions to raise the funds required to build a nationalist theatre in Belfast for the ULT. In his memoir, Reid recalls the "architectural plans for the new theatre, which he (Reynolds) carried round in his pockets and spread out on the tables of public-houses".¹²⁴ Reid suggests that these plans became almost dreamlike and Reynolds' imagination had manifested the plans for an opera house, rather than a theatre: "secretly he was listening to an invisible orchestra, and not watching a farm kitchen comedy".¹²⁵ Perhaps Reynolds' greatest passion was in fact music; when the two men had first met, Reynolds was working as a music critic and writing his own compositions, and as noted

dedicating more thought and time to movements outside of the political sphere, such as the development of an Irish Olympic team for the games to be held the following year. The article, which was never published elsewhere, can be read in its entirety in the Hobson archive at the NLI.

¹²³ Many of the figures involved with the production of little magazines in Ireland at the turn of the twentieth century reappeared in some sense, either as editors or contributors to other later periodicals; in this way, Hobson appears again in the final chapter of this study, focusing on *The Irish Review* (1911 – 1914).

¹²⁴ Reid, *A Private Road*, pp. 40-41.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

earlier in the chapter, his first suggestion to Reid for an article he could write for *Uladh* was a review of Irish Opera. In 1942, Mayne would provide a further commentary as to why a theatre built specifically for the ULT never materialised:

We never managed to raise enough money to start building a theatre of our own, and besides that, don't forget that even to the end – ten or twelve years ago – we were always a bit of a cloud [...] It's the sort of thing that's always happening in Ulster. After all, when you've a flaming nationalist like Bulmer Hobson, or Joe Campbell or Francis Joseph Biggar as a member of your society, it takes a lot of explaining away. And thus suspicion – although it wasn't always apparent – meant a good deal more than most of us cared to admit. But the suspicion was there – all the time.¹²⁶

Joseph Campbell left Belfast in 1905 and moved to Dublin, where he experienced success as a poet. In the critical biography of his life, Saunders and Kelly state: “in Dublin Campbell had found an audience, but as an Ulsterman he carried the stigma of a second-class citizenship”.¹²⁷ Despite praise for *The Rushlight*, with positive reviews in *Pall Mall Gazette* and *The Spectator*, it seems some Dublin critics were reluctant to admire his poetry, and when they did, their attitude was often apathetic. Campbell was experiencing the Dublin bias to the north first hand; though born an Ulsterman, A.E. who lived, worked and networked in Dublin and had befriended many figures in the city's literary circles during these years ignored Campbell's efforts.¹²⁸ Saunders and Kelly have suggested that the Dublin bias apparent in Ireland prompted Campbell to move, as well as the attraction of working with the Irish literary movement in England.¹²⁹

Despite the ambiguous relationship the northern grouping had previously shared with Dublin, there were moments in the years after *Uladh* had ceased publication where Ulster's creativity was praised in the south. On 24th-25th April 1908 the ULT performed at

¹²⁶ Rutherford Mayne and the Bellman, 'Meet Rutherford Mayne', p. 11.

¹²⁷ Saunders and Kelly, *Joseph Campbell*, p. 38.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ Francis A. Fahy first established the Irish Literary Movement in England in 1883. See Saunders and Kelly, *Joseph Campbell*, p. 39.

the Abbey Theatre; these productions were two new plays, Robert Harding's *The Leaders of the People* and Mayne's *The Drone*. For an article written for *The Times* in December 1922, Reid recognised that Robert Harding was in fact another pseudonym of J. W. Good. The Dublin responses to such performances were positive: "Dublin must look to its laurels, for in art, as in everything else, when Ulster makes up its mind to try, the rest of Ireland is hard put to it to beat it".

Both the plays and the acting are so remarkable that we may say without exaggeration that no more significant production has been seen in Dublin in our day. We seem to be on the verge of a revolution in dramatic art, and remarkably enough, it has been left to Ulster to lead the way.¹³⁰

Though he had not attended any of the performances during the ULT's visit to Dublin, Yeats did comment upon them in an issue of *Sambain* later that same year. In the November 1908 edition of the magazine, Yeats discusses some failures of the ULT's productions in the years previous such as what he deems to be the absence of ordinary conventions and issues with the mechanisms of their performances. However, these criticisms quickly shift to praise, with Yeats revealing that he finds great pleasure in attending an Ulster theatre performance:

I hear, however, that their plays upon their last visit showed much more unity. In any case it is only a matter of time, where one finds so much sincere observation, for the rest to follow ... the Ulster players are the only dramatic society, apart from our own, which is doing serious artistic work.¹³¹

McIvor has suggested that the northern revival could not have come about in the way that it had if Dublin's revival was not dominating southern culture. Like their southern counterparts, the Ulster revivalists were not trying to establish a new cultural identity for the north, but more importantly restore one from its past. However, Ulster could not escape the regionalist issues that caused a sense of separation from the rest of Ireland.

¹³⁰ Quoted in Bell, *The Theatre in Ulster*, p. 32.

¹³¹ *Sambain*, November 1908, p. 12.

In the view of Casement scholar Jeffrey Dudgeon the northern revival would never have occurred without Biggar. Dudgeon states how “Biggar was the chief promoter of Irish culture in the north and as such moulded a generation. No other intellectual force in Belfast as that around him has ever been as strong or dominant”.¹³² Biggar had inspired a generation of revolutionaries and yet himself had never incited violence through his written word. In fact little if no evidence exists to suggest his interest in political events of his day, he was more drawn to Ulster’s archaeology, history and myth. Perhaps then it was the sense of camaraderie that Biggar and his Ardigh home offered to the northern grouping that made him so important to Ulster’s history. Kirkland has stated: “in the years leading to 1916, the structure of nationalism in the North, its preoccupations, loyalties and hatreds, owed more to the ineffable process of coterie and friendship than to the assertion of an abstract political principle”.¹³³ Despite his death in 1926, Biggar became a focal point in the northern troubles of 1971 when his funerary monument that stood in Glengormley, Co. Antrim, was destroyed by Protestant extremists. Though initially baffling, due to the peaceful nature of Biggar’s desire to revive Ireland’s past culture during his lifetime, it is likely that such striking attack was not because of his own character, but that of those revolutionaries discussed within this chapter with whom he chose to consort.¹³⁴

Decades after *Uladh* had ceased publication, Ulster writers continued to address issues of regionalism through the pages of literary magazines. In 1943, John Boyd launched *Lagan*, which was published over a three-year period (a good run for any little magazine in Ireland). Clyde has stated: “the quality (of the magazine) is consistently high, and it also has an unusual degree of cohesion, around an implicit Ulster Regionalist agenda. Easily

¹³² Jeffrey Dudgeon, *Roger Casement: The Black Diaries* (Belfast: Belfast Press, 2002) p. 182.

¹³³ Kirkland, *Cathal O’Byrne and The Northern Revival*, p. 88.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

the best Ulster Literary Magazine since *Uladh*, forty years before".¹³⁵ Within a few years, another Ulster journal was published, *Rann* (1948-1953) edited by Roy McFadden and Barbara Hunter, with the regionalist poet and thinker John Hewitt as its lynchpin; similar to *Lagan*, *Rann* was deliberately not a nationalist magazine, with both sharing *Uladh*'s sense of regional identity.¹³⁶

Through the founding of the ULT and the publication of *Uladh*, the northern grouping stressed the importance of Ulster's literary and cultural movements, arguing how the north was a region capable of strengthening Ireland's wider national revival. In his 1946 autobiography, *The Rose and the Bottle*, Seumas O'Sullivan, the Dublin poet and essayist who edited *The Dublin Magazine* for a remarkable 35 years (the magazine first ran as a monthly from 1923 – 1925, and then as a quarterly from 1926 until O'Sullivan's death in 1958), and became a close friend of Joseph Campbell, noted:

Looking back on those brilliant first years of the Northern theatre I cannot help feeling that it had in it more of the essential qualities of a national theatre than have resulted from the earlier plays of the Abbey. It had, in short, far more in common with the original Irish National Theatre Society, than with its successor, the Abbey.¹³⁷

Despite the fact that Ulster may have appeared as a region stuck in political and cultural limbo, between Ireland and England (though at the periphery, never the centre, of either), the founders of *Uladh* attempted to create an individual literary and cultural periodical that promoted their own ideals, while fitting within the broader Irish tradition. Yet, it could be questioned as to whether this could ever happen, and the north could be recognised for its successes within the broader revival in Ireland, under the glare of Dublin's judgement.

¹³⁵ Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines*, p. 201.

¹³⁶ In 'Regionalism in Ulster', McIvor acknowledges John Hewitt's editorial note in an edition of *Rann* which draws upon the importance of geographical situation and regional differences in affecting literature. McIvor notes how such views, though written almost fifty years after *Uladh*'s publication, adopt a strikingly similar position to the northern group responsible for the founding of the ULT. Interestingly, McIvor states how very little had been added to the original debate in the decades between: "the same ideas, the same blind assertions, were endlessly rehearsed". McIvor, 'Regionalism in Ulster', p. 186. For further reading on the publication life of *Rann*, see Frank Showlin, *The Irish Literary Periodical 1923-1958* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), pp. 156-79.

¹³⁷ Seumas O'Sullivan, *The Rose and Bottle* (Dublin: Talbot Press Ltd., 1946), p. 102.

As Roy Foster has so rightly asserted: “the story of the ULT, as its few commentators implicitly if unwillingly admit, is essentially about a partition of the mind”.¹³⁸ However, as this chapter highlights, the partition of the mind – at least in the case of *Uladh* and the ULT – seems to be more an issue for Ireland’s southern, rather than northern, counterparts. Yet there is some truth in Foster’s suggestion: if searched for, a definite separatist attitude appears within the pages of the magazine. Perhaps the separatist attitude that Atkinson accused *Uladh* of portraying in his *Dana* review was a result of a bias best captured in a meeting between James Cousins and one of the key figures of the revival, Douglas Hyde. During a conversation in Dublin, Hyde sought to inspire the Belfast man with words of encouragement: “I knew you had a southern soul in your northern body”.¹³⁹

In order to acknowledge the impact of *Uladh* in documenting the history and culture of the period in which it was published, the contributions of the literary networks involved has been essential. These figures – including Bulmer Hobson, David Parkhill, John and Joseph Campbell, F. J. Biggar and Alice Milligan, amongst others – promoted a particular brand of Ulster revivalism fashioned as a direct response to the negative attitudes bestowed upon them from their Southern counterparts. As this chapter has argued, there were a great number of contradictions in a movement that was, at once, inspired by Dublin revivalism and a self-conscious regional alternative to it; yet perhaps the reason the magazine, and the northern movement more generally, grew tiresome and lost momentum was due to the fact the projects that held the movement together were a result of friendships rather than defined ideological or political positions. As well as this, the consideration of Ulster as a territory often associated with intense cultural conflict, particularly in the decade in advance of the Home Rule crisis, meant that Northern

¹³⁸ Foster, *Vivid Faces*, p. 103.

¹³⁹ Quoted in James and Margaret Cousins, *We Two Together*, p. 40.

revivalism did not correspond with the ideas of place amenable to a wider Irish nationalist consciousness, in the manner the South did.

‘Our creature of bitter truth’: *The Irish Review* (1911-1914)

You will not know yourself in the Ireland that we shall make here – when I return to you

– Thomas MacDonagh, *Pagans*

Literary Networks

Following the demise in February 1911 of *The New Ireland Review*, which had served as the staff organ of University College Dublin (UCD), David Houston, a Scottish lecturer in the Royal College of Science for Ireland, prompted the emergence of a new literary magazine, *The Irish Review* (1911-1914) in March of the same year.¹ Houston was an extrovert, “inclined to burn up with sudden enthusiasm for new projects”, and the launch of this new journal was a good example of this energy, the title already decided before any plans were on paper.² Though the venture was very much a group effort, the initiative was Houston’s; he was already a prominent figure in Dublin literary circles and editor and publisher of *Irish Gardens*. Having already worked on the editorial monthly of a periodical, when *The Irish Review* was founded he was aware of the expenses and complexities of printing and distribution. Houston had remained dedicated to *Irish Gardens* during its publication run; figures who were later involved with *The Irish Review*, such as Padraic Colum and Helen Curran, were frequent contributors to Houston’s earlier magazine. In the month prior to the publication of the new journal, Houston’s time, devotion and financial backing was now given to the project with the assistance of Colum and his future wife Mary (nee Maguire), Thomas MacDonagh and James Stephens.

¹ For more on this subject, see Johann Norstedt, *Thomas MacDonagh: A Critical Biography* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1980), *passim*.

² Hilary Pyle, ‘The Days of the Irish Review’, *The Irish Times* (15th January, 1965).

The literary coterie were soon gathering regularly at Houston's house for discussions about the new review; according to the 1911 census, Houston, aged fifty-seven at the time, was living in Harold'sgrange, just beyond Rathfarnham.³ The meetings, planning and production of *The Irish Review* seemed to be a joyous time for all involved; in a letter to MacDonagh, Houston wrote to "please sling the ink and launch our 'creature of bitter truth' to raise up fame for a future time".⁴ Colum recalls how plans were discussed "not merely seriously, but eagerly".⁵ MacDonagh seemed to differ; in a letter to Dominick Hackett he described the work as "hard and ungrateful enough, but worth doing".⁶ Yet after the opening issue of the magazine in March 1911, MacDonagh was pleased with the result; he believed *The Irish Review* would "speak for itself and say something for me too".⁷ Mary Colum would later evoke in her memoirs, *Life and the Dream* (1947), an account of her life from boarding school to her return from Europe in 1938, how "the magazine remained great fun" and that the editors "quarrelled happily among ourselves and the contributors".⁸ In a letter to MacDonagh in early 1911, Houston is concerned with the establishment of the new journal:

I am suggesting that each of the three (MacDonagh, Padraic Colum and James Stephens) should draft a copy incorporating their ideas and that we should then meet and lick the thing into its final shape [...] the draft can be printed and used for the purpose of getting contributors names.⁹

³ http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Whitechurch/Haroldsgrange_/57847/ - Accessed 12th March 2015.

⁴ David Houston to Thomas MacDonagh, March 1911, Thomas MacDonagh Papers (TMP), National Library of Ireland, Dublin MS. 44, 327/2/5.

⁵ Quoted in Kurt Bullock, "From Revival to Revolution" in *Ireland and the New Journalism* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 190.

⁶ Quoted in Shane Kenna, *16 Lives: Thomas MacDonagh* (Dublin: The O'Brien Press Ltd., 2014) p. 93.

⁷ Thomas MacDonagh to Dominick Hackett, 29th March 1911, TMP, National Library of Ireland MS. 44, 327/2/1.

⁸ Mary Colum, *Life and the Dream: Memories of a Literary Life in Europe and America* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1947) p. 160.

⁹ David Houston to Thomas MacDonagh, 1911, TMP, National Library of Ireland MS. 44, 327/2/5.

Prior to the opening issue of the journal, 'The Irish Review Publishing Company' issued an article documenting their publication date and declaration of intent. In this document the founding members reveal ambitious hopes for their new magazine, stating, "THE IRISH REVIEW will be for Ireland what such periodicals 'The Quarterly Review', 'The Edinburgh Review' and 'Le Mercure de France' have been for neighbouring countries".¹⁰ It is outlined that every edition of the magazine will be written by Irish writers on subjects of "Irish interest"; it will be produced and published in Ireland, and will be indispensable in educating the Irish people. The editors announce: "It is confidently expected that the REVIEW will contribute greatly to the cause of Irish nationality in the best sense by making known Ireland and Irish genius".¹¹ Before the offset the editors established that the magazine would focus primarily on the "Irish literary movement", and yet sundry other aspects of Irish culture and interests would be addressed also. The document refers to the different aspects of Irish life the magazine would comment upon: notes on affairs, poetry, plays, music or art, and Gaelic literature. "In each number will be an authoritative article on a subject of scientific or economic research as applied to Ireland".¹² Interestingly, for a magazine so often associated with the Easter Rising of 1916, there is no mention of politics in the declaration of intent. Due to the involvement and eventual execution of some of *The Irish Review's* editors and contributors for their part in the planning and production of those fatal days of Easter week 1916, *The Irish*

¹⁰ For further reading on the magazines the editors of *The Irish Review* hoped to emulate, see UCD's invaluable network – <http://revival2revolution.omeka.net>. This source was created alongside, and to support, the centenary conference of the same name focusing upon the life and works of Thomas MacDonagh held in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, in June 2015. The network suggests that though the editors of *The Irish Review* aspired to the fame and influence of such predecessors, "*The Irish Review* project was perhaps more akin to the Modernist little magazines, particularly for its emphasis on publishing several genres of literature and for its outspokenness about its position on Irish cultural and political matters". Accessed July 2015.

¹¹ "The Irish Review", The National Library of Ireland, online catalogue – <http://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000510177>. Accessed June 2015.

¹² Ibid.

Review has been considered a vital resource in documenting, often in an outspoken manner, the increasing tensions and position of Ireland's politics during those years.¹³

Accompanying the declaration of intent was a preliminary list of contributors including AE, Lord Dunsany, John Eglinton, F. Cruise O'Brien, George Moore and Fred Ryan. It was hoped that those established writers listed would attract other lesser known and younger contributors, and more importantly subscribers to the magazine. The editors hoped that the array of writers advertised would draw in a large number of subscriptions before the first issue of the review was published. Along with the declaration of intent and list of contributors, the final inclusion was a subscription order form: seven shillings and sixpence for a yearly subscriber, and three shillings and ninepence for a half-yearly.

Soon those involved were writing to friends encouraging subscriptions and seeking contributors to the magazine.¹⁴ During the years of publication, contributors revealed the periodical's revivalist intentions to write on matters concerned with subjects of Irish interest; many of those who had been intimately involved with *Dana* seven years previously reappear alongside a sprinkling of new blood: George Moore, W. B. Yeats, George Russell, Douglas Hyde, Oliver St. John Gogarty, Francis Sheehy Skeffington and James Cousins were among the better known names involved.¹⁵ Services provided by the founding group of writers were strictly voluntary, and contributors were not remunerated for their work. Stephens, who began his career as a poet under the tutelage of George

¹³ See: Denise Ayo, 'Mary Colum, Modernism and Mass Media: An Irish-Inflected Transatlantic Print Culture', *Journal of Modern Literature* (Summer 2012) pp. 107-129; and Tom Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines: An Outline History and Descriptive Bibliography*, pp. 161-62.

¹⁴ In correspondence with Lord Dunsany, James Stephens sought funds for the magazine: "we are not going to run it with a view for profit, but will try to make it a magazine that people will buy and read". Quoted in Ed Mulhall, *From Celtic Twilight to Revolutionary Dawn: The Irish Review 1911-1914* – <http://www.rte.ie/centuryireland/articles/from-celtic-twilight-to-revolutionary-dawn> - Accessed October 2014.

¹⁵ In *Irish Literary Magazines: An Outline History and Descriptive Bibliography*, Tom Clyde registers *The Irish Review* under the classification of "political revival". Kurt Bullock in 'From Revival to Revolution: Thomas MacDonagh and *The Irish Review*' in *Ireland and the New Journalism* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) finds this classification of a "political revival", rather than a cultural or literary one, to be "intriguing" given that the first issue of *The Irish Review* declared the magazine to be a monthly journal of "Irish literature, art and science".

Russell, wrote to Constantine P. Curran in February 1911 about the founding of *The Irish Review*. “I am trying to say quickness is a great virtue, I enclose some more poems and hope you will be able to get rid of them for me. Every little helps and we want to get in as much money as possible; for initial expenses, advertising, etc. are very heavy”.¹⁶ Stephens’ wrote hoping to trade some poems in an attempt to gain further funding for the soon to be published magazine. Remuneration was needed fast, as Stephens reveals, as the magazine was discussed, planned and promoted within a month. He continues the letter to Curran: “it’s going to be a fine magazine, its ‘make up’ at least will be better than any other magazine at whatever price and our job is to see that its contents are up to its apparel”.¹⁷

In her autobiography, Mary Colum describes the early days of *The Irish Review* in literary Dublin before the First World War. Denise Ayo relies chiefly upon this memoir for her supposition regarding Thomas MacDonagh’s alleged romantic interest in Mary before her marriage to Padraic. Mary was a vivacious and intelligent woman with interests in literature, poetry and the suffrage movement. In her memoirs, she describes one particular man, who remains nameless in her writing, revealing how on numerous occasions he attempted to assure her that marriage was a fate neither could avoid: “He called at my little flat, armed with an engagement ring, and told me in a very cave man manner that he had arranged everything, that I was to marry him at a certain date in a certain church and that I had better accept my destiny”. This conversation resulted in tears for both her and the anonymous man, who “married before I did”.¹⁸ Critics have often considered this to be a reference to MacDonagh who married Muriel Gifford in

¹⁶ James Stephens to Constantine P. Curran, 8th February 1911, The Curran Collection, UCD Library Special Collections CUR.L.I.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Mary Colum, *Life and the Dream: Memories of a Literary Life in Europe and America* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1947) p. 174-5.

1912 before Mary was wed to Padraic, though, as Kurt Bullock states, no correspondence exists that suggests any tension between the three.¹⁹ By 1910 MacDonagh was teaching at St. Enda's, Patrick Pearse's secondary school for boys, situated in Ranelagh, Dublin, first opened in 1908, having previously graduated with an undergraduate degree from UCD, receiving a BA in Irish, French and English.²⁰ In conjunction with academia, he was also a regular reviewer in *The Leader*; one such positive review was of a volume of poetry, titled *Wild Earth*, written by Padraic Colum. Similarly, around this time MacDonagh commended the artwork of Grace Gifford, his future sister-in-law and future wife of Joseph Plunkett.

After a summer in Paris, MacDonagh returned to Dublin in autumn 1910 and assumed teaching at St Enda's, helping Pearse with the school's relocation to Rathfarnham. He rented Grange House Lodge in Rathfarnham from David Houston; correspondence reveals how this business arrangement eventually became a genuine friendship, and regular meetings were arranged at the house, with guests including Colum and Stephens. Grange House Lodge would become the unofficial office for *The Irish Review*, something of a publication house for the editorial group to sift through submissions and work on the planning and production of the magazine. In the introduction to *The Poetical Works of Thomas MacDonagh*, published six years after his execution, Stephens recalls "at that time he (MacDonagh) lived a kind of semi-detached life at the gate-lodge of Mr. Houston's house in the Dublin hills. To this house all literary Dublin used to repair".²¹ During the first year of the magazine's life Houston was to be

¹⁹ Kurt Bullock, 'From Revival to Revolution in *Ireland and the New Journalism*, p. 194. However, conversations I have had with Muriel McCauley, the granddaughter of Thomas and Muriel McDonagh have revealed that the family do believe MacDonagh had made such proposals to Mary Maguire prior to his marriage to Muriel.

²⁰ In 1904 MacDonagh entered and won the first prize at the Dublin Feis Ceoil for a religious cantata titled 'The Exodus'. The Feis Ceoil was an annual celebration of Irish musical talent with competitions in various categories including singing. MacDonagh's words were set to music by Benedetto Palmieri, a singing teacher from Dublin. Palmieri held lessons with another singer entering the competition, who would win third prize, the young James Joyce.

²¹ James Stephens, 'Introduction', in *The Poetical Works of Thomas MacDonagh* (London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., 1917) p. ix.

the central figure, the journal's establishment was his idea, and it seemed everybody was aware that he would maintain overall control of editorial matters, with MacDonagh as sub-editor. Though Houston was constantly present in all matters concerning *The Irish Review* during the first year of publication, it was MacDonagh who remained the dominant presence throughout the rest of the journal's publishing life; of the original members MacDonagh remained the only figure involved to the end.²²

This chapter will trace the publication life of *The Irish Review*, from what initially emerged as a literary magazine to address all aspects of Irish culture and life, to a periodical dominated by its hardened position on Irish political matters. Critically *The Irish Review* remains today a varied and important resource in documenting the years building to that most significant moment in modern Ireland's history, Easter 1916. One can see why the magazine is so often looked upon as a vehicle for political agitation – in spite of its literary origins – having been radically transformed after a change in ownership from Houston to Joseph Mary Plunkett in the summer of 1913. However, literature and arts remained a focus of the review, and that did not change during its three year run. My contention is that the ideological vision of *The Irish Review* was altered in later years by the emergence of the Irish Volunteer Force and the editors' involvement with such; literary matters may have continued to fill more than half of each edition of the magazine's pages but politically Ireland herself was changing faster than perhaps culture could accommodate. By 1914 tensions between nationalists and unionists were increasing daily with the formation of their own volunteer parties, and Britain's troubles, on the brink of war with Germany, provided Ireland with a new opportunity for political liberation. Yet in the final year of publication, non-political articles still continued to dominate *The Irish Review* in terms of quantity, yet it was the quality of those political

²² Bullock suggests that it was through his role as assistant editor of the magazine, first for Houston and in the final year under Plunkett's ownership, that MacDonagh shaped the editorial character of *The Irish Review*. Bullock argues that MacDonagh altered an ostensibly non-political journal into a voice of confrontational nationalism. See Bullock, p. 193.

submissions that brought the hardened political classification associated with the magazine today.²³

The first issue of the magazine opened with a contribution from the art world: ‘The Fairy Ring’, a painting by William Orpen was printed, followed by the first instalment of a story written by George Moore, titled ‘A Flood’.²⁴ According to Mary Colum the publication of Moore’s story led to a minor dispute amongst the editors; it was considered an imitation of Zola and it was believed it would be an error to print this within the pages of a magazine with aspirations to be current and relevant. Padraic Colum had hoped to write a contemporary piece for the first edition but Moore – as he had done with Eglinton at *Dana* – went straight to Houston to get his story printed. The opening issue of the review included poems by Stephens and Colum, articles by John Eglinton, MacDonagh and Lord Dunsany and Gaelic literature by Patrick Pearse, titled *Specimens from an Irish Anthology*. Mary Colum had her first review published, ‘John Synge’; the review praised the “supreme genius” of the artist “who saw life stripped of the false subtleties that passing fashions in literature and metaphysics endow it with”.²⁵ Houston had wanted an article on Synge for the opening edition, and Mary wrote this, much to the dismay of George Moore: when told “a girl” was supplying the article, Moore “with a characteristic outward gesture of his hands, said ‘My dear man! A girl! What girl? Whose girl?’”²⁶

²³ See Tom Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines: An Outline and Descriptive Bibliography* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2003) p. 161.

²⁴ See Appendix C.

²⁵ *The Irish Review* was published monthly from March 1911 through November 1914 in Dublin by Ernest Manico. The magazine is now available online via JSTOR online collections. Further references will be cited parenthetically by issue number, date and page number.

²⁶ Quoted in Ed Mulhall, *From Celtic Twilight to Revolutionary Dawn: The Irish Review 1911-1914* – <http://www.rte.ie/centuryireland/articles/from-celtic-twilight-to-revolutionary-dawn> - Accessed October 2014.

Houston's housekeeper, Miss Alderton, referred to the inaugural number of *The Irish Review* as 'The Bogey Book' because the founding circle discussed it as the dummy.²⁷ In the opening editorial Houston attempted to establish the position of the magazine by declaring:

The Irish Review has been founded to give expression to the intellectual movement in Ireland. By the intellectual movement we do not understand an activity purely literary: we think of the application of Irish intelligence to the reconstruction of Irish life. Science and economics will claim an increasing share of attention as our people progress towards the command of their resources. *The Irish Review* is prepared to give space to these interests as well as to the activities displayed in art, literature, and criticism. It is obvious that the greater part of the intellectual life of Ireland expresses itself in English. The part of our intellectual life expressing itself in Irish will be published in our pages. *The Irish Review* will strive to speak for Ireland rather than for any party or coterie in Ireland. Emancipated from the tyranny of his party and lifted above the flattery of his coterie, the Irishman of action, study, or letters may utter himself here for the benefit of his country people and of such others as may care to give attention. *The Irish Review* belongs to no party. Current politics, for us, are part of the affairs of the month. We will try to deal with them with as little partiality and as little bias as it is good for people in earnest to have. We will note current affairs in their historical rather than in their political aspect. (1, (March 1911), p. 1-2).

The independent cosmopolitanism of *Dana* is notably absent. Unlike Eglinton and Ryan in *Dana* who looked to Europe for inspiration, the editors of *The Irish Review* aimed to speak for Ireland by focusing upon its own culture.

Critical comment on the new venture quickly followed in the broadsheet press.

In *The Irish Times*, printed 3rd March 1911, an article appeared titled 'The Irish Review':

Many attempts have been made to establish in Ireland an independent Review. It has been often thought that the Irish people should have sufficient interest in things of the soul to support one such publication. But the attempts, one after the other, have failed after a brief and unhappy existence. The time was not yet ripe. But now a new spirit has come over Irish thought. The political divisions that were so sharp have no longer their old effect. We have come to realise that outside of our ordinary parties is a great territory in which men can unite for the welfare of their country. The new movement, which is truly national since it is based upon a growing

²⁷ Hilary Pyle, "The Days of the Irish Review" in *The Irish Times* (15th January, 1965).

sense of common nationality, in influencing every branch of Irish thought. In literature and art it has produced the Abbey Theatre and the Celtic Revival, in economics the growth of co-operation and common action, and in politics and religion that spirit of conciliation which is working powerfully beneath the distractions of the present crisis. *The Irish Review*, of which the first number has just reached us, is intended to express and to foster the growth of this new spirit. We hope and believe that it is not, as were its predecessors, born out of due time. There is an Irish public waiting for such a Review, if its conductors can only find it and hold it. The first number contains the names of men who count in the new movement.²⁸

This is a markedly enthusiastic welcome for what was essentially a vehicle of nationalist thought coming from Ireland's most prominent newspaper of Anglo-Irish and unionist sympathies.

The *Review's* introductory editorial established the aims of the magazine: everyday Irish life would be reconstructed within the pages, and though expressed mainly in English, written Irish would also be published. Current politics are outlined as part of monthly affairs, though this comment proves incorrect towards the final year of publication. As will be discussed later in the chapter, though literature remained a focus, the editors showed strong bias – ultimately amounting to partisanship – to the Irish Volunteer Force and increasingly focused on the growing tensions between England and Germany; events were noted in their political aspect, conflicting with the stated ideals of the opening number. The original declarations seemed a far cry from what was appearing in print in the later years of the magazine, and this was partly due to the change in ownership. *The Irish Times* article seems prophetic given the power of hindsight; we can now view the significance of *The Irish Review* in documenting the lives and events of what Roy Foster has called the “revolutionary generation”.²⁹ The article refers to the demand for an independent review: “we have come to realise that outside of our ordinary parties is a great territory [...] since it is based upon a growing sense of common nationality”.

²⁸ Quoted in *The Irish Times*, 3rd March 1911.

²⁹ See Roy Foster, *Vivid Faces* (London: Allen Lane, 2014), p. xvii.

This statement, stirring Irish nationalism and the desire for a united island nation, could have been lifted from any edition of *The Irish Review* in its final years. The magazine, though relatively short lived in comparison to prominent literary periodicals of Ireland's past, did not fail in an unhappy existence as *The Irish Times* suggests many others had.

The second issue of the magazine was available for purchase in April 1911, opening with an art plate titled 'A Night at Ballycastle' by Jack B. Yeats, and followed by literary criticism titled 'Ancient Irish Poetry' by MacDonagh. Amongst other contributors were Lord Dunsany, with a piece of literary criticism titled 'The Man with the Golden Ear-Rings'; George Russell with an article on 'The Problem of Rural Life'; 'Specimens from an Irish Anthology' by Pearse and a poem from Colum titled 'The Old Angry Man'. This issue included two submissions from James Stephens: the first a poem titled 'Bessie Bobtail',³⁰ the second was the opening episode of a serial that would become one of the major literary submissions to *The Irish Review* during its run, 'Mary: A Story'. During the planning of the magazine, Stephens informed the other founding members that he could hand some "stuff" over for publication; according to Padraic Colum, writing the introduction to a new edition from New York in 1917, "the stuff" was *Mary, Mary* (known as *The Charwoman's Daughter* when published in novel form in 1912). The story was first written in 1910, after the publication of Stephens' poetry collection *Insurrections*. Colum recalled: "it came out as a serial in the second number with the title 'Mary: A Story', ran for twelvemonth and did much to make the fortune (if a review that perished after a career of four years ever had its fortune made) of *The Irish Review*".³¹ Nevertheless, Stephens' story of Mary Makebelieve appealed to the romantic sensibilities of the reader, and its year long run of publication aided the popularity of the magazine. Hilary Pyle

³⁰ 'Bessie Bobtail' appears again in *The Irish Review* of May 1911; in the second installment of the story Mary refers to naming her wedding finger thus.

³¹ Padraic Colum, 'Introduction', in James Stephens, *Mary, Mary* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1917) - <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/24742/24742-h/24742-h.htm> - Accessed January 2015.

argues that it was the dedication of the readership to Stephens' story that "held the paper together" during the first year.³²

Colum states how Stephens' tale brought "a fresh and distinctive element into the new Irish literature – an imaginative exuberance that in its rush of expression became extravagant, witty, picturesque and lovely".³³ Stephens' emergence into poetical writing was under George Russell's guidance, and by 1906 his work was appearing in the weekly journal *Sinn Fein* (1906-1914), a nationalist newspaper, edited by Arthur Griffith, and eventually suppressed by the British government in 1914. The publication of *Insurrections* increased public interest in his writing, but it was his first prose book *Mary, Mary* that roused his readership. The evocative world of Stephens' story depicts life in the tenements of Dublin. Mary and her mother, "the charwoman" of the later title, are the central characters; they live in poverty, yet Mrs Makebelieve would have paid her servants ten shillings a week, and their board, had she been wealthy. She is the eternal charwoman: "she could not remain for any length of time in peoples' employment without being troubled by the fact that these folk had houses of their own and actually employing her in a menial capacity"(4, (June 1911), p. 197). Mrs Makebelieve longs for her daughter's rise in social status through marriage, believing that "her ship will sail in" one day (7, (September 1911), p. 356). In the opening instalment of the story, Mary, aged sixteen, has yet to go out to work, and spends her days wandering around, observing Dublin life. Colum wrote: "Mary Makebelieve was not just a fictional heroine – she was Cinderella and Snow White and all the maidens of tradition for whom the name heroine is big and burthensome. With the first words of the story James Stephens puts us into the attitude of listeners to the household tale of folk-lore".³⁴ The story is simple; the

³² Hilary Pyle, 'The Days of the Irish Review', *The Irish Times* (15th January, 1965).

³³ Padraic Colum, 'Introduction', in Stephens, *Mary, Mary*.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

young heroine wanders the streets of Dublin, feeding her imagination with all she sees around her, meets a man who makes advances towards her, but then is humiliated. Eventually Mary meets a respected gent and comes into her fortune.

Dublin is seen through Mary's eyes and imagination; the reader sees what the character does, and subsequently feels in the same way. Dublin of Stephens' story is friendly, with scenes in St Stephen's Green as Mary watches the Ducks "pick up nothing with the greatest eagerness and swallow it with the greatest delight" (2, (April 1911), p. 96). Makebelieve may be an appropriate name for Mary and her Mother; whilst Mary spends her days exploring, Mrs Makebelieve cleans the houses of the Dublin upper class, and in the evening they exchange stories and indulge in dreams of a brighter future, escaping the drudgery of everyday life. Often Mary and her Mother stand outside the theatre (as they are too poor to go inside) and construct a plot for the plays from the images upon the posters. After the success of Stephens' story in *The Irish Review*, Edward O'Brien, a publisher in Boston, offered him £100 for publication rights, and it was this financial success that encouraged him to continue working on the novel *The Crock of Gold*. In 1914 Stephens was given the DePolignac Prize for this novel (a prize usually awarded for musical success, or on occasion artistic contributions deemed worthy).³⁵ Pyle suggests that the "death of the original magazine" resulted from the outside interests of those involved with its publication hindering its potential success; everybody was to be held accountable, everybody except Stephens that is.³⁶ According to Pyle, while the other founding members were using the magazine to record Ireland's nationalist issues, Stephens alone was more concerned with contributing literature to showcase his particular artistic talents.

³⁵ Prince Edmond Melchior Jean Marie de Polignac (1834-1901) was a French composer, who studied music at the Conservatoire de Paris; along with his brother Alphonse he founded the Cercle de l'Union Artistique in 1861. It was formed to promote performances of music in venues other than theatres. After his death, his widow was heavily involved in musical circles, organising operas and concerts, as well as establishing the prize in memory of her late husband.

³⁶ Pyle, 'The Days of the Irish Review'.

Feminism

While, in the wake of the Third Home Rule crisis, concerns surrounding the issue continued to be published within *The Irish Review*, another campaign began to take prominence: articles increasingly appeared concerned with the women's suffrage movement in Ireland. The July 1912 issue opened with an article written by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, titled 'The Women's Movement in Ireland'. The daughter of Nationalist MP David Sheehy, Hanna was born in County Cork in 1877. Through her marriage to Francis Skeffington, later Sheehy-Skeffington, in 1903, their dedication and commitment to feminism, pacifism, socialism and nationalism was solidified. In November 1908 Hanna co-founded the Irish Women's Franchise League along with her husband and James and Margaret Cousins. In June 1912, one month before publication of her essay in *The Irish Review*, Hanna and Cousins' wife Margaret, along with other members of the Irish Women's Franchise League, were arrested for throwing stones and smashing windows of government buildings, one of which was the General Post Office. The article published within *The Irish Review* opened: "now that the first stone has been thrown by suffragists in Ireland, light is being admitted into more than mere Government quarters, and the cobwebs are being cleared from more than one male intellect". As the article progresses, Hanna is critical of the average Irish male who considers a woman fighting for her own liberation as "unwomanly selfish": "one learns, however, to distrust this thriftless Irish habit of living on the reputation of its ancestors, especially when one is faced with the problems of Ireland of to-day". She defends the move to militancy: "men applaud the stone thrower as long as the missile is flung for them and not at them". The article is concluded: "these scattered thoughts are penned on the eve of prison. When I come out I may have more to add" (17, (July 1912), p. 227).

In the September 1912 issue an article is written by the former editor of *Dana*, Fred Ryan, once more concerned with women's right to vote. However, unlike Sheehy-Skeffington, Ryan suggests that the women's vote should accompany Home Rule, yet, as was typical of his political outlook in general (and a commonplace view in society), he is cautious of any acts of violence in support of it:

It would be unfair and ridiculous to ask women to assume, what we all know to be untrue, that reason and justice alone sway human affairs. But when all this is allowed for, it seems perfectly clear that women have an especial interest in strengthening the forces of reason and limiting and weakening the forces of passion and violence. One would, indeed, suppose that they would much prefer to fight on the intellectual and moral field, where they are strong, rather than on the physical field, where they are weak. (19, (September 1912), p. 306).

After the magazine's initial success, it was becoming increasingly difficult for Houston to find the necessary remuneration to finance the printing of the periodical (they charged only sixpence per copy, and could not truly benefit from this) and worthy contributors were not as forthcoming as they had once been.

Nationalism

By 1913 the financial burden of the magazine was too much and Houston decided to sell. Longing to retain editorship, Padraic Colum sought financial backing to purchase the journal, approaching Alice Stopford Green, Lord Dunsany and the publisher George Roberts, but it was to no avail.³⁷ Houston had grown dissatisfied with Colum's editorship and MacDonagh had already recommended a buyer for *The Irish Review* and arranged a meeting. Ernest Manico, the magazine's printer, indicated to Houston how Colum's disorganisation and habit of changing copy at the last moment was increasing costs and

³⁷ As mentioned in the previous chapter of this thesis, the publisher George Roberts was on the receiving end of a scathing attack from Joyce in his poem 'Gas From a Burner'. Published in 1912, Joyce was furious that plans to publish his manuscript of what would become *Dubliners* were cancelled and he believed Roberts was to blame for demanding changes that the two men could not agree upon. Within the poem, written from the perspective of Roberts, Joyce discusses the publisher's connections with *The Irish Review*: "Colm can tell you I made a rebate of one hundred pounds on the estimate I gave him for his Irish Review". See: James Joyce, 'Gas From a Burner' in Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann (eds.), *James Joyce: The Critical Writings* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1989) pp. 242-245.

causing delays.³⁸ Houston wanted to rid himself of the magazine and a meeting was arranged with Joseph Plunkett at 17 Marlborough Road, a “nice red brick house with four bedrooms and two sitting-rooms”, which was the Plunkett family home, to begin discussions about the sale.³⁹ Joseph, aged twenty-five at the time of purchase, was the son of Count George Noble Plunkett and Mary Josephine Cranny Plunkett. George was made a Papal Count in 1884 by Pope Leo XIII for donating money and property to the Sisters of the Little Company of Mary, a Catholic nursing order, and Mary was the daughter of a wealthy family and owner of numerous rental properties around Dublin. MacDonagh was aware of Plunkett’s access to wealth, and this made him an ideal buyer for *The Irish Review*; though he had no personal income of his own, MacDonagh was attentive to the regular allowance bestowed to Plunkett by his mother, Mary Josephine, as well as the financial assets of the Plunkett family and their nationalist leanings.⁴⁰ Houston was not the only founding member disenchanted with Colum as editor. MacDonagh had gradually disassociated from involvement with *The Irish Review* also; during the first year, under Houston’s editorial control, MacDonagh was published seven times in twelve numbers of the journal, four of which were poems, two reviews and one play. Under Colum’s editorial control, the number of submissions from MacDonagh was significantly lower: over seventeen issues he provided only two submissions, both poems.⁴¹

³⁸ Quoted from Kurt Bullock’s conference paper ‘A Rhetoric of Motives: MacDonagh and *The Irish Review*’ given at UCD’s symposium on the life and works of Thomas MacDonagh, June 2015.

³⁹ Geraldine Plunkett Dillon, *All in the Blood: A Memoir of the Plunkett Family, the 1916 Rising and the War of Independence* (Dublin: A. & A. Farmer, 2006) p. 126.

⁴⁰ Although Geraldine Plunkett Dillon’s *All in the Blood* is powerful in recreating this “revolutionary” period and the relationships of the men involved with the most crucial years of the magazine’s publication, it often lacks credibility as a result of the over-romanticised descriptions within. For example, when discussing her brother’s purchase of *The Irish Review*, she states “at twenty-five he was regarded as one of the best younger poets” (p. 135). Though Plunkett did have some success as a poet, aside from MacDonagh’s review quoted, no written correspondence exists from any of his contemporaries to suggest such high regard.

⁴¹ In the final year of *The Irish Review*, under Plunkett’s ownership, MacDonagh once more had the creative freedom he lacked with Colum. In the final twelve issues of the magazine MacDonagh was published thirteen times: seven poems,

Despite the age gap, MacDonagh and Plunkett had met a few years earlier whilst he was living at Grange House Lodge. In 1909 MacDonagh responded to an advertisement placed in a local newspaper by Plunkett's mother, who sought an Irish tutor for her son. Plunkett aspired to attend UCD and hoped studying the Irish language might increase the chances of being accepted.⁴² Soon the tutor and student were friends, and by 1911 Plunkett's poetry collection *The Circle and the Sword* was dedicated to MacDonagh. Geraldine Plunkett, Joseph's sister recalls:

It was an instant friendship. They were both poets, loved theatre, read history, argued fiercely about politics and were full of humour and wit. There were nine years between them but from the beginning it was a deep, personal and important friendship for both. They haunted each other – if Thomas didn't come to see Joe, Joe went out to see him.⁴³

Joseph Plunkett was no stranger to *The Irish Review*, in the January 1912 issue of the magazine MacDonagh, in an example of log-rolling at its worst, had reviewed *The Circle and the Sword*:

His work is in the main so strong and so clear that one thinks of these things, and in connection with them, of the vague and diffuse sonnets from which I have quoted, only as foils. He is perhaps the youngest of published Irish poets. He will come to a more concentrated power ... He is amazingly accomplished. Yet it is safe to prophesy that he will never produce work of what may be called Art for Craft's sake. He will come rather to see that craft and technique and all the creatures of prosody are only the handmaidens of poetry. (11, (January 1912), p. 558).

Plunkett was published within the magazine on numerous occasions during 1912; in the June issue a poem titled 'Leila' was published, and in October 'Signs and Wonders' appeared. Both poems centred on the juxtaposition of passion and pain, and the

three reviews and three essays. Bullock suggests that this was due to MacDonagh's growing disenchantment with the more literary and less political aims of Colum.

⁴² A letter from Countess Plunkett to MacDonagh, dated 23rd November 1912, reveals that a friendship was well established before the purchase of *The Irish Review*. Mary Josephine writes to send her hearty congratulations to MacDonagh on the birth of his new-born son. She queries after the welfare of Muriel and the new born, Donagh MacDonagh. National Library of Ireland, MS. 44, 331/6/9.

⁴³ Plunkett Dillon, *All in the Blood*, p. 107. Geraldine continued, "Everybody was a friend of his (MacDonagh). He had a pleasant, intelligent face and was always smiling and had the impression that he was always thinking about what you were saying".

connection of love with heaven. Earlier in the year, Plunkett had purchased a small printing handpress from MacDonagh and used it for publishing poetry. He founded The Columba Press in April, pleased with the power to control the look, format and place of his poetry on the page. The following year Plunkett was offered the opportunity to purchase and control the run of Houston's monthly journal. Geraldine recalled: "Joe was becoming more and more involved in literary projects in partnership with Thomas".⁴⁴

The Irish Review had been losing money for some time and Houston had already paid out more than he could afford so after the meeting it was agreed that the ownership would be transferred to Plunkett if he could raise the necessary £200 to clear the debts. In order for the purchase to progress Plunkett wrote to his mother, who was travelling abroad, for the necessary remuneration. Though she enjoyed the idea of owning a magazine, in her response she encouraged him to make an offer half of the amount Houston wanted. After some time and Plunkett's explanation that it was not a price to be negotiated, the purchase was finalised and on 16th June 1913 Plunkett replaced Houston as the owner of *The Irish Review*.

Less than a week earlier, in a letter dated 11th June 1913, Houston wrote to MacDonagh: "please attend a meeting tomorrow at 5 o'clock re: The Review. Things are getting acute".⁴⁵ This acuteness that Houston wished to address was the situation with Colum. Tensions between Colum, Houston and MacDonagh were high, and he looked for somebody to point the finger of blame towards. Colum was furious; correspondence with MacDonagh exposes this tension in their friendship. In a letter dated 20th June 1913, he stresses his hostilities over Houston's meeting with MacDonagh the previous Sunday: "I should have had no objection to Mr Houston consulting you on Sunday if his punctiliousness had been consistent. But he had stated on more than one occasion that it

⁴⁴ Plunkett Dillon, *All in the Blood*, p. 135.

⁴⁵ A letter from Houston to MacDonagh, dated 11th June 1913, National Library of Ireland, TMP, MS 44, 328/2/1.

was not necessary to contact you about the affairs of 'The Irish Review'. He continues to vent his frustrations: "Why? Because your interests in it were not vital".⁴⁶ The correspondence reveals how Colum felt that unfair manipulation had cost him the opportunity of purchasing the magazine. Initially he had blamed Houston for consorting with Plunkett in private, even though Plunkett had agreed to give Colum until Monday to gather the necessary remuneration to make the purchase.⁴⁷

Earlier correspondence from Houston to MacDonagh in the weeks prior to Colum's letter, expose the events leading to the sale of the magazine; a meeting was arranged with Plunkett where Houston, "not in any way intending to influence him", told how if Lord Dunsany offered to purchase the magazine both he and MacDonagh would agree. Houston was eager for the sale to be made, regardless of which man was the buyer, but in the letter he acknowledges how it was in fact Colum that pushed the sale of the magazine towards Plunkett: "I heard it from Colum that Dunsany had had the offer and that he declined and therefore personally I had no concern in whatever he and Colum might arrange between them".⁴⁸ Houston's primary concern was finding a buyer who would be dedicated to the periodical and once more negotiations were made with Plunkett. Referring to the moment of sale, Houston writes: "I phoned Manico, brought him along, and within thirty minutes we had the agreement written, signed and witnessed in the College".⁴⁹

Amidst his frustrations, Colum believed that MacDonagh had masterminded the meetings and sale: "Now I believe that as between Plunkett and another purchaser, you

⁴⁶ A letter from Colum to MacDonagh, dated 20th June 1913, National Library of Ireland, TMP, MS 44, 326/3/2 1.

⁴⁷ In a letter to MacDonagh, Houston recorded his own feelings towards Colum's reaction: "it hurts one to see one's friend display a meanness of spirit and over this matter of The Review his suspicions are mean. With Mrs Colum I'm afraid both of us are writ large in her black book for ever and ever". National Library of Ireland, TMP, MS 44, 328/2/4.

⁴⁸ A letter from Houston to MacDonagh, National Library of Ireland MS 44, 328/4/3.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

would favour Plunkett”.⁵⁰ Perhaps MacDonagh was aware of the limitations placed upon him under Colum’s editorship, and how Colum’s literary focus would not encompass any of his writings or articles on Ireland’s changing politics. Colum states, “Mr Houston and I had a vital interest in *The Irish Review* – you had not”, continuing, “I do not care greatly because I have to relinquish the editorship of *The Irish Review*. But I do care about an organ of free opinion in Ireland. I have a great respect for Plunkett but I know that he is a delicate young man and may have to put the whole thing aside on a doctor’s order”.⁵¹ Plunkett had suffered with ill health from a child; a diagnosis with tuberculosis meant he was obliged to spend a great deal of his life in inactivity and had to winter abroad, usually in Mediterranean resorts. Prior to tuberculosis, Plunkett had experienced poor health, suffering with illnesses such as pleurisy and pneumonia. In a letter to MacDonagh, concerned with the sale of the magazine, Houston also touches upon Plunkett’s health: he writes how Plunkett is so severely ill, he is hardly able to walk.⁵²

Colum was aware that Plunkett’s purchase of *The Irish Review* would radically alter the direction of the magazine. He wrote to Houston, “I regarded the Irish Review as a rudimentary organ of free opinion in Ireland. That is the reason I regret it will never have ceased to exist as such after the July issue”.⁵³ Contrary to the general impression provided by the majority of critics of *The Irish Review*, following Colum’s departure only a small number of the articles were politically volatile. In fact, Bullock states how the ratio of literary to political articles remained intact. Yet, Denise Ayo, for example, claims that *The Irish Review* filled “half of each issue with literary pieces” while Colum was editor,

⁵⁰ A letter from Colum to MacDonagh, National Library of Ireland, TMP, MS 44, 326/3/2 1.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² A letter from Houston to MacDonagh, National Library of Ireland, TMP, MS 44/328/2/3.

⁵³ A letter from Colum to MacDonagh, National Library of Ireland, TMP, MS 44, 326/3/2 1.

inferring that was not the case later.⁵⁴ This is not true; quantitatively, non-political articles continued to dominate. For example, the October 1913 edition, published during the Dublin Lockout, contained thirty-eight pages of fiction and non-fiction and only eighteen pages that could be deemed political.⁵⁵ In the hundred years since publication ceased, what has led to the political notoriety and reputation the magazine has gained is not the amount of politically focused articles published, but the sheer importance of those small numbers in relation to the gestation of Easter 1916.

Despite the sale of the magazine being finalised in June, Plunkett's role as editor would not begin until August as the June issue was already published and on sale, and the planning process of the July number was already complete. The July 1913 issue of the magazine opened with an art-plate by Harry Clarke in homage to W. B. Yeats, 'The Silver Apples of the Moon, the Golden Apples of the Sun', followed by an article titled 'Ireland, Germany and the Next War', written by Shan Van Vocht. The article was in fact written by Roger Casement who used this pseudonym to give voice to Ireland, the "poor old woman" with whom, he believed, readers of the periodical must connect. Casement (1864-1916) was the youngest son of Captain Roger Casement (1819-1877), an Ulster Protestant, and Anne Jephson (1834-1873), a Catholic from Mallow, Co. Cork. Though the Casement family were raised as Protestants, in 1868 Anne had Roger baptised a Roman Catholic in secret in Rhyl, North Wales. After the death of both parents, Anne in 1873 during childbirth, and Roger a few years later in 1877, the children became wards of the court of Chancery, depending on relatives, particularly their uncle John Casement of Magherintemple, Co. Antrim. It was whilst living with John that Casement attended Ballymena, a local diocesan school (1873-1880). Once Roger completed his studies he spent years travelling around; at sixteen he arrived in Liverpool to live with his mother's

⁵⁴ Denise Ayo, 'Mary Colum, Modernism and Mass Media: An Irish-Inflected Transatlantic Print Culture', *Journal of Modern Literature* (Summer 2012), p. 111.

⁵⁵ Bullock, 'From Revival to Revolution', p. 197.

sister, Grace Bannister and her family. He found work as a clerk in the Elder Dempster shipping company, which was active in West Africa. At nineteen this office work was monotonous for Casement and he became a purser on *The Bonny*, an Elder Dempster ship, bound for the Congo, then a Belgian colony with which over the coming years his name would become synonymous.

By 1912 Irish politics had entered a threatening phase when Ulster unionists pledged themselves to oppose the imposition of Home Rule with force if necessary. Like many nationalists, Casement was radicalised by this emerging crisis; by 1913 he was a member of the provisional committee acting as the governing body of the Irish Volunteer Force (IVF), built to emulate the Ulster Volunteer Force, except this body would defend the cause of Home Rule. Casement's submission to *The Irish Review* forms a response to an article written by Arthur Conan Doyle earlier that year, and published in the *Fortnightly Review* titled 'Great Britain and the Next War'. Writing in February 1913, Conan Doyle appealed to his countrymen to acknowledge the warning so directly given by General Von Bernhardi in *Germany and the Next War*.

Bernhadi (1849-1930) was born in St. Petersburg, and in 1851 his family emigrated to Schöpstal, Silesia. During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, Bernhadi served as a cavalry lieutenant in the Prussian Army; when the conflict ceased he was bestowed the honour of being the first to ride through the Arc de Triomphe as the Germans entered Paris. During the years 1891-1894 he served in the German military at Bern, and was head of the military history department of the Grand General Staff in Berlin. By 1907 Bernhadi was appointed General in Command of the VII Army Corps at Munster, Westphalia. Prior to the onset of the Great War, Bernhadi was a best-selling writer: having retired from military service in 1909, the next five years were consumed with military writing. It was with *Deutschland und der Nächste Krieg* (*Germany and the Next War*) that his notoriety in Great Britain emerged. First printed in 1911, Bernhadi stated that

war "is a biological necessity", and that it was in accordance with "the natural law, upon which all the laws of nature rest, the law of the struggle for existence". In the *Fortnightly Review* Conan Doyle analyses Bernhadi's contentions; acknowledging how he has never been a serious believer in "the German menace", Conan Doyle is alarmed by Bernhadi's philosophy:

Every one of his propositions I dispute. But that is all beside the question. We have not to do with his argument, but with its results. These results are that he, a man whose opinion is of weight and a member of the ruling class in Germany, tells us frankly that Germany will attack us the moment she sees a favourable opportunity. I repeat that we should be mad if we did not take very serious notice of the warning.⁵⁶

Such contentions cannot be ignored and Conan Doyle is certain Britons must carefully study these views, as they will fundamentally affect Great Britain. As Bernhadi's book was not easily accessed by readers of the *Fortnightly Review* the article begins by giving some idea of the situation as it appears to Conan Doyle, and of the course of action which he envisages: "when a man speaks with the highest authority upon one subject, his voice cannot be entirely disregarded upon a kindred one". Conan Doyle believes that Britain must reckon with these conclusions as if they are drawn from the most logical premises, and includes several sentences directly taken from Bernhadi's article: "What we now wish to attain must be fought for and won against a superior force of hostile interests and powers", and "even English attempts at rapprochement must not blind us to the real situation. We may at most use them to delay the necessary and inevitable war until we may fairly imagine we have some prospect of success".⁵⁷ These extracts reveal how Germany, so far as Bernhadi and Conan Doyle are concerned, is an "exponent of her intentions", and will attack as soon as an opportunity arises. While Conan Doyle finds errors in Bernhadi's philosophy throughout the article, there is one thread of

⁵⁶ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'Great Britain and the Next War', *The Fortnightly Review* (February 1913). This London based magazine was founded in 1865 by Anthony Trollope, Frederic Harrison and Edward Spencer Beesly, amongst others. <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks12/1202701h.html> - Accessed November 2014.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

argument he finds to be “supremely true”, and this is the idea that a war between Germany and Great Britain never entered British minds until 1902, “because that was the close of the Boer War and because the bitter hostility shown by the Germans in that war opened our (Britain’s) eyes to the fact that they would do us mischief if they could”.⁵⁸ It was, then, Conan Doyle’s view that war with Germany was highly likely.

Casement, in the opening of his article for *The Irish Review*, conflicts with the view proposed by Conan Doyle in the closing of ‘Great Britain and the Next War’. In the concluding paragraphs Conan Doyle appeals to Ireland to acknowledge how her interests are one with Great Britain’s:

I would venture to say one word here to my Irish fellow-countrymen of all political persuasions. If they imagine that they can stand politically or economically while Britain falls they are woefully mistaken. The British Fleet is their one shield. If it be broken, Ireland will go down. They may well throw themselves heartily into the common defence, for no sword can transfix England without the point reaching Ireland behind her.⁵⁹

Casement proposes to show how Ireland, “far from sharing the calamities that must necessarily fall on Great Britain from defeat by a Great Power, might conceivably thereby emerge into a position of much prosperity” (29, (July 1913), p. 218). He acknowledges how Conan Doyle is correct to suggest that the defeat of Great Britain by Germany would result in a momentous change for Ireland, but differs in the belief that this must necessarily mean disaster for Ireland. “On the contrary”, Casement states, “I believe that the defeat of Great Britain by Germany might conceivably (save in one possible condition) result in great gain to Ireland” (29, (July 1913), p. 218). As a staunch nationalist, it was typical of Casement to address the lunacy of “separation is unthinkable”, a phrase coined to describe the mentality of Englishmen who believe no matter what they do, or what fate brings, Ireland must be inseparably theirs. It is impossible for these men to conceive an Ireland that could possibly exist apart from

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

Great Britain: “sometimes as a sort of bogey, they hold out to Ireland the fate that would be hers if, England defeated, somebody else should ‘take’ her” (29, (July 1913), p. 218). Casement believes his country is not free for the taking, and suggests that simply because Englishmen may believe in an imaginary ownership over Ireland, it does not necessarily mean that Ireland, not controlled by England, must be ruled by somebody else rather than her own inhabitants -- “the bogey that Ireland, if not John Bull’s other island must necessarily be somebody else’s other island will not really bear inspection at close quarters” (29, (July 1913), p. 224).

In the event of British defeat, it is suggested only two contingencies are viable; firstly, Ireland should remain as she was previously, tied to Great Britain, or, alternatively, she may be annexed by the victor. Regarding the first possibility, Casement acknowledges how Ireland would suffer even greater hardship than her island neighbour: “an Ireland weaker, poorer and less recuperative than Great Britain would stand to lose even more from a British defeat than the predominant partner himself” (29, (July 1913), p. 219). Under the alternative possibility, Casement finds the potential outcome more complex and uncertain for Ireland. Here an argument is given using the idea previously noted which suggests an Ireland not controlled by England must be by another power. Following this, if her ties with Great Britain are dissolved, it would be “out of the frying pan into the fryer” for Ireland (29, (July 1913), p. 219).

If the second contingency is the consequence of British defeat, and one is to consider the situation from a British perspective, Casement suggests that Germanic rule would be so cruel and stern that under it Ireland, however much she may have suffered from English perfidy in the past, “would soon yearn to be restored to the arms of her sorrowing sister” (29, (July 1913), p. 220). Continuing with this British perspective, and assuming Germany were to annex Ireland, Casement suggests Ireland would potentially suffer greater injuries than those suffered under the Union. Casement quickly steps away

from this British perspective, and examines the paramount tactical requirements for Germany, regarding Ireland:

Clearly not to impoverish and depress that new-won possession, but to enhance its exceeding strategic importance by vigorous and wise administration, so as to make it the main counterpoise to any possible recovery of British maritime supremacy, so largely due as this was in the past to Great Britain's own possession of this island. A prosperous and flourishing Ireland, recognising that her own interests lay with those of the new administration, would assuredly be the first and chief aim of German statesmanship. (29, (July 1913), p. 220).

Ireland would now have a more benevolent ruler, and Casement suggests her geographical location would ensure a wise and able German administration would be enforced: "for to rule from Hamburg or Berlin a remote and discontented people, by methods of exploitation and centralisation, would be a task beyond the capacity of German statecraft" (29, (July 1913), p. 220). The German effort would aim to create an Ireland satisfied with the change, and fully determined to maintain it.

Whether Ireland approved of this projected future Germanic rule from the outset is beside the point for Casement. Under Germany this "Irish question" would no longer remain, instead there would only be an "English question". Casement's direct response to Conan Doyle's concluding statement for the *Fortnightly Review* is uncompromising:

That an Ireland severed by force of arms from the British Empire and annexed to the German Empire would be ill-governed by her new masters is inconceivable. On the contrary, the ablest brains in Germany, scientific, commercial and financial, no less than military and strategic, would be devoted to the great task of making sure the conquest not only of an island but of the intelligence of a not unintelligent people, and by wisely developing so priceless a possession to reconcile its inhabitants, through growing prosperity and an excellent administration, to so great a change in their political environment. Can it be said that England, even in her most lucid intervals, has brought to the government of Ireland her best efforts, her most capable men, or her highest purpose? (29, (July 1913), p. 221).

In November 1913, Casement wrote a letter to Alice Stopford Green: "Oh! How I sometimes in my heart long for the thud of the German boot keeping guard outside the

Mother of Parliaments”.⁶⁰ It had been four months since the publication of the article ‘Ireland, Germany and the Next War’ in *The Irish Review* and Casement’s passion for Germanic rule, and lack thereof for Great Britain over Ireland, remained constant. Casement was a Germanophile, and viewed the looming war as an opportunity for mutual Irish-German cooperation against Britain.⁶¹

Casement’s advocacy of German rule had an interesting early manifestation in *The Irish Review*. In September 1912, under Colum’s editorship, an article titled ‘Ireland and the German Menace’ by Batha MacCrainn was published. Once again, MacCrainn was a pseudonym for Casement, and this article was his first major submission to *The Irish Review*.⁶² The article assesses the international environment and the unique position in which Ireland now finds herself: “England wants allies if it is to fight Germany”, continuing, “it wants Ireland as an ally” (19, (September 1912), p. 344). He suggests how the Irish must remain alert when considering the motivation for British promises such as Home Rule, for it is a bargaining tool to secure Irish support against the “German menace”. For Casement, England needs Ireland more than ever: “it is willing to grant certain concessions – the minimum necessary – to secure those allies. Hence Home Rule. Mr Churchill, in addition, has said that England wants Irish soldiers and sailors” (19, (September 1912), p. 344).⁶³ The article closes with Casement’s thoughts embedded into

⁶⁰ The World War One exhibition, The National Library of Ireland – Accessed June 2015. “World War Ireland” is a free exhibition at the NLI that focuses on the unique aspects of the Irish WWI experience. Running from November 2014 through to 2018, the exhibition draws on the NLI’s collections of letters, diaries, recruiting posters, newspaper reports, cartoons, handbills and leaflets dating from 1914-1918.

⁶¹ As well as *The Irish Review*, other publications promoted Irish support for Germany. In September 1914, the same month that the final edition of *The Irish Review* was available in print, *Saoirse na h-Eireann* (Irish Freedom) upheld such similar ideals; this edition of the monthly publication could be purchased for one penny, and was titled ‘Germany is not Ireland’s Enemy’.

⁶² In the same issue of *The Irish Review*, Casement had a poem titled ‘In the Streets of Catania’ published. When the magazine appeared in print there was a mistake within the poem, much to Colum’s dismay, and the following edition reprinted the poem correctly with a profuse apology. Despite such corrections, Casement was furious, Colum recalled: “I was astonished at the abuse heaped upon me, never had poet blasted editor and printer with such whole-hearted fervour before”. Quoted in Ed Mulhall, *From Celtic Twilight to Revolutionary Dawn*.

⁶³ On 30th October 1915, Casement, who was staying in Berlin, wrote ‘Ireland and the World War’. Referring to the Irish nationalists refusing to fight in the war, he stated: “those men are at home in their own country, resolved to stay there and no Act of Parliament will convert them into English soldiers to assail a friendly land and a friendly people

the mind of the reader: “but the question arises – could we not secure better terms? Would Germany offer us better?” (19, (September 1912), p. 345). With those few words the Irish-German connection was established. Casement concludes:

The more we value our own worth, the more others are likely to value it. Ireland, if she only knew, holds a winning hand between England and Germany. If she – or her leaders for her – play well, they can secure a measure of freedom for the old land that Thomas Davis may have dreamed of. Ireland is not weak, while German menaces, but strong, and in her strength she should speak not ‘with bated breath and whispering humbleness’, but with the voice of a Nation, knowing its own mind and free to ally itself with any other nation that may help it to the place it should occupy among the nations of the earth, that may help it to realise the dream it has dreamed through the centuries. (19, (September 1912), p. 345).

The Irish Review claimed no political affiliation in its founding issue but by its closure it was the most prominent mouthpiece for Irish revolution against Britain. Through the publication of these articles, Casement highlights how the magazine’s political revolution had begun a year before Houston had considered selling up. Articles of this bellicose nature are often overlooked when critics, such as those previously discussed, have considered the sale to Plunkett and his editorship with MacDonagh that followed as the moment worth noting for the change in tone of *The Irish Review*. Such articles were, in fact, being published as early as 1912.

According to Geraldine Plunkett, Joseph had always taken a great interest in *The Irish Review* and the articles published within it; this familiarity with the periodical accounted for Plunkett recognising the writing style of Shan Van Vocht, a man he had met on several occasions and a writer he greatly admired.⁶⁴ As editor of *The Irish Review* he wrote to Casement hoping for further articles for publication, much to the writer’s frustration and upset. Plunkett was unaware of Casement’s request to Colum to ensure that his

who have never wronged Ireland. This act of mine is termed treason in England” - The World War One exhibition, The National Library of Ireland – Accessed June 2015.

⁶⁴ The Plunkett family were already acquainted with Roger Casement before their purchase of *The Irish Review*. According to Geraldine Plunkett in *All in the Blood*, “Pa” had known Casement since as early as 1904 when he had come to visit with an introduction from Mr Redan, a friend in the English diplomatic service in Brazil. Geraldine recalled: “I remember Casement coming to lunch in Fitzwilliam Street, talking about his work in the Congo and Peru, and we all followed his humanitarian career which gave us ideas about international politics” (p. 137).

identity remain hidden, as the author of the article was not revealed to anybody. Casement now believed Colum had betrayed his trust. Colum recounts: “A month afterwards I saw Casement in the Abbey Theatre, I found him distant towards me, and as I was going he said, ‘I asked you not to mention who wrote *Ireland, Germany and the Next War*’, I was thunderstruck, and protested that I had made no such revelation, but found that he was unconvinced by what I said”.⁶⁵ After some reassurance Plunkett managed to convince Casement that he had worked it out for himself and that Colum had remained true to his word, thus convincing Casement that confidentiality would always be assured within *The Irish Review*.

Casement agreed to publish articles up until the demise of the journal the following year. In the February, March and April 1914 numbers an ‘Irish American’, another pseudonym for Casement, published a series of articles titled ‘From “Coffin Ship” to “Atlantic Greyhound”’.⁶⁶ In the issue of May 1914, Casement published an article under his own name, calling for urgent attention to be given to the conditions of the Aran Islands; during the summer of 1913 he had visited the Islands and was horrified by the living conditions. In the years after his execution, reflecting upon Casement, Geraldine noted:

I met him a couple of times in Marlborough Road as he came in and out to see Joe but had no conversations with him – I was just the young sister – but Joe, who admired his intellect extremely, used to tell me about him afterwards. It was quite plain even to the casual eye that he lived an intense preoccupation with whatever subject he was thinking about at the time and was oblivious of anything else.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Quoted in Ed Mulhall, *From Celtic Twilight to Revolutionary Dawn: The Irish Review 1911-1914* – <http://www.rte.ie/centuryireland/articles/from-celtic-twilight-to-revolutionary-dawn> - Accessed October 2014.

⁶⁶ Ed Mulhall discusses in *From Celtic Twilight to Revolutionary Dawn: The Irish Review 1911-1914* how these articles centre on the steps taken by Britain to prevent liner routes using Irish ports. Mulhall states how behind the scenes of *The Irish Review* Casement was urging Plunkett to send an early print of his article to Edward Carson ahead of a meeting the MP was to have with Prime Minister Asquith. In May 1916 a copy of Casement’s letter to Plunkett was sent to Carson by an officer of the Royal Irish Rifles who had found it while raiding Plunkett’s home at the time of his arrest and execution.

⁶⁷ Plunkett Dillon, *All in the Blood*, p. 137.

According to Geraldine, her brother and Roger Casement remained friends until his execution. She recalled: “Casement was a fine, sincere and very intelligent man, remarkably kind and charitable. He was a great asset to the *Review* on the political side”.⁶⁸ Towards the end of 1914, after *The Irish Review* ceased publication, Plunkett accompanied Casement on a trip to Germany to rouse support for an uprising in Ireland. During the first months of the war, Casement travelled to Germany on numerous occasions to buy arms and with the intention of converting Irish prisoners of war to fighting against, rather than for, Britain. However, his hopes proved unsuccessful and Casement returned to Ireland with thousands of rifles for imminent military action. Upon arrival in County Kerry, he was arrested and tried for treason. He was convicted and in August 1916 he was executed by hanging.

Due to Plunkett’s ownership of the magazine, 17 Marlborough Road became the unofficial office of *The Irish Review*. Plunkett was often bedridden with illnesses and MacDonagh would bring potential contributors to visit, and it was at this location that discussions and plans for future publications were made.

By 1914 the new editors were now losing interest in *The Irish Review*, but in its final months it still managed to be of some use as a platform to promote their interests, Volunteer-based and otherwise. In April 1914, the journal published Edward Martyn’s ‘A Plea for the Revival of The Irish Literary Theatre’. Martyn (1859-1923) was the eldest of two sons of John Martyn and Annie Mary Josephine (nee Smyth) both of County Galway; as part of the landed gentry his father lived from a child at Tullira Castle, and his mother in Masonbrook, Loughrea. Martyn received his education from two Jesuit schools – Belvedere College, Dublin and Wimbledon College, London – after which he went up to Christ Church College, Oxford in 1877. By 1879 he had left university without a degree. In the article for *The Irish Review* Martyn states: “ever since I helped to

⁶⁸ Ibid.

found the Irish dramatic movement in 1899, I have had this scheme in my mind, and made repeated efforts to carry it out” (38, (April 1914), p. 84). The idea for an Irish Literary Theatre was first established in a now famous meeting with Yeats and Lady Gregory in 1897. Lady Gregory wrote: “I said it was a pity we had no Irish theatre where such plays could be given. Mr Yeats said that it had always been a dream of his, but he had of late thought it an impossible one, for it could not at first pay its way, and there was no money to be found for such a thing in Ireland”.⁶⁹ Following this meeting, Gregory, Yeats and Martyn drafted and signed an appeal letter seeking £300 for proposed theatrical productions of Yeats’s *The Countess Cathleen* and Martyn’s *The Heather Field*. It was Martyn who organised the application to the Dublin town clerk for permission to give the performances during May 1899, and it was with his financial support that the first venture got under way. Over the next three seasons, Martyn was to remain the chief financier of the Irish Literary Theatre, the precursor of the Abbey. Eventually Yeats and Martyn’s incompatibility with one another became apparent; similar to Joyce in *The Day of the Rabblement* (October 1901), Martyn was growing tired of the peasant plays and longed to perform international productions, leaving Yeats determined to find an alternative financier.⁷⁰

In *The Irish Review*, a decade later, Martyn stated:

If I could have written capable peasant plays, which I could not because they do not interest me, in that the peasants primitive mind is too crude for any sort of interesting complexity in treatment, I have no doubt I should have found my place naturally in the Abbey Theatre. But as I could not, and as the Abbey Theatre could not produce like mine, which was obviously not suited to their powers (they acted during one weekend *The Heather Field*, on the whole so unsatisfactorily, that they never attempted it again). (38, (April 1914), p. 81).

⁶⁹ Lady Gregory, *Our Irish Theatre* (London: Putnam’s, 1914) p. 2.

⁷⁰ When Willie and Frank Fay resigned from their roles within The Abbey Theatre in January 1908, Willie wrote openly about the narrowness of the Abbey: “we had a company that could do peasant plays ... but we should have to show much more than that before we could claim a real art theatre”. See Jerry Nolan, ‘Edward Martyn’s Struggle for an Irish National Theatre, 1899-1920’, *New Hibernia Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2003), p. 99.

Eventually, a replacement patron was found in the figure of Annie Horniman, a Manchester heiress and devotee of Yeats's work. When elections for the New National Theatre Society began in 1904, Lady Gregory approached Martyn as a potential candidate for vice-president, but he declined. Martyn did not wish to work so closely with Yeats again. After the founding of The Abbey Theatre, a new grouping emerged, The National Player's Society, under Maud Gonne as president, and Arthur Griffith and Martyn as vice-presidents. By 1906 the Theatre of Ireland Company was founded; among members of the committee were Padraic Colum, Pearse, Martyn, and Tom Kettle. Martyn, who was already president of Sinn Féin, was elected president of the Theatre of Ireland. Griffith stated the policy: "The Theatre of Ireland must be bi-lingual and National in more than name".⁷¹

In late 1910, *The Irish Times* advertised the sale of 38 ½ Hardwicke Street in Dublin; the building had once been a school where MacDonagh's father, Joseph, worked as a teacher. When the building was opened to public auction it was purchased by the wealthy Mary Josephine Plunkett, mother of Joseph. Initially it was to be used for private events for family and closest friends, but Mary Josephine eventually rented a floor of the house to the Dun Emer Guild, under Evelyn Gleeson. In 1902, Elizabeth and Lily Yeats joined Gleeson in the founding of a craft studio at Dundrum, in the southern outskirts of Dublin. Gleeson had offered the Yeats sisters the use of her home, in which a crafts group had already been established to develop the necessary skills for young women in the work of bookbinding, painting, weaving and embroidery. The Yeats sisters were to take charge of the new printing press and in 1904 the Dun Emer studio was to embody two different spheres: the Dun Emer Guild under Gleeson and the Dun Emer Industries under Elizabeth and Lily. Between 1902 – 1908 writers such as W. B. Yeats, George Russell, John Eglinton and Douglas Hyde were published under the Dun Emer Press; as

⁷¹ Quoted in *Ibid*, p. 98.

well as this, artwork and hand coloured greeting cards designed by Jack Yeats, the youngest of the Yeats children, were produced. In 1908, the two spheres of the Dun Emer separated, with Gleeson retaining the original name for future usage. From 1910, the Dun Emer Guild worked from 38 ½ Hardwicke Street.

By 1913 Plunkett and MacDonagh were eager to convert the lecture hall of the house into the venue of the new theatre, and, in need of financial support, they once again turned to Plunkett's Mother: "Ma threw herself into the fun; she was always at her best when she was really busy. She had the stage put back up, very expensive velvet curtains made and got lots of theatre seats".⁷² Yet Plunkett and MacDonagh appear nowhere in the article submitted to *The Irish Review*, there is no mention of their involvement; instead the idea seems to be wholly Martyn's. Regarding a location for the theatre, Martyn states: "we can begin tentatively in the Abbey Theatre if they will let us; if not in some hall" (38, (April 1914), p. 84). Using Plunkett's Hardwicke Street location as that of the new theatre was a decision already made between the three men, but the article seems to suggest otherwise, and the idea for the Irish Theatre wholly Martyn's. However, Shane Kenna suggests that it was Plunkett and MacDonagh who approached Martyn with the idea for a new Irish National Theatre: "MacDonagh and Plunkett were eager to counter the influence of the Abbey Theatre", he writes, so they "turned to Edward Martyn for assistance and professional guidance".⁷³ Jerry Nolan suggests that it was a case of good timing; at the age of fifty five, Martyn was attempting to create an Irish company capable of playing Irish and foreign plays, and these desired ideals were matched by those of *The Irish Review's* editor and sub-editor. No matter which of the men had initiated the rebirth of the Irish Literary Theatre, by 1914 the plans were coming to fruition.

⁷² Plunkett Dillon, *All in the Blood*, p. 172.

⁷³ Shane Kenna, *16 Lives: Thomas MacDonagh* (Dublin: The O'Brien Press Ltd., 2014) p. 126.

“What is my project, then?” Martyn asks the reader of *The Irish Review*, “It is not original”.

It is simply to apply the methods of the Abbey Theatre to an organisation of the most talented amateurs for the encouragement and production of native Irish drama other than the peasant species, and thereby see if, by study and perseverance, we may similarly create a school of young dramatists who will devote themselves to this particular department. I feel that, however depressed and ruined we may have been by English government and our own inept acquiescence by often playing into the hands of the enemy, we have still some inhabitants left in Ireland besides peasants, and a theatre which only treats peasant life can never be considered, no matter how good it may be, more than a folk theatre. (38, (April 1914), p. 83).

By the summer of 1914, the Irish Theatre Company was founded after an agreement was signed; each man had a specific role to play: MacDonagh was responsible for the production and rehearsal of the plays, as well as the selection of actors and actresses; Plunkett, through his mother, had already provided the location and was now responsible for its maintenance and ticket sales, while Martyn, as financier, would provide the necessary money to ensure every cost was covered. Despite plans to stage plays in the Hardwicke Street theatre, the first season opened on 2nd November 1914, in the Little Theatre, 40 Upper Sackville Street, while renovations and electrical rewiring were being completed at 38 ½.

The first production was a performance of Edward Martyn’s *The Dream Physician*, (published in Dublin by Talbot Press in 1915) starring Una O’Connor, J. M. Carre and MacDonagh’s brother, John. *The Irish Times*, printed on the same date as the performance, promoted it as “a serious and moving play, lightened by an interlude of comedy”, continuing, “(the performance) is full of allusions to men and matters connected with the recent developments of politics, literature and art in Ireland”.⁷⁴ The following day was slightly different; in *The Irish Times* of 3rd November 1914, the play was

⁷⁴ *The Irish Times*, 2nd November 1914.

branded “wildly improbable” and the performance insignificant.⁷⁵ Martyn’s inaugural play for this new theatre included caricatures of George Moore as the character Moon, and Yeats and Lady Gregory as Brummell and Nurse Fernan. Martyn sought literary revenge on Moore, his cousin, who had insulted him in *Hail and Farewell*, and retaliated by creating a play in which the heroine’s mental condition is cured when she is forced to observe the seemingly mad life of the novelist with his rapturous enthusiasms for the aesthetic beauty of piglets and eighteenth-century bidets and his tendency to consider people as “priest-ridden” if they attempt to criticise him in any way.⁷⁶

By January 1915, the renovations of 38 ½ Hardwicke Street were complete and the new theatre was ready to open. On 5th January *The Irish Times* wrote:

The little theatre had been considerably renovated recently, and further repairs are in progress. When these are completed it will be fairly comfortable. The gentleman associated with the management have placed themselves a high ideal, and even if they do not fully attain it, they will still have done good work in further literary and dramatic arts in Dublin.⁷⁷

Jerry Nolan has suggested that at the heart of the theatre lay a paradox that brought both power and marked limitations.⁷⁸ The irony was that at the head of the theatre, and its republican actors committed to the use of physical force in Ireland’s battle for independence from England, there was Edward Martyn, the first president of Sinn Féin, who remained faithful to the party’s original procedures of gaining independence by peaceful educational means. Yet a huge number of the actors involved with the Irish Theatre Company were also involved with volunteer units and Cumann na mBan groups in the months leading to the 1916 rebellion. Prior to 1916, the hall of 38 ½ Hardwicke

⁷⁵ Ibid, 3rd November 1914.

⁷⁶ There are some memorable scenes, one in which Brummell (the Yeats character) conducts a séance and conjures wild prophecies from a medium who under his influence speaks a grotesque language. The scene ends with the Moore and Yeats caricatures quarrelling and abusing each other in a way, which allowed Martyn to express some of his own resentments for the two writers. For further reading on this see Adrian Frazier *George Moore 1852-1933* (London: Yale University Press, 2000).

⁷⁷ *The Irish Times*, 5th January 1915.

⁷⁸ Nolan, ‘Edward Martyn’s Struggle for an Irish National Theatre’, p. 101.

Street became something of a military training ground: under MacDonagh, the Volunteer Provisional Committee met there, and Company C of the First Battalion of the Volunteers trained there. Amidst all of this military activity Martyn remained engaged with the theatre, looking for inspiration from European dramas, and apparently blissfully unaware of the revolutionary ferment all around him.

In April 1915 MacDonagh's third and final play *Pagans* was staged at the Hardwicke Street theatre, running for six consecutive nights. The play depicts the domestic setting of a meeting between John Fitzmaurice and his wife Frances, who have been separated for three years. It is during this meeting at her Dublin home that the man and wife realise how there is no hope of reuniting, despite their love for one another. Due to the events that led to his execution, *Pagans* can be read today as a mirroring of MacDonagh's transition to militant nationalism. The closing lines in particular convey a latent revolutionary spirit that would come to fruition the following year in the Easter Rising:

John: My writings have been only the prelude to my other work. Though I have been away from Ireland these three years, Frances, I know the progress of things here better than you do – and I know that the great opportunity is at hand. I have long regretted that I have not in my time had an opportunity of doing something worthwhile, and now it is here.

Frances: Politics, John? What is the good of you leaving me, in order to free yourself, if you are going to mix yourself up in Irish politics? Half of our trouble was your political ideas.

John: I don't call them politics. Sooner than you think, Frances, politics will be dropped here, and something better will take their place. I am now free to do something to bring the better thing.

Frances: John, you're a queer mixture. What had I to do with these things?

John: You were a hostage that I had given to the other cause – to this life that keeps you here. You are no longer my hostage.

Frances: John, what are you going to do?

John: I am going to live the things that I have before imagined. It is well for a poet that he is double-lived. He has two stores of power. You will not

know yourself in the Ireland that we shall make here – when I return to you.⁷⁹

When Easter week of April 1916 arrived, rehearsals of *The Heather Field* were placed on hold; many of the members of the Irish Theatre were now active in the Rising. In a letter to John MacDonagh, Martyn claims he had not suspected the Rising: “it was an awful shock to me, such talent and high ideals, and only the placehunters left. Everything is in ruins in Ireland. I am trying to carry on the Theatre, but what can I do without your brother?”⁸⁰ The theatre continued for a short while under Martyn’s sole leadership; in the aftermath of the rising, Martyn had encouraged two young dramatists to write for the Irish Theatre. One was Henry B. O’Hanlon, whose play *The All Alone* was performed in 1918, and the other was John MacDonagh, whose 1919 play *Weeds*, about the emergence of the son of an unjust Irish landlord as a Gaelic Leaguer, delighted Martyn as he believed that the play would not have been written without the inspiration of Chekov. 1920 saw the end of this incarnation of the Irish Theatre; MacDonagh had left to work with the film company of Ireland, but the final blow was Mary Josephine’s decision to cancel the lease on 38 ½ Hardwicke Street. Four years after the execution of her son, the links between the Irish Theatre and the Plunkett family had virtually disappeared.

The Politicisation of Art

On 1st November 1913 the Gaelic League’s magazine, *An Claidheamb Soluis*, published Eoin MacNeill’s article titled ‘The North Began’. Michael Laffan suggests that it was this publication that triggered the foundation of the Irish Volunteers and “precipitated the

⁷⁹ Thomas MacDonagh, *Pagans*, <https://archive.org/stream/pagansmodernplay00macdiala#page/40/mode/2up>. Accessed June 2015.

⁸⁰ Nolan, ‘Edward Martyn’s Struggle for an Irish National Theatre’, p. 101.

militarisation of nationalist Ireland”.⁸¹ Born in Antrim, MacNeill was professor of early medieval history at UCD. He sought the creation of the Irish Volunteers, modelled on the Ulster Volunteers who had mobilised in opposition to Home Rule in Ireland; apprehensions swelled when the Ulster unionists threatened rebellion if the Liberal government implemented the plans for a devolved parliament in Ireland. The third Home Rule Bill had been introduced in April 1912 (though it was later suspended) by Prime Minister Herbert Asquith offering limited self-government and asserting the supreme authority of the U.K. Parliament “over all persons, matters, and things in Ireland”.⁸² MacDonagh welcomed the passing of the new Home Rule Bill, writing to Dominick Hackett how “Ireland is all expectancy of Home Rule”.⁸³ The formation of the Volunteers marked an increase in political tensions; the British government had done nothing to prevent the establishment of the UVF, and nationalists were well aware that this created an opportunity to establish their own organisation without British interference. Within the same month of the article’s publication, MacNeill was to take the central role in organising the Irish Volunteers. The organisation was launched at the Rotunda Rink, north Dublin, on 25th November 1913. MacNeill was by no means a violent revolutionary; he was recognised as a distinguished historian and founding member and vice-president of the Gaelic League, who supported the demand for Home Rule.

Flu meant that MacDonagh was bedbound and unable to attend the Rotunda meeting, though Plunkett was present. Like many other nationalists, Plunkett was intrigued by the idea of a volunteer force, a response to the tensions of an impending

⁸¹For further reading see Michael Laffan’s article ‘Eoin MacNeill: Revolutionary and Scholar’, which appeared as part of a History Hub lecture series. In this special commemorative series, History Hub looks at the political and academic careers of Eoin MacNeill - <http://historyhub.ie/eoin-macneill-revolutionary-and-scholar>.

⁸²<http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/legislativescrutiny/parliamentandireland/overview/third-home-rule-bill/> - Accessed 9th June, 2015.

⁸³ Thomas MacDonagh to Dominick Hackett, 29th March 1911, TMP, National Library of Ireland Ms 22,934.

civil war and the establishment of the UVF. Geraldine Plunkett recalled how it was on Plunkett's twenty-sixth birthday that he saw a newspaper notice calling for those interested to attend the arranged meeting:

Joe said to me, “do you think I could be of any use? I’m afraid I won’t be able to do very much”. The notice called for able-bodied men and he was certainly not that. I told him he ought to try anyway so he went to visit Professor MacNeill to ask if he might be of any use.⁸⁴

Despite his physical restrictions, Patrick Pearse and Joseph Campbell invited Plunkett onto the provisional committee. In the days following the meeting, Plunkett and MacDonagh were so enthused with the newly established IVF that they began developing the next issue of *The Irish Review* with this in mind. It was with the December 1913 issue of *The Irish Review* that Plunkett changed the subtitle of the journal from “Irish Literature, Art and Science” to “Irish Politics, Literature and Art”.⁸⁵ This subtle change revealed the significance that politics would play in the final year of the periodical's existence. Despite being unable to attend the founding meeting, MacDonagh was also elected to the provisional committee. On 3rd December 1913 MacDonagh enrolled into Regiment 1, Company C, 2nd Battalion of the IVF.⁸⁶

The December 1913 issue of *The Irish Review* opened with an art piece titled ‘Portrait Study’ by Gabriel Gifford and followed by ‘The Problem’, an article written by An Ulster Imperialist, and an eight-verse poem titled ‘The Marching Song of The Irish Volunteers’ by MacDonagh. The opening verses of the poem read:

Greater than word in any age
The care of God for Ireland still:
Under his guidance we engage
For Ireland now to work His will.
We have no hate for Irishman;

⁸⁴ Geraldine Plunkett Dillon, p. 144.

⁸⁵ See: Appendix C.

⁸⁶ See Shane Kenna's *16 Lives: Thomas MacDonagh* for further reading. Kenna notes how when MacDonagh was elected as a senior figure within the Volunteer ranks, his initial thinking and methodology was closer to MacNeill than to the IRB.

We love our land from sea to sea;
And heed no mark of creed or clan –
Ireland we claim, and Ireland free.

For Ireland, for Ireland, for Ireland all,
Our ranks we band in might:
From her four seas we at Ireland's call
In Ireland's cause unite,
And march to the hosting of Gael and Gall,
To claim our Freedom's right.⁸⁷

Whilst MacDonagh had been busy writing the poem for the magazine, Plunkett was arranging a declaration to be published in *The Irish Review*, titled 'Manifesto of the Irish Volunteers'. The submission was printed directly after MacDonagh's jingoistic verses, promulgating the ideals established at the Rotunda meeting.

The article asserted: "British politics are controlled by British interests, and are complicated by problems of great importance to the people of Great Britain. In a crisis of this kind, the duty of safeguarding our rights is our duty first and foremost". This direct tone remained throughout with the article addressing the expectations of this newly established group:

To drill, to learn the use of arms, to acquire the habit of concerted and disciplined action, to form a citizen army from a population now at the mercy of almost any organised aggression – this, beyond all doubt, is a programme that appeals to all Ireland, but especially to young Ireland. We begin at once in Dublin, and we are confident that the movement will be taken up without delay all over the country. Public opinion has already and quite spontaneously formed itself into an eager desire for the establishment of the Irish Volunteers. (34, (December 1913), p. 504).

The Manifesto revealed the organisation's principles to be non-sectarian, national and democratic:

The object proposed for the Irish Volunteers is to secure and maintain the rights and liberties common to all the people of Ireland. Their duties will be

⁸⁷ 34, (December 1913), pp. 500-02). See Geraldine Plunkett Dillon, *All in the Blood* for further reading on MacDonagh's inspiration for writing 'The Marching Song of the Volunteers'. Plunkett suggests that the origins of MacDonagh's words were to counteract the English music-hall songs that were being used when marching. Six days after the Rotunda meeting, the Irish Volunteers had begun drilling; the drill-sergeants were receiving help from some of those who had been in the officers training corps in English schools and were teaching the Volunteers to march with their songs. The composer Thomas O'Brien Butler offered a musical arrangement to accompany MacDonagh's words, but the tune he produced did not fit, so the poem was published in *The Irish Review*.

defensive and protective, and they will not contemplate either aggression or domination. Their ranks are open to able-bodied Irishmen, without distinction of creed, politics or social grade. Means will be found whereby Irishmen unable to serve as ordinary Volunteers will be enabled to aid the Volunteer forces in various capacities. (34, (December 1913), p. 505).

By Christmas 1913 the numbers of the volunteers had swelled to around 10,000. Along with the other members of the provisional committee, Plunkett and MacDonagh were full of enthusiasm for their new organization. The second meeting of the Provisional Committee was held in Countess Plunkett's Hardwicke Street hall.⁸⁸

In February 1914 the first issue of *The Irish Volunteer* was published, containing articles by Casement, Pearse and Plunkett; in subsequent editions Plunkett submitted both signed and unsigned articles to the magazine.⁸⁹ Along with MacDonagh, he was still producing each monthly edition of *The Irish Review*. Charles Townshend argues that it was during this year that these men gradually turned *The Irish Review* into the “unofficial Irish Volunteer organ”, more interesting than *The Irish Volunteer* itself.⁹⁰ Townshend's labelling is understandable given that though the magazine under Plunkett's ownership still paid particular attention to literary and other non-political submissions, the political instability of the period meant that volatile nationalist articles now dominated each edition. For example, the February 1914 number published ‘A Word for the Police’ by Harry Reginald King, a satire depicting the actions of the police during the Lockout; in the May edition an article was published titled ‘The Connemara Islands’ by Alice Stopford Green, Harold Barbour, Douglas Hyde and Alec Wilson. This submission was concerned with a report on the appalling issues of disease, overcrowding and poverty in Connemara, which the Congested Districts Board had failed to acknowledge or act upon. Articles of

⁸⁸ In *All in the Blood* Geraldine Plunkett notes how the Committee eventually rented offices on Brunswick Street, and how after each meeting ended Joseph would inform her of the happenings.

⁸⁹ *The Irish Volunteer* was a weekly publication first proposed by William Sears, editor of *The Enniscorthy Echo*, in January 1914. Primarily, the newspaper was aimed at the volunteer party of its namesake. On 7th February 1914, the first edition was published.

⁹⁰ Charles Townshend, *Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion* (London: Allen Lane, 2005), pp. 95-96.

this calibre may have only taken a small number of pages in each edition of the magazine compared to those considered non-political, but their effect and significance on Ireland's politics was explosive; it is for this reason that *The Irish Review* has been viewed as a politically charged publication.

The magazine had achieved moderate circulation success in its early years, with highs of around one thousand subscriptions, but with each publication the numbers were now decreasing. *The Irish Review* was no longer a magazine speaking for all of Ireland, as had been proclaimed in the founding edition. Rather it had become highly and, for many, dangerously partisan; allegiance with such a publication could be potentially damaging for its subscribers. The magazine was once again in a time of crisis; as well as the cancellation of numerous subscriptions resulting in financial problems for the magazine, the monthly planning and production was now also suffering neglect. In a letter dated 4th April 1914 Plunkett writes:

I am sorry for *The Irish Review* which only just wriggled out in March and was a fortnight late and of which the April appearance is quite problematic. I must get rid of it or let it die. I have even to stick in those verses of mine because they were four pages short and I had to write reviews for the other two in the small hours of the morning.⁹¹

From April 1914, the production of the journal was delayed each month. In a letter dated 19th April, MacDonagh wrote to Plunkett: "I think it is ridiculous to be bringing out the April number on April the 23rd or so. It is less ridiculous to have no April number, and April's Day joke".⁹²

There were no improvements by July; along with Edward Martyn, Plunkett and MacDonagh were actively involved in developing a new theatre, and still dedicated to the IVF, meaning little time was left for *The Irish Review*. MacDonagh, who had worked tirelessly for the magazine since its founding, was occupied with university teaching and

⁹¹ Quoted in Honor O'Brolchain, *16 Lives: Joseph Plunkett* (Dublin: The O'Brien Press LTD., 2012) p. 247.

⁹² Thomas MacDonagh to Joseph Plunkett, TMP, Ms, 44, 329/1/3.

family life, with marriage to Muriel and as a father to their son Donagh.⁹³ Plunkett had not yet rid himself of *The Irish Review*, but there was a sense of resignation from both men. A letter to MacDonagh dated 28th July 1914 reveals the lack of attention the magazine was now receiving from its editors:

In the first week of the month Miss M. Younge sent subscription for *The Irish Review* for half a year from July to December. The manager did not send her a receipt, will he please do so. She has not yet received the July number. From the time the Review was started she got it through a bookseller, latterly it came very late in the month and she thought that by getting it from the office she would have it in better time.⁹⁴

Despite the fact the magazine was rapidly losing subscriptions, the editors were distracted and therefore not ensuring the subscribers who had remained faithful were satisfied. 17 Marlborough Road remained the unofficial office for *The Irish Review*, with visits from authors, poets and others still being arranged, but Plunkett and MacDonagh were conscious of spies pretending to be potential contributors trying to snoop on volunteer matters. It is clear that the importance *The Irish Review* once had for the two friends was ceasing and that the time once dedicated to the planning and production of the review was now given to more pressing Volunteer matters. Along with other members of the IVF, Plunkett and MacDonagh had been involved in the planning of the Howth gun-running on Sunday 26th July, an event MacDonagh would document in a supplement attached to the July-August edition of *The Irish Review*. Though personal interest from the editors was ceasing, the magazine still served as a platform to promote and express volunteer events and matters.

⁹³ MacDonagh and Muriel would have another child before his execution in 1916, a daughter Barbara, born on 24th March 1915. On 9th July 1917, another tragedy occurred for the MacDonagh family; whilst holidaying in Skerries, Dublin, Muriel died whilst out swimming, as her young children played on the beach with family and friends. It is often presumed that her death was a result of drowning, though it was heart failure. I would like to thank Muriel McAuley, the granddaughter of Thomas and Muriel MacDonagh for invaluable conversations, information and details that filled many gaps in my research.

⁹⁴ A letter to Thomas MacDonagh on behalf of Miss M. Younge, TMP, Ms 44, 331/8/8.

During 1914 a struggle emerged over the control of the Irish Volunteers. One of the original members of its provisional committee, John Redmond, the Irish Parliamentary Party leader, believing that he had been excluded from control of this emerging national body, demanded that twenty-five of his nominees be drafted on to the provisional committee of the volunteer force.⁹⁵ Led by Seán MacDiarmada and Pearse, a small number of men refused Redmond's ultimatum and a split was threatened. F. X. Martin notes:

The majority of the committee, led by Hobson, MacNeill and Casement, convinced that Redmond would shatter the volunteer movement if he were not placated, were willing to accept his demand under duress, and eventually the minority group also accepted under protest. Had the committee split in June 1914 there would have been no Howth gun-running, as there would have been no united body of volunteers to meet *The Asgard*. MacNeill was head of the volunteers and Hobson the organiser of the landing of the guns. Childers at this stage was a believer in Redmond and Home Rule, not in revolution and a republic. Without Howth ...there could hardly have been a rising in 1916.⁹⁶

On 26th July, after an eight-mile march from Dublin, the Volunteers arrived at Howth, taking possession of the pier at the same time a yacht landed rifles and ammunition for the Dublin regiment. In *The Irish Review* shortly afterwards MacDonagh wrote how "this was done in defiance of the British Proclamation which forbids the importation of arms into Ireland" (41, (July-August 1914), supplement). The plans had been made in the weeks prior, and though Plunkett was resting at one of his mother's cottages in Larkfield, Kimmage with his sister Geraldine and their housekeeper Mary, he was still involved in the planning. The *Asgard* arrived at one o'clock that day, loaded with 900 rifles and 29,000 rounds of ammunition.⁹⁷ These weapons had been funded through the work of Roger Casement, Alice Stopford Green and Erskine Childers; in early 1914 Casement travelled to London to organise the advancement of £1,500. According to Bulmer

⁹⁵ See Bulmer Hobson's *A Short History of the Irish Volunteers* (Dublin: The Candle Press, 1918) for a detailed reading of these events. Two years after the Easter Rising, Hobson noted how it was more than likely the rapid growth in the number of volunteers in 1913, between 100,000 – 150,000 members, which impelled Redmond to seek control.

⁹⁶ F. X. Martin (ed.), *The Howth Gun-Running and Kilcoole Gun-Running 1914: Recollections and Documents* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan Ltd, 1964) pp. xviii-xix.

⁹⁷ See Townshend, *Easter 1916* for further reading on the planning and development of the Howth gun-running.

Hobson, Green had been responsible for at least half of this amount. Childers, who was executed during the Irish Civil War, contributed the rest of the money with Casement himself.⁹⁸

Upon arrival at Howth, the rifles were passed from hand to hand until all of the volunteers present were supplied, the remaining ammunition was put upon cars and sent ahead whilst the volunteers began their return march to Dublin. In *The Irish Review* MacDonagh recalled:

Near Clontarf, on the return march, scouts who had been riding in advance of the column reported that the road in front was held by a large force of military and police. No action was taken by the commanders of the Volunteers, as they still believed that they military could not be called out for the purpose of stopping their march or of disarming them. (41, (July-August 1914), supplement).

The organisers believed it would have been an embarrassment for the British government had they arrested the marching members of the IVF or seized their guns, given that they had failed to take action against the UVF in the Larne gun-running earlier that year, in April 1914. Similar to the IVF's Howth operation, the Larne gun-running was an operation organised by Major Frederick H. Crawford and Captain Wilfrid Spender to equip the UVF with arms; almost 25,000 rifles were smuggled from the German Empire to Larne, Donaghadee and Bangor between Friday 24th and Saturday 25th April. The success of the UVF in the gun-running and the lack of intervention from the authorities intensified nationalist suspicions that the British authorities were acquiescent in Ulster unionist plotting, given the contrast with the police and military response to the Howth operation. Townshend states, "the abortive attempt to prevent the Howth gun-running was seen by

⁹⁸ In *A Short History of the Irish Volunteers*, Hobson notes how with the exception of Casement, the other contributors had had no previous involvement with the volunteers. Darrell Figgis was selected by the London committee to travel to Antwerp to purchase the rifles, and Childers volunteered to bring the guns into Ireland.

many nationalists as further confirmation of the authorities' bias towards the Ulster rebels: after all, no attempt had been made to stop the Larne operation".⁹⁹

According to MacDonagh, the Assistant Commissioner of Police, W. V. Harrel, held a conflicting opinion to the volunteers regarding the action that could possibly be taken as a result of the Howth gun-running:

He (Harrel) had invoked the military aid. The volunteers were met not only by the largest possible muster of his own force, the Dublin Metropolitan Police, but by a hundred and sixty men of the Royal Irish Constabulary and two companies of soldiers, the King's Own Scottish Borderers; these with drawn batons and fixed bayonets. The volunteers halted and a short parley was held between the police officers and the commanders of the First Battalion of the volunteers. Mr Darrell Figgis, who, though he held no command, had assisted the Dublin Regiment in the gun-running at Howth, offered his services to prevent hostilities. The parley was unsuccessful, and some batoning, bayoneting and desultory revolver firing took place. (41, (July-August 1914), supplement).

Alongside Figgis and MacDonagh, the former keystone of *Uladh*, Bulmer Hobson, was also present. In the summer of 1913, Hobson was Chairman of the Dublin Centres Board of the IRB and was responsible for organising the military training drill to ensure that IRB members had the necessary skills for the movement; later that same year he would swear Patrick Pearse into the IRB. At the stand-off between police and the volunteers during the Howth gun-running, Hobson was demanding the assistant commissioner allow the volunteers through.¹⁰⁰ During the planning, he had been given charge of the Irish end of the gun-running, having maintained a friendship with Casement for over a decade. Hobson later recalled:

While I expected that the authorities in Dublin Castle would attempt to prevent the landing of rifles, I knew that the Liberal Government in England, having already remained inactive on the occasion of the Carsonite gun-running at Larne, would find it very embarrassing to take active

⁹⁹ Townshend, *Easter 1916*, p. 57.

¹⁰⁰ According to Marnie Hay, it was Hobson who contacted Eoin MacNeill to establish the nationalist volunteer force, through the manager of *An Claidheamb Soluis* Michael O'Rahilly, after the publication of 'The North Began'. Hay's article gives a detailed account Hobson's involvement with the volunteers and the events leading to his kidnapping by the military council of the IRB, from 24th-29th April 1916. See Marnie Hay, 'Kidnapped: Bulmer Hobson, the IRB and the 1916 Easter Rising' in *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, vol. 35, No. 1 (2009), pp. 53-60.

measures against us. I rather expected, what was afterwards established as a fact, that the local police or soldiers were acting without orders from their superiors.¹⁰¹

Whilst MacDonagh and Figgis were engaged in heated discussions with Harrel, Hobson seized the opportunity to disperse of the volunteers and their weapons. He later noted:

Either of them (MacDonagh and Figgis) could have talked him (Harrel) blind, their combined effort was overwhelming. I decided that this colloquy would last for a considerable time, so I ran to the back of the column and ordered the men to disperse across the fields and through the grounds of the Christian Brothers in Marino, to make their way home as quickly as possible and avoid any conflicts or anything which would cause them to lose their rifles. I saw company after company disappear through the hedges and did not return until all but the last company was left when I found Mr Harrel, looking rather dazed, still listening to Figgis and MacDonagh. Just as I approached, the sergeant spoke to Harrel and drew his attention to the fact that the volunteers had nearly all gone.¹⁰²

In the supplement to *The Irish Review* MacDonagh detailed how three citizens were killed on the streets of Dublin, and several more injured, at the hands of the soldiers; he also stated how no volunteers were connected with this stage of the proceedings. Prior to this violence Harrel had abdicated his authority, and a military officer was now in charge. In the days between the Howth gun-running and MacDonagh's writing of the supplement for the magazine, the British Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Augustine Birrell, confirmed that the calling out of the military had been a mistake by Harrel, whom he had suspended.

MacDonagh concluded:

It is needless to comment on the incompetence and dishonesty of the British authorities. The moral of this story, as of the whole rise and progress of the Irish Volunteers during the past eight months, is that if the leaders of the Irish people act strongly and decisively, they can succeed in their action. The young men of Ireland have got a strong lead from the Irish Volunteers; and they march to victory. Ireland has now the strength to enforce her choice of destiny. The men who ruled Ireland in the past under Tory regime and under Liberal regime lost their power on the 26th July. At Clontarf in 1914, as at Clontarf in 1014, has been won a national

¹⁰¹ Martin (ed.), *The Howth Gun-Running*, pp. 133-134.

¹⁰² Ibid, pp. 133-134.

victory. For the Irish Volunteers now: discipline, vigilance, confidence. (41, (July-August 1914), supplement).¹⁰³

The supplement was signed “Thomas MacDonagh, Company Commander”. The immediate effect of the Howth gun-running was positive for the volunteers, their numbers increased rapidly, as did their confidence following their march. Given that these men were consumed by their dedication to the Volunteer movement, it could be suggested that such ideologies would explain why *The Irish Review* began to take a far more political stance under Plunkett and MacDonagh than in its previous years under Houston, Colum and Stephens.

Critics such as Denise Ayo have hinted that there seemed to be a lack of literary submissions in the latter years of the magazine, with focus primarily on politics, but that is not wholly true. With the volunteer force becoming such an integral part of everyday life for these men, whether it was an involvement in planning or discussions of future events, these principles were carefully crafted into their writing. With hindsight, these articles written with such nationalist passion from men who would ultimately be shot in the aftermath of the Easter rebellion provide a primary account of the events leading to 1916 from writers who had played a leading role in such happenings. It is for this reason *The Irish Review* has been considered a politically charged periodical in its later years, not due to the number of articles with a political focus or alternatively a lack of literature, but the significance of the first-hand accounts of these men involved.

As Ireland’s political climate continued its rapid transformation, and *The Irish Review* continued to serve as the organ detailing volunteer activity, Plunkett was well aware that it was only a matter of time before its publication run would end; whether it was through neglect, seizure or banning from British authorities, the end of *The Irish Review* was inescapable and approaching fast. On 4th August 1914, Britain declared war on Germany; led

¹⁰³In the final lines of the supplement to *The Irish Review*, MacDonagh referred to the Celtic legend of Brian Boru and the Battle of Clontarf (23rd April 1014). The battle was remembered as a huge event in Ireland’s history; though Boru was killed, his army was victorious against the Vikings and he was hailed a hero for liberating Ireland from foreign control. By 1914 MacDonagh was instilling this nationalist story into the minds of *The Irish Review* readers as an emblem of their desire for liberation once more.

by Prime Minister Herbert Asquith, Britain had given Germany an ultimatum: leave Belgium by midnight on 3rd August or face the consequences. On the same day that Asquith declared war, Redmond stood in the House of Commons and offered the Volunteers' services to protect Ireland and Britain from any foreign threat. His reasoning may have seemed rational; for Redmond, showing loyalty and support for Britain could potentially enhance the prospect of Home Rule being implemented in Ireland once the war ended; as well as this he was also sympathetic towards nations like Belgium. Under Edward Carson the UVF had already pledged allegiance to Britain's war effort, and Redmond feared that should the IVF refuse support, the British government would side with the unionists. Over a month later, the third Home Rule Bill was legislated in mid-September, though it was suspended for the duration of the war. Redmond believed the Volunteers could wait; the widespread supposition was that the war would be over by Christmas and, having supported Britain, Ireland could then begin to make the steps towards the freedom she had long sought. Redmond's decision was met with tough opposition from Plunkett, MacDonagh and other members of the Volunteer ranks, yet it was 20th September 1914, in the days following Home Rule becoming a postponed law that the Volunteer party would split. Speaking to volunteer ranks at Woodenbridge, County Wicklow, Redmond enforced the view that the Volunteers must be willing to enlist and fight in the British Army. For Plunkett and MacDonagh, enlisting in the British army was treason to nationalist Ireland, and once more the men used *The Irish Review* as a political platform to ensure their voices were audible. As Casement had predicted in *The Irish Review*, the non-Redmond volunteers after the split believed Britain's challenge in the war with Germany could provide Ireland with her greatest opportunity for freedom yet.

The Irish Review ceased publication in November 1914, though the September, October and November issues appeared combined. Among contributors to the final issue was Grace Gifford with a picture and MacDonagh with an article titled 'The Best Living Irish Poet',

referencing Alice Milligan.¹⁰⁴ Though this combined issue carried a poem, ‘To St. Francis’ by Geraldine Plunkett, a short story titled ‘A Story of Land and Sea’ by Lord Dunsany, and a translation of a story from Gaelic literature by Patrick Pearse titled ‘The Wood’, emphasis was placed on the opening article which eclipsed all others. In the final months of *The Irish Review* Plunkett and MacDonagh fought hard for the Volunteer voice to be heard; by now censorship was dominating the press, and so the editors decided once more to include a reproduction of the ‘Manifesto of the Irish Volunteers’ within the opening pages of their magazine, documenting the split with Redmond. This final piece restates the initial priorities of the volunteers: “ten months ago a provisional committee commenced on the Irish Volunteer movement with the sole purpose of securing and defending the Rights and Liberties of the Irish people” (42, (September-November 1914), p. 281). What follows is a detailed analysis of Volunteer activities in the previous months, with a particularly negative attitude to Redmond apparent: “when the Volunteer movement had become the main factor in the National position, Mr Redmond decided to acknowledge it and to endeavour to bring it under his control” (42, (September-November 1914), p. 281). The Volunteer split had brought another crisis; the breakaway leaders had no idea how many volunteers would remain loyal to the original party or whether the vast majority would side with Redmond and join his new “Nationalist Volunteers”. Plunkett and MacDonagh’s reaction to such concerns was to produce a harsh but honest account of Redmond’s desire for power. Referring to Redmond’s demands for involvement with the volunteers prior to the Howth gun-running, the article states: “he threatened, if the claim was not conceded, to proceed to the dismemberment of the Irish Volunteer organisation” (42, (September-November 1914), p. 281). Having served as a source of Volunteer information for a number of months, Plunkett and MacDonagh were conscious of the impact that *The Irish Review* had on Irish

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix C.

culture and so the editors were yet again using the magazine as a platform to convince those Volunteers who were in doubt of where their allegiances should lie.

The manifesto specifies the sense of entrapment the Provisional Committee felt with regards to Redmond; it was a lesser evil to admit him and his nominees to sit and act on the committee than the threatened ruin of the party should they opt for another approach. With particular reference to Redmond's declaration at Woodenbridge, the manifesto states how he "has now announced for the Irish volunteers a policy and programme fundamentally at variance with their own published aims and pledges" (42, (September-November 1914), p. 282):

Having thus disregarded the Irish Volunteers and their solemn engagements, Mr Redmond is no longer entitled, through his nominees, to any place in the administration and guidance of the Volunteer organisation. Those, who by, by virtue of Mr Redmond's nomination, have heretofore been admitted to act on the Provisional Committee, accordingly cease henceforth to belong to that body, and from the date until the holding of an Irish Volunteer Convention the Provisional Committee consists of those only whom it compromised before the admission of Mr Redmond's nominees. (42, (September-November 1914), p. 282).

The signatories were members of the Provisional Committee, though Casement, who was in America during the production of the manifesto, was unable to sign. Unlike the original 'Manifesto of the Irish Volunteers', which was published without naming those directly involved in the production, this article concluded with a list of the majority of the provisional committee of the volunteers involved, which included MacNeill (Chairman), Rathghaille (Treasurer), MacDonagh, Plunkett, Hobson, Pearse, Piaras Beaslai and Eamonn Ceannt. Beneath the signatories was the address of the volunteer headquarters, 41 Kildare Street, Dublin.

As a companion to the manifesto, *The Irish Review* published 'Twenty Plain Facts for Irishmen'; this supplement ensured British censorship for the magazine was imposed. Perhaps the most nationalist of all contributions to *The Irish Review*, the supplement asserted Ireland owed no allegiance to Britain or their war with Germany. Alternatively, the piece

suggests that there is no support for Germany either; if an Irishman were willing to support Germany and live under German rule, rather than English, the Provisional Committee would consider him a slave, the same way an Irishman hoping for British control was a slave.

- The Irishman owes no allegiance to England.
- The Irish Volunteers have been organised first to secure the rights and liberties of all the people of Ireland, and then to maintain those rights and liberties.
- The Irish Volunteers have not yet secured the rights and liberties of the Irish people.
- No body, committee or person, has any right or liberty to use or to promise to use the efforts of the Irish Volunteers for any purpose other than the securing and the maintenance of the rights and liberties of the people of Ireland.
- The Union Jack is the symbol of the Act of Union of 1800, by which the Irish Nation was deprived of her last rights and liberties.
- The Irish Nation lives.¹⁰⁵

The Provisional Committee of the Volunteers had attempted to resolve any issues and avoid the split, but it was inevitable; approximately 170,000 volunteers had answered Redmond's call to support Britain in the war, leaving just 10,000 with the original Volunteer party. After the initial split and the loss of Volunteer members, the Irish Volunteer party numbers began to increase once more.¹⁰⁶ Frustrated with the loss of such numbers following the split, MacDonagh ridiculed Redmond's party in a satirical song written to the tune of 'God Save Ireland', a ballad originally written by T.D. Sullivan in 1867 in the wake of the execution of the so-called Manchester Martyrs; from the mid-nineteenth century until 1910 the song served as an anthem for Irish nationalists in their campaign for freedom. MacDonagh

¹⁰⁵ These quotes are selected from the article for the chapter; to read 'Twenty Plain Facts for Irishmen'. Full access can be gained via JSTOR. See 'Manifesto To The Irish Volunteers', *The Irish Review (Dublin)*, vol. 4, no. 42, 1914, pp. 281–286 - www.jstor.org/stable/30063328.

¹⁰⁶ Following the split, recruiting volunteers was not done in the same way IRB enlistment had been carried out: a member of the volunteers identified somebody they trusted and knew were interested in joining the party, and brought them along to secret meetings and training activities.

published his song, 'The New God Save Ireland', in *The Irish Volunteer* in November 1914; *The Irish Review* was seized in the same month by the authorities.

The Irish Review played a significant role in documenting the events, news and propaganda of the Irish Volunteers in the first year of the party's formation, and though *The Irish Volunteer* attempted to publish articles of a similar calibre, perhaps the greatest use of this paper was the role it had in organising training for the volunteers, delivering messages and orders to the different battalions and companies. Following the split with Redmond, *The Irish Volunteer* was revived in a new format under the editorship of Eoin MacNeill.¹⁰⁷ MacDonagh was no stranger to publication in *The Irish Volunteer* prior to the demise of *The Irish Review*, though following the end of the magazine that had played an integral role in his life for over three years, MacDonagh would regularly hand submissions to MacNeill for publication: MacDonagh frequently published orders to the volunteers, calling all regiments to assemble for military training, and on 21st November 1914 MacDonagh condemned the nationalist volunteers and praised the work of the Irish volunteers. In *The Irish Volunteer* from 26th December 1914, MacDonagh published another song called 'Freedom's Hill: A National Anthem'. The re-emergence of *The Irish Volunteer* under Eoin MacNeill helped to liberate Plunkett and MacDonagh from *The Irish Review* and the pressure of maintaining a publication to serve as a political platform for the Irish volunteers. The two companions, consumed by the Volunteers, and with distractions from their newly formed theatre, could no longer dedicate the time they once had to the planning and production of *The Irish Review*; more importantly they did not want to. The editors were aware that Volunteer related submissions for publication, including their own, had *The Irish Volunteer* as an outlet. With *The Irish Review* finished, the editors would have more time for matters they believed were a

¹⁰⁷ The final issue of *The Irish Volunteer* appeared on 22nd April 1916, days before the Easter Rising. It is for this reason that the paper has been considered an invaluable primary resource in documenting Ireland's history. See Conor Mulvagh's article for RTE: *Century Ireland* on *The Irish Volunteer* - <http://www.rte.ie/centuryireland/articles/irish-volunteers-launch-their-own-newspaper>.

priority. In the final issue of the magazine, the editors used the ‘Back Matter’ to promote *The Irish Volunteer* to their readers, “a weekly organ devoted to the interests of a National Army for Home Defence” (42, (September-November 1914), detailing subscription rates and publishing address.¹⁰⁸

The ideological vision imagined in the founding of *The Irish Review* was altered in the final years of publication under Plunkett and MacDonagh’s control. Throughout their editorship, the ardent political classification of the magazine was established. Tom Clyde registers *The Irish Review* under the classification of ‘political revival’. Kurt Bullock finds this classification, rather than a cultural or literary, to be “intriguing” given that the first issue of *The Irish Review* declared the magazine to be a monthly journal of “Irish literature, art and science”.¹⁰⁹ By the summer of 1913, the change in Ireland’s political trajectory was accelerated by the establishment of the UVF and the laying of the foundations for the IVF. Irish culture itself was becoming more politicised, and *The Irish Review* reflects this change. No correspondence exists to suggest Houston’s sale of *The Irish Review* was due to his desire to disassociate himself from the intensifying political landscape of the time; articles such as Casement’s ‘Ireland, Germany and the Next War’, published within the magazine prior to Plunkett’s purchase, support this supposition.

The Irish Review’s Demise

Bullock’s assumption that what eventually led to the seizure and censure of *The Irish Review* by British forces was the recurrent publication of the ‘Manifesto of the Irish Volunteers’ seems reasonable. During wartime suppression of the periodical press, police in London seized a number of copies of the magazine and the financial consequences meant

¹⁰⁸ Once more, the editors used the magazine to promote their own literature, in this instance it was the ‘Back Matter’ to the final edition; an entire page is given to the positive press comments reviewing Plunkett’s *The Circle and the Sword*, with comments from *The Freeman’s Journal*, *The Times* (London) and *The Irish Review* itself. Following this, a small section of page space is dedicated to MacDonagh’s *Thomas Campion and the Art of English Poetry*.

¹⁰⁹ See Bullock, ‘From Revival to Revolution’, p. 68.

that any hopes of continuing publication were squashed.¹¹⁰ Bullock points out that the political antagonism of the ‘Manifesto to the Irish Volunteers’ in the September-November 1914 edition of the magazine was a far cry from the statements laid out in the founding edition. This is correct and no argument can suggest otherwise; it is ironic that a magazine built upon claims that it belonged to no party and that cultural events would be “noted in their historical rather than in their political aspect” (1, (March 1911), p. 2), would list such severe ‘Twenty Plain Facts for Irishmen’ in the final edition. It is the change in ownership from Houston to Plunkett that critics credit for the shift in literary to political domination within *The Irish Review*. However, such debates have failed to address the fact that perhaps these changes were brought about because politically Ireland herself was changing. Tensions between nationalists and unionists were increasing daily with the formation of their own volunteer parties, and Britain’s troubles on the brink of war with Germany provided Ireland with a new opportunity for political liberation.

As well as discussing the Irish theatre, ‘Notes’ in the final issue contains comments from Plunkett regarding the difficulties *The Irish Review* faced and its hopes for the future, noting how the temporary suspension of the magazine was unavoidable. As stated earlier in this chapter, the seizure of the magazine has been considered a result of the politically explosive Volunteer articles published within, yet Plunkett in his own words suggests that there were many other reasons for such suspension: “our entire staff has for some time past been working full-time and overtime (if such a thing is possible) in the Irish Volunteer organisation”, supporting the supposition that time once dedicated to the development of each edition of *The Irish Review* was now channelled into more pressing Volunteer matters. Plunkett acknowledges how subscription losses had never been so severe for the magazine: “owing to international complications, copies of *Review* sent to foreign subscribers have been returned to us. Many of the persons and firms that are normally given to advertising have

¹¹⁰ See Bullock’s, ‘From Revival to Revolution: Thomas MacDonagh and *The Irish Review*’, *passim*.

retrenched themselves effectively out of our range” (42, (September-November 1914). For well over a year, subscription numbers had been fast decreasing, and whereas in the past the magazine survived from the remuneration of advertising costs, it was impossible to continue after suffering such financial blows.

Plunkett was aware that future issues of *The Irish Review* seemed unlikely, especially the production of a monthly number, but he did not entirely rule out the idea:

If the *Review* is to live under present conditions, we are faced with alternatives of doubling the price or halving the size of the magazine. Neither of these appeals to us, but we consider the first to be the lesser evil, and we would be very grateful for the opinions of our readers on the subject. In any case, it may prove impossible to produce a number every month, but with the co-operation of those of our readers who think that the *Review* deserves to live we, for our part, will do what we can. (42, (September-November 1914).

It seems MacDonagh believed the closing of *The Irish Review* was a temporary measure and that publication would run once more in the near future; the introductory lines of the article ‘The Best Living Irish Poet’, published in the combined final edition, highlights this. He writes: “I have promised to contribute to *The Irish Review* a series of articles on Irish living poets. I should like to begin with the best”. MacDonagh explains his use of the term “best” with regards to his use of the word “Irish” and why he has chosen Alice Milligan for such an accolade. In the ‘Back Matter’ to the final number a subscription order form is included, stating: “the subscription is 7s. 6d. per year, 3s. 9d. per half-year. Complete sets of Volume I. and II. may be had for £1 1s. each” (42, (September-November 1914), Back Matter). Accompanying the subscription order form is comment from the editor, firstly quoting the intentions laid out in the introductory edition of *The Irish Review* a few years previously, and second informing readers how this undertaking has been fulfilled: “with a change of tense the statement may be repeated. “The Irish Review” has given expression to the intellectual movement in Ireland ... it has belonged to no party” (42, (September-November 1914), Back Matter). The writing is unsigned by the author, so it cannot be confirmed as to whether these are the words of MacDonagh or Plunkett, but it is interesting to acknowledge

this viewpoint of the editors. Yet the commentary it had provided on the Volunteer party split revealed the political affiliation of the magazine's editors.

In its final year the journal published the ideals and frustrations of the Volunteer movement, documenting every significant event, and though other aspects of Irish society and literature were encompassed within each edition, it was disingenuous of the editors to suggest the magazine had not stood for any party with regards to politics. Yet, for a magazine whose subtitle was altered to place politics at the forefront of discussions ahead of literature and art, this final piece does not depict the same ideals. The subscription order form places politics far down in the list of matters published in *The Irish Review* during its run:

During its two and a-half years' existence the "Review" has published a series of art plates and over 1,000 pages of literary matter – plays, poems, prose pieces, stories, Gaelic literature, book reviews, and articles on music, art, drama, philosophy, religion, politics, economics and science. (42, (September-November 1914).

This was a conscious decision from the editors who were well aware that the politics that engulfed *The Irish Review* had led to its sudden seizure and suspension; by relegating politics to farther down the list of the magazine's publication history, the editors knew that they were showcasing to their readers, and those who opposed the production of such a magazine in its final months, that there was much more to the magazine than political debate. And there was - the factual evidence of the magazine's submission history reveals the integral role literary matters played in each monthly publication.

The course *The Irish Review* would have taken had the ownership remained with Houston can never be confirmed; perhaps it would have ended much sooner than it did due to the financial difficulties it faced and Houston's disenchantment with Colum's position as editor. Had Plunkett not purchased the magazine at MacDonagh's instruction, later readers would not have such a significant resource documenting the words of the men and women who would later play a huge role in the Easter Rising of 1916. The quality of each monthly

publication is remarkable; highlighted as a “first class review” by Tom Clyde, the quality of the contents ensured the magazine was as high as any other published in Ireland prior to, and since, its publication run.¹¹¹ *The Irish Review* continued to publish important literature, and though politics came to dominate the final years of publication, a variety of articles continued to fill each edition.

The publication life of *The Irish Review* was relatively short lived, lasting just three years, but the magazine stayed true to the initial editorial claims made in the declaration of intent prior to the opening edition being published in March 1911; it managed to fulfil its initial intention of going beyond the “ephemeral interest”, creating a platform for debates and discussions for intellectuals, writers, artists and political activists of the period prior to 1916.¹¹² Less than two years after *The Irish Review* had ceased publication, the founding members of the magazine, who gathered excitedly at Houston’s house above Rathfarnham in early 1911 to discuss matters concerning their new literary journal, were embarked on different paths: after the sinking of the Lusitania, Houston enlisted to fight for the British army in the war, Padraic and Mary Colum were in New York, never making Ireland their home again, and James Stephens, who was the director of the National Gallery in Ireland during the Easter Rising, but knew nothing of it prior to the events, would record a detailed account of those fateful days in *The Insurrection in Dublin*.¹¹³ In the weeks following the end of the magazine, Plunkett travelled to Germany to meet with Casement. In the two years following the journal’s closure, MacDonagh and Plunkett, along with Pearse and others,

¹¹¹ Tom Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines: An Outline and Descriptive Bibliography* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2003) p. 162. Clyde states how no contemporary Irish magazine could touch it, and only a handful from any era have come close.

¹¹² ‘The Irish Review’, The National Library of Ireland, online catalogue – <http://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000510177>. Accessed June 2015.

¹¹³ Stephens’ text recounts the days of Easter week 1916 and those following; what begins as a surprise to learn of insurrection and warfare after lunch on Monday afternoon leads to pride at the nationalistic work of his fellow countrymen as the days pass. See: James Stephens, *The Insurrection in Dublin* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1916).

continued to plan and put into practice the Volunteer desire for liberation discussed in *The Irish Review*, culminating in the fatal Easter of 1916.

In the days following their surrender, amongst the first rebels executed were MacDonagh and Pearse, who were taken from Richmond Barracks where they had been held since their arrest to Kilmainham Gaol, and shot by a firing squad on the morning of 3rd May 1916. Stephens recalled:

In my definition they were good men – men, that is, who willed no evil, and whose movements of body or brain were unselfish and healthy. No person is the worse off having known Thomas MacDonagh, and I, at least, have never heard MacDonagh speak unkindly or even harshly of anything that lived.¹¹⁴

They were sentenced to death on the charges of “waging war against his Majesty the King, with the intention and for the purpose of assisting the enemy”.¹¹⁵ Despite her greatest attempts, Muriel never got the opportunity to visit MacDonagh at Kilmainham Gaol. Though she had been informed by a British soldier of the impending execution and told she was permitted to visit, Muriel was not given a permit allowing her to travel across Dublin during the curfew and so was never granted a farewell with her husband. In his final letter and statement the night before his execution, MacDonagh encouraged Muriel to meet with Houston (upon his return) who would help publish his last book *Literature in Ireland: Studies Irish and Anglo-Irish*. MacDonagh was well aware that his execution would increase the demand for his work and knew such publication could provide some financial security for Muriel and his young family. The letter is filled with sweet sentiments to his children and wife, “I have only one trouble in leaving life – leaving you so”. Referring to the rising, he stated:

I, Thomas MacDonagh, having heard the sentence of the Court Martial held on me today, declare that in all my acts – all the acts for which I have been arraigned – I have been actuated by one motive only, the love of my country,

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p. 32.

¹¹⁵ Brian Barton, *From Behind a Closed Door: Secret Court Martial Records of the Easter Rising* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press Ltd., 2002) p. 276.

the desire to make her a sovereign independent state. I still hope and pray that my acts may have for consummation her lasting pardon and happiness. I am to die at dawn, 3.30 am, 3rd May, I am ready to die and I thank God that I die in so holy a cause. ... The one bitterness that death has for me is the separation it brings from my beloved wife Muriel, and my beloved children Donagh and Barbara. My county will take them as wards I hope ... it is a great and glorious thing to die for Ireland and I can well forget all petty annoyances in this splendour of this.¹¹⁶

With regards to Plunkett, Stephens recalled: “Plunkett and Pearse I knew also, but not intimately. Young Plunkett, as he was always called, would never strike one as a militant person”.

Shortly after noon on Easter Monday of 1916 Pearse had stood on the steps of Dublin’s General Post Office on Sackville Street and read the proclamation of the Irish Republic; Plunkett had been the youngest signatory. The night of MacDonagh’s execution, Plunkett was brought to the chapel of Kilmainham Gaol where Grace awaited his arrival; she had been waiting since early evening but it was shortly before midnight when the soldiers finally arrived with her fiancé. Along with the priest, the soldiers remained inside the chapel, though Plunkett’s handcuffs were removed for their wedding service. Townshend states how the marriage provided Irish nationalism with its “great romantic icon”; Grace Plunkett was now a “nationalist heroine”, a bride and widow within twenty-four hours. Immediately after the service Grace was ushered out of the jail, to be summoned once more a few hours later for a final farewell. Grace arrived after two in the morning and was given ten minutes with her new husband. This was the last time she would see him before his execution later on that day. Correspondence from Count Plunkett and his daughter Geraldine suggest that the family had been unaware of the wedding service until the days following, and that the engagement had been in secret also. The written correspondence between Joseph and Grace, now available for

¹¹⁶ Copy of last letter and will of Thomas MacDonagh, TMP, National Library of Ireland MS 44,319 /6.

consultation, reveals that the couple had been engaged from December 1915 and their close circle had known since January 1916.¹¹⁷

The letters of these men reveal the authenticity of their dedication to Ireland and their desire to carry out the volunteer plans so frequently discussed and promoted in *The Irish Review*. Their actions and execution ensured that Ireland was, in Yeats's phrase, "changed utterly"; their names, along with the others executed, and publications such as *The Irish Review* have since maintained an intrinsic association with Ireland's struggle for independence and freedom. *The Irish Review* contains a rare power that most other periodical publications lack: the calibre of the articles published, both literary and political, document often in their own words the events, interests and opinions of the revolutionary generation. When *The Irish Review* was first established the founding members could never have known the significance the magazine would have in documenting this generation, and it is for this reason that the journal has achieved the cultural impact desired in its founding. In the aftermath of Easter 1916 Stephens wrote: "Nothing is lost. Not even brave men. They have been used. From this day the great adventure opens for Ireland. The Volunteers are dead, and the call is now for volunteers".¹¹⁸ Perhaps the most memorable in Ireland's periodical history, *The Irish Review* provided a platform to record and establish the voices of the revolution. Plunkett and MacDonagh's lives may have ended in May 1916, along with other figures involved with *The Irish Review*, but their legacy lived on and continued to stir nationalist Ireland in the revolutionary years to follow.

From its initial creation *The Irish Review* was launched as a literary and cultural review to address all aspects of Irish life; yet during its publication run it became infused with the radical politics of the 1916 generation, in particular the militant Irish Volunteer

¹¹⁷ The National Library of Ireland, MS 346/887.

¹¹⁸ Stephens, *Insurrection in Dublin*, p. 87.

movement. It was the rapidly changing political trajectory within Ireland, particularly between 1912-1914, that made the magazine an important resource in documenting the years leading to Easter 1916. Despite the fact that literary submissions continued to fill the majority of issues until it ceased publication, it was the speed with which cultural energies and activities across various networks of activism transformed into military organisation, in response to the Home Rule crisis of 1912, that *The Irish Review* captured best and perhaps this is why it is considered so vastly important today.

Conclusion

The golden age of Irish literary magazines

- Tom Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines*

All three magazines considered in the heart of this thesis share the same underlying aims: to promote various types of nationalist pride in Ireland, whilst simultaneously attempting to investigate what it meant to be Irish. Thematically, the complex strains of nationalism promoted and published in each individual literary periodical have been considered in great detail throughout each chapter. Similarly, a number of other themes emerged from an analysis of the decade 1904-1914 that have been considered within this thesis: the politicisation of art, literary networks, feminism and internationalism.

Though the literary periodical in Ireland was experiencing a resurgence as early as 1895 after the decline it suffered due, primarily, to the impact of the Great Famine fifty years previously, it was at the turn of the twentieth century that a new wave of vibrant magazines burst upon the cultural scene. This rebirth peaked around 1904 with the emergence of no less than seven literary periodicals: *The Irish Homestead*, *Sambain*, *St. Stephen's*, *Journal of the National Literary Society*, *All Ireland Review*, and of course *Dana* and *Uladh*. 1904 then becomes the perfect start point for this thesis. Between the years 1904 and 1914, almost every significant Irish writer – from Alice Milligan to W. B. Yeats, James Joyce to Thomas MacDonagh – was intimately involved with a literary magazine; whether it was as an editor, contributor or critic. It is through an examination of their involvement with such journals that we are best able to chart the relationships, motivations and movements that came together to create a remarkably vibrant artistic culture at a time of rapid political change.

When concluding this thesis, the decision to finish in 1914 is paramount; the Ireland of 1914 had changed in ways that could not have been foreseen a decade earlier. A number of figures who had sought a revival of Ireland's past during the previous decade now acknowledged that the time for change was arriving. This period in Ireland's history was one of remarkable change, culminating in a number of significant events that occurred in the final years of the decade considered within this thesis. In the 1910 election, the leader of the Irish party, John Redmond, had demanded that Prime Minister Asquith include Home Rule in the Liberal election programme. By December of the same year, the House of Lords had lost its right to veto any bills from the commons from August 1911 and in April 1912 Asquith introduced his Home Rule Bill, the Liberal Party's third since 1886. On 28th September 1912, Ulster responded to the bill; approximately half a million men and women signed Ulster's Solemn League and Covenant and Women's Declaration in protest against Home Rule. Edward Carson, a barrister and judge – who became one of the North's leading figures in opposition of Home Rule – was the first to sign the covenant at Belfast City Hall. The northern population was predominantly protestant and feared that if the bill was passed it was the first step to an independent, Catholic Ireland. There was also an increase in religious concerns especially post *Ne Temere* Papal decree (1908). Similarly, concerns grew that a Dublin-based parliament would introduce economic policies favourable to the south. By the summer of 1913, the change in Ireland's political trajectory resulted in the establishment of the UVF and the laying of the foundations for the IVF. Irish culture itself was becoming more politicised, and this change was reflected within the pages of Ireland's periodicals. The literary reviews that had provided an assessment of Ireland's cultural debates during the decade now also altered. Following this, the increasing dominance of political rhetoric in Ireland civic society brought about a notable change in its literature, art and culture. As well as the tensions between nationalists and unionists

increasing daily due to their own volunteer parties, Britain's troubles with Germany provided Ireland with a new opportunity for political liberation. Yet not all changes Ireland experienced within this period were driven by local events; the outbreak of World War One saw many Irish men fight in the trenches for Britain. Many never returned and those that did were greatly affected – partly by the traumas of war but also because of what happened at home while they were away and their homecoming reception.

Between 1912 and 1916, the literary magazine in Ireland went back into decline. Aside from *The Irish Review*, the most significant contribution to the periodical press in the years leading to 1916 was *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review of Letters, Philosophy and Science* (which is still published today). The journal was established in 1912 by Jesuit priests and aimed to examine a wide range of Irish issues in the context of Christian values, exploring aspects of literature, history, philosophy and religion. Tom Clyde has classified it as a university magazine, with the foreword to the opening issue stating that after a re-organisation of the university system in 1911, it was fitting to produce a review to “give publicity to scholarly work ... appealing to a wider circle of cultured readers than strictly specialist journals”.¹ Perhaps a reason for a lack of any dominant publication during this period was that the literary journal was no longer at the forefront of furthering cultural movements or debates. For well over a decade the cultural periodical had provided a platform for Irish writers to promote their arguments and ideals, but what was emerging with these figures was a desire for taking revolutionary action, rather than wasting valuable time producing, editing and organising a monthly publication. The time once dedicated to the development of each issue of a periodical was now channelled into more pressing matters. For example, Joseph Mary Plunkett and Thomas MacDonagh, consumed by the Volunteers, and with distractions from their newly formed theatre,

¹ Further Reading: Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines*, pp. 163-164.

could no longer dedicate the time they once had to the planning and production of *The Irish Review*; more importantly they did not want to. This was a common factor in the downfall of literary reviews; the desires that had inspired editors to found such publications fizzled and soon their attention was dedicated to another movement.

From 1916-1922 the literary magazine remains a useful resource for those interested in the study of Irish literature, politics and culture, though not surprisingly no new publications emerged during that time with the seriousness or weight of an *Uladh* or a *Dana*. That is not to say that little magazine disappeared entirely. From March 1916 to December 1918 *The Day*, a Cork-based magazine, was available for purchase; though its irregular periodicity meant that only nine issues were printed before it ceased publication. The magazine was dedicated to the promotion of the arts and culture in Cork of that time, including reviews of plays produced in the town and publications of local writers, as well as poetry and short stories. Some notable figures were involved with the magazine's founding, including Standish O'Grady and Gerald MacNamara, though it quickly faded. *The Irish Commonwealth: A Monthly Review of Social Affairs, Politics and Literature*, published over a three month period from March to May 1919 was a Dublin-based magazine edited by Aodh de Blacam which attempted to follow in the footsteps of its predecessors such as *Dana* and *The Irish Review*. The final issue included an article by F. J. Biggar which discussed life in Belfast alongside essays by Ernest A. Boyd concerned with trends such as 'The Drift of Anglo-Irish Literature' and 'Making the Drama Safe from Democracy'. Though the magazine hoped to make an impact on Ireland's periodical culture in the same way that *Dana*, *Uladh* and *The Irish Review* had, Clyde suggests that it was not in the same league.²

In 1922 Bulmer Hobson attempted to revive *The Irish Review*, using the same title to launch a new literary magazine, though the two have little else in common. First

² See: Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines*, p, 168.

appearing in print in October 1922, the journal survived for six issues and included a balance of art, culture and literature; politics were also discussed, though he was careful not to place too much emphasis upon it. Hobson's magazine included a significant number of short book reviews, with Eimar O'Duffy as the chief reviewer, and prose and poetry submissions. As with *Uladh*, and all literary magazines for that matter, the editor drew upon his personal friendships and connections for submissions. For example, an issue of the magazine included a ballad by Alice Milligan, who, as chapter two discussed, was a friend of the Hobson family, and the two figures had been involved with each other for over two decades at this point. 1923 can be signalled as the year that brought about a re-emergence of important Irish magazines with the rise of both *The Irish Statesman* and *The Dublin Magazine*. Both of these journals are discussed in detail by Shovlin in *The Irish Literary Periodical*; from the outset of this thesis, the aim was to research and develop a period of Irish literary magazines that could serve as a precursor to Shovlin's work.

Those figures that reoccurred throughout the decade of 1904-14 of the Irish periodical press were now embarked on different journeys: Fred Ryan had died in England, John Eglinton, though still working at the NLI, was disillusioned with the nationalism that dominated Irish society and became somewhat of a recluse, though he did continue to write; the Colums left Ireland for America, as had Parkhill for Australia, and Hobson was entangled in nationalist issues that would remain his passion throughout his life. As discussed in chapter three, though he had been involved in the founding of the volunteers and instrumental in organising the Howth gunrunning, by succumbing to John Redmond's demand for some control of the IVF, Hobson was no longer trusted by revolutionary nationalism as he had once been. The fact that he was not informed about the Rising is evidence of this. However, Hobson was aware that something was occurring, and when he discovered that the Rising was scheduled for

Easter Sunday, he was kidnapped and held at gunpoint to ensure he could not spread the news. David Houston had enlisted to fight for the British army in the war, and Plunkett and MacDonagh had remained involved with their literary magazine until 1914.

The outbreak of the World War resulted in the closure of many reviews. In London police seized a number of copies of *The Irish Review* and the financial consequences meant that any hope of continuing publication were unattainable.³ Many other factors led to the closure of this journal but the literary magazine boom of the previous decade was now over.

In the conclusion to *Vivid Faces*, Roy Foster has stated how for a number of central figures who were integral to Ireland's cultural development from the onset of the twentieth century, the "golden period" of this revolutionary era was the decade of 1903-1913. He suggests that it was the fusion of cultural enterprise and national revival that made this period so important in shaping modern Ireland.⁴ Though the period of focus within this thesis differs by one year to the timescale isolated by Foster, it considers such years with emphasis placed upon the literary magazine as a vital means for documenting the unusual and intense merging of art, politics and culture for this revolutionary generation. Between 1904 and 1914, journals were an outlet for writers to express ideas, for movements to express their ideals and manifestos, and for editors to locate the significance of their publication within Irish culture of that time. The wealth of information and multiplicity of voices a literary periodical provides about the period in which it was published allows an analysis of how a generation of prolific figures interacted with one another and developed artistically, culturally and politically together. However, this thesis does not focus solely upon the figures involved with the magazines,

³ Ibid, p. 320.

⁴ See R. F. Foster, *Vivid Faces*, pp. 327-332.

it also considers the cultural changes occurring within Ireland that impacted the direction in which each publication headed.

According to Tom Clyde, this “golden age of Irish literary magazines” could be attributed to two movements that were connected with one another: the Irish revival and the revival of militant nationalism in the years leading to 1916. As this thesis has demonstrated, the two are inextricably linked, and it was the change in Ireland’s cultural circumstances that brought about a change in its politics. Similarly, Clyde also divides Ireland’s literary magazines published during this period into two factions – literary revival and political revival.⁵ As this thesis has shown, it is problematic to classify the reviews as either political or literary; though Clyde does acknowledge the leakages between both, with a vast number of writers publishing within each of the groupings he established for the journals. Nevertheless, *The Irish Review* was established and run as a literary periodical willing to publish on all aspects of Irish culture, and yet today it is most remembered from a political perspective through its promotion of IVF propaganda. A fair analysis locates the Irish literary magazine as a genre that happily blurs the lines between literary, cultural and political. *Dana* was established as a literary journal, but it frequently allowed itself to venture into political debate, and it would prove difficult to label it with either of Clyde’s suggested classifications. It was published during the revival, and at times acknowledged the significance of the revival upon Irish culture of that day, but it was by no means a revivalist magazine. Nor can it be considered a political journal. The contention proposed here then, is that the literary magazines of my chosen period cannot be simply classified as literary, political or even cultural for that matter – the little magazine is a genre that combines each of these and it is for this reason that it is such a significant resource in documenting Ireland’s history, both cultural and political.

⁵ See: Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines*, p. 33.

Analysing the impact of any one writer during a specific period is challenging enough, and yet studying a literary review is even more difficult; with such a varied cast of editors and contributors, and with each magazine analysed within this thesis fusing literary, political and cultural matters within its pages, assessing the impact of the literary magazine upon Ireland has proven difficult but rewarding. The legacy of my chosen titles lived on and the contribution each made to Irish culture continued to stir the country's nationalist drive. It was common for the final issue of many of Ireland's literary periodicals to give no indication of ceasing publication, possibly because the editors themselves were often unaware until after the issue was available for purchase that the end had come. All of the editorial figures considered within this thesis were writers themselves, and it seems likely that their creative desires changed during the publication of their magazines and therefore each was no longer granted the same commitment as it was previously. The planning, production and publication of any monthly magazine was an expensive venture, and lack of financial security often resulted in this shortened shelf life.

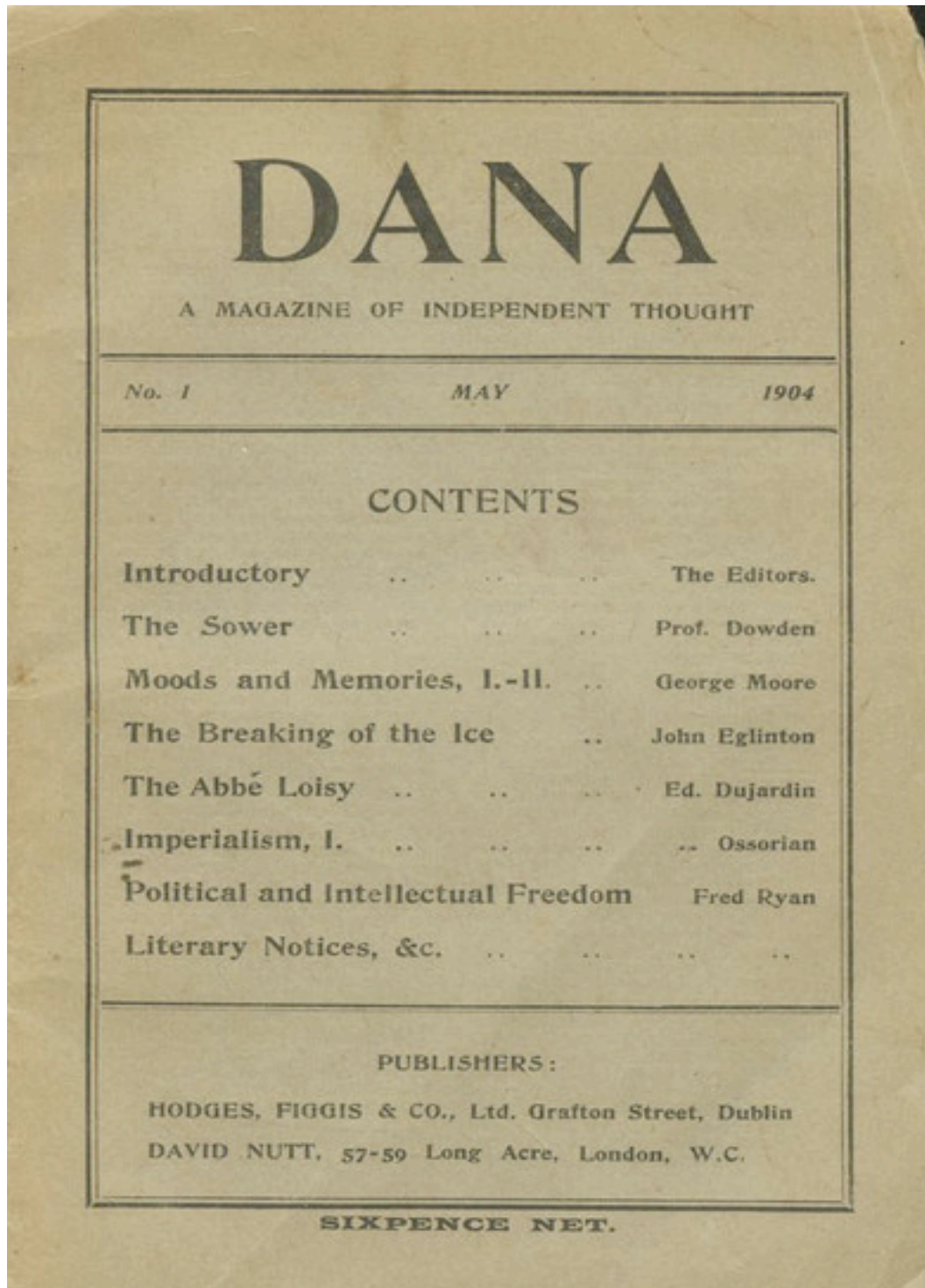
The study of the three little magazines considered within this thesis will hopefully prompt future scholarship into Ireland's periodical culture prior to the Great War and Easter 1916. It is not only the figures associated with a literary magazine that reveal it to be a significant tool in assessing Ireland's literary, political and cultural history, but also the relationships between editors and writers, their friendships and quarrels, as well as the contextual importance of the magazine's position in Irish culture during their publication run. In this so-called decade of centenaries, the period leading to Easter 1916 has been the subject of an abundance of critical scholarship, and the literary journal in Ireland is now recognised as a resource that is a powerful means in understanding a particular period in history.

Each of the magazines considered within this thesis were launched by different editorial groups and with their own individual motivations, yet perhaps the greatest correlation between the three was their aim to discuss Ireland's literary, cultural and political matters. Though *Dana* preserved its autonomy from any parent movement, unlike *Uladh*, which was attached to the ULT and *The Irish Review*, which in latter years became associated with militant nationalism and the IVF, the three journals discussed are primary sources that document the events of the period as they were happening. Unlike novels and other avenues of publication, the vast importance of periodical press is the speed in which each was published; an article could be written, submitted and published within the pages of a literary magazine within a short few days. As a result of this, print culture captured the essence of the period through the raw emotion of the writers who often submitted their work after its speedy creation. Whereas a novel would require editing and several drafts would be submitted to a publisher, periodical press was not the same; editors would either accept or reject a submission due to the nature of its topic in relation to their magazine's ideals. Therefore, the periodical press published during this decade possessed a unique power that separated it from other types of publication; it highlighted the tensions and writings that galvanised the revolutionary generation into action.

My primary purpose has been to tell the story of *Dana*, *Uladh* and *The Irish Review* in the detail they deserve. 1904-1914 marked the end of an era for Ireland's literary magazines, and for the country itself. The years between 1916 and 1923 were the most dramatic and decisive in Ireland's recent history, yet the events that prompted the tumult had what Yeats would call 'a long gestation' in the decade under review here, and in the pages of its periodical press.

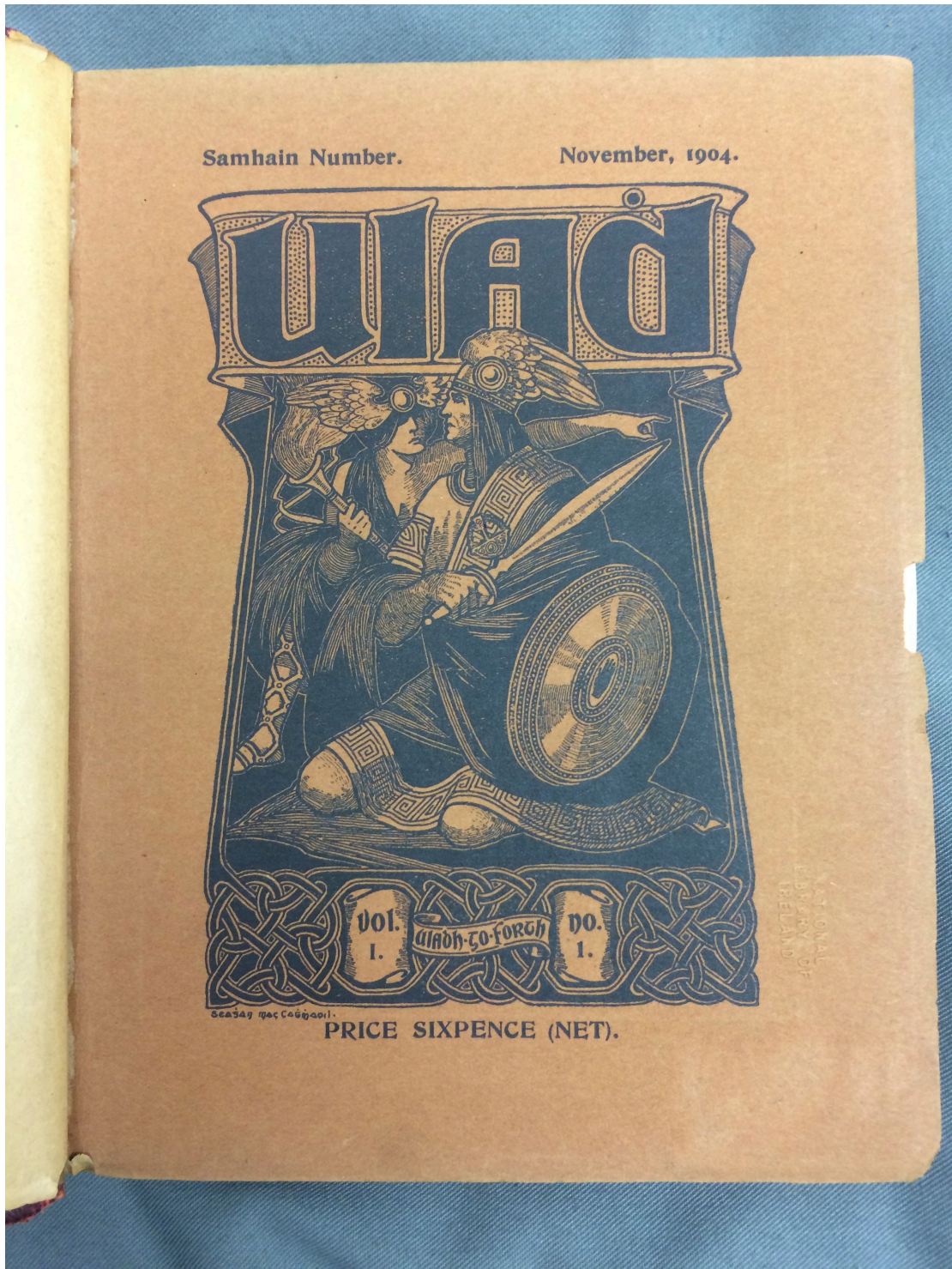
Appendix A

Dana, issue 1 (May 1904).

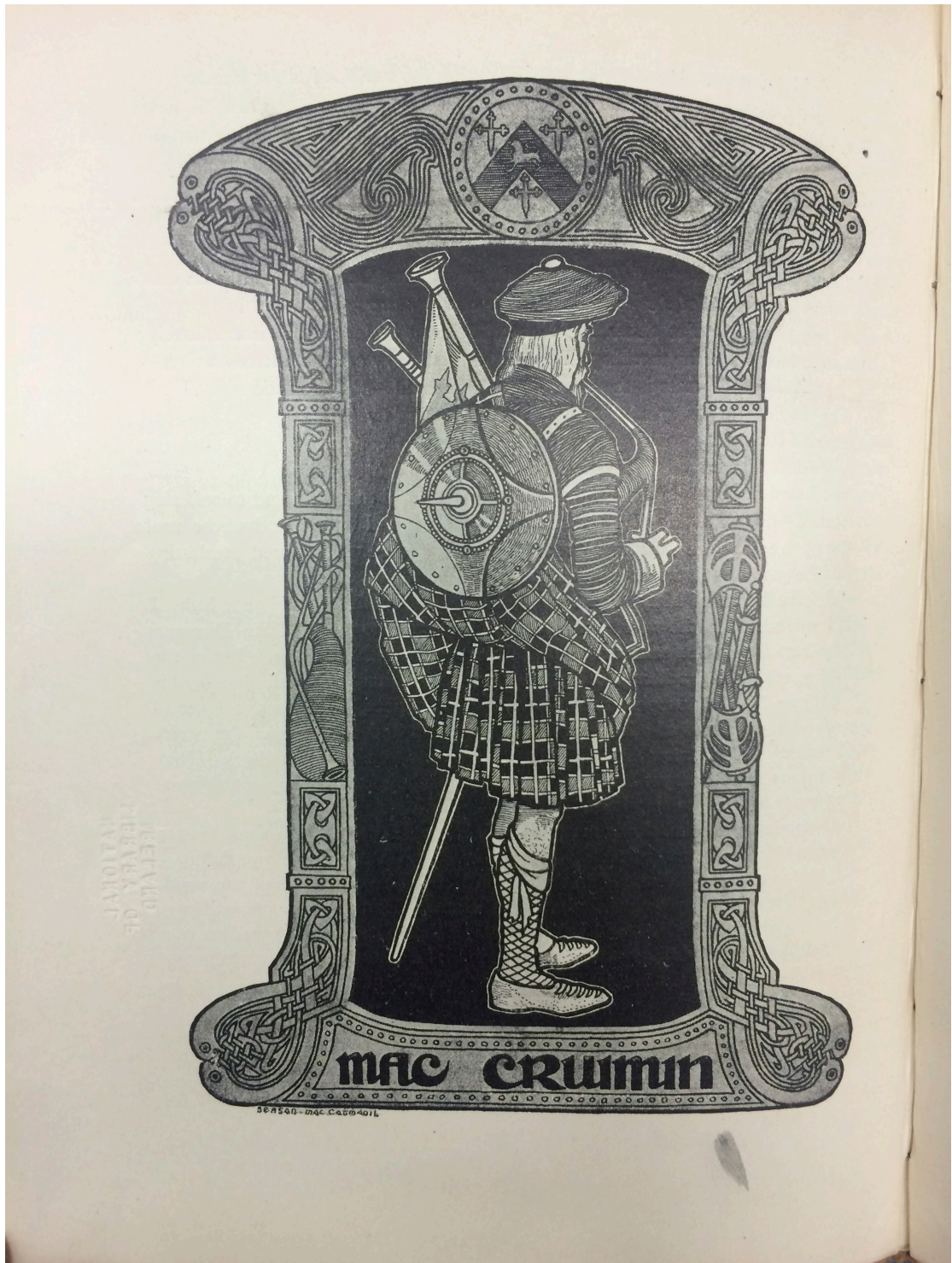


Appendix B

Uladh, issue 1 (November 1904).



John Campbell's illustration published in the third issue of *Uladh* (May 1905) that accompanied his brother, Joseph Campbell's, translation 'MacCrumin'.



Norman Morrow's artistic sketches of *The Enthusiast's* characters included within Seosam de Paor's (Joseph Power's) article in the final issue of *Uladh* (September 1905).



SAM M·KINSTRY.

"I would'nt sign the pledge for no woman."

infinitely larger than the community; sees it too large for the retainment of ancient prejudices, and cries the tidings to his kins folk. With the usual result that the prophet is stoned in his own country. Mr. Purcell shows us this tragi-comedy of the North people with a full appreciation of all that it means. He shows, too, that beneath their aggressive Conservatism, beneath their dourness, there are natures rich with possibilities of good. M'Kinstry *père* is typical of his class, a product of centuries of Covenanters, with no room in his soul save for the sentiments of his ancestry. Yet it is impossible not to like him; indeed he commands more of one's sympathy than does his son James.. He at least is honest to himself. Sam, his second son, is merely a younger and slightly more modernised edition of the father; this character is an equally clever study. Aunt Marget faithfully represents the womankind of the M'Kinstry type. But the character in the little comedy claiming almost more attention than the Enthusiast himself, and certainly more appreciation, is that of Rab, the farm servant. Rab is really a complete study, perfect in every detail; and if the author had never drawn another figure, he deserves much credit for having given us such a miniature.

Since I first read Mr. Purcell's play, the author has re-written it in dialect, and it has been so published in *Uladh*. He has transferred the speech of the County Antrim folk to paper with really marvellous fidelity; indeed it would scarcely be too much to say that he has caught their idioms more cleverly than any previous writer. There are some who hold that the actual language of the unlettered peasantry should not be used in anything written for the stage. Some of our Dublin playwrights, seemingly possessed of a desire to emulate the simplicity of Maeterlinck's marionettes, have

Appendix C

'The Fairy Ring', a painting by William Orpen, was printed in the first issue of *The Irish Review* (March 1911).

THE IRISH REVIEW
MARCH, 1911



THE FAIRY RING

BY WILLIAM ORPEN, R.H.A., A.R.A.

The cover of the December 1913 issue of *The Irish Review* revealing Joseph Plunkett's alteration of the subtitle of the journal from "Irish Literature, Art and Science" to "Irish Politics, Literature and Art".

6^d NET

THE IRISH REVIEW

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF IRISH POLITICS
LITERATURE AND ART

DECEMBER 1913

PICTURE

Gabriel Gifford

POLITICS

An Ulster Imperialist
The Irish Volunteers
Justin Phillips
J. Justin Dempsey

HISTORICAL CRITICISM

Eoin MacNeill

GAELIC LITERATURE

P. H. Pearse

POETRY

Thomas MacDonagh
Peter McBrien
Joseph Plunkett

ÆSTHETICS

Edward Martyn

STORY

Eleanor Farjeon

DUBLIN

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SCHOOL STREET, BOSTON.

MANICO, DUBLIN.

Grace Gifford's artwork published in the combined final issue of *The Irish Review* (September-November 1914).

IRISH REVIEW
SEPT-NOV 1914



CUPID AND PSYCHE



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