'THE GROVES OF ACADEMUS':

A Study of Hedge Schools and their Reading Books

1694-1831

Volume 3

UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

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'THE GROVES OF ACADEMUS':

A Study of Hedge Schools and their Reading Books 1694-1831

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By

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Chapter Five

Advanced Reading Books of the Hedge Schools

Introduction

The hedge schools of Ireland provided education up to pre-university level and were therefore used as preparatory schools for students intended for the priesthood, for service in the foreign armies, for trading on the continent and for employment at home. English reading books at a more advanced level than the cheap 'Burtons' were essential. Once again it was Irish parents who supplied books to their sons and daughters, books, which reflected the interests of the people of the time.

A contemporary account of the reading material in use in the hedge schools of Co. Wexford, written 'By a Constant Visitor'[1] (1862) illustrated the diversity of the reading material read. It ranged from *The Academy of Compliments* (1770-1850), and the pious polemical romance fiction of Penelope Aubin, namely *The Noble Slaves* (1722) and *Adventures of Lady Lucy* (1726) to the novels, *Clarissa* (1747-1748) by Samuel Richardson (1689-1761) and *Castle Rackrent* (1800)[2] by Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849). It would appear also from the list of thirty seven 'Burtons' [Table 5] which had been purchased by the Kildare Place Society book subcommittee who attempted to supplant the chapbooks with their own imitations, [Ch. 6] that the books of Penelope Aubin were widely appreciated as well as the two commercially successful novels of Tobias Smollett (1721-1771) *Roderick Random* (1748) and *Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* (1751).[3]

But the most comprehensive list of advanced readers however is contained in the appendix to the report of the education commissioners of 1825 [Table 1.11], drawn up from the sworn parochial returns made to them by catholic and protestant clergymen

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[1] Dublin University Magazine. November 1862. *'An Irish Hedge School'*, pp. 600-616
[2] Ibid., pp. 601-602.
[3] KPS 11/23/31. List of the Burtons purchased by the Kildare Place Society 15 April 1819.

outlining the books used in the hedge schools of four counties, representing the four provinces, as follows:

County	Province
Donegal	**Ulster**
Kildare	**Leinster**
Galway	**Connaught**
Kerry	**Munster**[4]

The list was an eclectic mix of both the major and minor literary genres which formed part of the popular reading taste of the time. It happened that up until the 1730's there was a reading audience for short stories of romance and intrigue by female writers, works such as Aphra Behn's (1640-1689), *The Amours of Philander & Sylvia,*[5] and Eliza Haywood's (1719-1750) translation of Madeleine Poisson de Gomez's *La Belle Assemblée*[6] - *The Adventures of Six Days* (1726). There was also a demand for the puritan writer Daniel Defoe's (1660-1731) novel *Moll Flanders*[7] (1720) which was written as a factual account in order to satisfy the taste of those who regarded fiction as little more than gilded lies. Utilitarian works, such as conduct books like *The New Academy of Compliments*[8] which told people how to behave on social occasions and books of familiar letters like *The Complete Letter Writer*[9] which instructed the unlettered on how 'to indite' were also sought after.

One could argue that parents who purchased these books of self-improvement did so for home learning purposes, as they wished to educate themselves to equip them to take their place in society and to familiarise themselves with formal letter writing. When they had done so they passed on their books to the more mature members of their families who attended hedge schools. Another strong indication that parents were engaged in self-education is the appearance on the list of the hugely successful essay periodical *The Spectator* (1711),[10] by the classical English writers Richard Steele (1672-1729) and

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[4] First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry 1825, (xii). Appendix No. 221, pp. 553-559.
[5] Ibid., p. 558.
[6] Ibid., p. 555.
[7] Ibid., p. 556.
[8] Ibid., p. 557.
[9] Ibid., p. 556.
[10] Ibid.,

Joseph Addison (1612-1719). *The Spectator* had two hundred imitators in the 18th century and according to Addison's calculations some 3,000 copies were distributed daily. Literary historians such as Q.D. Leavis contended that the assistance of *The Spectator* to the self-educated in England was incalculable – the same must surely have held true for the people of Ireland. Leavis wrote:

> **In the history of the self-educated in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries ....volumes of the Tatler and Spectator were observed to turn up in the homes of the respectable poor as their early reading, so numerous were the editions.**[11]

After 1730 the production of novels in England, the country of origin for the majority of the advanced reading books of the hedge schools, declined, and public taste changed. People in that country now looked for fiction which was more moralistic and decorous than before. Eliza Haywood adapted her work to suit the new fashion by producing a monthly periodical *The Female Spectator,*[12] (1744-1746) in which she inveighed against her own short romances of passion of the 1720's and 1730's. But Irish parents did not follow the trends of the English book market slavishly and even when these romances peaked in the 1720's only a couple of them, written by Behn and Haywood, were read in Ireland. Likewise in the 1730's when a second group of lady writers supplied a ready market with pious and decorous romance, only one writer, Mrs. Penelope Aubin, found a reading audience for her works in Ireland. It is interesting to note also that the romance novel of the French writer Marivaux *Adventures of Marianne*,[13] which bore such a strong resemblance to Samuel Richardson's novel *Pamela*, was also read in Ireland. It was in fact from a synthesis of many of these literary genres that Richardson produced the first novel.

'Lady Novelists' emerged in England following the publication of *Pamela* (1742)[14] and their novels were well received in Ireland. These were the anti-romance novel *The Female Quixote*[15] (1752) by Charlotte Lennox (1720-1804), and the novels of Fanny Burney (1752-1840), a member of the Bluestockings, dubbed by Dr. Samuel Johnson

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11 Q.D. Leavis. *Fiction and the Reading Public*. (Chatto & Windus, 1965), p. 123.
12 App. No. 221, p. 557.
13 Ibid., p. 556.
14 Ibid., p. 557.
15 Ibid., p. 559.

(1709-1784) poet and lexicographer, as that great 'character monger'[16] - *Cecilia, or The Memoirs of an Heiress*[17] (1782) and her third novel *Camilla: Old Wife and Young Husband*[18] (1786). In the late 18th century in particular the profile of the 'Lady Novelist' was enhanced by the success of the evangelical writers, most notably Hannah More, and Sarah Trimmer [Ch. 4].

Women writers now dominated the genre, due in large measure to their change in image. Literary historians like Cheryl Turner (1994) have assigned a major role in their ascendancy to Samuel Richardson[19] who emphasised female virtues in his novels and also to the ideology of the Enlightenment philosophers John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, which singled out unique feminine attributes such as emotion, spontaneity and intuition for idealization.[20] Deirdre Raftery (1997) drew attention to another factor which influenced the rise in the number of women writers, namely the launch of the Bluestocking circle of literary women in the mid 18th century. This circle led to a widening of women's intellectual interests and acted as a spur to many women to take up the pen.[21]

However if one is to judge the popularity of novels by references to them in contemporary writers' accounts then the four major novelists of the 18th century - Samuel Richardson, Tobias Smollett (1713-1768), Laurence Sterne (1713-1768) and Henry Fielding (1707-1754) would have to be rated among the most popular. In Wexford the 'Constant Visitor' observed a young student reading aloud *'Clarissa Harlowe's escape with Lovelace'*, which was an extract from Samuel Richardson's second novel *Clarissa* (1747-1748)[22] while James Glassford, the 1825 commissioner of education, expressed his dismay at the fact that these novels were being read in the hedge schools of Ireland. In a letter to the Earl of Roden in 1829 he stated:-

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16 Ernest A. Baker. *'Fanny Burney'*, p. 157.
17 Ibid., p. 555.
18 Ibid., p. 557.
19 Cheryl Turner. *Living By The Pen.* (Routledge, 11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE, 1994), p. 10. 1st ed. 1992.
20 Ibid., p. 43.
21 Deirdre Raftery. *Women and Learning in English Writing 1600-1900.* (Four Courts Press Ltd., Fumbally Lane, Dublin 8, 1997), p. 99.
22 App. No. 221, p. 557.

> **It is not unusual to find the children in these schools reading promiscuously some portions of scripture, along with the Romances of Fielding or Smollett, or the works of authors still more objectionable.**[23]

The commissioners' list bears adequate testimony to the appeal of these novels which included Richardson's *Pamela*,[24] *Clarissa*,[25] and *Sir Charles Grandison*,[26] Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle*[27] and *Launcelot Greaves*[28]; Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*[29] and Sterne's *Tristam Shandy*[30] and *Sentimental Journey*[31]. The Irish market had ready access to them due to an oversight in the Copyright Act of 1709, which allowed Irish printers to re-print English originals and sell them at a considerably reduced cost.

Richard Cargill Cole gave an interesting account of the re-print industry in Ireland from 1740-1800 in *Irish Booksellers and English Writers, 1740-1800* (1986), in which he referred to a considerable number of Dublin booksellers engaged in piracy, some of whom were well known among London printers for their diligence in obtaining sheets from their printing houses, a practice Richardson found objectionable.[32] Cole reported that 'The Dublin pirates were so successful that the pirated edition of *Sir Charles Grandison* was published before the London edition and Richardson reported his fear that the Dublin pirates would charge him with piracy'[33], and the Dublin re-prints sold for two shillings less than the London originals. Consequently the novels of Richardson, Fielding, Smollett and Sterne dominated the sixth decade of the 18th century[34] in Ireland. Parents could also rent novels from the circulating libraries, which were first introduced in Dublin in 1737, and which spread rapidly throughout Dublin, Cork and Belfast, during the last two decades of the century, thus putting the expensive novel within reach of the

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[23] James Glassford. *Letter to Rt. Hon. Earl of Roden on the Present State of Irish Education 1829*, p. 39.
[24] App. No. 221, p. 557.
[25] Ibid.,
[26] Ibid., p, 556.
[27] Ibid.,
[28] Ibid., p. 557.
[29] Ibid., p. 558.
[30] Ibid., p. 555.
[31] Ibid., p. 558.
[32] Richard Cargill Cole. *Irish Booksellers and English Writers, 1740-1800.* (Mansell Publishing Ltd., Humanities Press International Inc., 1986), p. 70.
[33] Ibid.,
[34] Ibid.,

ordinary people. At this time also there were numerous lending libraries open to the public, which stocked re-prints of the novels, which the poor could avail of freely.[35]

In the third quarter of the 18th century a startling change took place in literary taste with the arrival of the novels of terror or gothic novels. They were written in the anti-realist mode, as a challenge to the rationalist philosophy of the age of the Enlightenment, which insisted on rules and emphasised reason. All of these were now being rejected by the gothic writer of fiction who deconstructed the very realities of life itself.[36] Irish readers welcomed the rebellious gothic literature, which peaked as Ireland was making preparations for the revolution of 1798. During this turbulent period people read Clara Reeve's (1727-1807) *Old English Baron*[37], the Lee sisters Harriot and Sophie's translation of *Warbeck*[38], Mrs. Ann Radcliffe's (1764-1823) *Mysteries of Udolpho*[39] (1794), and Matthew Gregory Lewis's (1775-1818) *The Monk*[40] (1795).

It is proposed to select one example from each of the minor literary genres - from the romance of passion of Aphra Behn to the more decorous romance of Penelope Aubin, from Defoe's realistic fiction to the self-improvement manuals and from Addison and Steele's instructive and classical essay periodical to the sentimental novels of the 'Lady Novelist' Fanny Burney to illustrate the wide ranging taste of the Irish people. These works will be placed in their historical context and the content and literary merit of each will be evaluated.

As the commissioners' list contained the entire works of Samuel Richardson and Laurence Sterne and a lesser number by Tobias Smollett and Henry Fielding, it is proposed to give an assessment of their works and a detailed account of their authors, together with their contribution to the development of the novel, in order to show that students in the hedge schools had access to the best available fictional literature of the time.

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[35] M. Pollard. *Dublin's Trade in Books*, p. 31.

[36] David Punter. *The Literature of Terror*. (Longman Group Ltd., Longman House, Burnt Mill, Harlow, Essex CH20 2JE, England, 1996), pp. 27-28.

[37] App. No. 221, p. 556.

[38] Ibid.,

[39] Ibid., p. 558.

[40] Ibid.,

The anti-realist novels of the two major gothic novelists Ann Radcliffe and Matthew Gregory Lewis will be discussed to show that their rejection of the literary conventions which the classical writers of the early 19th century held so sacred, appealed to an Irish readership. This may well have been symptomatic of the lawless condition of the country in the 1790's, and may have reflected what Dr. Doyle, called the 'deranged taste of a distracted people'[41]. The main themes in the books will be discussed and the literary influences which shaped their gothic style of writing will be outlined to illustrate that it would have taken a very advanced student of English to comprehend their complex works.

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41 W.J. Fitzpatrick. *The Life, Times and Correspondence of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Doyle.* Vol. 1, p. 322.

(i) An Eclectic Mix of Popular Literature in the 18th Century Hedge School

There is no better proof of the greatness of a household, a country or a period than its readiness to laugh at itself and to concede to the young complete liberty of reading.[42]

From 1695 when the first of the penal laws proscribing Irish catholic education at home and abroad was passed, to the introduction of Gardiner's Relief Act of 1782 legalising catholic education, under certain conditions, there was a dearth of Irish books printed in this country. This scarcity was referred to by the English contemporary writer Richard Twiss when he toured Ireland in 1775,[43] a situation which hadn't improved by the beginning of the 19th century, according to Bernard Trotter's account in his *Walks Through Ireland in the Years 1812, 1814 and 1817.*[44] The catholic church looked to their religious orders on the continent to meet the shortfall but their contributions were mainly scholarly theological publications in Irish by the Louvain Franciscans such as *Stair an Bhíobla* 'a biblical commentary written or adapted about 1726 by a Franciscan named Uaitéar Ó Ceallaigh' from Roscommon. Sometimes priests who trained in seminaries abroad wrote for the home market, priests such as Geoffrey Keating (1570-1650) from Co. Tippperary, who was educated at Bordeaux and Spain, and who wrote the well known defence of the mass *Eocharsgiath an Aifrinn* or *The Key and Defence of the Mass* and *Trí Bíorghaoithe an Bháis* (1631)[45] or *The Three Shafts of Death* which was 'a miscellany of pious examples, arguments and homiletic anecdotes' and one famous exile poem, possibly written when he was in Bordeaux entitled *Beannacht Leat a Sgríbhinn.*[46]

Neither source of supply could have been expected to meet the needs of the entire reading population in the early 18th century. It should be remembered also that during the first half of the 18th century people were afraid to be found with Irish books or manuscripts in their possession. Sometimes they even went so far as to bury them in the earth, as L. Ó Súilleabháin pointed out in his book *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*

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42 R.C. Churchill. *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature.* (University Press Cambridge, 1970), p. 513.

43 Richard Twiss. *A Tour in Ireland in 1775*, p. 41.

44 Bernard Trotter. *Walks Through Ireland in the years 1812, 1814 and 1817.* (Sir Richard Phillips & Co., Bridge Court, Bridge Street, 1819), p. 46.

45 R.A. Breatnach. *'The End of a Tradition. A Survey of Eighteenth Century Gaelic Literature.'* In *Studia Hibernica* No. 1, (1979), p. 221.

46 Aodh de Blácam. *Gaelic Literature Surveyed*, p. 238.

'I rith an chéad leath de'n ochtmhadh aois déag ba leor leabhar Gaedhilge do bheith in a sheilbh ag duine chun an droch-amhras do bheith air, nó b'fhéidir é do chreachadh. An dáinséar do bhain le láimhscribhinní Gaeilge do bheith I seilbh duine, lean a chuimhne, in áiteanna sa tír anuas go dtí na blianta is cuimhin liom féin. Chonaic mé lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge do bhí an fhaid sin curtha fé'n gcré gur thréig dath na scíobhnóireachta nach mór, agus gur lobhaigh na ciumhais' ar eagla go n'aimseofaí iad nuair a thabharfadh Yeos na dúiche cuairt ar an tí.

During the first half of the 18th century if you were found with an Irish book in your possession, you were immediately under suspicion, or perhaps raided. The fear of being found in possession of Irish books or manuscripts lasted for many years. I saw Irish manuscripts that were so long buried underground, that the print was practically faded and the edges destroyed. They were buried lest the Yeos should discover them when they visited the house.[47]

After the repeal of the last of the penal laws against catholic education in 1793, a period when the catholic church was undergoing a renewal and reform, there was a surge in demand for devotional literature, but Irish books of entertainment were not being printed and writers were still committing the old stories to manuscripts. Even though there were fifty printers in Dublin at this time, and thirty four provincial presses, original English books of entertainment, by indigenous writers, were not being published,[48] with just a few exceptions. Only in this context is it possible to understand why so much diverse material was read in the hedge schools and why most of it had been imported from England.

In England, the industrial revolution at the end of the 17th century resulted in the capitalisation of the domestic home industry of spinning and weaving. Ireland, being an agricultural country was effected to a far lesser extent. In England it rendered middle class women an idle class. The increase in wealth which resulted for the upper classes brought about a change of outlook among women from this class. They now withdrew from their role of responsibility in household management and affairs of business to lead lives of leisure.[49] It was for these middle and upper class ladies that booksellers catered. Even as early as 1691 the enterprising bookseller John Dunton (1659-1733) recognised

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47 R. Batterberry. *Oideachas in Éirinn, 1500-1946.* (Oifig an tSoláthair, Baile Átha Cliath, 1955), pp. 123-124.

48 Kevin Whelan. *The Tree of Liberty*, p. 63.

the importance of the feminine reading public and devoted monthly numbers of his *Athenian Mercury* (1691) and his *Ladies Mercury* (1692) to matters of special interest to women, some of which took the form of long confessional letters concerning love affairs. As Robert Adams Day in his book *Told in Letters* (1966) observed 'Dunton was only one of many who discerned the profitable connection between women and sentimental epistolary fiction'.[50]

In fact a whole new industry grew up as a result, with all of the best selling hack writers from Grub Street, a place synonymous with literary drudgery, engaged in writing letters. Booksellers like Dunton and Edmund Curll (1675-1747) employed the needy female writers Mrs. Aphra Behn (1640-1689), Mrs. De la Riviere Manley (1663-1724) and Mrs. Eliza Haywood (1719-1750), all of whom transcribed works from French, to supply the market. Between 1660 and 1740 there was a large influx of French translations, which peaked in the 1680's,[51] and English original fiction had difficulty competing with these importations. Aphra Behn remained among the few writers who managed to do so. Her broad literary experience, firstly as a playwright who had successfully produced twenty two plays and secondly,[52] as a talented translator of French textbooks,[53] enabled her to draw on theatrical themes and to pattern her work on the fashionable French nouvelle or short romances of intrigue. The most frequently translated nouvelle were stories in letter form or epistolary fiction, such as letters telling a story of love, letters relating a journey, or similar adventure, spy letters and scandal chronicles largely or wholly in letters.[54] Behn's preference was for scandal chronicle or nouvelle historique. Her most influential work in this genre was *Love-Letters Between a Nobleman and his Sister*[55] (1694), which was listed on the commissioners' list as *The Amours of Philander & Sylvia.*[56] It bore strong resemblances to the French model *Lettres Portugaises* (1678) and became a bestseller in the 18th century, running into sixteen editions and producing a host of

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49 Ibid.,

50 Robert Adams Day. *Told in Letters.* (The University of Michigan, 1966), p. 76.

51 Paul Salzman. *English Prose Fiction 1558-1700.* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1985), p. 308.

52 _____ *An Anthology of Elizabethan Prose Fiction.* (Oxford University Press, 1987), p. xxxiv.

53 Deirdre Raftery. *Women and Learning*, p. 47.

54 Robert Adams Day. *Told in Letters*, p. 32.

55 Natascha Wurzbach (ed.). *The Novel in Letters: Epislolary Fiction in the Early English Novel 1678-1740.* (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1969).
_____ Aphra Behn. *Love-Letters Between a Nobleman and his Sister.* (London 1694). Reprinted.

56 App. No. 221, p. 558.

imitations.[57] Her *Love Letters* took the form of an exchange of letters between a young French nobleman during the period of the Huguenot rebellion in Paris and his wife's sister. The incestuous and adulterous relationship was discussed at length in these letters before finally being consummated at the end of the story. The hero Philander wrote about what was natural and what was artificially imposed upon man by misguided social codes:

> **Here is no troublesome Honour, amongst the pretty Inhabitants of the Woods and Streams, fondly to give Laws to Nature, but uncontroul'd they play, and sing and love; no parents checking their dear Delights, no Slavish Matrimonial Ties, to restrain their nobler Flame. No Spies to interrupt their blest Appointments.**[58]

Philander protested his right to 'incestuous love', although Sylvia wasn't in fact his sister but his wife's younger sister. His wife had also been cuckolding him with somebody else but Sylvia proclaimed 'False as she is, you are still married to her'[59]. When the affair was discovered it caused deep offence to her family and considerable public outrage. Sylvia wrote to Philander:

> **Philander, all that I dreaded, all that I fear'd is fallen upon me: I have been arraign'd and convicted: three Judges, severe as the three infernal ones, sate in Condemnation on me, a Father, a Mother and a Sister.**[60]

Philander was pursued by lawsuits for rape and incest but the problem was eventually resolved by Sylvia marrying one of Philander's lackeys, who agreed to be married in name only, acting as a front for Philander himself. Behn introduced a note of authentic passion into English fiction by exploiting a famous contemporary scandal involving Lord Grey and his sister-in-law Lady Henrietta Berkeley.[61] Part two of the book consisted of a series of intrigues which reflected the influence of the Spanish novella or short story, then in vogue. Several collections of novella had been translated including the French playwright Paul Scarron's (1610-1660) translation of Miguel de Cervantes' (1547-1616) *Exemplary Novels* from Spanish to French, which were re-translated into English by John Davies in 1665.[62]

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57 Cheryl Turner. *Living By The Pen*, p. 29.
58 Aphra Behn. *Love-Letters*, p. 221.
59 Ibid., p. 215.
60 Ibid., p. 265.
61 S. Diana Neill. *A Short History of the English Novel*. (Jarold's publishers London Ltd., 1951), p. 40.
62 Paul Salzman. *English Prose Fiction*, p. 311.

THE

Female Spectator.

VOL. I.

Ill Cuſtoms, by Degrees, to Habits riſe,
Ill Habits ſoon become exalted Vice.
DRYDEN.

DUBLIN:

Printed for GEORGE and ALEXANDER EWING at the *Angel* and *Bible* in *Dame-ſtreet*, Bookſellers.

M,DCC,XLVI.

Fig.36.1

TO

HER GRACE

THE

DUTCHESS

OF

LEEDS.

May it pleaſe your GRACE,

AS the chief View in Publiſhing theſe Monthly Eſſays is to rectify ſome Errors, which, ſmall as they may ſeem at firſt, may if indulged, grow up into greater, till they at laſt become Vices, and make all the Misfortunes of our Lives, it was neceſſary to put them under the Protection of a Lady, not only of an unblemiſh'd Conduct, but alſo of an exalted Virtue, whoſe Example may enforce the Precepts they contain, and is Herſelf a ſhining Pattern for others to copy after, of all thoſe Perfections I endeavour to recommend.

IT is not therefore, Madam, that You are deſcended from a *Marlborough* or a *Godolphin*, dear as thoſe Patriot Names will ever be while any Senſe of Liberty remains in *Britons*; nor on the Account of the high Rank You hold in the World, nor for thoſe Charms with which Nature has ſo profuſely adorn'd Your Perſon; but for thoſe innate Graces which no Anceſtry can give, no Titles can embelliſh, nor no Beauty atone for the Want of, that Your GRACE has an

Fig.36.2

Fig. 36.1 Title page from *The Female Spectator, Vol. 1.* [Eliza Haywood] 1746.

Fig. 36.2 Dedication from *The Female Spectator, Vol. 1.*

TO

HER GRACE

The DUTCHESS of

BEDFORD,

THIS

SECOND VOLUME

OF THE

FEMALE SPECTATOR

IS

INSCRIBED

(With all due Submiſſion)

By

HER GRACE'S

Moſt devoted Servants,

Fig.36.3

TO

HER GRACE

The DUTCHESS of

Queensberry and *Dover*,

THIS

THIRD VOLUME

OF THE

FEMALE SPECTATOR

Fig.36.4

TO

HER GRACE

The Dutcheſs Dowager of

MANCHESTER,

THIS

FOURTH VOLUME

OF THE

FEMALE SPECTATOR

Fig.36.5

Fig. 36.3 **Dedication from *The Female Spectator, Vol. 2.***

Fig. 36.4 **Dedication from *The Female Spectator, Vol. 3.***

Fig. 36.5 **Dedication from *The Female Spectator, Vol. 4.***

Mrs. de la Riviere Manley satisfied the public taste for sentiment and scandal in England and used her books as a medium to attack prominent members of the Whig party. She was imprisoned after the publication of her successful scandal history *Secret Memoirs And Manners of Several Persons of Quality*[63] (1709). However the Irish rejected her scandal chronicles, as they did those of her successor Eliza Haywood. This prolific writer of amatory novellas reached the height of her popularity between 1724-1726 when in order to meet public demand, she produced on average, one novel every month, penning some twenty eight novels in all during this period.[64] Her favourite themes were reminiscent of popular restoration plays, some of which she would have written before turning to prose fiction. These were the possibilities of sexual conflict, predatory male lust in pursuit of female innocence, thwarted and successful sexual assault which she first described and then condemned just as Samuel Richardson was to do some twenty years later in his novels *Pamela* and *Clarissa*. The Irish rejected her romances of passion and opted instead for her English translation of *La Belle Assemblée*[65] and her tasteful periodical entitled *The Female Spectator*[66], (1744-1746) published in emulation of Richardson who rejected fanciful romance for reality.

In England the letter stories of Eliza Haywood rivalled Daniel Defoe's (1660-1731) stories in popularity, but in Ireland Defoe enjoyed a much more extensive readership, as some of his works held an enduring appeal for adults and children alike. In his sixtieth year he produced that well known classic of children's literature Robinson Crusoe (1719) which was intended for an adult readership as it promoted the virtues of the puritan class for which he was writing. As Leavis remarked 'Defoe wrote to flatter and satisfy the practical, materialistic, unromantic puritan middle class with their eagerness for facts, their fascination with documentary evidence and all illusions of truth'.[67] The story of *Robinson Crusoe* according to Walter Allen, was turned into a microcosm of the 18th century, as it told of the triumph of individualism, the entrepeneurial spirit and the human spirit over nature. But in so doing Defoe delineated sharply 'the inescapable solitariness of each man in his relation to God and the universe'[68]. *Robinson Crusoe* was a surprise success. There were four editions of it in 1719 and at least two piracies in London and

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63 Cheryl Turner. *Living By The Pen*, p. 47.
64 S. Diana Neill. *A Short History of the English Novel*, p. 80.
65 App. No. 221, p. 555.
66 Q.D. Leavis. *Fiction and the Reading Public*, p. 105.
67 David Punter. *The Literature of Terror*, pp. 27-28.
68 Walter Allen. *The English Novel*. (Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1982), p. 39.

another in Dublin. A second part - *The Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe* appeared in 1720, which claimed to give Crusoe's thoughts in solitude, all of which contributed to make *Robinson Crusoe* a landmark in English fiction.[69]

Defoe's next best known work was *Moll Flanders*[70], which appeared in 1722 (dated 1721) and was an instant success, due in large measure to its supposed scandalous character and to Defoe's sensational advertising of its contents. The full title reveals the marketing strategy applied. It read:

> **The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the famous Moll Flanders etc. who was born in Newgate, and during a life of continu'd variety for three score years besides her childhood, was twelve years a whore (whereof once to her own brother) twelve years a thief, eight years a transported felon in Virginia, at last grew rich, liv'd honest, and died a penitent, written from her own memories.**[71]

No doubt Defoe, who had been imprisoned himself in Newgate for political offences (1703) brought his experiences to bear when writing *Moll Flanders*. He depicted Moll as a victim of the society she lived in. She had no control over her circumstances. She never wished to engage in criminal activity and while she had leanings towards honesty and loyalty and even had the inclination to fall in love, in her way, she believed she couldn't afford to indulge such impulses. Moll's moral message was similar to that expressed by Defoe in the Author's Preface, when he advised the reader to make 'virtuous and religious uses' of the story and when he warned parents who decked their children in finery and allowed them to go to dancing school alone, of what might ensue. Likewise when Moll robbed a child and practically murdered the infant, she rationalised the event as follows:

> **... as I did the poor child no harm, I only thought I had given the parents a just reproof for their negligence, in leaving the poor lamb to come home by itself, and it would teach them to take more care another time.**[72]

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[69] S. Diana Neill. *A Short History of the English Novel*, p. 44.

[70] App. No. 221, p. 556.

[71] Alan Dugald McKillop. *The Early Masters of English Fiction*. (Greenwood Press Publishers, 51, Riverside Avenue, Westport, C.1. 06880, 1979), p. 31-32.

[72] Daniel Defoe. *Moll Flanders*. (Oxford University Press, Walton St., Oxford OX2 6DP, 1991), pp. 4-5.

A.D. McKillop in *The Early Master of English Fiction* was of the opinion that 'Defoe proved himself to be the archetypal novelist in his characterisation of Moll Flanders and he was the first writer to do so'[73]. This type of picaresque or rogue literature appealed to the Irish and it remained popular with a wide section of the reading public. There were three editions of *Moll Flanders* in 1722 and another abridged edition in 1723, besides innumerable chapbook versions.[74]

Contrasting styles of writing had popular audiences in the 18th century and the classical writers Jonathan Swift, Joseph Addison and Richard Steele enjoyed as much acclaim as Haywood or Defoe even though the former despised the latter because they believed that members of the Augustan literary movement like themselves, were superior. This movement insisted on rigorous literary standards being upheld as they believed that 'classical literature contained the highest cultural authority'[75]. The Augustans took their name from the Augustan period of the Roman Empire (63 B.C. – 14 A.D.) when Greek forms were adapted to Roman themes in literature and art. English Augustans 'saw their period of national history as analogous to this past age in that it too, seemed to them a silver age: that is, it seemed poised between golden achievements in the past and possible future collapse into a barbarous age of bronze'.[76] They regarded the new trend in the literary market for epistolary romances and puritan realism as reprehensible. They saw that literature was in danger of being turned into a mere market commodity and writing converted into a mechanical trade.

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[73] op. cit., pp. 30-31.
[74] Ian Watt. *The Rise of the Novel*, p. 122.
[75] Ernest A. Baker. *The Elizabethan Age and After*, p. 253.
[76] David Punter. *The Literature of Terror*, pp. 27-28.

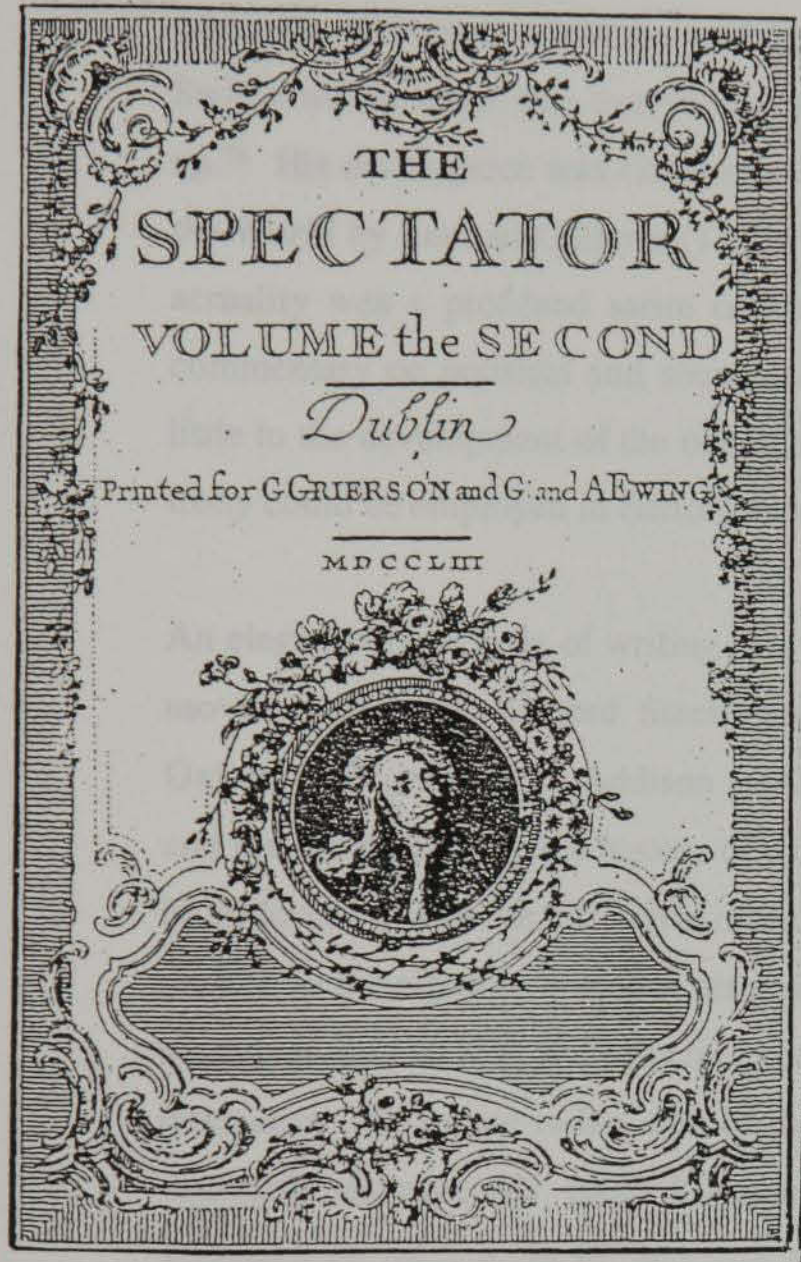

Fig.37.1

Fig.37.2

Fig. 37.1 Title page from *The Spectator, Vol. ii* [Richard Steele, Joseph Addison] 1753.

Fig. 37.2 Frontispiece to *The Spectator, Vol. ii.*

This condescending attitude was implicit in Jonathan Swift's reference to his rival in the field of story telling Daniel Defoe, as '...the fellow that was pilloried I have forgot his name'.[77] Nonetheless Swift earned a well-deserved reputation for himself as a formidable prose satirist, arguably the greatest in English literature. But the very qualities which made him a great satirist also precluded him from becoming a novelist. Swift had little tolerance of human weakness and frailty, which he attacked with stinging irony. In Swift's works satire was everything, but satire can only be part of the novelist's make-up.[78] His masterpiece was *Gulliver's Travels or Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World* by Lemuel Gulliver (1726)[79], which was superficially a children's story but in actuality was a profound satire on the irrationality of human behaviour, and a subtle commentary on political and social conditions in 18th century England.[80] Swift added little to the development of the novel, but he created a flawless prose and he showed how irony could be employed in fiction, to maximum effect.

An elegant, ornate style of writing was promoted by two great exponents of the Augustan movement namely Richard Steele and Joseph Addison, both of whom had attended Oxford College. Joseph Addison started to write for *The Spectator* [Table 9.1] in 1711 and his contribution to the history of the essay periodical marked a turning point, because he endowed it with the lofty style of cultured writing, a style Fielding was to adopt in the preface to the eighteen books of his novel *Tom Jones*.[81] He also named the characters in his essays, so that they were not mere generic beings and he was responsible for a literary innovation still in use today, that of the *'Letters to the Editor'*, only his editor was the venerable moralist Mr Isaac Bickerstaff, a character he borrowed from his fellow Augustan Jonathan Swift.[82] But probably the most significant contribution Addison and Steele made to the substance of the novel was the creation of a group of vivid, life-like characters, who became household names. There was Steele's fictitious creation Sir Roger de Coverley the affable original thinker, who was loved so much by his readers that when Steele finally put him to sleep, they mourned him as a friend.[83]

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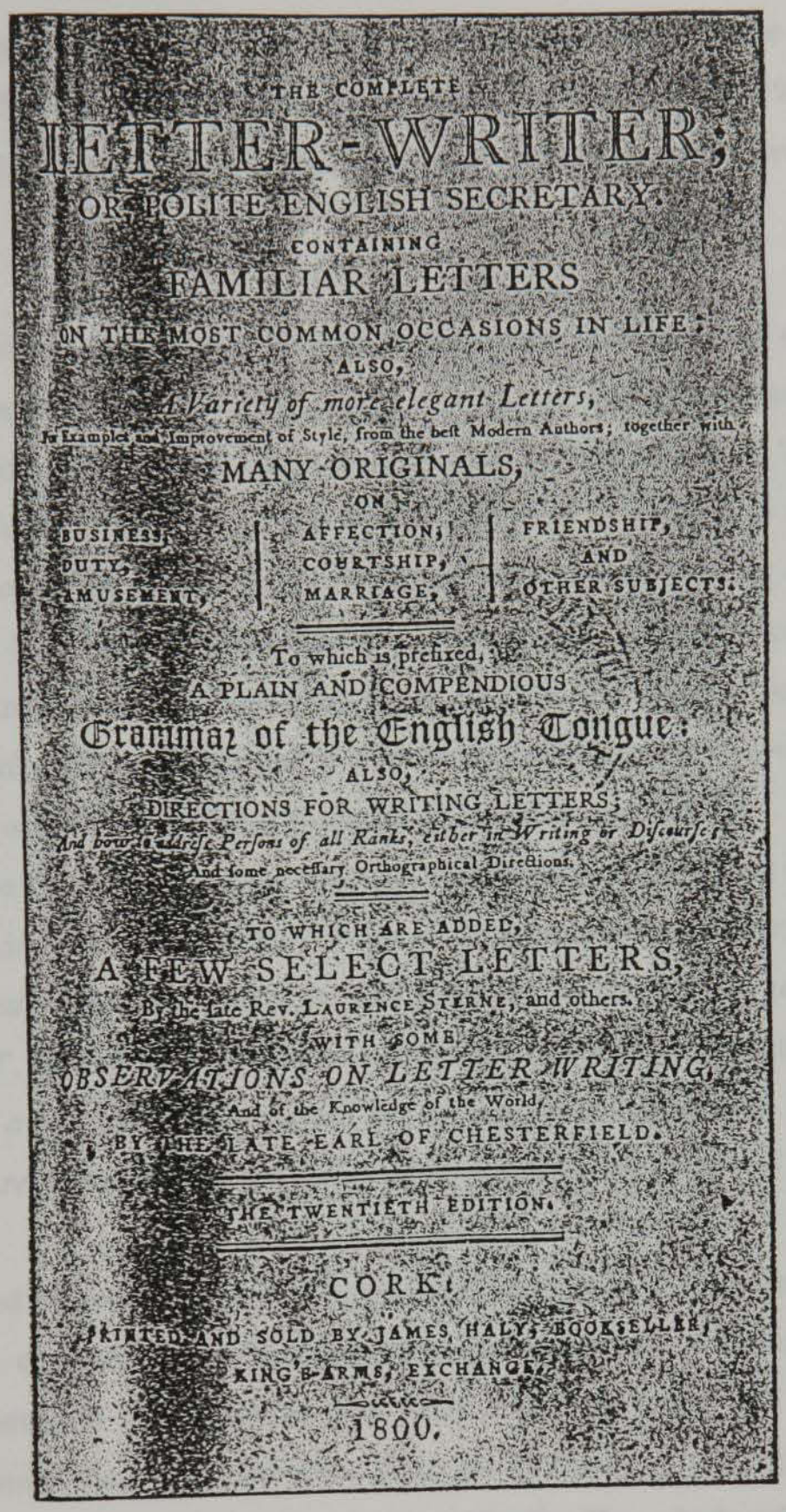
[77] Walter Allen. *The English Novel*, p. 37.
[78]Ibid., p. 42.
[79] App. No. 221, p. 556.
[80]S. Diana Neill. *A Short History of the English Novel*, pp. 47-48.
[81] Ernst A. Baker. *The Elizabethan Age and After*, p. 254.
[82]Ibid., p. 254.
[83]Ibid., p. 260.


THE COMPLETE

LETTER-WRITER;

OR, POLITE ENGLISH SECRETARY:

CONTAINING

FAMILIAR LETTERS

ON THE MOST COMMON OCCASIONS IN LIFE;

ALSO,

A Variety of more elegant Letters,

For Examples and Improvement of Style, from the best Modern Authors; together with

MANY ORIGINALS,

ON

BUSINESS, DUTY, AMUSEMENT, | AFFECTION; COURTSHIP, MARRIAGE, | FRIENDSHIP, AND OTHER SUBJECTS.

To which is prefixed,

A PLAIN AND COMPENDIOUS

Grammar of the English Tongue:

ALSO,

DIRECTIONS FOR WRITING LETTERS;

And how to address Persons of all Ranks, either in Writing or Discourse:

And some necessary Orthographical Directions.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

A FEW SELECT LETTERS,

By the late Rev. LAURENCE STERNE, and others.

WITH SOME

OBSERVATIONS ON LETTER WRITING,

And of the Knowledge of the World,

BY THE LATE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

THE TWENTIETH EDITION.

CORK:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY JAMES HALY, BOOKSELLER,

KING'S-ARMS, EXCHANGE.

1800.

Fig. 38.1 Title page from *The Complete Letter-Writer;* or, *Polite English Secretary.* [1800].

Addison's equally winning character Will Honeycomb was also a favourite with readers in the 18th century because of his engaging optimism and charm in the face of life's tribulations.[84] Addison and Steele had provided what Ernest A. Baker (1930) described as 'brilliant examples of prose fiction' which proved iinvaluable to those involved in self-education.[85]

A further indication that people were keen to improve themselves was the appeal of such books as *The Complete Letter Writer*[86] which was a letter manual, containing not only *'Miscellaneous Letters on the most useful and common occasions'* such as *'A Son's Letter at School to his Father'*, *'From a young Woman just gone to service, to her Mother at home'*, *'From a young Apprentice to his Father, to let him know how he likes his place and goes on'*, but also *'Letters of Courtship and Marriage'*. In this section the social etiquette in such matters was evident from letters like the one *'From a young person in Business to a Gentleman, desiring leave to wait on his Daughter'*, or *'From a young Lady to her Father, acquainting him with a Proposal of Marriage made to her'*. Another letter which reflected the social mores of the time was one from a daughter who objected to her father match-making for her, entitled *'From a Daughter to her father, whereon she dutifully expostulates against a match he had proposed to her, with a gentleman much older than herself'*, as well as a letter from a compliant daughter on the same topic *'From a young Lady, to a gentleman that courted her, whom she could not like, but was forced by her parents to receive his visits, and think of none else for her Husband'*.

Part 111 contained *'Familiar Letters of Advice and Instruction etc. in many Concerns in Life'*. From the contents it would appear that the author was catering for a female readership. It contained such letters as one *'From a sensible Lady, with a never failing Receipt for a Beauty Wash'*, to *'Domestic Rule, the Province of the Wife'*, or *'From a Lady to her Acquaintance on growing old'*, and finally *'To a Lady who had lost her Beauty by the Small Pox'*.

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[84]Ibid., p. 261.
[85] Ernest A. Baker. *The Elizabethan Age and After*, p. 254.
[86] App. No. 221, p. 556.

THE

New Academy

OF

COMPLEMENTS,

ERECTED FOR

Ladies, Gentlewomen, Courtiers, Gentlemen, Scholars, Soldiers, Citizens, Countrymen; and all Persons of what Degree soever, of both SEXES.

Stored with variety of Courtly and Civil COMPLEMENTS, *Eloquent* LETTERS *of Love and Friendship,*

WITH

An Exact Collection of the Newest and Choicest

SONGS *A LA MODE,*

Both Amorous and Jovial.

COMPILED

By L. B. Sir C. S. Sir W. D. and Others the most Refined Wits of this Age.

LONDON:

Printed for *John Churchill*, at the *Black Swan* in *Pater-Noster-Row*. 1713.

Fig.39.1

Fig.39.2

Fig. 39.1 Title page from *The New Academy of Compliments.* [1713].

Fig. 39.2 Frontispiece to *The New Academy of Compliments.*

Part IV was monopolised by the Augustan writers, and in particular by the poet Alexander Pope's (1688-1744) *'Elegant Letters on various Subjects, to improve the style and entertain the Mind'*, to his fellow Augustans Steele, Addison and Swift. The Earl of Chesterfield's *'Of Letter-Writing'* was also included in this section. The manual also contained *'A Plain and Compendious Grammar of the English Tongue'* to which was added *'Directions how to address Persons of all Ranks, either in Writing or Discourse'*.[87]

Unlike the letter manuals, the books of compliments were somewhat artificial and closer to the dramatic situation later encountered in Richardson's novels, because the problematic situations depicted in their manuals were often not chosen for being typical. In *The New Academy of Compliments*[88] for instance among the examples of types of letters was one headed *'A Lover to his False Mistress'* and signed 'Base wretch, Thine once but now his Own'[89], and another titled *'A crackt Virgin, to her Deceitful Friend who hath forsook her for the love of a Strumpet'* and it finished with the line 'Wicked wretch, your Friend, till you abused her'. One letter in particular resembled a letter from the epistolary novels. It was written by *'A Husband To His Lascivious Wife'* as follows:

Wicked and wretched Woman,

Hadst thou forgot all goodness, that you darest lift up thy adulterous eyes to behold the Crystal light? Hast thou no sense of thy own filthy deformity? Dost thou know the World brands thee for a Whore, a notorious Strumpet? Art thou not sensible how thou hath made me become a scorn and by-word to all that know me?
Not that the credit of an honest man can de dashed by the infidelity of a Strumpet! But so it is, that the corruption of the times, have created a custom to set the Wives' sins upon the husband's forehead! Thy children are either hated or pitied by all, and I myself dare not look upon them, lest I permit my fears to whisper to me thy Whoredoms, and their Bastardy....

The sad and much injured Husband.[90]

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87 *The Complete Letter Writer or Polite English Secretary.* (James Haby Booksellers, King's-Arms Exchange, Cork, 1800), 12th century. The Preface.

88 *The New Academy of Compliments.* (John Churchill, Black Swan, Pater-Noster Row, London, 1713).

89 Ibid., p. 33.

90 Ibid., pp. 77-78.

Complemental Expressions towards Men

LEADING TO

The ART of COURTSHIP.

SIR, Your Goodneſs is as boundleſs as my Deſires to ſerve You.

Sir, Your Vertues are the Loadſtone that draw even your Enemies to love and to admire You.

Sir, It is my Profeſſion to appear in all Places, a Servant to Your Merits.

Sir, I have nouriſht in my ſelf a continual care of ſeeking Opportunities to do you ſervice.

Sir, You have ſo purſu'd me with your Favours, that I am capable of no other pleaſure, but to entertain them.

Sir, ſuch is Your Deſerts and my Neceſſity, that I want both Words and Services to expreſs how unfeignedly I honour You.

Sir, Your bounties have been ſhowr'd upon me with ſuch exceſs, that I am uncapable of a Complement.

Sir, I ſhall deſire no greater Glory from You, than new Proofs of my Obedience.

Sir, when I have finiſh'd your Deſires, I ſhould intreat you to reſerve ſome new commands, ſo great a pleaſure I take in being Yours.

Sir, You have deſerved more ſervices from me, than my Life is able to perform.

Sir, Such is the exceſs of my Affection that all my paſſions do but wait upon Your good Fortunes.

Sir, I confeſs I never merited the effects of ſuch

Fig.39.3

Sir, I owe my good good fortune to your favourable Aſſiſtance.

Sir, My wiſhes go along with your Endeavours, may your deſires be happily performed.

Sir, I ſhould prove cruel to my ſelf, ſhould I neglect one that nobly loves me.

Sir, Forbear your haſty proteſtations, I do believe your Soul's without a blemiſh, and I glory in my Choice.

Sir, Leave your ſuperfluous Language, I am none of thoſe Ladies that are enamoured with flattering Acroſticks; Or to have their Names ſo disjoined in an Anagram, 'twould puzzle Ten Magicians to ſet them together again.

Sir, You have a good ſmack at Poetry, and I grant you too, Love and Poeſie are Divine, commonly infuſed together, yet 'tis ordinarily tied to Rules of Flattery.

Sir, Your Oratory makes me ſuſpect your Faith, let it ſuffice I love You; nor ſhall it be long e'er *Hymen* ſhall Seal the Contract.

Your very Servant Sir.

Compliments towards Ladies, Gentlewomen, Maids, &c.

MAdam, it is a vain illuſion, if you dream that ever you can gain a Reputation by my ruin.

Madam, The grace of Eloquence is ſeated on Your Lips.

Madam, Your Beauty is the conquereſs of Man, who is never to be ſatisfied with the luſtre of your Eyes.

Fig.39.4

Fig. 39.3 **Complemental Expressions towards Men Leading to the Art of Courtship from *The New Academy of Compliments.***

Fig. 39.4 **Compliments towards Ladies, Gentlewomen, Maids &c. from *The New Academy of Compliments.***

The manual also contained letters dealing with the usual assortment of personal problems as well as letters on social etiquette such as *'A Brother, on the occasion of his Brothers not writing'*[91], or *'Civil Compliments from one Friend to Another'*[92], or *'Comfortable Advice to a Friend on the death of a Son, or other near Relation'*[93]. It is difficult to ascertain whether the aphorisms offered as *'Complemental Expressions towards Men Leading to the Art of Courtship'* were intended to amuse or instruct. The following lengthy expressions were recommended:

> **Sir, Such is the excess of my Affection that all my passions do but wait upon Your good Fortunes.**[94]
> **Sir, such is Your Deserts and my Necessity that I want both Words and Services to express how unfeignedly I honour You.**[95]

To the much more pithy expressions:

> **Sir, You are the Rising Sun, which I adore.**
> **Sir, I wear you in my heart.**[96]

Assistance was also provided for gentlemen seeking to woo the ladies, in a section headed *'Complements towards Ladies, Gentlewomen, Maids &c'* and these ranged from convoluted expressions like the following:

> **Madam, It was not thro' a conceit of my own deserts, that I have shot at so fair a Mark as your vertuous and innocent fair self, my presumption hath only this excuse, and it was, directed by Love, and I may well stray, when my Guide is blind.**[97]

To the more succinct 'Madam In those smiling dimples, Cupid hath pitched his Tents'[98], and the somewhat dubious 'Madam, Your heart is like a Pebble, smooth but stony'[99].

In the early 18th century a counter tradition of the moral lady novelist was established when Mrs. Jane Barker, Mrs. Elizabeth Townsend Rowe (1673-1737) and Mrs. Penelope Aubin wrote pious polemic and didactic love fiction in reaction to their disreputable counterparts Behn, Manley and Haywood. Just as publishers had exploited the public taste for scandal histories, they now exploited the latest fashion for virtue and religion.

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91 Ibid., p. 35.
92 Ibid., p. 39.
93 Ibid., p. 44.
94 Ibid., p. 1.
95 Ibid.,
96 Ibid., p. 2.
97 Ibid., p. 14.
98 Ibid., p. 25.
99 Ibid., p. 19.

The unscrupulous but astute publisher Edmund Curll was one of the first into the market when he published the works of Mrs. Barker, and he was quickly followed by John Dunton who published the works of the celebrated Elizabeth Rowe, referred to by Dunton as 'Pindarick Lady' and the 'Bright woman of her sex.'[100]

Barker's superior heroines always responded heroically by asserting themselves in a male dominated world of lust and avarice[101] whereas Rowe's tendency was to employ an inflated prose style to moralise about the pains of a life of sin and the comforts that can come from living virtuously.[102] Neither style appealed to the Irish reader. Mrs. Aubin's approach was much more acceptable to them as she presented her novels to the public as an undisguised attempt 'to seduce them, into virtue through the familiar diversions of popular narrative.' She hoped to 'reform by pleasing' and by 'encouraging virtue in her readers'[103]. She believed in giving her readers what they found so exciting in the love novellas - the bizarre complications, exotic dangers, disasters and coincidences. As variety was an essential ingredient, travel featured largely in her novels. She took the reader to Mexico, South America and North Africa in *The Noble Slaves*[104] (1722) and to Germany in *Life And Adventures Of Lady Lucy*[105] (1726). Her novels generally ended on a triumphant note with virtue reigning supreme, as in *The Noble Slaves* when she urged 'since our Heroes and Heroines have done nothing but what is possible, let us resolve to act like them, make Virtue the Rule of all our actions, and eternal Happiness our only Aim'[106]. Even though Aubin could have made more money if she took the advice of her publisher in 1723, when the career of Eliza Haywood was at its height, to write 'more modishly ... less like a christian and in a style careless and loose, as the custom of the present age is to live', she rejected the advice with her decision to 'Leave that to the other female authors, my contemporaries, whose lives and writings have, I fear, too great a resemblance'[107].

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100 Cheryl Turner. *Living by The Pen*, p. 48.

101 John J. Richetti. *Popular Fiction Before Richardson*. (Oxford University Press, Walton St., Oxford OX2 6DP, 1992). 1st ed. 1969, pp. 236-237.

102 Ibid., p. 244.

103 Ibid., p. 219.

104 App. No. 221, p. 555.

105 Ibid.,

106 John J. Richetti. *Popular Fiction Before Richardson*, p. 229.

107 Ros Ballaster. *Seductive Forms. Women's Amatory Fiction From 1684-1740*. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992), p. 33.

THE

NOBLE SLAVES:

OR, THE

Lives and Adventures

OF

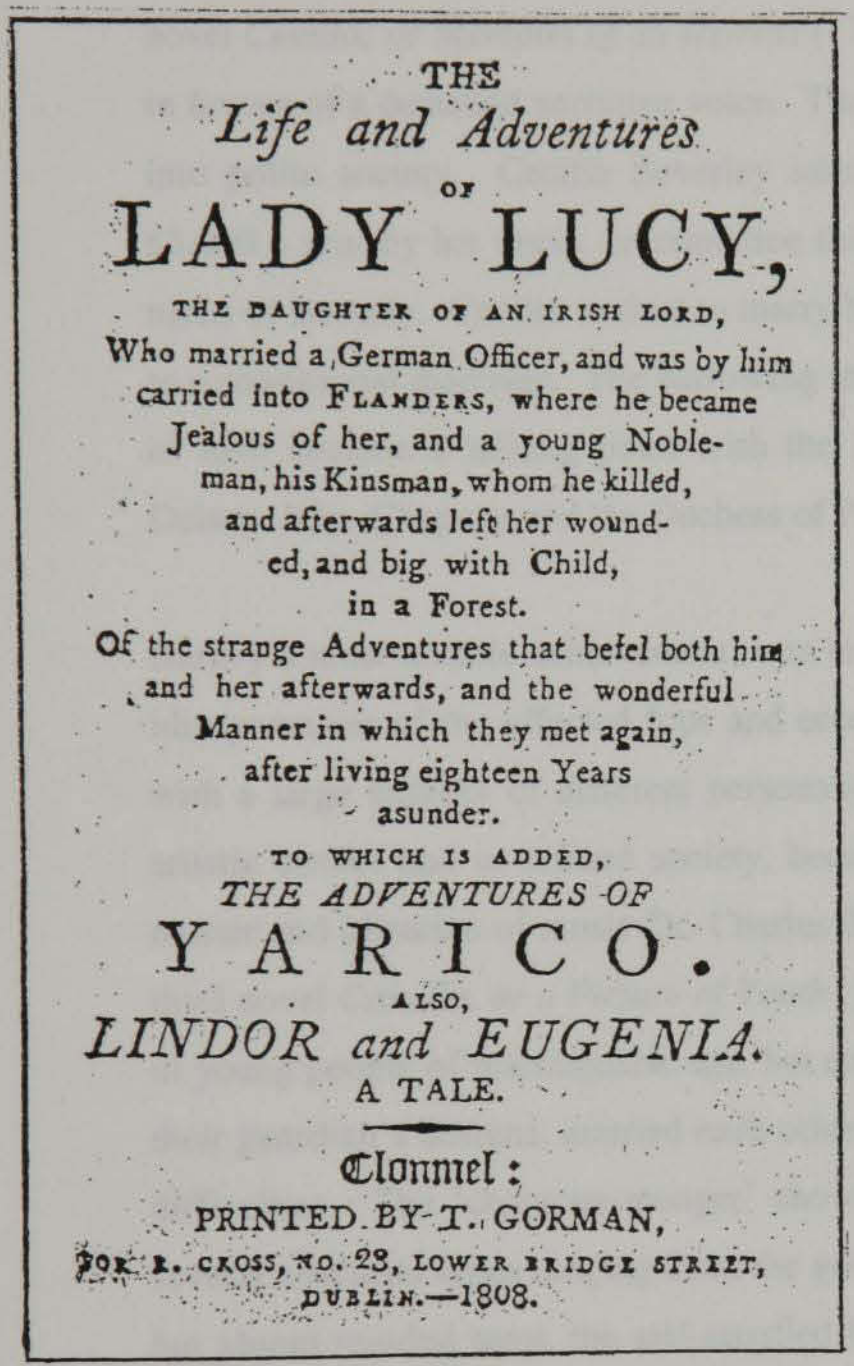
TWO LORDS and two LADIES, who were ſhipwreck'd and caſt upon a deſolate Iſland near the *Eaſt-Indies*, in the Year, 1710. The Manner of their living there: The ſurprizing Diſcoveries they made, and ſtrange Deliverance thence. How in their Return to *Europe* they were taken by two *Algerine* Pirates near the Straits of *Gibraltar*. Of the Slavery they endured in *Barbary*; and of their meeting there with ſeveral Perſons of Quality, who were likewiſe Slaves. Of their eſcaping thence, and ſafe Arrival in their reſpective Countries, *Venice*, *Spain*, and *France*, in the Year 1718. With many extraordinary Accidents that befel ſome of them afterwards.

Being a HISTORY full of moſt remarkable EVENTS.

By Mrs. *AUBIN.*

DUBLIN:
Printed by R. REILLY, on *Cork-Hill*,
For JAMES DALTON, Bookſeller, at the Corner of *Bride's-Alley* in *Patrick-ſtreet*,
M,DCC,XXXVI.

Fig. 40.1 **Title page from *The Noble Slaves*. [Penelope Aubin] 1736.**



THE
Life and Adventures
OF
LADY LUCY,
THE DAUGHTER OF AN IRISH LORD,
Who married a German Officer, and was by him carried into FLANDERS, where he became Jealous of her, and a young Nobleman, his Kinsman, whom he killed, and afterwards left her wounded, and big with Child, in a Forest.
Of the strange Adventures that befel both him and her afterwards, and the wonderful Manner in which they met again, after living eighteen Years asunder.
TO WHICH IS ADDED,
THE ADVENTURES OF
YARICO.
ALSO,
LINDOR and EUGENIA.
A TALE.
Clonmel:
PRINTED BY T. GORMAN,
FOR R. CROSS, NO. 28, LOWER BRIDGE STREET,
DUBLIN.—1808.

THE
LIFE
AND
ADVENTURES
OF
LADY LUCY.

Fig. 41.1 **Title pages from *The Life and Adventures of Lady Lucy*. [Penelope Aubin] 1808.**

It was the moral lady novelists who were in the ascendancy from the 1730's onwards, and when women writers such as the 'reformed' Eliza Haywood and Charlotte Lennox appeared in the novel market after 1744, they did so 'as the inheritors of Rowe'[108]. The late 18th century saw the arrival of the learned lady novelists, writers such as Fanny Burney (1752-1840), the toast of the Bluestockings, who broke new ground with her novel *Cecilia; or Memoirs of an Heiress* (1782), when she abandoned the epistolary form in favour of a detached narrative voice. The subject of the novel was a young girl's entry into polite society. Cecilia Beverley inherited £10,000 from her father, and was left £3,000 a year by her uncle, on condition that her husband, if she married, would take the name of Beverly. Cecilia wished to marry Mortimer Delvile but his family were opposed to a conditional marriage. The harrowing struggle between the claims of family and those of love became a talking point with the leading members of the Bluestockings Mrs. Delany, Mrs. Chapone and the Duchess of Portland.

Burney's most notable achievement, was in her satirical portrayal of the mannerisms and idiosyncrasies of the affected fops and eccentrics of her time.[109] She came into contact with a large number of different personalities, many of them prominent in literary and artistic circles and in refined society, because she was the daughter of a distinguished master and historian of music Dr. Charles Burney, who invited them to his home.[110] Her third novel *Camilla, or a Picture of Youth* (1796) recounted the general history of a group of young people of marriageable age, but concentrated on the way one couple, contrary to their guardian's designs, married each other in spite of their many misunderstandings and difficulties. The 'character-monger' showed her skill in this novel also as there were several character types ranging from the good-hearted but foolish old baronet, the learned but absent-minded tutor, the self-satisfied bumpkin who was over-attentive to the ladies and the coxcomb.[111] However, the most striking feature of these novels was the sheer complexity of the plots, and the elaborate and exaggerated use of language which surely must have posed difficulties for readers whose first language was Irish, take for example the following speech by the coxcomb, Sir Sedley Clarendel:

> **Why should it be so vastly horrid an incongruity that a man who, by chance, is rich, should do something for a woman who, by chance, is**

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[108] Cheryl Turner. *Living By the Pen*, p. 52.
[109] Ernest A. Baker. *'The Later Romances and the Establishment of Realism. Fanny Burney'*, pp. 164-7.
[110] Ibid., p. 157.
[111] Ibid., pp. 171-173.

poor? How immensely important is the prejudice that forbids so natural a use of money? Why should the better half of a man's actions be always under the dominion of some prescriptive slavery?[112]

[112] Ibid., p. 172.

CAMILLA:

OR,

A PICTURE OF YOUTH.

BY

THE AUTHOR OF

EVELINA AND *CECILIA.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

CORK:

PRINTED BY J. CONNOR,

AT THE CIRCULATING LIBRARY, CASTLE-STREET.

1796.

Fig.42.1

To the QUEEN.

MADAM,

THAT Goodneſs inſpires a confidence; which, by diveſting reſpect of terror, excites attachment to Greatneſs, the preſentation of this little Work to Your Majeſty muſt truly, however humbly, evince; and though a public manifeſtation of duty and regard from an obſcure individual may betray a proud ambition, it is, I truſt, but a venal---I am ſure it is a natural one.

In thoſe to whom Your Majeſty is known by exaltation of Rank, it may raiſe, perhaps, ſome ſurpriſe, that ſcenes, characters, and incidents, have reference only to common life, ſhould be brought into ſo auguſt a preſence; but the inhabitant of a retired cottage, who there receives the benign permiſſion which at Your Majeſty's feet caſts this humble offering, bears in mind recollections which muſt live there while " memory holds its ſeat," of a benevolence withheld from no condition, and delighting in always to ſpeed the progreſs of Morality, through whatever channel it could flow, to whatever port it might ſteer. I bluſh at the inference I ſeem here to leave open of annexing undue importance to a production of apparently ſo light a kind---yet if my hope, my view ---however fallacious they may eventually prove, extended not beyond whiling away an idle hour, ſhould I dare ſeek ſuch patronage?

With the deepeſt gratitude, and moſt heart-felt reſpect, I am,

MADAM,

Your MAJESTY's

Moſt obedient, moſt obliged,

And moſt dutiful ſervant,

F. d'ARBLAY.

BOOKHAM,
June 28, 1796.

Fig.42.2

Fig. 42.1 **Title page from *Camilla;* or, *A Picture of Youth.* [Fanny Burney/F. d'Arblay] 1796.**

Fig. 42.2 **Dedication from Burney's *Camilla*; or, *A Picture of Youth.***

THE

HISTORY

OF

PAMELA;

OR,

VIRTUE REWARDED.

IN A SERIES OF

FAMILIAR LETTERS

FROM A

BEAUTIFUL YOUNG DAMSEL TO HER PARENTS.

PUBLISHED,

IN ORDER TO CULTIVATE THE PRINCIPLES OF VIRTUE AND PRUDENCE IN THE MINDS OF THE YOUTH OF BOTH SEXES.

A NARRATIVE

WHICH HAS IT'S FOUNDATION IN TRUTH; AND AT THE SAME TIME THAT IT AGREEABLY ENTERTAINS, BY A VARIETY OF CURIOUS AND AFFECTING INCIDENTS, IS ENTIRELY DIVESTED OF THOSE IMAGES WHICH IN MANY PIECES CALCULATED FOR AMUSEMENT ONLY, TEND TO INFLAME THE MINDS THEY SHOULD INSTRUCT.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED

EXTRACTS FROM SEVERAL CURIOUS LETTERS,

WRITTEN TO THE EDITOR ON THE SUBJECT.

By SAMUEL RICHARDSON, Esq.

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORIES OF SIR CHARLES GRANDISON, CLARISSA, &c.

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN FOUR VOLUMES;
NOW COMPRIZED IN ONE LARGE VOLUME OCTAVO.

LONDON:

Printed for ALEX. HOGG, at No. 16, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

Fig. 43.1 **Title page from *The History of Pamela,* or *Virtue Rewarded.* [Samuel Richardson] 1792. 1st edition 1740.**

(ii) Eighteenth Century Novelists – Richardson,Fielding, Smollett and Sterne

By 1740 all the diverse literary elements of the novel were to hand. They took on a mature form as a distinct literary genre when *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded* [Table 10.1] appeared in two volumes in November 1740, written in the form of 'a series of familiar letters from a beautiful young damsel to her parents, in order to cultivate the principles of virtue and religion in the minds of the youth of both sexes'[113]. This significant development was the work of Samuel Richardson, an introverted middle-class printer, who left school at sixteen.[114] The course of his uneventful career can be followed from his long autobiographical letter written in 1753 to one of his admirers and translators in Holland, the Rev. Johannes Stinstra of Harlingen. Richardson was born in Derbyshire in 1689, the son of a joiner who couldn't afford to educate his son for the ministry but had him apprenticed to a printer instead.[115] Richardson spent seven years of unmitigated drudgery apprenticed to John Wilde but he married his master's daughter and succeeded to the business. From c. 1720, he had his printers shop at Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, which he built up over two decades, to become one of the largest and most prosperous printing businesses in London. He was elected Master of the Stationer's company and made considerable gains from the official printing of the Journals for the House of Commons. While his work brought Richardson into contact with literary artists such as Aaron Hill, James Thomson and Edward Young, he remained an introvert and there was therefore nothing to suggest or anticipate the creation of *Pamela*[116].

From and early age, in his writing career, he displayed a tendency towards moral didacticism. According to Richardson he was only 'Eleven years old' when he assumed the persona of an adult and 'wrote spontaneously a Letter to a Widow of near Fifty, who pretending to a Zeal for Religion and who was a constant Frequenter of Church ordnances, was continually fomenting Quarrels and Disturbances, by Backbiting and Scandal, among all her Acquaintance'[117] he 'exhorted her' and 'expostulated with her' to mend her ways. When he was thirteen years old 'all the young Women of Taste and

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[113]*Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded*. Vol. I. (Henry Sotheran & Co., London: 136 Strand - 36 Picadilly, Manchester: 49, Cross St., 1883).
_____ Vol. II. (Dublin: George Ewing, Dame St., & George Faulkner, Essex St., 1741).

[114]S. Diana Neill. *A Short History of the English Novel*, p. 50.

[115]Alan Dugald McKillop. *The Early Masters of English Fiction*, pp. 51-2.

[116]Ibid., p. 53.

[117]Ibid., p. 59.

Reading in the Neighbourhood' requested him to read to them when they did their needlework and three of the group engaged the young Richardson to compose their love-letters for them.[118] This experience may well have influenced Richardson's later writing, as the books he read were probably translations of French romances which were, popular among women at this time. It is unlikely that Richardson was indebted to Marivaux for his plot and method of writing because he knew no French. It is unlikely also that he read the early fiction of Behn, Manley and Haywood which he would have considered frivolous and downright wicked.[119] We know he was acquainted with contemporary plays from his censorious comment on Restoration comedy in his first published work, *The Apprentices Vade Mecum* (1733). This was a handbook for printers' apprentices which closely resembled the conduct books for servants. In it he complained about 'the popular pantomimes of the day'[120], but of greater significance was the talent he revealed for caricature in his humorous passages and satiric descriptions which were interspersed with the sober advice. This would later blossom in his delineation of Jackey in *Pamela* or the fops and beaux which appear in his later novels *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*. His next published work was also to have a big influence on his creative writing. This was his adaptation of *Aesop's Fables* (1739) which was, on his own admission, merely a revision of Sir Roger L'Estrange's edition of 1692. He learned the value of colloquialisms and the art of narration from l'Estrange and the merit of a lively free flowing style.[121] Richardson expressed his admiration for Sir Roger's 'fine Humour, apposite Language' as well as his 'accurate and lively Manners'. His style of characterisation was probably affected by the influence of the *Fables*, in any event they taught him the value of dramatic irony and he would appear also to have concurred with their rather pessimistic view of human nature.[122]

Richardson was just finishing the *Fables* when he received a request from two bookseller friends Charles Rivington and John Osborne in 1739 to write 'a little Volume of Letters, in a common Style, on such Subjects as might be of Use to those Country Readers who were unable to indite for themselves'[123]. This was to be a type of manual which provided models of business and personal letters to assist the semi-literate. The 'letter writer' had

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[118]Ibid.,
[119]Robert Adams Day. *Told in Letters*, p. 206.
[120]Alan Dugald McKillop. *The Early Masters of English Fiction*, p. 52.
[121]Margaret Anne Doody. *A Natural Passion*. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 25.
[122]Ibid., p. 28.

been a minor genre of popular literature for over a century at this stage and Richardson simply followed the tendencies already shown in Henry Care's *Female Secretary* (1671) and indeed John Mills' *Secretary's Guide* (1687) which his brother-in-law Allington Wilde brought out in its twenty third edition in the 1730's.[124] Literary critics have often seen in *Familiar Letters* the 'future Richardsonian characters in embryo'[125] as Richardson 'was pre-occupied with showing his readers how they should think and act as well as indite'[126]. He became absorbed in his new project especially a section which was to consist of letters from a daughter in service, asking her father's advice when she was threatened by her master's advances - this of course became the germ of Pamela. As one critic noted 'The new literature centering upon the encounter between a sexually aggressive male and the innocent superior female was the traditional conduct book fictionalised'[127]. But according to Richardson the plot for *Pamela* was something he elaborated on from an anecdote which had been told to him by a deceased friend.[128] The epistolary method, which the general reader in the 1740's was habituated to, suggested itself to Richardson, as he worked on his book of *Familiar Letters*, a task he was obliged to put aside in order to write his novel.[129]

In England *Pamela* was an immediate success and became a bestseller in its first year of publication 'Everybody read it; there was a *Pamela* rage, and *Pamela* motifs appeared on teacups and fans'[130]. It was even recommended from the pulpit in Dr Slocock's famous sermon.[131] Finally a novel had appeared that Alexander Pope could approve of. He predicted that it would 'do more good than many volumes of sermons'[132]. In less than six months it had gone into a fourth edition, with a fraudulent sequel being published a year later, entitled *Pamela's Conduct in High Life* by John Kelly.[133] Among the often under-estimated factors in its success was the advertising and promotion that Richardson, as a

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[123]Alan Dugald McKillop. *The Early Masters of English Fiction*, p. 50.
[124]Margaret Anne Doody. *A Natural Passion.*, p. 29.
[125]Ibid.,
[126]Robert Adams Day. *Told in Letters*, p. 54.
[127]Marlene Le Gates. *The Cult of Womanhood in Eighteenth-Century Thought.* In Eighteenth-Century Studies 10, (1976), pp. 21-39. Cited in *Living by the Pen*, C. Turner.
[128]Robert Adams Day. *Told in Letters*, p. 54.
[129]Peter Sabor (ed.). *Pamela.* (Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1987). 'Introduction' by Margaret A. Doody, p. 7.
[130]Ibid.,
[131]Robert Adams Day. *Told in Letters*, p. 207.
[132]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism: From Richardson to Sterne'*, p. 31.
[133]Ibid., App. No. 221, p. 558.

printer and influential businessman, was able to give it, and not forgetting what Turner called 'the verbal puffing it received from Aaron Hill and other literary friends of the author'. The books impressive bulk together with its combination of 'warm scenes' and moral preaching would also have added to its popularity.[134] Although it should be added that not all Richardson's contemporaries were happy with the morality of his novel. As Skelton (1977) reminds us 'For some it was disgustingly prurient in its concentration on a young virgin's sexual charms, which some scenes in it were distinctly 'warm". It was notable that the French translation of Part One of *Pamela* remained on the Index of prohibited books until 1900, when it was replaced by the English original.[135]

Richardson also had his detractors among the literati. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, (1722-1834) English poet, philosopher and literary critic, allowed that Richardson had admirable artistic ability but he believed that he was a pedantic small-minded person, who felt himself to be inferior to his arch rival Fielding, a superior writer with classical learning.[136] There was however, some substance to the criticism made by William Hazlett (1778-1830), English critic and essayist, that Richardson wrote like an introvert and because of this there was an 'artificial reality about his works'[137]. We know from Richardson's *Correspondence* that he participated very little in the life of his own environment. He was 'not able to bear a crowd' and stopped going to church on that account. He suffered from anxiety neurosis which his friend Dr George Cheyne diagnosed as the 'English malady' or 'nervous hyp'[138]. Dr Samuel Johnson endorsed Richardson's novels enthusiastically in preference to Fielding's, possibly, as some critics have suggested, because Richardson had once saved him from being arrested for debt, although modern critics reject this suggestion. James Boswell (1740-1795), Johnson's Scottish biographer and admirer, disagreed with his mentor and showed a distinct preference for Fielding's work.[139]

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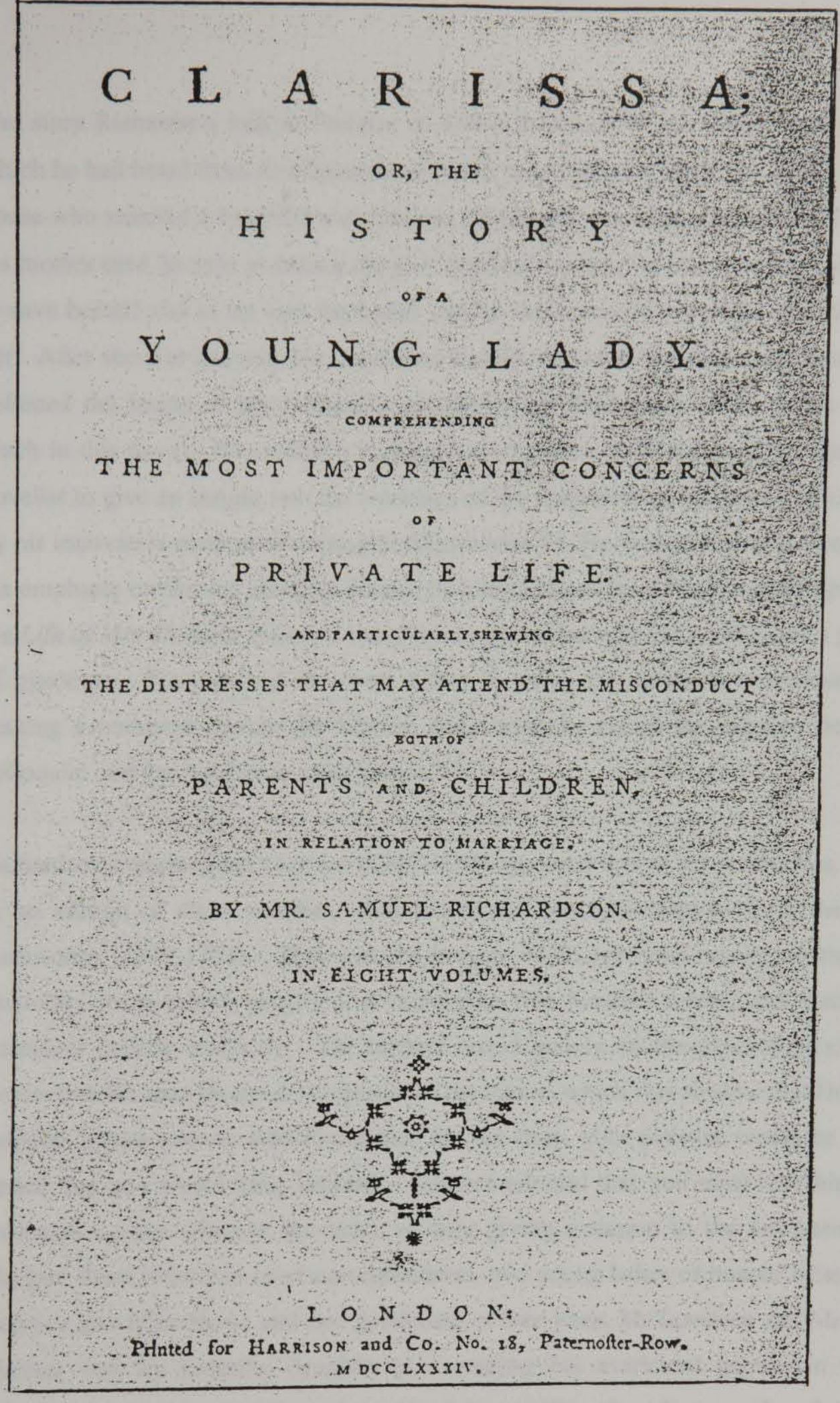
[134]Robert Adams Day. *Told in Letters*, p. 207.
[135]David Skelton. *The English Novel*. (David and Charles (Publishers) Ltd., Brunel House, Newton Abbey, Devon, 1977), p. 21.
[136]Ernest A. Baker. *Intellectual Realism: From Richardson to Sterne*, p. 45.
[137]Ibid., p. 72.
[138]Ian Watt. *The Rise of the Novel*, pp. 207-208.
[139]Ibid., p. 297.


CLARISSA;

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF A

YOUNG LADY.

COMPREHENDING

THE MOST IMPORTANT CONCERNS

OF

PRIVATE LIFE.

AND PARTICULARLY SHEWING

THE DISTRESSES THAT MAY ATTEND THE MISCONDUCT

BOTH OF

PARENTS AND CHILDREN,

IN RELATION TO MARRIAGE.

BY MR. SAMUEL RICHARDSON.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

LONDON:

Printed for HARRISON and Co. No. 18, Paternoſter-Row.

M DCC LXXXIV.

Fig. 44.1 Title page from *Clarissa;* or *The History of a Young Lady.* [Samuel Richardson 1784. 1st edition 1747-1748.

The story Richardson told in *Pamela*, or *Virtue Rewarded*[140] was based on a true story which he had heard from an acquaintance of his youth, about a Mr B. the owner of a great house who married a beautiful and virtuous young girl, one of his mother's maids. After his mother died he tried to seduce the girl. She had recourse to many innocent stratagems to save herself and in the end the squire was so impressed by her virtue that he married her. After she was married, she conducted herself with such humility and charm that she softened the hearts of her husband's condescending relations.[141] Richardson achieved much in this novel. He created a real life-like character in *Pamela* and he was the first novelist to give an insight into the workings of the female mind, the inner consciousness, by his innovative method of writing to the moment.[142] He made the novel respectable by his emphasis on serious morality despite Fielding's assertion in his pamphlet *Apology for the Life of Mrs Shamela Andrews* that *Pamela* possessed very little virtue and a great deal of hypocrisy. He banished the overt author by using the epistolary technique, and by making a common servant the heroine and writer, he raised the ordinary person, the colloquial and the familiar to significance.[143]

Richardson's masterpiece *Clarissa* (1747-48)[144] appeared first in seven volumes, and then in an edition of eight volumes, with letters and passages restored from the original manuscript (1749-1751). This was the longest of Richardson's works, written in the epistolary form, which consisted of more than five hundred letters, and contained an estimated million words.[145] The interest rested mainly on the psychological insights received rather than on the development of the theme, which was so slow that Dr Johnson quipped 'if you were to read Richardson for the story, your patience would be so much fretted that you would hang yourself'. Johnson advised that 'you must read him for the sentiment ... and consider the story as only giving occasion to the sentiment'[146]. In *Clarissa* there were four chief correspondents, two young ladies of honour Miss Clarissa Harlowe and Miss Howe and two gentlemen of free lives, Mr Lovelace and Mr Belford. Clarissa was the beautiful daughter of a wealthy but avaricious gentleman who had ambitions to raise his family to the rank of the nobility. Lovelace, on the advice of his

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[140] App. No. 221, p. 557.
[141] S. Diana Neill. *A Short History of the English Novel*, pp. 52-3.
[142] Ibid., p. 54.
[143] Ibid.,
[144] App. No. 221, p. 557.
[145] Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, p. 34.
[146] William Forsyth. *The Novels and Novelists of the 18th Century*, p. 219.

uncle, paid court to the younger daughter of Mr Harlowe, who had just inherited a fortune. When he addressed himself to the wrong sister, he transferred his attention to Clarissa but she wasn't responsive to his advances, due to his notorious reputation. Her brother James and the family urged Clarissa to marry Roger Solmes, a suitor she despised, solely because his estate lay contiguous to the one James stood to inherit. Richardson was merely depicting social life as it was in 18th century England, when financial marriages were common as the land poor nobility became reliant on middle class cash. In desperation, Clarissa rather unwisely sought the assistance of Richard Lovelace who abused her trust and decoyed her from the house, after she had refused to elope with him. As soon as Clarissa was in his power, he looked for revenge by seducing her, drugging her and then raping her. She escaped from confinement, during the temporary absence of Lovelace and placed herself under the protection of Belford. Richardson's contemporaries were powerfully affected by Clarissa's death scene as the pathetic details were vividly drawn.[147]

Clarissa was so real to Richardson's readers that he received many requests to contrive a happy ending, a temptation he resisted. Clarissa's cousin and guardian Col. Morden sought summary justice and avenged her death in a duel in which Lovelace was mortally wounded.[148] The appeal of *Clarissa* was very wide-ranging from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Fielding's cousin[149] to Lord Chesterfield (1694-1773), statesman - man of letters, and Lord Macauley[150] (1800-1859), historian and statesman. Richardson was unrivalled as a novelist until the publication of Fielding's masterpiece *Tom Jones* (1749). It was partly as a reaction to the sense of outrage he felt at this situation and partly in response to a demand from a friend for him to 'produce into public view the character and actions of a man of true honour'[151], that Richardson produced his third novel *Sir Charles Grandison* (1754)[152]. No doubt he finally resolved to do so on hearing the appeal of a dozen ladies of note and virtue, to give them 'a good man' as they felt he had been partial to their sex in *Clarissa*. He didn't disappoint them but produced a successful seven volume novel in which the hero was the flawless gentleman Sir Charles Grandison.

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147 Ibid., pp. 37-44.
148 Ibid., p. 54.
149 William Forsyth. *The Novels and Novelists of the 18th Century*, p. 214.
150 S. Diana Neill. *A Short History of the English Novel*, p. 57.
151 op. cit., p. 219.
152 App. No. 221, p. 556.

It was Richardson's most ambitious undertaking as he introduced over fifty characters, three of whom played key roles. The heroine, who rivalled the hero in human perfection, was Miss Harriet Byron, and the third major character was the misguided Italian girl Clementina, who loved Sir Charles, but who left him as she was drawn towards the religious life. Harriet Byron had a moderate fortune and many suitors, one of whom was Sir Hargrave Pollexfen, Baronet, who decided to abduct her after a ball only to be apprehended by Sir Charles who arrived just in time to rescue her. Much later Sir Charles revealed to Harriet that he was conscious of her regard for him but that he was already committed in honour to Clementina della Poretta. Clementina was so distraught after his departure from Italy, that her family requested him to return. They informed him that even though he was a foreigner and a heretic, they would accept him as a son-in-law, on condition that he converted to catholicism and resided in Italy. These conditions were unacceptable to Sir Charles but now Clementina had a relapse into melancholia and the hero received an invitation to Italy to discuss new settlement terms.[153] During the complex negotiations Harriet Byron was pining for Sir Charles in London when Clementina finally realised that she couldn't possibly marry a non-catholic but opted instead to take the veil. Sir Charles was now free to marry Harriet but it took Richardson almost two volumes to relate the event. Sir Charles eventually married Miss Byron only Greville, a former suitor of the bride, wished to fight Sir Charles, but happily, was disarmed. Sir Hargreave Pollexfen died and left most of his property to the happy couple. The story might well have ended there but it didn't. Clementina arrived in England in a very distracted state, followed by her parents, who managed to persuade her to look favourably on the suit of the Count of Belvedere, now that she had abandoned the religious life.[154]

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[153]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, p. 57.
[154]Ibid., p. 58.

THE

HISTORY

OF

Sir CHARLES GRANDISON.

IN A

SERIES of LETTERS

Publiſhed from the ORIGINALS,

By the Editor of PAMELA and CLARISSA.

In SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for S. Richardſon;

And Sold by C. HITCH and L. HAWES, in *Pater-noſter Row*;
By J. and J. RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*;
By ANDREW MILLAR, in the *Strand*;
By R. and J. DODSLEY, in *Pall-Mall*;
And by J. LEAKE, at *Bath*;

M.DCC.LIV.

Fig. 45.1 **Title page from *The History of Sir Charles Grandison.* [Samuel Richardson] 1754.**

The novel *Sir Charles Grandison* was quite an achievement for its time. Johnson acknowledged as much after he had read it, with these words: 'You, Sir, have beyond all other men the art of improving on yourself'[155]. Few critics have complimentary comments to make about Richardson's skill at characterisation. Baker called Sir Charles Grandison the 'faultless monster that the world ne'er saw'[156], and William Forsyth saw him as 'too much of a paragon - too much praised by everybody'[157]. The problem lay with the superhuman task that Richardson had set himself of creating the ideal gentleman, an anti-type to Lovelace and Fieldings' *Tom Jones*. Not alone that but Sir Charles was expected to demonstrate exactly how a good life was to be led and this necessitated much preaching and moralising by the hero.[158] Richardson did however, display great narrative skill and command of fluent dialogue. The novelist who followed closely in his path, Jane Austen (1775-1817) testified to his remarkable achievement with her comment that 'Every circumstance narrated in Sir Charles Grandison, all that was ever said or done in the cedar parlour, was familiar to her'[159]. It is likely that she was influenced by one particular scene, that of Sir Hargreave Pollexfen's proposal of marriage to Miss Byron, when she came to write her own celebrated declaration of Mr Collins' proposal in *Pride and Prejudice* (1797)[160]. She wasn't the only novelist to borrow from Richardson. Fanny Burney (1752-1840), Austen's predecessor copied the abduction scene for her novel *Evelina* (1778)[161], the Italian scenes and Clementina's frenzy were copied by the gothic novelists, the man of goodness and feeling was emulated by the Scottish novelist Henry Mackenzie (1745-1831) who exploited sensibility for its own sake in his lachrymose novel *The Man of Feeling* (1771). Richardson had invented the novel of sensibility which typified the swing away from reason to feeling.[162]

The link between Richardson and the romance genre was his French predecessor Madame de la Fayette. He mentioned her in *Sir Charles Grandison* - her novel *La Princesse de Cléves* (1678) was one which Harriet Byron's grandmother, Mrs Shirley, read when she was young. Richardson's singular achievement in his novels was not so much an

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[155]Jocelyn Harris (ed.). *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*. (Oxford University Press, 1972), p. xxii.
[156]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, p. 59.
[157]William Forsyth. *The Novels and Novelists of the 18th Century*, pp. 244-245.
[158]Ibid.,
[159]Jocelyn Harris. *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*, p. xxiii.
[160]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, p. 62.
[161]op. cit.
[162]Jocelyn Harris. *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*, p. xxii-xxiii.

innovation as an adaptation of popular feminine and domestic fiction and the development of the romance and fable from 'low' fiction to a more elevated plane so that it became part of the tradition of the novel, not only in England but also in Europe.[163] His novel *Pamela* ushered in the romantic era (1790's, 1800's) and 'was to influence Rousseau, Diderot, Goethe, and Pushkin'[164]. In fact Richardson's impact on the continent was even greater than in his own country. Diderot honoured him with a panegyric and Rousseau wrote *La Nouvelle Héloise* under his influence although Richardson was annoyed to find that the gospel of sensibility could bear such evil fruit.[165]

Richardson's antagonist Henry Fielding, made a more significant and decisive contribution to the development and growth of the novel genre, as we know it today. He was very different from his rival in his ancestry and in his intellectual capacity. His father Edmund Fielding, served as an officer under Marlborough and was the grandson of the Earl of Desmond, and great-grandson of the Earl of Denbigh. His father was a gambler and when his mother died, Henry, aged 11, was sent to Eton where he remained until he was 18 or 19, where he became a proficient Latin scholar.[166] In 1728 he made his way to London where he published a satirical poem, *The Masquerade* and a comedy, *Love in Seven Masques*, both of which would indicate his early interest in the idea of concealment beneath a disguise.[167] After this he went to the University of Leyden where he studied classical literature but he had to leave after only eighteen months, due to financial difficulties. He was then obliged to return to London to take up his career as a playwright. Between 1729 and 1737 Fielding wrote some 25 dramatic pieces of great variety. His light comedies were written in the style of Molière (1622-1673), whom he regarded as his master in drama just as he was later to regard Cervantes (1547-1616) as his master in the novel.[168] Fielding had a strong antipathy to hypocrisy and the double standard, sentiments reflected in his two satires against the corrupt administration of Robert Walpole - *Pasquin* (1736) and *The Historical Register* (1737). His satirical arrows were too well pointed because they led Walpole to introduce the *Theatrical Licensing Act* (1737), which brought Fielding's career as a playwright and theatre

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[163]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, p. 69.
[164]Margaret A. Doody. *Introduction*, p. 8.
[165]op. cit., p. 76.
[166]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, pp. 77-78.
[167]R.P.C. Mutter (ed.). *The History of Tom Jones.* (Penguin Books, 27 Wright's Lane, London W8 5TZ, England, 1985), p. 7.
[168]Ibid.,

manager to an abrupt end. Now he was forced to support himself by incidental writing, such as editing *The Champion*, an opposition political journal (Nov. 1739 - June 1741) where he renewed his attacks on the Walpole government. Eventually he decided to apply himself to the study of law and he entered himself as a student at the *Middle Temple*. In 1745 he was called to the Bar and he took his legal duties very seriously and did much to remedy the abuses of the system, particularly when he was made a magistrate. The injustices he witnessed, in this capacity, offended him deeply, an attitude he conveyed very forcibly in his novel *Amelia*[169].

In April 1740, following the third edition of *Pamela*, Fielding published his sixty page pamphlet *An Apology for the Life of Mrs Shamela Andrews ... by Mr Conny Keyber*, the authorship of which he consistently denied.[170] He imputed it to Colley Cibber (1651-1757) English dramatist and actor of limited ability, the butt of satirists attacks, among them Fielding.[171] What Fielding found so objectionable in *Pamela* were the dubious moral values promoted, which were clear from the sub-title *'Virtue Rewarded'*. Throughout the novel, Pamela's 'virtue' was equated with the defence of her chastity. Her stalwart defence was finally rewarded by her marriage to a landed gentleman and her consequent social advancement. He suggested that Pamela had taken one step beyond prostitution.[172] This was the message in *Shamela's* much quoted line: 'I thought once of making a little Fortune by my Person, I now intend to make a great one by my Virtue'[173]. What Fielding failed to see was that Pamela was in fact behaving according to the feminine code of her time. Richardson explained this code in the 1751 (No. 97) edition of Dr Samuel Johnson's (1709-1784) periodical *The Rambler (1750-1752)* 'the feminine role in courtship made it immoral as well as impolite for a girl to allow herself to feel love for a suitor until he had actually asked for her hand in marriage'[174]. In *Shamela* Fielding parodied not only the morality of the fable of *Pamela* but also the technical means by which Richardson attempted to persuade the reader of the realism of his fiction.[175]

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[169]Ibid., pp. 7-8.
[170]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, pp. 86-87.
[171]Ibid., p. 87.
[172]Stephen Copley (ed.). *Joseph Andrews*. (Methuen & Co. Ltd., 11, New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE, 1987), p. 5.
[173]Angela J. Smallwood. *Fielding and the Woman Question*. (Harvester Wheatsheaf, 66, Wood Lane End, Hertfordshire HP2 4RG, 1989), p. 59.
[174]Ian Watt. *The Rise of the Novel*, p. 189.
[175]Stephen Copley. *Joseph Andrews*, p. 5.

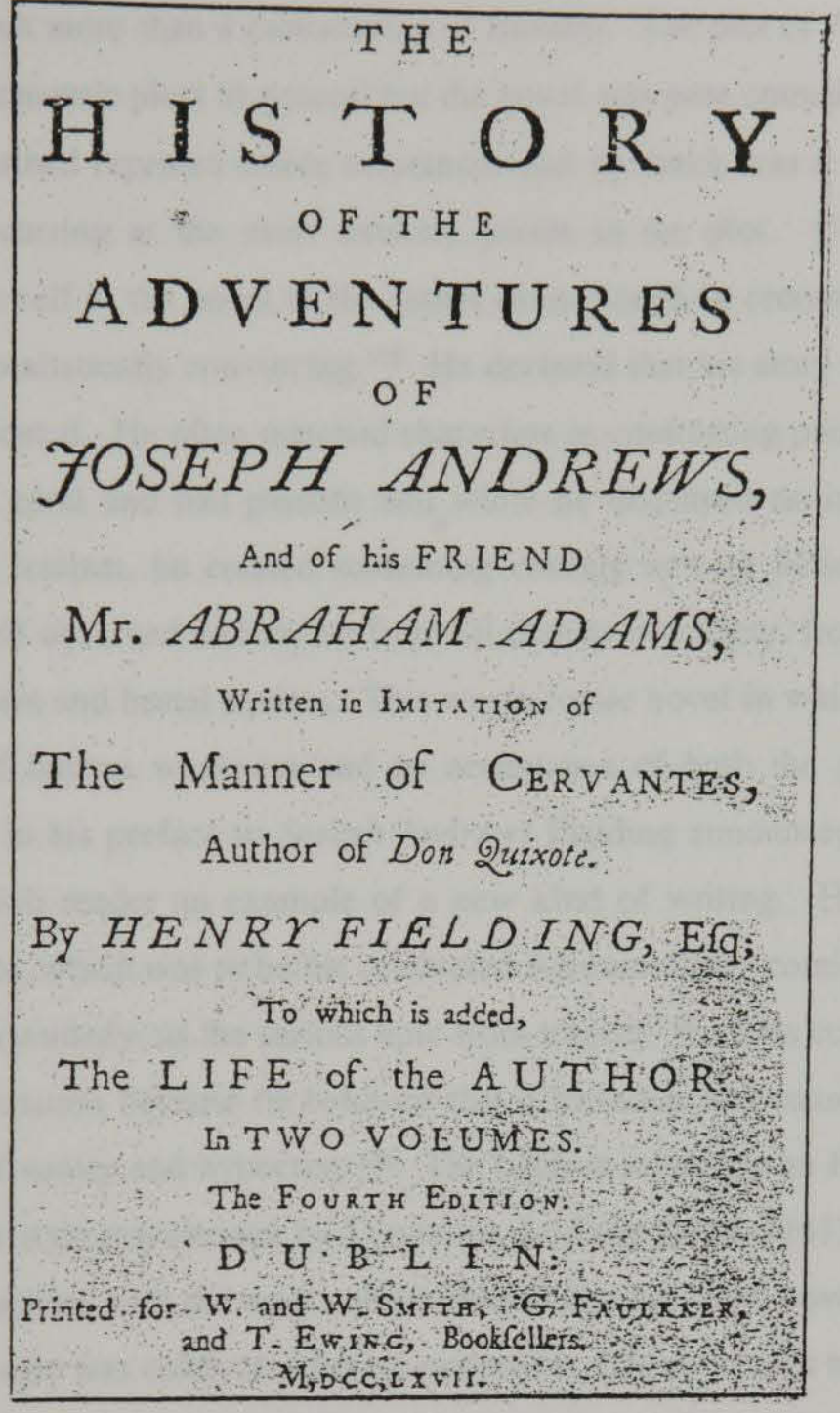
THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ADVENTURES
OF
JOSEPH ANDREWS,
And of his FRIEND
Mr. *ABRAHAM ADAMS,*
Written in IMITATION of
The Manner of CERVANTES,
Author of *Don Quixote.*
By *HENRY FIELDING,* Esq;
To which is added,
The LIFE of the AUTHOR.
In TWO VOLUMES.
The FOURTH EDITION.
DUBLIN:
Printed for W. and W. SMITH, G. FAULKNER,
and T. EWING, Booksellers.
M,DCC,LXVII.

Fig. 46.1 **Title page from *The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews.* [Henry Fielding] 1767. 1st edition 1742.**

Ten months later *Joseph Andrews* (1742)[176], his first novel appeared in two volumes, which according to the title page, was *Written in Imitation of The Manner of Cervantes*, Author of *Don Quixote*. The novel contained many satirical references to Pamela but the novel was much more than a caricaturing of *Pamela*. The plot of *Joseph Andrews* was a burlesque of romantic plots in general but the novel was pure comedy, not burlesque. His narrative contained repeated ironic assurances that the book was a 'true history'[177], these assurances occurring at the most unlikely points in the plot. Unlike Richardson, he introduced himself in the novel as the author even though he recounted a plot which was by no means realistically convincing.[178] He declared that his story was fictitious and his characters invented. He often matched characters in contrasting pairs such as Adams and Trulliber, the good and bad parsons and while he displayed no interest whatsoever in psychological realism, he created something entirely new in fiction - a wide range of characters, well observed and drawn from all classes of society, from effeminate fops to cheating lawyers and brutal squires. This was a comic novel in which Fielding displayed a tolerance of human weakness and an acceptance of both the good and the bad in humanity.[179] In his preface to *Joseph Andrews* Fielding announced that he proposed to give the English reader an example of a new kind of writing. He wanted to create a comic romance, which was to be his celebrated formula of the 'comic epic poem in prose, differing from comedy, as the serious epic from tragedy'[180]. This comedy was to have its source in affectation because he believed that affectation was caused by one of the two weaknesses of vanity and hypocrisy.[181] The biggest influence on Fielding's writing was the picaresque style popularised by Cervantes, Le Sage (1688-1747), and Scarron.[182] He was also acquainted with the works of the French dramatist and novelist Pierre Marivaux, (1688-1676), who was celebrated for his comedies. His novel was not quite as successful as Richardson's *Pamela* even though it went into three editions, it still only sold half the number of copies which were sold of *Pamela* at the same time. This was probably due to the fact that Fielding made many enemies because of the unrestrained political and social satire of his plays and by his outspoken journalism.[183]

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[176] App. No. 221, p. 558.
[177] Ibid., p. 9.
[178] Ibid., p. 10.
[179] S. Diana Neill. *A Short History of the English Novel*, pp. 60-61.
[180] Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, pp. 99-100.
[181] Ibid., p. 101.
[182] Ibid.,
[183] Ibid., p. 153.

In 1749 Fielding's greatest novel, the classic of English literature *Tom Jones* was published, and it was greeted with open hostility in a number of quarters. One of the objectors was an anonymous writer Orbilius who set forth his objections in one hundred pages of diatribe against what he called this 'filthy author' and his 'fetid Foundling'. The Bishop of London even went so far as to suggest that because a dissolute people read lewd books, it caused the wrath of God to wreak havoc on London, in the form of earthquakes.[184] The *Old England* newspaper named *Tom Jones* as being the cause of the earthquakes, citing the fact that it had been banned in France and that 'Paris had not been visited by God's earthquakes'[185]. Not surprisingly, Richardson was disgusted at the freedom and levity with which Fielding treated licentious scenes in his comic overview of English life. Dr Samuel Johnson was also concerned about what he considered to be the moral shortcomings of *Tom Jones*, expressed in his words of admonishment to the evangelical writer and Bluestocking member Hannah More 'I am shocked to hear you quote from so vicious a book. I am sorry to hear you have read it: a confession which no modest lady should ever make. I scarcely know a more corrupt work'[186]. In actuality *Tom Jones* had an epical structure and a plot worthy of a dramatist. Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1722-1834) eulogised on it when he stated that there were only two plots in existence to equal it in perfection 'What a master of composition Fielding was' he exclaimed. 'Upon my word, I think the Oedipus Tyrannus, the Alchemist, and Tom Jones, the three most perfect plots ever planned'.[187] The theme employed had a fairytale quality - Tom was a youth of doubtful parentage who fell in love with the beautiful but seemingly unattainable lady of higher rank, who overcame his enemies to discover his parentage and consequently won the lady and promotion up the social ladder.[188] Fielding's biggest contribution to this genre was that he freed the novel, from its slavery to fact, and to realistic detail. It became, as a result a much more flexible genre for the novelist to work in, and with the reading public, an immensely popular one as well. They had been given the novel of sensibility by Samuel Richardson and the novel of character and humour by

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[184]R.P.C. Mutter (ed.). *The History of Tom Jones*, p. 9.
[185]Ibid., p. 11.
[186]Ibid.,
[187]Ian Watt. *The Rise of the Novel*, p. 306.
[188]R.P.C. Mutter. *The History of Tom Jones*, p. 11.

Henry Fielding and to these Tobias George Smollett (1721-71) now added satiric caricature.[189]

Smollett came from an eminent Scottish family, being the grandson of Sir James Smollett, the laird of Bonhill. Sir James strongly disapproved of his son's match and therefore furnished Smollett's parents with just enough money to live on. After his father died Smollett was well educated but he had no personal fortune at his disposal. He attended Glasgow University for some years but never graduated. He became apprenticed to two local surgeons and it was at this stage he wrote a play, a tragedy called *The Regicide*. He left the apprenticeship in 1739 and headed for London in an effort to have his play staged but he was to be bitterly disappointed, as every theatre manager he approached rejected it. Smollett, who was irascible of temper, allowed his resentment to smoulder for years afterwards.[190] This prompted him to leave London, abandon his writing and pursue his medical career. He took the unconventional route to do so however, by going to sea in March 1740 as a surgeon's mate, on board the H.M.S. Chichester. This was a naval expedition under Admiral Vernon, which took part in the unsuccessful war against Spain at Carthagena. Smollett found the whole experience most unpleasant but it provided him with the inspiration for a new vein of naval fiction which would have far-fetching effects on the English novel of the future. Smollett married a Jamaican Nancy Lascalles and on the strength of her dowry returned to England in 1742 and set up in practice as a surgeon in the exclusive Downing Street quarter of London. He entertained lavishly and lived beyond his means and soon financial problems forced him to leave medicine and turn to literature to earn a living.[191] This was a fortuitous move because his fortunes changed and at twenty six years of age Smollett was to become a best-selling author. His first novel *Roderick Random* was published anonymously on the 21st January 1748 and as the authorship was disclosed he soon became one of the most popular novelists in the 18th century. By November 1749 *Roderick Random* was in its third edition and it was translated into German (1754), French (1761) and Russian

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[189]Ibid.,

[190]Paul-Gabriel Boucé. (ed.) *The Adventures of Roderick Random*. (Oxford University Press, 1979), p. xix.

[191]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, p. 200.

(1788). By 1750 the novel was so well known that one racehorse owner took the unusual step of calling one of his horses *Roderick Random*.[192]

The popularity of the novel cannot be attributed to its lighthearted or uplifting nature. It was written by an angry young man of the 1740's with a bleak, pessimistic outlook on life. Very few characters were set in a pleasing light except at someone else's expense.[193] Many readers were offended by his blatant vulgarity and Rabelaisian humour and his vicious personal attacks against the people who had rejected or criticised his play in 1739, and against his rival Fielding whom he suspected of plagiarism. The novel appeared to be autobiographical, although Smollett strongly denied this. However, the comparisons between the life of the selfish and unprincipled hero and that of his creator were striking. Roderick was a Scotsman, the grandson of a wealthy gentleman who disapproved of his father's marriage. Tom Bowling was Roderick's maternal uncle who rescued him from an indifferent grandfather and a horde of acquisitive cousins. His uncle was obliged to go to sea again and Roderick was left to fend for himself.[194] He set out on his journey to London to seek his fortune with his old school friend Strap. Sensational incidents followed in rapid succession very much in the style made famous by Scarron. Like Smollett, Roderick was eventually given the post of surgeon's mate on a man-of-war, which sailed with the Carthagena squadron.[195] Smollett displayed remarkable literary talent in this novel, especially in his discovery of the seafaring tribe, who were all individual creations, which was something unique in English literature. They consisted of Lieutenant Bowling and Jack Rattlin with Commodore Trunnion, Jack Hathway and Tom Pipes, who gave such a display of sparkling wit and imagination[196], even though Fielding dismissed Smollett's mariners as 'monsters, not men'[197].

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[192]David Blewett (ed.). *Roderick Random* (Penguin Books Ltd., 27 Wright's Lane, London W8 5TZ, England, 1995), p. xi.
[193]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual* Realism', p. 202.
[194]op. cit., p. xiv.
[195]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, p. 203.
[196]Ibid., p. 204.
[197]Ibid., p. 206.

THE

ADVENTURES

OF

Peregrine Pickle.

In which are included

MEMOIRS

OF A

LADY OF QUALITY.

By the AUTHOR of

RODERICK RANDOM.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Respicere exemplar vitæ morumque jubebo
Doctum imitatorem, & veras hinc ducere voces.
HOR.

DUBLIN:

Printed for ROBERT MAIN, Bookseller in *Dame-Street*, opposite to *Fownes's-Street*.

MDCCLI.

Fig. 47.1 **Title page from *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle.* [Tobias Smollett] 1751.**

As the novel had so few structures of its own Smollett, like his two predecessors, Richardson and Fielding, drew freely on romance devices. The typical romance pattern of exile after some sort of disinheritance or separation followed by recognition and restoration was used by all three novelists.[198] The romance structure in *Roderick Random* was somewhat obscured by Smollett's pre-occupation with the nightmarish existence of his hero, whose errant ways took up so much of his attention. Cervantes was clearly a big influence on Smollett but his own acknowledged model was the picaresque style of Le Sage (1668-1747) whose novel *Gil Blas* (1715) he had translated in 1748. He pointed out in his preface that he deviated from Le Sage in two significant respects: his hero enjoyed 'the advantages of birth and education' - unlike the low-born picaro of the Spanish and French tradition.[199] Roderick, like his creator, was inordinately proud, he was not subservient to a master and when offended he harboured deep resentment which manifested itself in a fierce desire for revenge, which he usually satisfied. This was therefore a satire on mankind, written in the harshly satiric tone of the Roman satirist (AD 68-128) Juvenal, who lashed the vices and errors of his time.[200]

In 1750 Smollett took his M.D. degree and attempted to establish a medical practice at the fashionable health resort at Bath. In a rather ill-judged move he published a controversial treatise on the mineral waters at the resort and was forced to close down his practice as a result. Once again he was obliged to concentrate on his literary output and in 1751 he produced his second picaresque novel *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* in four volumes.[201] He wrote this novel after a journey to Paris but there is evidence to suggest that he had started it after he had finished *Roderick Random*, as he rendered a most entertaining account of the comical and indeed biazarre behaviour of the nautical trio, Trunnion, Hatchway, and Pipes, now living on land, which was even more absurd than their originals in *Roderick Random* on shipboard. Smollett told the story of Peregrine who was an object of scorn and aversion even to his own mother so that his father Gamaliel secured a foster parent for him in Commodore Hauser Trunnion, an eccentric seafaring man, who lived in a neighbouring garrison, defended by walls and a moat. He and his old comrade, Lieutenant Hatchway, and the boatswain, Tom Pipes, maintained the

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[198]Ibid.,
[199]David Blewett. *Roderick Random*, p. xii.
[200]Ibid., p. xiii.
[201]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, p. 207. App. No. 221, p. 556.

same sort of life that they used to lead on shipboard.[202] Women were not allowed entry after dark, evenso Hauser Trunnion, who was a confirmed misogynist was helpless against the extreme seductive methods applied by Gamaliel Pickle's sister Grizzle, one of Smollett's more grotesque creations. She had 'a very wan, not to say sallow complexion, a cast in her eye, and an enormous mouth and was slightly addicted to brandy'[203]. She was assisted by Hatchway, who persuaded Pipes to lower a bunch of rotten and phosphorescent whitings down Commodore Trunnion's chimney, with the aid of a rope. This he did while Hatchway used a speaking trumpet to challenge the terrified sailor to yield to the lady's advances, which he felt compelled to do 'against the current of my inclination'[204]. One of the most memorable scenes in the novel was Trunnion's death-bed scene, in which Smollett wrought pathos out of the seaman's speech, in a performance reminiscent of the death of Shakespeare's great comic rogue Jack Falstaff in his play *King Henry IV.I.*

> **Swab the spray from your bousprit, my good lad, and coil up your spirits. Many a better man has foundered before he has made half my way; thof I trust, by the mercy of God, I shall be sure in port in a very few glasses, and fast moored in a most blessed riding, for my good friend Jolter has overhauled the journal of my sins; and by the observation he hath taken of the state of my soul, I hope I shall happily conclude my voyage and he brought up in the latitude of heaven.**[205]

Smollett used a well-known marketing strategy when writing this novel, he included a sensational episode in the tradition of the interpolated history or chronique scandaleuse, favoured by the notorious triumvirate of Behn, Manley and Haywood. He called it *Memoirs of a Lady of Quality*, which were the scandalous recollections of a well-known lady of fashion called Lady Vane, who was more noted for her amours than her probity.[206] It was the source of much contemporary gossip with readers divided both as to the ethics of publishing the memoirs and as to their style. Samuel Richardson called it 'the very bad story of a wicked woman', and Mrs Delany found it 'wretched stuff'. Surprisingly the 'Queen of the Bluestockings' Mrs Elizabeth Montagu recommended it in a letter to her

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[202]Ibid., pp. 209-210.
[203]William Forsyth. *The Novels and Novelists of the 18th Century*, p. 281.
[204]Ibid.,
[205]James L. Clifford (ed.). *The Adventures of Perigrine Pickle*. (Oxford University Press, London, 1964), p. 392.
[206]Ibid., p. xvi.

sister Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, when she wrote 'I recommend to your perusal *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* Lady Vane's story is well told'[207].

The novel finished in a similar mode to that of *Roderick Random*. Peregrine was arrested for debt and lodged in the Fleet, just as Random was at the *Marshalsea*, and then in a final reversal, he secured a fortune when his father died intestate, and a bride, when Emilia forgave him for his past misdeeds.[208] A second edition of *Peregrine Pickle* was not called for until 1758, at which stage Smollett's feelings for his erstwhile enemies - Garrick, Fielding, (who was now dead) and Lyttelton had mellowed.[209] Near the end of 1757 he expurgated the original to remove or soften the bitter personal attacks on them. Revisions were also made in the *Memoirs* of Lady Vane, at her ladyship's request.[210] No doubt Smollett's change of heart was precipitated by the rebukes of his critics. It wasn't until the turn of the century that he finally got the credit he deserved for his remarkable skill at characterisation, or as a creator of vivid eccentric types, or for his genial humour and picturesque nautical lingo. *Peregrine Pickle* was eventually acknowledged 'as a masterpiece even if a scandalous one'[211]. Many of the great romantic poets and writers of the 19th century such as Wordsworth, Coleridge, Lamb, Dickens, and Hazlett, were youthful admirers of Smollett. What would have appealed to this creator of farcical comedy was the reported story that a London physician of the 18th century was reputed to have had a 'pleasant habit of writing on his prescription ... recipe, every day for a few hours several pages of Peregrine Pickle'[212].

For Smollett's third novel *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom* (1753) he borrowed from Fielding the idea of a scoundrel-hero, only the tone Smollett used was not one of ironical admiration.[213] In this particular work he showed all the signs of imaginative exhaustion. He borrowed heavily from other sources, especially Shakespeare, and consequently his work was derivative, and read as if it had been translated from another language. This would lend some weight to Thackeray's

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[207]Ibid., p. xvii
[208]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, p. 207.
[209]James L. Clifford. *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, p. xviii.
[210]Ibid., p. xix.
[211]Ibid.,
[212]Ibid., p. xxix.
[213]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, pp. 215-216.

suggestion that 'Smollett didn't invent much'[214]. He used a curious mixture of styles in this novel, as Baker observed 'First, he confounds the tale of picaresque adventure with the criminal biography: then he changes over to crude romance'[215]. The most noteworthy feature of this novel was the atmosphere of terror and suspense which Smollett successfully created, which gave a foretaste of the gothic novel of terror. His account of Ferdinand's night in the forest was in this vein, with 'the emotional diction as well as the landscape-painting of the Radcliffe school, but a generation earlier'[216]. Similarly, Smollett recounted with meticulous detail Ronaldo's midnight visit to the tomb of his deceased loved one Monimia. No sooner had Ronaldo thrown himself on the cold stones, than he heard solemn notes issue from the organ, played by an invisible hand. Then Monimia appeared from the dead and Ronaldo caught in his arms 'not the shadow, but the warm substance of the all-accomplished Monimia, She had sought refuge in the grave but it had been a sham funeral'[217].

Smollett's later years were beset by financial worries. He was forced into literary drudgery as he busily undertook major works of translation. He edited thirty eight volumes of the works of Voltaire and Fénelon's Télémaque. In 1756 he accepted the editorship of *The Critical Review*. He also befriended Garrick who agreed to stage his play *The Reprisal*, which became a popular hit at Drury Lane in 1757. Unfortunately for Smollett, he had a tendency to attract more enemies than friends because of his outspokenness and lack of tact. Admiral Knowles took his displeasure with Smollett's written disapproval of his conduct during the Carthagena expedition to the courts. Smollett was fined and imprisoned for three months in the King's Bench (1759) for libelling Admiral Knowles in the May 1758 edition of *The Critical Review*. While in prison he spent his time writing chapters of his next novel *The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*[218]. The novel appeared as a serial in a new periodical *The British Magazine*, which Smollett himself edited, assisted by Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774).[219] It was, however, hastily and carelessly written, with resultant repetitiveness and occasional inconsistencies. Sir Walter Scott maintained that Smollett wrote some of the

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[214]Damian Grant. *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*. (Oxford University Press, London, 1971), p. xi.
[215]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, p. 217.
[216]Ibid., p. 218.
[217]Ibid., p. 220.
[218] App. No. 221, p. 557.
[219]Ibid., pp. 220-221.

chapters rather haphazardly, in the minimum of time, during a visit to a Scottish friend, in the summer of 1760, when as 'post-time drew near, he used to retire for half an hour or an hour, to prepare the necessary quantity of copy, as it is technically called in the printing house, which he never gave himself the trouble to correct or even to read over'[220].

Smollett had completed his translation of *Don Quixote* in 1755 and even though it has been demonstrated by recent research, that it was little more than a 'plagiarising, paraphrasing, rewriting and inverting' of Jarvis's English translation (1742), he nonetheless incorporated some of its elements into his novel.[221] *Launcelot Greaves* had only a few scenes specifically imitated from *Don Quixote* but what Smollett owed to Cervantes was the basic metaphor of the hero as both satirist and knight errant. One of the most attractive features of the novel was the idea of a group of varied caricatures, who formed around Sir Launcelot.[222] There was the obligatory seafaring member Captain Crowe who spoke in rich nautical metaphors and nurtured a deep distrust of lawyers and there was the fashionable sentimental character Clarke, who responded emotionally to scenes of distress and Smollett produced not one but two Quixotes. Sir Launcelot had his Sancho Panza in Timothy Crabshaw and a double in Captain Crowe. Among the corrupt public servants that the group encountered those most sharply delineated were the election candidates and the justice of the peace. Smollett used broad irony in the scene at the hustings when he parodied the political speeches of both candidates to expose their selfish motives. Sir Launcelot's role in the novel was that of redressor of grievances and spokesman for the values he represented. Here he outlined the ideal qualifications of a candidate for parliament as well as the considerations that should occupy the mind of the ideal voter. It is possible that the idea for this scene received its impetus from William Hogarth's (1697-1764) *Four Prints of an Election* (1755-1758) based on the Oxfordshire contest of 1754.[223] Smollett was an admirer of the satirical painter and he alluded to Hogarth in all his novels with the exception of Ferdinand Count Fathom. Both Smollett and Hogarth viewed the social life of 18th century England with critical eyes, but used different artistic mediums to convey their displeasure.

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[220]David Evans. (ed.). *The Life and Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*. (Oxford University Press, London, 1973), p. ix.
[221]Ibid., p. xi.
[222]Ibid., p. xiii.
[223]Ibid., p. xvii.

THE

LIFE

AND

OPINIONS

OF

TRISTRAM SHANDY,

GENTLEMAN.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:

Printed for T. MURRAY, in Fleet-Street,
oppoſite to St. Dunſtan's Church.

M,DCC,LXXIV.

Fig.48.1

Fig.48.2

Fig. 48.1 Title page from *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman.* [Laurence Sterne] 1774. 1st edition 1759-1767.

Fig. 48.2 Frontispiece from *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman.*

Smollett's novel got a disappointing reception when it was first published in 1762, when it was acknowledged in a single line in *The Critical Review*[224]. Nonetheless Smollett did introduce a novelty element into the novel form when instead of the conventional methodical introduction he painted 'a little tableau in the Scarron style'. The scene opened with a group of travellers, the landlady and her two daughters, immersed in natural conversation, in the kitchen of the Black Lion hostelry. Regular narrative was dispensed with and the story proceeded by means of dialogue and word-play, so therefore what Smollett had introduced was a conversation novel, with incidents included.[225]

Just when it seemed that the novel form and structure had been well established and had won widespread approval, Laurence Sterne produced a novel without a plot, a heroine or any action whatsoever. He didn't adhere to any novelistic parameters, but he did succeed in demonstrating just how flexible a form the novel was when new styles and techniques were applied to it. He showed that action wasn't essential when ideas or verbal banter could be substituted for it. Two elderly gentlemen with a passion for talking could engross the reader just as much as the exploits of the heroes and heroines of romance.[226] There was nothing in Sterne's upbringing or education to indicate that he would be the originator of this masterly work. Born in Clonmel, Co. Tipperary in 1713, the son of an ensign in an infantry regiment, the family followed the regiment about until his father died when Laurence was aged eighteen. It was from these many wanderings about with the regiment that Sterne gained familiarity with military life, a knowledge he brought to bear on *Tristram Shandy* (1759-67)[227]. In 1733 he was admitted to a sizarship at Jesus College, Cambridge where he became friendly with John Hill, afterwards known as Hall-Stevenson and later to become the fictional character Eugenius of the notorious Crazy Castle in *Tristram Shandy*[228]. Having graduated, he was ordained in January 1736, and through the influence of his clergyman uncle, Jacques, received the benefice of Sutton-in-the-Forest. He remained there until 1759, the year he started his novel. He relieved the monotony of life by painting, fiddling, shooting, collecting books and by cultivating the society of the master of Skelton Castle, the home of his old college friend John Hall-

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[224]Ibid., p. x.
[225]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, p. 224.
[226]S. Diana Neill. *A Short History of the English Novel*, p. 72.
[227] App. No. 221, p. 555.
[228]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, p. 245.

Stevenson.[229] Sterne had access to Hall-Stevenson's library which was rich in curious literature and also to the library at York, which provided him with a vast range of printed matter from which he could borrow and this he did without restraint. One literary historian described Sterne aptly as 'a genius among plagiarists who robbed unrestrainedly and unashamedly from his predecessors'[230], and when his library was sold in 1768 his sources were apparent: 'The prophecies of Nostradamus ... Young on Opium ... Vauban's New Method of Fortifications: Nicholl on Midwifery ... but the great perpetual sources of Sterne's literary inspiration were Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Cervantes *Don Quixote*, the *Histories of Gargantua* by Francois Rabelais (1494-1553)[231] and the philosophical treatises of John Locke (1632-1704). Sterne never concealed the fact that he arrived at originality through the brains of other men by plundering from his predecessors. He openly admitted as much in his novel when he asked 'Shall we for ever make new books, as apothecaries make new mixtures, by pouring only out of one vessel into another?'[232].

In 1759 Sterne published the first part of his great anti-novel, the full title of which was *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, in which he parodied the characteristics and problems of the new genre. He started with Fielding's literary method of writing a comic epic in prose by suggesting that *Tristram Shandy* was not following any classical authorities such as Horace. He pushed the idea of Fielding's author-narrator, and that of Richardson's characters 'writing to the moment', to the point of paradox.[233] *Tristram Shandy* seemed to start out in the tone of an autobiography, but then it suddenly changed course and strayed into a description of the hero's birth. Tristram wasn't in fact born until the end of the fourth volume, and even though the reader was assured, even from the title of the book, that his life and opinions would be set out, his life was hardly mentioned for long stretches thereafter.[234] The only opinions expressed came from his father, the 'great motive monger'[235] who possessed a theory on most issues but like Sir Roger de Coverley's ideas, Mr Shandy's were loosely based in the world of reality. He was a quixotic figure and Toby acted as his Sancho Panza, they were figures of the purest

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[229]Ibid., p. 246.
[230]Ibid., p. 248.
[231]S. Diana Neill. *A Short History of the English Novel*, p. 73.
[232]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, pp. 269-270.
[233]David Skelton. *The English Novel*, p. 46.
[234]Ibid., p. 48.
[235]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, p. 256.

comedy who dovetailed perfectly. The same could not be said of the comical partnership of Mr and Mrs Shandy, who were clearly incompatible. Mr Shandy, who was 'master of one of the finest chains of reasoning in nature' was married to a woman 'with such a head-piece that he cannot hang up a single influence within side of it, to save his soul from destruction'[236].

Sterne's method of narration had no precedent but he based it on John Locke's theory of the association of ideas, which he applied to the 'individual and eccentric mental behaviour'[237] of Mr Shandy. He used Locke's principles in the portrayal of character and sentiment and as a connecting thread between them. Underlying the movement of the whole book was another philosophical conception derived from Locke, which was to do with the time-shift in the novel and Locke's theory of duration. Sterne was interested in the discrepancy between duration in terms of chronological and psychological time. His main interest lay in the states of mind and the character of the protagonists rather than their actions. The true duration was therefore subjective, measured by values, not by the clock, it consequently varied in length with each individual, having regard to the circumstances and frame of mind in which he happened to be.[238] This concept of a background of duration, distinct from the physic time, perceived in the passage of ideas through the mind was vital in Sterne's narrative method, he was the first novelist to apply it deliberately to fiction.[239]

Perhaps the greatest curiosity of this novel was its actual form. In the book everything was displaced and transposed. The dedication turned up after the first two chapters, in violation of the conventions of content, form and place. Likewise the preface was misplaced, it occurred in chapter twenty of volume three, rather than at the beginning of volume one. Sterne confided in the reader: 'all my heroes are off my hands: 'tis the first time I have had a moment to spare - and I'll make use of it, and write my preface'[240]. The confusion was added to by the displacement of chapters eighteen and nineteen of volume nine so that they followed chapter twenty five. Sterne's motivation was to teach a lesson

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[236]S. Diana Neill. *A Short History of the English Novel*, p. 74.

[237]David Skelton. *The English Novel*, p. 47.

[238]John Traugott (ed.) *Laurence Sterne. A Collection of Critical Essays.* (Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1968).

_____ A.A. Mendilow. *'The Revolt of Sterne'*, p. 94.

[239]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, p. 255.

to all future novelists that they might adopt an individualistic approach to story telling. 'All I wish is, that it may be a lesson to the world, to let people tell their stories their own way'.[241] His novel had an extraordinary international vogue with streams of translations, imitations, and spurious continuations still appearing in the 19th century,[242] but it shocked the literati of the day. Horace Walpole and Oliver Goldsmith were critical of it on moral and literary grounds. Richardson saw little in it but 'unaccountable wildness, whimsical incoherence, uncommon indecencies'. Dr Samuel Johnson, dubbed by Smollett as the great neo-classical cham, made an erroneous judgement regarding the future of *Tristram Shandy* when he said 'nothing odd will do long. *Tristram Shandy* did not last.'[243]

In October 1765 Sterne set out on a seven months tour through France and Italy and later wrote about it in his travel novel *A Sentimental Journey* (1768). In ways this account was typical of the many other travel books of the period, in that it too conveyed sympathy for the living conditions of men and of all living creatures.[244] Sterne stated as much when he said it was designed 'to teach us to love the world and our fellow-creatures better than we do' only he emphasised 'those gentler passions and affections which aid so much to general goodwill'[245]. Sentimentalism was an integral part of Sterne's philosophy. He preached a gospel of obedience to the feelings alone because he believed that 'When the heart flies out before the understanding, it saves the judgement a world of pains'[246]. He contended that man upset his equilibrium by consulting his reason alone. He wrote:

> **I was never able to conquer any one single bad sensation in my heart so decisively as by beating up as fast as I could for some kindly and gentle sensation to fight it upon its own ground.**[247]

It was a happy coincidence that Sterne's refined sentimental style suited the new fashion for sensibility in the 1760's. In fact this trend owed much to his first novel *Tristram Shandy* and to scenes like Le Fever's death, Uncle Toby sparing the life of a fly, or poor, mad, lovelorn Maria and her goat which drew copious tears.[248] Baker attributed the artistic style of writing employed by Sterne in this novel, to his exceptional artistic ability.

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[240]Viktor Shklovsky. *'A Parodying Novel. Sterne's Tristram Shandy'*, p. 67. In *Laurence Sterne. A Collection of Critical Essays.*
[241]Ibid.,
[242]David Skelton. *The English Novel*, p. 52.
[243]John Traugott. *Laurence Sterne* , p. 2.
[244]S. Diana Neill. *A Short History of the English Novel*, p. 76.
[245]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, p. 261.
[246]Ibid., p. 260.
[247]Ibid., p. 261.

During his years as vicar of Sutton, he displayed talent as an artist and a keen appreciation of music, so that it was hardly surprising that he should produce a 'masterpiece of a new style of art impressionism', namely the *Sentimental Journey*, which was a series of such impressions.[249] There is much merit in Baker's analysis of Sterne's technique and in his rejection of the influence of Locke's theory of sensation on the novel. Sterne prided himself on his familiarity with Locke's philosophy. He quoted copiously from his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, and he would have justified his method 'by appealing to the great empiricist's theory of sensation', but as Baker pointed out, Sterne's work owed little to philosophy and everything to impressionism, because his very reasoning was 'a stringing together of impressions'[250]. Yet it is Sterne that English fiction is indebted to for the novel of sentimentality and stream of consciousness.

(iii) Literature of Terror or Gothic Literature

The Augustan writers of the 18th century had been superseded by the four major novelists, whose works contained antithetical elements to Augustanism. The novels of Richardson, Fielding and Smollett also contained elements which preshadowed the gothic novels. According to Ian Watt *Tom Jones* contained 'the first gothic mansion in the history of the novel'[251], and the death scene at the end of Richardson's *Clarissa* could be regarded as graveyard literature[252] comparible to the death-gloom of the graveyard poetry of Edward Young (1683-1765), Thomas Gray (1716-71) and Thomas Parnell (1679-1718).[253] With Fielding and Richardson we see the gathering together of gothic props, but as David Punter in *The Literature of Terror* pointed out 'the first important 18th century work to propose terror as a subject for novelistic writing was Smollett's Ferdinand Count Fathom'[254]. In it Smollett furnished something of a link between realism and gothic.[255]

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[248]David Skelton. *The English Novel*, p. 52.
[249]Ernest A. Baker. *'Intellectual Realism'*, p. 263.
[250]Ibid.,
[251]Ian Watt. *The Rise of the Novel*, p. 29.
[252]Ibid., pp. 225-226.
[253]Frederick R. Karl. *A Reader's Guide to the Development of the English Novel in the Eighteenth Century*. (Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1975), p. 237.
[254]David Punter. *The Literature of Terror*, p. 40.

The gothic novels challenged the novel internally within twenty years of the firm establishment of the genre. They were written not as a form of escapism but as a form of revolt against the constraints which the philosophy of the Enlightenment, with its emphasis on reason, placed on the English reading habits of the people in the 17th and 18th centuries. The gothic writer reflected the self-confidence of an age, which rejected hypocrisy, the denial of the emotions, the emphasis on empirical facts, by writing in an anti-realist mode and by dismembering and deconstructing the very realities of life itself.[256] Linda Bayer-Berenbaum in *The Gothic Imagination* (1982) drew attention to the fact that gothic literature was an outcome of the revolutionary upheavels in Europe and supported her argument by citing André Bréton, a spokesman for surrealism, who considered 'Gothicism a revolutionary art form produced by revolutionary sentiments'[257]. Davendra Varma spoke of these same revolutionary tendencies in *The Gothic Flame* (1957). Varma related the gothic novel directly to the French Revolution, as did Michael Sadlier in his essay *The Northanger Novels: A Footnote to Jane Austen* (1927). He wrote 'The Gothic romance and the French symbolist movement were in their small way as much an expression of a deep subversive impulse as were the French Revolution itself and the grim gathering of forces for industrial war'.[258] Gothic writers were revolutionary insofar as they spurned the common restrictive bounds by providing literature which gave scope for the portrayal of violent emotion, even in the most improbable settings and implausible circumstances. A striking feature of this new romantic period was the strong interest shown in the past. In the 1790's 'the literary market was flooded with a mass of fiction which rejected direct engagement with the activities of contemporary life in favour of geographically remote action and settings'.[259] The main criterion was that the past should differ from the present, so the gothic writers revised the Middle Ages in the literary and artistic sense, and their revived existence was then interwoven into the life of the present. The new era of gothic romanticism emphasised passion, emotion, fear and mystery.[260] The setting for most gothic novels was an ancient, lonely, ruinous castle or abbey, with dark corridors and forbidden chambers to convey a special atmosphere of awe

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[255]op. cit.,

[256]David Punter. *The Literature of Terror*, p. 85.

[257]Linda Bayer-Berenbaum. *The Gothic Imagination*. (Associated University Presses Inc., 4, Cornwall Drive, East Brunswick, New Jersey 08816, 1982), pp. 42-43.

[258]Ibid., p. 43.

[259]David Punter. *The Literature of Terror*, p. 54.

[260]Linda Bayer-Berenbaum. *The Gothic Imagination*, pp. 19-20.

and horror to stimulate the emotion of fear in the reader.[261] Gothicism answered the need for the release of strong emotions following great social upheavels. Bayer-Berenbaum observed that the 'Romantic qualities of yearning, aspiration, mystery and wonder nourished the roots of the Gothic movement' and that 'Sensualism, sensationalism, and then sadism were nurtured in an orgy of emotion'.[262]

The conventions of the gothic novel were established by Horace Walpole (1717-97) son of the famous Whig minister Sir Robert Walpole, Mrs Ann Radcliffe, (1764-1823), and Matthew Gregory Lewis, (1775-1818).[263] But gothic was neither uniform nor constant as Karl (1975) pointed out, 'there were vast differences between Mrs Radcliffe's 'Romantic' Gothic and the psychologically harrowing Gothic of Matthew Lewis'[264]. Devendra Varma outlined the development of gothic from the main stream of gothic romance which issued from Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), and which diverged into three parallel channels; the gothic-historical type developed by Clara Reeve and the Lee sisters, Sophia and Harriet, especially Sophia Lee's *The Recess* (1783-85); secondly the school of terror initiated by Mrs Radcliffe: and lastly the works of the Schauer-Romantiks or the school of horror followed by Matthew Lewis.[265]

While Walpole wasn't the sole founder of gothic, it was he who brought together the various elements we now identify as typical of the genre: 'The Gothic machinery, the atmosphere of gloom and terror, and stock romantic characters'. In his preface to the second edition of *The Castle of Otranto* Walpole said that his book was an attempt to unite the 'imagination and improbability' of romance with 'nature', because in contemporary fiction 'the great resources of fancy [had] been damned up by strict adherence to common life'[266]. As Punter (1996) noted, this novel was in fact 'the earliest and most important manifestation of the late 18th century revival of romance, that is of the older traditions of prose literature', which had been supplanted by the rise of the novel.[267] *The Castle of Otranto* was set around the 12th century and it took place in a fantastic

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[261]S. Diana Neill. *A Short History of the English Novel*, p. 91.
[262]op. cit., p. 20.
[263]Linda Bayer-Berenbaum. *The Gothic Imagination*, p. 20.
[264]Frederick R. Karl. *A Reader's Guide*, p. 238.
[265]Devendra Prasad Varma. *The Gothic Flame: Being a History of the Gothic Novel in England: its Origins, Efflorescences, Disintegration, and Residuary Influences.* (London, Arthur Baker Ltd., 1957), p. 206.
[266]David Skelton. *The English Novel*, p. 60.
[267]David Punter. *The Literature of Terror*, p. 43.

version of the writer's own house at Strawberry Hall, fictionally expanded from a decorated villa into an ancient Italian Castle.[268] It had many of the ingredients of romance - a tyrannical feudal baron, complicated revelations about paternity and a host of supernatural portents such as an armoury of magical helmets, speaking pictures and ghostly giants.[269] Punter drew attention to the fact that in *The Castle of Otranto* Walpole gave the 18th century perspective and viewpoint on feudalism and the aristocracy by using what was to become a favourite theme in gothic fiction - the revisiting of the sins of the fathers upon their children.[270] In this, Walpole clearly appealed to the keeness of the middle classes to read about the aristocracy, his book proved very popular and quickly ran into more than 115 editions since it first appeared and was published anonymously.[271]

Walpole consistently associated his work with the drama and in his preface to the second edition he defended his method as a combination of low-comedy and high-tragedy, based on no less an authority than Shakespeare's practice in *Hamlet* (1601) and *Julius Caesar* (1599).[272] He effected this Shakespearian contrast by juxtaposing the 'sublime' experiences of the principal characters with the comic naivety of the domestic ancillaries in order to set 'the former in a stronger light', something Augustans would never have approved of.[273] Walpole tried to make the supernatural appear natural by asking the reader to excuse 'the air of the miraculous' and to 'allow the possibility of the facts'. He tried to turn the unusual into realistic detail by informing the reader that he was no more than a translator of a manuscript found in the library of 'an ancient catholic family in the north of England'[274]. Walpole's familiarity with oriental fairy tales was evident from the style adopted in the beginning of *The Castle of Otranto.* Manfred, Prince of Otranto, had one son and one daughter. The motifs of cruel parenthood and of one lovely and one unlovely child are originally oriental.[275]

Walpole originated the Gothic genre but it was another thirteen years before a successor appeared in Clara Reeve, whose novel *The Old English Baron* was published in 1777.

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[268]David Skelton. *The English Novel*, p. 59.
[269]David Punter. *The Literature of Terror*, pp. 44-45..
[270]Ibid., p. 46.
[271]Ibid., p. 44.
[272]Frederick R. Karl. *A Reader's Guide*, p. 242.
[273]David Skelton. *The English Novel*, p. 60.
[274]Frederick R. Karl. *A Reader's Guide*, p. 242.
[275]Linda Bayer-Berenbaum. *The Gothic Imagination*, pp. 44-45.

Despite the long gap, there was specific continuity between Walpole and Reeve as both produced 'framed'[276] narratives or texts purporting to be manuscripts which they discovered and of which they were, supposedly, the 'editors'. But there were also marked differences in theme and style between the two writers. Reeve tried to combine the supernatural features of *The Castle of Otranto* with the historical settings of such novels as Thomas Leland's *Longsword* (1762) and William Hutchinson's *The Hermitage: a British Story* (1772), to give narrative interest and attractiveness to a tale with a didactic purpose. She objected to Walpole's novel because it 'set itself out merely to amuse, and it used the supernatural in such a way as to sacrifice narrative possibility'[277]. Walpole's response was to sharply criticise Reeve's novel, which he considered to be 'so probable, that any trial for murder at the Old Bailey would make a more interesting story'[278]. To Reeve the past was not a source of fear and wonder, but a source of comfort. The supernatural was not terrifying and ghosts were dealt with in a very matter-of-fact way. By adopting this fundamentally rationalist ideology Reeve's novels were brought closer to the mainstream of 18th century[279] literature.

The historical realism in the novel of her successor, Sophia Lee (1750-1824), entitled *The Recess* (1783-5), was much more impressive. Lee owed a great deal to the French historical romance, in particular to the Abbé Prévost (1697-1763) the French novelist who translated Richardson's novels into French.[280] This was also a framed narrative, that derived its form from the epistolary novel, and interspersed letters and portions of manuscript with considerable abandon. *The Recess* was set in the reign of Elizabeth and Lee recounted the adventures of two imaginary sisters, the illegitimate daughters of Mary Queen of Scots.

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[276]David Punter. *The Literature of Terror*, p. 49.
[277]Ibid., p. 47.
[278]Ibid.,
[279]Ibid., p. 49.
[280]Ibid., p. 50.

THE

MYSTERIES OF UDOLPHO,

A

ROMANCE;

INTERSPERSED WITH SOME PIECES OF POETRY.

BY

ANN RADCLIFFE,

AUTHOR OF THE ROMANCE OF THE FOREST, ETC.

IN THREE VOLUMES,

Fate ſits on theſe dark battlements, and frowns,
And, as the portals open to receive me,
Her voice, in ſullen echoes through the courts,
Tells of a nameleſs deed.

VOL. I.

DUBLIN:

Printed by P. Kelly,

FOR MESSRS. P. WOGAN, W. JONES. H. COLBERT,
AND J. MILLIKEN.

1795.

Fig.49.1

THE

MYSTERIES
OF
U D O L P H O.

CHAP. I.

" ——————home is the reſort
Of love, of joy, of peace and plenty, where,
Supporting and ſupported, poliſh'd friends
And near relations mingle into bliſs."

THOMSON.

ON the pleaſant banks of the Garonne, in the province of Gaſcony, ſtood, in the year 1584, the chateau of Monſieur St. Aubert. From its windows were ſeen the paſtoral landſcapes of Guienne and Gaſcony, ſtretching along the river, gay with luxuriant woods and vines, and plantations of olives. To the ſouth, the view was bounded by the majeſtic Pyrenées, whoſe ſummits, veiled in clouds, or exhibiting awful forms, ſeen, and loſt again, as the partial vapours rolled along, were ſometimes barren, and gleamed through the blue tinge of air, and ſometimes frowned with foreſts of gloomy pine, that ſwept downward to their baſe. Theſe tre-

 mendous

Fig.49.2

Fig. 49.1 **Title page from *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. [Ann Radcliffe] 1795. 1st edition 1794.**

Fig. 49.2 **Page from Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho*.**

In the process she managed to bring in almost every major event and personage of Elizabeth's reign but she connected them to the narrative with considerable skill. Compared to Leland's *Longsword* and Reeve's *The Old English Baron*[281], Lee's novel stood out as innovative. Instead of treating history as an excuse for biography, Lee used private loves and vengeances to replace political motives.[282] She suggested that love accounted for Essex's behaviour in Ireland and Sidney's death at Zutphon. She used 'personalisation of motive as a way of coming to understand history itself'. Where Reeve's interest was moral and didactic, Lee's was historical and interpretative.[283] The whole plot was based on persecution and on the danger which the existence of Mary's daughters presented to the state and on the attempts made to suppress that danger. Lee originated a trend in treating Elizabeth as a persecutor and in *The Recess* she depicted her as 'unnatural'. The theme of persecution was going to become 'peculiarly the property of Gothics' in the years that followed.[284]

Ann Radcliffe who followed Clara Reeve as a writer of gothic 'thrillers', exercised a more important influence on literature. She wrote five novels under the influence of *The Recess* but her finest work was *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794)[285], which was widely acclaimed and followed by scores of imitations.[286] The story, which was set in the 16th century opened with a pleasing account of the idyllic peace at the chateau of La Vallée, the home of the St. Aubert's in Gascony, where the orphaned Emily St. Aubert lost her heart to Valancourt, a young man from a good family but of moderate means. Having been placed at the mercy of her father's unprepossessing sister Madame Cheron at Tholouse, their courtship was encouraged for purely economic reasons. Her guardian was married to a sinister Italian, Signor Montoni. Emily was whisked away first to Venice, where she was almost married against her wishes to one Count Morano, and then to Montoni's Gothic castle in the Appenines, Udolpho, in which she was effectively imprisoned. Here, with all the apparatus of sliding panels, secret passages, abductions and suggestions of the supernatural, dark dealings were carried on, because Montoni was in fact the head of a band of robbers and the castle was his lair.

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[281]App. No. 221, p. 556.
[282]Ibid., p. 51.
[283]Ibid., p. 51.
[284]Ibid., p. 52.
[285]App. No. 221, p. 558.
[286]Ibid., p. 55.

THE

ITALIAN,

OR, THE

CONFESSIONAL of the BLACK PENITENTS.

A ROMANCE.

BY

ANN RADCLIFFE,

AUTHOR OF THE MYSTERIES OF UDOLPHO, &c. &c.

"He, wrapt in clouds of myſtery and ſilence,
Broods o'er his paſſions, bodies them in deeds,
And ſends them forth on wings of Fate to others:
Like the inviſible Will, that guides us,
Unheard, unknown, unſearchable!

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR P. WOGAN, P. BYRNE, J. EXSHAW, T. STEWART, J. MILLIKEN, J. MOORE, J. RICE, H. COLBERT, W. PORTER, J. HALPEN, J. BOYCE, N. KELLY, H. FITZPATRICK, AND G. FOLINGSBY.

1797.

Fig.50.1

high benefice for his ſervices, and the other to ſecure the imaginary dignity of her houſe, by her gifts. Prompted by ſuch paſſions, and allured by ſuch views, they concurred in private, and unknown even to the Marcheſe, the means of accompliſhing their general end.

Vivaldi, as he quitted his mother's cloſet, had met Schedoni in the corridor leading thither. He knew him to be her confeſſor, and was not much ſurpriſed to ſee him, though the hour was an unuſual one. Schedoni bowed his head, as he paſſed, and aſſumed a meek and holy countenance; but Vivaldi, as he eyed him with a penetrating glance, now recoiled with involuntary emotion; and it ſeemed as if a ſhuddering preſentiment of what this monk was preparing for him had croſſed his mind.

CHAP. III.

——"Art thou any thing?
Art thou ſome God, ſome Angel, or ſome Devil
That mak'ſt my blood cold, and my hair to ſtand?
Speak to me, what thou art." JULIUS CÆSAR.

VIVALDI, from the period of his laſt viſit to Altieri, was admitted a frequent viſitor to Signora Bianchi, and Ellena was prevailed upon to join the party, when the converſation was always on indifferent topics. Bianchi, underſtanding the diſpoſition of her niece's affections, and the accompliſhed mind and manners of Vivaldi, judged that he was more likely to ſucceed by ſilent attentions than by a formal delaration of his ſentiments. By ſuch declaration, Ellena, till

Fig.50.2

Fig. 50.1 **Title page from *The Italian,* or *The Confessional of the Black Penitents.* [Ann Radcliffe] 1797.**

Fig. 50.2 **Page from Radcliffe's *The Italian,* or *The Confessional of the Black Penitents.***

Many dangers threatened Emily at Udolpho - at one moment it appeared to be forced marriage, at another rape, at another the theft of her remaining estates, at another supernatural terrors, none of which actually happened due to the celebrated fact that Mrs Radcliffe disclosed that her apparently supernatural machinery was no more than mere trickery. The mysterious intimations that had terrorized the persons in the novel were shown to be entirely natural in origin.[287] This did not take away from the power which her ghosts had over Emily or indeed the reader.

Like *The Castle of Otranto, The Old English Baron* and *The Recess*, Radcliffe's next novel *The Italian, or The Confessional of the Black Penitent* (1797) was 'framed' as a book read by later English visitors to Naples. She even included tales which turned out to be totally irrelevant to the main plot.[288] Written under the influence of *The Monk* (1795)[289] the successful novel of her arch rival Matthew Lewis, the tone had changed, now the emphasis was on creating more fear and suspense in order to feed the growing demand for horror stories. In *The Italian* the orphan Ellena di Rosalba was loved by Vivaldi, the only son of a marquess. His aristocratic mother conspired with her confessor, a monk named Schedoni to remove Ellena to the appalling convent of San Stefano. The choice of a catholic monk as the satanic villain was deliberate because anti-catholic feelings had been stirred up in England during the French Revolution. Radcliffe borrowed from Lewis's scenes on the Inquisition, which she described largely in dialogue form. These were almost impressionistic with mysterious voices in the gloom, flitting figures and unknown instruments of torture, all designed to create an atmosphere of fear. Punter described it as 'virtuoso demonstration of the imaginative power of the half-seen and half-explained', which allowed the reader to release the springs of his imagination and fantasy.[290]

Literary historians tend to the belief that Ann Radcliffe designed her novels in accordance with the principles of Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*.[291]

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[287]Ibid., p. 59.
[288]Ibid., p. 63.
[289] App. No. 221, p. 558.
[290]Ibid.,
[291]David Skelton. *The English Novel*, p. 62.

THE

MONK;

A

ROMANCE.

Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, ſagas,
Nocturnos lemures, portentaque.

HORAT.

Dreams, magic terrors, ſpells of mighty power,
Witches, and ghoſts who rove at midnight hour.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL II.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS.

1800.

Fig.51.1

THE MONK.

CHAP. I.

—— Lord Angelo is preciſe;
Stands at guard with envy; ſcarce confeſſes
That his blood flows, or that his appetite
Is more to bread than ſtone.

MEASURE FOR MEASURE.

SCARCELY had the abbey-bell tolled for five minutes, and already was the church of the Capuchins thronged with auditors. Do not encourage the idea, that the crowd was aſſembled either from motives of piety or thirſt of information. But very few were influenced by thoſe reaſons; and in a city where ſuperſtition reigns with ſuch deſpotic ſway as in Madrid, to ſeek for true devotion would be a fruitleſs attempt. The audience now aſſembled in the Capuchin church was collected by various cauſes, but all of them were foreign to the oſtenſible motive. The women came to ſhow themſelves, the men to ſee the women: ſome

Fig.51.2

Fig. 51.1 **Title page from *The Monk; a Romance.* [Matthew Gregory Lewis] 1800. 1st edition 1795.**

Fig. 51.2 **Page from Lewis's *The Monk; a Romance.***

Scenes of danger, fear, imprisonment or torture took place in sublime settings such as mountains with rocky crags and deep gorges, or dark underground places calculated to stimulate the emotion of terror, while normal social life continued in beautiful villas, gardens and vineyards. Each condition was heightened by a contrast with its opposite, as Burke advocated.[292] But by far the biggest influences on Radcliffe were Shakespeare, from whom she quoted at length, and the puritan poet John Milton (1608-74). The character of Schedoni, Radcliffe's villainous hero owed a debt to Milton's portrayal of Satan in *Paradise Lost* (1667). She was influenced too by the 18th century writers - Richardson in England, d'Arnaud in France and Schiller in Germany whose novel *Die Rauber* (1777-80) was available in English in 1792. Radcliffe's style owed much to the dark morbid poetry of the 'graveyard poets' the 'poets of the landscape and the night' particularly Edward Young (1683-1765)[293] and James Thomson (1700-48).[294] The Romantic novelists and poets of the 19th century were inspired by Radcliffe's depiction of Schedoni, the 'fatal man' who was half angel, half devil, perpetually torn by the conflicting emotions of passion and remorse. The complex monk was probably the prototype of the poet Lord Byron's (1788-1824) satanic heroes.[295]

Mrs Radcliffe attempted to 'wed tragedy to melodrama'[296] but her successor, the other most influential gothic novelist, Matthew Gregory Lewis, tried to move gothic towards the mainstream of the novel through a psychological orientation.[297] Probing the subconscious was Lewis's forte but in the process he exploited nearly every aspect of gothic suggested by Walpole and developed by Mrs Radcliffe,[298] under the influence of the German Romantic movement and the wave of terror fiction which flourished in Germany in the 1790's. The youthful Lewis became a prominent literary figure as a result of eighteen plays which he had either written or translated from German.[299] He was well versed in the works of Goethe, Schiller and C.M. Wieland and had translated from the works of the German terror-writer Heinrich Zschokke. No doubt some of the extremism and sensationalism to be found in *The Monk* can be attributed to the German influence

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[292]Ibid.,
[293] App. No., p. 556.
[294]Ibid.,
[295]S. Diana Neill. *A Short History of the English Novel*, p. 99.
[296]Frederick R. Karl. *A Reader's Guide*, p. 252.
[297]Ibid.,
[298]Ibid., p. 256.
[299]David Punter. *The Literature of Terror*, p. 56.

because as Punter pointed out 'it needs to be remembered that most of the German material was extraordinarily crude, even by comparison with the worst of Lewis'[300].

The Monk concerned the saintly monk Ambrosio, the Superior of the Capuchins of Madrid, who was corrupted by a demon woman, a vampire called Matilda, who entered the monastery disguised as a novice, and won the affections of Ambrosio. In reality she was an agent of Satan, sent to destroy the monk physically and spiritually. Matilda seduced Ambrosio, a deed which released his pent-up passions and set him on a violent and self-destructive course. He became depraved by the desires she aroused in him. He then grew dissatisfied with Matilda and seduced one of his penitents, the naive Antonia. Matilda offered him supernatural assistance which he reluctantly accepted. The scheme went wrong when Ambrosio murdered the girl's mother to prevent her from publicly revealing his true character. With further demonic help, Ambrosio was enabled to carry Antonia off, apparently dead, to a crypt where, on her awakening, he savagely raped her. Discovered at last, he was captured and brought before the Inquisition. Matilda, who had been captured with him, succeeded in tempting him to complete his transactions with the devil by selling his soul in exchange for freedom. However he failed to bargain for more than release from prison. Satan cheated him and the fiend carried him to the top of a high mountain[301] and 'darting his talons in the monk's shaven crown, he sprang with him from the rock'[302]. Lewis utilised elements of existing legends favoured by the Romantics, the *Wandering Jew, Faustus, the pact with the Devil*, and lesser known legends popularised by German writers, like that of the *Bleeding Nun*. He also copied from Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794). There was one major difference between Radcliffe and Lewis however, with Mrs Radcliffe the reader was filled with terror at potential horrors but with Matthew Lewis the reader felt revulsion at their realisation.[303]

The Monk was completed by Lewis in ten weeks[304] and it became very popular even though it was censored continuously since the time it was written and even though it was more noted for its diabolical elements, being possibly written under the influence of the French writer Marquis de Sade (1740-1814), who was famous for his perverse novels.

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[300]Ibid., p. 58.
[301]Ibid., pp. 60-61.
[302]S. Diana Neill. *A Short History of the English Novel*, p. 102.
[303]David Punter. *The Literature of Terror*, p. 61.
[304]op. cit., p. 102.

Lewis was known to have purchased a copy of de Sade's book *Justine* in 1792[305] and he seemed to follow in his steps as he toyed with the Sadean notion of man's almost infinite potential for evil. His principal character Ambrosio was, after all 'a voyeur, a rapist, a sadist, a masochist, a necrophiliac, a matricide, as well as incestuous'[306]. To David Punter *The Monk* was 'a disturbing book'[307], 'a piece of deliberate extremism'[308] by a writer who was an avid seeker of publicity. He tried to 'challenge his audience, to upset its security, to give the reader a moment of doubt about whether he may not himself be guilty of the complicated faults attributed to Ambrosio'[309]. Like Karl, David Skelton (1977) gave Lewis credit for his talent at probing the subconscious, taking as his example the dream-basis of *The Monk*.[310] Lorenzo had a nightmare about his bride Antonia being snatched from him at the altar by a monster that plunged with her into a flaming gulf, as the cathedral crumbled around them, and she escaped upwards, leaving only her pure white robe in the fiend's possession. According to Skelton the nightmare pre-figured the story-pattern of the novel as a whole and demonstrated how gothic fiction, dismembered the psyche and personified its different aspects, and set them in dramatic conflict with each other. Skelton concluded that 'this least 'true to life' of English fiction 'had' more immediate access to the subconscious than many great realistic masterpieces of literature'[311].

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[305] David Punter. *The Literature of Terror*, pp. 80-81.
[306]Frederick R. Karl. *A Reader's Guide*, p. 253.
[307]David Punter. *The Literature of Terror*, pp. 80-81.
[308]Ibid., p. 79.
[309]Ibid.,
[310]David Skelton. *The English Novel*, p. 65.
[311]Ibid.,

(iv) Conclusion

The advanced reading books of the hedge schools were supplied by parents who could afford the most up-to-date publications due to a thriving re-print industry which produced expensive English novels at affordable prices. The books were therefore an eclectic mix of contemporary publications which reflected the literary tastes of the time.

From the selected list of books it would appear that the Irish had an appreciation of widely contrasting styles of writing, from the self-improving manuals of etiquette in courtship, to the formal letter writing manuals and realistic novels, to the classical essay periodicals and polished Augustan prose, to the perennially popular romances and novels of intrigue.

However, it was the innovative epistolary novels of sentiment by Samuel Richardson, the comic, ironical novels of character by Henry Fielding, the picaresque, seafaring novels of satiric caricature by Tobias Smollett and the impressionistic novels of sensibility by Laurence Sterne which dominated the sixth decade of the 18th century. These novels reached high literary standards and added original features and new dimensions to the novel genre, which would have provided students in the hedge schools with challenging but interesting reading material.

In the third quarter of the 18th century the revolutionary climate in Ireland as in many other European countries led to the vogue for a type of literature which overturned the accepted literary conventions. This was gothic literature which allowed for the portrayal of violent emotion and sadistic aberrant behaviour. The gothic novels of Radcliffe and Lewis can be seen as a reaction against the primness and propriety of the Augustan era with its rigid adherence to rules in writing, and as a reaction against the earnest pursuit of realism in fiction which novelists like Richardson went to such extreme lengths to emulate in his excessively long epistolary works. Radcliffe's novels would have necessitated a highly advanced standard of reading and comprehension from students, as she quoted extensively from Shakespeare and Milton. It is questionable whether many adult readers, could possibly have overcome these obstacles to reading. Readers of Lewis' *The Monk* would have had the added difficulty of coping with themes which were likely to have unsettled them, because the principal character Ambrosio was evil

personified. This was no doubt due to the fact that Lewis wrote his novel under the influence of writers of German terror fiction and the French novels of de Sade.

The readership for any of these selected books cannot be ascertained but the popularity of the works of the four major English novelists of the 18th century can be deduced from references to them in contemporary writers' accounts. The fact that they appear in the parochial returns for Kildare and Leighlin and the list of the commissioners of education of 1825, would lead one to believe that they were widely used in the hedge schools of Ireland. What one can state with certainty is that there was almost a complete absence of books in Irish and that those published either on the continent or at home, were far removed from anything one might reasonably describe as works of creative fiction. Books in English written in Ireland were also very few in number. The Irish people had every reason therefore to be grateful to the printers of Dublin and elsewhere who availed of the oversight in the Copyright Act of 1709, to supply them with the finest examples of English literature available in the 18th century. But what is significant here is the fact that parents themselves had sufficiently high levels of literacy to understand such advanced reading books, books which they in turn handed on to their adult sons and daughters to use as practice reading material in the hedge schools.

Chapter Six

1820-1835 - The end of an era

'There were fairy tales enough, and histories of noted robbers'

Introduction

Juvenile reading material came under critical scrutiny in the late 18th century and particularly in the 19th century. This was due in large measure to the wave of evangelicalism which swept through out England, during this period. Evangelical writers and Sunday school teachers, such as Sarah Trimmer (1802-1806) and Hannah More (1795-1798) expressed their alarm at the threat which they believed Jacobinism and Rousseauism [Ch. 4] posed to the social order in England. It was a well-known fact that the poor, those who had received their literacy skills in the Sunday schools, were feasting their minds on dangerous 'Jacobinical trash', such as Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*. People were reading the wrong kind of books, but as Hannah More remarked in the 1790's 'Vulgar and indecent books were always common, but speculative infidelity, brought down to the pockets and capacities of the poor, forms a new aera (sic.) in our history'[1]. Sarah Trimmer was determined to ensure that children's books were free from any threat to social stability or to sound christian values. She believed that the popular chapbooks challenged both. In 1802, she sounded a word of warning to parents, with these ominous words, from the first volume of her periodical *Guardian of Education* (1802-6).

> **Many people, who for want of observation and reading, are ignorant of what is going on in the world, will be apt to consider us in the light of alarmists, if we talk of a conspiracy against christianity and all social order which is at this time carrying on in the world by various means; one of which is endeavouring to infect the minds of the rising generation throug the medium of Books of Education and Children's Books.**[2]

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[1]Richard D. Altick. *The English Common Reader*, p. 74.
[2]Sarah Trimmer. *Guardian of Education.* (Vol. 1. May 1802), p. 2.

Evangelicalism found fruitful pasture in Ireland also and bible societies like the Association for Discountenancing Vice and Promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion and voluntary education societies like the Kildare Place Society, were equally disenchanted with popular chapbooks in Ireland. The Association for Discountenancing Vice (1792) attempted outright suppression of the 'publication of immoral or obscene books ... by the interference of the magistrate in some cases, by the public prosecution of offenders in others, and in some instances by the destruction of the books in question'[3]. This Association worked closely with Hannah More, who was a member by the mid 1790's and her tracts were issued simultaneously in London and Dublin[4] and were sold by the Association until at least the 1820's. In its 1829 Report the Association claimed to have distributed altogether 1.3 million books and tracts.[5] Nonetheless it failed to change the reading habits of the poor, despite being in receipt of a parliamentary grant from 1800. Another society in receipt of a generous grant was the Kildare Place Society, founded in 1811 by philanthropic Dublin businessmen, to educate the poor, without religious distinction. Grant aid was permitted because the Society was originally seen to comply with the recommendations of the Royal Commission of Education in 1806, that no attempt should be made to influence or disturb the religious beliefs of those being educated in schools connected with the Society.[6]

A special subcommittee of the Society had examined the findings of the Fourteenth Report of the Board of Education, in particular those concerning the dearth of suitable reading books in the hedge schools. In this report the commissioners stated that

> **The poverty of the lower classes of the people incapacitates them from purchasing such books as are fit for the children to read: whence it frequently happens that instead of being improved by religious and moral instruction, their minds are corrupted by books calculated to**

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[3]Report of the Association for Discountenancing Vice, 1806. p. 33.

[4]Niall Ó Ciosáin. *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland, 1750-1850.* (Macmillan Press Ltd., Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS, 1997), p. 138.

[5]Ibid.,

[6]Susan M. Parkes. *Kildare Place. The History of the Church of Ireland Training College, 1811-1969.* pp. 17-18.

> **incite to lawless and profligate adventure, to cherish superstition, or to lead to dissension or disloyalty**[7].

The subcommittee members included individuals from the Cheap Book Society, a society formed in 1814, whose sole object was 'to provide good books, not of a religious description, for the use of the poor ... to supersede the immoral publications now used in schools and amongst the lower classes of the people'[8]. They reported that if the Kildare Place Society could print and distribute textbooks and a variety of moral tracts, interesting to children, at sufficiently reduced prices to drive the chapbooks dealers from the market, then the reading habits of the poor would be reformed and:

> **in a very little time the vile trash which at present corrupts and poisons the minds of the children, training them up systematically to robbery and murder, and the most bigoted intolerance and rooted hostility to everything British must at once disappear, the preference for better books would be universal if they were offered in sufficient abundance and on cheap terms.**[9]

The Kildare Place Committee included this vision in its second application for parliamentary aid in November 1815, when they alerted parliament to the serious obstacles they faced, in their efforts to educate the poor.

> **The first and principal of these, is the deplorable deficiency of Books, suited to the poorer classes of the people, and the presence of a greater evil, in the objectionable description of those generally in use.**[10]

They sought this assistance 'to supply and distribute at a low price Books ... calculated to afford beneficial instruction, without interfering with the religious opinions of those for whom they shall be intended'[11]. Assistance was granted and in May 1816 the Kildare Place Society merged with the ailing Cheap Book Society and immediately set about providing schools operating under their direction, with library readers for senior pupils and for lending libraries to be established throughout the country. They also had a further

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[7]Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners of Education 1806-1812. p. 94.

[8]Cheap Book Society. App. No. 11. 26 May, 1814. p. 32. In Second Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland. (Dublin: John Jones, 40 South Great Georges St., 1814).

[9]Report on the distribution of books, 1815, KPS/11/13/1.

[10]*The Humble Petition of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland.* KPS 1/MS 101. Memorial to the HC, 30 November, 1815. p. 6.

[11]Ibid.,

aim, to provide an antidote to the chapbooks being freely circulated through the country by pedlars and hawkers. H. Kingsmill Moore, the Society's historian, outlined their policy with regard to their library books, when he wrote: 'The first desire was simply to get the books read: they were to enter into a life and death competition with the dissolute publications which held the market: their first business therefore was to amuse'[12]. The Cheap Book Society had already adopted a policy of producing the books in a format similar to the chapbooks, only the Kildare Place Society's book subcommittee went one step further and acquired a representative range of the common chapbooks[13] [Table 11.1], and then proceeded to duplicate the style and format of the 'dissolute publications', as Hannah More had done in England. The Society was also prepared to sustain a considerable loss on the sales in order to gain control of the market.

They didn't in fact succeed in supplanting the chapbooks despite publishing an impressive range of library readers, some on topics of popular interest, such as travel, voyages and natural history as well as books which were already proven commercial successes. An examination of the contents of the textbooks and a selection of the readers, to see how suitable or otherwise they may have been for the Irish poor, along with recent research on the sale and distribution of these books, by Dr Harold Hislop, in *The Kildare Place Society 1811-1831: An Irish experiment in popular education'* (1990) will shed some light on why hedge school chapbooks still remained the main reading books in the indigenous schools.

In 1831 the commissioners of National Education set about the same task of removing 'the vile trash' from the national schools of Ireland. This situation arose because many hedge school masters and their schools were accepted in under the new system, and as one might expect, they continued to use the books they had always used. The commissioners sought and received permission to use the books from the Kildare Place

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[12]H. Kingsmill Moore. *An Unwritten Chapter in the History of Education.* (MacMillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1904), p. 248.

[13]List of the Burtons purchased by the Society 15 April, 1819. KPS 11/23/31.

Society and the Catholic Book Society (1827-1845)[14] - a society established by catholic clergy to distribute catholic books, until such time as they could provide their own books. But success came slowly to the commissioners and it soon became apparent that merely cutting the price of the new lesson books would not drive out the chapbooks. It was then they decided to issue free sets of textbooks to every school in connection with the system.[15] From 1833 onwards free stocks were renewed at the end of every three years, and after 1848 every four years.[16] But the chapbooks weren't removed from national schools until such time as the commissioners made the use of their lesson books compulsory in all but name. They applied compulsion by insisting on their right of refusal of any books they considered unsuitable, a list of which had to be submitted for their approval,[17] and the veracity of which could be checked by their inspectors. Compulsion was also applied by making teachers' promotion dependent on their knowledge of the contents of the lesson books. In 1850 an examination on the content of lesson books became part of the requirements for entry into the Normal Establishment or training college. Besides using compulsion to ensure wide usage of their books, the commissioners also provided incentives for their use. There was a special bursary offered as a reward, as well as an annual premium for those who had a knowledge of the content of the books.[18]

A review of the content of a selective number of the lesson books, the *Reading Book for the use of Female Schools*[19], the *Girls Reading Book*[20], and the *Agricultural class book: or, how best to cultivate a small farm and garden together with hints on domestic*

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[14]H.C. Parliamentary Papers, 1894. Vols. LXVII, Vol. XVII, p. 2.

[15]Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the progress and operation of the new plan of Education in Ireland, H.C., 1837, (485), ix, p. 10.

[16]Twenty-first Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, for the year 1854, H.C., 1854-5, xxiii, pt. i, pp. 45-57.

[17]Vol. II Reports of the Assistant Commissioners H.C., 1870 (C. 61), XXVIII, part 11.1, p. 27.

[18]Ibid., p. 118.

[19]Reading Book for the use of Female Schools, Commissioners of National Education. (Dublin: Alex Thom and Sons, 1854).

[20]Girls' Reading Book for use of Schools, Commissioners of National Education. (Dublin: Alexander Thom 87/88 Abbey St., 1873).

economy[21] will reveal that the type of education offered by the commissioners of National Education was strictly utilitarian and the direct antithesis of what the poor received in the native schools yet despite its flaws, the education offered, like that of the Kildare Place Society, was systematic, graded, moralistic but still avoided all forms of extremism or sectarianism. Most importantly it provided children of all denominations with an equal educational opportunity for the first time and it provided what Akenson called 'a ladder of learning'[22] for all classes in Irish society.

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[21] *Agricultural Class Book* or *How Best to Cultivate a Small Farm and Garden Together with Hints on Domestic Economy*. (Dublin: Alex Thom & Sons, 87 Abbey Street, 1853).

[22] D.H. Akenson. *The Irish Education Experiment*, p. 239.

(i) The Kildare Place Textbooks and Library Readers - Reforming the habits of the Irish

Go, visit her cottage, though humble and poor,
'Tis so clean and so neat you might eat off the floor
No rubbish, no cobwebs, no dirt can be found,
Though you hunt every corner and search all around
'The Tidy Wife'.[23]

The policy adopted by the Kildare Place Society Committee with their spelling and reading books was outlined by them in their second report, published in 1814. This was 'to combine as much useful matter as possible, and at the same time, avoid every topic, which could be offensive or objectionable to any, for whom it was designed'[24]. In order to ensure that their books would be utilitarian and non-sectarian, the Committee consulted existing texts which had been popular in the country for many years, such as Dilworth's *Spelling Book, The Pennsylvania Spelling Book, Reading Made Easy*, and finally they made 'selections conveying good moral and useful information, in a style pleasing to learners ... from the works of the well known Lindley Murray'[25]. Both the spelling and reading books were first published as large wall charts or as 'a series of tablets each of which was mounted on a card, and was of sufficient size to be suitable for class purposes. *The Spelling Book* consisted of 60 tablets, *The Reading Book* contained 100', the latter having been requested from Joseph Lancaster.[26] *The Dublin Spelling Book* was printed in three parts for reasons of economy - the price of the whole book was 1s 2d, and the parts cost $3^1/_2$d, $5^1/_2$d and $5^1/_2$d respectively. In 1819 the Society decided to produce the Spelling and Reading Tablets in ordinary book form.[27]

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[23]*The History of Tim Higgins, The Cottage Visiter* (sic). Dublin, John Jones, South Great Georges St., 1825), p. 78.

[24]Second Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland. (Dublin, John Jones, 40 South Great Georges St., 1814), p. 16.

[25]Ibid.,

[26]H. Kingsmill Moore. *An Unwritten Chapter*, p. 218.

[27]Ibid., pp. 220-221.

In the preface to the *Dublin Spelling Book*, the young reader was told how the lessons had been 'carefully selected and arranged, every thing avoided which would swell the book without increasing its usefulness' while the lessons in reading were 'well calculated, from their moral tendency to improve the infant mind in piety as well as learning'. The first part of the book followed the plan laid down by Lindley Murray. It contained the alphabet and a selection of monosyllabic words for spelling, preparatory to their appearing in later lessons of continuous reading in parts II and III. Part II advanced to words of eight syllables which had been selected 'with a due regard to brevity and usefulness'[28]. It also contained 'several pages of useful geographical information'. Part III contained a series of reading lessons, beginning with words of one syllable but 'gradually advancing to a few useful and improving extracts, from the best authors in our language' to which was added 'the most useful Arithmetic tables'[29].

The Dublin Spelling Book certainly lived up to its promise of inculcating reverence for virtue, as acceptable forms of moral behaviour were constantly urged, often in biblical language which must have proved rather difficult for the learner. Once he was advised to:

> **Keep in thy place, nor play the fool,**
> **Washing thy face, then mend thy book,**
> **Play with good boys, talk not so loud,**
> **Hold up thy head, go to thy seat,**
> **Come in at two, go home at four.**[30]

Strains of evangelical thinking were also present, as in this passage which reminded the reader that:

> **God who is judge of all men, will be sure to judge us at the last day: as our deeds have been in this life, so will our lot be: and woe to those who die in sin. Let us not waste one hour of our time, in vain talk of deeds, but let us watch and pray.**[31]

Echoes of the writings of Sarah Trimmer and Hannah More could be heard in the lesson entitled *The Good Boy Whose Parents Were Poor.* The good boy in question was a

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[28]*The Dublin Spelling Book.* (Dublin, P.D. Hardy, 3 Cecilia St., 1840). Preface, p. III.
[29]Ibid., Preface, p. IV.
[30]*The Dublin Spelling Book.* (Dublin: Christopher Bentham, 1819), p. 33.
[31]Ibid., p. 48.

model of virtue. He was grateful to his parents for his education and each morning he would rise early to learn to read the Bible. He plied his books diligently while at school also, as he had ambitions to follow in his father's footsteps and work in a shop. Nobody could deflect him from his goal of self-improvement, not even the lures of his less responsible school friends. He would ignore them and return home promptly to engage in adult activities such as caring for the younger children in the family, knitting stockings and spinning worsteds and helping his father in the garden.[32]

The Dublin Reading Book, published in 1823, announced in the preface that 'Lindley Murray's Reading Books have furnished the most valuable, as well as the largest portion of this compilation'[33]. Once again the moral intent of the book was emphasised, which was that 'of inculcating upon the young reader, a reverence for virtue, as well as due sentiments of piety and goodness', and the wish was expressed that 'the young of every condition will ... find it a useful work', but the reader was also reassured that it was 'a material object with the compilers, to collect together such reading lessons as appeared to combine amusement with instruction'[34]. There was little by way of amusement in Part I, which consisted of short sentences and paragraphs in which the youthful readers were exhorted to turn their attention to useful pursuits by avoiding idle ones:

> **Good Boys love to read their books**
> **Bad Boys and Girls love to play in the streets.**[35]

The select sentences, although interesting, would have provided little by way of entertainment either:

> **Agesilaus, King of Sparta being asked "What things he thought most proper for boys to learn" answered, 'Those, which they ought to practice when they come to be men'.**
> **When Aristotle was asked "What a man could gain by telling a falsehood", he replied, 'Not to be believed when he speaks the truth'.**
> **Sir Philip Sidney, at the battle of Zutphon, was wounded by a musket-ball, which broke the bone of his thigh. He was carried about a mile and a half, to the camp: and being faint with the loss of blood, and probably**

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[32]Ibid., pp. 197-198.
[33]*The Dublin Reading Book.* (Dublin: P. Dixon Hardy, Cecilia St., 1830), Preface.
[34]Ibid.,
[35]Ibid., p. 11.

parched with thirst, through the heat of the weather: he called for a drink, he saw a poor wounded soldier, and gave to him as his need was great.[36]

The pursuit of a variety of virtues was encouraged throughout the *Dublin Reading Book*, most especially in Part II, in a section entitled Narrative Pieces, which contained lessons with such titles as *With a Good Conscience we Sleep Soundly; Truth Commended; The Advantages of a Constant Adherence to Truth; The Danger of Disobedience; Dishonesty Punished; Ingenuity and Industry Rewarded; Appearances Often Deceive; The secret of being always satisfied; Respect due to Old Age; Integrity and Modesty Rewarded; Benevolance its own Reward; Virtue in a Humble Life; We Destroy Pleasure by Pursuing it too eagerly; No rank or possessions can make the Guilty Mind Happy.* Themes favoured in the reading book were the importance of truthfulness, how honesty is rewarded, the need for obedience to parents, kindness to animals, the merits of generosity and the importance of self-reliance and hard work. The theme of the relative roles of rich and poor was dealt with in this section also. In Part I children were told by means of questions and answers, that they should be content with their lot in life

Art thou poor? Show thyself active and industrious, peaceable and contented.
Art thou wealthy? Show thyself beneficient, charitable, condescending and humane.[37]

In Part II this message was reinforced and the readers were told of the virtue of a humble life and how a poor family, despite their poverty, were thankful for the blessings they had. Any reader who might have contemplated rising above his station in life, received very little encouragement, as in a narrative poem called *The Butterfly and the Snail*, the reader was told that 'Elevation Renders little minds proud and insolent'

All upstarts, insolent in place,
Remind us of their vulgar Race,
... What arrogance: the Snail replied,
How insolent is upstart pride
Hads't thou not thus with insult vain,
Provok'd my patience to complain,
I had conceal'd thy meaner birth,

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[36]Ibid., p. 16.
[37]Ibid., p. 16.

Nor trac'd thee to the scum of earth.
... I own my humble life, good friend;
Snail was I born, and snail shall end.[38]

In any event the poor could take some comfort from the fact that good fortune brought little happiness to those who had it. This was the message conveyed in the narrative piece 'no rank or possessions can make the guilty mind happy'.

Part III dealt with Descriptive Pieces which included items on natural history, geographical descriptions and historical accounts, which readers would surely have found interesting. Part IV consisted of public speeches by Fabricus, a Roman Ambassador to King Pyrrhus, another by The Scythian Ambassador to King Alexander and lastly the Apostle Paul's noble defence before Festu and Agrippa, which would have presented intractable difficulties for young learners.

Part V was entitled Didactic Pieces and consisted of prose essays which dealt with themes previously covered, four of these were from the writings of Blair, a Scottish dissenting cleric of the 18th century. Their titles were indicative of their themes *Rank and Riches afford no ground for envy; On the importance of order in the distribution of time; Patience under provocation our interest as well as our duty* and *Motives to the practice of gentleness*. Here, for the first time, according to Dr Hislop in *The Kildare Place Society, 1811-1831 An Irish Experiment in Popular Education*, the Enlightenment thinking of the 18th century was evident as theological writers held up as proof of the existence of God, the great wonders of nature. This Deist religion is apparent in an extract called *The beauties of creation*, which claimed that a study of the works of the Creator was 'one of the most useful employments of the mind of man' as 'every object brings a proof of his God'. The Pieces of Poetry section of Part V contained two hymns by Addison in similar vein, one was *The Goodness of Providence* and the other *The Creator's works attest his greatness*.[39] This was a far cry from the emphasis placed in earlier sections on sin, guilt

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[38]Ibid., pp. 194-195.
[39]Harold Hislop. *The Kildare Place Society, 1811-1831*, p. 162.

and fear of God, as in Part I when the reader was told 'If you wish to be good, love and fear God'[40].

The Kildare Place library readers were arguably one of the finest achievements of the Society, mainly because of the professional work done by their literary assistant, the Rev. Charles Bardin, who was a curate in the Dublin parish of St. Mary's. From the very outset the book subcommittee set themselves the challenge of entering into what Moore called 'a life and death competition with the dissolute publications which held the market'[41]. In 1817 they were able to report that seven books had been printed and four more were in the press, while another was awaiting final approval, a process which was carried out painstakingly, by at least two members of the book subcommittee from different denominations. This was a necessary precaution due to the hostile sectarian climate which prevailed at the time.[42] As Moore recorded in his history 'It was a time of strong prejudice. Every move of the Kildare Place Society was watched with unsleeping suspicion. To have brought home a charge of proselytism would have been looked on as an achievement of the utmost value and importance'[43]. By 1825 fifty-two titles had appeared covering a vast range of information under such category headings as Religious Moral, or Illustrative of Scripture; Instructive in Arts or Economy; Natural History; Voyages, Travels etc. and Miscellaneous.[44]

Charles Bardin had a keen business sense and recognised a potentially lucrative market for books on voyages and travels, particularly in the wake of the Napoleonic wars (1815) when travel took on an added attraction for people. Bardin, who had been widely travelled, prided himself on being able to say, in some cases, that he had 'gone over' every spot which he described.[45] He produced at least twenty four books on travel over an

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[40]*The Dublin Reading Book*, p. 11.
[41]H. Kingsmill Moore. *An Unwritten Chapter*, p. 248.
[42]Ibid., pp. 244-245.
[43]Ibid., p. 251.
[44]Ibid., pp. 248-251.
[45]Ibid., p. 257.

eleven year period from 1821-1832.[46] Initially however the Society concentrated on publishing books which already formed part of the popular market, such as *Wonderful Escapes*[47]; *The Discovery of America*[48]; *The Life of Captain James Cook*[49]; *The Dangerous Voyage performed by Captain Bligh*[50]; *A Voyage Round the World in the years 1740-1744 by George Anson, now Lord Anson*[51] and *Byron's Narrative*[52]. Besides books on voyages, they also published popular works in the Enlightened Rousseauist tradition, which found favour at this time. Two of these novels were *The Life and most surprising adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York. Mariner*[53], which was the one book Rousseau allowed his pupil Émile to read, in his acclaimed treatise on child-centred education *Émile* (1762) and *The History of Little Jack a Foundling*[54] by Thomas Day, one of Rousseau's most ardent supporters. Another follower of the Rousseauist philosophy was the German theologian and educationalist Joachim Heinrich Campe, who wrote an adaptation of *Robinson Crusoe*, which the Society published under the title *New Robinson Crusoe*[55]. The ideal of the noble savage and the unspoiled natural rural life, as depicted in *Robinson Crusoe*, formed the theme for other works published by the Society, for example George Keate's *An Account of the Pelew Islands*, a short version of which was published by the Cheap Book Society was later published by the Kildare Place Society,[56] under the title, *The History of Prince Lee Boo*[57]. Another book which idealised the rugged rural existence of the poor was a popular novel called *Elizabeth or the Exiles*

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[46]Harold Hislop. *The Kildare Place Society, 1811-1831* p. 223.

[47]*Wonderful Escapes.* (Dublin: W. Espy, 6 Little Strand St., 1819).
Wonderful Escapes. (Dublin: Richard Grace, 3 Mary St., 1822).

[48]*The Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.* (Dublin, 1820).

[49]*The Life of Captain James Cook.* (Dublin, 1820).

[50]*Dangerous Voyage.* Containing an account of the wonderful and truly providential escape of Captain Bligh. (Dublin, 1817).

[51]Richard Walter. *A Voyage Round the World in the years 1740-1744* by George Anson Esq., now Lord Anson. (London, 1748).

[52]*Byron's Narrative.* (Dublin, 1817).

[53]*The Life and Most Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York. Mariner.* (Dublin: L. Jute, 9 Eden Quay, n.d.).

[54]*The History of Little Jack a Foundling.* (Dublin: Graisberry and Campbell, 10, Back Lane, 1819).

[55]*The New Robinson Crusoe.* (Dublin: Christopher Bentham, 19, Eustace St., 1820).

[56]Harold Hislop. *The Kildare Place Society, 1811-1831,* pp. 218-219.

[57]*The History of Prince Lee Boo.* (Dublin: J. Jones, 40, South Great Georges St., 1822).

of Siberia, a tale founded on truth From the French of Madame de Cottin[58], and was among the first to be published by the Society. Bardin and the book subcommittee displayed considerable foresight when they decided to make natural history books available to the poor, for the first time. Up to this natural history books had been well received on the book market, but were the preserve of the middle classes, who could afford to buy them for their children, now their poorer counterparts could enjoy the same pleasure at a considerably reduced cost.[59]

Not all library readers reflected the Enlightenment philosophy of the age, some of them contained the conservative outlook one would associate with evangelical thinking. The poor, for instance, were urged to accept their poverty with forbearance and humble submission to the will of God. They were told that it was all part of God's plan that society should be divided into two classes of rich and poor, and that this was preordained for the benefit of society as a whole. The perfectly contented society, thus stratified, was illustrated in *Mungo, or the little traveller*[60] where dogs were used to represent the classes in society. The aristocracy were represented by Mungo, a King Charles spaniel, Bob a spotted terrier and Caesar 'the true old English mastif'. The obedient spaniel, hound, pointer and British terrier represented the upper echelons, so too did the bull dog. Beneath these was the shepherd dog, and the lower orders were represented by Mopsey the cook and little Snap who was the servant.[61] They all knew their place in society and lived in perfect harmony. The reader was then reminded of the benefits of belonging to the poorest class

> **His life of toil was not without its comforts. True, he had no leisure for amusement, like the hound, the pointer and the spaniel; but his master feeling the value of his service was much attached to him; and he had also a family, hardy and useful as himself.**[62]

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[58]*Elizabeth: or The Exiles of Siberia.* (Dublin: Thomas Courtney, 18, Whitefriar St., 1822).
[59]Margaret Spufford. *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, pp. 136-137.
J.R.R. Adams. *The Printed Word and the Common Man*, pp. 182-190.
[60]*Mungo, or The Little Traveller.* (Dublin: J. Jones, 40, South Great George's St., 1819).
[61]Ibid., pp. 5-6.
[62]Ibid., p. 8.

In *The History of Tim Higgins* the poor were meant to take comfort from the fact that they were 'spared many temptations and trials which await the rich'. Poverty was really a blessing in disguise because it prevented the poor from becoming too worldly and losing sight of God's plan for them:

> **Now here again I see the merciful design in making us feel want: it takes away this too great relish for the world - it says to us, that we are but travellers going homewards, where we are to dwell for ever.**[63]

Suffering was something to be borne stoically and accepted with forbearance as 'the will of God'. Being afflicted with deep sorrow was beneficial for the spiritual welfare of the person. This was the viewpoint conveyed in *The Schoolmistress*, through a conversation between Jenny and the Mistress, in which the teacher attempted to explain how the death of Jenny's sister Susan was beneficial not only to her but to her mother, who was excessively proud of her deceased daughter. Her mother was 'doatingly fond' of Susan, who was 'a pretty, and a clever little girl'. She was also over ambitious with regard to her future prospects in life and 'had not thought of preparing her for the world to come, and in the midst of all these flattering prospects, sickness and death seized on her child'[64]. This great sorrow taught her mother about the transient nature of worldly happiness and 'that the great business of life ought to be to fit ourselves for life everlasting'. Jenny learned some lessons from it also, namely that 'whatever is sent us is for the best' and that 'afflictions could do us good'. The Schoolmistress summed it all up for Jenny - she must accept the will of God.

> **Happy, my child, are they who under whatever losses they may sustain, will devoutly kneel down and say in the words in the words which our Saviour taught us:**
> *Thy will be done.*[65]

The evangelical influence was clearly evident here, just as it was in the many calls to the learner to read the Bible and Scripture. In *The History of Tim Higgins*, Tim was especially proud of the fact that he had 'induced Tom to buy a Bible and occasionally read

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[63]*The History of Tim Higgins*, p. 108.
[64]*The Schoolmistress*. (Dublin: Bentham & Gardiner, 40, Westmoreland St., 1824), p. 96.
[65]Ibid., p. 97.

it to his family'[66]. He even went so far as to stipulate the particular verses he wished his nephew to teach his own brother and sister, while he was away. Not surprisingly the verses covered such themes as humility and submission to the will of God:

> **May peace and love**
> **From God above**
> **My bosom ever fill**
> **So shall I find**
> **An humble mind**
> **Obedience to thy will.**[67]

Tim believed that scripture reading could only have the very best effects on the young. He commented 'what parent would not wish to have sentiments of love and duty early impressed on the minds of his offspring: and how can it be done more forcibly than in the language of Scripture'.[68]

Occasionally the more interesting and entertaining library readers contained a certain amount of moralising. In *Prince Lee Boo*, for instance, the prince was a model for the ideal of self-improvement. He expounded on the benefits accruing from education and 'sometimes he added that he should have a school of his own when he returned to Pelew, and should be thought very wise when he taught the great people their letters'.[69] Not only that but 'Lee Boo derived particular pleasure from going to church where, though he did not understand the words of the service, yet he perfectly comprehended the intent of it; he always behaved with the greatest attention and reverence'.[70] Travel books could also contain some elements of propaganda as in *Travels in Africa* where the example of a plundering, half naked African tribe that lived in isolation from their 'more industrious neighbours' was given, to show how they possessed vices peculiar to those 'unacquainted with true religion'[71].

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[66]*The History of Tim Higgins*, p. 118.
[67]Ibid., p. 129.
[68]Ibid., p. 145.
[69]*The History of Prince Lee Boo*, p. 107.
[70]Ibid., p. 115.
[71]*Travels in Africa*. (Dublin: A. O'Neil, 17, Chancery-Lane, 1824), p. 26.

Young readers would have been both stimulated and fascinated by the library readers on travels and voyages. Invariably these books had attractive eye-catching illustrations and were printed in a clear, legible style. In *Prince Lee Boo* for example, there were intriguing pictures of Black Pelew Islanders, A canoe with natives, and A View of a Landing Place. In *Travels in Sweden, Denmark and Norway*[72] there were imaginative illustrations of The Great Geyser, Mt. Vesuvius and The Pyramids of Egypt. Another well illustrated book called *Amusing Stories: A Collection of Histories, Adventures and Anecdotes*[73] introduced the reader to exotic adventures in mysterious parts of the world, such as those of *Madam Godin in the Country of the Amazons* or *A Tiger Hunt in India.* Other interesting titles included *The Cataract of Niagara in Canada; An Account of the Salt Mines in Wielitska; Short Account of the Plague in London in 1665; Wonderful Escape of a Hunter from the Blackfeet Indians* and an *Account of the Earthquake in Calabria in 1638.*

Several of the Society's readers contained a great deal of self-improving advice for the poor of Ireland, so much so that it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the overriding consideration of the Society, was to change the habits of the Irish people. Firstly, the weaknesses of the Irish character were referred to in various stories. In *Travels in Sweden, Denmark and Norway* the reader was reminded of 'the common fault of the Irish, of never looking beyond the present', and a salutary lesson was taught, that the 'appearance of a single swallow', shouldn't be taken 'as the proof that summer was at hand'[74] and that one would be wise 'to think of the future as well as the present'[75]. In *The History of Tim Higgins* excessive drinking was condemned and its consequences clearly spelt out. The reader was asked 'How often do we see what might be harmless mirth and amusement, turned into the most shameful scenes of vice and mischief, by the one sin,

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[72]*Travels in Sweden, Denmark and Norway.* (Dublin: Bentham & Hardy, Cecilia St., 1826).
[73]*Amusing Stories. A Collection of Histories, Adventures and Anecdotes.* (Dublin: Graisberry and Campbell, 10, Back Lane, 1819).
[74]*Travels in Sweden, Denmark and Norway,* p. 8.
[75]Ibid.,

drunkeness'.[76] In a dialogue between Jenny and her grandmother in *The Cottage Fireside* the latter concluded, with all the wisdom of her years, that 'we may well talk of hard-times: the times will never be good till poor men leave off whiskey and poor women tea. I'll tell you one fault more I have with tea-drinking: I think it prevents charity; sometimes at least I should not wonder if it did'[77]. When Isaac Jenkins in *The History of Isaac Jenkins* abandoned 'the heinous practice of drunkenness'[78] major improvements took place in his domestic life, 'The house smelled sweet and fresh', 'The clothes of the children were all patched indeed, but no longer ragged or full of holes'[79]. In *The History of Richard MacReady* James saw a marked improvement in his finances, when he 'began to perceive the advantages of industry and to take a liking to his garden, which he had hitherto so much neglected'[80]. This transformation had profound effects on Richard who now found it much easier to farm economically. This he did 'under the friendly and judicious advice of Joe Farrel'[81], who was an 'improving' landlord, a class in society all too few in number, according to Bardin in *The Cottage Fireside* and elsewhere.

The main emphasis in the readers was on the virtues of order, regularity, tidiness and cleanliness, themes which would be repeated many times in the lesson books of the commissioners of National Education. In *The History of Richard MacReady* home improvements were described down to the most minute detail, while at the same time the reader was reminded of the slovenly habits of Irish women 'the cabin was whitewashed; shelves were put up, on which Susan could lay her few plates and delft articles, instead of leaving them on the window stool, or on a chair, as, before ... nails and pegs[82] were also placed along the walls, on which she could hang a cloak or great coat, instead of throwing them down'. But Susan wasn't completely reformed yet. She 'was still slovenly; and

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[76]*The History of Tim Higgins*, p. 90.
[77]*The Cottage Fireside*. (Dublin: W. Folds & Son, 38, Great Strand St., 1822), p. 85.
[78]*The History of Isaac Jenkins*. (Dublin: R. Napper, 140, Capel St., 1817), p. 56.
[79]Ibid., p. 58.
[80]*The History of Richard MacReady The Farmer Lad*. (Dublin: Bentham & Gardiner, 40, Westmoreland St., 1824), p. 28.
[81]Ibid.,
[82]Ibid., p. 29.

sometimes she would let the basket on the turf-kish lie on the floor, to be stumbled over by James, notwithstanding all that Dickey used to say, about a place for every thing, and every thing in its place'[83]. These sentiments were reiterated in *The Schoolmistress* while at the same time engaging in some self-publicising of the Society's books. 'All round the schoolroom there were racks, for hanging the spelling and reading tablets sold by the Education Society, and in short, there was a place for every thing, and every thing in its place. Indeed the sentence was written over the door as you entered', and, the writer added 'it would be well that every school had the same'.[84]

That self-improvement was the goal of some readers is obvious from their list of contents. Take for example *The Schoolmistress* there were lessons *Against Idleness;* on *The Fair; On Good Management; On Cottage Cookery; On Drunkenness* and on *Going to Service*. Utilitarian values were to the fore also in *The Cottage Fireside* with lessons on *Potatoes; The Pig; Dress - A Single Life; Sickness; Vaccination; The Garden; Butter; Cleanliness; Tea-Drinking,* and *Whiskey-Drinking at Fairs.* Assistance was given through the library readers on such matters as how to build a cabin complete with a brick chimney, as opposed to the hole in the roof, which the Irish poor traditionally favoured. In *The History of Tim Higgins* not only was there a detailed description of Tim's cottage, which incidentally had been built for the disabled owner by his landlord, but it was accompanied by architectural drawings.[85] All aspects of the reader's welfare were catered for down to promoting the merits of saving. Tim Higgins recommended it, so too did Richard MacReady and of course Jenny's grandmother encouraged her granddaughter to save, in *The Cottage Fireside*. In *Travels in South America* economic advice was offered to small traders as well as an outline of the rules for regulating a business for those interested in starting up a trade.[86] Charles Bardin was a Benthamite and a supporter of the laissez-faire school of economics of Adam Smith, it was scarcely surprising then that

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[83]Ibid.,
[84]*The Schoolmistress*, p. 15.
[85]*The History of Tim Higgins*, pp. 31-41.
[86]*Travels in South America*. (Dublin, 1824), p. 8.

he should condemn trade unionism, strikes and the intimidation of fellow workers in *Travels in England and Wales*. He also lauded the merits of mechanization and regarded the resistance of workers to this modernisation as being quite short-sighted.[87]

The library readers were used occasionally as a medium for discrediting the chapbooks they were intended to supplant and also to discredit the indigenous schools. This was most noticeable in *The Pedlars*, a book commissioned by the Society from the Irish Quaker Mary Leadbeater, who was well known for her 'improving' school in Co. Kildare. In Leadbeater's story Darby Brady's parents objected to hedge schools because they feared 'the associates to whom it might introduce him', besides they didn't 'approve of that mode of teaching'[88]. The Society's readers were them promoted in a dialogue between Darby and Pat the book pedlar:

> **In my young days, there was a great dearth of good books for young persons. There were fairy tales enough, and histories of noted robbers; but what profit could be derived from nonsense concerning things which never had existence, or from accounts of people, who were a terror to their neighbours and at last met the punishment which their crimes deserved. I often think, what great advantage the young now enjoy, who have such books as these prepared expressly for them, and suited to their capacity.**[89]

In *The History of Tim Higgins* a dialogue, along the same lines, took place between Tim and a book pedlar as follows:

> ***Tim:*** ***I like those books of yours very much: will you let me know where you buy them?***
> **Pedlar: I bought them in Dublin, at the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland, in Kildare Street: but I believe they may also be in most of the principal towns in Ireland.**[90]

The contents of the pedlar's bag were then revealed in order to advertise the Society's books on Natural History, Travels and Voyages. The pedlar reassured Tim that these were all factual accounts to which Tim replied:

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[87]*Travels in England and Wales*. (Dublin, 1825), p. 74.
[88]*The Pedlars*. (Dublin: Bentham & Hardy, Cecilia St., 1826), p. 13.
[89]Ibid., p. 130.
[90]*The History of Tim Higgins*, p. 87.

Tim: ***I recollect the time when such as you had a different kind of book in your basket - the History of Noted Thieves, and fairy tales and song books; why don't you sell them still?***[91]

The pedlar then claimed victory for the readers over the chapbooks

Pedlar: The reason is very plain, because the people won't buy them; they find it a great deal more useful, and certainly not less entertaining, to read accounts of what really happened, than of such things as were only in the brain of those who wrote those fairy tales; and to tell you the truth, over and above this, the books I now sell are much cheaper: they have nicer cuts in them; and as I heard once from a gentleman who bought them for his children, and appeared to know them very well, they have nothing in them which can do harm to the youngest child that reads them.[92]

Here the pedlar was expressing the Society's viewpoint, which was also the optimistic assessment of their historian, based on a report from the book committee in 1823, which claimed that, with the exception of Belfast 'the cheap books were everywhere supplanting the pernicious literature', and also on the evidence of the findings of the general committee in 1824, which stated that:

printing presses in Dublin which formerly teemed with immoral and mischevious publications were now idle, those productions being quite unequal to any successful competition with the publications of the Society.[93]

But this wasn't actually the case in fact. The demand for chapbooks had been so great at this time that four Dublin booksellers were engaged in printing Burton books exclusively in 1825 - one of whom had four presses in operation and published 50,000 annually. Other presses were located in Cork, Limerick, Belfast and Galway. From all these sources, it was estimated that circulation of chapbooks grew to about 300,000 per annum [Ch. 4].[94] This pattern was set to continue into the 1830's, and on the 6th July 1837, Mr R. Sullivan, one of the professors in the Central Training Establishment gave evidence to this effect before the Select Committee for that year, while Mr Wyse questioned him. He

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[91]Ibid., pp. 88-89.
[92]Ibid., p. 89.
[93]H. Kingsmill Moore. *An Unwritten Chapter*, p. 255.
[94]Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh. *History of the City of Dublin, Volume II*, p. 875.

gave a list of the chapbooks in general use in schools 'never connected with any society or Board' and then proceeded to say:

> **It will appear from these titles that they are still published by different booksellers in various parts of Ireland, Dublin, Belfast, Limerick etc. ... Books of this nature are not only in print, but as appears by the titles I have given, in course of publication in every part of Ireland, for the use of schools.**[95]

J.R.R. Adams suggested in his book *The Printed Word and the Common Man* (1987) that Charles Bardin 'probably had a greater effect on Irish reading habits, and was more widely read, than many a famous mainstream literary author'[96], but this view would not accord with the recent research findings of Dr Hislop, which placed a question mark over whether the Kildare Place books reached the Society's target audience in any significant number. While, as Dr Hislop stated 'the Society had produced works of a high standard' the problem lay in the fact that they 'could not control the price or destination of the works which the book dealers purchased'[97]. It transpired that books which were sold unbound in sheets, were being purchased by unscrupulous booksellers, who printed their own title pages, showing an inflated price, which was sometimes as high as double the original price. This automatically put the books out of the reach of the poorer classes for whom they were intended. As sales in sheets were over ten times greater than sales in the cheap paperbound format, it was highly unlikely that the books reached their desired destination, because, as the committee noted, a quire of sheets was too large an investment for a country bookseller. Meanwhile wholesale dealers continued to rebound books for export to Scotland, or for sale to the middle classes in Ireland, who could afford them.[98]

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[95]Report from the Select Committee on Plan of Education: Together with the Minister of Evidence, 6 July 1837, pp. 574-575.
[96]J.R.R. Adams. *The Printed Word and the Common Man*, p. 101.
[97]Harold Hislop. *The Kildare Place Society, 1811-1831*, p. 249.
[98]Niall Ó Ciosáin. *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland, 1758-1850*, p. 142.

There is further evidence available that the books didn't reach their target audience, which arises from an examination of the Parochial Returns for 1824 for the seven counties comprising the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin - Kildare, Carlow, Offaly, Laoighis, Kilkenny, Wicklow and Wexford [Table 12.1]. This reveals that the number of Kildare Place books listed for hedge schools is negligible. This is further reinforced by the fact that when the commissioners of education submitted their report in 1825, it was clear to them from the lists of books in the parochial returns supplied to them by clergymen of different denominations, for the four counties of Donegal, Kildare, Galway and Kerry, that the chapbooks were still being read. They reported 'We have nevertheless found the Traces of their former Abundance in the following catalogue of Books'.[99]

As the library readers didn't reach the social class they were targetting, to any significant degree, we can only speculate as to whether they would have supplanted the chapbooks, had they managed to do so. Dr Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin regarded the chapbooks, which the poor enjoyed, as 'suited to the deranged taste of a distracted people'[100], but then it is highly unlikely that he would have read about the exploits of *Freney the Robber*. The Rev. Charles Bardin, former curate of St. Mary's would probably have shared Dr. Doyle's views. Both clergymen were suffering from the prejudice of an age which dismissed as worthless and evil works of fiction, fantasy, fairy lore and romance, but this was what the Irish chapbook reader craved for. These books were devoid of moralizing, of repentance, or religiosity. Dr Hislop's research showed that the books which 'sold well' for the Society were 'The classics such as *Robinson Crusoe, Aesop* and *Voyage of Captain Cook* ... together with a number of the works on travel and all the volumes on natural history', full credit for which must surely be given to Charles Bardin. The didactic books of advice such as *Cottage Fireside* and *Tim Higgins* 'sold only moderately'[101].

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[99]First Report of the Commissioners of Education, 1825 (xii), p. 43.
[100]William J. Fitzpatrick. *The Life, Times, and Correspondence of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Doyle.* Vol. 1. (Dublin: James Duffy & Co. Ltd., 14/15, Wellington Quay), p. 322.
[101]Harold Hislop. *The Kildare Place Society, 1811-1831*, p. 251.

From the very start the book subcommittee set out to dominate the book market by undercutting the price of the chapbooks, as they mistakenly believed, as Niall Ó Cíosáin pointed out in *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland 1750-1850* (1997) 'that the principal reason for the popularity of 'vile-trash' was its cheapness, rather than any attractions in the subject matter'[102]. The Irish folklorist T. Crofton Croker, who was in a good position to comment on the popular literary tastes of the period, recognised why the Society's publication of *Elizabeth* or the *Exiles of Siberia*, a tale founded on truth from the French of Madame de Cottin met with such a high rate of approval. He wrote:

> **As further proof of the natural good taste (of the Irish peasantry) it may be mentioned that of all the books printed and circulated by the Kildare Street Society, none is found to equal in sale Elizabeth ... Much may be said respecting educating the lower orders according to their taste and through the medium of their superstitions as the most attractive and effectual mode of instruction.**[103]

According to Croker *Elizabeth* had many of the traditional fairy tale qualities which appealed to the Irish, such as making a long dangerous journey to plead with a distant, wise and forgiving ruler.[104] The library readers may well have supplanted the chapbooks had they appealed to the imagination more and had they taken on board the love of story telling and fairy lore which was so much a part of the culture of the poor.

Overall, however, the Kildare Place Society can be credited with pioneering the principle of graded textbooks in this country, and while Moore admitted that they may have been 'doctrinally colourless'[105] they did, like the library readers, avoid all traces of sectarianism and showed a genuine concern for the moral, social and economic welfare of the poor. The library readers were of a high standard and the wide range of topics covered showed the extent of the Society's commitment and dedication to the cause of supplying good reading material, in a country where heretofore there was a dearth. They were of such a

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[102]Niall Ó Cíosáin. *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland*, p. 141.
[103]T. Crofton Croker. *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland 1825-1828.* (London, n.d.), p. 336.
[104]op. cit., p. 144.
[105]H. Kingsmill Moore. *An Unwritten Chapter*, p. 219.

high quality that their influence spread much further afield than Ireland. The British Museum requested a specimen set and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in England reprinted several of them[106] while the Coast Guards also placed an initial order for some 12,964 volumes. Not only that but they were exported in large quantities to India via the regimental libraries.[107]

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[106]Ibid., p. 253.
[107]Patrick O'Farrell. *England and Ireland since 1808.* London: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 143.

(ii) National education commisssioners' lesson books 1831-1873: 'a time and a place for every thing, and every thing in its proper time and place'.

By 1831 the Kildare Place Society had lost the confidence and support of the catholic population, due mainly to its rule that the bible should be read without note or comment and the government withdrew financial support from it and other voluntary education societies, in order to create a national system of education, under its own control. The state-sponsored system was founded not by statute, but under the terms of what became known as the Stanley letter. This was a letter from Stanley, the chief secretary, to the Duke of Leinster, inviting him to take up the position as chairman of the new Board of Education, and outlining the terms under which the non-denominational system of national education would be based. Stanley directed the commissioners, on behalf of the government to exercise 'complete control' over the schools connected to the system, 'absolute control' over parliamentary funding, and 'the most entire control over all books to be used in the schools'[108]. Consequently the first priority the commissioners set themselves was to rid the schools, which had joined the new system of 'books calculated to incite to lawless and profligate adventure, to cherish Superstition, or to lead to dissension and disloyalty'[109].

Research which involved an examination of all applications to the commissioners between 1831-40, from a representative number of counties, namely Cavan, Mayo, Cork and Kilkenny, revealed that few genuinely new schools came into existence. Mary Daly in an article entitled *'The Development of the National School System, 1831-40'* concluded that 'The national schools did not mark a sudden discontinuity, in many instances existing schools and teachers continued with a new source of finance'[110]. It therefore took a concerted effort by the commissioners and their inspectors, over a period

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[108]Thirteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland for the year 1846. H.C. 1847 (832) XVII, pp. 14-15.

[109]First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry 1825 (xii), p. 38.

[110]Mary Daly. *'The Development of the National School System, 1831-1840'*, p. 163.

of at least six years before Mr R. Sullivan could testify before the Select Committee on Plan of Education on the 6th July 1837, that they had successfully managed to remove the chapbooks from their schools. In answer to Mr Wyse's questions, Mr Sullivan replied as follows:

> ***Are those books now in use in any school?***
> **They are to be found in hedge schools very often.**
> ***Are those books still to be found among the pupils educated in the national schools?***
> **I have not found any of them: it is possible that there may, but it would be in gross violation of the rules.**
> ***They are gradually disappearing in the country?***
> **Yes, they are fast disappearing.**[111]

Some forty years on, when the Powis Commission was set up to investigate the progress of the national education system. the assistant commissioners recalled the days when 'every child brought to school the book furnished by the domestic library'[112] and then explained how they succeeded in removing the objectionable books from schools when the Kildare Place Society and the Catholic Book Society had failed to do so. It was due to the fact that they had

> **at command resources practically unlimited, the Commissioners edited and printed their own school-books, distributed them gratis to schools, promoted their use by a general system of inspection and examination, taught the masters to employ them, and finally succeeded in introducing them everywhere into primary schools.**

The Kildare Place Society and the Catholic Book Society by comparison 'did not possess strength or scope enough to banish objectionable books'[113].

Just as the Kildare Place Society ensured that the various religious denominations were represented on its committees, so too did the chief secretary when he appointed the seven commissioners of National Education. There were two presbyterians - the resident commissioner Dr James Carlile, a Scottish presbyterian minister, and Robert Holmes,

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[111]Report from the Select Committee on Plan of Education: together with the Minutes of Evidence. 6 July 1837, p. 575.
[112]Report from the Commissioners Primary Education. (Irl., 1870). Vol. XXVIII, Powis, p. 119.
[113]Ibid.,

Queens Counsellor, three anglicans, Dr Whateley, the protestant Archbishop of Dublin, the Duke of Leinster and Dr Sadleir, Provost of Trinity College; and two catholics, Dr Murray, the Archbishop of Dublin and Anthony Blake, the former Treasury Remembrancer and education commissioner for the year 1825. Both the Kildare Place Committee and the commissioners tried to ensure that their books would be free from religious bias or sectarianism and went to great lengths to satisfy all denominations in this respect. James Kavanagh who had been a head inspector under the commissioners, recorded in his book *Mixed Education: The Catholic Case Stated* the difficulties Dr Carlile had to surmount in order to appease his fellow clergymen commissioners with regard to the religious content of the books. On one occasion, no book could be found to meet the stipulations of Dr Murray and a new compilation was called for.[114]

The Kildare Place Committee, like their successors had to function during a period of religious tension and had to contend with what James Godkin in *A Handbook of the Education Question* called 'the evils which the baneful spirit of sectarianism has inflicted upon this country'[115]. Both bodies succeeded in upholding the principle of religious neutrality in their books, while in no way shirking their acknowledged responsibility for the moral and social development of students. Once again, it was mainly clergymen who wrote the lesson books. Dr Carlile was responsible for the compilation of *Lesson Books One, Two, Four and Five* and the *Girls' Book of Reading*. Dr Whateley and his friends compiled Sequels No. 1 and II to the *Second Book of Lessons*, as well as the Supplement to the *Fourth Book of Lessons*. One Irishman William McDermott, (a future inspector of the Board), was employed as literary assistant from 1832-34, and he compiled the first edition of the *Third Book of Lessons* (1835-46), which was revised by Whateley in 1846.[116]

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[114]James W. Kavanagh. *Mixed Education. The Catholic Case Stated ...* (Dublin, John Mullany, 1859), p. 38.

[115]James Godkin. *A Handbook of the Education Question.* (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 87/88, Abbey St., 1862), p. 84.

[116]D.H. Akenson. *The Irish Education Experiment*, p. 231.

To judge from the contents of the lesson books, the commissioners were clearly influenced by the recommendations of the 1825 commissioners when they suggested in their report the introduction of 'Books in which moral principles should be inculcated in such a manner as is likely to make deep and lasting impressions on the youthful mind' as well as 'ample extracts from the Sacred Scriptures themselves', which they believed would prove 'indispensible, in forming the Mind to just Notions of Duty and sound Principles of Conduct'.[117] The commissioners themselves claimed that 'a sound moral was conveyed in almost every lesson'[118] and that the lessons took the form of stories, epigrams and fables. The elementary books concentrated on teaching the simple virtues such as honesty, truthfulness, diligence, humility, kindness to animals and generosity. These were conveyed by jingles or mottoes.

We must not be idle.[119]

He gives twice who gives with a good will
You must not vaunt or boast of your skill
None but those who are bad will beat a poor horse
or use him ill.
A good boy will not tell a lie.[120]

Respect for parents and obedience to their wishes was encouraged in the readers. This was the theme of *The Basket of Eggs* in Sequel No. 1 to the *Second Book of Lessons*. Ruth who was eight years old was sent on an errand for the very first time, by her trusting mother, who placed a basket of eggs in her care, to be delivered to Mrs Simpson at the shop. Unfortunately Ruth was tempted by the sight of a wild strawberry on the bank and stopped to gather it. Tragedy struck when a large dog overturned her basket thus destroying over half the eggs. The reader was taught a lesson by the warning 'How much did she now repent of her disobedience'. She then encountered her irresponsible friend Sarah who advised her to lie to her mother by pretending she had an accident, to which

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[117]First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, 1825 (xii), p. 39.
[118]An analysis of school books published by the authority of the Commissioners of National Education, 1853, p. 3.
[119]*Second Book of Lessons* for the use of schools. (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 87/88, Abbey St., 1866), p. 73.
[120]*First Book of Lessons*. (Dublin: Alexander Thom & Co. Ltd., 87-89, Abbey St., 1887), p. 44; p. 23; p. 32; p. 26.

suggestion, Ruth replied indignantly 'But, Sarah, that would not be true, and I cannot tell a lie'. Sarah had no such qualms of conscience but urged Ruth to re-consider her decision, only to be reminded that 'God would know and he would be displeased with me if I were to tell a lie, - no I shall tell mother the truth though I think she will punish me'.[121]

In Lesson I entitled *The Drop of Rain* children were advised that they should be content with whatever God had seen fit to allot them in life 'Let us not grieve at our lot though low it be cast for we know not what God may have in store for us'[122]. The theme was expanded in a story called *Martin the Errand Boy*, to show that sometimes the rich have to endure great hardships that the poor know nothing of and therefore the poor should not be envious of the rich but should count their blessings. The story told how poor Martin the errand boy was envious of a young gentleman he saw in a coach with his tutor, who was being served wine and chicken, but when the coach door was opened he discovered that the young gentleman was actually disabled. He told Martin

> **And I ... would gladly be poor if I had only the use of my limbs. But as it is God's will that I should be lame and sickly, I try to be patient and cheerful ... Remember that if you have poor clothes and hard fare, you have health and strength, and that money cannot buy**[123].

The virtues of prudence and charity were taught in the story of *The Peaches*. One day a father gave a peach to each of his sons and they put their peaches to different uses. One son put the stone aside to plant when it was in season and his father dutifully complimented him 'that was prudent and thoughtful, a good husbandman always takes care to provide for the future'. Another son displayed his entrepeneurial skills by selling his peach at a considerable profit but his father took a dim view of this profit making:

> **It was prudent, certainly said he; but I am sorry you did it. I like to see children careful, but I do not like to see them making bargains, and trying to get as much as they can for themselves, because this is avaricious.**

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[121] Sequel No. 1 to the *Second Book of Lessons*. (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 87/88, Abbey St., 1866), pp. 13-17.

[122] *First Book of Lessons*, p. 37.

[123] Sequel No. 1 to the *Second Book of Lessons*, pp. 22-25.

His son Willy was the most selfless member of the family because he took his peach 'to poor little George next door' who was ill with a fever. Instead of passing the final judgement the father allowed his sons to do so. 'Will you tell the boys which of you made the best use of their peach?'. There was unanimous agreement 'Brother Willy has cried all the three boys', and very humbly 'Willy said nothing'.[124]

A favourite theme in the lesson books was the merit of hard work and this was conveyed in either prose or verse. The junior readers were given the message in rhyming verse, no doubt to aid rote learning. The following poem told of the fable of the ant and the grasshopper:

One fine winter's day
An Ant on her way
Met a Grasshopper pining for want
Oh, think me not rude
I am dying for food
... Said the Ant, 'My good friend
How your time did you spend
In summer that now you're so poor'
'Oh I danced, sang and played',
The Grasshopper said,
'And, tell me, what could you have more?'

If before winter's over
You chance to recover,
Be prudent and mind what I say
Do not spend all your leisure
In riot and pleasure,
But while the sun's shining make hay.[125]

The more advanced lesson books were used to convey similar morals, but they were given a more indepth treatment. Lessons on morality were given under such headings as *The Miseries of Indolence, Strict Honesty, Integrity,* and *The Vice of Lying*. The virtues of hard work and time management were repeated in many lessons and several biographical sketches were laid before the young readers, of people who had born into poverty but who, through sheer hard work and 'self-help' had succeeded in rising up the social ladder, to a life of opulence. William Hutton was one such 'self-made' man. He started life in

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[124]Ibid., pp. 29-32.
[125]Ibid., pp. 32-34.

poverty being forced to leave school at the age of seven to work in a silk mill, but eventually he became 'by his own economy, one of the richest men in Birmingham'[126]. Similarly, the story was told of Martha Dunne, who despite suffering a serious accident 'took great pains to improve herself so that she became the village schoolmistress'[127]. Just as Charles Bardin was careful to remind the readers of his voyages that while Christopher Columbus and Captain Cook examplified the principle that men of humble birth could rise to prominence through perseverance and hard work, it was not to be expected that all the poor would achieve a similar elevation to the higher strata of society[128], Dr Whateley in the *Fourth Book of Lessons* also subscribed to this view 'It is, of course, not to be expected that many poor men should become rich, nor ought any man set his heart on being so'[129]. The importance of preserving the social order of rich and poor was demonstrated by means of a 'fairy tale' told by Mrs Marcet in the Supplement to the *Fourth Book of Lessons*. In a story reminiscent of George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, a fairy tale made everyone equal but the consequences were so devestating that soon everyone pressed for a return to the status quo.[130]

Among the unstated aims of the commissioners' lesson books would appear to have been an attempt to win favour for the English 'connection'. Now that Ireland was united in government with England, greater loyalty must surely have been expected from its young citizens. Even in the elementary lesson books children were obliged to learn the National Anthem 'To the tune of 'God Save the Queen''. Peace was its central theme:

God bless our native land,
May Heaven's protecting hand
Still guard our shore:
May peace her powers extend
For be transformed to friend,
And may her power depend

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[126]Supplement to the *Fourth Book of Lessons*. (Dublin: William Curry, Jun. & Co., Dublin, 1850), pp. 16-20.
[127]*Second Book of Lessons*, p. 158.
[128]Harold Hislop. *The Kildare Place Society, 1811-1831*, pp. 221-222.
[129]*Fourth Book of Lessons for the use of schools*. (John S. Folds, Son & Patton, 5, Bachelor's Walk, 1842), p. 225.
[130]Supplement to the *Fourth Book of Lessons*, p. 301.

On war no more.

Through ev'ry changing scene,
Oh Lord: preserve the Queen -
Long may she reign:
Her head inspire and move
With wisdom from above
And in a nation's love
Her throne maintain.[131]

In the *Fourth Book of Lessons* Dr Whateley showed that he too was interested in maintaining peace and stability in the country. He expressed the view that 'it was a mistake to suppose that religion and morals alone would be sufficient to save a people from revolution ... if a proper idea of political economy were not cultivated by that people'[132] and he included lessons on topics such as *Value, Wages, Rich and Poor, Capital, Taxes, Letting and Hiring,* which were directed towards maintaining a system of law, order and regularity in society. The main functions of the government were clearly stated and those were the protection of the people and their property, by providing an army, a police force, ships of war and law courts. Whateley was careful to ensure that readers should not think badly of the British government so he reminded them that 'Even the worst Government that ever was, is both much better and much cheaper than no Government at all'[133]. He emphasised the unity between the two countries, the geographical ties and the common bond of language and nationhood 'many people who live in Ireland were born in England and we speak the same language and are called one nation'[134]. In Sequel II to the *Second Book of Lessons* the christian ideal of living in peace as brothers and as members of one race, was put forward:

We are, then, brethern, - whether of one nation
and language or another - whether black or white,
bond or free - we are of 'the Sons of God'.
Christ has encouraged us as such in dying for us
and I trust the time will come through the sole
influence of his name, wars and violence, and mutual
injustice will cease among us, and that all the great

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[131]Sequel No. II to the *Second Book of Lessons for the use of schools.* (Dublin: Alexander Thom & Co., 87/89, Abbey St., 1882), pp. 20-21.
[132]*Fourth Book of Lessons*, 1842, p. 223.
[133]*Fourth Book of Lessons*, 1847, p. 56.
[134]*Second Book of Lessons*, p. 135.

> **families of the earth, will be brought to acknowledge their brotherhood and to dwell together in peace.**[135]

Charles Bardin's travel books were also used as a medium to convey support and loyalty to the British government. Putting recent Irish history to one side and the effects on the Irish psyche of the penal laws, he tried to win favour for England by boasting about its superior system of justice 'Tis only in England or Ireland, of all the places I ever was in, that the laws are made equally for both rich and poor'[136].

There was sharp criticism levied against the Board's lesson books, on the grounds that they eschewed references to Irish history and culture. Nationalist parties such as the Young Irelanders expressed their displeasure in their newspaper *The Nation*, on the grounds that the books were 'very useful and respectable in their proper place ... but that place is not Ireland'[137]. Nor were they the only ones to take offence at this omission, a witness before the Powis Commission of 1868 complained bitterly that there was:

> **scarcely anything in their books about the history of Ireland. There was in the Third Book a description of the Lakes of Killarney and the Giant's Causeway, but I don't know for what reason, unless perhaps that it was too 'national'. These extracts have been expunged from the last edition and their place has been inserted a description of some lake in Hindostan.**[138]

A contemporary writer, R. Barry O'Brien, felt that Dr Whateley had a case to answer in this respect. He cited examples in his book *Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland 1831-1881*, to prove his point, and drew attention to the *Third Book of Lessons* published in 1835 which contained patriotic verses by Mrs Balfour, which mentioned 'the harp' and her 'native land' and a poem by Campbell, called *The Harper*, which contained references to 'shamrocks', 'patriot smiles' and the 'green banks of the Shannon', all of which were expunged by Whateley in his revised edition of the book in 1846. Whateley also censored two further poems which he excluded from the second edition - Campbell's *The*

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[135]Sequel II to the *Second Book of Lessons*, p. 49.

[136]*Travels in Africa*. (Dublin: A. O'Neil, 17, Chancery Lane, 1824), pp. 107-108.

[137]Lorcan Walsh. *'The Social, Political and Economic Content of Nineteenth Century Schoolbooks'*: In Oideas 33. (Fómhar, 1988), p. 46.

[138]Report from Commissioners Primary Education (Irl.), 1870. Vol (xxviii). Paris. p. 679.

Downfall of Poland with the offending line 'and Freedom shriek'd as Kosciusko fell', and Sir Walter Scott's *Love of Country*, which asked:

> **Breathes there a man with soul so dead,**
> **Who never to himself hath said,**
> **This is my own my native land?**[139]

A hymn of praise was retained however, which must surely have caused some confusion in the minds of Irish children as to what their true cultural identity really was. It said:

> **I thank the goodness and the grace**
> **That on my birth have smiled,**
> **And made me in these Christian days**
> **A happy English child etc.**[140]

Nationalists' reservations regarding the books were summed up accurately by the witness before the Powis Commission who complained that:

> **up to the present moment, until the last edition of the books of the Board, you might have introduced them into a school in Canada, or into a school in Africa just as appropriately as into a school in Ireland.**[141]

In fact it was this lack of national orientation, together with their cheapness and their literary merit which ensured that the books of the National Board were a huge commercial success, not only in England, but also in Scotland, Australia, Wales, Newfoundland, India, British Guiana and Canada.[142] The success was such that in one year alone, 1851, the Commissioners claimed that sales of their books exceeded one million copies.[143]

Geography was one of the more appealing subjects covered in the lesson books and owed its world-wide vision to a large extent to the interesting travel books of Charles Bardin. The debt is clear from lessons with such interesting titles as *The Laplanders are a harmless, inefficient people, or Boiling Fountains in Ireland.*[144] In the various lesson

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[139]R. Barry O'Brien. *Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland, 1831-1881.* Volume I. (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, Crown Buildings, 188, Fleet St., n.d.), pp. 193-194.
[140]Ibid., p. 195.
[141]Report from Commissioners Primary Education (Irl.), 1870, p. 679.
[142]Lorcan Walsh. *'The Social, Political and Economic Content of Nineteenth Century Schoolbooks'*, p. 40.
[143]Eighteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland for the year 1851, H.C. 1852-53, pp. xxi-xxii.
[144]*Fourth Book of Lessons*, p. 87; pp. 104-105.

books each country was classified according to its religion, national characteristics, type of government and occasionally its level of education. A sympathetic attitude was conveyed towards most countries, but their inhabitants tended to be stereotyped in a less than flattering way. The English, one must assume, were above censure, because a critical account of that country didn't feature in any of the books. Diplomacy was to the fore, in the description offered, of the Irish race. The reader was told that they were

> **a clever, lively people: formerly very much given to drink and very ignorant: but now, it is believed that they are one of the soberest nations of Europe, and it will be their own fault, if they are not also one of the most educated.**[145]

The commissioners were also aware of the weaknesses of the Irish and were in full agreement with Charles Bardin, who had already pinpointed these in his library readers, as being a lack of foresight, intemperance and improvidence. In the *Fourth Book of Lessons* compiled by Rev. James Carlile these weaknesses were verified once again:

> **But labourers often suffer great hardships from which they might save themselves by looking beyond the present day. They are apt to complain of others, when they ought rather to blame their own imprudence. If when a man is earning good wages he spends all as fast as he gets it in thoughtless intemperance, instead of laying up something against hard times, he may afterwards have to suffer great want when he is out of work, or when wages are lower: but then he must not blame others for this, but his own improvidence.**[146]

Like the Kildare Place Committee, the commissioners of National Education shared the ideal of reforming the habits of the Irish poor. This was apparent not only from the contents of their books, but also from the course of training in the Board's Normal Establishment, in which prospective teachers were told to give priority to order, tidiness and hygiene in their classrooms, and to lead by example in order to break down the prejudices of the people. These views were implicit also in the *Twelve Practical Rules for the Teachers of National Schools* laid down by the Board of Education, especially the Sixth Rule which obliged teachers 'To observe themselves and to impress upon the minds

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[145] *Second Book of Lessons*, 1847, p. 135.
[146] *Fourth Book of Lessons*, p. 223.

of their pupils, the great rule of regularity and order - a time and a place for every thing, and every thing in its proper time and place' and the Seventh Rule which expected them 'To promote, both by precept and example cleanliness, neatness and decency'.[147]

In Sequel II to the *Second Book of Lessons* children were reminded of the important lessons they had learned in these areas of social behaviour, since starting school.

> **First, then, you were taught to come to school, with clean hands, face and hair ... Next, you were taught order, to put away your things, your hats or cloaks or bonnets, in their proper places; to be civil and respectful in your behaviour towards your teachers, and gentle to each other; to be silent during lessons; and to conform to all the other rules of your school.**[148]

One lesson in particular merited repetition in the advanced readers, and this was *On Tidiness*. In the Supplement to the *Fourth Book of Lessons* Dr Whateley reprimanded Irish women for being 'slatterns from laziness'. He wrote in angry tones 'If it is disgraceful to a farmer that his fields should be overrun with weeds, how much more disgraceful is it for a woman to wear, day after day, gowns, or other clothes full of holes'. It was his belief that 'few things would add more to the comfort of the poor than tidiness', and he went on to advise 'a stitch in time ... saves nine. No poor man or woman needs to be ashamed of patched clothes. Every patch is, on the contrary, creditable, for it bespeaks industry.'[149] In the *Agricultural Class Book* which included *Hints on Domestic Economy* Irish girls were told that 'there is no tax on water. Why then, not be cleanly in person or dress?' Their sense of national pride and dignity was then appealed to by a reminder of the low opinion travellers to Ireland held, of the slovenly, beggarly appearance of its people, even compared to the poorest in Russia, where 'the poorest will not allow his nakedness to be seen, as one frequently does in Ireland among those far above the class of beggars! ... to go about in rags is nowhere allowed but in Ireland'.[150]

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[147]Report from Commissioners of Primary Education (Irl), 1870. Powis. pp. 119-120.
[148]Sequel No. II to the *Second Book of Lessons*, pp. 11-12.
[149]Supplement to the *Fourth Book of Lessons*, pp. 114-115.
[150]*Agricultural Class Book or How Best to Cultivate a Small Farm and Garden together with Hints on Domestic Economy*. (Dublin: Alexander Thom & Sons, 87, Abbey St., 1853), p. 175.

Even though the Stanley letter made no reference to plans for agricultural education, in 1838 the commissioners opened their model farm at Glasnevin in order to give an agricultural training to national teachers. By 1858 thirty-six model agricultural schools were operating as well as about sixty of the national schools with school farms attached.[151] By 1850 the *Agricultural Class Book* was ready for publication and in it the commissioners showed their determination to dispense practical as well as theoretical instruction, for boys in agriculture and for girls in domestic science. The agricultural section was written in the form of a story in which a gentleman met an Irish peasant who was just about to emigrate to America because he couldn't earn a living on his farm. The gentleman informed him that he had no one to blame for his squalid existence but himself, and he proceeded to offer him 'improving' advice such as - draining his land, adopting a sensible crop rotation system, eliminating unnecessary fencing, and establishing a kitchen garden. He took the advice and became a successful farmer. In the girls lessons on domestic economy the story was told of Mrs Doran, an inept housewife, lacking in foresight. She was over-reliant on potatoes and didn't take into account how often the crop failed due to blight or indeed the expense compared to a mixed diet of coarse bread, oatmeal, milk, cheap cuts of meat and grease soup (a mixture of beef suet and hog's lard to which are added left-overs).[152] Like her counterpart, Mrs Doran adopted changes in her domestic habits, having learned a variety of useful skills from keeping a vegetable garden to cooking economically, down to purchasing sensible, hard-working clothes, so that she too finally reformed from her slovenly, inefficient ways.

The commissioner's policy with regard to female education was clearly stated in their comment on the *Reading Book for the Use of Female Schools* (1838), when they said that it contained 'information pecularly adapted to the character and pursuits of females in the middle and humble ranks of life'[153]. The contents of the *Girls Reading Book* (1860)

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[151] John Coolahan. *Irish Education*, pp. 23-24.

[152] *Agricultural Class Book*, p. 113.

[153] An Analysis of the School Books published by Authority of the Commissioners of National Education, 1853, p. 7.

reveal the 'character and pursuits' the commissioners had envisaged for Irish girls in the 19th century, and they consisted of lessons under such headings as *Amusements of Children; Bread; Dairy Management; Breakfast Cookery; Soups; Household Hints; Duties of Female Servants;* and *The Laundry*. As Lorcan Walsh in his article *'Images of Women in Nineteenth Century Schoolbooks'* (1984) pointed out 'The largest source of female labour in nineteenth century Ireland was domestic service'. By his estimation the number employed in domestic service in Ireland in 1891 was as high as 394,000,[154] so the commissioners' books catered for the future needs of their female students by ensuring that lessons were both practical and utilitarian. In the *Reading Book for the Use of Female Schools* not only were girls instructed on cookery and baking but they were also advised about the care of food and their cooking utensils, the uses of salt, the baking of mushrooms and finally they were instructed on how to furnish a house.[155] They were expected to know how to keep a good account of 'all the current expenses of the house'[156] but no instructions were given in this regard.

The duties of the laundry maid were set out, as it was felt that much responsibility rested with her 'independently of her having to care for the family linen ... she will probably be required to take charge of the several materials used in washing: such as soap, starch, blue soda, and a variety of other little things which it is necessary always to have at hand'[157]. The care of children was given the same extensive treatment in the readers, as the hints on domestic economy, particularly in the *Supplement to the Fourth Book of Lessons*. In a lesson called simply *A Nursery Maid* the reader was advised that 'proper food, cleanliness, good air, and gentle nursing' were essential in the care of children, and that 'the room in which children sleep and live should be kept pure and wholesome' and that draughts should be avoided at all costs.[158] In a lesson on the *Management of the Sick*

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[154]Lorcan Walsh. *'Images of Women in Nineteenth Century Schoolbooks'*. In Irish Educational Studies. Vol. 4, No. 1, (1984), p. 75.

[155]*Reading Book for the Use of Female Schools*, Commissioners of National Education. (Dublin: Alexander Thom & Sons, 1854), p. 127.

[156]Ibid., p. 165.

[157]*Girls' Reading Book for the Use of Schools*. (Alexander Thom, 87/88, Abbey St., 1873), p. 123.

[158]*Supplement to the Fourth Book of Lessons*, pp. 419-420.

girls were informed that females displayed higher levels of expertise, stamina and selflessness in the care of sick children compared to males:

> **It has often been remarked, that in sickness, there is no hand like a woman's hand, no heart like a woman's heart: and there is not. A man's breast may swell with unutterable sorrow ... yet place him by the sick couch ...**

and

> **his eye will close and his spirit grow impatient of the dreary task.**[159]

Readers of the lesson books in general were left in no doubt as to the important role mothers played in the Irish society by virtue of being loving mothers who cared for their children. According to one poem in the *Reading Book for the use of Female Schools*; a mother's love knew no bounds. A dramatic effect was achieved by a series of rhetorical questions to the reader:

> **Hast thou sounded the depths of yonder sea**
> **And counted the sands that under it be?**
> **Hast thou measured the height of heaven above?**
> **Then may'st thou speak of a Mother's love.**[160]

In the *Second Book of Lessons* the tenderness displayed by mothers, particularly in the care of sick children, was conveyed in the form of question and answer:

> **Who fed me from her gentle breast,**
> **And hushed me in her arms to rest,**
> **And on my cheek sweet kisses prest?**
> **My Mother.**
>
> **When pain and sickness made me cry,**
> **Who gazed upon my heavy eye,**
> **And wept for fear that I should die?**
> **My Mother.**[161]

The female readers provided girls with a thorough preparation for their future lives as domestic servants, housewives and mothers, and took every precaution to ensure that they would carry out their duties with efficiency and integrity. Lorcan Walsh argued 'that the schoolbooks ... were very limited in preparing girls for life ... that the books not only

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[159]*Girls' Reading Book*, p. 59.
[160]*Reading Book for the Use of Female Schools*, p. 169.
[161]*Second Book of Lessons*, pp. 170-171.

failed to open avenues but in fact closed off, in an attitudinal manner, possible roads to future development'[162]. But Whateley and Carlile never set out to write a feminist tract or indeed to break the mould of Irish society, their ambitions were much more modest. They wished to change the domestic habits of the poorest in the land and in order to do so they took every possible step they could to provide girls with all the practical information they needed in the reading books to bring this situation about.

[162]Lorcan Walsh. *'Images of Women in Nineteenth Century Schoolbooks'*, p. 81.

(iii) Conclusion

Different methods were used in the 19th century to remove offensive chapbooks from the Irish market place. The Association for Discountenancing Vice not only took pedlars and hawkers to court but occasionally burnt their wares in public.[163] Despite the Association's claim to have distributed 1.3 million books and tracts[164] and despite being in receipt of a parliamentary grant from 1800, it still failed to make any impression on the reading habits of the poor. The Kildare Place Society received a generous parliamentary grant also for the purpose of providing schools and lending libraries with suitable books. In an effort to supplant the chapbooks, the book subcommittee tried to infiltrate the market by supplying books of a high standard, designed to resemble the chapbooks they were intended to replace, and by selling them at attractively low rates. This idea was not novel, it had already been used in England by Hannah More, with initial success and the Cheap Book Society had planned to do the same. It was only when the Kildare Place Society merged with the Cheap Book Society in 1816 that steps were put in place to do so.[165] The plan to supplant the chapbooks didn't succeed despite the aggressive marketing strategy adopted and Charles Bardin's best efforts in producing a wide and impressive range of library readers, some on topics of popular interest and by re-printing books which had already found favour with the public. As Dr Hislop noted 'the Society had produced works of a high standard' but they 'could not control the price or destination of the works which the book dealers purchased'[166], or as the assistant commissioners to the Powis Commission observed, the Kildare Place Society and the Catholic Truth Society 'did not possess strength or scope enough to banish objectionable books'.

It is questionable also whether the Kildare Place books would have supplanted the chapbooks had they reached their target audience in any significant numbers. From a

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[163]Report of the Association for Discountenancing Vice, 1806, p. 33.
[164]Niall Ó Ciosáin. *Print and Popular Culture*, p. 138.
[165]H. Kingsmill Moore. *An Unwritten Chapter*, p. 248.
[166]Harold Hislop. *The Kildare Place Society, 1811-1831*, p. 249.

survey of the books read in the hedge schools of the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin it would appear that Charles Bardin's books on travel, voyages and natural history would certainly have met with an appreciative audience as well as the fairy tale story of *Elizabeth, or the Exiles of Siberia*, which T. Crofton Croker picked out as being particularly suited to Irish tastes. However, books with a strong moralising and didactic strain such as *The Cottage Fireside; Tim Higgins; The School Mistress;* or *Isaac Jenkins* would never have proved acceptable, as Dr Hislop showed they 'sold only moderately'[167]. This is borne out fully by the fact that they barely featured in the hedge schools of Kidlare and Leighlin, where only the books in this category were to be found - *The Cottage Fireside* in Moneybeg hedge school and *Isaac Jenkins* in Ratheaden hedge school.

The commissioners would never have succeeded in eradicating the chapbooks from their schools if they had not 'at command resources practically unlimited'. This included editing and printing their own books, distributing them gratis to their schools, and promoting their use by a general system of inspection and examination upon which depended a teacher's promotion.[168] Use of the lesson books also formed part of a teacher's training in the Normal Establishment. The fact that it took until 1837 before Professor Robert Sullivan, could testify before the Select Committee, that the objectionable books were fast disappearing from their schools,[169] shows how resilient the chapbooks were and how deeply taken Irish readers were with works of the imagination.

Charles Bardin and Dr Whateley and Carlile envisaged a utilitarian education for the poor in Ireland, so too did Hannah More in England, but, the type of instruction she had in mind was of a limited form. She wrote:

> **My plan for instructing the poor is very limited and strict. They learn ... such coarse work as may fit them for servants ... My object has not been to teach dogmas and opinions, but to inform the lower class of habits of industry and virtue ...**

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[167]Ibid., p. 251.
[168]Report from the Commissioners of Primary Education (Irl.), 1870, Powis. p. 119.
[169]Report from the Select Committee on Plan of Education, 6 July 1837, p. 575.

To make good members of society has been my aim.[170]

Education policy makers in Ireland also wanted to train the poor in habits of industry and piety. They too wanted 'to make good members of society' and they used library readers and lesson books full of well meaning improving advice and useful information to teach the children of the poor, in the belief that they would return home and teach their parents. This was the view expressed by James Kavanagh, one time head inspector of the Board, when he explained

> **I have no doubt, that from a good school, a child goes home in fact, as a missionary to his parents: thus to some degree, reversing the order of nature ... There is no doubt that the instincts which are so developed in childhood, will remain and are sure to be noticed by and will influence the parents and thus gradually influence the family and the home.**[171]

But Hannah More and the evangelical movement she represented, wished to maintain the status quo in society. They had no desire to educate the poor above their station in life. It was enough to provide instruction for the poor 'as may fit them for servants'. By comparison the Kildare Place Society and the National Education Commissioners gave the poor an opportunity to raise their expectations in life and to climb the social ladder. They did so by providing books on a broad range of topics, to a very high standard, and by providing a series of graded textbooks, which were reputedly the best available at that time.

The main flaw in the books which modern observers such as Akenson (1970), Whelan (1978) and Walsh (1988) refer to is their lack of historical or cultural context, for the students for which they were intended, just as it was a source of annoyance for observers in 1868 when a witness complained before the Powis Commission 'You might have introduced them into a school in Canada, or into a school in Africa, just as appropriately, as a school in Ireland'[172]. This omission was no doubt due to the compilers' anxiety to ensure that all controversial issues were avoided in their readers and that a spirit of loyalty

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[170]Deirdre Raftery. *Women and Learning in English Writing 1600-1900*. p. 79.
Cited in Hannah More, Jeremy and Margaret Collingwood (Oxford), p. 77.
[171]James Godkin. *A Handbook of the Education Question*, p. 89.
[172]Report from Commissioners of Primary Education (Irl.), 1870. Powis, p. 679.

and good will was fostered in the young Irish citizen for the sovereign parliament. Dr Whateley took this policy to absurd lengths in the second edition of the *Third Book of Lessons*, in his exclusion of all references to national emblems such as shamrocks and harps and by his retention of a hymn of praise to God for making an Irish child rejoice in the fact that he was 'a happy English child'[173]. Traditionally Irish children who attended the native schools were given a liberal education, and parents who could afford it, ensured that they were taught Latin, Greek and Hebrew, a situation which baffled travellers to Ireland, and one which was acknowledged by Sir Robert Peel, who declared in the House of Commons, on the 2nd March 1826, in response to Mr Spring-Rice, M.P. for Limerick, that he

> **did not wish to see children educated like the inhabitants of that part of the country, to which the honourable member belongs, where the young peasants of Kerry run about in rags with a Cicero or a Virgil under their arms.**[174]

Bardin, Whateley and Carlile shared Peel's vision for Irish education, but the poor of Ireland didn't. It is hardly surprising then to find that a very large number of parents continued to support their own hedge schools and were prepared to pay higher fees, rather than send their children to the new national schools. This was the evidence given by Mr Thomas Harvey to the Powis Commission when he recalled 'In another part of my report I have mentioned that the fees paid in these schools are higher and more willingly paid than in the ordinary national schools'[175]. This is supported by the research of James Hoban (1983) on the hedge schools of Co Roscommon, for the period 1831-1871, in which he established that 'between the years 1831 and 1851, less than half of the school-going attendance in Roscommon went to a national school'. He added 'This naturally implies that slightly more than half of the primary school children of the county attended schools run by private individuals'.[176]

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[173]R. Barry O'Brien. *Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland.* Vol. I, pp. 193-195.
[174]The Irish Monthly, 1931. 59th Yearly Volume, p. 686.
[175]Report from Commissioners of Primary Education (Irl.), 1870. Powis, p. 505.
[176]James Hoban. *'The Survival of the Hedge Schools - A Local Study'.* In Irish Educational Studies. Vol. 3, No. 2, (1983), p. 21.

It wasn't until 1873, when a major revision of the Board's books took place that they finally found favour with the Irish poor. As Lorcan Walsh noted in his article *'The Social, Political and Economic content of Nineteenth Century Schoolbooks'* 'The compilers demonstrated that they were not immune to criticism and published in the 1870's a set of books which answered all the negative comments so loudly expressed since their initial publication in the early 1830's', so that 'By the end of the century the national Board books would be easily identified as being Irish'.[177]

[177]Lorcan Walsh. *'The Social, Political and Economic Content of Nineteenth Century Schoolbooks'*, p. 48.

Conclusion

Since the chief secretary Thomas Orde first presented his plan of education to parliament on the12th April 1787 when he attributed 'all the violent and atrocious acts which had too often disgraced this nation', to a 'want of education'[178] and recommended a protestant education to civilise the lawless Irish, the four subsequent commission of education inquiries of 1791, 1799, 1806 and 1825 all recommended greater state involvement in education supply. They recommended that masters should have to undergo special training and that books should be subject to inspection. In other words the official recommendation was that education should be taken out of the hands of the hedge schoolmasters and that their books should be replaced by acceptable books.

Protestant clergymen were legally responsible for education provision in Ireland but were clearly failing in their duty as the majoriy of children were being taught in the hedge schools. The government had been alerted to this fact in Orde's report but were not prepared to change the status quo. The authorities were still wary of the catholic hierarchy and were not prepared to allow power sharing in education with an ecclesiastical body who promoted 'the errors of popery'.

Throughout the 18th century in particular the catholic hierarchy displayed their loyalty to the government not only through addresses of loyalty but by excommunicating members of secret oath bound societies and revolutionary movements. The relationship between church and state had improved so much that in the 1770's Archbishop Troy of Dublin felt confident enough to conduct secret negotiations with Luke Gardiner[179], M.P. for repeal of the penal laws against the catholic religion. In fact by the end of the 18th century catholic bishops were in constant contact with Dublin Castle and were consulted regularly by the government. In December 1793 the hierarchy presented an address of loyalty to the lord lieutenant, extolling the merits of 'the best of constitutions'[180] and two years later they were rewarded for their loyalty when Camden, the lord lieutenant, granted them their own

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178 D.H. Akenson. *The Irish Education Experiment*, p. 59.
179 Thomas Bartlett. *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation*, p. 98.
180 Fourteenth Report of the Board of Education, p. 192.

domestic seminary at Maynooth, Co. Kildare, which was to be 'subject to their own ecclesiastical superiors' as requested by Troy in early 1793.[181]

As the catholic hierarchy grew closer to the government the hedge schoolmasters presented them with a real threat when a number of their body became involved in the Whiteboy movement, the Defender movement and the Society of United Irishmen. It is questionable whether the masters were involved on any significant scale in these movements, but the very fact that any of them were, was sufficient reason for the government to continue to be suspicious of their activities and to question their loyalty to the crown and therefore to dismiss out of hand the work which was being done in their schools.

For this reason the government totally misunderstood the extent of the education being given in the native schools and were far too dismissive of the masters as a body of professional men, many of whom achieved scholarly excellence. The reports of the commissioners of education for 1806 and 1825 bear adequate testimony to this false assessment of their worth. Yet proof of high standards of literacy abound for the 18th century. In the 1790's there were 50 printers in Dublin alone, 34 provincial presses and at least 40 newspapers. Besides the 1841 census revealed that 54% of catholics could read and that 35% could read and write.[182] It could be argued also that catholic emancipation would never have been achieved unless the people were sufficiently educated to read the vast quantity of propaganda newspaper articles produced by the Catholic Association nor could they have displayed such political sophistication as to engage in mass democratic protest for their civil rights, through peaceful means.

In the battle for the control of Irish education which took place between the years 1821 and 1831, the hedge schoolmasters were used as pawns by the catholic church in their fight with the establishment supported Kildare Place Society, for a share of state aid for catholic education. There can be little doubt that it was the politically motivated catholic leader Daniel O'Connell who deliberately sought out an issue, such as the Kildare Place bible reading rule,[183] with which to lure the catholic church into politics and to win the bishops over to the catholic emancipation campaign, because church support was vital for

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[181] Ibid.,
[182] Kevin Whelan. *The Tree of Liberty*, p. 63.
[183] H. Kingsmill Moore. *An Unwritten Chapter*, p. 75.

its success. When the bishops under the stewardship of Dr. Doyle took up the education question, Daniel O'Connell withdrew completely to concentrate on achieving his main political ambition.

In order to strengthen the church's claim to grant aid Doyle consistently credited his own clergymen with the provision of education supply. This was a deliberate overstatement of their contribution as he admitted himself in 1820, in a letter to the Carlow Morning Post, when he stated that his clergy were 'overwhelmed with other duties of their calling'.[184] Priests were in fact in the worst possible position to engage in teaching duties during the 18th century as there were 1,587 catholics to every one priest in 1731, compared to 2,627 catholics per priest at the end of the century.[185]

Doyle also discounted the professional ability of the hedge schoolmasters although he knew from information contained in the parochial returns submitted to him in 1824 by his parish priests, that 64% of hedge schoolmasters were competent to give further instruction beyond the basic numeracy and literacy skills.[186] He even claimed in a pamphlet addressed to the chief secretary Charles Grant in 1821, that the main reason why the peasantry were easily induced to take rash oaths and combine in illegal combinations, was because they had been deprived of an early religious education,[187] yet he himself gave evidence before the 1825 commissioners of education stating:

> **I am sure that there is no part of Ireland in which Sunday Schools are more diligently attended to than in my diocese. After Mass, the children all attend**[188]

and he knew that hedge schoolmasters played a major role in this work of catechesis and propagation of the faith. It should be noted also that it was part of the priest's duty to supervise the teaching of religion in hedge schools.[189] It is unlikely that the priest would have been remiss in this duty considering that the church was being assailed by bible

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184 Thomas McGrath. *Politics, Interdenom Relations and Education*, p. 158.
185 S.J. Connolly. *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland*, pp. 32-33.
186 Rev. Martin Brenan. *Schools of Kildare and Leighlin*, p. 79.
187 Thomas McGrath. *Politics, Interdenom Relations and Education*, pp. 165-166..
188 First Report of the Commissioners of 1825. App. p. 792. Examination of Dr. Murray, Dr. Kelly and Dr. Doyle 14 April 1825.
189 Patrick J. Corish. *The Irish Catholic Experience*, p. 165.

societies, education societies and protestant schools, all with the stated aim of converting catholics to the protestant religion.

The difficult social conditions which prevailed in Ireland throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, with the poor overburdened with taxes, impress upon the reader the enormity of the sacrifice parents made to have their children educated. They went to the most extraordinary lengths to ensure that they received this education by taking the unusual step of kidnapping hedge schoolmasters.[190] The masters for their part met the demand by holding night classes in their hedge schools, from six in the evening until eleven o'clock at night.[191]

The hedge schoolmasters had much in common with the poor. They shared the same reverence for culture, music, song and poetry and it was they who made the greatest contribution to the preservation of ancient manuscripts, the importance and extent of which historians have never fully appreciated. This was a task Gallegan and Ó Longáin undertook with such a sense of commitment and carried out with meticulous care for over several decades. It was a patriotic undertaking which required sacrifices, especially in the case of Gallegan who ended one of his manuscripts by informing the reader how dearly it had cost him to complete the long work:

> **This ends my dear reader, this large and comprehensive manuscript, which is lengthened to 722 pages ... The transcription of it commenced on the 10th February, 1844, a period of 2½ years, at intervals, that the writing of it cost. And what a vast quantity of ink and pens have been used in the work, together with the price of candles in the winter season.**[192]

They also shared the same political ideals as the people judging from the enormous support for O'Connell's emancipation campaign. The priests also shared common cultural and political affiliations with the people and even offered leadership roles to them during the emancipation campaign, but they felt obliged to distance themselves from the people on the social level because they were forbidden by the catholic church in the 19th century to attend a wide variety of festive gatherings as well as places of amusement. When the priests gradually adopted their distinctive clerical dress it marked

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190 William Carleton. *'The Hedge School'*, pp. 257-258.
191 Fourteenth Report of the Board of Education, p. 331.
192 Ciarán Dawson. *Peadar Ó Gealacáin: Scríobhaí*, p. 30.

a new social distance between the priest and his people,[193] a situation which was not helped by their repeated threats of excommunication for attendance at patterns, and their condemnation of irreverent practices at wakes. By way of contrast the hedge schoolmasters remained close to the people and far from criticising the practices and customs of the 'merry wake', they were in fact major participants in it as it was they who provided the wake house for many a poor family who lacked suitable accommodation of their own. The people regarded the masters as 'one of their own'.[194] They even recognised their scholarly achievements by conferring honorary titles on the most deserving, for instance the classical scholar Donnchadh an Chorráin O'Mahony was known as *'The Star of Ennistymon'*, Carleton's book-keeping teacher as *'The Great O'Brien Par Excellence'* and the poet/hedge schoolmasters who entertained the people, such as Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabhain. was known as *'Eoghan an Bhéal Bhínn – Eoghan of the Sweet Mouth'* and Seán Ó Coileáin as *'The Silver Tongue of Munster'*.

The parent-teacher relationship was a close one based on mutual respect. The master allowed parents to select the curriculum for their children. He accepted the reading books they supplied without question and agreed to give three classes of individual instruction to their children before lunch.[195] What comes as a surprise to to-day's reader is the fact that the choice of the poorest in the land was for a classical education for their children and also that the masters had the expertise to provide such an education. It is true that a small number of masters had studied for the priesthood, such as Donnchadh Rua Mac Conmara but the majority of them had not. It should of course be stated that the curriculum wasn't uniform throughout the country and depended on the qualifications of the master but what can be stated with certainty is that the hedge schools were the only preparatory schools available to young men intended for the priesthood, who wished to enter the Irish Colleges in Salamanca and Louvain up until the year 1793, that students from all over Ireland attended these colleges and that the entry requirement was at university level.[196]

The genuine fears and concerns expressed by conservative members of Irish society and the education commissioners throughout the 19th century with regard to the fairy tales,

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193 Thoughts and Suggestions on the Education of the Peasantry of Ireland, p. 12.
194 William Carleton. *'The Hedge School'*, p. 322.
195 Norman Atkinson. *Irish Education*, p. 47
196 P.J. Dowling. *The Hedge Schools of Ireland*, p. 67.

chivalric romances, criminal biographies and works of entertainment read in the hedge schools were unfounded. It would be fair to state that the poor children who read these books in the indigenous schools had the edge over their protestant and catholic counterparts in the state sponsored schools who were deprived of the pleasure derived from reading them. Works of the imagination were eagerly sought after by the Irish and the *Life of Freney, the robber*, far from leading to a life 'of lawless and profligate adventure'[197] which the commissioners of education in 1806 and 1825 predicted, was far more likely to have given young readers a taste for literature and a desire to read many more books of adventure. The medieval romances were read by the greatest playwright in the English language William Shakespeare and John Bunyan sought pleasure and escapism by reading the *Seven Champions of Christendom*. The chivalric romances enjoyed by the poor in the hedge schools of Ireland also formed part of the juvenile reading material of the best writers of their time, namely Dr. Samuel Johnson, James Boswell, Charles Lamb and William Wordsworth in England, and Gerald Griffin and William Carleton in Ireland, upon whom, one could argue, they had only the very best effect.

Books such as Defoe's *Moll Flanders* or *The History of Fair Rosamond and Jane Shore* were wrongly ascribed by contemporary writers such as Hely Dutton (1808) and William Shaw Mason (1814) as the reading books read by children. Only advanced students of English could possibly have understood them, they should therefore be categorised as the advanced reading books of the hedge schools. This section was in fact the most interesting by far because of the cross currents of taste it reflected. Irish readers may have had to rely on English originals but they certainly did not allow the popular choices in England to dictate what they should read. Overall the favourite books were not the utilitarian letter manuals or conduct books but rather the works of the imagination like the decorous fictional romances of Penelope Aubin and the creative polished prose essays by the Augustan writers Steele, Addison and Swift and the realistic novels of their puritan rival Daniel Defoe.

It is noteworthy that it was the best available literature of the time which found the biggest reading audience in Ireland, namely the novels of Richardson, Fielding, Smollett and Sterne, and the intellectually challenging gothic novels of Radcliffe and Lewis. We

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[197] First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry 1825, p. 38.

know from the many references to the 18th century novelists in contemporary writers' accounts that they had a wide readership but what comes as something of a surprise is the fact that Irish parents and their adult sons and daughters could read and comprehend such complex works.

Previous writers on the topic of hedge schools, Dowling (1932) and Brenan (1935) regarded the criticism of concerned conservative bodies in Irish society in the 19th century with regard to the chapbooks as merely vindictive assaults on the integrity of the successful hedge schoolmasters and as a deliberate bid to discredit them in the eyes of the authorities. Their argument doesn't bear up in the light of the philosophical thinking of the age, of both liberal and conservative groups in society. The radical philosopher John Locke viewed fairy tales as 'perfectly useless trumpery'[198], and Rousseau who promoted the progressive child-centred theory of education, believed that 'children required the naked truth'[199], while the evangelical writer Sarah Trimmer denounced *Cinderella* as 'a compendium of vice' and condemned *Robinson Crusoe* as a dangerous book Which led to an early taste for a rambling life.[200] It is in this context that one should view their concern.

All attempts to replace or suppress the chapbooks in Ireland failed. The Kildare Place Society book subcommittee made a very concentrated attempt to supplant the chapbooks and few would doubt the sincerity of the motivation behind their actions. The aim of the library readers was clearly to improve the habits of the Irish but Irish readers did not want didactic works of improving advice. This would account for the fact that the only readers which appealed to them were ones on travel, voyages, natural history and a story with a fairy tale quality called *Elizabeth, or The Exiles of Siberia*.[201]

The national commissioners of education of 1831 only succeeded in replacing the chapbooks with their own lesson books by making them compulsory reading in all but name. In fact it took the commissioners six years before they savoured success and they only achieved this by providing their own lesson books free of charge to schools and by making teachers' promotion conditional on their passing an examination on their

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198 John Locke. *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, p. 150.
199 Mary Thwaite. *From Primer to Pleasure*, p. 66.
200 R.C. Churchill. *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature*, p. 512.
201 T. Crofton Croker. *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland 1825-1828*, p. 336.

contents.[202] The fact that the books published in the first forty years avoided references to Irish history and culture meant that they were acceptable as readers in over a dozen English speaking countries, all over the world, including many British colonies,[203] but they found little favour among nationalist opinion in Ireland. By the 1870's when the Young Irelanders and the Ossianic Society had given a new lease of life to Irish cultural pursuits, and when the fledgling Irish National Teachers Organisation[204] (1868) had developed a cordial working relationship with the newly appointed resident commissioner, Patrick Keenan (1871), who was prepared to take their suggestions on textbook standards on board[205] the commissioners allowed a significant amount of material in the lessons, that could be classified as Irish.

By 1831 the death knell was sounding for the hedge schools of Ireland. They had served well in their time, as Dowling rightly pointed out, but now a more economical, and better financed system was required to cater for a growing population. The great famine of 1848 was a further nail in the coffin for hedge schools yet they lingered on in dwindling numbers until 1878, but it was in 1831 that control of Irish education passed from the hands of 'disloyal' hedge schoolmasters into the hands of 'loyal' catholic bishops and priests. This represented a major victory for the catholic church and for Dr. Doyle in particular. He was pleased that he could now look forward to the displacement of hedge schoolmasters by properly trained national schoolteachers who, as he said, would 'aid us in a work of great difficulty, to wit that of suppressing hedge schools'[206].

The three glowing accounts of hedge schoolmasters by the early 20th century historians Dowling (1932), Brenan (1935) and O'Connell (1942) reflected the influence, not only of their teacher Professor Timothy Corcoran (1916) but also of the cultural renaissance of the late 19th century. This marked the period from the founding of the Gaelic League in 1893[207] to preserve the Irish language, to the Irish literary revival of the first decade of the 20th century by Pádraic Ó Conaire (1910), Patrick Pearse (1914) and Canon Peter

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202 Report from the Commissioners of Primary Education (Irl.) 1870. Powis, p. 119.
203 Lorcan Walsh. *'The Social, Political and Economic Content of Nineteenth Century Schoolbooks'*, p. 40.
204 Aodh de Blácam. *Gaelic Literature Surveyed*, p. 374.
205 John Coolahan. *Irish Education*, p. 32.
206 P.J. Dowling. *A History of Irish Education*, p. 118.
207 Aodh de Blácam. *Gaelic Literature Surveyed*, p. 376.

O'Leary (1915).[208] Not only that but interest in the Irish cultural tradition of the 18th century was renewed in the 1920's with the publication of Daniel Corkery's deferential view of 18th century Irish poetry and tradition in *The Hidden Ireland* (1924), a work which was complimented by Aodh de Blácam's wide ranging history of Irish literature through the centuries, in *Gaelic Literature Surveyed* (1929), in which he stated that as a nation the Irish had much to be proud of in their literature and culture. This surge in patriotic fervour was due in no small measure to the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, a period when emblems of independent statehood took on an added significance. Writing in such a climate of national cultural pride couldn't fail to have affected the works of Dowling, Brenan and O'Connell, who wrote sympathetically of hedge schoolmasters but who failed to extend anything like the same level of sympathetic understanding to any establishment figures. Of the three writers' books, Dowling's *The Hedge Schools of Ireland* has proved to be the most enduring, probably because it is the most balanced account of the three. In it he displayed greater open-mindedness and a less judgemental approach, one which greatly impressed the writer and encouraged her to delve somewhat deeper in this area, an exercise which was as satisfying as it was rewarding.

Much research remains to be done on the textbooks and reading books of the hedge schools, a list of which is included in Table 1.2 of this thesis. Historians, geographers, mathematicians, students of theology and of English literature would find much to interest them in this fascinating area of research.

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[208] Ibid., pp. 378-380.

Table 1.1

Appendix No. 221 to the First Report of the Commissioners of Education, 1825

Appendix, N° 221.

A LIST of Books used in the various Schools situated in the four following Counties in Ireland; abstracted from the sworn Returns made to the Commissioners; viz,

A List of Books used in the various Schools in Four Counties in Ireland.

County Donegal - - - - Province Ulster.
" Kildare - - - - " Leinster.
" Galway - - - - " Connaught.
" Kerry - - - - " Munster.

Distinguishing, Catechisms, Religious Works, and Works of Entertainment.

Catechisms.

Stopford's - - - - - - } Established Church.
Mann's - - - - - -
Marriott's - - - - - -
Lewis's - - - - - -
Shorter's - - - - - - Presbyterian.
Butler's - - - - - - } Roman Catholic.
Fleury's - - - - - -
The Poor Man's - - - - -
Historical Catechism - - - - -
General - - d° - - - -
Reilly's (Irish) d° - - - - -
Devereaux's - d° - - - -
Doulevy's - d° - - - -
M'Mahon's - d° - - - -
Coppinger's - d° - - - -
Philosophical d° - - - -

Religious Works.

Testament.
Dr. Troy's Scripture Lessons.
Dr. Gallagher's Irish Sermons.
Think well on it.
Imitation of Christ.
Parables—Miracles, Sermon on the Mount, from New Testament.
Allen's Alarm to Unconverted Sinners.
Gahan's Extracts from Old and New Testament.
Crossman's Introduction to the Knowledge of the Christian Religion.
Questions on the Gospels of St. Luke, by Rev. Thomas P. Magee.
The Christian Atonement.
Preparation for Death; or, the Churchman on a Sick Bed.
Moore's Monitor.
Roman Catholic Manual.
Last Hours of the Rev. J. Cowper - } Tracts.
Work of the Holy Spirit - -
Parental Duties - - - -
Hopes of Eternity - - -
Trimmer's Scripture Lessons.
Watts' Hymns.
Sellon's Scripture History.
History of the Jewish Nation.
Footstep to Mrs. Trimmer.
An Answer to Excuses about the Sacrament.
Spouse of Christ—the best Marriage.
Christian Morals, selected from some of the Epistles of the New Testament.

Christian

A List of Books used in the various Schools in Four Counties in Ireland.

Christian Covenant.
History of our Saviour.
The Path of Paradise, by Gallan.
The Key of Paradise, by d°.
The Poor Man's Manual.
The Christian Directory.
Abridgement of Christian Doctrine, by Dr. Butler.
Defence of Catholic Principles, in a Letter to a Protestant Minister, with recommendatory Preface, by Rev. R. Hayes.
Travels of St. Paul.
Ward's Errata to Protestant Bible.
An Essay for Catholic Communion.
Challoner's Reflections on the Truth of the Christian Religion.
Gobinet's Instructions for Youth.
Dorelle's Moral Reflections.
Economy of Human Life.
Life of God in the Soul of Man.
Elevation of the Soul to God.
Thomas A Kempis.
Life of St. Benedict.
Portrait of a true and perfect Christian; translated from the French by the Rev. Mr. Ruyter.
History of the Saints.
St. Augustine's Confessions and Meditations.
Spiritual Combat.
Fifty Reasons why the Catholic Apostolic Religion ought to be preferred to all the Sects in Christendom.
A Treatise on the Difference between Temporal and Eternal.
The Stations and Devotions of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, as they are made in Jerusalem.
St. Francis de Sales.
Jeremy Taylor's Contemplations.
Treatise of the Scapular.
Dupin's History of the Church.
The Exclamations of the Soul to God, or the Meditations of Saint Theresa after Communion, by Dr. Milner.
Life of St. Mary of Egypt.
Life of St. Joseph.
Maxims of Christian Philosophy, drawn from Considerations of Eternity.
The Holy Law explained.
The Spiritual Combat: to which are added, the Peace of the Soul; Pious Reflections on Death, and some Reflections upon the Prerogatives, Powers and Protection of St. Joseph, Spouse of the blessed and ever immaculate Virgin Mary, Mother of God.
A Treatise by the Bishop of Barcelona.
Grounds of Catholic Doctrine.
Paley's Principles of Religion.
Reeves' History of the New Testament.
Prince Hohenlohe's Prayer Book.
Fleming's Meditations and Prayers, adapted to the Cross.
Life of the Blessed Virgin.
St. Joseph and St. Anne, mother of the Virgin.
A Dissertation on Indulgencies.
Reflections on the Prerogative of St. John.
Life of a Catholic Christian.
Hell opened to Sinners.
An Epistle to an Unconverted Reader.
The nature of Conversion, and the Burning Lamp.
Timothy O'Sullivan's Pious Miscellany, in Irish.
Secker's Lectures.
Heaven taken by Storm.
Hervey's Meditations.
The Duties that relate to Man, considered as an Individual.
Parson's Christian Directory.
Pastorini's Prophecies.
Moylan's Devotions to Jesus Christ.
Fenton's Reflections and Instructions for the Sacraments of Penance, Confirmation and the Eucharist.
Bishop Wilson's Sermons on the Death and Sufferings of Christ.
The Saint's Everlasting Rest.
The Virgin's Nosegay.
The Litany of Saints.
Plain Directions for spending one Day well.
Life of Father Thomas in Jesus.

The

A List of Books used in the various Schools in Four Counties in Ireland.

The shortest Way to end Disputes in Religion.
The Protestant Trial by the written Word.
Life of St. Cyprian.
Life of St. Augustin.
The Victory of Grace over Sin and Death.
Funiculus Triplex; or, Cord of St. Francis.

Works of Entertainment, Histories, Tales, &c.

Don Quixote.
History of Troy.
Modern Story Teller.
Life of Baron Trenck.
Jack and his Eleven Brothers.
Hibernian Tales.
Guy, Earl of Warwick.
History of the Seven Wise Masters and Mistresses of Rome.
Death of Abel.
Vicar of Wakefield.
Dean Swift's Letters.
The Battle of Aughrim.
The Siege of Londonderry.
Polite Preceptor.
Tristram Shandy.
Sandford and Merton.
American Magazine.
Bruce's Travels.
Seven Champions of Christendom.
Milton's Paradise Lost.
John Doyle's Account of his Losses by the Lottery.
Hume's History of England.
Goldsmith's History of England.
Ditto - - - - Rome.
Ditto - - - - Greece.
Life of Lord Chief Justice Hale.
Siege of Chester, and History of the Cathedral of Chester.
Dusseldorf on Fratricide.
Grandmother and Jenny.
Life of Lady Lucy, daughter of an Irish Lord, who married a general officer and was by him carried into Flanders, where he became jealous of her and a young nobleman, his kinsman, whom he killed, and afterwards left her wounded and big with child in a forest.
Arabian Nights.
Drake's Voyages.
Guicciardini's History of Italy.
Gentleman's and Ladies' Monitor.
Monthly Magazine.
Dr. Faustus and the Devil.
School of Delights.
Life of St. Patrick.
Paddy from Cork.
Robin Hood.
Mrs. Sherwood's Stories on the Church Catechism.
Fairy Tales.
Father and Daughter, by Mrs. Opie.
History of Tom Simpkins.
Travels to the North Seas.
History of Jack the Bachelor.
Cecilia.
Manning's Moral Entertainment.
The Blind Child.
The Miscellany.
The History of Tythes; their influence on Agriculture and Population.
Lady Mary Wortley Montague's Letters.
Chapter of Accidents.
La Belle Assemblee.
History of Harriet Stuart.
Life of Bonnaparte.
Select Story Teller.
Miscellanea Curiosa.
Madame de Sevigne's Letters.
Montelion; a Romance.
History of the Persians and Grecians.
Artless Tales.
Gil Blas.
Conquest of Mexico by Cortez.
Noble Slaves.

A List of Books used in the various Schools in Four Counties in Ireland.

Dialogues between Lady Louisa and Mentoria.
Mary Leadbeater's Tales.
Montague's Essays.
An Act of Parliament for Encouragement of Planting of Trees.
Newspapers.
The Truant reclaimed.
Don Belianis of Greece.
The virtuous Scholar.
Life of a Student in the University of Paris.
Virtue rewarded and Vice punished.
Complete Letter Writer.
Swift's Poems.
Cowper's Poems.
Dr. Johnson's Classical Essays.
The Idler.
Expedition against the Ohio Indians.
The Mendicant, or the lost Child.
Warbeck.
Female Adventurers.
Old English Baron.
Life of Colonel Gardiner.
Chesterfield's Accomplished Gentleman.
Entertainment for Lent.
The Beggar Girl.
The discarded Son.
History of Fanny Meadows.
Henry and Isabella.
Dodsley's Preceptor.
Young's Night Thoughts.
Thompson's Seasons.
Spectator.
Jack Brown in Prison.
A Hackney Coachman on the way to get a good fare.
The wonderful Advantages of venturing in the Lottery.
The Gamester.
Sinful Sally.
History of the French Revolution.
Gulliver's Travels.
Fair Rosamond.
Tales of the Castle.
Juliana Ormston.
Voltaire's Universal History.
Life of Frederick III. of Prussia.
Irish Rogues and Rapparees.
Captain Freney, the Robber.
Moll Flanders.
Principles of Politeness.
Seven Wonders of the World.
History of Charles XII. of Sweden, by Voltaire.
Hermione.
Sturm's Tracts.
Secrecy; or the Ruin on the Rock.
The Victim of Intolerance; or the Hermit of Killarney. A Catholic Tale.
Life of Oliver Cromwell.
The obliging Husband and imperious Wife.
The honest London Spy, exhibiting the base and subtle Intrigues of the Town.
Peregrine Pickle.
The Chevalier de Faublas.
Adventures of Marianne.
The pleasant Art of Money-catching.
History of Philander Flashaway.
Frederick Latimer.
History of Reynard the Fox.
Sorrows of the Heart.
Adventures of John of Gaunt.
Jane Shore.
Essays on Shakespear and Misrepresentations of Voltaire.
The Fortunate Country Maid.
The Virtuous Widow.
Sir Charles Grandison.
Transition of a Moment.
Genuine History of Ireland.
The Military Articles of Limerick.
Bishop Plunkett's Speech in 1681.

Parismus

A List of Books used in the various Schools in Four Counties in Ireland.

Parismos and Parismenos.
Reflections on Ridicule.
Garden of Love; Feast of Love.
Memoirs of George Farquhar, containing "Love and a Bottle."
Sir Harry Wildair; or the Constant Couple.
Olivia; or the Deserted Bride.
Life of Redmond O'Hanlon, the Robber.
The Feats of Astrologers.
Rousseau's Eloisa.
The Post-chaise Companion.
Warner's History of Ireland.
History of the English Rebellion.
History of the Emperors of Rome.
Female Policy detected.
Letters of Pope Clement XIV.
Errors of Innocence.
Dialogues of the Dead.
Life of Dean Swift.
Chesterfield's Letters.
Hero and Leander.
Sully's Memoirs.
Dorastus and Favora.
Camilla; Old Wife and Young Husband.
Paul and Virginia.
Lydia (a loose Novel).
The Adventurer.
Launcelot Greaves, Adventures of.
Memoirs of a Man of Fashion.
The Discarded Son.
The Gypsey Countess.
Apology for the Life of George Anne Bellamy.
History of Limerick.
Battle of Ventry Harbour.
Aunt Mary's Tales.
Pantheon.
Female Spectator.
Journey to Paris.
Peruvian Tales.
An Enquiry touching Happiness.
Uncle Thomas; a Novel.
Alvin; a Novel.
Memoirs of Catherine Jemmett.
History of England, by a Nun.
Life of Lord George Sackville.
Plain Sense.
Life of Lord Elmwood.
Life of William the Third.
Dr. O'Leary's Letters.
The Vanity of Human Wishes; a Novel.
The Child of Chance.
History of Black Giles.
Clarissa Harlowe.
History of Tate Wilkinson.
John de Lancaster.
The Academy of Compliments.
Good and bad Ministers; a political work.
The Labyrinth of Life.
History of Julia and Cecilia de Valmont.
Private Life of Louis XVI.
History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798.
The Garden of Fidelity.
Leland's History of Ireland.
Comerford's ditto.
Keating's ditto.
Moore's Views of France.
Pamela.
The Noble Slave.
The Chamber of Death.
Ann of St. Ives.
Irish Excursion.
The Reverie.
Women as they are.
History of Louis XIV.
Almoran and Hamet.

Dangerous

A List of Books used in the various Schools in Four Counties in Ireland.

Dangerous Connections.
Sublime Friendship delineated.
The Complete Attorney and Solicitor.
First Impressions.
Flowers of Modern History.
History of the Prince of Wales.
The Mouk.
History of Donna Rosina, a notorious Cheat.
Life of Captain Grant, a gentleman Robber.
Turkish Tales.
Sterne's Sentimental Journey.
Rousseau's Letters.
The Enchanted Castle.
Letters of Theodosius and Constantia
Cambrian Legends.
History of Paul Plaintive.
The Chances.
Fashionable Involvements
The Soldier of Peninsular.
Life of Lord Nelson.
Historical Beauties for Young Ladies.
History of Dorothea.
The Trance of Thomas Delany.
The Three Spaniards.
Life of the Empress Catherine of Russia.
History of the Nine Worthies.
The Mysteries of Udolpho.
The Memoirs of the Duchess de la Valliere.
The Effects of Love.
The Posthumous Daughter and the Brothers (a story that happens every day).
An Old Friend with a New Face.
Novel Memoirs of Amorandu.
Mackintosh's Defence of French Revolution.
Life of Muhomet.
Life of Garrick.
Life of George II.
Bouverie; a Novel.
The Knights of Malta.
Delicate Distress.
The English Hermit.
Memoirs of Captain John Creighton.
The Old-fashioned Farmer's Motives.
The Farmer's Daughter of Essex, an Account of her Seduction, &c. &c.
Joseph Andrews.
Philanda Sylvia.
History of Waterford.
Belsham's History of England.
Haunted Cavern.
Lucilla.
David, or the Reprobate reformed.
Life of Coningsmark, the Robber.
Nocturnal Visit.
Honoria, or the Infatuated Child.
The Munster Farmer's Magazine.
History of the Garden of Love, and the Flower of Fidelity.
The supposed Daughter, or Innocent Impostor.
The Child of Nature.
Economy of Beauty.
The Night Cap.
The Jewish Spy.
Sydney Biddulph.
Futal Follies.
Eliza Loveless.
Caleb Williams.
Locke's Essays.
Feelings of the Heart.
Pamela in High Life.
Fool of Quality.
Le Vaillant's Travels.
Poor Man's Manual.
Travels through the English Shires.
History of Crowned Heads.
Solitary Wanderer.
Embarrassed Attachment.
Life of Don Carlos.

History

A List of Books used in the various Schools in Four Counties in Ireland.

History of the Commonwealth of Rome.
Histoire de deux Familles de Norwich.
Chinese Tales.
Debates on Catholic Question.
Nocturnal Revels.
Literary Amusements.
Delineation of the Heart.
Friendly Hints for Servants and Apprentices.
Travels of St. Leon.
Memoirs of Charles Fox.
Julia Mandeville.
Female Quixote.
Memoirs of the Marquis Bretange.
The Invisible Spy.

Table 1.2

Hedge school textbooks, academic books and English reading books listed in Appendix No. 221 to the First Report of the Commissioners of Education, 1825, currently in the National Library of Ireland

Hedge School Textbooks and Academic Books

Arithmetic and Book-Keeping

History

Natural History

Catechisms, Tracts, Meditations

Geography

Voyages

Travels

Surveying, Navigation, Fortification, Astronomy

Irish

Classics – Latin, Greek

English Textbooks

English Reading Books

Criminal Biography

Folklore, Fairy Tales

Pre-Medieval and Medieval Tales

Chivalric and Neo-Chivalric Romances

Books of Entertainment

Drama, Opera

Poetry, Memoirs, Letters, Essays

Philosophy

Novels

Miscellaneous

Hedge School Textbooks and Academic Books

Arithmetic, Book-Keeping

Bonnycastle, John. *An Introduction to Algebra.*
London, William Clowes, 1782.

Bonnycastle, John. *An Introduction to Mensuration, and practical geometry with notes containing the reason for every rule. The seventh edition corrected and improved.*
London, 1782.

Cocker, Edward. *Cocker's Arithmetic.*
I. Jackson & Son, 1769. 51st edition.

_____ *Cocker's Arithmetic. The 30th edition carefully corrected, with additions.*
London, 1712.

_____ *Cocker's Arithmetic. The 50th edition carefully corrected and amended. With notes upon Irish weights and measurements etc.*
Dublin, Isaac Jackson at the Globe, Meath Street, 1757.

Cresswell, Daniel. *A Supplement to the Elements of Euclid.*
London, 1819.

Darling, Sisson Putland. *A practical course of mercantile arithmetic adapted to the capacities of youth and equally interesting to all.*
Dublin, Charles Downes, 1807.

Deighan, Paul. *A Complete Treatise on Arithmetic.*
Dublin, J. Jones, 90, Bride St., 1804.

Dowling, Daniel. *Mercantile Arithmetic.*
Dublin, P. Wogan, 1795. 3rd edition.

_____ *A complete system of Italian Book-keeping.*
Dublin, Richard Cross, 1791.

Fenning, Daniel. *The schoolmaster's most useful companion and the scholar's best instructor in the knowledge of arithmetic.*
Dublin, J. Beatty, 1777.

Fisher, George. (pseud. Slack, Mrs.). *Arithmetic in the Accomptant, plainest and most concise methods hitherto extant.*
Dublin, Caleb Jenkin, 1776. 2nd edition.

Gough, John. *Practical arithmetic revised by Robert Telfair to which is added an appendix of algebra by Wm. Atkinson.*
Dublin, W. Magee, 1793.

_____ *Arithmetic Both in Theory and Practice, in four books.* Isaac Jackson & Son, Meath St., 1770.

Jackson, William. *Book-keeping in the true Italian form of debtor and creditor by way of double entry ... from the precepts of the late D. Dowling.*
Cork, James Haly n.d. Dublin, J. Gough and D. Wogan, 1809.

Joyce, Rev. Jeremiah. *A Key to Joyce's Arithmetic. A system of practical arithmetic, applicable to the present state of trade and money transactions.*
Longman's, 1828.

Simpson, Thomas. *A Treatise of Algebra.*
C. Nourse, 1782. 5th edition.

Thomson, James. *Treatise on Arithmetic. Key to Thomson's Treatise on Arithmetic in Theory and Practice: adapted to the stereotype editions.*
Belfast, Simms & McIntyre, 1825.

Voster, Elias. *Arithmetick in Whole and Broken Numbers. Digested after a New Method and chiefly adapted to the trade of Ireland to which is added (never before printed). Instructions for Book-Keeping.*
Dublin, Bart, Corcoran, on the Inns-Quay, 1772. 10th edition.

_____ *Arithmetic in whole or broken numbers, digested after a new method and chiefly adapted to the trade in Ireland ... A new edition corrected and revised, by an eminent arithmetician.*
Dublin, C.M. Warren. n.d.

Walker, John. *The first, second, sixth books of Euclid's elements with notes and observations for the use of younger students.*
Dublin, Robert Napper, 1808.

History

Articles of Limerick. *The Civil and Military Articles of Limerick..*
P. Meighan, 1729, Dublin, 1731.

Belsham, William. *History of Great Britain from the Revolution to the accession of the House of Hanover.*
Dublin, Marchbank, 1802.

Comerford, T. *The History of Ireland to the Invasion of the English under King Henry II.*
Dublin, E. Rider, 1754. 4th ed. Cork, J. Haly, 1807.

Crouch, Nathaniel (pseud. Burton, Richard or Robert). *The History of the Kingdom of Ireland.*
Dublin, 1746. Belfast, 1776.

Goldsmith, Oliver. *The Trecian History from the earliest state to the death of Alexander the Great Vols. 1-11.*
Dublin, P. Wogan, 1801. J. Williams, 1774.

_____ *A History of England, 1764.*
Dublin, T. Exshaw and H. Bradley, 1767.

_____ *The Roman History from the foundation of the City of Rome.*
The Roman History abridged for the use of schools. Dublin, P. Wogan, 1798.

Griffiths, Ralph. *Ascanius or the young adventurer containing an impartial history of the Rebellion of Scotland.*
Belfast, J. Smyth, 1841.

Hume, David. *The History of England to 1688.* 8 volumes.
Dublin, James Williams, 1772.

Irish Rebellion 1798. *The History of the Rebellion in Ireland in the year 1798, with an account of the insurrection in Dublin in 1803.*
Dublin, 1806.

Keating, Jeoffrey. *A Complete History of Ireland from the First Colonisation of the Island by Parthalon.*
J. Barlow, Bolton Street, Dublin, 1811. Tr. Wm. Haliday, Irish and English.

Lawless, John. *A Compendium of the History of Ireland, from the earliest period to the reign of George I.*
Dublin, Graisberry & Campbell, 1814.

Leland, Thomas. *The History of Ireland from the invasion of Henry II.*
Dublin, P. Marchbank, 1774.

Life of Empress Catherine of Russia. *The daughter of Peter the Great.*
Dublin, 1869.

Louis XVI, King of France. *Memoirs, trials and anecdotes of the late King and Queen of France.*
Dublin, 1744.

Lucy, Henry W. *Frederick III German Emperor 1831-1888. The Emperor's diary of the Austro-German War, 1866, and the Franco-German War 1870-71. To which is added Prince Bismarck's Rejoinder.* Routledge, 1888.

Moore, John. M.D. *A View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution. Vols. 1-11.*
Dublin, P. Wogan, 1795.

Mutiny Act. *An act for punishing mutiny and desertion and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.* 16 Vols. HMSO 1803-1877.

Napoleon I ... of his military achievements ... an account of the battle of Waterloo, etc. [With the consequences of the French Revolution. portr. n.d.

Sale, George. *An Universal History.*
Dublin, George Faulkner, 1744.

The History of Charles XII, King of Sweden. Dublin, George Risk, George Ewing and William Smith, 1732.

Warner, Fernando. *The History of Ireland from the earliest authentic accounts to 1171.*
Dublin, James Williams, 1770.

Natural History

The Natural History of Remarkable Beasts.
Dublin, Joseph Blundell, 187, Gt. Britain St., 1830.

The Natural History of Remarkable Birds, with their habits and instincts.
Dublin, Thomas I White, 1832 (a chap-book).

The Natural History of Remarkable Insects, with their habits and instincts.
Dublin, A. O'Neill, 1822 (a chap-book).

The Natural History of Remarkable Insects, with their habits and instincts.
Dublin, Wm. de Veaux, 1819 (a chap-book).

The Natural History of Remarkable Trees, Shrubs and Plants.
Dublin, G. Bull, 1821 (a chap-book).

The Natural History of Reptiles and Serpents. To which is added, an appendix, containing an account of worms, of corals, and of sponges.
Dublin, C. Bentham, 1821 (a chap-book).

The Natural History of Reptiles and Serpents. To which is added, an appendix, containing an account of worms, of corals, and of sponges.
Dublin, J. Jones, 1824 (a chap-book).

The Natural History of Animals, containing an account of remarkable Fishes.
Dublin, R. Grace, 1818 (a chap-book).

The Natural History of Animals, containing an account of remarkable Beasts, Birds, Fishes and Insects.
Dublin, C. Bentham, 1821 (a chap-book).

Catechisms, Tracts, Meditations

Allen, Richard. *A Catechism of religious faith and practice, also a few questions relative to the views of the Society of Friends.*

Waterford, Thomas Smith Harvey, Merchant's Quay, 1844.

Butler, Dr. James. *Teagusg Creesduí ...*
Corcuig, 1792.

Challoner, Richard. Bishop of Debra. *The Catholic Christian instructed in the Sacraments by way of question and answer.*
Dublin, R. Cross, 1803. 11th edition.

_____ *Challoner's Reflections. Think Well on It.*
Monaghan, Nathaniel Greasen, 1819.

_____ Irish version tr. by Eugene O'Cavanagh, Dublin, John Coyne, 1820.

Coppinger, William. Bishop of Cloyne and Ross. *An Teagasc Criostaiche; do réir cheisde agus fhreagraidh.*
Cork, Cormac Diolún, 1831.

_____ *Some of the many reasons which must forever attach a Roman Catholic to his religion.*
Cork, 1820.

_____ *Scheffinacher, Jean, J. The Polemic Catechism.*
tr. by William Coppinger. Cork, John Hennessy, Church St. Press, 1830.

Crossman, Henry. *An Introduction to the Knowledge of the Christian Religion, in two parts.*
Dublin, George Perrin, 1793. 12th edition.

Denn, Patrick. *The Catholic Children's Religious Primer.*
Cork, 1858.

_____ *Comhairleach an pheacuig agus aitheanta Dé mínighthe.*
Cork, 1859.

_____ *Comhairleach an Pheacuig agus Aitheanta Dé, mínighthe. Sgríobhtha le Pádraig Denn, a gCeappachuinn.*
Charles Dillon, 1829.

_____ *The Catholic children's religious primer, containing the prayers etc. necessary for the instruction of youth. Also the Lord's Prayer, and the principal parts of the Mass expounded. With the Rosaries.*
Cork, Charles Dillon, 1825.

_____ *Timothy O'Sullivan's Pious Miscellany. Enlarged. Corrected. With an appendix of other religious compositions, in English and Irish.* 10th edition.
Cork, Charles Dillon, Castle St., 1828.

Donlevy, Rev. Andrew. *The Catechism of Christian Doctrine by way of Question and Answer.* Irish and English.

Paris: James Guerin at Thomas of Aquin's in S. James-Street, 1742.

_____ *An Teagasc Críosduidhe do réir ceasda agus freagartha.*
Dublin, M.J. O'Connor, 1791.

Dupin, Louis E. *A now history of ecclesiastical writers, containing an account of the authors of several books of the Old and New Testament, of the lives and writings of the primitive fathers.*
Tr. by W. Wotton. Dublin, George Grierson, 1723.

Fisher, James. *The Assembly's Shorter Catechism Explained, part second. Of the Duty which God Requires of man.*
Belfast, Daniel Blow, 1764.

Fleming, Rev. Fr. *Meditations and Prayers by the late Rev. Fr. Fleming.*
Dublin, 1795.

Fleury, Claude. *An historical catechism containing a summary of the sacred history and christian doctrine.*
Tr. from the French. Dublin, B. Gorman, 1763.

Gahan, Rev. William. O.S.A. *A manual of catholic piety.*
Dublin, T. McDonnel, 1801. 10th edition.

_____ *A compendious abstract of the history of the church of Christ.*
Dublin, T. McDonnel, 1795.

_____ *Youth instructed in the ground of the Christian religion with remarks on the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, T. Paine, and all intended as an antidote against the doctrines of atheists, materialists, fatalists.*
Dublin, T. McDonnel, 1798.

Gallagher, Bishop James. *Seventeen Irish Sermons on Useful and Necessary Subjects, in English Characters.*
Dublin, P. Wogan, 1807.

_____ Revised and corrected edition: Dublin, W. Pickering, 1819.

Gobinet, Charles D.D. *The Instruction of Youth in Christian Piety.*
Tr. from French. Vols. 1-11. Dublin, John Coyne, 1828. 8th edition.

Hervey, James Rector. *Meditations and Contemplations.* In 2 Vols.
Dublin, Graisberry for P. Wogan, 1801.

Hohenlohe, Alexander Leopold Franz Emerich Von. Prince. *Exposure of the late Irish miracles [i.e. the so-called miraculous recoveries of Mary Stuart and Mary Lalor in the intercession of Prince Hohenlohe.*
Dublin, 1823.

Kempis, Thomas A. *The imitation, or, following of Jesus Christ, in four books.*

Tr. into English. Dublin, W. Jones, 1793.

Lewis, John. *The Church Catechism explain'd by way of Question and Answer, and Confirm'd by Scriptures Proofs.*
Tr. by John Richardson.

_____ *Caitecism na hEaglaise, minighthe ar mhodh cheiste agus fhreagra, etc. Do chomhchruingheadh ré Séon Leomhius etc. Agus do cuireadh a nGaoidheilg, ré Séon Richardson. Irish and English.*
E. Everingham, 1712.

Lloyd, Bishop Sylvester. *The Doway Catechism in English and Irish.*
Galway, 1824.

Lynch, Patrick. *The Life of St. Patrick.*
Dublin, Thomas Haydock & Son, 8, Lr. Exchange Street, next door to the Chapel, 1828.

Manning, Rev. Robert. *Moral entertainments on the most important practical truths on the christian religion.*
Dublin, Bartholomew Gorman, 1764.

Mann, Isaac. *A familiar exposition of the Church Catechism in five parts.* Fourth edition.
Dublin, Wm. Sleater, 1776.

More, Hannah. *Cheap Repository Tracts.* (Vols. 1 & 2)
Dublin, William Watson, No. 7, Capel Street. n.d. 180?

O'Reilly, Farrell. *An Teagasc Criostaighe.*
William Williams, 1863. Dublin, D. Wogan, 1814, Wm. Jones, 1814, G.P. Warren, 1854.

O'Sullivan, Timothy. *Pious Miscellany in Irish.*
A new edition enlarged and corrected with an appendix of other religious compositions in English and Irish. 10th edition by Patrick Denn. Charles Dillon, Castle Street, 1828.

Reeve, Rev. Joseph. Fontaine, Nicolas. *The History of the Old and New Testament, interspersed with moral and instructive reflections. From the French of Fontaine and Maistre de Saci.*
Dublin, C. Talbot, 1782.

Sherwood, Mrs. Mary Martha. *The History of the Fairchild Family; or the child's manual being a collection of stories, collected to show the importance and effects of a religious education.*
Halchard, 1839.

_____ *Stories for children in 3 volumes.*
Houlston, 1831-42.

Stopford, Joseph. *A Liturgy Catechism: or Scriptural illustration of a part of the Book of Common Prayer.*
Dublin, William Watson, 1818.

Sturm, Christopher C. *Reflections on the Works of God.*
Dublin, 1821.

Trimmer, Mrs. Sarah. *A description of a set of prints of Engilsh Scripture history contained in a set of easy lessons.*
Dublin, J. Marshall, n.d.

_____ *Fabulous Histories: designed for the instruction of children, respecting their treatment of animals.*
Dublin, Wm. Porter, 1808.

Walmesley, Bishop Charles. *pseud.* Signor Pastorini. *The general history of the christian church from her birth to her final triumphant state in heaven, chiefly deduced from the Apocalypse of St. John, the Apostle of the Evangelist.*
Dublin, P. Wogan, 1813.

Watts, Isaac. D.D. *Divine Songs attempted in easy language for the use of children.*
Dublin, Robert Napper, 1795. 14th edition.

Geography

Deighan, Paul. *A Complete Treatise on the Geography of Ireland.*
Dublin, No. 5, Swift's Row, 1810.

Fenning, Daniel. *A new and easy guide to the use of the Globes and rudiments of Geography.*
Dublin, n.d.

Lynch, Patrick. *A Geographical and Statistical Survey of the Terraqueous Globe, Including a Comprehensive Compend of the History, Antiquities and Topography of Ireland. Embellished with a Curious Map of Ancient Éire. For the Use of Schools and Adult Persons.*
Dublin, John Barlow, 26, Bolton Street, 1817.

Sharman, John. *An Introduction to Geography.*
Dublin, J. Jones, 1813.

_____ *The use of the terrestrial and celestial globe.*
Dublin, Robert Napper, 1808.

Voyages

Barrow, Sir John. *Anson, George, afterwards Lord Anson, admiral of the fleet. His Life.*
Murray, 1839.

Bligh, William. *A narrative of the bounty on board His Majesty's Ship 'Bounty'.* Dublin, L. White n.d. Dublin, G. Nichol, 1790. Graisberry and Campbell, 1817.

_____ *Dangerous voyage containing ... escape of Captain Bligh ... safe arrival at Timor ... 1789.*
Dublin, Graisberry & Campbell, 1817.

_____ *A Voyage to the South Sea ... in His Majesty's Ship, the Bounty, Commanded by Liet. William Bligh, including an account of the mutiny on board said ship, and the subsequent voyage of part of the crew, in the ship's boat, from Tofoa, one of the Friendly Islands, to Timor a Dutch settlement in the East Indies.*
Dublin, P. Wogan and J. Rice, 1792.
Dublin, J. Fitzpatrick, 1792.

Byron, John. *A voyage around the world, in His Majesty's ship 'The Dolphin', commanded by the Hon. Commodore Byron, in which is contained a description of the Streights of Magellan. By an officer on board the said ship.*
Dublin, W. & W. Smith, 1768.

Cooke, John. *Voyage ... Round the Mediterranean ... 1738 and 1739. To which are prefixed memoirs of the noble author's life, by J. Cooke.*
Ed. John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich, 1807.

Drake, Sir Thomas. *The Voyages and Adventures.*
Belfast, Joseph Smyth, 1843.

Wilson, Robert. *Voyages and discoveries around the world successively, undertaken by the Hon. Comm. Byron in 1764; Captain Wallis and Carteret in 1766; and Captain Cook in 1768-1780 ... carefully selected from the journals of the respective commanders. Vol. 1-111.*
J. Cundee, 1806.

Travels

Bruce, James. *Travels to discover the source of the Nile.*
Dublin, W. Sleater, 1790-1791.

Le Vaillant, Francois. *Le Vaillant's Travels into the Interior Parts of Africa in the years 1780-85.*
Tr. by M. Le Vaillant. Dublin, Graisberry and Campbell, 1790.

Surveying, Navigation, Fortification, Astronomy

Brinkley, Bishop John. *Elements of Astronomy.*
Dublin, Graisberry & Campbell, 1813.

_____ *Elements of Plane Astronomy.*

Edited by Rev. Thomas Luby, D.D. Dublin, R.e. Mercier, 1819.

Gibson, Robert. *A treatise of practical surveying.*
Dublin, Wm. Ross, 1763. 2nd edition.

Hawney, William. *The complete measurer, or the whole art of measuring.*
Dublin, I. Jackson, 1767. 7th edition.

_____ Eight edition to which is added an appendix of *Gauging and Land-Measuring.*
Cork, The Company of Booksellers, 1768.

Lynch, Patrick. *An Easy Introduction to Practical Astronomy and the Use of the Globes; Including, In Mnemonic Verses and Rhyming Couplets, As The Most Effectual Means Hitherto Invented For Assisting The Memory, The Necessary Axioms, Definitions and Rules of Chronology, Geometry, Algebra and Trigonometry, With The Prognostics of the Weather, etc. etc. For the Use of Schools, and Young Ladies.*
Dublin, John Barlow, 26, Bolton Street, 1817.

_____ *Eight edition to which is added an appendix of Gauging and Land Measuring.*
Cork, The Company of Booksellers, 1978.

Moore, John Hamilton. *The practical navigator, being a complete epitome of navigation. Twentieth edition, to which are added all the tables, requisite for determing in the latitude and longitude of the sea.*
Dublin, T. Cadell, 1828.

Muller, John. *A treatise containing the practical part of fortification. In four parts.*
Dublin, A. Millar, 1755.

_____ *A treatise containing the elementary parts of fortification.* Dublin, J. Nourse, 1746.

_____ *Regular and irregular.*
Dublin, J. Nourse, 1756.

Sharman, John. *An Introduction to Astronomy, Geography and the use of the globes.*
Dublin, S. Powell, 1733.

_____ *Astronomical dialogues for the instruction of youth, by John Shearman, teacher of astronomy, geography etc. ...*
Dublin, John Jones, No. 40, South Great George's Street, 1810.

_____ *An Introduction to Astronomy, Geography and the use of the Globes. The fourth edition much improved by J. Sharman.*
Dublin, Robert Napper, 29, Capel Street, 1805.

_____ *Astronomical dialogues, for the instruction of youth.*

Dublin, John Jones, 1821.

_____ *The use of terrestrial and celestial globe ...*
Dublin, Robert Napper, 1808.

Starrat, William. *The Doctrine of Projectiles demonstrated and applied to all the most usual problems in practical Gunnery. To which is added, description and use of a new mathematical instrument, together with several curious properties of projectiles never before published.*
Dublin, S. Powell, 1733.

Irish

Céitinn, Seathrún. *Forus Feasa ar Éirinn.*
Baile Átha Cliath, Seán Barluaidh, No. 26, Sráid Bholtoin, 1811.

Lynch, Patrick. *For-oideas ghnaith-ghaoighilge na h-Éireand. An Introduction To The Knowledge Of The Irish Language, As Now Spoken; Containing a comprehensive Exemplification of the alphabetic Sounds, and a complete analysis of the Accidents of the declinable Parts; with the Pronunciation of each Irish word employed in Illustration, so far as could be effected by the Substitution of English characters; Systematically arranged and methodically disposed, in fourteen short Synoptic Tables.*
Dublin, Graisberry and Campbell, 10, Back-Lane, 1815.

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_____ *The Vicar of Wakefield.* Vol. I-II (bound in one).
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Dublin, 1762.

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Table 2.1

Selected stanzas from a poem entitled *'Amhrán na Leabhar'* – 'The Song of the Books' by the poet/hedge schoolmaster Tomás Rua Ó Súilleabháin

Dá riubalfainn Éire ir Alba
An Fhraimc, an Spáin ir Sarana,
Agus fós airir dá n-abfainn
Gac áird fé'n fae,
Ní bfagainn-re an iomad leabarca
D'fearr eólar agus tairbe
Ná ir mó dí cum mo maiceara
Cé táid ar rfrae.
Mo chreac ! mo cuma ! 'n-a n-earnam fód
Do fágad mé !
Ir mór an cúrra mairbne
Agus cár liom é !
Malact Dé ir na heaglaire
Ar an gcarrair Gránda malluigce,
Do dácard an long gan anfad,
Gan gála, gan gaoc.

Dí Diocáin, Dúnlaing, Dorcer ann,
De-Catone Bonicartle ann,
Agus riagail Uí Dubgáin tarramgce
Ar' aoir na rae ;
Ó Mográin, an leóman calma
Do rcríobad ar cráct na fairrge
Tug cúntar cóir cá ndeacad uainn
An taoide ar a rcéic.
Dí Euclid ann gan dearmad
Ó Eogán Mae,
Do múm bríg cúir gac airte glic
Ar tómar an crléibe.
Dramre ceap philopher
Go nglaodann na draoice "Oraculum,"
As innrint draoideacta 'r feara
Do'n té gurb' eol dó léigeam.

Dí Comarpoio ir Ó hAllmuráin,
Ir Céitinn leabar an creancair,
Ir Práiten milir Cairil,
Ar a dtráctad ré ;

Dí reimle Cat' Cluan Tarb ann
I n-ar díbir Brian na Danair uainn,
Ir an crige gur duaid Maelreachlainn
Ar an námad i bpléid.
Dí Cat Fionntrága na leacan-barc
D'fág támte créic,
Ir Cat Choic an Áir cus ainnir dear
Tar fáile léi.
Cat Maige Mucruime mar creadcarad
Art Aen-fir, créin-fear calma,
Cat Sléibe Fadma, ir eachroma
Ir Ard na Trae.

Dí pól Ó Briain, an t-easpa,
So roiléir cúir Gaedils i n-ancrut
Cus riagla laoice ir leabarta
Do các le léigeam ;
Ó Comdealbám na gcantalac
" Ó Corcaig dig " na mbarcanna,
" I bfairge Cill' Allaid "
I n-ar áitread ré.
Dí Tadg Gaedealac, éigre an creancair
'S an páid glain réim ;
Agur Aigneas ápd an Peacaig
Leir an mBáir i bpléid ;
Leabar Uí Duinn gan dearmad
Ó Ceapac Cuinn na mbaile-port ;
'S Rirteápd Ó Caoim ó Catair Síl
Daile Áda Cliad.

Table 3.1

English textbooks in the hedge schools of the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin

FROM THE PAROCHIAL RETURNS OF THE SCHOOLS IN THE DIOCESE OF KILDARE AND LEIGHLIN (1775-1835)

Reading Made Easy	Fenning's Universal Spelling Book	Murray's Books
Martinstown		
	Abbeyleix	
	Park Bawn	
Graveyard, Ballynakill	Dysart	Dublin St.
Church St., Ballynakill		Water Lane
Chapel Lane, Ballynakill		Carlow
	Ballontrain	
	Ballontrain	
	Castlemore	
Dysart	Rossbran	
	Boly	
	Raheen	
	Tornduff	
Ballontrain		
	Knockroe	
	Newtown	
	Pollerton Rd.	
Boly	Burn St.	
Cashel	Potato Market	
Raheen		
Tornduff		
Knockroe		
Newtown	Bortle, Co. Wicklow	
	Bortle, Co. Wicklow	
	Ballinguile, Co. Wicklow	
Corroughlane	Carricknamiel, Co. Wicklow	
Ballycabis	Moyne, Co. Wicklow	
Bortle		
Bortle	Ratheaden	
Ballinguile	Ballytarsna, Co. Carlow	
Carricknamiel		
Moyne, Co. Wicklow		
Ratheaden, Co. Carlow		

Ballytarsna Corries Sliguf Sliguf Ballyellen Knockmanus Courleigh Cross Roads, Bornafea Whitehall, Paulstown Castlekelly Gore's Bridge Gore's Bridge, Lowgrange Drumquin, Co. Carlow Paulville or Tankerstown Ardoyne	Corries Sliguf Sliguf Ballyellen Knockmanus Courleigh Whitehall Castlekelly Gore's Bridge Gore's Bridge, Baramount Gore's Bridge, Lowgrange Gore's Bridge, Lowgrange Drumquin Rathdaniel Ballyhacket Course, Tullow Ardristan Ardoyne	Gore's Bridge Course, Tullow

Table 3.2

Mathematical textbooks in the hedge schools of the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin

GOUGH	VOSTER
A TREATISE OF ARITHMETIC IN THEORY AND PRACTICE	**ARITHMETIC IN WHOLE OR BROKEN NUMBERS**
Martinstown Newtown	Martinstown Newtown
Ballontrain Castlemore Carlow	Newtown Clonegall
Thommahan Ballycabis Graig	Coolrow Corroughlane Thommahan Ballycabis Graig Copenagh
Moneybeg, Bagenalstown Moneybeg, Bagenalstown	Moneybeg, Bagenalstown Moneybeg, Bagenalstown Curracrut
Drumquin, Co. Carlow Course, Tullow	Ratheaden Ballytarsna, Parish of Nurney
Copenagh	Whitehall, Paulstown Goresbridge, Lowgrange Drumquin, Co. Carlow Ballyhacket Course, Tullow
	Copenagh

Table 4.1

Hedge schoolmasters of note

John Casey	'Captus Method', 'Synonymous Reading'	Banna H.S.
Michael Madden	'Madden's Tables'	Banna H.S.
James Baggott	Mathematician 'The Great O'Baggott'	Ballingarry
Richard MacElligtott	Celtic/Classical Scholar	Limerick Town
David Manson	Textbook Writer/Inventor	Belfast Town
Humphrey O'Sullivan	Diarist	Callan, Co. Kilkenny
Peter O'Connell	Lexicographer	Carne, Clare
Philip Fitzgibbon	Lexicographer/Professor of Book-Keeping	Kilkenny
T.M. O'Brien	Classical Scholar	Limerick
Frank Glass	Classical Scholar	Derry
The Great O'Brien	Classical Scholar	Tyrone
Donnchadh Ruadh Mac Conmara	Celtic/Latin Scholar	Waterford
Donnchadh An Chorráin O'Mahony	Classical Scholar 'The Star of Ennistymon'	Clare
Owen Reynolds	Mathematician 'The Bright Star'	Mohill, Leitrim
Eugene O'Sullivan	Professor of the Learned Languages	Ardfert, Kerry
Pat Frayne	Excellent Teacher	Clogher, Tyrone
Joseph Pollock	Excellent Teacher	Derry
Peter Gallegan	Scribe	Kells, Co. Meath
Micheál Óg Ó Longáin	Scribe	Cork

Table 4.2

Hedge school past pupils of note

Daniel O'Connell	**'The Liberator' M.P. Lord Mayor of Dublin**
Rev. Henry Cooke	**Presbyterian Moderator, Synod of Ulster**
Edmund Burke	**Statesman, Essayist**
Oliver Goldsmith	**Poet, Writer**
Professor James McCullough	**Mathematics (T.C.D.)**
William Carleton	**Novelist**
Gerald Griffin	**Novelist**
Archbishop John McHale	**Of Tuam**
John Tyndall	**Fellow of the Royal Society**
Professor James Thomson	**Mathematics (Glasgow University)**
Patrick Lynch	**Writer School Textbooks**
Paul Deighan	**Writer School Textbooks**
James McGann	**Cartographer**
Nano Nagle	**Foundress Presentation Order**
Charles O'Connor	**Antiquarian, Founder Member Royal Irish Academy (1785)**
	Member of Catholic Association
Robert Murphy	**Graduated Third Wrangler, Cambridge University**

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Table 8.2

A page from Johnson's *The Seven Champions of Christendom*

THE

SEVEN CHAMPIONS

OF

CHRISTENDOM.

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After the angry gods had ruined the capital city of Phrygia, and turned king Priam's glorious buildings to a waste and desolate wilderness, duke Æneas, driven from his native habitation, with many of his distressed countrymen, wandered about the world, like pilgrims, to find some happy region, where they might erect the Palladium, or image of their subverted Troy; but before that labour could be accomplished, Æneas ended his days in the confines of Italy, and left his son Ascanius to govern in his stead. Ascanius dying, left the sovereign power to Sylvius; from whom it descended to the noble and adventurous Brute, who being the fourth in lineal descent from Æneas, first conquered this island of Britain, then inhabited with monsters, giants, and a kind of wild people, without any form of government. He had no sooner subdued these, but he established good and wholesome laws, and then first laid the foundation of New Troy, which he named Troynovant, but, in process of time, it came to be called London.

Thus began the island of Britain to flourish, not only in magnificent and sumptuous buildings, but in courageous and valiant knights, whose most noble and adventurous attempts in the truly heroic feats of chivalry, Fame shall draw forth, and rescue from the dark and gloomy mansions of oblivion.

The land was now replenished with cities, and divided

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Mrs. Jervis's wishing her to stay. Has nearly finished the work that she has in hand; and is solicitous how she shall get to her father's 43, 44

LETTER XXII.

Pamela, to her Parents.—A rough expression of her master to her, overheard by the butler. The servants sorry that she is to go away. Farther instance of her master's roughness to her. Mr. Jonathan the butler's kindness, and concern at what he had heard his master say to her. Instance of Mr. Longman's favour for her . . 45—48

LETTER XXIII.

Pamela, to her Parents.—Description and characters of several neighbouring ladies, who rally Mr. B—— on Pamela's account. Their behaviour to her, and observations on her person. Has finished her task, and hopes to set out in a few days . . . . . 48—52

LETTER XXIV.

Pamela, to her Parents.—Puts on her home-spun dress. What passes on that occasion between Mrs. Jervis, her master, and herself. He charges her with a design to attract him in disguise; yet tells her she may stay, if she will humble herself. She resolves to go. He storms. She expostulates. Her smart retort upon him for his past attempts. A note from Mr. Jonathan, warning her of her danger . . 52—58

LETTER XXV.

Pamela, to her Parents.—Her master hides himself in a closet, and overhears a discourse against himself, between Mrs Jervis and her, as they are going to rest. Being alarmed at the rustling of his gown, she, almost undressed, goes toward the closet; and he rushing out, she flies to the bed to Mrs. Jervis, and falls into fits . . . 59—64

LETTER XXVI.

Pamela, to her Parents.—Mrs. Jervis, resenting her master's conduct in her apartment, gives him warning. He agrees that they shall go away both together; and tells them, that he shall probably embrace a proposal of marriage that has been made him, and think no more of Pamela. Her joy on hearing this. Hopes now that all the danger is over; but will not be too secure . . . . 65—68

LETTER XXVII.

Pamela, to her Parents.—She is to stay a week longer for Mrs. Jervis's going with her. Her master asks her opinion with respect to a new birthday suit of clothes. Her serious behaviour, and answers to his questions, ridiculed by him. He tells Mrs. Jervis that he had an

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eye upon Pamela in his mother's lifetime. Her surprise at his wickedness, and at that of several gentlemen in the neighbourhood . 68—72

LETTER XXVIII.

Pamela, to her Parents.—Mrs. Jervis is permitted to stay. Mr. Longman intercedes for Pamela, and desires her to humble herself. Her master's cruel insults upon her. She resolves, however, not to expose him, though in her own defence, before his steward; therefore heaps blessings and prayers upon him and his family, on her knees; but declares, that she is unworthy to stay, and will not stay, if she might. Mr. Longman, moved at her behaviour, melts into tears. Her master a little touched; yet, resuming his hardheartedness, bids her begone from his presence. Her affecting behaviour hereupon . . 73—77

LETTER XXIX.

Pamela, to her Parents.—She has finished everything, and hopes to be soon with them. Mrs. Jervis's kind offer of money to her; which she refuses, knowing her to be in low circumstances herself. Laments, that, as things have fallen out, she has been brought up wrong by her lady; but hopes to make her mind bend to her condition. She divides her clothes into three bundles: one containing those given her by her lady; the second, those her master gave her; and the third, what she deems more properly her own; and desires Mrs. Jervis to inspect them before she goes away. Her master, out of curiosity, conceals himself (with Mrs. Jervis's knowledge) in the closet of the room into which the bundles are brought. Her moving conduct and reasonings. She discovers, to her great surprise, that her master had heard all: upbraids Mrs. Jervis upon it, and repeats her wishes to be safe with her parents . . . . . 78—85

LETTER XXX.

Pamela, to her Parents.—Her master, contrary to what she feared, when she next sees him, treats her kindly. Bespeaks her confidence in him. Avows his love to her. Intimates that he will make all her family happy. Protests he has no view to her dishonour in it. Particularises those parts of her conduct and behaviour which had moved him in her favour; and tells her, that if she will stay but a fortnight longer, she shall find her account in it. Her distress and difficulties upon these favourable appearances. He gives her a short time to consider of his proposal, and retires. The different agitations of her mind on this occasion, yet at last resolves to insist upon going away . . . . . 85—90

LETTER XXXI.

Pamela, to her Parents.—She declares her determination to go. He offers her a sum of money for her father. She refuses it till she knows

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what he is to do for it, and what is to become of herself. He then intimates, that he will find her a husband, who shall make her a gentlewoman. She dissembles her resentment of his base designs, till she gets from him; and then, by writing, signifies to him her resolution to go to her parents. He threatens her by Mrs. Jervis; but says she may go when she will. Gives leave for his travelling chariot and Lincolnshire coachman to carry her, and sends her five guineas. Her verses on her departure . . . . 90—96

The Editor's account of what happened after she set out. Of her being carried to her master's seat in Lincolnshire, instead of to her father's. Of John's treacherous baseness, in delivering all her letters to his master, before he carried them to her parents. The copy of a letter from the 'squire to her father, containing his pretended reasons for not permitting her to go to them. Her parents' grief. Her father, travelling all night, arrives in the morning at the 'squire's. What passed between Mrs. Jervis, the 'squire, and the old man on that occasion. Copy of Pamela's letter to Mrs. Jervis, which, as it afterwards appears, she was induced to write by a prescribed form, lest her parents' grief should be fatal to them . . . . 96—104

LETTER XXXII.

Pamela, to her Parents.—Bewails her wretched condition, and the vile trick put upon her. Writes the particulars of it, though she knows not how to convey it to them. Her stratagems on the road to escape, when she found herself betrayed, all frustrated by her master's precautions. She is met by Mrs. Jewkes, and conducted to the Lincolnshire seat. That woman's vile behaviour and wickedness. Her reproaches of the coachman. Tampers, but to no purpose, with Mrs. Jewkes . . . . . 104—119

HER JOURNAL,

Begun for her amusement, and in hopes to find some opportunity to send it to them. Describes the servants there. All her hopes centre in moving Mr. Williams to assist her escape . . . 119—122

Sunday.—Mrs. Jewkes's insolence to Mr. Williams; and still greater to her, ordering her shoes to be taken from her. Describes the person of the bad woman. John arrives with a letter from her master to her, requiring her to copy a prescribed form of a letter to her parents, to make them easy. She complies, for their sakes; and writes a moving one to her master . . . . . 122—128

Monday.—John's excessive concern, on reflecting upon his own baseness, causes Mrs. Jewkes to suspect that he loves Pamela: she closely watches him; notwithstanding which, he drops a letter, unperceived

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by her, which Pamela takes up, in which he confesses his villany to her. Her surprise at it. All the clothes which her lady and master had given her brought down to her, but locked up from her by Mrs. Jewkes . . . . . 128—131

Tuesday, Wednesday.—Her contrivance to correspond with Mr. Williams, and to keep from Mrs. Jewkes the knowledge of her little stores of pens, ink, and papers. The contents of her first letter to him, reciting her dangers, and begging him to assist her to escape. Suggests several methods, and hopes much from his key of the back-door . 131—136

Thursday.—Further instances of Mrs. Jewkes's insolence to her. Pamela resents her profligate talk, and is struck by her. Forced to put up with this insolent treatment, lest the correspondence with Mr. Williams should be frustrated. A letter from that gentleman, 'declaring his 'readiness to assist her. Gives her an account of the gentry in the 'neighbourhood; and that he will try, if she pleases, to move Lady 'Darnford to protect her. Praises her beauty and virtue.' Her answer; 'desiring a key may be made by his, to the back-door. 'Hopes by his means to be enabled to send a packet to her parents. 'Has a stock of five or six guineas, and desires to put the half of 'them in his hands, to defray incidental expenses.' She exults to her father and mother in the success of her plot. Is permitted to angle; and hooks a carp, which, moved by a reflection upon her own case, she throws into the water again . . . . 136—144

Friday, Saturday.—Mrs. Jewkes tricks her out of her little stock of money. She receives a letter from her master, signifying, 'That if she will 'invite him to come, her generous confidence in him shall not be 'thrown away upon him; and he will put Mrs. Jewkes into her 'power; and permit Mrs. Jervis to attend her,' &c. A second letter from Mr. Williams, acquainting her, 'That he has been repulsed by 'every one to whom he has applied in her favour. That he shall soon 'procure the key she desires, and a man and horse to carry her to one 'of the distant villages; so begs her not to be discomforted.' Her answer: 'Fears her master's coming may be sudden; that there-'fore no time is to be lost. Acquaints him with Mrs. Jewkes's trick 'to get her money. Her moving letter to her master, in answer to 'his; in which she absolutely denies her consent to his coming 'down' . . . . . 144—153

Sunday.—Is concerned she has not the key. Turns the cxxxviith psalm to her own case 154, 155

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday.—Is pleased that Mr. Williams has got a large parcel of her papers to send away to her parents. He has procured the key for her: and now only waits for the horse. Mrs. Jewkes suspects, by his looks, that he is in love with Pamela, and pretends to wish it to be a match between them. His third letter, intimating, 'That she has but one way honourably to avoid the danger she is in;

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'and that is, by marrying. Modestly tenders himself.' Her observations upon it to her parents. In her answer to Mr. Williams, intimates 'her gratitude for his generous offer; but that nothing, but 'to avoid her utter ruin, can make her think of a change of condition; 'and that therefore he must expect nothing from her but everlasting 'gratitude' . . . . . 156—159

Thursday, Friday, Saturday.—Lays a trap to come at Mrs. Jewkes's instructions; but fails in it. Mr. Williams promises to assist her to the utmost of his power, though she has not so readily come into his proposal as he wished 159

Sunday.—Has a strange turn to acquaint her parents with, in the contents of two letters from her master; one to Mr. Williams, the other to Mrs. Jewkes. In the former he acquaints Mr. Williams, 'That, by 'the death of the late incumbent, he has an opportunity to make him 'doubly happy—in a lovely wife, and a fine living: That he will 'account for his odd conduct in this affair to him, when he sees him: 'That he only desires he will let him know whether Pamela approves 'of him, and he of her.' Mrs. Jewkes communicates *her* letter, which confirms the contents of the other. She upbraids Pamela with her past mistrusts of the designs of so good a master. But she, still suspecting a stratagem, cautions Mr. Williams upon his honest joy, and open-hearted declaration; of which Mrs. Jewkes takes advantage: but yet is so civil to them both, that she hopes now for a happy deliverance, and to be soon with her parents . . . 160—164

THE JOURNAL CONTINUED.

Further instances of Mrs. Jewkes's civility to her, who presses her to encourage Mr. Williams's addresses; and, upon her refusal, supposes she has some pre-engagement. Mr. Williams goes home to write a letter on his own account to her parents. She begs they will not encourage his addresses 164, 165

Monday morning.—Mr. Williams is attacked by supposed robbers, on his return to the village. His woful letter to Mrs. Jewkes, giving an account of the disaster. Mrs. Jewkes ridicules the misfortune. Pamela's mistrusts increase. Refuses to accompany Mrs. Jewkes to make him a visit. In her absence has great temptations to make her escape; but is frightened at her own apprehensive fancies, and unable to resolve . . . . . 165—170

Monday afternoon.—Mrs. Jewkes returns from visiting Mr. Williams. Rallies Pamela, and makes a jest of his fright. Declares that she had got out of him all that was plotting between him and her. Advises her to send a letter of thanks to her master, for his favour to her in relation to Mr. Williams. On her refusal, declares her to be quite unfathomable. Pamela apprehends mischief hatching . 170—172

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Tuesday, Wednesday.—Mrs. Jewkes's change of temper to Mr. Williams. He is surprised at it. Pamela writes to him, blaming his openness. Desires to know what he had said to Mrs. Jewkes, and proposes to resume the project of escaping 173

Thursday.—His answer. 'Thinks Mr. B—— neither can nor dare 'deceive him in so black a manner; that John Arnold acquaints him, 'that his master is preparing for his London journey; after which he 'will come into Lincolnshire; that John refers to a letter he had sent 'before, but which is not come to hand; yet hopes there is no 'treachery. Owns that he was too free in talk with Mrs. Jewkes: 'but said not a word of the back-door key,' &c. Her reply, expressing her great uneasiness and doubts; and impatiently wishes for the horse . . . . . 174—176

Friday.—Mr. Williams's answer. 'He thinks her too apprehensive. 'Doubts not that things *must* be better than she apprehends.' Sends her a letter from her father; signifying 'his and her mother's grateful 'hopes that their prayers for her are at least heard; and their pleasure 'to find her virtue in view of its reward. Thinks she cannot do better 'than to marry Mr. Williams: but refers this to her own prudence.' Her dutiful joy upon the receipt of this letter . . . 176—178

Saturday, Sunday.—Mrs. Jewkes quarrels with Mr. Williams. Pamela is more and more convinced that there is mischief in agitation . 179

Monday, Tuesday.—All is now out! Two letters brought from Mr. B——; one to Pamela, the other to Mrs. Jewkes; but being folded and sealed alike, that to Pamela was addressed to Mrs. Jewkes, and Mrs. Jewkes's to her. Is quite confounded at the mistake; but more at the contents; in which he declares to Mrs. Jewkes—'the utmost 'resentment against her, on Mr. Williams's account. Sends down a 'Swiss, who is to assist in preventing her escape: That John Arnold 'has proved a villain, and shall meet with his reward: That he has 'ordered his attorney to arrest Mr. Williams in an action of debt, 'and will utterly ruin him: That he hates her perfectly now, and on 'his return from London will decide her fate.' Her affliction and despair excite pity to her even in Mrs. Jewkes, who gives her the letter which was intended for her, which is full of violent upbraidings and threatenings. Pamela's reflections upon her hard fortune; begs Mrs. Jewkes to let Mr. Williams know her master's resentment, that he may fly the country. Mrs. Jewkes glories in her wicked fidelity, and threatens to be more circumspect over her than ever. Pamela's apprehensions of Colbrand the Swiss, whose odd person and dress she describes . . . . . 179—186

Wednesday.—Mr. Williams actually arrested. Pamela forms a new stratagem for her escape, resolving to get out of the window into the garden, when Mrs. Jewkes is asleep; and to throw some of her clothes into the great pond, to induce the belief that she had drowned herself, in

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order to gain more time for escaping by the back-door; and trust the rest to Providence. Overhears Mrs. Jewkes owning to Monsieur Colbrand, in her cups, that the robbery of Mr. Williams was owing to a contrivance of her own, to come at his letters . . 187—189

Thursday, *Friday*, *Saturday*, *Sunday*.—That everything has been worse and worse, and all her contrivances ruined. She recounts the particulars of her fruitless attempt. Her sufferings and bruises. Being quite desperate, is tempted to drown herself. Her soliloquy by the pond side. Has the grace to escape the temptation, and limps away to the wood-house, and, half dead with her bruises and distresses, creeps behind a pile of firewood. Mrs. Jewkes's fright on missing her: she raises the house; and at last, finding some of her clothes in the pond, they conclude that she had drowned herself. Their lamentations; fearing their master's resentment. Nan at last finds her in the wood-house, unable to stir. Mrs. Jewkes's cruelty to her . . . . . 189—200

Sunday afternoon.—That health is hardly to be coveted in her circumstances. Dreads the coming of her master: yet having heard, that he had been near drowning in the pursuit of his game, she could not help rejoicing in his safety. Is surprised that she cannot hate him for his ill usage of her. Hears that John Arnold is turned away; and that Mr. Longman, Mr. Jonathan, and Mrs. Jervis, are in danger, for offering to intercede for her, knowing now where she is . 200, 201

Monday, *Tuesday*, *Wednesday*.—Mrs. Jewkes is more and more insolent to her. Talks filthily to her, and ridicules her notions of virtue 201, 202

Thursday.—Apprehends, from some particular dispositions, that her master will soon come. Her moving reflection on his pretended love to her, and his promise not to see her without her own consent. Believes that he perfectly hates her; else, that he would not leave her thus to the mercy of this bad woman 202

Friday.—Mrs. Jewkes apprehends that she designs another escape. Her violence to Pamela upon it. She locks her up without shoes in the day, and makes her lie between herself and the maid at night. She is weary of her life. Mrs. Jewkes restores her shoes to her, and lays her commands upon her to dress herself in one of the suits which she had locked up from her, against three or four o'clock, telling her that she would have a visit from Lady Darnford's two daughters. Pamela will not obey her, resolving not to be made a show of 202—204

Five o'clock is come, and no young ladies. She thinks that she hears their coach. Resolves not to go down to them. Steps to the window; and, to her utmost surprise and terror, beholds her master, who has just arrived 204

Seven o'clock is come, and she has not yet seen him. Doubts not that some-

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thing is resolving against her. Is full of trembling confusion and grief 204

Saturday morning.—Relates, that at half an hour after seven, the preceding night, her master came up to her. His stern behaviour, and violent reproaches. Withdraws threatening, and leaves her ready to die with grief and apprehension. Mrs. Jewkes's impertinent soothings, and detestable hint, that she may make up all by the morning. Her master orders her down to attend him at supper. His harsh treatment of her, as she waits upon him. Mrs. Jewkes's officious stories against her. On her knees she begs that he'll hear her tell of that woman's usage of her. He cruelly interrupts her, and justifies Mrs. Jewkes: and after many reproaches and threatenings on his side, and vile instigations on Mrs. Jewkes's, he bids the latter take her up stairs, and he will send her a few lines to consider of; her answer to which shall fix her doom . . . . . 204—210

Saturday noon.—Sends proposals to her in writing, to live with him as his mistress, offering her very high terms for herself and friends; and assures her, that if she refuses them, he will put his designs in execution, and she shall have no benefit from them. Her noble and resolute answer, absolutely refusing all his offers with disdain. He storms against her to Mrs. Jewkes upon it, who most impudently instigates him to execute all his purposes . . . . 211—217

Saturday night.—He sends Mrs. Jewkes for her. She is going down; but finding Mrs. Jewkes lead to his chamber, she turns back, notwithstanding his menaces. Mrs. Jewkes ridicules her fears, and upbraids her with the appeal she would have made to her master against her . . . . . 217—219

Sunday.—Her master, being from home, sends a letter to Mrs. Jewkes, signifying, 'That he is going to Stamford on Mr. Williams's account, 'and shall not be back till the next evening, if then: That she must 'not trust Pamela without another person lying with her, as well as 'herself.' She sees this letter, through Mrs. Jewkes's pretended carelessness, and rejoices at this further reprieve . . . 220—222

Tuesday night.—She gives the particulars of the worst attempt that he had yet made, and of Mrs. Jewkes's wicked assistance, and her narrow escape by falling into fits. On her recovery he gives her hopes, that he will never offer to compel her again. Desires, for her own sake, that she will not attempt to get away for a fortnight to come, and that she will forgive Mrs. Jewkes. Is pleased with her answer. Seems to be all kindness. Talks of love without reserve; which, with other liberties that he calls innocent, makes her very uneasy . . . . . 223—234

Wednesday morning.—Sends for her to walk with him in the garden. Likes not him, nor his ways. And why. He resents an expression

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which his free usage provoked from her. She expostulates with him on his proceedings . . . . . 234—238

Wednesday night.—His great kindness and favour to her before Mrs. Jewkes. Mrs. Jewkes's respectful behaviour to her upon it, and apprehensions of her resenting her past baseness. His goodness to her, and admiration of her prudence, fill her with hopes of his honourable designs. But, on a sudden, he damps all again, and leaves her in a state of uncertainty . . . . 238—248

Thursday morning.—Mr. B—— being to go to Stamford, acquaints her, that either Mrs. Jervis or Mr. Longman, whom, with Jonathan, he has discharged, will attempt to convey a letter to her in his absence: That he will take it kindly, if she will confine herself pretty much to her chamber till he returns. She promises not to stir anywhere without Mrs. Jewkes . . . . . 248—250

Friday night.—A gipsy, under pretence of telling Mrs. Jewkes and Pamela their fortunes, finds means to drop a letter for the latter, the contents of which alarm her with the intimation of a stratagem of a sham marriage designed. Her passionate reflections upon him and his designs on this occasion . . . . . 250—254

Saturday, noon.—Her master returns. Mrs. Jewkes, coming upon her by surprise, seizes a parcel of her papers, and carries them to him. Her apprehensions on this account . . . . . 254—256

Saturday, six o'clock.—Entreats him to return her papers unread. He refuses. Her sharp expressions hereupon make him angry with her. She endeavours to pacify him. Having read the papers, he sends for her, and insnaringly discovers, that she has papers of a later date than these, and insists upon seeing them. She refuses; but he frightens her into a compliance . . . . 257—268

Sunday morning.—On reading her last papers, which contain her temptations at the pond, he is greatly moved. His kind behavour to her; yet, apprehending that this kindness is but consistent with the sham marriage she dreads, she still insists upon going to her parents. He falls into a violent rage hereupon, will not suffer her to speak, and bids her begone from his presence . . . . 268—273

Sunday, three o'clock.—Her reflections upon the haughtiness of people in a high condition. Is surprised by a message from Mrs. Jewkes, that she must instantly leave the house. Prepares to go, but cannot help being grieved. The travelling chariot is drawn out. Colbrand is getting on horseback. Wonders where all this will end . 273, 274

Monday.—Mrs. Jewkes insults her on her departure. Her wicked hints to her master in her hearing. He rebukes her for them. Pamela blesses him on her knees for it. Wonders she could be so loath to

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leave the house. The chariot drives away with her. She can hardly think but she is in a dream all the time. A copy of her master's letter to her, delivered at a certain distance, 'full of tenderness and 'respect, declaring his honourable intentions to her, had she not un- 'seasonably, in the midst of his kindness to her, preferred going to her 'parents.' She laments that she gave credit to the gipsy-story. Accuses her heart of treachery to her . . . . 275—281

Monday morning, eleven o'clock—More surprising things still, as she says. Thomas, the groom, overtakes her with a second letter from her 'master, declaring, 'That he finds he cannot live without her. That 'if she will return, it will lay him under the highest obligation.' Her reasonings with herself, whether to go back, or to proceed. At last, resolves to oblige him . . . . . 282—288

Tuesday morning.—Her master's pleasure and gratitude on her return. Orders that she be left entirely at her liberty to go and come as she pleases, and the chariot to be at her service. Acquaints her, that he had set Mr. Williams at liberty, and taken his bond. He gives her a letter to peruse from Lady Davers, who severely and loftily expostulates with him on her account, declaring, 'That if he should marry 'her, she will renounce all relation to him; but begs that he will 'give her a sum of money, and marry her to some fellow of her own 'degree.' Pamela's serious reflections upon the pride of people of birth and condition . . . . . 288—293

Wednesday morning.—Her master takes an airing with her in the chariot. His great kindness. Gives his reasons for dismissing Mr. Longman, Mrs. Jervis, and Jonathan, and for his resentment against his sister. Intimates the slights she will receive from persons of figure, if he marries her; and asks how she will employ her time, when she has not the genteel amusements to which she will be entitled as his wife? Is highly delighted with her remarkable and instructive answer. Clears up, to her satisfaction, the gipsy's information. Acquaints her with the neighbouring ladies intending to make him a visit, on purpose to see and admire her. Mrs. Jewkes's humility, and apprehension of her resentment. He intercedes for her. She resolves, throughout her future life, to rely on Providence, who has brought such real good to her out of such evil appearances . . 294—313

Thursday.—Declares his intention of privately marrying her. His servant, who had been sent by her, at his request, for the papers which were in her father's hands, returns without them, and reports her parents' grief, who apprehended she had been subdued to his own terms. He directs her to write, to make them easy. An accidental conversation between her master and Mr. Williams, which gives her hopes of their reconciliation . . . . . 314—322

Friday.—She gives the particulars of what passed in the visit of the neigh-

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bouring gentry. Their high encomiums upon her person and behaviour. Miss Polly Darnford particularly fond of her . . . 323—329

Friday afternoon.—Her father's unexpected arrival, while all the guests are together. Is kindly received by her master, and all his fears for his daughter's virtue dissipated. The company greatly affected at the first interview between her father and her. Writes to her mother all the moving particulars of it. Her master's kindness, and declaration of his honourable intentions, give inexpressible joy to her father 329—341

Saturday.—Her master, seeing by the papers brought by her father, how hardly she had been treated by Mrs. Jewkes, offers to remove her from her presence. Is pleased with her forgiving temper. Takes an airing with her father and her, and designedly falls in with Mr. Williams. His kindness to that gentleman. Gives him up his bond, and requests him to officiate next day in his newly fitted up chapel. . 342—357

Sunday.—Mr. Williams accordingly officiates. Her father performs the clerk's part with applause. Mr. B——'s pleasant remarks on her paraphrase on the cxxxviith Psalm. Mr. Andrews joyfully takes leave, to carry the good tidings of all these things to his wife . 357—371

Monday.—Mr. B—— brings her a license, and presses for the day. Her desire that it may be on a Thursday, and reasons for it. He rallies her agreeably on that head. The Thursday following fixed upon. He proposes, in a generous manner, that Mr. Williams shall marry them . . . . . 371—376

Tuesday.—Her serious reflections on the near prospect of her important change of condition. Is diffident of her own worthiness. Prays for humility, that her new condition may not be a snare to her. How she intends to behave herself to the servants . . . 376—379

Wednesday.—Her alternate fears and exultation, as the day draws nigh. His generous and polite tenderness to her. Her modest, humble, and thankful returns. Readily, at his proposal, consents to let Mrs. Jewkes attend her at her nuptials . . . . 379—387

Thursday morning.—His generous and discouraging tenderness to her. Her grateful acknowledgments. . . . . 387—391

Thursday afternoon.—The happy celebration of her nuptials. Her joyful exultations to her parents upon it. Mr. B——'s generosity to Mr. Peters and Mr. Williams. Are broken in upon by three rakish gentlemen of his acquaintance, which obliges her to dine without him. Mrs. Jewkes's dutiful and submissive behaviour to her. The different aspect everything bears to her, now her prison has become her palace . . . . . 391—404

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Friday evening.—His polite demeanour to her, and generosity to her parents. Gives her a large sum to distribute among the servants on occasion of her nuptials. He kindly complies with her intercession for Mr. Longman, Mrs. Jervis, Jonathan, and John Arnold . 404—413

Saturday morning.—Copy of Mr. B——'s letter to Mr. Longman, and of hers to Mrs. Jervis, in the kindest manner desiring them to take possession, with Jonathan, of their former offices. Rejoices in her happiness, and prays that her will to do good may be enlarged with her opportunities . . . . . 413—417

Saturday evening.—Mr. B——'s kind intentions towards her parents. His generous annual allowance to her for her private charities 417—420

Table 11.1

List of 'Burton' chapbooks purchased by the Kildare Place Society Book Subcommittee 18 April 1819

1.	The Destruction of Troy.
2.	Montelion.
3.	Tales of the Fairies.
4.	Fair Rosamond.
5.	Seven Champions.
6.	Parismus.
7.	Don Bellianis.
8.	Fairy Tales.
9.	Lady Lucy.
10.	Holy Bible Abridged.
11.	Historical Catechism.
12.	Think Well On't.
13.	Life of God in the Soul Of Man.
14.	Arabian Nights.
15.	Robinson Crusoe.
16.	Valentine & Orson.
17.	Royal Primer.
18.	Life of St. Mary of Egypt.
19.	St. Joseph.
20.	Reading Made Easy.
21.	Reynard the Fox.
22.	Noble Slaves.
23.	James Freney.
24.	Irish Rogues.
25.	Narrative Pieces.
26.	Peregrine Pickle.
27.	Seven Wise Masters.
28.	Roderick Random.
29.	Art of Money Catching.

30. Battle of Aughrim.

31. Moral Story Teller.

32. Cooke's Voyages.

33. Jack And His 11 Brothers.

34. Death of Abel.

35. Aesop's Fables.

36. Fortunate Lovers.

37. History of The Old Testament.

Table 12.1

Kildare Place Society library readers in the hedge schools of the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin

From the Parochial Returns of the Hedge Schools in the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin (1775-1835)

DUBLIN SPELLING BOOK	DUBLIN READING BOOK	NATURAL HISTORY
Clubbin	Whitefield	Whitefield
Ballycon	Curracrut	Town of Edenderry
Mountmelick (sic)	Corries	Moneybeg
Derrycloney	Sliguf	Mountmelick (sic)
Seskin Ryan		Grange
Corries		Clonoughado
Sliguf		Gurten
		Gore's Bridge
ELIZABETH OR THE EXILES OF SIBERIA	COOKE'S VOYAGES	BLIGH'S VOYAGES
Ballycon	Feighcullen	Ballycon
Corries	Brackina	Corries
Gore's Bridge	Clubbin	
Gore's Bridge	Newtown	
VOYAGE CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS	ANSON'S VOYAGE	BYRON'S NARRATIVE
Corbally	Ballyellen	Ballycon
Mulloughanard	Castlekelly	Corries
Church St. Ballynackill	Drumquin	
Curracrut		
TRAVELS IN AFRICA	MORAL LESSONS	USEFUL ARTS AND MANUFACTURES
Ballybrittas	Mountmelick (sic)	Corbally
Church St. Ballynakill	Seskin Ryan	Moneybeg
Newtown	Ballytarsna	
Courleigh		

MONGO, THE LITTLE TRAVELLER Goresbridge	ENTERTAINING MEDLEY Seskin Ryan Gore's Bridge	ANIMAL SAGACITY Clonaslee Corries
COTTAGE FIRESIDE Moneybeg	ISAAC JENKINS Ratheadon	HISTORY OF LITTLE JACK Corries
THE BROTHERS Kilcarig	SELECT STORY TELLER Corbally Moyne	NEW ROBINSON CRUSOE Ballyellen
PICTURE OF THE SEASONS Ballytarsna	MISCELLANIES Clubbin Drunquin	TRAVELS THROUGH SWEDEN AND GERMANY Gore's Bridge

APPENDIX A

TOURS OF IRELAND CONNDUCTED BETWEEN THE YEARS 1764 TO 1799

1764	Hibernia Curiosa	John Bush
1775	A Tour in Ireland in 1775	Richard Twiss
1776	A Tour in Ireland 1776, 1777, 1778	Arthur Young
1780	A Tour Through Ireland	Philip Luckombe
1790	A Journey from Cork to Limerick in December 1790	Coquebert de Montbret
1790	A New View of 18th Century Life in Kerry	Coquebert de Montbret
1790	In Search of the Hidden Ireland	Coquebert de Montbret
1790	A New View of Cork City in 1790	Coquebert de Montbret
1790	A Frenchman's Impressions of County Cork in 1790	Coquebert de Montbret
1791	A Frenchman's Impression of Limerick	Coquebert de Montbret
1791	Impressions of Galway City in the Year 1791	Coquebert de Montbret
1791	A Tour Through Ireland	Charles Topham Bowden
1796	Promenade d'un Francais dans l'Irlande	de la Tocnaye
1797	Sketches of some of the Southern Counties of Ireland	George Holmes
1799	Letters on the Irish Nation	George Cooper

APPENDIX B

TOURS OF IRELAND CONNDUCTED BETWEEN THE YEARS 1805 and 1846

1805	The Stranger in Ireland	John Carr
1807	Illustrations of the Scenery of Killarney and the Surrounding County	Isaac Weld
1809	A View of the Natural, Political and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland	Thomas Newham
1812	An Account of Ireland Vol. II	Edward Wakefield
1812	Walks Through Ireland 1812, 1814, 1817	Bernard Trotter
1813	Tour Through Ireland	Rev. James Hall
1815	Rambles in Ireland	William Reed
1818	Observations on the State of Ireland	S.C. Curwen
1822	Travels in Ireland in the year 1822	Thomas Reid
1822	Researches in the South of Ireland during the years 1812-1822	T. Crofton Croker
1824	Notes on Three Tours in 1824 and 1826	James Glassford
1828	Tour in England, Ireland and France	Von Puckler-Muskau
1829	Ireland and its Economy ... In a Tour Through the Country in the Autumn of 1829	J.E. Bicheno
1834	A Journey Throughout Ireland	Henry D. Inglis
1839	Ireland, Social, Political and Religious	Gustave de Beaumont
1841	Sketches in Erris and Tyrawly	Rev. Caesar Otway
1841	Ireland, Its Scenery, Character etc., Vol. I	Mr & Mrs S.C. Hall
1844	Travels in Ireland	J.G. Kohl
1846	The Native Irish and their Descendants	Christopher Anderson

APPENDIX C

SUGGESTIONS OF INQUIRY

FOR GENTLEMEN, WHO SHALL UNDERTAKE THE FORMING

OF

AGRICULTURAL SURVEYS.

GEOGRAPHICAL STATE AND CIRCUMSTANCES.

Situation and extent,
Divisions,
Climate,
Soil and surface,
Minerals.

AGRICULTURE.

Mode of culture,
Extent of it, and of each species of grain sowed,
Course of crops,
Use of oxen—how harnessed,
Nature and use of implements of husbandry,
Markets for grain,
Use of green food in winter.

PASTURE.

Nature of it,
Breed of cattle—how far improved,

Breed of cattle—how far capable of further improvement,
Markets or fairs for them,
General prices,
Modes of feeding—how far housed in winter,
Natural grasses,
Artificial grasses,
Mode of hay-making,
Dairies—their produce,
Prices of hides, tallow, wool, and quantity sold.

FARMS.

Their size,
Farm houses and offices,
Mode of repairing them, whether by landlord or tenant,
Nature of tenures,
General state of leases,
——— of particular clauses therein,
Taxes or cesses paid by tenants,
Proportion of working horses or bullocks to the size of farms,
General size of fields, or enclosures,
Nature of fences,
Mode of hedge-rows, and keeping hedges,
Mode of draining,
Nature of manures.

GENERAL SUBJECTS.

Population,
Number and size of villages and towns,
Habitation,

Habitation, fuel, food, and cloathing of the lower rank—their general cost,

Prices of wages, labour, and provisions,

State of tithe, its general amount on each article—what articles are exempt, and what charged by modus,

Use of beer and spirits—whether either or which is increasing,

State of roads, bridges, &c.

—— of navigations and navigable rivers,

—— of fisheries,

—— of education, schools, and charitable institutions,

—— of absentee and resident proprietors,

—— of circulation of money or paper,

—— of farming or agricultural societies,

—— of manufactures, whether increasing,

—— of encouragement to them, and the peculiar aptness of the situation for their extension,

—— of mills of every kind,

—— of plantations and planting,

—— of the effects of the encouragement heretofore given to them by the Society, particularised in the list annexed,

—— of any improvements which may occur for further encouragement, and particularly for the preservation of the trees, when planted,

—— of nurseries within the county and extent of sales,

Price of timber, and state of it, in the county,

Quantity of bog and waste ground,

Possibility and means of improving it,

Obstacles to it, and best means of removing them,

Habits of industry, or want of industry, among the people,

The use of the English language, whether general, or how far increasing,

Account of towers, castles, monasteries, ancient buildings, or places remarkable for any historical event,

Churches—resident clergy, glebes and glebe houses,

Whether the county has been actually surveyed, when and whether the survey is published,

Weights and measures, liquid or dry—in what instances are weights assigned for measures—or *vice versâ*,

The weight or measure, by which grain, flour, potatoes, butter, &c. are sold.

APPENDIX D

STATISTICAL SURVEYS CARRIED OUT BETWEEN THE YEARS 1801 TO 1833

1801	General View of the Agriculture and Manufactures of the King's County	Sir Charles Coote
1801	General View of the Agriculture and Manufactures of the Queen's County	Sir Charles Coote
1801	Statistical Survey of the County of Sligo	James McParlan
1801	Statistical Survey of the County of Wicklow Part I	Robert Fraser
1801	Statistical Survey of the County of Monaghan	Sir Charles Coote
1801	Statistical Survey of the County of Dublin	Lieut. Joseph Archer
1802	Statistical Survey of the County of Tyrone	John M'Evoy
1802	Statistical Survey of the County of Leitrim	James McParlan
1802	Statistical Survey of the County of Donegal	James McParlan
1802	Statistical Survey of the County of Mayo	James McParlan
1802	Observations on Mr Archer's Statistical Survey of the County of Dublin	Hely Dutton
1802	Statistical Observations Relative to the County of Kilkenny	William Tighe
1802	Statistical Survey of the County of Down	Rev. John Dubourdieu
1802	Statistical Survey of the County of Meath	Robert Thompson
1802	Statistical Survey of the County of Cavan	Sir Charles Coote
1804	Statistical Survey of the County of Armagh	Sir Charles Coote
1807	Statistical Survey of the County of Wexford	Robert Fraser
1807	Statistical Survey of the County of Kildare	Thomas James Rawson
1808	Statistical Survey of the County of Clare	Hely Dutton
1812	Statistical Survey of the County of Antrim	Rev. John Dubourdieu
1814	A Statistical Account or Parochial Survey Vols. I-II	Wm. Shaw Mason
1815	General Statistical Survey of the County of Cork Vol. I	Rev. Horatio Townsend
1819	Survey of Tullaroan, or Grace's Parish in the Cantred of Grace's Country and County of Kilkenny	Wm. Shaw Mason

1824	A Statisitical and Agricultural Survey of the County of Galway	Hely Dutton
1832	Statistical Survey of the County of Roscommon	Isaac Weld
c. 1833	Statistical Survey of the County of Tipperary	Wm. Shaw Mason
	Ms.8146-8147 (N.L.I.)	

APPENDIX E

STATISTICAL SURVEYORS' REPORTS ON THE STATE OF EDUCATION

STATISTICAL SURVEY OF		STATE OF EDUCATION
General View of the Agriculture and Manufactures of the King's County		
1801	King's County (Sir Charles Coote)	*Barony of Ballibrit*: There is no school in the Barony but at Birr. *Barony of Balliboy*: The peasantry are not more illiterate than elsewhere, indeed rather improving, though so cruelly neglected, but there is no other system of education within the Barony, than their small schools, except the Charter School at Frankford. *Barony of Philipstown*: Education is in a low state, nothing better than the poor schools for peasants' children. *Barony of Ballicowen*: I do not learn that there is yet established a school of consequence in Tullamore.
General View of the Agriculture and Manufactures of the Queen's County		
1801	Queen's County (Sir Charles Coote)	*Barony of Upper Ossory:* ... Till proper schools are established, they must remain in the same barbarous ignorance, that still prevails. *Barony of Ballyadams:* No school or charitable institution, except that at Ballintubber, founded by the late Bowen Southwell Esq., who bequeathed 20 l annually for its support.
1801	Sligo (James McParlan)	The state of education in this county is on a very mean footing, rather on no footing at all. Mrs Jones gives £20 a year to a schoolmaster in the parish of Skreen. The man teaches in his own house, and employs the children, 'tis said, more with his domestic labour than with learning.
1801	Wicklow (Robert Fraser)	In the parish of Wicklow the gentlemen are arranging a plan of education, on a very interesting scheme, for the lower-class of children in the parish.

1801	Monaghan (Sir Charles Coote)	At Monaghan, is a diocesan school, not long established ... now reclaiming from a long and shameful neglect. Lord Rossmore took great pains to establish a school in this town. Nearly £30,000 was left about 30 years ago, by Francis Ellis, as a fund ... but the will was set aside, and the benevolent intention of the testator was frustrated. In the reign of Queen Anne, a school as founded here in Carrickmascross anno 1711, by Lord Weymouth, and a fund appropriated for the payment of the master - notwithstanding this endowment was duly perfected, and a house and land conveyed to trustees for the use of the school, yet their is not one child educated, although the salary, house etc, is enjoyed. This is really a grievance, deserving particular investigation. Castleblaney to Dundalk - there are no schools excepting the meanest hedge schools.
1801	Dublin (Lieut. Joseph Archer)	The numerous and unbounded institutions in the city, reflect the highest credit on the inhabitants. There is not in existence a spot of the size of the city of Dublin, where there is such unlimited munificence.
1802	Tyrone (John M'Evoy)	When children are able to perform any sort of work, such as herding of cattle, they are then taken from school. From the age of 6 or 7, to that of 10 or 11 years is the usual time for children to be kept at school. A thriving night-school, from six in the evening to ten or eleven o'clock at night a guinea a month is the master's salary.
1802	Leitrim (James McParlan)	The state of education amounts to this and no more, that I believe it may be said, without exception, that every farmer in the county sends his children to a neighbouring school, where they learn to scrawl a little writing, to read as they are taught, and some of the rules of arithmetic. Some make considerable proficiency in these branches and turn out smart pedlars, shopkeepers and dealers. There are some of them now in Dublin, who have realised considerable properties.
1802	Donegal (James McParlan)	The state of education in the mountain region is much more backward, than in any other part of Ireland, that I am acquainted with. In the glens, that are more cultivable and inhabited, the parents complain of inability to pay four or five shillings yearly to the schoolmaster. Mr Steward of Tyrcallan has established ... at his own expense, two schools, one for male, another for female children.

1802	Mayo (James McParlan)	Notwithstanding the backward situation of this County, it cannot, in point of the education common to the poor of the kingdom, be said to be inferior to the other parts of it. In the Barony of Kilmaine the young are generally sent to Common School, where they pay 1s, 1s 6d, and sometimes more per quarter, according to the progress of the children.
1802	Kilkenny (Wm. Tighe)	The Roman Catholics prefer school masters of their own persuasion; of these most parishes have one or two; and the school is not unfrequently kept in the chapel. The common schools are not badly attended. In the Union of Kells, there are 4 schools, about 50 children attend each; in the parish there are about 300 fit for school. The price per quarter is 2s 8 1/2 d to 5s.
1802	Down (Rev. John Dubourdieu)	
1802	Meath (Robert Thompson)	There are several schools kept by private individuals for the education of the poor on their own properties, in which, many persons, who have afterwards become useful members of society, or clerks, overseers etc. have been instructed.
1802	Cavan (Sir Charles Coote)	An anxiety for education and for religious instruction happily prevails. Few even of the poorest are without a wish to send their children to school, and during more than 2 yrs, that I have had the care of this parish, the demand for prayer books testaments, and bibles .. has been very considerable. (Rev. Mr. John Jebb of Swanlingbar).
1804	Armagh (Sir Charles Coote)	The youth of this county, have the advantages of a better education than in most parts of Ireland; this is evident from the superior civilization and manners of the people. The Charter School at Armagh is now a noble institution. Lord Rokeby endowed Armagh College.
1807	Wexford (Robert Fraser)	
1807	Kildare (Thomas James Rawson)	All over the county, are numbers of schools, where the lower orders have their children instructed in writing, arithmetic and reading; scarcely a peasant who can muster a crown, after tithe and priest's dues, but is emulous to spend it on his little boy's education.
1808	Clare (Hely Dutton)	Though schools abound in this County, yet, with the exception of those highly respectable

		ones of Ennis and Killaloe, the state of education is at a very low ebb indeed. The common country schools have generally from 20 to 100 scholars each, boys and girls mixt together, but are badly attended in winter, as they are usually kept in small damp cabins, or in the Roman Catholic chapels (to the disgrace of the priest and his flock), equally damp and dirty.
1812	Antrim (Rev. John Dubourdieu)	In various places the Classics (as well as the English language grammatically) are taught in schools of minor eminence, where those who wish to qualify themselves for professions or situations in life above their present circumstances, may have access to learning upon easier terms than the first-rate seminaries can afford. The chief source of instruction to the people arises from the parochial schools ... and some others of like description, where the rudiments of the English language, together with writing and arithmetic are taught, and, in many instances, the less complex branches of Maths.
1814	A Stat. Acc. or Parochial Survey of Irl. Vols I-III (Wm. Shaw Mason) Vol. I Ennistymon	The chapel in every parish is allowed to be a school-house. At Ennistymon, where there is no chapel, the Sessions-house answers the purpose. These are all called public schools, and are on an old established plan, reading aloud or humming together. The schoolmaster at Ennistymon teaches Latin at 11s 4.5 d per quarter. The number of scholars is generally from 20 to 70 at each school. Boys and girls mix promiscuously; the number of boys generally exceeding the girls.
1814	Dungiven/Maghera (Wm Shaw Mason)	There are 16 schools in Maghera, in which 500 children are taught spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic. The schools are generally wretched huts, built of sods in the highway ditches, from which circumstances they are denominated hedge-schools. The books used in these seminaries are in general of an indifferent description.
1814	A Stat. Account (Wm. Shaw Mason) Vol. II Kilrush	The hedge Schools are as miserable, and the books read in them as worthless as they have been observed to be in other parts of Ireland.
	Kilmore	The usual rates of tuition are for spelling 1s 8d per quarter, arithmetic as far as the first five rules 3s 4d, Writing and Arithmetic 5s.
1814	A Stat. Acc. (Wm. Shaw Mason)	Almost every child from five years old and

	Vol. III Wexford	upwards goes for instruction in spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic, and some are also taught the Latin classics. At this school in Carne, Co. Wexford (the master of which, is James Fortune, of the Roman Catholic religion, a man of very correct morals) are to be seen between 70 and 80 children of both sexes in the summer season all decently clad.
	Vol. III Rathcline	We have not at this hour in the parish a school-house; there was a wretched school kept in the chapel by a Roman Catholic master, the number of children attending varying according to the seasons of the year from 20 to 50; the rates of tuition, being from one to three shillings per quarter; the pupils were taught reading, writing and arithmetic. The books they read are not calculated to impress on their tender minds either a sense of religion or virtue; they are generally story books, or some vulgar ill-written histories.
1815	General & Statistical Survey re: Survey of the County of Cork (Rev. Horatio Townsend)	The Diocese of Ross: My knowledge of that diocese authorises me to assert, that 4 out of 5 of the common people (except in the towns, in which most of the inhabitants speak English) cannot speak English, and that 49 out of 50 cannot write their names ... Young children are sent to these places of cheap instruction for two reasons, first, with a view of learning something, and secondly because the parents don't know what else to do with them. Of these the greater part derive no eventual advantage from their schooling, being recalled at an early age, when their labour can be turned to some account. Mixing then with a family who speak only Irish, even the little smattering of English they had acquired is soon lost. It is far otherwise with Protestant children, in whose families English is always spoken and where books of some kind may generally be had.
1819	Survey of Tullaroan (Wm. Shaw Mason)	Here then indeed "a little learning is a dangerous thing," and it cannot be prevented. The hedge schools will give it, whether the Government or the public will or not; those schools are multiplying every day .... schools have been established by societies and individuals, but they do not extend to an hundredth part of the population, nor until they are so extended as to supersede in a great measure the hedge schools, can any effectual advantage be derived from them. Re: Books used ... books which pedlars and petty shopkeepers sell to the country people, such as the histories of robbers etc and particularly that pernicious little book "The

Articles of Limerick" of which several thousand copies are sold every year through every part of the nation, which it is impossible for children to read, without imbibing a spirit of disloyalty to the Government, and hatred of the present Royal family and English connection.

1824 A Stat. & Agric. Survey of Galway (Hely Dutton)

The school established by the will of Erasmus Smyth in the town of Galway stands pre-eminent; it is admirably conducted by the Rev. Mr. Whitley. There are several private schools in Galway and very few villages are without a small school, but generally of very inferior description. In Connemara there are about a dozen schools, attended only in summer, in winter which is much the custom elsewhere, the masters attend at the houses of their pupils.

1832 Stat. Survey of the County of Roscommon (Isaac Weld)

There are several schools where reading and writing are taught. The numbers who attend are more in summer than in any other season. In spring and autumn the parents keep them at home to assist in the labour. Very few attend in winter. The teachers are badly paid and seldom keep regular schools. No distinction can be remarked between the treatment of children of different religious persuasions, except as far as relates to their Catechetical education. The rates of tuition vary from 1s 8d to 5s per quarter according to what is taught. The books used are not adapted to the capacities of those tender years. In one very large school, I found Sir Robert Walpole's speeches, the class book for boys under eleven years of age; and in another, held in the chapel of Tarmonbarry, Lord Chesterfield's Letters. The Catholic schools are frequently held in chapels. in some of the schools ... mathematical classes are instituted, and the intelligence manifested by the pupils, in several instances, far from being inferior, deserved in my humble opinion, to be rated rather higher than par in comparison with that of the same description of children in some neighbouring countries.

c.1833 Statistical Survey of the County of Tipperary MS.8146-8147. (W.S. Mason)

APPENDIX F

STATISTICAL SURVEYORS' REPORTS ON THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN

STATISTICAL SURVEY OF		LANGUAGE
General View of the Agriculture and Manufactures of the King's County		
1801	King's County (Sir Charles Coote)	*Barony of Clonlisk*: The English language is spoken by all sorts; but the peasants when conversing together, speak in their native tongue only. *Barony of Philipstown*: English language generally spoken, and the Irish tongue eventually decreasing. *Barony of Kilcoursey*: The English language and Irish tongues are spoken here, but the latter declining as manufacture gains ground.
General View of the Agriculture and Manufactures of the King's County		
1801	Queen's County (Sir Charles Coote)	*Barony of Upper Ossory*: The English language is most generally spoken, except towards the moutains, but indeed, throughout, they all can converse in both tongues, with equal fluency. *Barony of Ballyadams*: The use of the English language (is) universal: so much increased within twenty years that the common conversation of labourers is in that tongue. *Barony of Slewmargy:* They all talk the English and Irish language with equal fluency, but among themselves more generally converse in the latter-tongue.
1801	Sligo (James McParlan)	The greatest part of the common people speak bad English. It may be said that the English language is in a progressive, though slow and bad state of improvement.
1801	Wicklow (Robert Fraser)	It is very remarkable, that although the Irish language is common in all the counties around, in the County of Wicklow the Irish language is unknown - Nor did I find any of the natives of this county, even in the most remote vales in the midst of the mountains, accustomed to speak the Irish language.

1801	Monaghan (Sir Charles Coote)	The men all speak the English tongue, but the women seem rather inclined to the Irish language. Louth/Drogheda - they all speak the English and Irish languages fluently enough.
1801	Dublin (Lieut. Joseph Archer)	The English language is the general one spoken in this County; very few are in the habit of speaking Irish nor do they understand it, except those who have removed here from remoter counties.
1802	Tyrone (John M'Evoy)	Except through the wilds of Munterloney (Chiefly in the Barony of Strabane) the English language is most prevalent; indeed throughout the county it is gaining ground every day. The Roman Catholics are the only sect, who are fond of speaking the Irish language, and with them too, it is wearing off very much.
1802	Leitrim (James McParlan)	The use of the English language is quite general in this county; very few of the old people who don't speak it; the children are all sent to school; any of the them addressed in Irish will always answer in English.
1802	Kilkenny (William Tighe)	English being taught at all schools, it is understood by most of the younger part of the lower classes, but there are many persons and particularly women in the hilly districts, who cannot speak a word of English; in the hills of Idagh, English is said to be tolerably well spoken. The common people seldom speak any other language among themselves; but Irish is more prevalent about Kilkenny and near Munster, than near the Co. of Carlow. The priests often preach alternately in Irish and English; but always in Irish, if they are desirous to be well understood.
1802	Down (Rev. John Dubourdieu)	The English language is so general that every person speaks it; but notwithstanding the Irish language is much used in the mountainous parts.
1802	Meath (Rbt. Thompson)	The English language is pretty generally in use through out the County, and we very seldom meet with any person, who is not capable of speaking it with some degree of fluency ... if they have a story to tell or a complaint to make, they still wish to be heard in Irish.
1802	Cavan (Sir Charles Coote)	The English language is entirely spoken indeed very few of the lower order understand the Irish tongue.

1804	Armagh (Sir Charles Coote)	The English tongue has long been the general language of the county, and is firmly established.
1807	Wexford (Robert Fraser)	In the barony of Fort or Forth, about 50 yrs ago the descendants of this colony, spoke the Anglo-Saxon language in considerable purity, a vocabulary of which was collected by that assiduous and learned illustrator of Irish antiquities, General Vallancey, and published in the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. The inhabitants still speak, amongst one another, a dialect of the Saxon mixed with English, and have no Irish whatever.
1807	Kildare (Thomas James Rawson)	From its vicinity to the capital, the English language is very general, and the Irish seldom used. The regiment of Glengarry, Scotch fencibles, who spoke with correctness the ancient Celtic, though they understood the corrupt Irish spoken by the natives, could scarcely make themselves intelligible to them.
1808	Clare (Hely Dutton)	That the English language is increasing, it may be necessary to observe, that the children of almost all those, who can speak scarcely any thing but Irish, are proud of being spoken to in English, and answering in the same, even though you may question them in Irish. No Irish is spoken in any of the schools, and the peasantry are anxious to send their children to them for the purpose of learning English. I am informed very little pure Irish is spoken in this county, the present language being a jargon of Irish and English; therefore the sooner it is forgotten the better. The encouragement of schools by the distribution of good books, at a low price, (not gratis) with ink and paper, would in a few years do wonders in making the English language become general.
1812	Antrim (Rev. John Dubourdieu)	All speak English and the descendants of the first Scotch settlers speak also a dialect of the Celtic, said to be a mixture of the highland language and that, which the ancient Irish inhabitants spoke, but it is not easily understood by those, who speak either Erse or Irish well.
1814	A Stat. Account or Parochial Survey of Irl Vols. I-III (Wm.Shaw Mason) Vol. I Ennistymon	
1814	Maghera (Wm. Shaw Mason)	
1814	A Stat. Account (Wm. Shaw Mason)	

	Vol. II Kilrush	
	Kilmore	English is the language spoken by the people in general; they all indeed understand Irish, but it is not so much used among them as formerly.
1814	A Stat. Account (Wm. Shaw Mason) Vol. III Wexford	-
1814	Wm. Shaw Mason Vol. III Rathcline	
1815	General & Statistical Survey of the County of Cork (Rev. Horatio Townsend)	Irish is the language in which the common people usually converse ... English is most spoken in towns and villages, where almost every inhabitant understands it, as do the better order of farmers in general.
1819	Survey of Tullaroan (Wm. Shaw Mason)	The decline of the Irish language is due to two principal causes; first the hedge schools, where English alone is taught, and secondly the necessity imposed upon the country people of speaking English in all trafficking .... so anxious are the people to speak it (English) in the country, that the mountain farmers who cannot speak English, and who send their children to hedge schools, will scarcely allow them to speak Irish when at home. Irish will thus soon fall into disuse in the south, probably also in most parts of Ireland.
1824	A Stat. & Agric. Survey of Galway (Hely Dutton)	To the west of Galway, the inhabitants do not wish that their children should learn English, as they say, from their almost daily intercourse with the town of Galway, the girls would be seduced frequently by the soldiers and the sons tempted to enlist in the army.
1832	Stat. Survey of the County of the County of Roscommon (Isaac Weld)	English is the language spoken by the people in general; they all understand Irish but it is not so much used among them as formerly.
c.1833	Stat. Survey of the County of Tipperary Ms. 8146-8147. (Wm. S. Mason)	

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VII Newspapers and Journals

VIII Pamphlets

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