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William Allingham in his Contexts

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Trinity College, Dublin, 2012



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Summary

This thesis examines the work of William Allingham within its social, cultural and historical contexts in order to clarify the true influences behind the Donegal poet's poems and ballads and the driving force behind his essays and articles. Allingham's early Irish landscape poems contained in *Poems* (1850) and *The Music Master, A Love Story; and Two Series of Day and Night Songs* (1855), and his efforts to establish his distinctiveness in England through a common Celticism often inspired by Irish landscape painting are assessed - as is the impact of the Famine, which makes its presence felt in the states and images of marginality described in his early poems.

Acknowledging his witnessing of the suffering of the Donegal peasantry, both during the Famine and at the hands of ruthless landlords, the thesis argues that Allingham consequently empathised with the colonised peoples of the Empire who likewise found themselves unfairly treated under British rule. Noting the first appearance of the Ulster's poet's anti-imperialist stance in "Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads" (1852) and in the later *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland: A Modern Poem* (1864), it demonstrates how Allingham's anti-imperialist position hardened during the penning of *Rambles for Fraser's Magazine* (1867-77) and explains why it reached a climax during his editorship of *Fraser's* from 1874 – 79, a period when his ideas and beliefs were often cognate with those of Irish nationalism.

The thesis further asserts that, due to his somewhat isolated position as a married man and father in Surrey, following his resignation from *Fraser's* in 1879, Allingham sought release from a rural middle-class lifestyle by critiquing it in his poems and by turning his attention again to Ireland. It argues that his later Irish poems, together with his earlier Irish poems and ballads and his poems concerned with the supernatural, in turn influenced the young W. B. Yeats in whose early poems Allingham's verses, love of place, beckoning supernatural and uncanny voices live on.

In paying close attention to Allingham's poems, ballads and prose, the thesis deems that, despite the fact that Allingham was often a poor judge and editor of his own work, he created many fine poems and essays – works that should be taken into consideration in any study of nineteenth century Irish writing in English. Acknowledging the diverse influence of such poets, artists and thinkers as Alfred Tennyson, William Wordsworth, George Crabbe, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Samuel Ferguson, George Petrie and Thomas Davis on his poems, Allingham's finest poems and ballads are found, nonetheless, to be those that were influenced either by the Donegal landscape or by the Irish ballad tradition.

Introduction

It is a hard responsibility to be a stranger;
to hear your speech sounding at odds with your neighbours;
holding your tongue from quick comparisons;
remembering that you are a guest in the house.

Often you will regret the voyage,
wakening in the dark night to recall that other place
or glimpsing the moon rising and recollecting
that it is also rising over named hills,
shining on known waters.

From "The Search", by John Hewitt¹

William Allingham was born on 19 March, 1824, in Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal. One of five children, he had little in common with his siblings. His mother, whom he could only recollect as an invalid, died when he was nine years old. His father soon remarried, but suffering from ill-health and told by his doctor that he might die, he removed Allingham from school at age fourteen and found him a place in the bank at Ballyshannon. After seven years service in a job he did not like, he was offered, and accepted, a job in the Customs Service in 1846. He was transferred on a number of occasions, serving as a Customs official in Donegal, Ballyshannon, Ramsey, Coleraine and New Ross. Often lonely and suffering intellectual isolation in Ireland, he established literary and intellectual friendships by post with many of the leading thinkers and writers of his time, including Leigh Hunt, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Samuel Ferguson, Thomas Carlyle, and Alfred Tennyson. From 1847 onwards he made frequent visits to London where he met in person not only those with whom he had corresponded by post, but through them, many of the other artists and literati of

the day. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, however, was to become his closest London friend.

Allingham's first volume of poems, *Poems*, was published in 1850. It sold only forty copies. Disappointed with its reception, Allingham turned to the local ballad tradition, penning broadside ballads and distributing them anonymously in Ballyshannon. Still insecure over his lack of formal education, he also contemplated attending a university. Ultimately, however, a literary career in London beckoned, and in 1854 the poet gave up his job in the Customs Service to try his hand at higher journalism. The attempt ended in failure. He did not find himself suited to journalism, which left him little time for his own creative work.

The first series of *Day and Night Songs* was published in pamphlet form in 1854. Allingham returned to work in the Customs in Ireland following his London sojourn and, in 1855, republished the first series of *Day and Night Songs* in *The Music Master, a Love Story; and Two Series of Day and Night Songs*. This collection also included, for the first time, Allingham's broadside ballads in volume form. The poet turned his attention to production of a poetry anthology with the publication of *Nightingale Valley: A Collection Including a Great Number of the Choicest Lyrics and Short Poems in the English Language* in 1860.² An American volume of his lyrical poems and ballads – again entitled *Poems* but made up largely of the poems included in *The Music Master* – appeared in 1861. A second attempt to settle in London in 1862 – this time as a

Customs Official at the London docks – failed. The poet returned briefly to Ballyshannon. Already engaged in writing his long poem *Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland* for *Fraser's Magazine* (the title of the volume editions of 1864, 1869 and 1888, would read as *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland*, a spelling which this thesis shall adhere to unless, as in Chapter Two, directly referencing the poem as it appeared in *Fraser's*), he received his final transfer within the Customs in 1863, this time to Lymington in Hampshire.

Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland appeared in twelve instalments in *Fraser's* from November 1862 to November 1863. It was emended by the author and, as alluded to above, reissued in volume form as *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland* in 1864 – a year that also saw the publication of Allingham's *The Ballad Book: A Selection of the Choicest British Ballads*. Anxious, apparently, to refocus his attention on his lyrical poems, *Fifty Modern Poems* was published in 1865. Allingham's father died in 1866 and after attending his funeral, the poet never returned to Ireland again. The first article of his "Rambles" series for *Fraser's Magazine* was published in 1867. Consisting of twenty travelogues – mainly of Britain but including two Irish and two French rambles – it appeared sporadically in the magazine until 1877.

The poet finally resigned from the Customs Service in 1870, to become sub-editor of *Fraser's Magazine*, where he succeeded James Anthony Froude as editor in 1874. In the same year he married the watercolour artist, Helen

Paterson. The couple had three children, and following Allingham's resignation from *Fraser's* in 1879 the family moved to Witley, Surrey. Several more volumes of poems were to follow, including *Songs, Ballads and Stories* (1877), *Evil May-Day* (1882), *Blackberries* (1884), a new version of *Day and Night Songs* (1884), *Irish Songs and Poems* (1887), and *Life and Phantasy* (1889).

Allingham died, following an illness, on 18 November, 1889. He had already, however, completed a six-volume collection of his work for publication, of which *Irish Songs and Poems* and *Life and Phantasy* form a part. The other volumes of the series include *Rhymes for the Young Folk* (1887), *Flower Pieces and Other Poems* (1888), *Laurence Bloomfield; or, Rich and Poor in Ireland* (1888) and *Thought and Word, and Ashby Manor: A Play in Two Acts* (1890). The poet's collected travelogues and essays, likewise edited and amended for publication before his death, were finally published, in three volumes, in *Varieties in Prose* in 1893. *William Allingham: A Diary*, edited by Helen Allingham and Dolly Radford, was published in 1907. Heavily edited and selectively drawn from Allingham's many journals, it also includes the first passages of the poet's unfinished autobiography, together with conversations with Tennyson and Carlyle. *Letters to William Allingham*, again edited by Helen Allingham, together with E. Baumer Williams, followed in 1911.

Allingham's diary, letters, travelogues, later essays and poems attest that, although he left Ireland in 1863, he was often preoccupied with Ireland and Irish

affairs. The Donegal landscape and the poverty and suffering he had witnessed, both during and after the Famine, remained alive in his mind, accounting, no doubt, for his anti-imperialism and his increasing disillusionment with English capitalism from the 1860s onwards. The final two stanzas of a poem – otherwise concerned with the poet’s distaste for Christian dogmatism and proselytism – published in *Good Words* in March 1870, reveal just how deeply the image of the poverty-stricken Irish peasant was ingrained in Allingham’s psyche:

Then my dream shifted somehow, and became
Different; and yet the things were still the same
 A lonely hut on a moor;
 A white-beard Man and poor;
Wind in the crannies whistling and sighing;
Embers dying, red in the gloom,
Sending a sluggish bleary fume
To eddy round the rotten thatch;
And the beetles and centipedes ran about
 From the holes in the floor;
 And the rickety door
 Stirr’d its latch
At the push of some creature sniffing without.

 ‘Twas near midnight,
 The falling flake
Had turn’d the black moor deathly white,
When this Old Man mutter’d, half-awake,
“I am supreme over every King-
My talisman’s greater than Solomon’s Ring-
All wisdom and power to me belong!”
And the fire went out as he croon’d his lingering song.
 Ice-cold grew his feet;
 All his limbs lost heat;
 His brain ceased to think,
 His eyes ceased to wink,
 His heart ceased to beat;
His jaw fell, but his forehead kept a frown.
Louder the wind began to blow,
 And blew the hovel down,
 And hid the corpse in snow.³

The powerlessness experienced by the old man of the poem was a powerlessness Allingham had experienced when confronted with the poverty of the Irish rural poor. His consequent anger at England's treatment of Ireland, already expressed in *Laurence Bloomfield*, would only grow stronger during the final years of his life. That anger was perhaps exacerbated by Allingham's dissatisfaction with English life and society during this period. Contemplating his final release, he requested that, following his death, his remains be cremated and his ashes sent back to Donegal. He was cremated, with no religious service, at Woking. The urn containing his ashes is buried in the churchyard at Ballyshannon.

I

The ensuing observation, with regard to the assessment and interpretation of literary works, was found in one of Allingham's notebooks, by his widow, Helen, after his death:

I cannot agree with those who argue that a literary work is best considered unconnected with the writer of it. There is no such thing as abstract literary work. To know the vital conditions under which an important book came into being would always be of great interest and value. I am not in the least thinking of gossipers and interviewers, whose details are usually altogether misleading. For me the book called *Shakespeare's Works* would be vastly increased in interest if I could know more of the man Shakespeare.⁴

This thesis attempts to satisfy Allingham's desire that the "literary work" should be considered in the various contexts of the writer's life (as the title indicates), by examining "the vital conditions" under which his poetry and prose came into

being. In doing so, it hopes to present a more thorough portrait of the motivating forces behind his finer poems, ballads, and essays than has heretofore been presented and, in particular, to shed new light on Allingham's anti-imperialism. The Donegal poet's writings are hence examined throughout this study in their historical, social, and cultural contexts.

Alan Warner correctly observed that Allingham's "best work is dispersed".⁵ That this is so has, up to now, deterred literary critics from assessing the poet's finer lyrical poems and essays. Yet John Hewitt's assessment of Allingham, in his very fine introduction to *The Poems of William Allingham*, is as relevant today as it was thirty-four years ago:

[...] he stands squarely in the great nineteenth-century radical tradition of Ruskin and Morris; compared with him, all but a very few of the eminent literary men of the period must appear politically naïve and blandly unaware of the nature and dynamics of their society.⁶

The real Allingham – rather than the Pre-Raphaelite imitator so frequently put forward in reviews of his poems⁷ – is thus given back his dissenting voice in this thesis, and his struggle, as a middle-class Irish poet of Protestant birth, to find an Irish tradition from which to write, examined. Furthermore, believing a study of the poems, travelogues, and essays penned during the poet's years in England, together with an examination of the true extent of his influence on both W. B. Yeats's early poems and his 1891 novella *John Sherman*, long overdue, this study sets out to fill that void.

Allingham was a poor judge and editor of his own work but, as we shall see, his finer lyrical poems – many of which remain unknown – more than compensate for his less than successful work. His journey as a writer is, moreover, a particularly interesting one to examine within the context of nineteenth century Irish literature in English. Anticipating Yeats, Allingham had difficulty in reconciling “within himself his ‘Anglo’ and his Irish selves,”⁸ and while equally influenced by English writers – especially George Crabbe, William Wordsworth, and Tennyson – in his Irish years simultaneously sought out an Irish tradition in poetry and ballad-writing from which to write. He accordingly immersed himself in the Irish street ballad tradition, the ideas and ideals of Thomas Davis, the paintings of Irish artists such as George Petrie, and the poetry of Samuel Ferguson, while still continuing his study and perusal of English literature. Already influenced by Tennyson’s word-music, the long vowel sounds of the Gaelic language (introduced into Irish ballads in English by bilingual balladeers) and of Hiberno-English enriched the musicality of his work, while Crabbe’s satiric portraits added insight to poems such as “George Levison; or, the Schoolfellow” (1857), and *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland* (1864). The painterly images of Irish landscape art, moreover, vivified those poems already inspired by a Donegal landscape.

Yet the poet’s anxiety to win the hearts of both English and Irish readers alike, that he might make his living from his pen, ultimately led to cultural confusion: as a non-nationalist he found it no easy task to express his cultural

distinctiveness on both islands. The difficulties Allingham experienced, as a middle-class Irish Victorian writer writing in English, were compounded, moreover, by the fact that he lived through the Great Famine. As Coast Officer of Customs in Donegal, he had experienced at firsthand the relief efforts of the Customs Service and the mass emigration from his country, yet he could not directly describe the scenes he had witnessed for fear of alienating his English readership. Accordingly, many of the early Irish poems allude to the Famine indirectly and are filled with images that reflect Allingham's status as onlooker to the crisis. A similar fear of offending his English readership is found in those early poems that are influenced by Irish landscape art. Shying away from nationalism, in these pieces Allingham attempted to create a common Celticism shared by Ireland, Scotland, and Wales within the Union. In common with his other Irish poems they signify the difficulties the non-nationalist, nineteenth century Irish poet faced in trying to appeal to the culturally diverse reading audience of the United Kingdom, marking his early work as important in any study of nineteenth century Irish writing in English. With the exception of "The Fairies", Allingham's early Irish poems have, however, been largely ignored by contemporary critics. It is to these poems, therefore, that Chapter One turns its attention.

II

Despite the lack of attention paid to the aforementioned poems by contemporary critics, recent appraisals of the "The Fairies" make for thought-

provoking reading. Present-day critics have tended to examine Allingham's poem for children in a post-colonial context. No longer are "William Allingham's fairies [...] of English origin",⁹ or, "a stage-Irish supernatural [...] 'wee folk'".¹⁰ Perhaps overly-determined to make of it an Irish poem, these readings reveal Allingham's fairies to be the "*aes sídhe*, the 'fairy' or 'gentle' folk",¹¹ creatures of "a contiguous world, a world coterminous with our own, into and out of which some may move".¹² As inhabitants of "rocky shores" and "liminal locations",¹³ they are "like Whiteboys or ousted Celts translated into dream-terms".¹⁴ Such interpretations by Paul Muldoon, Joep Leerssen, and Matthew Campbell, while they do not take into account the influence of Thomas Keightley's *Fairy Mythology* (1828), the ballad history that lies behind the poem, or the famine images that pervade it, nonetheless reveal a darker side to the work and open up new possibilities behind what, on the surface, reads as a poem for children.

The obvious influence of the poem on Yeats's "The Stolen Child", has, of course, been noted.¹⁵ Yet, interestingly, it is generally Ferguson, not Allingham, who is considered Yeats's greatest influence¹⁶— a theory that this thesis, while recognising Ferguson's influence, will dispute. Critics such as Richard J. Finneran and Peter Denman have, for example, looked to Ferguson's "The Fairy Thorn" as an influence on "The Stolen Child" without acknowledging the influence of "The Fairies".¹⁷ In that "The Fairy Thorn" concerns a fairy abduction, Finneran and Denman's comparisons can be considered fair, but the fact that

they do not take account of Allingham's poem as an equal, or greater, influence on "The Stolen Child" leaves their argument imbalanced.

Their neglect only serves to add further weight to the erroneous theses of critics who argue that "the Celtic Twilight" was born with Ferguson. Malcolm Brown has even gone so far as to state that Ferguson was the "inventor of the Celtic Twilight"¹⁸ when – the influence of the Romantics on the Celtic Twilight school and the contribution of poets such as George Russell (AE) aside – Allingham, in fact, wrote many more twilight poems than Ferguson. (There are, for example, fourteen twilight poems in the "Day and Night Songs" section of *Flower Pieces and Other Poems* – a selection which Yeats recommended to readers in his review of 1891.)¹⁹ We know that Ferguson influenced Yeats's choice of subject matter, or more correctly, to quote John Frayne, that he gave "Yeats an enthusiasm for the poetic possibilities of the old Celtic legends".²⁰ Ferguson's translations, and his works on Irish legend, were, after all, largely responsible for Yeats's repeated assertion that Allingham was in "no way national"²¹ and lacked an epic aim. But this thesis will argue that, because Yeats empathised with Allingham's love of place and repeated concern with the world of the supernatural in his poems, it is Allingham's West of Ireland settings, Allingham's states of marginality, that the young Yeats used as his literary loadstone when he strove to write out of a living Irish folk tradition tinted with a Celtic picturesque imbued with a mystical Irish otherness. That Allingham is not even mentioned in Roy Foster's recently published *Words Alone: Yeats and his*

Inheritances makes the task a pressing one. As A. Norman Jeffares correctly observed in his 1980 essay, "Yeats, Allingham and the Western Fiction".²²

Just as James Thomson's The Seasons modestly anticipated the greater creative achievement of Wordsworth's evocation of nature, so Allingham's modest verse anticipates Yeats's greater poetry.²³

III

While earlier critics did turn their attention to Allingham's other poems – with M. L. Howe praising Allingham's very fine "Aeolian Harp" series of poems in 1933,²⁴ and Terence Brown and Warner later commending the clarity of Allingham's writing in "George Levison, or the Schoolfellow"²⁵ – close readings of these poems, or insights on their symbolism and possible genesis, do not exist. Moreover, the relation that exists between Allingham's ballads, "George Levison", and *Laurence Bloomfield* has not, to date, been considered and is accordingly examined in Chapter Two, together with Thomas Davis's influence upon the Irish ballads and *Laurence Bloomfield*, which has similarly gone unnoticed. Paying attention to the language and character portraits of the ballads, "George Levison" and *Laurence Bloomfield*, the chapter also builds upon Linda K. Hughes's and Campbell's very fine studies of *Laurence Bloomfield* by examining the change of tone and sentiment in the poem's later chapters within the context of Allingham's move to England.

Much attention has been paid to Allingham's Irish ballads by Irish critics. In observing that many of Allingham's "best short poems have the movement of

song”,²⁶ Warner, in his 1973 monograph, perhaps provides a key to his own preference for, and subsequent superior analysis of, the ballads.²⁷ His study in this area leaves the reader with new questions to consider regarding the influence of the Irish folk tradition upon Allingham’s work, and fills in the knowledge gaps surrounding the singing of Allingham’s ballads by local people and the history of such songs as “The Winding Banks of Erne”.²⁸ Finally, his pronouncement that Allingham’s “broadside ballads [...] pioneered a mode that was later to be taken up by several writers of the Irish literary revival, such as Yeats, Colum, and Joseph Campbell”,²⁹ serves to accentuate Allingham’s status as a writer of influence within Irish literary history.

Chief among other noteworthy critiques of Allingham’s ballads are those by Hugh Shields,³⁰ J. Lyle Donaghy,³¹ and Robert Farren.³² Shields, as the only critic to consult Allingham’s manuscript book, presents the most informed study. An expert on folk song, his assertions that, “Allingham was from early days a connoisseur” of “the old ballad genre”,³³ and his “feeling for the ancient ballad style has few rivals in English”,³⁴ should be taken into account in any assessment of Allingham’s ballad-writing. His essay also proves of value, moreover, with regard to the publishing history of the poet’s broadsides.

Donaghy and Farren, while their studies are less comprehensive, present well-supported arguments for Allingham’s mastery of the ballad-form. However, anticipating Campbell’s thesis that Allingham’s writing was enhanced by his

association with the Pre-Raphaelites, Donaghy, without considering Allingham's Irish street ballad collection and his constant contact with local ballad singers and attendance at local ballad fairs, perhaps too hastily suggests that, "Allingham's close connection with the Pre-Raphaelites probably contributed to deepen his natural interest in folk life and tradition and in the ballad."³⁵ Nevertheless, he makes a fair point when, referring to Allingham's all-inclusive studies of the ballad, he notes that his interest "was both local and national, and universal."³⁶ Farren again deals with the issue of language in the ballads and turns his attention to "The Girl's Lamentation". That Allingham's use of language within the ballad was a success, he makes clear: "if Donegal spinners were to spin to new versions the wording must be suited; the English must be such as they spoke, or not too unlike it."³⁷ His conclusion regarding the worth of "The Girl's Lamentation" that, "he ensured its preservation and preserved its simplicity"³⁸ reinforces evidence of Allingham's expertise within the confines of this form. For those who were fond of citing Allingham's desire to be an English, rather than an Irish poet, however, the last word on Allingham's ballads must go to Yeats: "It is well to remember these broad sheets, for they prove his genuine wish to be considered an Irish poet, and not a mere cosmopolitan choosing his themes from Ireland."³⁹

IV

The sharpest and most thorough critiques of Allingham's work have, despite Yeats's lack of enthusiasm for the poem,⁴⁰ been carried out on *Laurence*

Bloomfield. Chief among those who, in the past, have critiqued *Laurence Bloomfield* for its historical value are Alfred Perceval Graves,⁴¹ Alison O'Reilly,⁴² and Séan McMahon.⁴³ The most detailed survey of the poem as an historical document is that undertaken by Alison O'Reilly. While O'Reilly makes some valid points concerning the historical accuracy of the poem and correctly argues that *Laurence Bloomfield*, "has been consistently overlooked and under-valued by critics",⁴⁴ she also takes this opportunity to air her views on Irish politics in general. This weakens the relevance of her evaluation.⁴⁵ Her generalisations concerning Irish history and politics, her reading of *Laurence Bloomfield* as prophetic, and her description of the politics of *Laurence Bloomfield* as "conservative",⁴⁶ are both inaccurate and uncalled-for. Although obviously not intended as such, they cast a slur on Allingham's "anti-imperialism"⁴⁷ and his belief in peasant proprietorship – a belief which, as Hewitt and Brown have noted, was "radical"⁴⁸ for its time. Her biased views invalidate her arguments and negate her authority in any serious study of *Laurence Bloomfield*.

The most insightful analyses of *Laurence Bloomfield* have come from critics such as Warner, T. Brown, Hughes and Campbell. These critiques, while recognising the historical value of the poem, pay close attention to Allingham's use of language and powers of description and dialogue in the poem, thus assessing its strengths and weaknesses as a literary work. Although some rate the poem as being of greater importance to Irish literature in English than others, all of the aforementioned critics are agreed that, despite its weaknesses, the

verse in *Laurence Bloomfield* has, on occasions, “an authority, seriousness and weight that appears but rarely” in Allingham’s “other writings”.⁴⁹

Warner and Brown draw similar conclusions at times with regard to the strengths and weaknesses of Allingham’s verse-writing.⁵⁰ Both concur, for example, on the poet’s powers of observation and on the painterly qualities of his descriptive writing – for good or for ill. Both conclude that the writing in the account of the Ribbon Lodge is weak. If comparisons can be drawn between similarities of response in their assessment of the poem, however, there is a marked difference to be found in the writing styles of the two critics and in their methods of interpretation. Warner is more speculative than Brown.⁵¹ His assessment of the work itself is also unsatisfactory at times. Brown’s argument regarding the moving force behind the poem is stronger. He cites Allingham’s liberalism as both the strengthening and weakening agent in his depiction within the poem of the “political problems that faced the country”,⁵² and rightly concurs with Hewitt that, in his desire for peasant proprietorship, Allingham ultimately belongs to a radical tradition. Warner, on the other hand, shies away from politics. Allingham’s desire for peasant proprietorship is stated without considering its ideological genesis or its radical implication. Further, he attributes the poem’s “underlying strength” to Allingham’s “emotions”,⁵³ which weakens his argument. In tracing the source of the writing back to Allingham’s emotions he sentimentalises him. Nor is he prepared to carry out an assessment and analysis of the poem’s weaknesses. He glosses over them.⁵⁴

Despite these failings, Warner does provide the reader with a lot of factual information and offer insightful remarks on the strength of Allingham's writing when depicting "the state of the countryside".⁵⁵ Furthermore, he makes an astute observation on the disparity between the poet's lyrical poems, with their "mostly feminine qualities of musical sweetness, grace and charm",⁵⁶ and the "realistic scenes" and "character sketches" of *Laurence Bloomfield*, with their obviously "masculine qualities".⁵⁷ Nevertheless, although Brown is more critical of the work in general, his readiness to engage with Allingham's beliefs, and to assess how Allingham's painterly style of writing weakens the plot-line of the poem, provides a more thorough and intelligent analysis overall.

V

More recent analyses of *Laurence Bloomfield* focus on the poem in fresh but disparate ways, ways that serve to enhance Allingham's status as the author of a "quite astonishing long poem".⁵⁸ As mentioned above, the chief studies undertaken have been those by Hughes and Campbell, with Hughes paying close attention to the publication history of the poem and arguing that its original issuance in twelve monthly instalments makes it "a far more radical poem than [...] the whole-volume edition."⁵⁹ This is an interesting study, one which opens new avenues of investigation and poses new questions for the researcher of Allingham's work. There is certainly merit in Hughes's reading of the implications of the poem in this light. That the endorsement of "reform of the extant power

structure” in the last two chapters of the poem⁶⁰ was delayed, due to its monthly publication, must surely, as Hughes has asserted, have left the Victorian reader posing many questions of her or his own regarding Irish affairs, and engendered a fuller understanding of “the perspective and values of the Irish tenantry”.⁶¹ Hughes’s argument that the serialised version is more “radical” than the whole-volume edition is, however, as we shall see in Chapter Two, questionable. Nonetheless, her inclusion of a notice regarding the sixth part of the poem, “Lough Braccan”, originally published in the *Guardian* on April 1, 1863, adds to our knowledge of how the serialised poem was received in England. The language and tone of the review clearly reveal the unease it caused among English reviewers.⁶²

It would be fair to say that Campbell’s studies⁶³ on *Laurence Bloomfield* present the most important contemporary assessment of Allingham’s long poem. In paying close attention to the form of the poem, Campbell is the first critic to note that “*Laurence Bloomfield* works in two poetic registers, English and Irish, in the English language”.⁶⁴ It is, accordingly, an assessment which this thesis endorses. His analysis of “the narration of the state of mind”⁶⁵ of Neal Doran before he joins the Ribbon Lodge, in Book VI, where he notes that Allingham “breaks the metre with an unstressed syllable and late pause [...] allowing in the anapaestic roll which matches the quickening Gaelic metre”,⁶⁶ is both perceptive and enlightening.

In a later essay included in *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature: Vol 1 to 1890*, Campbell comments that,

Not only does *Laurence Bloomfield* picture Ireland between the famine and the rise of Parnell in frequently harrowing detail, it also suggests an Irish verse form open to the varying currents of Victorian poetry and culture, pre-Raphaelite and realist as much as Celtic: its subtitle is *A Modern Poem*. *Laurence Bloomfield* is the one successful formal break from the lyrics which dominate the Irish mode.⁶⁷

After decades wherein doubt was cast over the value of many of Allingham's poems by Irish reviewers who found fault with his echoing of English or pre-Raphaelite styles, it is refreshing to read a critic who not only allows for these influences but also stresses how Allingham incorporates the different strands of culture available to him within the poem.

The response of other contemporary critics, such as Justin Quinn, to Allingham's poems – and to *Laurence Bloomfield* in particular – is puzzling. Quinn's decision to virtually ignore Allingham's attempts to write within an Irish tradition – both in his Irish ballads and in *Laurence Bloomfield* – and to speak openly and honestly about England's mistreatment of Ireland while proposing a solution to the land question, may have been prompted, in part, by Allingham's address to his readership in the preface to the second edition of *Laurence Bloomfield* (1869):

Seven centuries are nearly finished since the political connexion began between England and Ireland; and yet Ireland remains to this hour not a well-known country to the general British public. To do something, however, small, towards making it better understood, is the aim of this little book.⁶⁸

That Allingham states on this occasion that the poem was written for an English readership perhaps leaves him open to misinterpretation. But his statement appears to have been a half-truth: he was undoubtedly also capitalising on the Irish people's "antagonism towards the existing agrarian order"⁶⁹ and the consequent concentration by Irish newspapers of the 1850s and 1860s on the Irish land system, and "questions of tenancy, land ownership and landlord-tenant relations."⁷⁰ Quinn has, accordingly, marginalised Allingham within the canon of Irish literature by describing him as a "Unionist" writer.⁷¹ Relying wholly on the poet's eight-line description of the "Kelt" in the later, and weaker, Chapter XI – and apparently missing the ironic tone created by the enjambed first line and the caesura in the second line of the couplet: "He looks with somewhat of a childlike trust/ To those above him, if they're kind and just"⁷² – Quinn claims that Allingham "wishes to assure the English reader that the true Irishman, if treated well, will be an adornment of the Empire, and not the thorn in its side."⁷³ As an anti-imperialist, Allingham clearly did not envision the Irishman as "an adornment of the Empire". Like Bloomfield he "Small nations to conglomerates"⁷⁴ preferred and "nowise" allowed that "there is any natural incapacity in Irishmen to govern Ireland".⁷⁵ Fearing that Ireland's taking "absolute control of things" without preparation, "would be to confer an evil gift indeed",⁷⁶ he called for an economic and intellectual partnership between Ireland and England, "mutually learning and teaching many things, marching together in the vanguard of human progress"⁷⁷ until such time as Ireland was prepared for, and educated in, "the principles" of "self-government".⁷⁸

Had Quinn read Allingham's many travelogues and essays he might have drawn very different conclusions over his political sympathies. But "Irish Street Singers and Irish Street Ballads" aside, Allingham's prose has generally faded into oblivion. Chapter Three thus examines Allingham's series of travelogues, *Rambles* (1867-1877), while Chapter Four concerns itself with Allingham's editorship of *Fraser's* and his essays and poems published in the magazine during that period. Studied in conjunction with the poet's poems and ballads, Allingham's travelogues and essays throw light on his literary intent and refute accusations by still earlier critics, such as Taylor, Ernest Boyd, and Lionel Johnston, that Allingham's literary ambition "was to be entirely and essentially English",⁷⁹ or that he "had an entirely English distrust for the Anglo-Irish idiom",⁸⁰ and was "nothing of an Irish scholar, able to draw inspiration from Gaelic literature".⁸¹ As Graves argued in Allingham's defence in 1908:

Allingham has not been done justice to [...] He is spoken of as no Irish scholar and therefore unable to draw inspiration from Gaelic literature. Allingham's essays distinctly show that he was a student of Gaelic literature, even to the extent of wading through *The Four Masters*.⁸²

Moreover, there is a haunting beauty in many of the travelogues: the valuable insights they offer into the writer's character and beliefs and his changing views on Ireland over the years aside, collectively they present a vivid picture of the Victorian way of life of ordinary men and women. His Irish essays are of particular historical importance to a contemporary Irish reading audience, recording, as they do, a rural way of life that has long since disappeared.

Allingham's editorship of *Fraser's*, his year-long "Ivy-Leaves" series (1878), and those other essays published in the magazine during his term as editor, present a very different writer and thinker to the dreamy and sentimental pre-Raphaelite imitator who, as mentioned earlier, has repeatedly been made to represent the poet in past reviews of his lyrical poems. As we shall see in Chapter Four, Allingham's anti-imperialism and his anti-Empire sentiments, together with his disdain for the capitalist system, came to the fore during this five-year period – as did his non-Unionism and his tendency to share the beliefs of Irish nationalism with regard to Empire. Although not referring either to Allingham's editorship of *Fraser's* or to the prose or poems of this period, but to his Irish poems and ballads, Yeats's statement, in his 1891 review of Allingham's collected works, that "we have been wrong to neglect this man"⁸³ holds true. Having, some one hundred and sixteen years later, studied Allingham's writings, it is a belief from which this thesis was born. It is perhaps fitting, therefore, that the final chapter of this thesis should turn its attention to Allingham's influence on the young Yeats: it is in Yeats's early poems, after all, that the neglected Allingham lives on.

Notes

- ¹ John Hewitt, "The Search", *Poets from the North of Ireland* (ed) Frank Ormsby, p. 35.
- ² Signed "Giraldus", it was reprinted under his name in 1862.
- ³ Final two stanzas of "Two Dreams", "Dream the Second". *Good Words*, 11 (1870: Aug.) pp. 554 – 556, p. 556. Signed William Allingham. Republished as two separate poems, entitled "A Dream" and "Another Dream", in *Blackberries* (1884), pp. 40 – 43, pp. 42 – 43.
- ⁴ William Allingham, *By the Way: Verses, Fragments, and Notes*, p. 100.
- ⁵ Alan Warner, *William Allingham*, p. 58.
- ⁶ John Hewitt, *The Poems of William Allingham*, p. 16.
- ⁷ See, for example, M. L. Howe, "Notes on the Allingham Canon", *Philological Quarterly*, Vol XII (3 July 1933), pp. 290 – 297, pp. 291 – 92; Ifor Evans, *English Poetry in the Later Nineteenth Century*, p. 135; Ernest A. Boyd, *Ireland's Literary Renaissance*, p. 83.
- ⁸ G. J. Watson, *Irish Identity and the Literary Revival: Synge, Yeats, Joyce and O'Casey*, p. 31.
- ⁹ Stopford A. Brooke, Introduction to *A Treasury of Irish Poetry in the English Tongue*, p. xvi.
- ¹⁰ Loreto Todd, *The Language of Irish Literature*, p. 108.
- ¹¹ Paul Muldoon, *To Ireland, I*, p. 7.
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ Matthew Campbell, "Letting the Past be Past: The English Poet and the Irish Poem", *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol. 32, No. 1, p. 67.
- ¹⁴ Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 167.
- ¹⁵ See, for example, A. Norman Jeffares, "Yeats, Allingham and the Western Fiction", *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, Dec. 1980, Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 2 – 17, pp. 2 – 3; John P. Frayne, *Uncollected Prose by W. B. Yeats*, Vol. I, pp. 208 – 09; Matthew Campbell, "Letting the Past be Past: The English Poet and the Irish Poem", *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol 32, No. 1, p. 67, & Nicholas Grene, *Yeats's Poetic Codes*, p. 81.
- ¹⁶ See, for example, Mark Storey, *Poetry and Ireland Since 1800: A Source Book*, p. 32; Marjorie Howes, *Yeats's Nations: Gender, Class and Irishness*, pp. 25 – 28; Richard J. Finneran, *Yeats: An Annual of Critical and Textual Studies*, Vol. 12, pp. 90 – 93.
- ¹⁷ See Richard J. Finneran, *Yeats: An Annual of Critical and Textual Studies*, Vol. 12, p. 92, and Peter Denman, *Samuel Ferguson: The Literary Achievement*, p. 177.
- ¹⁸ Malcolm Brown, *Sir Samuel Ferguson*, p. 30.
- ¹⁹ W. B. Yeats, "A Poet We Have Neglected", *Uncollected Prose by W. B. Yeats*, Vol. I, pp. 208 – 12, pp. 211 – 12. First published *United Ireland*, Dec. 12, 1891.
- ²⁰ John Frayne, Introduction to *Uncollected Prose by W. B. Yeats*, Vol. I, p. 45.
- ²¹ W. B. Yeats, "The Poet of Ballyshannon", *Letters to the New Island*, pp. 74 – 78, p. 74. (First published in the *Providence Sunday Journal*, 2 September 1888.) See also "A Poet We Have Neglected", *Uncollected Prose by W. B. Yeats*, Vol. I, p. 212.
- ²² A. Norman Jeffares, "Yeats, Allingham and the Western Fiction", *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, Dec. 1980, Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 2 – 17.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- ²⁴ M. L. Howe, "Notes on the Allingham Canon", *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. XI, 1932, pp. 290 – 97, pp. 293 – 95.
- ²⁵ Terence Brown, "William Allingham: Cultural Confusion", *Northern Voices: Poets from Ulster*, pp. 42 – 54, p. 52, Alan Warner, *William Allingham*, p. 59.
- ²⁶ *William Allingham*, p. 39.
- ²⁷ Although Warner makes some incisive observations in his assessment of Allingham's early and later lyrics, his analysis of the ballads is altogether more thorough and informative. His argument with regard to Allingham's first collection *Poems* (1850) that, "we become aware that he lacks a central creative impulse and this lack is what keeps him a minor writer" (p. 29) is, for example, an important one, raising as it does new questions about the disparity between Allingham's finer poems and those which fall into the category of Victorian poesy. His further noting of the fact that the mood and mode of "A Dream" "was to be echoed frequently by Yeats in

his early poems" (p. 25) is also of relevance in any study of Allingham's work. However, Warner's praise of such cloyingly sweet poems as "The Wayside Well" and "Sweet Sunday Bells" is unhelpful – as is his bypassing of the "Aeolian Harp" series and poems of such haunting beauty as "Moonrise".

²⁸ Surmising that the ballad in question "must have been "The Winding Banks of Erne", Warner includes a post-script from a letter to Mrs Tom Taylor, wherein Allingham writes: "I enclose a local ballad of mine which has been sung in the street here [...] One day, finishing a letter for a woman to her daughter in America, I said: 'Is there anything more?' on which she pulled out a crumpled copy of the ballad. 'Aye, we'll send her this, and it might make her come home.' I should have said that the letter was an entreaty to her daughter to come home." (Warner, p. 34.)

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 34.

³⁰ Hugh Shields, "William Allingham and Folk Song", *Hermathena: A Dublin University Review*, No CXVII, pp. 23 – 36.

³¹ J. Lyle Donaghy, "William Allingham", *The Dublin Magazine*, April–June 1945, pp. 34 - 38.

³² Robert Farren, *The Course of Irish Verse in English*, pp. 47 - 53.

³³ *Hermathena: A Dublin University Review*, No CXVII, p. 27.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 23.

³⁵ *The Dublin Magazine*, April–June 1945, p. 34

³⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 34 - 35.

³⁷ *The Course of Irish Verse in English*, p. 51.

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 50.

³⁹ W. B. Yeats, "A Poet We Have Neglected", *Uncollected Prose by W. B. Yeats*, Vol I, (ed) John P. Frayne, p. 210.

⁴⁰ See "The Poet of Ballyshannon", *Letters to the New Island*, pp. 77 – 78. First published in the *Providence Sunday Journal*, 2 September 1888.

⁴¹ Alfred Perceval Graves, "William Allingham", *Irish Literary and Musical Studies*, pp. 70 – 100.

⁴² Alison O'Reilly, "Allingham's 'Laurence Bloomfield' – An Historical Document", *Donegal Annual*, Vol IV, No. 2, pp. 101 – 10.

⁴³ Séan McMahon, "The Boy from His Bedroom Window", *Éire-Ireland: A Journal of Irish Studies*, Vol 5, No. 2, Summer 1970, pp. 142 -153, p. 151 – 53.

⁴⁴ *Donegal Annual*, Vol IV, No. 2, p. 102.

⁴⁵ Astonishingly, O'Reilly is seemingly aware of the irony and imbalance at play within her own writing. Having early on stated that Allingham, "has a rare impartiality which reassures readers that his facts are trustworthy and that he is a competent historian" (p. 102.), she later adds:

In the light of subsequent events *Laurence Bloomfield* is not without elements of prophecy. The bloodshed that followed on Home Rule, the problem of Partition, the troublesome activities of the I.R.A. then and now, Éire's aloofness from Britain and international affairs and what is to many people her exclusiveness in general, certainly bring to mind Allingham's doubts about the good results of independence and justify to some extent his fear of Home Rule. ...it is a moot point whether the Irish are better off by themselves. (p. 109).

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 107.

⁴⁷ John Hewitt, *The Poems of William Allingham*, p. 16.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*.

⁴⁹ Terence Brown, *Northern Voices*, p. 48.

⁵⁰ See Alan Warner, *William Allingham*, pp. 43 – 55, and Terence Brown, *Northern Voices*, pp. 47 – 51.

⁵¹ One cannot but be puzzled, for instance, by Warner's decision to pose hypothetical questions in an appraisal of Allingham's work, such as, "Would he [Allingham] have felt more at one with the people of Ireland" if he had been born into a "Catholic family?" (*William Allingham*, p. 43.)

⁵² *Northern Voices*, p. 47.

⁵³ *William Allingham*, p. 55.

⁵⁴ A clear example of this tendency is to be found when Warner, having acknowledged "the large element of day-dream within the last two books" (*William Allingham*, pp. 50 - 51), fails to account

for this – simply stating that “despite this the story is an absorbing one.” (*William Allingham*, p. 51.)

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 51.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 55.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 53.

⁵⁸ Anthony Cronin, *Heritage Now: Irish Literature in the English Language*, p. 64.

⁵⁹ Linda K. Hughes, “The Poetics of Empire and Resistance: William Allingham’s *Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland*”, *Victorian Poetry*, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 103 – 117, p. 109.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 103.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 109.

⁶² *Ibid*, p. 110. “The subject is repulsive, nor is there anything in the style or diction to redeem it from vulgarity.” (*The Guardian*, April 1, 1863, p. 315.)

⁶³ Both in “Irish Poetry in the Union: William Allingham’s *Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland*”, *European Journal of English Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 298 – 313, and as part of his essay, “Poetry in English, 1830-1890: from Catholic emancipation to the fall of Parnell”, in *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature: Vol 1 to 1890*, pp. 500 - 543.

⁶⁴ *European Journal of English Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 306.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 307.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*.

⁶⁷ *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature: Vol 1 to 1890*, pp. 531 - 32.

⁶⁸ *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland: or, The New Landlord* (1869), Preface p. iii.

⁶⁹ R. V. Comerford, *The Fenians in Context*, p. 28.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*.

⁷¹ See Justin Quinn, *The Cambridge Introduction to Modern Irish Poetry, 1800-2000*, p. 43.

⁷² “Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland: A Modern Poem”, Ch XI, “Lord and Lady”, *Fraser’s Magazine*, 68: 405 (1863: Sept), pp. 364 – 74, p. 365.

⁷³ *The Cambridge Introduction to Modern Irish Poetry, 1800-2000*, p. 42.

⁷⁴ “Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland”, Ch XII, “Midsummer”, *Fraser’s Magazine*, 68: 407 (1863: Nov.), pp. 635 – 47, p. 637.

⁷⁵ *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland* (1869) Preface, p. vii.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. viii.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. ix.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. vii.

⁷⁹ Geoffrey Taylor, *Irish Poets of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 8.

⁸⁰ *Ireland’s Literary Renaissance*, p. 82.

⁸¹ Lionel Johnston, *A Treasury of Irish Poetry in the English Tongue*, p. 366.

⁸² Alfred Perceval Graves, *Irish Literary and Musical Studies*, p. 86.

⁸³ W. B. Yeats, “A Poet We Have Neglected”, *Uncollected Prose by W. B. Yeats*, Vol I, (ed) John P. Frayne, p. 210.

Chapter One

“The Early Irish Poems: States and Images of Marginality”

Where, seldom by an ear surprised,
The little stream soliloquised,
In songs and murmurs of delight,
Heard clearest of a starry night,
Amid the hush of all the hills.

Untitled, by William Allingham¹

The problems William Allingham encountered as a non-Catholic provincial Irish poet writing in English – hoping to impress an educated British and Irish readership with ballads and poems, and the Donegal peasantry with ballads set to music – resulted in his trying on of several different identities before his transfer within the Customs Service to Lymington, Hampshire, in 1863. Accordingly, there is evidence, in the poems of his *pre-Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland* period, of attempts to build his image as a poet writing within the Romantic tradition, as a local poet inspired by Irish art and the Donegal landscape, as a Celtic Poet, and as an Irish balladeer. In 1857 he would further attempt to sound the note of a respectable rural gentleman in “George Levison; or the School Fellows”², later imagining himself into the role of benevolent Irish landlord in the aforementioned *Laurence Bloomfield* (1864).³

Already an outsider in the Protestant community in Ballyshannon following his abandonment of the Protestant religion, due to his aversion to the “Theologian” whom he considered the “Chief Liar”,⁴ Allingham found himself equally marginal to his British readership following poor sales of his first volume;

Poems (1850).⁵ Subsequently trying his hand at Irish broadside ballads and seeking an audience in the Irish rural poor, *The Music Master: A Love Story, and Two Series of Day and Night Songs* (1855)⁶ – which includes his previously published broadside ballads – reveals the difficulties Allingham faced as a middle-class Irishman marginal to both the centre of the British literary world in London and to the Irish oral tradition. Seeking approval of his Irish ballads from an educated English readership and the Donegal peasantry alike, his frustration at being unable to communicate with both culturally distinct groups simultaneously is evident in the volume's preface which this chapter shall examine.

The chapter will, however, largely confine itself to Allingham's early Irish landscape poems contained in the aforementioned *Poems* and *The Music Master*, both compiled during the years of Allingham's greatest creative output from 1850-1855,⁷ and to his efforts to establish his distinctiveness in England through a common, and easily accessible, Celticism, in his case often inspired by Irish landscape painting. Attention will thereafter be turned to the poet's immersion in the Irish oral tradition and Irish ballads in Chapter Two. States and images of marginality in these early Irish landscape poems, suggesting Allingham's peripheral social and literary position in the Ireland of the Union, will be noted. It will be argued that these states and images mirror not only the poet's solitary status as an English-speaking, non-Catholic poet in Donegal, but also his sense of powerlessness regarding the Famine and the potential threat of an Irish revolution. The overthrow of King Louis Philippe in 1848 and "the

subsequent inauguration of a French republic”, had, after all, “created in Ireland as elsewhere the illusion that revolution was easy”,⁸ with Young Irelanders such as John Mitchel calling “repeatedly for instantaneous insurrection.”⁹

Having revealed how the Donegal landscape was the place – for the poet who believed, “that Nature is poetic: Nature [...] is a Poem, and every part of Nature”¹⁰ – of his greatest inspiration, it will be argued that in looking directly to this landscape Allingham created his most successful early poems. However, because almost all of the poems published in the 1850-55 period evade direct mention of the poverty, deaths, and threat of Ribbonism and violence during, and in the wake of, the Famine,¹¹ they will be seen to reflect both the poet’s suppression of the harrowing scenes he witnessed as Coast Officer of Customs and his fears of possible insurrection. Arguing that the landscape poems offered an escape for Allingham from the ugly rebarbateness of Irish life, it will describe how a division between life and landscape emerged in his poems. The “atmosphere of art”¹² that Allingham self-confessedly strove to incorporate in his verse will be found to pertain mainly to his landscape poems, with Irish life most often confined to the ballads, “George Levison; or, the Schoolfellows”, and the later *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland* - which will likewise be assessed in Chapter Two.

An amateur artist and art lover, whose poetry notebooks contained “beautiful colour effects”¹³ and “pen and pencil sketches”,¹⁴ Allingham was attracted to the art world all his life. Perhaps unsurprisingly then – his remapping

of the Donegal landscape aside – Irish landscape and topographical art proves to be one of the strongest Irish influences in his early poems. Images drawn from Petrie’s artwork, and the paintings of his fellow landscape artist, George Barret, are pervasive in such works as “Wayconnell Tower”¹⁵ and “The Ruined Chapel”¹⁶ where, echoing Edmund Burke’s theory of the sublime, the human life that appears on the landscape is made subservient to the vastness and timelessness of the scenery that negates its presence. Wishing his non-Catholic Irish status to be respected both in Ireland and England, Allingham often failed to include place-names or the names of local landmarks in such poems in order to stress a common Irish, Scottish and Welsh cultural heritage symbolised by picturesque ruins and found in remote seascapes uncontaminated by urban and industrial society. In so doing, and writing sixteen years in advance of Matthew Arnold’s *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (1866), it can be said that Allingham – also influenced by the Romantic cult of nature with its celebration of the Celtic “other” – was the originator of an easily accessible, passive and painterly Celticism shared by Ireland, Scotland and Wales within the Union.¹⁷ Unlike Ferguson, he evaded the ominous atmosphere and physicality of such poems as “The Fairy Thorn”,¹⁸ or the mythic and legendary themes of Ferguson’s later work. Devoid of characters with a history, or allusions to nationality, the unidentified countryside of his poems portrays a homogeneous Celtic landscape where national and cultural distinctiveness is lost. His efforts to please both an Irish and an English readership in this way, however, had its disadvantages. In denying the actuality of the countryside that had shaped him – whose every

“brook and waterfall”¹⁹ he knew – Allingham also experienced a weakening of his Irish identity.

It will be argued, furthermore, that collectively the landscape poems undermine Allingham’s attempt at a common Celticism. Repeated images of death, and of dying figures, arise in an often dark and depopulated post-Famine landscape. In the night poems included in both *Poems* and *The Music Master*, lone figures or small groups of people are either threatened by the darkness outside or are shut out from the security of a lighted room. Moreover, Irish life in general is made insecure by the presence of ghosts and the power of the sea. In these poems, nonetheless, Allingham was at least prepared to hint at the land of uncertainty he inhabited, while continuing to describe a brighter Ireland, where he was at one with nature, in those poems he termed his “Day Songs” within *Day and Night Songs*.²⁰ Only in a scenery stripped of sunlight could the poet imply that all was not right with the land of his birth and present a painterly moonlit landscape whose cold beauty was indifferent to both his isolation or the suffering of others. The moonlight in Allingham’s Irish poems is therefore always revelatory, reinforcing the permanence of the landscape in opposition to either the poet’s own marginality or that of his characters, with the moon itself acting as a painterly eye, freezing in time, as we shall see, the land that he found so difficult to leave.

Focusing too on Allingham’s hesitancy in writing directly about death and on his inability to let go of an idealised past, the chapter will further explore how

these issues are made manifest in the poems through the poet's repeated representation of the sea and of windows as thresholds between either life and death or past and present.²¹ Yet by dividing his poems into *Day and Night Songs*²² Allingham – who separated his own personality into light and dark, or public and private, and who would later own that “What most he felt, religion ‘twas to hide”²³ – created the opportunity to voice his insecurities over a post-Famine Ireland. (Even in his own home, after all, it seemed to the poet “not at all improbable that our man-servant – a very civil, attentive fellow – is a Ribbonman”.)²⁴ An intensely private person,²⁵ the landscape of Allingham's night poems – with its recurring themes and images – hence only takes shape as a whole when the poems are read collectively, and the “dumb darkling grotto”²⁶ of the inner, marginalised self, that the poet held so sacred, emerges into the light.

I

Peripheral to the English literary world and something of an outsider in his own community of Donegal, Allingham's main means of communication with other writers and thinkers at the centre of the literary or art world in London – or with Irish writers and artists based in Dublin, such as Ferguson and Petrie – was through the post. As an idealistic young man, he seems, to the consternation of his family, to have envisioned making a living for himself as a poet.²⁷ But the young writer lacked the social background, family connections, and university education common to most English poets of the time.²⁸ He therefore sought to

educate himself – studying the work of such writers and thinkers as Dante Alighieri, Emanuel Swedenborg, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Emerson, William Barnes and Robert Burns – and to introduce himself to other writers by letter before eventually taking summer trips to London to greet them in person. By the age of nineteen he was already corresponding by post with Leigh Hunt. At age twenty-three he began correspondence with Emerson and, a year later, with the minor poet and journalist, Henry Septimus Sutton. To these writers, and those poets and artists whom they, in turn, introduced to Allingham – men such as Coventry Patmore, Thomas Woolner, and Bryan Waller Procter, (who “practically give him introduction to all the literary London of that day”)²⁹ – Allingham could request criticism of his poems, confess his loneliness as a poet and thinker in a remote provincial town, and seek advice on further reading. His eagerness to relate to others of like mind, and his joy in having his literary ambitions taken seriously, is evident in his correspondence. Lacking an artistic or intellectual friend in Donegal, he early considered Hunt and Emerson to be his friends long before they had even met, so pleased was he that they chose to reply and showed an interest in his work. One introduction led to another and soon Allingham was spending a few weeks every summer in London visiting – among others – Patmore, Tennyson, Carlyle and Arthur Clough, and befriending Dante and William Rossetti and other members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. But the disparity between his fleeting London visits and his life in Ireland could not have been greater. Having worked in the bank for over seven years – after his bank manager father, who was ill at the time and worried he

might not survive his illness, removed him from school at age fourteen – he became Principal Coast Officer of Donegal in 1846. It was an unusual career for an Irishman at the time. James P. Murray tells us that,

The Coastguard was regarded locally as just another arm of the law sent to spy on them [the local people] and prevent them from enjoying their traditional rights, such as smuggling, the plundering of wrecks and especially the illicit distillation of potheen (poitin).³⁰

Accordingly, most coastguard stations were manned by Englishmen. In his diary Allingham includes visiting wrecks as part of his duty which, despite the mutual affection that existed between the Ballyshannon locals and “Masther Willy”³¹ and his insistence on his “popularity”,³² can only have served to isolate him from the Donegal peasantry outside his own town.

Although his diary contains no mention of it – either because he chose not to include it or because his wife Helen Allingham, who heavily edited his diaries and letters, excluded the entry – the coastguard was also involved in the administration and distribution of famine relief during Allingham’s time as Coast Officer in Donegal. As Principal Coast Officer he must surely have been involved, both directly and indirectly, in their operations:

The Preventive Services consisted of three cordons: shore stations with patrolling customs officers under the direction of the Treasury; small revenue cutters which could negotiate narrow sea-inlets and channels between the islands; off-shore were larger cruisers (gunboats) manned by the Navy which could, when necessary, carry up to 50 tons cargo and serve the larger islands such as [...] Tory in most weathers. Those larger cruisers also provided transport for Local Government and other officials to the outlying islands.³³

As we shall later see, despite Allingham's difficulties in writing about the Famine, images from his experiences as Coast Officer were to find their way into such poems as the "Aeolian Harp", "Is it all in vain?"³⁴ and "A Dream".³⁵ That he chose not to draw attention to his involvement in famine relief is, however, understandable. R. V. Comerford has noted, after all, that, "the dominant feeling left behind by the famine in Ireland was [...] a sense of embarrassment and inadequacy."³⁶ Furthermore, the fact that "its deeply socially destructive nature to all classes made it repellent" to Irish artists and patrons alike,³⁷ implies that the same sense of shame over the spectacle of malnourished and poorly clad Irish peasants was not confined to the Irish art world. Yet Allingham's diary records visits to the infirmary³⁸ and the poorhouse³⁹ during the Famine, and his letters express his fear that there seems to be no end to the crisis in sight. In a letter to Carlyle in 1850, the poet stresses, "There are bad symptoms in the potato crop in this neighbourhood, every field black".⁴⁰ His sense of powerlessness and concern for the local people is evident: "There is no surplus capital among the peasants to buy India meal with as there was when the former failure happened."⁴¹ Despite their hunger, however, foodstuffs such as "bacon and lard"⁴² continued to be exported from Ballyshannon. Accordingly, Allingham experienced feelings of guilt over his own financial security while others suffered. In a letter to Hunt in February 1847, alluding to the cold weather and his wish for a "turf-fire" rather "than a coal one", the writer immediately recognises the selfishness of his preference: "but fuel as well as food is much harder to the poor in this unfortunate time than usual."⁴³ As Coast Officer he also

witnessed the mass emigration that took place during and after the Famine, part of his duty being, in his own words,

[...] the examination of the fittings and provision of Emigrant ships, and the calling over, when ready for sea, of the lists of Passengers, who came forward one by one, men, women, and children, to pass the doctor and myself.⁴⁴

Several of these ships left from his hometown, Ballyshannon, at the height of the Famine, including the *Caroline*, bound for New Brunswick, on 1 May, 1847, and the *Brig Brazilian*, bound for Boston, on July 26, 1847.⁴⁵ Despite inspection by doctors, many deaths occurred when these ships reached their destination. Allingham was surely aware of it. In 1847 alone, nine Donegal people died shortly after arrival at New Brunswick.⁴⁶

Ireland's crisis and his longing for interaction with "articulate"⁴⁷ men and women aside, however, the young poet does seem to have occasionally enjoyed the company of both Protestant and Catholic middle-class friends – with whom he dined, sang and played ballads.⁴⁸ But in the five-year period from 1844-49, his "inner mind was also "brimful of love and poetry", and his "greatest thrill" was in reading letters from a "love-correspondent",⁴⁹ referred to in his diary as only "F."⁵⁰ A cousin, "F" was probably Florinda Allingham, daughter of Edward Allingham who was involved in a long-standing land dispute with the poet's brother, John Allingham.⁵¹ Both families accordingly opposed the relationship.⁵² By 1849 it was over. In February of that year Allingham was forbidden to communicate with his cousin, and the following month his "love-correspondent" confessed that "her heart perhaps" belonged "to another."⁵³

Despite the great sorrow this caused him, Allingham continued to write letters for illiterate neighbours, rowed or waded out “barelegged to the fishing boats”⁵⁴ with local youths, “never failed to attend the Ballyshannon Fairs”⁵⁵ and, as evidenced by his essays on Lough Derg⁵⁶ and on St. John’s Eve,⁵⁷ partook of the rituals and customs of the local people. As we shall see in Chapter Two he was also an avid fiddle player and collector of Irish broadside ballads, playing Irish airs on his fiddle and writing his own versions of Irish ballads in order to partake of Irish oral culture. Yet even these relationships and ways of interacting with the local community were disturbed by his constant moves within the Customs Service. Between 1846 and 1854 he was moved four times: to Ramsay, Isle of Man, in 1849, to Ballyshannon (where he was Customs-Officer) in 1850, to Coleraine in 1853, and to New Ross, Wexford, in 1854. Like Gerald, the romantic hero of his poem “The Music Master”,⁵⁸ he feared “unlook’d-for change” and the “instability” it caused. Unable to settle anywhere outside of Ballyshannon,⁵⁹ when removed from it he managed each time to organise an exchange back home. Allingham’s insecurity can perhaps be traced back to his mother’s death, following the birth of a stillborn son, in 1833. The poet’s father remarried⁶⁰ two years later and Allingham does not seem to have seen eye to eye with his stepmother.⁶¹ Nor was he particularly close to his siblings:⁶² anticipating his later anxiety at being removed from Ballyshannon, as a child he found “more reality” in “places” than “persons”.⁶³ Nonetheless, although he only recollected Margaret Allingham as “an invalid”,⁶⁴ he could recall that she was “gentle in voice and movement”⁶⁵ and sang at the pianoforte from time to time. A

“mild presence”,⁶⁶ as we shall later see he often dwelt on her “shadowy memory”⁶⁷ within his poems. Haunted by memories of her,⁶⁸ Allingham seems to have subsequently constructed the Donegal landscape as nurturer and healing force in her place, making of Ballyshannon and its environs a motherland where, having abandoned organised religion, he found God in nature and inspiration for his lyric poems.

Allingham would later recall, in a letter to Carlyle in 1866, the stress caused by the constant moves he was obliged to make “against” his “will”⁶⁹ in his early working life. In the letter the poet describes to his friend how, out of a sheer longing for a “sense of permanence”,⁷⁰ he “stuck” to the Customs in “Ballyshannon as long as I could – longer than anyone else would – and so long as to surprise everybody; losing many a chance of promotion by my adherence.”⁷¹ So insecure was he when removed from the familiar world of home that as a young man he even insisted that the climate of that great Victorian literary centre, London, did not “suit” his “constitution.”⁷² For all his marginality at Ballyshannon “everybody” was “glad” to see him, and he was “glad to see everybody.”⁷³

Yet elsewhere Allingham confessed that “a great part” of his life was “solitary”,⁷⁴ and his letters, diary, and early essays confirm this. Although the poet shared an interest in music and local ballads⁷⁵ with the local people and knew “everybody”, he also was self-consciously aware that there was “nobody”⁷⁶

with whom he could discuss poetry or literature. A diary entry for Tuesday, May 2, 1850, reads, for example:

Down the Mall with Thoreau's book, *Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers*, green slope near the Coves. Boat, floating. Thoreau's nature and freshness, mixed with impatience. Back to town and sit on wall to watch the fair.⁷⁷

Accepted by Catholics and Protestants alike, he must nevertheless have cut a mysterious figure carrying Thoreau's book down the Mall and watching the goings-on of the fair from afar. Although appearing content with his own sense of isolation in the above diary entry, in his essays, "The Irish 'Stationers'" (1850) and "Around the Midsummer Fire" (1852), Allingham's unease at his solitariness is apparent. Fully empathising with the peasantry on a one-to-one basis or, as we shall see in the following chapter, on those occasions when he immersed himself in Irish broadside ballad lyrics and mingled among them at the fair, he became self-conscious of his status as a social and religious outsider without the unifying force of music. Joining the barefoot Catholic pilgrims, as they wait for a boat to take them to Station Island to do their penance in "The Irish 'Stationers'", he is self-conscious over his everyday middle-class attire – complete with hat and gloves – and his non-Catholic status. Having visited the island and provided an account of the various rituals undertaken by penitents during their three days of penance on Saint Patrick's Purgatory, he is "ashamed to receive various blessings" from a new group of "Stationers"⁷⁸ on his return to the mainland. Similarly, in "Round the Midsummer Fire", wherein he recalls visits to some of the bonfires of the "little town"⁷⁹ (presumably Ballyshannon) on St. John's Eve, a

gulf opens up between himself and his fellow townspeople: the “black figures” of the local peasantry “assume a novel and mysterious aspect”⁸⁰ for him, so far apart does he stand.

These states of marginality are echoed in the many poems in *Poems*, and the two series of *Day and Night Songs* contained in *The Music Master*,⁸¹ where the speaker is physically removed from human contact, gazing down on the landscape or his hometown from a distance or a height.⁸² Unable to relate to the local people on an intellectual level and at times ill at ease regarding their silence on political matters,⁸³ he was nonetheless, as we have seen, “perpetually drawn back as a cat to her corner”⁸⁴ to Ballyshannon. A picturesque town from a distance, “on closer inspection, signs of poverty and neglect” were “manifest in dilapidated houses, rows of hovels shutting up the river bank, and [...] roads, footways, and other public works, of rude and careless construction.”⁸⁵ It was not a busy port. A sandbar lay outside the harbour preventing the entrance of larger vessels - at high tide sometimes “presenting a serious difficulty to the navigation of vessels crossing” it.⁸⁶ This was to cause problems during the Famine. On 23 April, 1847, the *Ballyshannon Herald* reported, “a ship with breadstuffs for Ballyshannon and Enniskillen is still waiting for a fair wind to get into Ballyshannon Harbour. It is hoped that she will arrive today as people discharged from the Workhouse are in great distress.”⁸⁷ The local newspaper also kept accounts of “the Custom’s Receipts and the number and tonnage of vessels inward and outwards, ‘from the port of Sligo, subport of Ballyshannon

and creek of Donegal' for the years 1851-52."⁸⁸ As John Cunningham rightly comments, "These make dire reading from the point of view of Ballyshannon":

Sub Port of Ballyshannon. Customs Revenue - 1851 - £115-5-4 – 1852 - £338-7-5. Vessels inward 1851 – 23, tonnage 1443 tons. Vessels Inward 1852 – 26, tonnage 1841 tons. There are no outward figures which suggest that there are no local Ballyshannon ships operating and all departed in ballast.

Creek of Donegal. Customs Revenue - 1851 - £1,031-17-1 – 1852 - £1196-17-0. Vessels inward 1851 - 116 vessels, tonnage 9,716 tons. Outward 39 vessels – 5,067 tons. Vessels inward 1852 – 90 vessels, tonnage 8,193. Outward 41 vessels, tonnage 5,607.⁸⁹

While the figures of Donegal Town "dwarf those of Ballyshannon", both are "miniscule in relation to Sligo": "1851 Custom's Duties c£20,000 on 238 vessels coming in and 170 vessels going out."⁹⁰ Nonetheless, Allingham was happier working in Customs at Ballyshannon, where he sought to improve conditions at the port by becoming "secretary of the Ballyshannon Harbour Improvement Committee".⁹¹ Donegal Town did not provide the same inspiration for his poems.

The importance of his local landscape as a source of inspiration to Allingham cannot be underestimated. Its familiar scenery, peace and solitude offered a temporary escape from contemplation of the plight of the rural poor which Allingham would confront in his article "Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads" (1852),⁹² and in his long poem, *Laurence Bloomfield*. Here Ireland's social and political problems could be cast aside in a synthesis between poet and land. Its significance is highlighted in an early letter to Emerson in which Allingham states, "I mean to try something like Irish Idyls – but not to be efforts at Irishism, but at Nature with the (necessary) local colouring".⁹³

His statement is of particular interest in that it also serves, in part, as a definition of those Irish poems, penned by Allingham in the 1850s, that portray a common Celticism of ruins, wild scenery and seascapes. But, with its depopulated and dramatic scenery, the Donegal coastline also complemented Allingham's passion for high art and, in particular, romantic Irish landscape painting and topographical art. Influenced by Dutch and English landscape artists, there was nothing particularly Irish about the paintings and drawings of such Irish landscape and topographical artists as Petrie, Barret and James Arthur O'Connor – other than the fact that they appealed to the Irish love of landscape and place while simultaneously satisfying a British audience already familiar with such a style. No in-depth studies appear to have been carried out into Celticism within nineteenth century Irish art but it can be argued that these classically trained artists, shying away from scenes of Irish poverty, likewise portrayed a passive common Celticism within the Union and that Allingham consequently looked to this tradition in his Irish landscape poems. Fintan Cullen has, for example, noted how Barret's *View of Powerscourt* (1760-2) compares with *The Falls of Clyde* (1771) by Scottish artist Jacob More. In both paintings "the image of the Celtic Fringe conveyed to the London spectator is that of wild yet noble landscapes."⁹⁴

II

Although he wrote many poems and ballads inspired by both the Donegal landscape and its people between the late 1840s and 1855, Allingham would not gather a selection of this work into one volume until the publication of *Irish*

Songs and Poems in 1887. But even at this late stage he failed to include many of the finer earlier lyrical poems included in *Poems* and *The Music Master* which, although not mentioning place-names, were clearly inspired by an Irish landscape.⁹⁵ It is hence left up to the reader to collate the early Irish poems from Allingham's pre-*Laurence Bloomfield* collections: no easy task, as the young poet's anxiety to appeal to as wide a readership as possible led him to produce a diverse mixture of poems in volumes that lack harmonization and structure. His first volume, *Poems*, contains no overall theme or mood and mixes Victorian poesy, lyrical landscape poems, ballads and poems for children haphazardly. The Romantic influence of Keats and Coleridge is evident in poems with a Gothic influence, such as "Lady Alice",⁹⁶ and those poems and ballads of the supernatural such as "The Witch Bride",⁹⁷ "The Maidens of the Mere"⁹⁸ (Retitled "The Maids of Elfen-Mere" and revised to include the refrain, "Years ago, and years ago;/ And the tall reeds sigh as the wind doth blow" in *The Music Master*), and "The Pale Image",⁹⁹ all of which – excepting the last – were reprinted in *The Music Master*. Nor, as we shall see, is the influence of Wordsworth absent in such poems as "Wayconnell Tower".¹⁰⁰ But, as is also the case in *The Music Master* where many of these poems would be republished, Allingham's greatest non-Irish influences are Tennyson – particularly in the "Aeolian Harp" series of poems – and Emerson. In his best Irish landscape poems, however, he comes closer at times in voice to Emerson than to either the Romantics or Tennyson.

The minor poet, essayist and journalist, John Reade, who likewise lived in Ballyshannon as a child, recalled in 1872 that one book Allingham “appeared to be never without was ‘Emerson’s Essays’”.¹⁰¹ We also know, from the correspondence between the two men, that Allingham had read Emerson’s *Poems* (1847) prior to the publication of his own *Poems*.¹⁰² The same clear, unforced tone and love of place and nature found in Emerson’s “Each and All”,¹⁰³ “Good-Bye”,¹⁰⁴ and “The Apology”¹⁰⁵ are thus found in Allingham’s “Sea-Side” (later retitled, “On the Sunny Shore” in *The Music Master*),¹⁰⁶ and “A Burial Place” (revised and retitled “Under the Grass” in *The Music Master*).¹⁰⁷ In fact, direct comparisons can be drawn between Emerson’s “Good-Bye” and Allingham’s “Under the Grass”, where both poets eulogise their sylvan homes:

I am going to my own hearth-stone,
 Bosomed in yon hills alone,—
 A secret nook in a pleasant land,
 Where groves the frolic fairies planned,
 Where arches green, the livelong day,
 Echo the blackbird’s roundelay,
 And vulgar feet have never trod
 A spot that is sacred to thought and God.

O, when I am safe in my sylvan home,
 I tread on the pride of Greece and Rome;
 And when I am stretched beneath the pines,
 Where the evening star so holy shines,
 I laugh at the lore and the pride of man,
 At the sophist schools, and the learned clan;
 For what are they all, in their high conceit,
 When man in the bush with God may meet?¹⁰⁸

Where these green mounds o’erlook the mingling Erne
 And salt Atlantic, clay that walk’d as Man
 A thousand years ago, some Viking stern

May rest, or chieftain high of nameless clan;
And when my dusty remnant shall return
To the great passive World, and nothing can
With eye, or lip, or finger, any more,
O lay it there too, by the river fall.

The silver salmon shooting up the fall,
Itself at once the arrow and the bow;
The shadow of the old quay's weedy wall
Cast on the shining turbulence below;
The water-voice which ever seems to call
Far off out of my childhood's long-ago;
The gentle washing of the harbour wave;
Be these the sights and sounds around my grave.¹⁰⁹

Furthermore, stanzas two and four of Emerson's "Dirge"¹¹⁰ anticipate the march of the dead in Allingham's "A Dream":¹¹¹

In the long sunny afternoon,
The plain was full of ghosts;
I wandered up, I wandered down,
Beset by pensive hosts.¹¹²

But they are gone,—the holy ones
Who trod with me this lonely vale;
The strong, star-bright companions
Are silent, low, and pale.¹¹³

William Irwin Patrick McDonogh has said of *Poems* that,

It is as though he made poetry too much its own object, so that the verse became inbred; as though [...] he were too much aware of being engaged in writing, too persistently anxious to find an audience and acquire the status of a literary man.¹¹⁴

Although the volume contains a number of very fine poems – "Evening (A Close View)",¹¹⁵ "By the Shore",¹¹⁶ "Moonrise"¹¹⁷ and "A Burial Place",¹¹⁸ to name but a few – his assessment is correct when the collection is considered as a whole.

Allingham's anxiety to gain instant respect as a poet, and make a living for

himself as a writer that he might prove his disapproving family wrong, led to the creation of many poems that lack a distinctive poetic voice. But the speed with which they were written – there are one hundred and fifteen poems in the volume in all – also needs to be taken into account. In a letter to Sutton, Allingham states that most of the poems contained in *Poems* were written during the winter of 1849-50.¹¹⁹ Leaving no time to rewrite and edit before publishing, *Poems* can be read almost as the notebook of a young poet who, still experimenting with voice, allows for an uninterrupted outpouring of verse within which his weaker poems act as stepping-stones to finer ones. There was hence little time for the poet to consider his hybrid identity as an Irish poet writing in English: comparing it to the volumes that follow, one is struck by Allingham's lack of self-consciousness over his Irishness and the ease with which he combines Irish poems, such as "The Goblin Child of Ballyshannon"¹²⁰ and "To the Castle of Donegal",¹²¹ with poems and ballads clearly intended for an English reading audience.¹²² While in *The Music Master* he would betray his consciousness of his status as an Irish poet writing in English, no distinction is drawn in his first volume between his Irish and English poems.

Despite the presence of a significant number of poems from both *Poems* and his 1854 pamphlet *Day and Night Songs*, *The Music Master* is more successful than *Poems* in that the number of poems is reduced,¹²³ and there is an attempt to keep the reader's mind focussed by dividing the shorter poems into songs of day and night.¹²⁴ With its nine woodcuts designed by Allingham's

friends, Arthur Hughes, Rossetti and John E. Millais, it is also a more attractive volume than the former. The preface of this volume is what ultimately sets it apart from *Poems*, however. In it Allingham attempts to assert his Irish nationality through attention to his “ha’penny ballads”,¹²⁵ an endeavour which ultimately fails, resulting instead in an exposure of his hyphenated identity as an Irish poet writing in English. Seeking to “employ a diction”¹²⁶ familiar to the Irish peasantry, but also understood by an English reading audience, Allingham finds himself literally at a loss for words. Irish-English, he explains, equates different meanings to common English words – “distress”, for example, signifying “*bodily want*” and “misery” meaning “*penuriousness*”.¹²⁷ If he is true to the native Irish dialect his additions to Irish ballad fragments will not be understood by an English readership. In immersing himself in the Irish ballad tradition, while unable to speak the native Donegal dialect or Gaelic, he is reminded of his status as outsider in the country of his birth. But equally, through his efforts at translation, he finds himself at a remove from his English readership. Despite his love of his home place and his fascination with the local ballad tradition, he is faced with the realisation that, because the native Irish dialect is virtually untranslatable, he will never be an Irish Burns. It was to be, perhaps, his deepest regret and the problems he encountered in trying to write an Irish-English understood by both Irish and English alike is a subject to which he would return in *Rambles*,¹²⁸ and one which shall be discussed in more depth in Chapters Two and Three. But despite his inadvertent disclosure of his hyphenated identity, Allingham’s glossing of his Irish ballads creates added

interest in them for an English reading audience. For the reader willing thereafter to take the time to peruse both these ballads, and those poems influenced by an Irish landscape and Irish locations in *Poems*, a clear disjuncture between life and landscape begins to emerge: human life is generally found consigned to Allingham's ballads while his nature poems, or poems of landscape, are notable for its absence.

For confirmation of Allingham's acknowledgement of the division of life and landscape in his poems, however – and the primacy that nature took in that divide – it is necessary to refer to a letter the poet would write to his friend Ferguson some thirty years later.¹²⁹ Attempting to bring his Irish poems – including *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland* – together within one volume, he informed Ferguson that he had already considered *Poems of Irish Life and Landscape* as a possible title.¹³⁰ The title proves revelatory for the student of Allingham's work. It is here – with the clarity of hindsight – that the poet not only offers a definition of his Irish verse as a whole and alerts the reader to the two very different themes at play within it, but also lays emphasis on the painterly quality of his work. While, as a title in itself, *Poems of Irish Life* suggests a realistic depiction of Irish life in verse and provides an adequate description of the scenes of social realism the reader will later encounter in *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland* – as well as accommodating those ballads which give a voice to Irish country life – the additional “landscape” blurs its meaning. The reader, conscious that the word “poems” could just as easily be replaced by

“paintings”, cannot help but draw a parallel between the title and the world of art. The “Irish life” involved hence becomes ambiguous, overshadowed by the more definitive and visual “landscape” which robs the former of its ugly realism. Furthermore, because human life has already been described in the first class of poems there is a suggestion that this life is hence either absent from, or subsumed in, the landscape poems with their ostensible connection to romantic landscape painting where human figures were usually added as mere decoration and frequently by an artist other than the painting’s creator.¹³¹

Regarding Allingham’s lyrical Irish poems of the pre-*Laurence Bloomfield* period, and those nature poems which Allingham himself didn’t categorise as Irish but which were inspired by an Irish landscape, the suggestion in the title of the disjuncture of life and landscape generally proves correct. In keeping with his experience of the mass deaths and emigration caused by the Famine, the early Allingham landscapes tend to be void of people,¹³² who, when they do appear, are diminished by the vastness and permanence of that landscape or returned to the land or sea through death. Hence, in poems such as “Autumnal Sonnet” the life of the friends who sit “together in the glimmering eve”¹³³ is represented as fleeting and under threat from “the monitory blast” which, “Wails in the key-hole, telling how it pass’d/ O’er empty fields, or upland solitudes,/ Or grim wide wave”.¹³⁴ Similarly, in “M.C” “the fall’s deep base” is “left on the air”¹³⁵ when a young man is laid to rest in his grave. Following the pattern of Allingham’s life in Donegal the sense of wholeness that he sought but never found – due to his

intellectual isolation, his literary preoccupations and his early rejection of organised religion – is pursued in the poems but never realised. In “In the Dusk”¹³⁶ and in the untitled, “Still in my prayers and in my dreams”¹³⁷ love is denied or lost, and when the poet turns his mind to the coastal scenery for recompense it is indifferent to him, the unchanging condition of land and ocean reinforcing his transient position upon the earth and shutting him out.¹³⁸

That Allingham evaded mention of emaciated bodies and a poverty-stricken peasantry – in his case by turning to landscape poetry – was not unusual at the time. As Melissa Fegan has noted, “The task of representing the Famine was an onerous one, a duty performed with no expectation of reward. Publishers and readers could be hostile.”¹³⁹ Even William Carleton was careful to assure his readers that “the principle interest” of *The Black Prophet* was not “so gloomy a topic as famine” (...) and built his plot around a murder mystery and love triangle to prove it.”¹⁴⁰ There were, furthermore, “reports that relief money was being used to buy arms for the assassination of landlords and a future rising”¹⁴¹ during the Famine years. What could be interpreted in England as “the politicisation of [...] poverty”¹⁴² by Irish writers and artists who overtly depicted famine images in their work, made those who hoped to capture the English market shy away from such scenes. Catherine Marshall has remarked that, “For most Irish artists” of the nineteenth century “any obvious identification with Ireland made success, especially in London, problematic, and the picture-buying public at home was too small and too provincial for artists with

ambition.”¹⁴³ The same could be said of ambitious Irish writers during the Famine, a time which saw “the bankruptcies of many Irish publishers and printers”.¹⁴⁴ While “natural delicacy may have prevented” them from portraying “the indignity of death from famine”, an instinct “accompanied [...] by a desire to show their countrymen in the least unflattering light possible”,¹⁴⁵ the simple desire of writers under the Union to make a living by their pen additionally needs to be taken into consideration when considering the work of the writers of the time.

Christopher Morash’s argument that the Irish poet was handicapped by “poetic models” which came from “a country in which famine was a foreign concept”, and did not “sit comfortably in any of the established poetic idioms of the English tradition”,¹⁴⁶ is also relevant with regard to Allingham’s work. His best Irish landscape poems are visual, a series of frozen photographic images that stay in the mind. But the same is equally true, as we shall see in Chapter Two, of his portraits of people in “George Levison” and *Laurence Bloomfield*. He had that “peculiarity of utter non-sympathy with the subjects”¹⁴⁷ of his poetry, a non-sympathy that Coleridge attributed to Goethe and Wordsworth: “They are always the spectators *ab extra* – feeling for, but never with, their characters.”¹⁴⁸ For a descriptive writer, intent on portraying vivid painterly images of his characters, there was no way to describe the bodies of the emaciated Irish peasantry in his poetry without being misinterpreted by an English reading audience. As someone who paid close attention to the Irish art world, Allingham

must have been aware of R. G. Kelly's 1847 painting of an eviction scene, "An Ejection in Ireland" or "A Tear and a Prayer for Erin", which was exhibited at the British institution in 1853 (see Appendix 1). While the peasants of the painting do not look particularly malnourished and we do not see the faces of the pleading women in the foreground, "Strickland, in his *Dictionary of Irish Artists*, nonetheless records that the painting (...) was 'much criticised as a political picture, which the artist never intended, and was actually discussed in the House of Commons.'"149 As a consequence Kelly "avoided such subjects for the rest of his career."¹⁵⁰

III

Seeking the middle ground, Allingham sought to overcome his marginality to Irish and English readers alike by portraying the landscape of many of his Donegal-inspired poems as Celtic rather than Irish. In a way, it was an act of defiance: an assertion to Irish nationalists, who defined nationality by blood, religion or language, of his right to a shared heritage, and a declaration to his English readership of his Celtic distinctiveness. But as Leerssen has noted "Celticism came in the course of the nineteenth century to be treated with a great deal of sentimental condescension and tolerance" in Wales, Brittany and Scotland "but not in Ireland", where nationalism complicated the idea of Celtic separateness and gave it "a far more radical political potential."¹⁵¹ Accordingly, by his portrayal of non-threatening Celtic landscapes, Allingham also demanded respect from his English reading audience for that very Celtic "separateness".

A concept which was still developing, Celticism had been given impetus not only by the Romantic championing of the mystical and imaginative "otherness" of the Celtic peoples within the British Isles, but also by the translation of Gaelic literature from Ireland, Scotland and Wales into English. It was, in other words, "an attempt to create, re-create or assert, a cultural identity for the peoples of Ireland, Scotland and Wales" which would "distinguish them"¹⁵² from the English. Allingham, however, took the concept one step further: anticipating Ernest Renan, Henri Martin and Arnold, he demonstrated the melancholic spirit of the Celtic writer and his ability to describe with ease the "life of nature".¹⁵³ In contradistinction to Renan and Arnold, however, who would later interpret the Celtic tradition as, "something which was dead and which belonged to the past",¹⁵⁴ Allingham, as an Irish poet engaged in creating poems that evoked a Celtic landscape, proved that the Celtic tradition and Celtic poetry lived on through his writing. Nonetheless, capitalising on "the Romantic and Victorian vogue for sublime locations",¹⁵⁵ the Celtic landscape of the poems was dreamlike and painterly: as unthreatening as the subjugated Highlands after Culloden; a periphery where time moved slowly and where the Celt was seemingly incorporated peacefully into the Union. Deliberately courting the Romantic interpretation of the Celt as creative "other", the Celtic poet – in the form of Allingham – was seen to be "true to nature" and to be ruled by "imagination" rather than "reason".¹⁵⁶

That the poet strove to simultaneously retain his Irishness and seek integration into the English literary world through a Celticism distinct from the

divisive issues attached to Irish politics and the stereotypical nineteenth-century image of Ireland as a land, “eternally torn by faction, and a constant prey to distress and turbulence”¹⁵⁷ is understandable considering his background. Although Allingham was familiar with the oral tradition of the peasantry, he was nonetheless also part of an Irish Victorian middle class who had grown up listening to, and reading, the tales and poems of Walter Scott¹⁵⁸ rather than immersing themselves in native Irish culture.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, as an ambitious young writer he could not afford to ignore market trends and demands by being “formally innovative”.¹⁶⁰ It was essential that he subordinate “his poetic forms to cultural expectations”¹⁶¹ if he was to win the respect of English journal and book publishers alike. In opposition to Irish nationalism, the expression of a shared Celticism of “exotic, romantic regionalism” which was “different from, but not opposed to mainstream English culture”, and added “a dash of local colour at the national periphery”,¹⁶² stood a better chance of acceptance in England than poems that highlighted Ireland’s poverty or mass emigration. Accordingly, many of Allingham’s pre-*Laurence Bloomfield* poems of Irish life and landscape embrace the Celtic spirit and stress a remote and “Fairy-haunted Isle”¹⁶³ dotted with ruins, where the culture of the people can be interpreted as one of the past, “one without future, with a mystic otherworldliness, exiled from the mainstream of historical progress”.¹⁶⁴

Allingham’s Celticism is complicated, however – as we shall see in the following chapters – by his anti-imperialism. Characterised by his disdain for

Britain's unjust treatment of Ireland in his essay "Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads" (1852)¹⁶⁵ and in *Laurence Bloomfield*, Allingham would later express outright opposition to Britain's expansionist policies, colonisation of non-white countries, and support for the Turkish or Ottoman Empire as editor of *Fraser's Magazine*. That he developed a homogeneous Celtic identity during the same period he advocated – as we shall see in Chapter Two – freedom of speech for the Irish, even if that speech be seditious, casts his Celticism in a somewhat different light. With this and his later fully developed anti-Empire stance in mind, Allingham's Celticism can equally be viewed as "a counter" to the "imperialist ethos" that "sought to minimize the Celtic past or eliminate it from the record of British history."¹⁶⁶ Katie Trumpener, in her book *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire*, has described how the "artifact is of value not so much in its own right but because of its ability to represent synecdochically the culture and the historical moment that produced it."¹⁶⁷ Hence although the ruins of Allingham's poems, in such poems as "The Ruined Chapel", "The Music Master: A Love Story",¹⁶⁸ and "Wayconnell Tower", represent a culture long since past, they also strike an anti-imperialist chord, serving "as a reminder of all that has been effaced or swept away."¹⁶⁹

Allingham's Celticism did not always result in success, however. In poems such as "The Music Master: A Love Story", the mystical "otherness" of the Celtic land is weakened as the poet finds himself unable to break completely free of English Victorian literary models of idyllic rural life. Despite some fine

descriptions of nature, the “Irish vale”¹⁷⁰ has been prettified to appeal to the English penchant for the picturesque. While Celtic scenery and landmarks are present in the backdrop of “emerald hills”,¹⁷¹ “ruin'd” convents¹⁷² and “ancient” abbeys¹⁷³ – where “spirits” stand “near” their living offspring in “the twilight”¹⁷⁴ – the poet, over-conscious of the unromantic face of the rural village and its hinterland in post-Famine Ireland, reinvents its landscape and exaggerates its vitality. English-sounding “green meadows”¹⁷⁵ are transplanted into a remote Irish valley, together with glee-clubs and little “cottage gardens”.¹⁷⁶ While the village is filled with the sound of music, and fiddles “glide”¹⁷⁷ through jigs and reels, playing “Colleen Dhas” and “The Hawk of Ballyshannon”,¹⁷⁸ the Irish airs mingle with pianoforte’s sound so that “In the sweet links of one harmonious chain”¹⁷⁹ any division that exists between those who inhabit the “lowly” cottage, and those whose dwelling place is beneath a “lofty” roof,¹⁸⁰ is erased. In direct opposition to the divisive class divisions and gritty realism we shall later encounter in *Laurence Bloomfield*, the air of unreality here attached to his imagined community affects the writer’s ability to create credible characters, and the storyline suffers as a consequence. In his attempt to express an “exotic, romantic regionalism”, Allingham was clearly happier working with either lone characters or supernatural beings and nowhere was the poet more successful with this than in “The Fairies”.¹⁸¹ While the poem acts as a metaphor for Allingham’s cross-cultural upbringing within the Ireland of the Union, within it the poet’s marginal position, to both native Irish culture and the British literary market of the time, is also temporarily erased.

Written in early 1849 when Allingham was only twenty-four, the uneasy atmosphere created by the marriage of human to unknowable-other in "The Fairies" is prettified to appeal to the Victorian penchant for the picturesque. Splashed with colour the writer's "yellow tide-foam",¹⁸² "black mountain lake",¹⁸³ "white mist"¹⁸⁴ and brightly dressed little men suggest painterly scenes or storybook illustrations – the red of the little men's caps perhaps coincidentally mirroring the red caps and capes of James Arthur O'Connor's "little figures" in his landscape paintings (see Appendices 2 and 3).¹⁸⁵ The young poet was clearly taking full advantage of "the acceptance and rapid growth of fairyland as fit subject matter for literature, painting and the stage"¹⁸⁶ in Victorian England. Hoping to add Celtic mystique to the poem, however, he blurred the line between "good"¹⁸⁷ fairies and changelings with his tale of a child stolen by "little men",¹⁸⁸ giving credibility to the existence of a contiguous world which poses a threat to the human world with his referral to actual Irish locations within the poem. But there is a mischievous twist to the poem. While Allingham's inspiration may well have come from the final stanza of Burns's, "Charlie, He's My Darling" ("It's up yon hethery mountain,/ And down yon scroggy glen,/ We daur na gang a milking, / For Charlie and his men")¹⁸⁹ – itself a version of the old Jacobite song beginning, "It's up the rosy mountains, and down the craggy glen,/ We dare not go a-milking, for Charly and his men"¹⁹⁰ – it's also possible the poem was inspired by the 1798 outlaw ballad, "Shane Crossagh". A highwayman, Shane Crossagh O'Mullan was "the Robin Hood equivalent for Northern [sic] Ireland",¹⁹¹ robbing the rich and sharing his goods with the poor.

There were numerous stories and songs of his exploits and it is likely that Allingham had heard at least some at the ballad fairs. Crossagh was eventually caught and hanged with his sons in Derry in 1722. The opening two stanzas of the ballad read:

It's up the heathery mountains and down the rushy glen,
Squire Staples has gone a-hunting Shane Crossagh and his men,
And forty mounted yeomen that galloped in a stream,
They swear they'll 'gin the gallows work when they come back again.

Shane Crossagh was a ploughboy that ploughed at Ballynascreen
But now he is an outlaw for the wearing of the green,
For the wearing o' the green, oh, the wearing o' the green,
But now he is an outlaw today at Ballynascreen.

The ballad ends:

It's bound now is Squire Staples, you'll find him in the glen,
The outlaw force consisted of seven gallant men,
Of seven gallant men, my boys, of seven gallant men,
And with despair he tore his hair and wept for Shane amain.¹⁹²

But whichever ballad the poet looked to for inspiration for his poem its subversive origins remain: secreted under Allingham's tale of faery lies either a Jacobite ballad or a tale of rebellion from a patriotic Irish outlaw. Although engaged in writing a poem to appeal to an already extant market of newspaper reports of changelings, the apprehension that the wild mountain world instils in the mortals of the poem, who daren't enter its environs, echoes the threat inherent in both potential original sources.

Nevertheless, although perhaps secretly pleased with his child-like revision of his original source, Allingham's intent does not seem to have been to create a poem for children with a hidden meaning. Hungry for literary

recognition, his objective was most likely to capitalise on the Victorian obsession “with the question of changelings”, and the constant reports in newspapers and journals of “the widespread survival of belief in such beings, as well as numerous cases of death or injury caused by the practices used to exorcise them.”¹⁹³ Furthermore, in utilising material from the Irish, English and Scottish sections of Keightley’s already popular, *Fairy Mythology*,¹⁹⁴ Allingham found a way to align himself with an Irish authority on folklore and mythology.¹⁹⁵ It was surely here that Allingham’s “little men” and child abductors were born, for Keightley stresses that, “the proportions of the fairies” of the north of Ireland “are very minute, approaching to those of Titania’s ‘small elves’”,¹⁹⁶ while the Gaelic fairies of Scotland make their “raids upon the low country, and carry off women and children”.¹⁹⁷ In keeping with the taste of his time, however, the poem also apes James Hogg’s, “Kilmeny”,¹⁹⁸ a poem which enjoyed popularity in Victorian England. There can surely be no coincidence that “The Fairies”, in the fashion of Hogg’s poem, concerns a girl who is abducted by the fairy-folk and who, like Kilmeny, returns to the world after a seven-year absence, or that “little Bridget”¹⁹⁹ is similarly immersed in water by the fairies,²⁰⁰ and that in both poems there is confusion as to whether the human child is dead or sleeping.²⁰¹ Yet taken within its historical context, it is hard to dispel the image of the dead Bridget as either that of a child famine victim or an emigrant child returned home only to find her friends dead or departed to other shores. Sixteen female orphans from the Ballyshannon workhouse were, after all, selected for

emigration to Australia under the Earl Grey scheme just two years before Allingham penned his poem²⁰² – one of them perhaps a cousin.²⁰³

Giving voice to the cross-cultural nature of Ulster at the time, “The Fairies” is thus fused with Scottish and English influences (e.g. it also contains echoes of John Keats’s, “La Belle Dame sans Merci”, and Tennyson’s “Sleeping Beauty”). For Allingham there was no anomaly in such a conflation: “The Fairies”, with its mix of Irish, Scottish and English folklore and literary influences – together with its mention of Irish place-names – makes whole his middle-class Ulster status more potently than any of his other poems. That this hybridization of cultures left Allingham in a peripheral position to the Nationalist poets of *The Nation* is evident: writers such as Leerssen have observed that fairies “were not to be found in *The Nation* whose frame of cultural reference” was “historical and ancient-Gaelic”, but were rather the stuff of “the *Dublin University Magazine* and similar conservative reviews”.²⁰⁴ Be that as it may, “The Fairies” is no less a poem of the hybrid culture of the middle-class Irish of Allingham’s time – or indeed no less Irish – for that.

IV

While “The Fairies” was a success, Allingham nevertheless still ran the risk that an over-emphasis on his Irish identity could ostracise him from English readers. However, his attempt to merge Irish culture with an all-embracing Celtic heritage negated Allingham’s Irish roots in poems such as “Wayconnell

Tower”²⁰⁵ and “The Ruined Chapel”,²⁰⁶ where Irish ruins and the Irish landscape became interchangeable with British ruins and Welsh and Scottish landscapes due to his suppression of Irish place-names. In his effort to throw off his state of marginality and assert his identity Allingham found himself betraying the very place he identified himself *with*. Consequently, there is, on occasion, a conflict either between the titles of poems and their content or between the content of the poems and their later-added notes in *Irish Songs and Poems*, as the poet seeks, with hindsight, to reinstate the Irish landscape that had originally inspired his work. The tension that a shared Celtic heritage imposed upon the young poet was ultimately to be relaxed with the serialised publication of *Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland* in *Fraser’s Magazine* in 1862. Until then, however, Allingham still found himself peripheral to “an authentic native tradition”,²⁰⁷ at one remove from the culture of his own country. His self-identity – always bound up so strongly with Ballyshannon and Ireland – was left in a precarious position. The compulsion to reassert both his Irishness and the presence of the Donegal countryside into a poem originally written in the spirit of a shared Celticism is perhaps most evident in “Wayconnell Tower”.

This landscape poem, describing a tower in its rural setting, first appeared anonymously in Charles Dickens’s *Household Words*²⁰⁸ and the second, and finer, version – to which we shall turn our attention here – was republished under the same title in the first series of *Day and Night Songs*.²⁰⁹ Allingham immediately sets the scene in the first stanza in the realm of the picturesque by

dehistoricising the tower, which has blended back into verdant scenery. The atmosphere of a warm June evening, with its profusion of new leaves and growing things, is portrayed vividly in order to draw a distinction between it and the decaying ambience of the tower the speaker of the poem is about to enter:

The tangling wealth by June amass'd,
Left rock and ruin vaguely seen;
Thick ivy-cables held them fast,
Light boughs descended, floating green.²¹⁰

Once inside the tower, emphasis is placed on the view of the sea from its top, propelling the reader from the picturesque to the romantic in the space of one four-line stanza:

Slow turn'd the stair, a breathless height,
And, far above, it set me free,
When all the golden fan of light
Was closing down into the sea.

The sudden transition from ground-level to dizzying height is successful and given greater force by Allingham's description of the sinking sun, because of the long slow climb up the winding stair the speaker only catches the sunset's final moments and is shut out from the last light of day which is "closing down". All the elements of Burke's idea of the causes of the sublime are here: the tower,²¹¹ the sea²¹² – and, in stanza four, the stars²¹³ and the gathering darkness.²¹⁴

Aloft within the moulder'd tower
Dark ivy fringed its round of sky,
Where slowly, in the deepening hour,
The first faint stars unveil'd on high.²¹⁵

But Allingham is anxious to strike a balance between the Romantic and the picturesque and quickly lapses back into Victorian sentimentality in stanzas five and six:

The rustling of the foliage dim,
The murmur of the cool grey tide,
With tears that trembled on the brim,
An echo sad to these I sigh'd.

O Sea, thy ripple's mournful tune!-
The cloud along the sunset sleeps;
The phantom of the golden moon
Is kindled in thy quivering deeps;

The distinction between the "tide" in stanza five, and the "sea" in stanza six, is a skilful one, and it is made by Allingham in other poems to create a state of conflict within the natural elements that corresponds to the poet's mood. (Hence in "In the Dusk"²¹⁶ "Cloudy fire dies away on the sea", while the innocuous "tide" of the same poem is compared to a "full, happy heart",²¹⁷ and in "Moonrise"²¹⁸ the "darkness" of the speaker's thoughts while away from home is contrasted with the rolling of the "Atlantic water".)²¹⁹ The speaker of the poems is thus torn between a desire for simplicity and the sublime to which he is drawn but also fears.

As in "The Ruined Chapel" by its "lonely seas"²²⁰ — where "Day and Night and Day go by;/ And stars move calmly overhead" — the vastness and timelessness of the starry sky and the permanence of the ocean emphasise the poet's mortality. He is left feeling diminished and alone with thoughts of his own death, a death which is symbolised by the "closing" of the day as the sun sinks

and the sea sounds its subsequent "mournful tune". But the dread induced in the speaker by the sight before him is not only of the final darkness that must come with death. As sole witness to, and lone recorder of, the sublime moment (removed as he is from any signs of human life with only the "rustling" of the foliage and the "murmuring" of the tide for company), he fears becoming trapped in art itself:

Oh, mournfully!-and I to fill,
Fix'd in a ruin-window strange,
Some countless period, watching still
A moon, a sea, that never change!²²¹

In entering the inner world of the tower, which acts as a symbol for the inner self and the world of imagination and creativity, the speaker is snared in a frozen painterly moment, and for an instant fears he may not be able to return to rejoin the scenes of "stress and strife" that belong to the quotidian round. It is interesting to compare the two versions of the poem. In the first published version in *Household Words*²²² the ending is far less ambiguous. The speaker's departure from the tower is filled with optimism for what he has yet to create:

And other clearer voices call
To towers that are not builded yet;
And, stepping from the perished wall,
My feet on steadfast earth I set.

In the second version, however, while the speaker still looks to a new day, the tower is nonetheless equated with life itself:

Farewell! dim ruins; tower and life;
Sadly enrich the distant view!
And welcome scenes of toil and strife;
Tomorrow's sun arises new.²²³

Perhaps anticipating Allingham's planned move to London in 1854 to make his living in higher journalism – a plan which subsequently resulted in his return to Ireland²²⁴ – in this version the impression is created that the speaker has determined to leave what he considers to be a meaningful existence, or “life”, behind, in order to make his way in the world. This decision is also alluded to in the preceding stanza when the speaker's shadow is left behind in the tower:

The guided orb is mounting slow;
The duteous wave is ebbing fast;
And now, as from the niche I go,
A shadow joins the shadowy past.²²⁵

Bearing these details in mind, “Wayconnell Tower” can be interpreted not only as a poem in the same vein as “The Ruined Chapel”, where man's temporal existence is in conflict with the timelessness of the universe and his life hurrying to its close, but as an exploration of the theme of artistic marginality where the choice the struggling artist faces is to either develop his own creativity – at the cost of human companionship – or play his part in a workplace of “toil and strife”.

But, taking Allingham's later expressions of distaste for colonialism and imperialism into account, another reading of both versions of the final stanza imposes itself: refuting the idea that both Celt and Celtic landscape exist in a state of stasis, the speaker, taking life from his ancient culture, moves forward into action and a new day. Enriched by his heritage, he is prepared to overcome whatever obstacles lie in his way.

When Henry Wadsworth Longfellow read the poem he was so impressed by Allingham's capturing of mood and evocation of place, in what at face value

appeared to be an Irish ruin poem, that he included it in his collection, *Poems of Places. Ireland*, in 1876.²²⁶ Wayconnell is an Irish-sounding name after all, and Allingham was from Donegal whose original Irish name was Tir Connell. Despite the implication, and the fact that the poem is set in a coastal location similar to that of Allingham's other Irish landscape poems, Longfellow's assumption – and no doubt that of Allingham's readers – was incorrect. The following year – some twenty-seven years after its original publication in *Household Words* – Allingham, now editor of *Fraser's Magazine*, changed the title to "In a Broken Tower" for his volume, *Songs, Ballads and Stories* (1877). Therein he owned that he was sorry Mr Longfellow had been "misled by the name".²²⁷ It was, he admitted, "a fancy name, the 'locus in quo'" being in reality "one of the towers of Conway Castle"²²⁸ in Wales. Wishing to clear up the confusion, he deemed it "better fitted with a less special title, – like 'The Ruined Chapel' [...]" and a great many other pieces" in the volume whose actual location was "altogether subsidiary".²²⁹ Unlike "The Winding Banks of Erne" and "Abbey Asaroe" these poems were not, he now claimed, "local pieces proper".²³⁰ Allingham later contradicted this statement by recasting "The Ruined Chapel" in the mould of an Irish poem when he included it in *Irish Songs and Poems*. Placed between "The Girl's Lamentation" and "The Fairy Hill, or, the Poet's Wedding", it there serves to accentuate the picturesque and remote Donegal landscape that the mortal and fairy creatures of the collection inhabit. As a singular poem it may not qualify as a "local" piece "proper" pandering, as it does, to a common Celticism, but, like

“Wayconnell Tower”, when read alongside the other Irish poems, the mood, atmosphere and setting that it describes undeniably makes it one with them.

If Longfellow had not included “Wayconnell Tower” in his collection it is possible that Allingham would not have changed the title and both poem and tower would have retained their perceived Irish status. The fact that Longfellow did so clearly forced Allingham to reconsider his original poetic intentions regarding not only this poem but other earlier poems of a similar nature. His declaration that the settings for “Wayconnell Tower” and “The Ruined Chapel” are “altogether subsidiary”, implies that the poet desired the Celtic landmarks in question to be considered mere symbols of man’s temporal existence when set against the timelessness of the universe, a theme not only explored in these poems but several others included in *Songs, Ballads and Stories*.²³¹ But in denying the importance of place, Allingham detached not only particular landmarks or places but also himself, as a writer, from an individual history. If Irish ruins and locations lost their local identity and blended into a homogeneous Celtic landscape, then so too did Allingham. Reclaimed by nature, Welsh ruins were deemed synonymous with Irish ruins, indicative of a mutual Celtic identity where, within the United Kingdom, “the frightening sublimity of actual historical event”²³² was masked in much the same way as the poet’s Protestant Irish status. Despite Allingham’s desire to submerge his nationality and to centre himself within the Union, with the publication of “Wayconnell Tower” his effort at integration failed. There was an air of desperation in his decision to re-christen

the tower of a Welsh Castle with an Irish-sounding name: it was an illogical attempt to retrieve a specifically Irish identity from an all-inclusive Celticism and to re-associate his name with the land of his birth.

Allingham rightly worried that the poem bore the mark of Tennyson's influence.²³³ Furthermore, an echoing of Book VI of Wordsworth's *Prelude*, which was published in the same year, is evident in the work.²³⁴ Hence, for the critic prepared to look no further than literary influences, the poem fits neatly into the category of an English-influenced poem. But when Allingham's passion for painting and drawing²³⁵ is taken into consideration, it becomes obvious that the poem falls under the sway of Irish landscape art whose images it reproduces. Barret's "Sunset and Ruins"²³⁶ (where once again the "locus in quo" is apparently "subsidiary"), with its decayed tower covered in ivy, immediately springs to mind. Examining Barret's other paintings, however, and those of O'Connor and Francis Danby, the influence of Petrie's paintings and drawings – and the engravings after Petrie's drawings that appeared in such topographically illustrated guidebooks as *Excursions through Ireland*,²³⁷ G.N. Wright's three guides to Ireland,²³⁸ and *The Beauties of Ireland*²³⁹ – is by far the strongest. An Irish landscape of round towers, ruined castles, rugged mountains and coastlines, complete with dramatic skylines shot with shafts of light, lies behind Allingham's common Celticism (see Appendix 4). Once more the poet stands on a threshold, but this time on the threshold of Irish art. It was another

means for the poet to re-locate himself from the margins of his own culture, this time by leaning on an Irish art authority.

Due, perhaps, to his lack of a university education, the young Allingham tended to hero-worship those artists, writers and thinkers who seemed to him the most gifted in their field. By his own admission he “worshipped”²⁴⁰ Tennyson, whose word-music he consequently imitated, not only in “Wayconnell Tower” but also in such early poems as “Therania”²⁴¹ and the “Aeolian Harp” series of poems. Petrie held no less a place in his esteem and in his affections than Tennyson, and the young poet, already striving to incorporate art into literature, was clearly anxious to learn from him.²⁴² Proving Ferguson was not unique (Eve Patten tells us that Ferguson’s “literary style and imaginative conception of Ireland”²⁴³ in the *Hibernian Nights’ Entertainments* was influenced by Petrie’s “picturesque representation”²⁴⁴ of Ireland), he hence set out to paint word pictures of an Ireland that had already been captured in etchings and on canvas by an Irishman whose contributions to Irish culture were, indeed, impressive. Petrie’s contribution to the Ordnance Survey had been considerable, and his writings on early Irish archaeology and architecture were of no less significance, particularly “An Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland”.²⁴⁵ Furthermore, he was, at the time of the second publication of “Wayconnell Tower” in 1854, president of the Society for the Preservation and Publication of the Melodies of Ireland and already putting the finishing touches to *The Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland*, which would be printed the

following year.²⁴⁶ That, as we shall see, a figure of such note in Irish society valued Allingham's talents as a poet and ballad-writer must have been extremely flattering to the young writer.²⁴⁷

Hence, inspired and perhaps a touch over-awed by Petrie, who was a Romantic painter by nature but obliged to produce picturesque etchings for his commissioned guidebook work, Allingham moves back and forth between the picturesque and the romantic not only within the second version of the poem itself, but also in his two different versions of "Wayconnell Tower". The rewritten version for *Day and Night Songs* – with its comparison between the life-giving, idealised past of the tower and the toilsome and stressful modern life that exists outside it – inclines more towards the romantic than the original. In this version the tower begins to sound more like a Round Tower than the turret of a castle in Wales, having grown so tall that the adjacent "tallest trees" are "not so tall/ That they could reach to where I sat".²⁴⁸ Both poems, however, share Petrie's fascination with fans of light²⁴⁹ depicting, as they do, a "golden fan of light [...] closing down into the sea",²⁵⁰ and both, aping the figures of romantic landscape paintings, convey the speaker of the poem as "dwarfed" by the "landscape".²⁵¹ In addition, Allingham adds to the painterly quality of the poem by freezing his images: the speaker filling "years of sadness",²⁵² or some "countless period",²⁵³ "Fix'd in a ruin-window strange",²⁵⁴ creates the illusion of a painting or an engraving of a figure frozen in time. Interestingly, Conway Castle itself had been

painted several times by such artists as J.M. Turner and Francis Danby, with Petrie himself painting it in the late 1820s²⁵⁵ (See Appendix 5).

V

While pre-*Laurence Bloomfield* poems such as “Wayconnell Tower” partake of a common Celticism, however, the portrait of a dark and depopulated famine, and post-famine, landscape begins to emerge when the early Irish poems are read as a whole. It is a landscape imbued with death and loss, one that fills the speaker of the poems with sadness or unease. We have already noted the difficulties Allingham faced in writing about the Famine. It is thus of prime importance that the early poems are considered collectively, paying close attention to recurring images and symbols, so that the overall picture presented by the poet is grasped. While it can equally be argued that the romanticisation of death – through the works of such poets as Edgar Allan Poe and Tennyson – had a strong bearing on Allingham’s work of this period, this influence is found to extend only to those poems in which the poet deals with the power that mystical, dead, or other-worldly women wield either over the speaker of the poem or others,²⁵⁶ and does not account for the lone drifting figures, to whom all hope seems lost, of the landscape poems.²⁵⁷

Despite the painterly and literary influences in his early Irish work, and his efforts to please a particular market, read collectively the early Irish poems

reveal the influence of the social conditions that Allingham witnessed as bystander to the Famine and his fears of possible insurrection.²⁵⁸ When the “Aeolian Harp” poems, “What saith the river?”,²⁵⁹ “Is it all in vain?”,²⁶⁰ and “O pale green sea”,²⁶¹ are considered as a group, for example, the sense of hopelessness and despair that he witnessed as Coast Officer of Customs during the Famine becomes evident. Divided from each other in *The Music Master* and apparently placed at random among his other poems, read individually they register as the work of a Romantic poet who either mourns for his past youth or lost love. Taken together, however, in each poem the poet appears to be the sole survivor in a landscape that has robbed him of his companions, thus making for a very different reading. In “What saith the river?” “Life and light” have “fled away”²⁶² as a man floats downriver on a skiff to meet his death at sea. In “Is it all in vain?” “One survivor”²⁶³ is left marooned on a boat at sea. In “O pale green sea” the speaker of the poem awaits a message or a sign of hope on a shore where only the dead have “rest” and there is “constant silence”.²⁶⁴ Ireland’s difficulties can no longer be ignored: there is no release but in death, a death that is found either at or by a sea that has itself become a symbol of death. Of this group, “Is it all in vain?” can be considered the key poem, echoing, as it does, the plight of the emigrant onboard the emigrant or famine ship in “The Emigrant’s Dream”.²⁶⁵ Like the speaker of the latter poem, who is carried across the “death-dark waters”,²⁶⁶ the speaker of “Is it all in vain?”, in common with the speakers of “What saith the river?” and “O pale green sea”, has no future to look forward to. He can only look back. Moreover, he is so disorientated that he

doubts the very reality of the ship on which he is a passenger. The poem is worth quoting in full:

Is it all in vain?
Strangely throbbing pain,
Trembling joy of memory!
Bygone things, how shadowy
Within their graves they lie.

Shall I sit then, by their graves,
Listening to the melancholy waves?
I would fain.
But even these in vapours die:
For nothing may remain.

One survivor in a boat
On the wide dim deep afloat,
When the sunken ship is gone,
Lit by late stars before the dawn.

The sea rolls vaguely, and the stars are dumb.
The ship is sunk full many a year.
Dream no more of loss or gain.
A ship was never here.
A dawn will never, never come.
—Is it all in vain?²⁶⁷

The poet's reference to economics and opportunity costs ("Dream no more of loss or gain") in the final stanza of the poem perhaps draws a comparison between the Irish emigrant ships and slave ships: Irish people are being exported. As in "The Emigrant's Dream", they are "Driven by the wandering gale/ Over wastes of sea."²⁶⁸ Like "The Emigrant's Dream", "Is it all in vain?" and its companion poems, "What saith the river?" and "O pale green sea", thus acknowledge Allingham's peripheral position as onlooker to a catastrophe beyond his control which his poems of a common Celticism do not allow him to describe. Pushed further and further onto the periphery as onlooker and member

of a Protestant middle class, and overwhelmed with feelings of powerlessness, the Ireland of Allingham's "Aeolian Harp" poems is accordingly a land of no future and certain death.

When security is found by the characters in those other early poems that likewise undermine the idea of a common Celticism, that security is consequently challenged and shaken. As a writer Allingham infers that those who attempt to shut out the darkness of the Famine, and its possible bloody aftermath, will eventually be overcome by the very thing they deny. Gathered indoors or inland in little circles, the futility of their efforts to evade the darkness by lighting candles, or forming rings in the light, is exposed. A series of cognate images hence repeat themselves in such poems as the "Aeolian Harp", "A traveller wendeth over the wold",²⁶⁹ "The Music Master: A Love Story", and "The Young Street Singer".²⁷⁰ While these images can equally be said to reflect Allingham's solitary status in Ballyshannon, it is intimated that those who are living, or have lived, through the Famine seek to deny it. Yet the Famine, together with possible agrarian violence, impinges itself on them and threatens to extinguish their light. In "A traveller wendeth over the wold", where a couple huddle around the fireside, and draw "the window-curtains" against the black night to form a "tranquil ring",²⁷¹ the pair are nonetheless made unsafe by the approach of an injured stranger staggering across the moor and are surrounded by a darkness that threatens to consume them. In "The Music Master", where the speaker gazes at a "group of girls" at needlework placed "round a candle",²⁷²

Allingham infers that all is not well by drawing attention to the "half-lights"²⁷³ on their faces. In "The Young Street Singer" the "careless window's happy glow"²⁷⁴ is negated by the suffering of the homeless and hungry boy outside whose song surely infiltrates "the lighted room."²⁷⁵

In dividing his poems into *Day and Night Songs* in 1854 and 1855²⁷⁶ Allingham thus resolved, to an extent, his dual desire to describe both the Ireland he wanted and needed to believe in for his own self-esteem as an Irishman, and the land of uncertainty that he actually inhabited. Although he found it difficult to admit to himself,²⁷⁷ he was aware that the picturesque Ireland of "colour'd season" and "human mirth",²⁷⁸ portrayed "with cheerful heart"²⁷⁹ in his "Day Songs", was largely a simplistic one. Forever uncomfortable with revealing his true self and his deepest feelings, and wishing to present a positive picture of the country of his birth to English readers more used to reading in the British press of an Ireland "inflicted with an incurable disease" and subject to "mad fits",²⁸⁰ he was nevertheless ready to hint at his trepidation over the true state of his country, and his status as an outsider therein, in his songs of night. The night in Allingham's Irish poems therefore provides a truer image, not just of the Ireland the poet inhabited, but also of the poet's isolated position as observer of a disaster beyond his control, than the idyllic poems of day.

In his songs of the night the dead are a significant preoccupation, intimating the land of uncertainty the poet inhabits. They are either sighted from

a window, which acts as a threshold between past and present and the human and ghost world, or are associated with the sea which itself forms a border between life and death. As in real life the poet – on the one hand anxious to protect himself from being overcome by the suffering of others and to remain optimistic about his literary future, and on the other mindful that he cannot shut reality out – swings between denial and acceptance of the events that are taking place in the poems: the watcher from the window either closes his eyes on his fear and grief or acknowledges it. This disparity can be found when one compares the “Aeolian Harp”, “A traveller wendeth over the wold”²⁸¹ and “A Dream”.²⁸² In the first poem where the “black” moor, over which the dying man staggers in the cold, is contrasted with the “blaze”²⁸³ inside the house, the “whispering pair”²⁸⁴ by the hearth evade reality. They close the “window-curtains”²⁸⁵ on the darkness and lull themselves into a false sense of security by the “dusky glow”²⁸⁶ of the fire. By comparison, the speaker of “A Dream”, on hearing “the dogs howl in the moonlight night”,²⁸⁷ deliberately moves to the window. He is intent on seeing “all the dead” that he “ever”²⁸⁸ knew parade before him. The window is a confluence between past and present for the speaker of this poem, through which the familiar dead, who are “Townsfellows all”²⁸⁹ – the speaker’s mother included – flow into the present. But Allingham is not content to include just one threshold on this occasion. The speaker’s old schoolmates, who take part in the march, not only traverse the border between death and life but also cross the border between sea and land in their return from the waters that have drowned them. As in the two “Aeolian Harp” poems,

“What saith the river?” and “Is it all in vain?”, where all hope is lost and the sea claims the lone, drifting characters for its own before washing clean their memory,²⁹⁰ the sea is once more tellingly represented as a negative force. Allingham is clearly marking a distinction here between the innocuous tide in “Wayconnell Tower”, “In the Dusk”²⁹¹ and “Moonrise”, and the “glittering deep”²⁹² of such idyllic day songs as “On the Sunny Shore”, where the poet’s relaxed and dreamy mood is at one with the “watery gleam”.²⁹³ The ocean is referred to as an “awful sea”,²⁹⁴ comparable to the “death-dark waters”²⁹⁵ that strip all hope from the voyager in the “The Emigrant’s Dream”, who is “broken” and “banished”²⁹⁶ and whose weary heart is “out-worn with grieving”.²⁹⁷

That the sea was associated in Allingham’s mind with a threshold between life and death is understandable – as we know he witnessed the distress that the mass emigration on overcrowded ships, whose passengers did not always make it to America or Canada, caused both to those who departed and those who were left behind. But on a more personal level, he had mourned the loss of a local child, Mark Coane,²⁹⁸ in a boating accident, and his mother’s death was irrevocably connected in his mind with the sea. Her death is illustrated in the unpublished, “My Mother’s Death (At Portobello by the Sea)”:

There was a gathered stillness in the room,
Only the breathing of the great sea rose
From the shingle, aiding that profound repose,
With regular break and hush along the gloom
Of Twilight, as if some impending doom
Was nigh and waited for. I sat long there
Watching with tears and thoughts that were like prayer;
Till the hour struck, the thread dropt from the loom,

And the ship passed on which freed souls are borne;
That breaking weary sea, that sound forlorn
Continued, and I rose not but sat by.
And oft at night I hear that tidal shore;
Now she is on the other side, and I
Wait the dread sail returning yet once more.²⁹⁹

Here the fading life breath mimics the hush of the sea on the shingle but, as in the “Aeolian Harp”, “What saith the river?”, where following the death of the poem’s protagonist the “wave” “moans” up “the cave”,³⁰⁰ the sound of the sea continues after death serving as a constant reminder of man’s departure into the unknown. Mimicking the emigrant ships that carry the rural poor from the shore in the hope of a new freed life in America, the ship that arrives for his mother’s soul threatens to return for Allingham. The ship as a symbol of death is a poignant one for the poet. For the sea, while accentuating Allingham’s remote island status, also provides a threshold between Ireland and England. He must learn to cut his emotional ties with Ballyshannon – for Allingham in itself a kind of death – and take that ship if he is to move ahead and begin a new life across the water.

Allingham’s early efforts to settle outside Ballyshannon were, as we have observed, doomed to failure. His 1854 attempt to try his hand at literary life in London ended in despair. Determined not to demean himself by journalistic work, which he found to be “desultory and ephemeral writing”,³⁰¹ he chose to “return into quiet exile”³⁰² in the Customs in Ireland, far removed from an “anxiety” that was to him “unendurable.”³⁰³ The real reason for Allingham’s

return from London was probably, as we have already observed, his apparent inability to live outside Ballyshannon for any prolonged period of time. His later declaration, in a letter to Tennyson from Ballyshannon in 1861, that he often wished that, "I might be sure of staying here all my life",³⁰⁴ held more than a grain of truth: despite his solitariness Allingham took his security from the world of nature he encountered in Donegal and was consequently unhappy when away from it. Furthermore, when he holidayed in London during the summer months he lived a very different life to the one he lived at home, and was unable to find a way of communicating this home life to his English friends outside of the lyricism of his poems. A constant conflict thus emerged between Allingham's life in Ireland and his life in England: "the gulf" between Ballyshannon and his "English friends' experience" remained "unbridged",³⁰⁵ a gulf that Allingham ironically seems to have almost encouraged so deep was his love for his home place.³⁰⁶ When Allingham was in Donegal his thoughts were often turned across the water as his many existing letters from Ballyshannon to England attest.³⁰⁷

When he thought of England, however, his longing was for friends and intellectual companionship. Looking back to Ireland from abroad the longing he experienced was of a very different kind: it was for the landscape and environs of his birthplace, the space that provided the inspiration for his finest poems of nature and landscape. Removed from it, Allingham mourned the loss of the known and the familiar home-world that in his mind was also, ironically, associated with the sea whose destructive powers were forgotten when the poet

remembered Ballyshannon from abroad. Of his early poems, "Moonrise"³⁰⁸ portrays this sense of occlusion most eloquently.

VI

A poem that, in its love of place, anticipates both Yeats's "The Lake Isle of Innisfree"³⁰⁹ and Allingham's own "Under the Grass",³¹⁰ "Moonrise" was written while the poet was stationed in Ramsay in the Isle of Man in 1849. Moving from an initial portrait of the moon over an unnamed shore to a description of the shadows and light it casts on and through city streets, "skylights" and "pleasure-gardens",³¹¹ and arriving, in stanza seven, at a reflection on its "pensiveness",³¹² the fragile beauty of the poem's early stanzas is eclipsed by the strength of Allingham's writing when he turns his attention to home. As in "A Dream", the moonlight is presented as revelatory and assimilated into the landscape of the poem in a painterly way. The moonlight on the water, opening a pathway to the writer's past and the town he has left behind, reads like a description of a painting. But if the dead are "Born in the moonlight"³¹³ in "A Dream", here it is Ballyshannon that is given birth to in the "moon-stream".³¹⁴ Removed from its environs, the writer calls up his hometown before him and remaps it from another shore:

Art thou truly looking down
Into the streets of the little town,
Where I know every chimney's place,
Every door's and window's face?—
Thou hast set before thee clear,
As in many a by-gone year
'Fore the years begun to change,

One small roof, familiar-strange,
Roof that oped to many a vision
Grim, fantastic, or elysian:
On the river dance thy beams
To the tune that swayed my dreams;

Swallowed in the gloomy arches
Where beneath the bridge it marches;
Shining unopposed and wide
O'er the harbour's mingling tide;
Striking with a wand of power,
Landmark grey, the old church-tower,
Yet disturbing not its sleep;
Nor the slumber far more deep
Its solitary precincts claim,
Paved with many a well-known name.

There the Fall for ever tolls;
And the Bar, through nights and days,
Booms from sand-hills by the sea,
When th' Atlantic water rolls
Solemnly and heavily,—
Now whitened with thy rays.
The narrow tide I gaze on *here*,
With thee, O Moon, less kindly greets
My pensive eye than that which beats
The fierce Atlantic cliffs along;
Its stranger voice, though far less strong,
Less soothes mine ear.³¹⁵

The division between life and landscape that Allingham marks in his early poems is perhaps at its most acute here: the people of the town, like the town itself, are sleeping; the only names the poet recalls are those of the dead who lie in the graveyard. But Allingham is careful to state that the Ballyshannon he re-imagines is not the town he has recently left behind but, "childhood's home of vanished bliss", which he terms "the heart's metropolis".³¹⁶ As in his childhood,

“places” have “more reality than persons”:³¹⁷ the poet knows, “Every door’s and window’s face” and fails to visualise or recall his neighbours or his family. Acting like a telescopic eye, the moon finds what Allingham himself most longs to see: “One small roof, familiar strange”. The poet is as shut out from the lost world of his childhood as he is from Ballyshannon, yet he longs to return to taste once more those “recollections full and sweet!”³¹⁸ of the dearly loved places which have nurtured him. Retreating into the past in order to cope with his own anxiety at leaving Ballyshannon, the Ireland Allingham mourns for from abroad is a nurturing motherland who stands in his own lost mother’s stead. In leaving the land of his birth the writer has not moved ahead but is drawn even further back into the past.

Leerssen has noted Allingham’s conflation “between peripherality and timelessness”³¹⁹ in his depiction of the west of Ireland in his diary, and stressed how this is “one of the dominant modes of nineteenth century Celticism”³²⁰. The same tendency can be said to exist in “Moonrise” and in many of Allingham’s other Irish landscape poems. But while Allingham deliberately constructed a certain number of his early poems within the genre of a common Celticism it cannot be argued that the poet stressed timelessness as a positive condition. On the contrary, timelessness is almost always equated with death and fear in his poems. In the two “Aeolian Harp” poems, “What saith the river?” and “Is it all in vain?”, the drifting characters are swallowed up by it, and in “The Ruined Chapel” man’s life is made to seem inconsequential in the face of it. In “Wayconnell Tower” the nightmarish frozen state of the speaker of the poem

“fix’d” in the window, observing a “moon, a sea that never change”,³²¹ makes palpable the writer’s belief that the frozen state is the worst death of all. Again and again, the frozen image, or marginal condition, is made symbolic both of Allingham’s own isolated state of cultural conflict and insecurity within Donegal, and of Ballyshannon itself. The people of the poems, the town and the landscape they inhabit, exist in a dream-like condition: the speaker of “Wayconnell Tower” is frozen in his window; in “Moonrise” the townsfolk of Ballyshannon (who resemble the sleeping courtiers in Tennyson’s “The Sleeping Beauty”) sleep; the child in “The Fairies” is presumed to be sleeping and then proclaimed dead, although it is intimated that her body remains in a state of perfection; and the two children of “The Lullaby”,³²² rather than being lulled to sleep, are “hush’d to death” in the lap “of One with silver wings”.³²³ Like the poet himself, his characters are caught on the threshold either between life and death or past and present, and hover there, unable to break free into a meaningful existence.

That Allingham’s identity was bound up so closely with the Donegal landscape was, in a way, his tragedy: love of home-place did not sit easily with his heightened consciousness of the literary market-place and his desire to create a name for himself in the English world of letters. As has been observed, in trying to throw off his provincialism, Allingham only succeeded in increasing his marginal status. Only in poems such as “The Fairies” was his hyphenated cultural identity made whole and his marginality lost – or in those idyllic poems of

day, such as "On the Sunny Shore",³²⁴ where natural description and the poet's mood are one. It can be stated, therefore, that Allingham's aspiration to create an "atmosphere of art" in his poems succeeded in those poems which either directly or indirectly describe an Irish landscape, and that of the early poems, the poems of landscape and the poems of night are the young poet's greatest success. But despite their success and the fact that *Poems* (1850) won high praise from poets like Tennyson – who believed "they are the best *first* book we have ever had"³²⁵ – Allingham's first volume received poor reviews and neither it nor *The Music Master* sold well.³²⁶ He gave over the remaining one hundred copies of *Poems* to Frederic G. Stephens to be destroyed "without mercy",³²⁷ and revealed in a letter to Sutton of 1852 that he had turned his attention to a more sympathetic "audience". His letter enclosed his "first shot" at an Irish street ballad, "The Ballad of the Milk Maid".³²⁸ His immersion in the traditions and concerns of the Irish peasantry – to which we shall turn our attention in the following chapter – after what he perceived as the failure of his first volume in England, was to be repeated following equally poor sales of *The Music Master*.³²⁹ By March 1860 he had already completed the first six hundred lines of *Laurence Bloomfield*,³³⁰ which the following chapter, having analysed Allingham's ballads, will assess.

Notes

¹ *By the Way*, p. 30. Untitled.

² *Household Words*, XVI (Dec. 12, 1857), pp. 562 – 64. Unsigned. Republished in *Fifty Modern Poems*, pp. 17 – 29. Henceforth, FMP.

³ First published in twelve parts, as *Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland*, in *Fraser's Magazine* from November 1862-63. Subsequently published by Macmillan as the revised *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland: A Modern Poem* in 1864. Republished, with a new preface, as *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland, or the New Land-Lord* in 1869, and as *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland, or Rich and Poor in Ireland* in 1888 and 1893.

⁴ William Allingham, "Modern Prophets", *Varieties in Prose*, Vol III, pp.180 – 218, p. 181. (Henceforth VIP III). First published in *Fraser's Magazine*, 16: 93 (1877: Sept), pp. 273 – 292. Signed Unus de Multis.

⁵ *Poems* (1850). Allingham gave over the remainder of the volumes – about one hundred – to Frederic G. Stephens to be burned. (See Samira Husni, *Unpublished Correspondence of William Allingham*, Letters No 14, 23, & 50, pp. 34 – 35, pp. 62 – 66, pp. 136 – 38, & Note 1, p. 138.)

⁶ Published in 1855 and reissued as *Day and Night Songs; and the Music Master, a Love Poem* in 1860. Henceforth MM. Regarding the many poems in *Poems* which were republished in *The Music Master*, this thesis will refer to their publication in the latter volume unless otherwise stated.

⁷ During the following six years Allingham produced only a few new poems. These poems appeared chiefly in *The Athenaeum*.

⁸ R.V. Comerford, *The Fenians in Context: Irish Politics and Society 1848-82*, p. 13.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 14.

¹⁰ "On Poetry", VIP III, p. 274. First published, *Fraser's Magazine*, 75:448 (1867: Apr.), pp. 523 - 36.

¹¹ In the account of his childhood in his diary, Allingham stresses that although he was witness to an army of 'Whiteboys' (*Diary*, Ch. I, p. 19) marching through the town as a child, "Ballyshannon was a sort of island of peace in my day" (*Diary*, Ch. I, p. 20). Despite this assertion, however, his fears of an uprising are clear in his letter to Patmore of 10 February, 1852 (see Note 25), and were certainly not unfounded. Thomas Campbell Foster, in *Letters on the Condition of the People of Ireland* (1845), stresses the disturbed state of Leitrim in 1846, and confirms that "Molly Maguireism" was widespread in Cavan and Longford (Letter II – 1841, p. 67), while W. Stuart Trench's *Realities of Irish Life* (1868), records that in 1851 "the country was very disturbed" (p. 174), and provides evidence of Ribbonism in Monaghan and Armagh. Allingham must surely have worried that the rebellion and violence would spread to his county of Donegal.

¹² *Unpublished Correspondence of William Allingham*. (Henceforth UCWA). Letter from Allingham to Henry Sutton, 16 Dec 1850, Letter 17, p. 42.

¹³ Dr. Phil. Hans Kropf, *William Allingham*, (translated by L. J. Passmore), p. 19.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 31.

¹⁵ MM, pp. 69 - 71. First published in *Household Words: A Weekly Journal*, No. 24, Saturday, Nov 15, 1850, p. 81. Republished in *Day and Night Songs* (1854), No. XXVIII. (Henceforth DNS.) Retitled "In a Broken Tower" for *Songs, Ballads, and Stories*, pp. 31 - 2. (Henceforth SBS.)

¹⁶ MM, pp. 23 - 24. First published, untitled, in *Poems* (1850), and republished in *Leigh Hunt's Journal*, 14 December, 1850, under the title "The Lonely Ruin".

¹⁷ While Allingham may also perhaps have been influenced by Alfred Tennyson's fascination with Cornwall, Wales, Scotland and Ireland (Tennyson visited both Cornwall and Ireland in 1848), it should be noted that he was writing in advance of "The Idylls of the King" (published between 1856 and 1885), and at no time depicted the anonymous Celtic region of his poems as disturbed by agrarian unrest.

¹⁸ First published 1834. *Poems of Sir Samuel Ferguson*, pp. 62 – 64.

¹⁹ Cited in "Recollections of William Allingham, The Poet", by John Reade. *Allinghams*, by L.S. Loomer, p. 52. Originally published in *The New Dominion Monthly* (Montreal: John Dougall & Son, July 1872), pp. 1 - 4.

²⁰ See poems such as "Windlass Song", "In a Spring Grove", and "The Wayside Well", MM, pp. 8 – 9, p. 38, & pp. 48 – 51.

²¹ For examples of the sea as a threshold between life and death, see the "Aeolian Harp" poems, "What saith the river?" & "Is it all in vain?" (MM, pp. 15 - 16, & pp. 62 - 63), & "The Emigrant's Dream" (*Poems*, pp. 178 - 80). For examples of the sea as a threshold between past and present see, "Moonrise" (*Poems*, pp. 172 - 77), & "In the Dusk" (MM, p. 160). Examples of the window as a threshold between life and death can be found in "A Dream" (MM, pp 25 - 27), "The Young Street Singer", and the Aeolian Harp, "A traveller wendeth over the wold" (*Poems*, pp. 244 – 45 & pp. 259 - 60). The window as a threshold between past and present is most apparent in "Wayconnell Tower" (MM, pp. 69 - 71).

²² The division of his poems into day and night poems is also apparent in several poems included in *Poems* (1850) which were not included in *Day and Night Songs*. (The 1884 collection, likewise entitled *Day and Night Songs*, is made up of later poems together with those published in 1854 and 1855.)

²³ "A Singer", *Life and Phantasy*, p. 47. Henceforth, LP.

²⁴ Letter to Coventry Patmore, 10 February, 1852. *Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore*: Vol II, p. 177.

²⁵ In a letter to D. J. O'Donoghue, dated c.1887, Allingham informed him that, "I don't like writing about myself and must ask you to excuse brevity" (UCWA, Letter 110, p. 269.). A subsequent letter to O'Donoghue, shortly before his death in 1889, reasserts this stance: "you must pardon me if I abstain from speaking more about myself, having long ago made a rule to avoid it." ("The O'Donoghue Papers", *The Irish Book Lover: A Monthly Review of Irish Literature and Bibliography*, Vol XII, p. 104).

²⁶ "A Singer", LP, p. 47.

²⁷ In a letter to the Brownings, of 24 September 1853, Allingham infers that his family regard his literary ventures as "perfectly mad." *Letters from William Allingham to Mr. and Mrs. Browning*, p. 5.

²⁸ Allingham determined to go to university in 1853, "either at the London University or one of the new Queen's Colleges in Ireland." (*Letters to Mr. and Mrs. Browning*, 24 September, 1853, p. 5.) He seems to have finally decided on London, however, as Carlyle provided him with an introductory note to Francis William Newman, then Professor of Latin at University College, London. (See LWA, letter from Thomas Carlyle to William Allingham, 27 September, 1853, p. 134.) The plan did not materialise – probably because Allingham could not raise the necessary "hundreds of pounds". (*Letters to Mr. and Mrs. Browning*, p. 5.)

²⁹ Procter wrote under the pseudonym of Barry Cornwall. "Some Personal Recollections", in "Today's Tittle Tattle", *The Pall Mall Gazette*, (London), Issue 7700, Thurs, Nov. 21, 1889. Unsigned.

³⁰ James P. Murray, "The Coastguard in Famine Relief on the West Coast", *Journal of the Galway Family History*, posted online in *Coastguards of Yesteryear*.

³¹ "A Sweet Voice Stilled", *St. Paul Daily News* (St. Paul, MN), Issue 305, Mon, Dec 23, 1889. Unsigned.

³² *William Allingham's Diary*, Ch. II, p. 33. Henceforth WAD.

³³ "The Coastguard in Famine Relief on the West Coast", *Journal of the Galway Family History*.

³⁴ MM, pp. 62 – 63. First published in *Poems*, pp. 269 – 70.

³⁵ First published in *Poems*, pp. 102 – 03. Republished in DNS, No. XI, and MM, pp. 25 – 27.

³⁶ *The Fenians in Context: Irish Politics and Society 1848-82*, p. 21.

³⁷ John Turpin, "Irish History Painting", *The GPA Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1989-1990), pp. 233 – 47, p. 241.

³⁸ WAD, Ch. IV, p. 67.

³⁹ WAD, Ch. II, Nov. 30, 1848, p. 41.

⁴⁰ UCWA, Letter 12, Allingham to Thomas Carlyle, 27 August, 1850, pp. 30 – 32, p. 31.

⁴¹ *Ibid*.

⁴² John Cunningham, "A History of the Port of Ballyshannon", Pettigo Online – Ballyshannon.

⁴³ *Letters to William Allingham*, p. 6. Henceforth LWA.

⁴⁴ WAD, Ch. II, p. 33.

- ⁴⁵ See John Cunningham, "A History of the Port of Ballyshannon".
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁷ Letter to Emerson, 11 June, 1848, LWA, pp. 43 – 44, p. 43.
- ⁴⁸ See, for example, WAD, Ch. II, July 21, 1847, pp. 39 – 40; Sept. 16, 1847, pp. 41 – 2; Sept. 26, 1847, p. 43.
- ⁴⁹ WAD, Ch. 2, p. 34.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁵¹ See Allinghams of Ballyshannon, Fourth Generation, 61 v, Edward Allingham of Bundoran, <http://ralphinla.rootsweb.ancestry.com/alingire.htm>
- ⁵² See Samira Husni, *William Allingham: An Annotated Bibliography*, p. 14.
- ⁵³ See William Irwin Patrick MacDonogh, *The Life and Work of William Allingham*, Unpublished thesis, p. 22.
- ⁵⁴ WAD, Ch. IV, p. 67.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁶ "The Irish 'Stationers'". First published, unsigned, in *Household Words*, October 5, 1850, pp. 29 – 33. Republished in VIP III under the new title "Saint Patrick's Purgatory", pp. 123 – 36.
- ⁵⁷ "Round the Midsummer Fire". First published, unsigned, in *Household Words*, July 17, 1852, pp. 426 – 28. Revised and republished in VIP III under the new title, "The Midsummer Fire", pp. 155 – 60.
- ⁵⁸ "A vast unlook'd-for change the mind dismays, / And smites its world with instability." "The Music Master", MM, Part I, Stanza LXXI, p. 107.
- ⁵⁹ See especially letter to the Brownings, 24 Sept, 1853. *Letters from William Allingham to Mr. and Mrs. Browning*, pp. 2 – 5, p. 5., & letter to Leigh Hunt, 29 June, 1855, LWA, pp. 34 – 5.
- ⁶⁰ See Malcolm McClure, "William and Isabella Allingham: Family Bible" (Inscription by William Allingham Snr to his wife, Isabella). <http://ralphinla.rootsweb.ancestry.com/allbisab.htm>
- John and Isabella later had four children: Elizabeth, Thomas, Edward and Hugh.
- ⁶¹ Regarding a visit by Allingham on 1 June, 1856, Jane Welsh Carlyle records in her journal that Allingham told her of his "early difficulties with an un-poetical father and an ill-tempered stepmother". *Jane Welsh Carlyle's Journal, October 1855-July 1856 - The Carlyle Letters Online: A Victorian Cultural Reference*.
- ⁶² Catherine, John, Jane, and Edward Allingham.
- ⁶³ WAD, Ch. I, p. 13.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁸ See, for example "The Mother", *Poems* (1850), pp. 187 – 194, "A Dream", MM, pp. 25 – 27, "Half-Waking", SBS, p. 59, and "My Mother's Death (At Portobello, by the Sea)", pp. 50 – 1.
- ⁶⁹ UCWA. Letter 84. Allingham to Thomas Carlyle, Lynton, 27 January, 1866, p. 220.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷² Letter to Arthur Clough, 17 March, 1849, Letter No. 6, UCWA, p. 12.
- ⁷³ Letter to Leigh Hunt, 29 June, 1855, LWA, p. 5.
- ⁷⁴ UCWA. Letter 51, William Allingham. to George Price Boyce, Ballyshannon, 18 Jan, 1856, p. 141.
- ⁷⁵ Allingham's music manuscript book, which he titled "Scrapbook for the Violin", has melody lines not only for classical pieces by Mozart and Rossini but many Irish airs, including "The Hawk of Ballyshannon", "The Drimian Dhun" & "Mullaney's Ramble to Cashel". Irish Airs, MS 3306. National Library of Ireland.
- ⁷⁶ Allingham to Coventry Patmore, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore*: Vol II, p. 177.
- ⁷⁷ WAD, Ch. III, p. 58.
- ⁷⁸ *Household Words*, October 5, 1850, p. 33.
- ⁷⁹ *Household Words*, July 17, 1852, p. 427.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

⁸¹ The first series of *Day and Night Songs* was published in pamphlet form in 1854. This is the same first series republished in *The Music Master* – with the omission of one poem, “Irish South-Western Railway”.

⁸² See particularly “Moonrise”, *Poems* (1850), pp. 172 – 177, & “Wayconnell Tower”, MM, pp. 69 – 71.

⁸³ In a letter to Coventry Patmore from Ballyshannon in 1852, Allingham remarked that if war should break out following the coup d’état of Louis Napoleon, “our own neighbours and workmen and servants would be our first and greatest danger” (*Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore: Vol II*, p. 177), and in Part III of “An Irish River in Three Parts”, Allingham emphasised that although the local people were courteous and anxious to please, they were “entirely cautious” when questioned on religious or political matters. (*Varieties in Prose: Volume III – Irish Sketches, Essays Etc*, pp. 48 – 110, p. 81). First published in “Rambles”, as “Donegal Bay and Irish Chronicles”, FM, 76: 456 (1867: Dec.), pp. 741 – 57.

⁸⁴ UCWA, Letter 51. Allingham to George Price Boyce, p. 140.

⁸⁵ William Allingham, “History of Ballys-anon”, *Ballyshannon Almanac*, 1862, p. 11.

⁸⁶ Hugh Allingham, *Ballyshannon: Its History and Antiquities; with Some Account of the Surrounding Neighbourhood*, p. 8.

⁸⁷ Cited in John Cunningham, “A History of the Port of Ballyshannon”. Pettigo Online – Ballyshannon.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Letter to Lady Ferguson, 8 May 1851, *Sir Samuel Ferguson in the Ireland of his Day*, Vol I, pp. 344 – 48, p. 348.

⁹² First published *Household Words*, Jan 10, 1852, No. 94. Abridged version republished in VIP III, pp. 137 – 54. Original essay reprinted in *Ceol*, Vol III, No 1. September, 1967, pp. 2 – 16.

⁹³ William Allingham to Ralph Waldo Emerson, LWA, p. 42.

⁹⁴ *Visual Politics: The Representation of Ireland, 1750-1930*, p. 15.

⁹⁵ For example, Allingham records a conversation with Tennyson in his diary wherein he admits that the imagery of the moonlight on the water in the “Aeolian Harp” poem, “What saith the river?” came directly from contemplating the moon over Donegal Bay. See WAD, Ch. IV, p. 61.

⁹⁶ First published in *Household Words*, 1850. Republished in DNS, Poem XXVI, and MM, pp. 64 – 66.

⁹⁷ *Poems*, p. 118, MM, p. 72.

⁹⁸ *Poems*, pp. 142 – 43, MM, pp. 202 – 04.

⁹⁹ *Poems*, pp. 198 – 99.

¹⁰⁰ See Note 16.

¹⁰¹ Cited in *Allinghams*, p. 50.

¹⁰² See letter from Allingham to Emerson, LWA, 5 Dec, 1847, pp. 41 – 42, p. 41.

¹⁰³ Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Poems* (1847), pp. 14 – 16.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 57 – 58.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 178 – 79.

¹⁰⁶ First published in *Poems*, titled “Sea-Side”, p. 108. MM, p. 193.

¹⁰⁷ “A Burial Place”, *Poems*, pp. 216 – 19. “Under the Grass”, MM, pp. 207 – 09.

¹⁰⁸ Ralph Waldo Emerson, “Goodbye”, Stanzas 3 & 4, *Poems* (1847), p. 58.

¹⁰⁹ William Allingham, “Under the Grass”, Stanzas 1 & 2, MM, pp. 207 – 08.

¹¹⁰ Emerson, *Poems*, pp. 232 – 35.

¹¹¹ MM, pp. 25 – 27. First published *Poems*, pp. 102 – 03.

¹¹² Ralph Waldo Emerson, “Dirge”, Stanza 2, *Poems*, p. 232.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, Stanza 4, p. 233.

¹¹⁴ *The Life and Work of William Allingham*, p. 36.

¹¹⁵ *Poems*, p. 32.

¹¹⁶ “By the Shore”, *Poems*, pp. 109 – 10. Amended and republished in *Leigh Hunt’s Journal*, No. 2 (December 14, 1850), p. 22, as “The Lonely Ruin”. Republished in DNS and MM as “The

Ruined Chapel" (DNS, No. X, MM, pp. 23 – 24). See also *Irish Songs and Poems*, pp. 117 – 18. Henceforth ISP.

¹¹⁷ *Poems*, pp. 172 – 77. It was subsequently revised and reprinted in LP, pp. 64 – 67, under the title "Moonrise, In the Isle of Man". The first version is the finer and is hence the version that will be used when we later examine this poem in detail.

¹¹⁸ *Poems*, pp. 216 – 19. Revised and republished as "Under the Grass", MM, pp. 207 – 09, ISP, pp. 123 – 24.

¹¹⁹ See Letter to Henry Sutton, UCWA, Letter 23, Oct., 1852, pp. 62 – 66, p. 63.

¹²⁰ *Poems*, pp. 246 – 49. Republished as "The Goblin Child of Belashanny" in ISP, pp. 125 – 27.

¹²¹ *Poems*, p. 207. Not republished.

¹²² *Poems*. See, for example, "Greenwood Tree", pp. 90 – 92, "The Wayside Well", pp. 127 – 29, "Lady Alice", pp. 146 – 49, "Sweet Sunday Bells", pp. 271 – 72, and "Fairy Dialogue", pp. 283 – 90.

¹²³ There are 113 poems in 298 pages in *Poems*, while the *Music Master* contains 62 poems in 220 pages.

¹²⁴ Confusingly, however, no subsequent division of the poems into poems of day and night takes place inside, and meditations such as "Levavi Oculos" (MM, pp. 28 – 29) and "Cross-Examination" (MM, pp. 30 – 31) – which appear to have nothing to do with either category – are included.

¹²⁵ See MM, Preface, p. vi. The ballads Allingham cites are "The Milkmaid", "The Girl's Lamentation", "Lovely Mary Donnelly", "Nanny's Sailor Lad", and "The Nobleman's Wedding".

¹²⁶ Preface, MM, p. viii.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ "In Scotland". First published in FM, 4: 24 (1871: Dec.), pp. 746 – 64. Republished in VIP II (1893), as "Sterling to Dunoon" and "Auld Ayr", pp. 114 – 33, & pp. 134 – 45.

¹²⁹ MS 5747 (including four autographed letters from William Allingham to Mrs Browning, Mrs Ferguson, and two to Samuel Ferguson), National Library of Ireland. The Ferguson letter of 6 June, 1885 is included in *Sir Samuel Ferguson in the Ireland of his Day* (pp. 360 – 61), but excludes the passage in question.

¹³⁰ It is not clear if the "various old" and "new" pieces Allingham told Ferguson he intended to use for the volume are some, or all, of those included in *Irish Songs and Poems*, but in gathering together what he considered to be his Irish poems under the more descriptive title of *Poems of Irish Life and Landscape*, the formation of *Irish Songs and Poems* was no doubt begun. Because of the title choice, however, it seems likely that at this early stage the poet intended to include a greater number of landscape poems in the volume than actually appeared some two years later.

¹³¹ See, for example, C. P. Curran, Foreword to *James Arthur O'Connor Centenary Exhibition*, p. 2.

¹³² See poems such as "Evening (A Close View)", *Poems* p. 32, "A Mountain Song" (Originally published under the title, "Our Mountain Range" in *Poems*), MM, pp. 182 – 86, "Aeolian Harp – O Pale green sea", MM, pp. 169 – 70, & "On the Sunny Shore" (Originally titled "Sea-side" in *Poems*), MM, p. 193. See also, "Autumnal Sonnet", MM, pp. 78 – 80.

¹³³ "Autumnal Sonnet", MM, pp. 78 – 80.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ "M.C", *Poems*, p. 136. Republished as "A Boy's Burial" in MM, pp. 191 – 92, and in ISP. In ISP a note under the title tells the reader that, "Mark Coane", buried in "Mulanashree Churchyard", "died from an accidental blow of an oar when boating." ISP, p. 44.

¹³⁶ MM, p. 160.

¹³⁷ *Poems*, pp. 149 – 50.

¹³⁸ See, for example, "The Ruined Chapel", MM, pp. 23 – 24, "Aeolian Harp – O Pale green sea", MM, pp. 169 – 70, & "The Valley Stream", MM, pp. 3 – 4.

¹³⁹ "The Great Famine in Literature, 1846-1896", pp. 444 – 59. *A Companion to Irish Literature*, Vol. I, p. 446.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² Catherine Marshall, "Painting Irish History: the Famine", *History Ireland*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Autumn, 1996), pp. 46 – 50, p. 49.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Margaret Kelleher, "Prose writing and drama in English, 1830-1890: from Catholic emancipation to the fall of Parnell", *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature, Vol I, to 1890* pp. 449 – 499, p. 452.

¹⁴⁵ "Painting Irish History: the Famine", *History Ireland*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Autumn, 1996), p. 47.

¹⁴⁶ Christopher Morash, "Introduction", *The Hungry Voice*, p. 18.

¹⁴⁷ Cited in William Rose, "Goethe's Reputation in England during his Lifetime", *Essays on Goethe*, p. 174.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Cited in Catherine Marshall, "Painting Irish History: the Famine", *History Ireland*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Autumn, 1996), pp. 48 – 49.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁵¹ "Celticism", *Celticism*, (ed) Terence Brown, pp. 1 - 20.

¹⁵² George J. Watson, "Celticism: Macpherson, Matthew Arnold and Ireland", *Social Thought on Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 147 – 66. p. 148.

¹⁵³ Matthew Arnold, *On the Study of Celtic Literature*, p. 57.

¹⁵⁴ Rachel Bromwich, cited in Maurice Riordan, "Matthew Arnold and the Irish Revival", *Literary Interrelations: Ireland, England and the World*, Vol. 3: *National Images and Stereotypes*, p. 147.

¹⁵⁵ Matthew Campbell, "Poetry in the Four Nations", *A Companion to Victorian Poetry* p. 442.

¹⁵⁶ Malcolm Chapman, *The Celts: The Construction of a Myth*, p. 212.

¹⁵⁷ Sir John Fox Burgoyne, *Ireland in 1831: Letters on the State of Ireland* (London, Bain, 1831), pp. 3 – 4, cited in Glenn Hooper, *Travel Writing and Ireland, 1760-1860: Culture, History, Politics*, p. 109.

¹⁵⁸ William Allingham, WAD, Ch. 1, p. 28.

¹⁵⁹ Scott's influence is clearly evident in Allingham's poems even if the writer was unaware of it. The poem, "On the Sunny Shore", included in the second series of *Day and Night Songs* in *The Music Master*, would appear to have been strongly influenced by Stanza xvii of Canto I of Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, the first part of which (together with "On the Sunny Shore") is printed below:

But scarce again his horn he wound
When lo! forth starting at the sound,
From underneath an aged oak,
That slanted from the islet rock,
A damsel guider of its way,
A little skiff shot to the bay,
That round the promontory steep
Led its deep line in graceful sweep,
Eddying, in almost viewless wave,
The weeping willow twig to lave,
And kiss, with whispering sound and slow,
The beach of pebbles bright as snow. ("The Lady of the Lake", *Lady of the Lake*, p. 40.)

On the Sunny Shore

Chequer'd with woven shadows as I lay
Among the grass, blinking the watery gleam;
I saw an Echo-Spirit in his bay,
Most idly floating in the noontime beam.
Slow heaved his filmy skiff, and fell, with sway
Of ocean's giant pulsing, and the Dream,
Buoy'd like the young moon on a level stream
Of greenish vapour at decline of day,

Swam airily, - watching the distant flocks
Of seagulls, whilst a foot in careless sweep
Touch'd the clear-trembling cool with tiny shocks,
Faint-circling; till at last he dropt asleep,
Lull'd by the hush-song of the glittering deep
Lap-lapping drowsily the heated rocks.

MM (1855), p. 193. (Rewrite of "Sea-Side", *Poems*, 1850.)

¹⁶⁰ Lee Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form: English Literature and the Industrialization of Publishing, 1800-1850*, p. 6.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Joep Leerssen, "Celticism", *Celticism*, (ed) Terence Brown, pp. 13 - 14.

¹⁶³ William Allingham, epigraph to ISP, 1887.

¹⁶⁴ Leerseen, *Celticism*, p. 8.

¹⁶⁵ See Note 92.

¹⁶⁶ William Gillies, "Celtic Languages", *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, pp. 173 - 75, p. 174.

¹⁶⁷ *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire*, p. 28.

¹⁶⁸ The original version of "The Music Master" was first published in *Poems*, pp. 33 - 86. After its publication in *The Music Master* (pp. 81 - 140) it was subsequently republished in *Songs, Ballads and Stories* (pp. 221 - 59), and in *Irish Songs and Poems* (pp. 60 - 98).

¹⁶⁹ *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire*, p. 28.

¹⁷⁰ MM, p. 81.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Part I, Stanza XIX, p. 88.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, Stanza XXXVII, pp. 94 - 95.

¹⁷³ Part II, Stanza X - XVI, pp. 115 - 117.

¹⁷⁴ Part I, Stanza LIV, p. 101.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Stanza XLV, p. 97.

¹⁷⁶ Part II, Stanza V, p. 112.

¹⁷⁷ Part I, Stanza. III, p. 82.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Stanza IV, p. 82.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Stanza VI, p. 83.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ MM, pp. 19 - 22. First published in *Poems*, pp. 87 - 90, and republished in DNS, No. IX.

¹⁸² MM, p. 19.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ See Thomas Bodkin, *Four Irish Landscape Painters: George Barret, R.A., James A. O'Connor, Walter F. Osborne, R.H.A., Nathaniel Hone, R.H.A.*, p. 25.

¹⁸⁶ Michael Booth, cited in Carole G. Silver, *Strange Secret Peoples: Fairies and Victorian Consciousness*, p. 4.

¹⁸⁷ "The Fairies", MM, p. 19.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ Written in 1794. *Burns: Poems*, (eds) William Beattie and Henry W. Meikle, p. 231.

¹⁹⁰ Hugh Shields, "William Allingham and Folk Song", *Hermathena: A Dublin University Review*, No CXVII, Summer 1974, pp. 23 - 36, p. 29.

¹⁹¹ Jim MacFarland, "History of 'Shane Crossagh'", Mudcat Café, 15 Oct. 2008.

http://dev.mudcat.org/thread_pf.cfm?threadid=35648

¹⁹² From *Sam Henry's Songs of the People* (1990), p. 130. Cited by Joe Offer, "History of 'Shane Crossagh'", Mudcat Café, 15 Oct. 2008. http://dev.mudcat.org/thread_pf.cfm?threadid=35648

¹⁹³ *Strange Secret Peoples: Fairies and Victorian Consciousness*, p. 60.

¹⁹⁴ Thomas Keightley, *The Fairy Mythology in Two Volumes, 1828*. Republished and enlarged, 1850.

¹⁹⁵ Thomas Keightley (1789-1872) was educated at Trinity College, Dublin.

¹⁹⁶ *The Fairy Mythology: Vol II*, p. 178.

- ¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 187.
- ¹⁹⁸ James Hogg, "Kilmeny", *The Queen's Wake: A Legendary Poem*, pp. 176 – 193.
- ¹⁹⁹ "The Fairies", MM, p. 20.
- ²⁰⁰ Little Bridget is laid "deep within the lake" ("The Fairies", MM, p. 21), while Kilmeny is laid "deep in the stream" ("Kilmeny", *The Queen's Wake*, p. 188).
- ²⁰¹ When Kilmeny returned to the mortal world, "all the land were in fear and dread,/ for they kendna whether she was living or dead" (*The Queen's Wake*, p. 193). Allingham subverted this, however, so that in his poem the fairies believe the dead child is only sleeping.
- ²⁰² See "A History of the Port of Ballyshannon", Pettigo Online – Donegal.
- ²⁰³ Mary Allingham. See "A History of the Port of Ballyshannon" and "Mary Allingham", *The Family History of Heather and Mick Reed*, <http://www.maxwellreed.net/FamHist/p151.htm>
- ²⁰⁴ Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination*, p. 164.
- ²⁰⁵ MM, pp. 69 - 71. First published in DNS.
- ²⁰⁶ MM, pp. 23 - 24.
- ²⁰⁷ Leerssen, *Celticism*, p. 4.
- ²⁰⁸ "Wayconnell Tower", *Household Words: A Weekly Journal*, Saturday, Nov 15, 1850, No. 24, p. 81.
- ²⁰⁹ DNS, No. XXVIII, and MM, pp. 69 - 71.
- ²¹⁰ MM, p. 69.
- ²¹¹ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, Section II, p. 72.
- ²¹² *Ibid*, p. 57.
- ²¹³ *Ibid*, p. 78.
- ²¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 80, p. 82 & p. 83.
- ²¹⁵ MM, p. 70.
- ²¹⁶ The poem first appeared untitled in *Poems* and was subsequently rewritten and republished as "In the Dusk" for the second series of *Day and Night Songs* in MM, 1855. MM, p. 160.
- ²¹⁷ MM, p. 160.
- ²¹⁸ "Moonrise", *Poems*, pp. 172 - 77, p. 176. See Note 118.
- ²¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 176.
- ²²⁰ MM, p. 23.
- ²²¹ MM, p. 70.
- ²²² See Note 208.
- ²²³ MM, p. 71.
- ²²⁴ See letter to Catherine Allingham, WAD, Ch. IV, pp. 72 – 73, and letter from Allingham to Mr. & Mrs H. Sutton, New Ross, 31 July, 1854, Letter 37, UCWA, p. 104.
- ²²⁵ MM, p. 71.
- ²²⁶ *Poems of Places. Ireland.* (ed) H. W. Longfellow. (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co, 1876).
- ²²⁷ SBS, Note to "Wayconnell Tower", p. 331.
- ²²⁸ *Ibid*.
- ²²⁹ *Ibid*.
- ²³⁰ *Ibid*.
- ²³¹ Perhaps most notably in the "Aeolian Harp" series of poems.
- ²³² Anne Janowitz, *England's Ruins: Poetic Purpose and the National Landscape*, p. 77.
- ²³³ Judging by William Michael Rossetti's response to a letter of Allingham's, the poet had clearly expressed this fear to him. Rossetti writes that, "It does not strike me as more like Tennyson than is incident and, I fancy, unavoidably so, to all descriptive poetry of the present school." Letter dated 14 January, 1851, *Selected Letters of William Rossetti.* (ed) Roger W. Peattie, p. 18.
- ²³⁴ Wordsworth writes of walks with his sister along the banks of the river Emont, and of entering "that monastic castle", (p. 143) with its "mouldering towers" (p. 144), and climbing the stairs, "Not without trembling", to look "Forth, through some Gothic window's open space" and gather "a rich reward/ From the far-stretching landscape, by the light/Of morning beautified, or purple eve". *The Prelude or Growth of a Poet's Mind; An Autobiographical Poem* (London: Edward Moxon, 1850).

- ²³⁵ Helen Allingham records the fact that "there are many pen-and-ink sketches in Allingham's diary of the places that interested him" (WAD, Ch IV, p. 74), and Allingham himself refers, in both his diary and letters, to his habit of sketching. (See, for example, WAD, Ch. III, p. 50, p. 52, & p. 56, and Allingham's letter to Arthur Hughes in LWA, p. 57.) Additionally, a letter from George Price Boyce to Allingham in 1857, states: "I'm glad to hear you've given the brush a trial – The pen, I fancy will work none the worse for it." (UCWA. Letter 58, p. 159.)
- ²³⁶ See Thomas Bodkin, *Four Irish Landscape Painters*, George Barret, R.A., Plate 3.
- ²³⁷ Thomas Kitson Cromwell, *Excursions through Ireland*, 3 vols (London: Longman, 1820).
- ²³⁸ Rev. G.N. Wright, *Historical Guide to Ancient and Modern Dublin* (London: Baldwin Cradock & Joy, 1821), *Tours in Ireland, or guides to the Lakes of Killarney, the County of Wicklow and the Giant's Causeway* (London: Baldwin Cradock & Joy, 1823), *Ireland Illustrated from Original Drawings* (London: Fisher, Son & Jackson, 1832).
- ²³⁹ J.N. Brewer, *The Beauties of Ireland* (London: Sherwood, Jones & Co., 1825).
- ²⁴⁰ The full sentence reads: "I sought A.T. and worshipped him as the well-head of an enchanting river of song : charm of personality and surroundings came in addition, a fine setting to the priceless jewel of his genius." WAD, Ch. X, October 17, 1868. p. 189.
- ²⁴¹ "Therania", MM, pp. 67 - 68. First published DNS.
- ²⁴² In a tribute to George Petrie, first published in *Fraser's Magazine*, in July 1866 (74: 439, pp. 94 - 100), Allingham's description of Petrie at times reads almost like a description of himself: "He was educated and remained in the Protestant forms, but in the comparative merits of different rituals he felt no personal interest. Nor did he in politics, Irish or other [...] In later life he was interested and pleased with the pre-Raphaelite movement". "George Petrie, 1790 - 1866", VIP III, pp. 161 - 73, pp. 168 - 169.
- ²⁴³ *Samuel Ferguson and the Culture of Nineteenth Century Ireland*, p. 94.
- ²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴⁵ Included in *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1845).
- ²⁴⁶ *The Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* (Dublin: M. H. Gill, 1855).
- ²⁴⁷ "The Nobleman's Wedding", on which they had collaborated, would appear in the second series of *Day and Night Songs* the following year. MM, pp. 194 - 96.
- ²⁴⁸ The original version of the poem in *Household Words* in 1850 states that, the tallest trees were "but so tall/ as just to reach to where I sat." *Household Words*, Saturday, Nov 16th, 1850, No. 24, p. 181.
- ²⁴⁹ Petrie repeatedly drew and painted tans and shafts of light falling on the Irish landscape. Such fans of light are particularly prevalent in the engravings after Petrie's drawings found in T. R. Cromwell's, *Excursions through Ireland* (1820-21).
- ²⁵⁰ "Wayconnell Tower", MM, p. 69.
- ²⁵¹ Peter Murray, *George Petrie (1790-1866): The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, p. 51.
- ²⁵² *Household Words*, Saturday, Nov 16th, 1850, p. 181.
- ²⁵³ "Wayconnell Tower", MM, p. 70.
- ²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵⁵ George Petrie, *Conway Castle and Suspension Bridge (built 1824-26), Wales* c. 1828. *George Petrie (1790-1866): The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, p. 144.
- ²⁵⁶ The influence of these poets can be seen in such poems as "The Witch Bride" & "The Lullaby" (MM, p. 72 & p. 181. First published in *Poems*), "The Pale Image" (*Poems*, pp. 198 - 99), "The Cold Wedding" (MM, pp. 153 - 55), & "The Maids of Elfen-Mere" (MM, pp. 202 - 04). First published in *Poems*, the latter poem was originally entitled, "The Maidens of the Mere" and lacked the refrain of the second version.
- ²⁵⁷ See especially the Aeolian Harp poems, "A Traveller wendeth over the wold" (*Poems*, pp. 259 - 60), "What saith the river?", "Is it all in vain?", & "O pale green sea" (MM, pp. 15 - 16, pp. 62 - 63, & pp. 169 - 70.)
- ²⁵⁸ In a letter to Coventry Patmore of 10 February, 1852, Allingham expressed his fear that, if war should arise, "our own neighbours and workmen and servants would be our first and greatest danger". (*Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore: Vol II*, p. 177.) His childhood nightmare, "of a swarm of fierce men seizing the town, bursting into the houses, etc; of soldiers

drawn out in rant with levelled guns, of firing, bloodshed, and all horror" (WAD, Ch. 1, p. 19) hence remained a possibility.

²⁵⁹ MM, pp. 15 – 16. First published in *Poems*, pp. 183 – 84.

²⁶⁰ MM, pp. 62 – 63.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 169 - 70. First published in *Poems*, pp. 280 – 81.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

²⁶⁵ *Poems*, pp. 178 – 79.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

²⁶⁷ MM, pp. 62 – 63.

²⁶⁸ *Poems*, p. 178.

²⁶⁹ *Poems*, pp. 259 – 60. Revised and republished under title, "Black Night" in *Flower Pieces and Other Poems* (1888), p. 132.

²⁷⁰ "The Young Street Singer", *Poems*, pp. 244 - 245.

²⁷¹ *Poems*, p. 260.

²⁷² "The Music Master: A Love Story", Part I, Stanza V, MM, p. 82.

²⁷³ "The Music Master", MM, Stanza V, p. 82.

²⁷⁴ *Poems*, p. 245.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁶ DNS (1854), & MM (1855).

²⁷⁷ Stanza One of "A Singer", LP, p. 47, reads:

That which he did not feel, he would not sing;
What most he felt, religion 'twas to hide
In a dumb darkling grotto, where the spring
Of tremulous tears, arising unespied,
Became a holy well that durst not glide
Into the day with moil or murmuring;
Whereto, as to some unlawful thing,
He stole, musing or praying at its side.

²⁷⁸ "A Singer", LP, p. 47.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁰ "Britannia's Sick Sister: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882", *Writing Irishness in Nineteenth Century British Culture*, p. 181.

²⁸¹ "Aeolian Harp", *Poems*, pp. 259 - 60.

²⁸² "A Dream", MM, pp. 25 - 27. First published in *Poems*.

²⁸³ "Aeolian Harp", *Poems*, p. 259.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁷ "A Dream", MM, p. 25.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ Following the river's ferrying of the drifting man to the sea, the final stanza of "What saith the river?" reads:

What saith the river to the rushes grey,
Rushes sadly bending,
River slowly wending?
Where in darkest glooms his bed we lay,
Up the cave moans the wave,
For ever ever fled away! (MM, p. 16).

Similarly, as we have seen in "Is it all in vain?", the "one survivor in a boat" (MM, p. 62), despite his struggle, meets death by water in the final stanza of the poem.

²⁹¹ MM, p. 160.

²⁹² "On the Sunny Shore", MM, p. 193.

- ²⁹³ *Ibid.* It is interesting to note that here, unthreatened by darkness, the poet portrays the sea almost as a mother in that the central character is, "Lull'd by the hush-song of the glittering deep/ Lap-lapping drowsily the heated rocks."
- ²⁹⁴ "A Dream", MM, p. 25.
- ²⁹⁵ "The Emigrant's Dream", *Poems*, p. 178.
- ²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 179.
- ²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 178.
- ²⁹⁸ "A Boy's Burial", *Poems*, p. 136. See Note 136.
- ²⁹⁹ (*Rossetti Archives*, M.S. Poetry 1869.70.71 (composite manuscript collection, Princeton/Taylor collection: page [3v / 45v])
- ³⁰⁰ "What saith the river?" MM, p. 16.
- ³⁰¹ Letter to Catherine Allingham. WAD, p. 72.
- ³⁰² *Ibid.*
- ³⁰³ UCWA. Letter 37. William Allingham to Mr & Mrs H. Sutton. New Ross, 31 July 1854, p. 104.
- ³⁰⁴ UCWA. Letter 71. Allingham to Alfred Tennyson. January 12, 1861, p. 195.
- ³⁰⁵ UCWA. Letter 71. William Allingham to Alfred Tennyson, pp. 195 - 96.
- ³⁰⁶ In a letter to Allingham, dated October 14, 1863, Lady Burne-Jones provides evidence of Allingham's tendency to keep his Irish life hidden when she remarks that: "When you are in Ireland you seem in your own home, and independent of your friends on this side of the water; but directly you cross over we feel you belong to us in some way, and claim you accordingly." LWA, p. 125.
- ³⁰⁷ See for example, William Allingham to Leigh Hunt, and William Allingham to Arthur Hugh Clough, LWA, pp. 6 - 8, pp. 14 -15, pp. 20 - 24, & pp. 158 - 59. Also *Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore*: Vol II, pp. 176 - 77.
- ³⁰⁸ See Note 117.
- ³⁰⁹ *The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W. B. Yeats*, p. 117. First published in *The National Observer*, 13 December, 1890. Republished in *The Rose*.
- ³¹⁰ See Note 107.
- ³¹¹ *Poems*, p. 173.
- ³¹² *Poems*, p. 174.
- ³¹³ "A Dream", MM, p. 25.
- ³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- ³¹⁵ "Moonrise", *Poems*, pp. 175 - 76.
- ³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 174.
- ³¹⁷ See page 36.
- ³¹⁸ *Poems*, p. 175.
- ³¹⁹ Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination*, p. 188.
- ³²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ³²¹ "Wayconnell Tower", MM, p. 70.
- ³²² MM, p. 181. First published in *Poems*.
- ³²³ *Ibid.*
- ³²⁴ See Note 159.
- ³²⁵ *Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore*, Vol I, p. 195.
- ³²⁶ In a review of *Poems* (1850), for example, Allingham's supposed friend, Coventry Patmore, described the volume as "second rate" in an anonymous review in *The Palladium* (Nov. 1850, pp. 385 - 91, p. 385.), while *The Literary Gazette* criticised him for publishing poems which were "exercises only" and for his "trivial" subjects. (No. 1777, Feb. 8, 1851, pp. 111 - 12, p. 111). Nonetheless, both reviewers praised his finer poems and saw potential in his work. Following his poor review of *Poems*, Patmore gave *Day and Night Songs* (1854) a glowing review in *The Critic* in April 1854. (13: 312, April 1, 1854, p. 185. Unsigned.) Many other reviewers similarly praised the volume but *The Eclectic Review* (Jan. 1855, pp. 43 - 44), believed Allingham failed to live up to the expectations raised by *Poems*.
- ³²⁷ UCWA, Letter 50, William Allingham to Frederic G. Stephens, Note 1, p. 138.
- ³²⁸ *Ibid.*, Letter 23, Allingham to Henry Sutton, 14 Oct, 1852, pp. 65 - 66.
- ³²⁹ See Samira Husni, UCWA, Part II, 1854 - 1862, p. 99.

³³⁰See letter from Allingham to Rossetti, March 12, 1860, *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham*, p. 230.

Chapter Two

“Writings from the Periphery: Irish ballads for the Irish people and Angry Words in an English Poem”

Island of bitter memories! thickly sown
From winding Boyne to Limerick's treaty-stone,
From Connaught Hills to Dublin Castle Wall,
From Wexford shore to furthest Donegal,
Through six long centuries of hostile sway,
From Strongbow fierce to cunning Castlereagh;
These will not melt and vanish in a day;
These can yet sting the patriot thoughts which turn
From Erin's past, and bid them weep and burn.

From *Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland*, by William Allingham¹

This chapter will examine Allingham's attempts to find solidarity with the Irish people through music and ballad-writing and his effort to address and find solutions to the land crisis through his portrayal of the eponymous Lawrence (later Laurence)² Bloomfield. Answering Davis's call to write ballads³ and sharing, as we shall see, his belief in peasant proprietorship,⁴ Allingham was nonetheless less didactic than Davis and the Young Irelanders whose songs he claimed remained within “the Repeal Meeting-room and the Club-room” and had never become “in the true sense, popular.”⁵ He believed that “Songs for a people must find their natural element beside the cottage hearth”⁶ and accordingly wrote his ballads out of an already extant ballad tradition in order to be one with the Donegal peasantry who played and sang popular songs. While his immersion in local Irish ballad culture and his ballad-writing also provided a means to assert his cultural distinctiveness from metropolitan English culture, to use that tradition for political ends, as Davis had done, would have seemed a

travesty to the poet. Yet he had no such reservations in *Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland* (1862-63), his social commentary in heroic couplets. His long poem, both as it appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* and in subsequent volume editions,⁷ chastises the British for their colonial history in Ireland and for their lack of concern for the rights of the Irish peasantry. Here his objection to British "imperialism" – a term initially used in Britain as "a derogatory way of describing the 'despotic' government of France under Louis Napoleon",⁸ but appropriated by Irish nationalists to describe the British government's "despotic and foreign" rule⁹ – is made clear. (The term was only used by the British as a "positive description of Britain's overseas obligations"¹⁰ from the late 1860s.) *Lawrence Bloomfield* reveals he shared with the Young Irelanders the nationalist "tendency to identify with other peoples, European and non-European, who were under imperial systems of government".¹¹

Yet because the friends with whom Allingham could relate on an intellectual and creative level were mainly British writers and artists based in London, tensions began to emerge within his writing. England's treatment of Ireland may have grieved and enraged him but it is equally apparent that, anticipating Yeats, George Bernard Shaw and Oscar Wilde, Allingham feared what Robert Crawford has described as "the marginalised status of being labelled dismissively as parochial or provincial"¹² in London, a fear that grew stronger when he made his final move to England in 1863 and which, as we shall see, affected the continuity and coherence of *Lawrence Bloomfield*.

Composing his final chapters of that work in Lymington, he seems to have become conscious of the at times subversive tone of his long poem, striving to tame its tenor and mood and to once more present a picturesque Celtic landscape in his work.

Analysing both Allingham's fidelity to Ireland and his fears of rejection in England as centre-periphery tensions in "Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads" and in *Lawrence Bloomfield* (as it appeared in *Fraser's*),¹³ the chapter will argue that only through his ballad-writing did Allingham escape marginalisation and become united with the land of his birth. In seeking literary credibility for those ballads in England, however, Allingham found it necessary to infer a tradition of ballad-writing among the educated Protestant Irish, anticipating Yeats by placing himself within a canon of Anglo-Irish writing which echoed the work of Oliver Goldsmith, the ideas and ideals of Davis, and the translations and poems of Ferguson. It was a tradition he would seek to stress again in writing *Lawrence Bloomfield* where, despite his mirroring of Crabbe, he similarly echoes Davis's ideals and looks to the work of Goldsmith.

A reading of Allingham's broadside ballads will reveal the influence of Hiberno-English (as spoken in Ballyshannon and as opposed to the Ulster-Scots of East Donegal)¹⁴ on his ballads. It will further note how the Irish ballad tradition determined the subject matter of such early poems as "The Pilot's Daughter"¹⁵ and "Venus of the Needle",¹⁶ the refrain of "The Maids of Elfen-Mere",¹⁷ the

character study of George Levison in “George Levison; or, The Schoolfellows”,¹⁸ and the language of *Lawrence Bloomfield*. The influence of “George Levison” on *Lawrence Bloomfield* will, in turn, be assessed. Stressing how, to make Ireland’s history and the discrimination of the landlord class against the peasantry known in England, Allingham risked the very marginalisation he feared from the British reading public he addressed in *Lawrence Bloomfield*, the chapter will finally examine the heightened effect of centre-periphery tensions on the later chapters of that poem.

I

Feeling marginalised by the British literary world following poor reviews and sales of *Poems*, and perhaps inspired by Burns, whose love of place he shared, Allingham sought solace in the folk traditions of the Irish peasantry whose woes he gave voice to in his essay, “Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads”,¹⁹ and whose plight he would address in *Lawrence Bloomfield*. Seán Lucy has commented that, “The most accessible and attractive road into the Gaelic world for the English speaker [...] was through music.”²⁰ Music was a passion for Allingham – both classical²¹ and traditional – so his transition to local music was a natural one. He regularly played Irish airs on his fiddle, thus finding non-partisan solidarity with the land of his birth. But in this same local music he also found tones and rhythms which provided him with inspiration for his ballads and poems, some of which, as we shall see, carry the rhythms and sound of both Hiberno-English speech, Ulster-English, and the Irish language.

That Petrie had set up a society to preserve and publish old Irish music in Dublin in 1851²² must have further fuelled Allingham's interest in Irish melodies and ballads and heightened his awareness of the vulnerability of a tradition whose most faithful adherents were often illiterate. Like Goldsmith – who likewise wrote ballads he could hear sung by local people when he found himself socially isolated at Trinity College, Dublin²³ – Allingham empathised with the ballads of a nation which described a people as marginalised as himself. That there was a shared ballad tradition between Britain and Ireland, however, he chose to ignore until the publication of *The Ballad Book* in 1864,²⁴ inferring the indigenous quality of Irish ballads in "Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads" and in his preface to *The Music Master* when, in truth, as Shields states it, from "the eighteenth century, ballads in English passed in a two-way commerce between Ireland and Britain".²⁵ Accordingly, Shields argues, "the existence of an Irish 'ballad idiom' [...] does not necessarily make it easy to identify a particular song as Irish or to define 'Irishness' in songs."²⁶ By indicating the Irishness of the ballads he either alluded to or added to, Allingham, however, left it open for British readers to assume that at least some of these works were translations from the Gaelic when this was clearly not the case. Since the majority of ballad collectors in Ireland in the early 1800s knew little or no Irish, the tendency had been to note down the melodies to songs in Gaelic "as an alternative ethnic symbol"²⁷ and to ignore the words which were subsequently lost. That Allingham defined his Irishness by a shared ballad tradition between Ireland and Britain – in which English ballads in Ireland were often sung in an

Irish ballad idiom, or rewritten to include Irish place-names and characters, and Irish ballads in English were sung to English, Irish and Scottish airs – shows an unwillingness on his behalf to admit the cultural interdependence between the two islands to his British reading audience. While the poet was willing to promote that interdependence in his common Celticism, his status as outsider in Donegal made him protective over the traditions of the local peasantry and the airs he played on his fiddle. Accordingly, that very protectiveness resulted in his invention of a distinct Irish ballad tradition that did not, in fact, exist. Seamus Deane has remarked how,

[...] poetry as popular song became an important weapon in the long war against colonialism. Since it was then widely assumed throughout Europe that the ballad was the original poetry of the people, nationalist movements tended to give it an unprecedented political prominence.²⁸

Although not engaged in writing ballads with a political message, by implying that Irish ballads in English were indigenous Allingham nonetheless used the “Irish ballad tradition” as a counter to Anglocentrism and colonialism.

A keen fiddler,²⁹ Allingham amassed many Irish airs in his violin manuscript notebook. While some tunes may have been copied from Edward Bunting's third edition of *Ancient Music of Ireland* (1840) and from Petrie's manuscripts, local airs were also gathered here by the poet and include: “The Hawk of Ballyshannon”, “The Girl in Danger”, “Kitty O’Hea”, “Van Diemen’s Land”, “The Drimian Dhun”, “Mullaney’s Ramble to Cashel”, “The Lamentation of Owen O’Neil”, “It Was An Old Beggarman” and Mo Colleen Dhas Ro” - together

with an air Allingham describes as a “very ancient” keen.³⁰ Realising their importance to the Irish music tradition, Allingham, mirroring Davis,³¹ provided Petrie with a number of these traditional airs. Shields notes the inclusion of “It Was An Old Beggarman” in *The Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland*,³² the publication of “Kitty O’Hea” in the latter’s *Music of Ireland*³³ and the republication of both – together with “Van Diemen’s Land”, and “Mo Colleen Dhas Ro” – in *The Complete Collection of Irish Music*.³⁴ Allingham’s contribution to these collections is significant. In “Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads” the poet notes that some of “the national melodies”, had “never been noted down”, and were “perishing yearly, by twos and threes”.³⁵ Had he, like Davis before him, failed to write down these airs they may have been lost forever. Ironically, however, in seeking escape into local folk culture and ballads, he also mirrored the actions of Bunting, Goldsmith and Davis, thus placing himself within an Anglo-Irish ballad tradition which would lend authority to his own Irish ballads when published in England.

Also an avid ballad collector, Allingham was at pains to amass the street-ballad lyrics of his country. By 1851 he had collected “some ten dozen of the ordinary street ballads of Ireland”,³⁶ noting their particular categories and studying their failings and finer moments. Of the broadside ballads in his possession, almost half owed “their inspiration to Cupid”,³⁷ the other songs falling into the categories of: “Party Ballads”,³⁸ “songs of general Patriotism”, “sea-voyages, wrecks and pirates”, “Farewells to Ireland”, “Criminal Ballads” and

“comic ballads”.³⁹ These categories, as we shall later observe, would be taken into account by Allingham when composing his own ballads. Satisfying the taste of his local audience with ballads on romance and farewells to Ireland, he would distance himself from Davis’s more ardent nationalist tendencies, dismissing the Young Irelander’s summons to write “national lyrics” in order to promote the idea of an “Irish nation”.⁴⁰

Not content to keep his information on Irish ballads to himself, in 1851 he submitted “Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads” to *Household Words*, keen to stress apparently that Ireland, like England, had her own ballad history and share of street ballads. The article was published anonymously on 10 January, 1852. It is the only known source “regarding the singers’ musical style” on record.⁴¹ Allingham describes the vocal pitch and “nasal twang”⁴² of the ballad singers and, when a minstrel sings “Youghal Harbour”, gives a written example of what he describes as “humouring”, or a twirling “of every word several times”⁴³ round the tongue. His description is helpful in that he writes the lyrics, as sung, semi-phonetically. In doing so he leaves evidence for the current student of the Irish ballad that, “the common Irish practice of intercalating ‘non-lexical vowels—‘Young-e boys’ –or of using consonants of the text as vowels: ‘Lisbur-n town’”,⁴⁴ existed in his day. Less helpful, however, is his fleeting reference to the “little blue and yellow covered song-books”⁴⁵ for sale. In clinging to the notion of the distinctiveness of Irish ballads in English, he fails to describe the hybrid contents of the books in which, together with “the popular literary

pieces of the day [...] songs by Moore, Campbell and Burns” appear, along with “street-songs and traditional countryside songs.”⁴⁶ Although it would have added weight to his presentation of a common Celticism in his Irish poems, yet again Ireland’s shared ballad culture is hidden from Allingham’s English readers.

Instead the reader of *Household Words* is treated to excerpts from the lyrics of several inoffensive ballads, filled with Irish place-names, before the writer reaches an exposition of Irish rebelliousness in song. Allingham may not have followed Davis’s ballad-writing practice – wherein songs were written and published in the *Nation* for didactic purposes⁴⁷ – but in “Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads” he nonetheless recruited popular song to chastise England’s colonial attitude and practices. It was not an uncommon practice within the England of Allingham’s time where, as Ellen O’Brien relates, Irish emigrants ensured Irish broadside ballads were reprinted “to contest and parody conventional colonial discourse about Ireland.”⁴⁸ These ballads were “circulated daily in great quantities”,⁴⁹ many of them articulating “the Irish national cause” or voicing “experiences of Irish oppression.”⁵⁰ The middle-class Allingham thus mirrors a written, emigrant Irish, working-class fight against British colonialism in his article. Moreover, although also stressing the same disdain for agrarian politics of the unwholesome sort that the reader later encounters in *Lawrence Bloomfield*, he equally anticipates that poem’s conflicting loyalties by simultaneously flirting with nationalism and drawing the reader’s attention to Ireland’s unequal position within the Union. By citing several extracts from “The

Irish Emigrant's Address to his Irish Landlord"⁵¹ and from "Patrick Fitzpatrick's Farewell",⁵² he highlights, as Davis did so often before him, the injustice meted out to the Irish both by the landlord class and under English rule. The opening verse of "The Irish Emigrant's Address" describes a tenant's revenge on his landlord as he leaves for America:

I'm now going to a country where
From Poor-rates I'll be free,
For poor Ireland's going to the dogs
As fast as fast can be;
You know you'd like to stop me,
So I'll do it on the sly;
With me I'll take a half-years's rent,
Your Honour – won't you cry?⁵³

"Patrick Fitzpatrick's Farewell", which Allingham states "presents a rude picture of misery, which is unexaggerated and touching",⁵⁴ depicts in some detail the suffering of the Irish peasantry under British rule:

Those three long years I've laboured hard, as any on Erin's isle,
And still was scarcely able my family to keep;
My tender wife and children three, under the lash of misery,
Unknown to friends and neighbours, I've often seen to weep.
Sad grief it seized her tender heart, when forced her only cow to part,
And canted was before her face, the Poor-rates for to pay;
Cut down in her youthful bloom, she's gone into her silent tomb;
Forlorn I will mourn her loss when in America.⁵⁵

Despite his slightly pompous and, at times, ironic tone and his efforts to distance himself from the peasantry by referring to them as "the people",⁵⁶ Allingham, in this essay, gives them a voice by citing, and including a gloss to, their ballads. His empathy with them anticipates his empathy with Neal Doran, a key figure in *Lawrence Bloomfield*. Similar conflicts, in fact, exist in both the article and poem:

while he shies away from radical solutions to Ireland's difficulties, Allingham's apparent empathy with the anger of the ordinary Irish people implies what could be considered subversive tendencies in the England of his time. For example, having described a ballad on agrarian politics sung by a local singer – noting that it finds its solution in violent measures and referring to a purchaser of the ballad as a “country lout”⁵⁷ – Allingham later defends freedom of speech in an age when such ballads and sentiments were considered seditious.⁵⁸

Listen for a moment to that vender of china-cement and polishing paste, who, rubbing his whitening and quicksilver with his palm on the edges of a roll of pence, invites the crowd to turn their iron spoons into silver, and their saucepans into shaving-mirrors: adding, that the composition is admirable for cleaning up a firelock – “and if yiz wuz only to take it out wanst a year to shoot an agent wid, yiz outhn't to grudge the price I'm axin', - ha'pence a-piece, still on, or six for tuppence!” Of course this is mere fun; but we must confess, too, that it is freedom of speech.⁵⁹

We know from his *Diary* that Allingham had little respect for land-agents.

~~the following passage, which somehow escaped Helen Allingham's editorship,~~

Allingham describes a visit to his room, while stationed at Donegal in 1849, by a “Reverend Jos. Welsh and English land-agent Wilson.”⁶⁰ Displaying his contempt for the “English” land-agent, Allingham relates how, when Wilson picked up his copy of Tennyson's poems, he snatched the book back from him:

Wilson looked into my Tennyson, and saying, ‘Now this is what I call *stuff!*’ began to read out part of Aenone [sic]. I said, ‘Let me look at it,’ and put the book in my pocket without another word. He appeared rather stunned.⁶¹

That Allingham knew he was treading on dangerous ground in “Irish Street Ballads” by including passages that lampoon, and express resentment at, the

English race is evident. In preparing the essay for its second publication in the third volume of *Varieties in Prose*, which was not published until after his death in 1893, he edited out what could be considered the more subversive passages from his passage on "Party Ballads". The reader of the second publication hence no longer learns of "brave Dr. Cahill" who,

[...] appears to have sprung into sudden popularity on the strength of some amiable remarks of the brave Doctor, to the effect, that there was not a man, woman, or child in France, who would not dance with joy at the prospect of a favourable opportunity of plunging a knife in the body of an Englishman.⁶²

Nor is he witness to the satire on the English Prime Minister ("little John"),⁶³ in "Doctors Betagh and Cahill":

Come all you loose young fellows, you know well what I mean,
Prepare yourselves in time my boys, I'd have you mind the green;
The weather it looks gloomy, I think we're near a change,
And little John, the Lepreghaun [sic], he is nearly quite deranged.⁶⁴

His original decision to include "Doctors Betagh and Cahill" reads like an attempt to answer back to the English Victorian press, for their caricaturing and pillorying of the Irish, by proving the Irishman equally capable of ridicule. Anxious to redress the balance and align himself again with the English readership for whom his article was intended, however, Allingham, in a display of impartiality, redirects his anger at "the mass" of the Irish "people"⁶⁵ for their ignorance with regard to Irish politics:

In Ireland, the mass of the people recognise but two great parties; the one, composed of Catholics, patriots, would-be rebels – these being interchangeable ideas; the other, of Protestants, Orangemen, wrongful holders of estates, and oppressors in general – these also being interchangeable ideas. It is true there are Protestants who rank on the popular side, and who, on occasion, receive tumultuous applause from the common cry. Smith O'Brien and John Mitchell [sic] were of these; and

the Young Irelanders exerted themselves to build an Irish party, on other than the old ground of priestly Catholicism; but herein lay one cause of their failure. THE PEOPLE, in the confused brains of its many heads, could not, would not, and will not understand more than two parties.⁶⁶

It was an anger that, in this case, was easily redirected. Revealing Allingham's dashed hopes with regard to the Young Irelanders, and his subsequent frustration at the coupling of politics to religion in an Ireland where he respected neither branch of the Christian religion, but clearly felt aggrieved at the association of patriotism with Catholicism, it equally sounds a note of despair. Furthermore, his division of the Irish people into two distinct tribes, who will never unite until they cease confusing religion with politics, echoes Davis both in his essay "Udalism and Feudalism",⁶⁷ where Davis queries if landlords will ever sympathise with the tenants they despise without either a change of creed on their behalf or on the part of their tenants, and in his poem "Celts and Saxons".⁶⁸ Like Davis, Allingham intimates that national allegiance is more important than religion—an idea unlikely to endear him to either side of the religious divide in Ireland. (The same division of the Irish people into two tribes also occurs, as we shall see, in *Lawrence Bloomfield*.) Despite his frustration with regard to Irish politics, however, that frustration and impatience is outweighed by his anger at England's treatment of Ireland.

That anger was deep-seated and arose repeatedly throughout his life. As we shall see, it cast a shadow on his efforts to present himself as an impartial Irishman in Chapters VI and VII of *Lawrence Bloomfield*. Moreover, as Chapters Three and Four of this thesis will reveal, it made itself known in his later

arguments about Ireland with Tennyson and in his term as editor of *Fraser's Magazine*. Hence, although anxious not to offend his English readership in his 1852 article, probably for fear of jeopardising his future chances of literary success in England, he is nonetheless ready to point out to them that, "Ireland is far enough from having justice done to her".⁶⁹ In striving to give voice to the Irish peasantry while distancing himself from Irish nationalism and trying to win over – albeit anonymously – a non-Irish reading audience, he again finds himself occupying a marginal position, an anonymous outsider commentating from the sidelines as he attends a "Fair-day" in his "Irish market town."⁷⁰

In trying to live and write between two countries and cultures Allingham, already engaged in developing his common Celticism, found himself fully part of neither. Finding, as we have seen, solace in the Donegal landscape, he strove to reconcile himself with the culture of his immediate environment by turning to Irish airs, writing his own broadside ballads, or adding to fragments of existing songs. Discovering the ability to merge anonymously with the local people in song, a number of his ballads describe characters as isolated from their local community as he found himself to be – the greater part of his popular songs being concerned with the favoured theme of the people, love.

II

No doubt hopeful that he could emphasise the distinctiveness of his Irish ballads by colouring them with the sounds of Gaelic and the local Donegal

dialect, Allingham submitted his first broadside ballads for anonymous publication by a Dublin ballad printer around 1852.⁷¹ As an Irishman of Protestant birth, living in a mainly Catholic town, it is unsurprising that Allingham chose to distribute lyrics written to Irish airs, or airs he heard played locally, anonymously. In this way he could erase his Protestant-Irish heritage, drop the Celtic mantle of his common Celticism, and submerge himself in the music and balladry of the town of his birth. Non-political ballads set to both Irish airs and popular airs bridged the class, religious, and political divide that separated him from the local people, for whose voices his songs were written. Either intentionally or unconsciously he answered Davis's call for ballads, albeit in a non-didactic fashion. It is unclear how many broadside or ha'penny ballads Allingham wrote overall. In *The Music Master*, he informed his readership that:

Five of the songs or ballads, *The Milkmaid*, *The Girl's Lamentation*, *Lovely Mary Donnelly*, *Nanny's Sailor Lad*, and *The Nobleman's Wedding*, have already had an Irish circulation as 'ha'penny ballads,' and the first three were written for this purpose. *The Nobleman's Wedding* is moulded out of a fragmentary ditty sung by an old nurse who was in the family of my respected friend Dr. Petrie, to an air which he intends to include in his collection of Melodies, now issuing at intervals from the press for the Society for Preservation and Publication of Ancient Music.⁷²

A note in *Songs, Ballads and Stories* (1877) further adds that,

The following were written to Irish tunes:- "The Winding Banks of Erne"; "The Girl's Lamentation"; "Among the Heather"; "The Bright Little Girl"; "Kate of Ballyshanny"; "Lovely Mary Donnelly"; "The Milkmaid"; "The Nobleman's Wedding".⁷³

We know that "Kitty O'Hea", published in *Irish Songs and Poems* (1887),⁷⁴ was also released as a broadside as it appears on one of Allingham's sole surviving flying sheets, together with "Lovely Mary Donnelly"⁷⁵, but we do not know if it

was, like its companion piece, written to an Irish tune. It is unclear if “Kate of Ballyshanny”⁷⁶ was published in the same way, but we do know that it was written to a Scottish air, “Moneymusk”,⁷⁷ as Allingham cites the tune in both *Songs, Ballads and Stories* and *Irish Songs and Poems*. An unsigned article titled “Irish Minstrelsy”, published in *Household Words* on 21 May, 1859, credits Allingham with two more broadsides. To “The Milkmaid”,⁷⁸ “Nanny’s Sailor Lad” (incidentally probably not written to an Irish air as Allingham, in *The Music Master*, fails to cite an Irish tune for it as he does for the four other ha’penny ballads),⁷⁹ “Among the Heather”,⁸⁰ “The Girl’s Lamentation”⁸¹ and “Lovely Mary Donnelly” the author adds – printed “with really attractive street music” – “The Abbey of Asaroe” and “The Winding Banks of Erne”.⁸² It is likely that “The Abbey of Asaroe” is the same version that first appeared in print – without music – as “Abbey Easaroe”, in *The Athenaeum* in January 1857.⁸³ That “The Winding Banks of Erne” was already, by May 1859, “an established street favourite in the Ballyshannon district, especially among departing emigrants”⁸⁴ perhaps infers that it was printed with music in “halfpenny print”⁸⁵ before its first publication, as “The Emigrant’s Adieu to Ballyshannon”, in the *Dublin University Magazine* in February 1858.⁸⁶ It would seem that Allingham was unhappy with the accompaniment to “The Abbey of Asaroe” as, unlike his other ballads set to music, he failed to reveal that it had originally been a song.

Of the aforementioned broadside ballads and Irish ballads, “Abbey Asaroe” and “The Winding Banks of Erne” received the most acclaim and are

still, perhaps, the best known. "Abbey Easaroe", was published on three occasions in three different journals – both at home and abroad⁸⁷ – before its publication as "Abbey Asaroe" in *Fifty Modern Poems* in 1865. The popularity of "The Winding Banks of Erne" as a ha'penny ballad continued in Donegal after its publication in volume form. Allingham's niece recalled in 1945 how his ballads "were done on very poor paper and we used to give them to people going away, especially 'The Winding Banks of Erne'."⁸⁸ That these particular Irish ballads appealed to Irish and English editors and the local people of Ballyshannon alike is somewhat ironic, as they owe their influence to Anglo-Irish writers such as Davis and Ferguson rather than to the Irish street ballad tradition. Allingham increasingly leant to this tradition after the publication of his five broadside ballads in *The Music Master*. As mentioned earlier, his aim was probably to lend an air of respectable patriotism to his ballads when he submitted them for publication in English journals and to avoid the difficulties he had encountered in writing an Irish dialect comprehensible to both Irish and English reading audiences, a subject dealt with in his preface to *The Music Master* and one which we have already outlined in Chapter One. While his anonymously published broadside ballads had obliterated the social and religious divide that existed between himself and the local Catholic population of Ballyshannon, allowing him to become one with them in song, he seems to have become overly-conscious of his lack of Hiberno-English, and of his inability to translate the Hiberno-English he did know, when presenting the same ballads to a British

reading audience. Realising he could never be a provincial dialect poet, he looked for an authority closer to home from which to write.

That Allingham should have looked particularly to the poems and ballads of Ferguson and Davis for an Anglo-Irish influence is really not surprising. Allingham was already friends with Ferguson when the latter's "Lament for Thomas Davis" appeared in print in 1847,⁸⁹ and it is likely that the admiration Ferguson expressed for Davis in his poem influenced him. His respect for the poems of both men is demonstrated by his later inclusion of their work in *Nightingale Valley: A Collection Including a Great Number of the Choicest Lyrics and Short Poems in the English Language* (1860),⁹⁰ where Davis's "O'Brien of Arra" is mischievously placed between a Shakespearian sonnet⁹¹ and "Lord Amien's Song, in the Forest of Arden" from *As You Like It*.

It is Ferguson's influence that we find in "The Winding Banks of Erne". A fourteen-er in the style of "The Forging of the Anchor",⁹² in content and tone "The Winding Banks of Erne" bears many similarities to "The Fair Hills of Ireland".⁹³ Both poems hold an idyllic Ireland up to the light, and several of Allingham's lines appear to have been directly influenced by Ferguson's translation. For instance, like his friend, Allingham stresses the presence of a waterfall in his poem,⁹⁴ and the first line of Allingham's seventh stanza, "The thrush will call through Camlin grove the live-long summer day,"⁹⁵ is directly comparable to Ferguson's "And the bold thrush sings so bravely his song i' the forests grand".⁹⁶

Furthermore, the final lines of "The Winding Banks of Erne" echo the determination to return home found in Ferguson's translation:

And I will make my journey, if life and health but stand,
Unto that pleasant country, that fresh and fragrant strand,
And leave your boasted braveries, your wealth and high
command,
For the fair hills of holy Ireland.⁹⁷

It's home, sweet home, where'er I roam, through lands and waters wide.
And if the Lord allows me, I surely will return
To my native Belashanny, and the Winding Banks of Erne!⁹⁸

In echoing Ferguson's translation of an Irish poem, Allingham iterates the Protestant-Irish poet's place within Irish poetry and the Irish ballad tradition. In later years he would also echo Ferguson's use of the interjectory storyteller's, or seanachai's, voice in "The Fairy Well of Lugnanay"⁹⁹ in Part Three of "Mervaunee" or "The Lady of the Sea",¹⁰⁰ where his refrain "(Hush a little for harp and rhyme:/ This befell in olden time)",¹⁰¹ like Ferguson's "(Hearken to my tale of woe)",¹⁰² directly addresses the reader. Although, as we have seen, Allingham's initial inspiration in writing Irish ballads came from the Irish oral folk tradition, in later borrowing from Ferguson's written Irish tradition he anticipates Yeats who would likewise place himself within a tradition of Anglo-Irish poetry.

Yet while "Abbey Asaroe" and "The Winding Banks of Erne" can be deemed popular successes, Allingham's move from the direct influence of the songs of the local Irish ballad fair and town, to the self-consciously Irish poems of the Protestant Ferguson and Davis, proved an uneasy one. Both ballads seem studied when compared to such pieces as "The Girl's Lamentation" and

“Among the Heather” whose natural flow and simplicity they lack. “The Winding Banks of Erne” is too long a poem for Allingham’s chosen form, where the penultimate line of every stanza must rhyme with “Erne”. As a consequence, the poem becomes caged within its form and weighed down with its anticipated end-stops. It is also too ambitious in its attempt to appeal to both Donegal emigrants and their families and to the poet’s English readership. Allingham’s presentation of as many idyllic Donegal locations as possible leaves his images and thoughts undeveloped and the foreign reader, unfamiliar with the places he mentions, unable to focus. “Abbey Asaroe”, on the other hand, although written in the same form, is a better crafted work. The repeated long ‘o’ sound at the end of each stanza works in this instance because, echoing the sound of the Irish keening, it expresses the old man’s mourning for his race and the glory of Ireland’s past. But although the ballad answers back to British colonialism and attempts to expose the plight of the disenfranchised and dispossessed Catholic Irish – symbolised by the elderly man of the poem – its first two stanzas lean too deliberately to the Victorian picturesque and the tastes of an English Victorian readership, rather than to a provincial ballad audience. Allingham’s over-concentration on landscape and setting, although atmospheric, diverts the reader’s attention away from the life denied the man, whose plight is not introduced until the third stanza of the four-stanza poem. His presence hence reads like an afterthought:

Gray, gray is Abbey Asaroe, by Ballyshannon town,
It has neither door nor window, the walls are broken down;

The carven stones lie scatter'd in briar and nettle-bed;
The only feet are those that come at burial of the dead.
A little rocky rivulet runs murmuring to the tide,
Singing a song of ancient days, in sorrow, not in pride;
The bore-tree and the lightsome ash across the portal grow,
And heaven itself is now the roof of Abbey Asaroe.

It looks beyond the harbour-stream to Bulban mountain blue;
It hears the voice of Erna's fall,—Atlantic breakers too;
High ships go sailing past it; the sturdy clank of oars
Brings in the salmon-boat to haul a net upon the shores;
And this way to his home-creek, when the summer day is done,
Slow sculls the weary fisherman across the setting sun;
While green with corn is Sheegus Hill, his cottage white below;
But gray at every season is Abbey Asaroe.

There stood one day a poor old man above its broken bridge;
He heard no running rivulet, he saw no mountain-ridge;
He turn'd his back on Sheegus Hill, and view'd with misty sight
The Abbey walls, the burial-ground with crosses ghostly white;
Under a weary weight of years he bow'd upon his staff,
Perusing in the present time the former's epitaph;
For, gray and wasted like the walls, a figure full of woe,
This man was of the blood of them who founded Asaroe.

From Derry to Bundrowa Tower, The Connel broad was their
Spearmen and plunder, bards and wine, and holy abbot's prayers;
With chanting always in the house which they had buided high
To God and to Saint Bernard,—where at last they came to die.
At worst, no workhouse grave for him! the ruins of his race
Shall rest among the ruin'd stones of this their saintly place.
The fond old man was weeping; and tremulous and slow
Along the rough and crooked lane he crept from Asaroe.¹⁰³

Phil H. Kropf has noted of "Abbey Asaroe":

Similar idylls were written by the Nation poet, Thomas Osborne Davis, who aimed at putting a stop to the persistent depopulation of country districts. Though Allingham adhered very strictly to his artistic principles, he had by writing Irish idylls, much in common with poets of the patriotic school.¹⁰⁴

It is, in fact, Allingham's most patriotic ballad, and in its form and sentiment it bears a particular resemblance to the early stanzas of Davis's "The Sack of Baltimore",¹⁰⁵ which similarly describes a coastal location where ruins and the sound of "the ocean tide"¹⁰⁶ are stressed. Both poems are, furthermore, fourteeners divided into octaves and, anticipating Allingham, Davis likewise uses his first two stanzas to set the scene for the action of his poem. Davis's first stanza, for example, reads:

The summer sun is falling soft on Carbery's hundred isles—
The summer sun is gleaming still through Gabriel's rough defiles—
Old Inisherkin's crumbled fane looks like a moulting bird;
And in a calm and sleepy swell the ocean tide is heard;
The hookers lie upon the beach; the children cease their play;
The gossips leave the little inn; the households kneel to pray—
And full of love and peace and rest—its daily labour o'er—
Upon that cosy creek there lay the town of Baltimore.¹⁰⁷

In echoing Davis and Ferguson in these particular poems, Allingham turns his ear from the voice of the local Irish people that is heard in his ha'penny ballads: ballads which take Irish airs and popular songs, rather than Irish locations, for inspiration and are consequently not weighed down with audience-directed lyricism or over-attention to scenery. Only in writing from within a local music tradition does Allingham lose his marginal Protestant-Irish status, using his knowledge of the traditions and song-preferences of the Irish rural poor to become one with them in spirit. Unlike Ferguson, whose inspiration was, as we have noted, the written word, or Davis, who viewed ballad-writing as a vehicle to unity between disparate creeds and races within Ireland, Allingham tuned his ear

to a still extant oral tradition, taking on the style and simplicity of the better street ballad verses in his song.

III

“The Girl’s Lamentation”¹⁰⁸ is perhaps Allingham’s finest broadside ballad. The poet tells us, in a note to the ballad in *Irish Songs and Poems*, that he heard “the tune of this, with some part of the first three verses” sung by “a peasant boy at Belashanny”.¹⁰⁹ Both Farren and Warner¹¹⁰ have noted how skillfully Allingham incorporates familiar ballad lines into the lyrics and yet gives the ballad “his own shape and tone, and [...] adds details of his own.”¹¹¹ Still more admirable, however – and as Farren observes – is Allingham’s preservation of the song’s simplicity. In it Allingham takes on the voice of the troubled female outsider, pregnant outside wedlock, with great insight and delicacy, particularly in stanzas ten to thirteen. He draws the reader in to the scenes the girl recalls by cleverly referring to an old Irish custom and focusing on the Candlemas crosses that hang on the girl’s wall:

The Candlemas crosses hang near my bed;
To look at them puts me much in dread,
They mark the good time that’s gone and past:
It’s like this year’s one will prove the last.

The oldest cross it’s a dusty brown,
But the winter winds didn’t shake it down;
The newest cross keeps the colour bright;
When the straw was reaping my heart was light.

The reapers rose with the blink of morn,
And gaily stook’d up the yellow corn;
To call them home to the field I’d run,
Through the blowing breeze and the summer sun.

When the straw was weaving my heart was glad,
For neither sin nor shame I had,
In the barn where oat-chaff was flying round,
And the thumping flails made a pleasant sound.¹¹²

That these stanzas are Allingham's own is verified in a note to the ballad in *The Music Master*. Here the poet states that he has witnessed the custom near Ballyshannon of, "weaving a small cross of straw at Candlemas, which is hung up in the cottage, sometimes over a bed. A new one is added every year, and the old ones are left till they fall to pieces."¹¹³ So vivid is the movement of the reapers in the "yellow corn", the running girl, and the flying "oat-chaff", compared to the stillness of the speaker's reflections and her dark future, that Allingham causes the listener or reader to mourn along with the girl for her "innocent days"¹¹⁴ and to unwittingly empathise with a woman whom Victorian society would certainly have scorned. The effort to woo an English readership is, furthermore, absent as he immerses himself anonymously in the traditions of the Irish rural poor – in what could be described as an act of resistance to "the centralising impetus of metropolitan English culture."¹¹⁵

Allingham's marriage within the ballad of Hiberno-English with Scots, or Ulster-Scots, and the long vowel sounds of Gaelic also serves to confirm the ballad's Ulster heritage. The first line of stanza five, for example, substitutes "small" for the Scots and Ulster-Scots "wee", while the stanza's final line is written in Hiberno-English:

In our wee garden the rose unfolds,
With bachelor's-buttons and marigolds;
I'll tie no posies for dance or fair,
A willow-twigg is for me to wear.¹¹⁶

The darkness of the girl's mind, given voice to in stanza sixteen, is, moreover, enhanced through Allingham's use of the long "o" sound of the Irish keen – a sound he would later, as we have seen, make use of in "Abbey Asaroe" – when the girl owns that she has considered suicide:

To the river-bank once I thought to go,
And cast myself in the stream below;
I thought 'twould carry us far out to sea,
Where they'd never find my poor babe and me.¹¹⁷

The sounds of the Gaelic language originally found their way into Irish ballads when Irish-speaking balladmakers began to use Hiberno-English, particularly in the come-all-yes that they favoured. Shields has noted how, "The English idiom of the come-all-yes [traditional narrative songs in Hiberno-English] may also reflect, not simply common Gaelic idiom, but the poetic idiom proper to Gaelic song."¹¹⁸ We know that Allingham took a special interest in these songs from both his account of his ballad collection in "Irish Street Singers and Irish Street Ballads", and from his description of Irish music in general in *By the Way*, which Shields confirms, "fits a large part of the come-all-ye repertory."¹¹⁹ Accordingly, the poet's discreet use of Hiberno-English syntax, Scots words and the long Irish vowel sound to situate his ballads firmly within a local Irish ballad tradition is not confined to "The Girl's Lamentation" alone. It is also found in such broadsides as "The Milkmaid" and "Kitty O'Hea". Already influenced by

Tennyson's word-music, he must have been acutely aware of how the sounds of both the Gaelic language and Ulster-Scots, within Hiberno-English as spoken by the Ballyshannon peasantry, marked the cultural distinctiveness of his ballads and provided the opportunity for him to create a word-music that, in turn, marked his distinctiveness as an Irish poet and balladeer.

Allingham's first effort at popular ballad-writing was, as we have already noted in the closing passages of Chapter One, "The Ballad of the Milkmaid", which the poet retitled "The Milkmaid" for broadside publication. It seems evident that he was capitalising on the popularity of ballads about milkmaids at the time, both at home and in Britain. In the 1820s and 1830s, for example, James Catnach, the famous British printer of broadsides and song-sheets, had "at least four broadside ballads about milkmaids for sale": "The Milk-Maid", "Pretty Maid Milking Her Cow", "Milk-Maid Coming from the Wakes" and "Squire and Milkmaid" (under the title of "Milkmaid of Blackberry Fold").¹²⁰ Pointers to the Irishness of his ballad, Allingham's use of Hiberno-English in both the second line of the first stanza ("Good luck go with you, my pretty maid")¹²¹ and the third line of the second ("You ne'er would even yourself to me"),¹²² must surely have appealed to a local Irish audience, as so too must his echoing of the long vowel sounds of Gaelic in these same stanzas and in the ballad's refrain:

O where are you going so early? he said,
Good luck go with you, my pretty maid;
To tell you my mind I'm half afraid
But I wish you were my sweetheart.
When the morning sun is shining low
And the cocks in every farmyard crow,

I'll carry your pail,
O'er hill and dale,
And I'll go with you a-milking.

I'm going a-milking, Sir, says she,
Through the dew, and across the lea;
You ne'er would even yourself to me,
Or take me for your sweetheart.¹²³

While "Kitty O'Hea" is undated on the flying sheet on which it is printed, together with "Lovely Mary Donnelly", as Shields has noted it may well be one of Allingham's early broadsides.¹²⁴ The language of the ballad – particularly in the final three stanzas which Allingham failed to include in *Irish Songs and Poems* – is certainly in harmony with that of "The Girl's Lamentation", again mirroring the local dialect of Southwest Donegal with the inclusion of Ulster-Scots words in an otherwise Hiberno-English syntax. The opening line immediately identifies "Kitty O'Hea" as an Irish ballad with the poet's naming of Kitty O'Hea as "darling jewel" – a direct translation from the Gaelic "a stór".¹²⁵

Now, Kitty O'Hea, darling jewel,
I wish you'd consider my case,
O, who could believe you're so cruel
To look in that beautiful face?¹²⁶

Hiberno-English is used through the rest of the stanza and the two stanzas that follow it – incidentally the only stanzas to appear in *Irish Songs and Poems*.¹²⁷ In the fourth stanza, however, Scots, or Ulster-Scots, is fused with Hiberno-English with the use of the word "clane" for "clean":¹²⁸

You gave me as good as your promise,
The night of Ned Finegan's wake,
And great as the bragging of some is,
There's worse than myself you might take.
My age is from twenty to thirty,

My height is from five feet to six,
I'm a *clane* boy, although I look dirty,
And smart, without any bad tricks.¹²⁹

A similar marriage of Hiberno-English to Scots occurs in the final two stanzas, with the use of “crabbit” for “cross” in the fifth stanza (“Your crabbit old father and mother,/ they’ll hinder the match if they can”),¹³⁰ and the use of “aye”, rather than “yes”, in stanza six (“Say aye, and you’ll never repent it”).¹³¹ Although the Ballyshannon dialect included Ulster-Scots words, to Allingham there was no doubt that that dialect was “Irish-English”.¹³²

Through his borrowing of Hiberno-English, for a ballad in the English language, he stresses the cultural otherness of Irish ballads in a Union where England still held the belief that there was “more of the national character” in English ballads “than in all the songs of classic bards or the theories of ingenious philosophers”.¹³³ He would later reassert his Irishness by publishing several of the ha’penny ballads, under his own name and alongside his literary ballads and poems, in *The Music Master* (1855), *Songs, Ballads and Stories* (1877), and *Irish Songs and Poems* (1887). Of the rest of his ha’penny ballads, “Kate O’ Belashanny” and “Among the Heather” deserve particular mention: “Kate O’ Belashanny” for its energy and rhythm, use of Hiberno-English and sense of fun, and “Among the Heather”¹³⁴ for its craftsmanship, quiet localism and atmosphere.¹³⁵ In these ballads, Allingham deliberately locates himself on the margins of the English ballad tradition, expressing the vitality and resilience of Irish character and music for those who are most anxious to hear and sing it.

But what effect did Allingham's Irish street ballad collection and street ballad-writing have on his other poems and ballads? It is an area that most critics have tended to ignore and yet one of importance in any study of the poet's work. For example, no attention has been paid to the influence on his poems of those Irish ballads which Allingham described as concerned with the plight of gentlemen of property who "laid their affection [...] at the feet of a lowly maiden",¹³⁶ when he clearly looked to these themes in works such as "The Pilot's Daughter" (1850) and "Venus of the Needle" (1851).

The gentleman speaker of "The Pilot's Daughter" declares his love for, and extols the grace and beauty of, the pilot's daughter, creating the expectation in the reader of the standard happy ballad ending of an elopement or marriage. But the anticipated happy ending does not come: Allingham undermines it in the sixth stanza. Here – again relying on the long vowel sound – the poet exposes the artificiality of lyrics of this genre by adding a middle-class Victorian note of realism and caution:

A fisher's hut, the scene perforce,
Of narrow thoughts and manners coarse,
Coarse as the curtains that beseem
(Festoons of net) the smoky beam,
Would never lodge my favourite dream,
 Though fair my Pilot's Daughter.¹³⁷

Having reflected on the likely outcome of his marriage to the pilot's daughter, Allingham's gentleman speaker realises he cannot "sink"¹³⁸ a class and "call it gain".¹³⁹ One cannot help conjecturing that, aware of the stereotypical image of the lower-class Irishman in magazines such as *Punch*, the young Allingham is

attempting to assure his recently acquired British readership that Irish gentlemen do, in fact, exist in remote areas of “wild” Ireland, and that, like British gentlemen, they do not marry beneath them.

The speaker of “Venus of the Needle” has no such love predicament to consider. Although Allingham once more ridicules those songs which grant happy endings to the union of gentlemen with “lowly” maidens in the poem, on this occasion he looks to the “comic and satirical pieces”,¹⁴⁰ referred to in “Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads”, for inspiration. Somewhat racy for its day, “Venus of the Needle” takes a witty look at a gentleman voyeur’s desire for a seamstress. The poem appears to have been inspired by an unnamed ballad that Allingham criticises for its style in “Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads”:

I drew up near this lovely maid,
All with a complaisant smile,
My heart being captivated quite,
I stood and viewed her for awhile.¹⁴¹

Stanza eight deserves particular mention, providing, as it does, a glimpse of Allingham’s mischievous wit. The poem’s speaker considers the intimate moments the seamstress’s future husband will, no doubt, share with her before concluding:

Who’ll taste those ripenings of the south,
The fragrant and delicious -
Don’t put the pins into your mouth,
O Maryanne my precious!¹⁴²

The authority of the Irish ballad tradition is also evident in the refrain of “The Maids of Elfen-Mere” (1855). Concentrating on its theme and images, rather than on its word-music, both British and Irish critics have, however, tended to look to English influences when examining it.¹⁴³ That Allingham describes the maidens in the 1855 version as “Three White Lilies”¹⁴⁴ can, perhaps, be attributed to the influence of Rossetti (“The Blessed Damozel” holds “three lilies in her hand”¹⁴⁵), but it is unfair to assume, as M. L. Howe does,¹⁴⁶ that the refrain stems from a Pre-Raphaelite influence. In the five-year interval between the two versions of the ballad, Allingham, had, as we know, been immersing himself in the Irish ballad tradition, and Shields notes the similarity between the refrain of the Irish version of “The Two Sisters”, or “Binnarie” – whose air, together with the first stanza, Allingham noted in his music manuscript book – and the refrain of “The Maids of Elfen-Mere”. While sound-wise there is a similarity between the two refrains¹⁴⁷ – both repeating the long ‘o’ sound so favoured by the poet – it seems more likely that Allingham’s refrain was inspired by the first stanza of “The Two Sisters”, which he later cited in the preface to *The Ballad Book*:

Sister, dear Sister, where shall we go play?
Cold blows the wind, and the wind blows low,
 We shall go to the salt sea’s brim,
*And the wind blows cheerily around us, High ho!*¹⁴⁸

The long ‘o’ sound that reverberates in both refrains is repeated more frequently in the lines which Allingham cites in italics, an insistent sighing sound that echoes through his own refrain:

Years ago, and years ago;

And the tall reeds sigh as the wind doth blow.

Moreover, the long 'e' sound of "sea" and "cheerily" in "The Two Sisters" is additionally echoed in Allingham's "reeds". That the poet should be drawn repeatedly to the long 'o' of the Irish *keen* or *caoineadh* which, as we have seen, he used in "The Girl's Lamentation" and would later use again in "Abbey Asaroe", is unsurprising. We have already noted that the air of an ancient Irish *keen* was transcribed in his music manuscript notebook. It was a sound that, apparently, haunted him, and it would continue to do so. Many years later, when, as a married man and father, he recalled Ireland from his Surrey home, it was not just her Irish songs and music that lived on in his mind but also the sound of the *keen*:

He [Allingham] hears songs, sad and merry, words of an ancient tongue, harp-notes that seem to speak out of a measureless past, the dance-fiddle, and lamentations of exiles, and wailings for the dead.¹⁴⁹

Moreover, he must also have additionally been aware that the long 'o' sound was additionally "used as a note suggesting sorrow in Gaelic verse-forms other than the *caoine*",¹⁵⁰ hearing it resonate through translations from the Irish, such as in the final stanza of Ferguson's "Pastheen Finn",¹⁵¹ for example.

"George Levison; or The Schoolfellows",¹⁵² although published in *Household Words* in December 1857 between the journal publication of "Abbey Asaroe" in January 1857 and "The Winding Banks of Erne" in February 1858, does not, on a first reading, appear to bear any relation to Allingham's ballads. It is a poem in blank verse, after all, and although finely written would initially seem

to be little more than a Victorian cautionary tale warning of the dangers of alcohol and the consequences of squandering “the soul”.¹⁵³ Yet it is a far more complex poem than that. Falling into the category of a poem “of life”, it finds unlikely company with Allingham’s ballads in its movement away from the lyrical poems of landscape discussed in Chapter One. Moreover, it provides a bridge between the ballads and *Lawrence Bloomfield* in that it is here, after all, that Allingham first develops his apothegmatic character observations, found in his portraits of both landlord and Ribbonman in the later poem, together with his, at times, ruthless descriptions as spectator *ab extra*. They were skills he may not have developed were it not for his street ballad writing: by adding to ballad fragments, such as “The Girl’s Lamentation”, the poet learned to focus on character, rather than on landscape, and to enter minds other than his own. (Earlier attempts had ended in failure: while his long poem “The Music Master” (1850), for example, dealt with the doomed relationship of the music master Gerald White with local girl Milly, the poem ultimately fell into the category of a landscape poem as Allingham failed to bring his characters to life. Sacrificed to a plot-driven narrative they remained cardboard-cut-outs set against a vivid scenery that, in turn, negated their presence even further.) “Abbey Asaroe”, though less attentive to its central character than “The Girl’s Lamentation”, can thus be seen as an effort by the poet to build on his experimentation with character in his street ballads and, as a narrative poem, “George Levison” a further progression to a character study in blank verse.

Apparently taking the blank verse poems of Wordsworth and Coleridge for model, it also seems likely that, like *Lawrence Bloomfield*, “George Levison” was influenced as much by Crabbe’s character portraits as it was by Allingham’s early Irish ballads. While the quiet mood of the poem’s opening stanzas recalls that of Coleridge’s “Frost at Midnight”, and its later focus on George Levison’s demeanour mirrors Wordsworth’s attention to detail in describing “The Old Cumberland Beggar”, with his “palsied hand”¹⁵⁴ and “his eyes for ever on the ground”,¹⁵⁵ in character George Levison comes closer to Crabbe’s Blaney in Letter XIV of *The Borough*. Like Blaney, “a wealthy heir, dissipated, and reduced to Poverty”,¹⁵⁶ Levison must rely on the charity of others and like Crabbe’s once “gay and handsome”¹⁵⁷ anti-hero, Levison (anticipating Lord Crasher in Chapter Two of *Lawrence Bloomfield*, who “With cynic jest inlays his black despair”)¹⁵⁸ uses laughter to present the air of a confident and nonchalant man of means:

He trusted, shortly, underneath his roof
 To practice hospitality in turn,
 But first to catch the roof, eh? Ha, ha, ha!
 That was a business topic he’d discuss
 With his old friend by-and-bye—¹⁵⁹

Physically present, Levison belongs very much to Allingham’s poems of life. Drunk and escorted by the poem’s narrator “arm in arm” up “the Street, / Among the rain-pools”¹⁶⁰, Levison similarly recalls the destitute Blaney, “the Hero shuffling through the Town, / To hunt a dinner and to beg a crown”.¹⁶¹ But it is in his almost clinical analysis of how Levison’s life and dissipated ways have etched themselves on his face, and reveal themselves in his gestures, that Allingham comes closest to Crabbe, anticipating his own character sketches of

such landlords as the aforementioned Lord Crasher, in Chapter Two of *Lawrence Bloomfield*, who “with gouty legs,/ Drinks Baden-Baden water, and life’s dregs”.¹⁶² Aided by Crabbe’s example, a progression has thus taken place from the simple character portraits of Allingham’s ballads to an examination of the effects of dissipation on the human character. “Excited, laughing” and “waiting for his face”,¹⁶³ the speaker of “George Levison” scrutinises every feature of that face when the candles are brought into the room:

The first flash of the candles told me all:
Or, if not all, enough, and more. Those eyes,
When they look’d up at last, were his indeed,
But mesh’d in ugly network, like a snare;
And though his mouth preserved the imperious
 curve,
Evasion, vacillation, discontent,
Warp’d every feature like a crooked glass.¹⁶⁴

But it is the ensuing explicit description of Levison’s hands that makes us uneasy, unsure whether to recoil in horror or to pity Levison, as he is brought before our eyes: “From thread-bare sleeves the wither’d tremulous/ hands/ Protruded.”¹⁶⁵ It is a painterly image, and Allingham’s ability to encapsulate a character’s life situation within a few words, by letting his body speak for his inner condition, takes him out of the realm of the minor writer. A poem of life it may be, and although as equally influenced by Crabbe’s Blaney as it is by the Irish ballad tradition – and particularly by the tragic tale of the girl in “The Girl’s Lamentation”, whom Allingham similarly refuses to condemn¹⁶⁶ – in its study of the relationship between the financially secure narrator and the penniless Levison, “George Levison” moves towards the social commentary of *Lawrence*

Bloomfield with its altogether convincing portraits of Bloomfield's neighbouring landlords.

IV

The character portraits of Allingham's ballads and "George Levison" may have afforded him the opportunity to move away from his landscape poems and to develop his evolving concern with the human character further in *Lawrence Bloomfield*, but Allingham had already found a successful model for the long narrative poem, concerned with social comment and with local lives and affairs, in Crabbe's work, particularly in the latter's aforementioned *The Borough* (1810). Hence, on completing "George Levison", he continued to echo Crabbe's use of satire and "scalpel-sharp analysis"¹⁶⁷ in *Lawrence Bloomfield*. A poem that likewise found its tension in the conflict between rich and poor, he directly drew on Crabbe's satiric portraits of both upper and lower class in his vignettes of characters such as the aforementioned Lord Crasher and "The Delegate" in Chapters Two and Eight of his long poem:

Twice only in the memory of mankind
Lord Crasher's proud and noble self appeared;
Up-river, last time, in his yacht, he steer'd,
With crew of seven, a valet, a French cook,
And one on whom askance the gentry look,
Although a pretty, well dress'd demoiselle,—
Not Lady Crasher who, as gossips tell,
Goes her own wicked way. They stopp'd a week;
Then with gay ribbons fluttering from the peak,
And snowy skirts spread wide, on either hand
The *Aphrodite* curtsied to the land,
And glided off.¹⁶⁸

The Delegate, big, elderly, and spare,
With serious begging-letter-writer's air,
Some thin locks train'd across his yellow skull,
His features large, yet all the lines are dull,
Small watery eyes, but not a watery nose,
Huge fungoid ears, harsh skin befitting those,—¹⁶⁹

But, perhaps more importantly for the poet, he also found an Anglo-Irish influence for the narrative poem in heroic couplets in Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village*. Allingham confessed he admired the poem for its elegance but criticised it for its lack of "a single Irish touch from beginning to end",¹⁷⁰ a lack which he consequently compensated for in his own poem. Already at home with the rhyming couplet from his ballad-writing, and using it with some panache in the aforementioned "The Girl's Lamentation" and "Abbey Asaroe", the heroic couplet provided an easy transition and an ideal form for his critique of the Irish land system and the treatment of the Irish rural poor by their landlords. Within this traditional English form Allingham could sound the voice and concerns of Ireland and assert his own Irishness, while allowing the voice of the periphery to speak back to the centre – in itself a somewhat subversive act. While it may have seemed subversive to some English readers and critics, however, from an Irish point of view *Lawrence Bloomfield* must surely have raised further challenges against British imperialism, or despotic government, in that in Ireland "the relationship between landlord and peasant was uncomfortably analogous [...] to the larger relationship between England and Ireland."¹⁷¹

Extraneous circumstances initially delayed the appearance of the poem. Allingham had probably written the greater part of six chapters (of twelve) between early 1860 and November of the same year.¹⁷² We know from his diary, however, that he did not begin the final five chapters until he was transferred, not by “choice”,¹⁷³ to the Customs at Lyminster in May 1863. In the interim he had become engaged to Alice MacDonald (later the mother of Rudyard Kipling), sister to Georgina Burne-Jones and sister-in-law of Allingham’s close friend, Edward Burne-Jones. Allingham spent much of his time with the Burne-Joneses while in London and it is likely that he was introduced to Alice at their home – probably in the summer of 1861.¹⁷⁴ He apparently found her “irresistible”.¹⁷⁵ She had “a particular knowledge of poetry and a beautiful singing voice” and delighted him “by setting some of his poetry to music, then performing it with Georgie [Georgina Burne-Jones].”¹⁷⁶ Following Allingham’s transfer to the London docks as Custom’s Officer in September 1862, the couple became engaged but by the end of October the engagement was terminated. Helen Allingham notes in the *Diary* that, “He seems to have been ill and depressed during this time, and in October he was away on sick leave.”¹⁷⁷ The reasons for the break-up of their relationship can only be guessed at. Alice seems to have made a habit of getting engaged¹⁷⁸ and she may, on reflection, have found the age difference between them to be a barrier. (Allingham was thirteen years her senior.) But it is also possible that Allingham only asked Alice for her hand on learning of the wedding of his former love, Florinda Allingham, at Clontarf in September 1862, and later regretted his impulsive decision. (He appears to have

been unable to forget his cousin: the dedication to *Fifty Modern Poems*, "Dear F.", is probably addressed to her). The poet subsequently returned to Ballyshannon in December of the same year, remaining there until his transfer to Lymington in May 1863.

The move probably affected the tone and mood of the later chapters of *Lawrence Bloomfield*. The poet's connection with the land of his birth and the difficulties of her people was gradually weakened as he tried to acclimatise himself to a new life in England, a life he felt had been forced upon him as he "could not remain at Ballyshannon always."¹⁷⁹ The social and cultural differences between Lymington and Ballyshannon could not have been greater. At Lymington the "little Harbour" was "occupied chiefly by pleasure-boats",¹⁸⁰ which might have been owned by the absentee landlords of *Lawrence Bloomfield*, and a steamer departed several times a day to make the five-mile journey to the adjacent Isle of Wight. In contrast with the poverty and parochialism of the Ballyshannon fair with its cattle, carts full of old clothes, and fair-greens "bordered with hovels",¹⁸¹ the Lymington pleasure fair was an exotic affair. There were "booths in the streets with toys and sweets", and "monkeys and a wild boar", and a "Zulu Caffir [sic]", together with a "fat woman" performing conjuring tricks, a "Dancing-booth", "Shooting-galleries", and "black-eyed" gipsy girls "in tawdry bright attire."¹⁸² Tennyson now lived at Farringford on the Isle of Wight, but initially the poet was reluctant to call on him. He had, he confessed, "lost the faith" he "used to have" in peoples' wishing to see him.¹⁸³ Yet he still felt a

“natural bond” to the great poet, “and to a very few others”, in whose “company” he was “better contented than to be with nature and books.”¹⁸⁴ He took long walks alone and “wandered in the New Forest”¹⁸⁵ before again resuming his friendship with Tennyson, who repeatedly invited him to his home¹⁸⁶ where he enjoyed the company of, among others, the photographer Julia Cameron whom Allingham seems to have particularly admired for her outspokenness and wit.

Lawrence Bloomfield had its first issuance in *Fraser's Magazine* from November 1862 to November 1863. Writing against the clock, Allingham, as already mentioned, began the last five chapters in May and completed the poem by 16 August, 1863.¹⁸⁷ (On 11 July, 1863, he sent Chapter Ten to Froude, then editor of *Fraser's*, while the final chapter was completed by the 16th of the following month).¹⁸⁸ The first half of *Lawrence Bloomfield* was thus not only written in a different location but marked by a time difference between it and the following six chapters. The poet's move, changed life circumstances, and loss of confidence in his poetic voice once removed from Irish soil, hence accounts in part for the change of mood and tone in the final chapters of his poem. That the last five chapters were written in such a short space of time, however, can also be deemed a contributing factor to the poem's anti-climax where the realism of the poem is subsumed by utopianism and dream.

The poem tells the tale of a young absentee landlord's attempts to bring about reform when he returns to his estate in Ireland from abroad. Bloomfield

appears to be based, in part, on his namesake, Henry Caldwell Bloomfield of Castle Caldwell Estate, County Fermanagh, founder of Belleek Pottery.¹⁸⁹ Like Lawrence Bloomfield, Henry Caldwell, having inherited his estate from his father, returned home to Ireland when he was twenty-six and tried to improve the welfare of his tenants – opening iron and copper mines, building brickworks, and growing reeds for basket-making, before founding Belleek Pottery in 1857.¹⁹⁰ The first three chapters present the problems Bloomfield, as a compassionate landlord, faces when he opts to stay in Ireland and implement changes for the tenants of his demesne. Both landlords and tenants are described as distinct groups, separated from each other. Estate walls ensure that the colonising gaze of Bloomfield's neighbouring landlords – whom Allingham ridicules – remains undisturbed by the sight of ramshackle villages, and serve as a reminder to those on the outside of their inferior status as tenants-at-will. The subsequent six chapters focus on the peasantry, and particularly on Neal Doran, denoting the hardships and discrimination that lead to the young man's enlisting with the local Ribbonmen, and include the oft-quoted eviction scene of Chapter VII. This latter scene undoubtedly took its inspiration from the Derryveagh evictions – which coincidentally occurred after Allingham had written the first six chapters of his poem and accordingly resulted in his finest chapter. (Eighty-five adults, and one hundred and fifty-nine children, were evicted from their homes on the estate of John George Adair on 11 April, 1861, following the murder of Adair's land steward, James Murray, in 1860.)¹⁹¹ Chapter X refocuses on Bloomfield and his defence of his tenants – echoing James Murray's death by describing the

subsequent murder of the land agent, Pigot. The final two chapters move forward seven years to describe the changes brought about by Bloomfield on his estate and are, as we shall see, heavily influenced by Pre-Raphaelitism and the escapist world of romantic poetry.

We have noted the influence of Crabbe on the poem, and of Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village*, but *Lawrence Bloomfield* may also have been inspired in part by Ferguson. The latter likewise made use of the heroic couplet, to describe the dilemma faced by property owners and the sufferings of the Irish people in mid-century Ireland, in his two long poems, "Inheritor and Economist" and "Dublin" in 1849.¹⁹² Taking on Goldsmith's theme - "the catastrophic depopulation of Ireland"¹⁹³ - but desirous to add "the Irish touch", and under the sway of the Irish ballad tradition, *Lawrence Bloomfield*, in Matthew Campbell's opinion, "works in two poetic registers, English and Irish, in the English language".¹⁹⁴ Citing a passage from Chapter VI, wherein Neal Doran ponders over Ireland's history before swearing the ribbon oath, Campbell stresses how Allingham, with his use of the unstressed syllable and late pause in "landscapes", allows in "the anapestic roll which matches the quickening Gaelic metre that translators of Irish poetry had attempted to recreate in English poetry".¹⁹⁵

With this, Old Ireland's glories, and her wrongs,
Her famous dead, her landscapes, and her songs,
Were fever'd fancy's beverage, - things well known
Mingled with names and dreams confus'dly shown.
Poetic visions hover'd; every page
For Erin's glory, every fireside sage

Whose shanahus a brooding audience drew,
Were pleasant to his soul, and gospel-true.¹⁹⁶

That Allingham chooses to mix Gaelic metre with the English couplet at this threshold in the poem, where the young and romantic Neal considers Ireland's past before joining the Ribbonmen, is significant. As Campbell asserts, it is "the rhythms of the very Irish poetry and song which provide the political education of the character described."¹⁹⁷ Campbell is correct in his analysis: English poetry has been undermined and echoes an Irish metre that, like Ireland's history, demands to be heard. The English language must bear the weight of change, as must England in her relationship with Ireland if there is not to be bloodshed. Allingham's intention in writing the poem, that English narrative poetry be cultivated "on entirely new ground,"¹⁹⁸ is being realised. But it is not only here that the metre emphasises the distinctiveness of the Irish people, it is also challenged on the threshold of another climatic moment. When the Sheriff and his men come to evict the people of Ballytullagh it is not only the village that grinds to a halt:

The little army moves through drizzling rain;
A 'Crowbar' leads the Sheriff's nag; the lane
Is enter'd, and their plashing tramp draws near;
One instant, outcry holds its breath to hear;
'Halt!' – at the doors they form in double line,
And ranks of polish'd rifles wetly shine.¹⁹⁹

By slowing the iambic pentameter of the heroic couplet at the moment when the sheriff and his men approach Ballytullagh, and "the lane/ Is enter'd, and their plashing tramp draws near", Allingham not only increases the tension in the

poem but also distinguishes the cultural otherness of those acted upon.

Moreover, the enjambed “the lane/ Is enter’d”, after which the voice is forced to pause, suggests the rape of the village.

The undermining of English metre to highlight the cultural distinctiveness of the Irish peasantry in his poem also plays itself out in the eviction scene in Chapter VII. Here Allingham uses English metre to accommodate Irish speech patterns when a woman steps out of the crowd to curse Pigot:

‘Vengeance of God Almighty fall on you,
‘James Pigot! – may the poor man’s curse pursue,
‘The widow’s and the orphan’s curse, I pray,
‘Hang heavy round you at your dying day!’²⁰⁰

Iambic pentameter has been used against the class that oppresses the Irish peasant woman: when she curses the land agent the stress falls on the “Pig” of “Pigot”. Malcolm Brown has observed that Allingham radically corrects Goldsmith’s model in “The Deserted Village”, wherein Goldsmith “presents the destruction of Lissoy [...] as past history”.²⁰¹ In Goldsmith’s poem “nothing can be done except to sentimentalise what has *been* done.”²⁰² In Allingham’s eviction scene sentimentality is erased. The clearance takes place in the present thus expressing the radical need for change and pointing an accusatory finger at the landlord system. Having depicted the act of dispossession, Allingham allows the curse of the old woman to fall not only on “a real live villain”, but also “by extension” on “the entire class he [Bloomfield] serves”.²⁰³ Allingham thus politicises his poem – breaking his own rule to remain politically neutral.²⁰⁴ His

anger at a class who in popular Irish opinion collude with British imperialism is clearly at odds with his efforts to present himself as an impartial Irishman.²⁰⁵ Moreover, in the same chapter he signals his empathy with the nationalist ideals of the Young Irelanders, who often identified with other peoples under imperial systems of government, by drawing an analogy between the Irish, native Americans and African bushmen. It is an empathy that, as we shall see in Chapter Four, would further reveal itself in his editorship of *Fraser's Magazine* where his choice of articles for the magazine and his own "Ivy-Leaves" series display anti-imperialist tendencies cognate with Irish nationalism. That the Irish were viewed in the same light as the subject peoples of empire by English imperialists and Irish Unionists alike, is exposed in *Lawrence Bloomfield* through the mouth of the bigoted Antrim Presbyterian, Doctor Lamour:

'We see the melting of a barbarous race,
'Sad sight, I grant, sir, from their ancient place;
'But always, everywhere, it has been so;
'Red-Indians, Bushmen, Irish, — they must go!'²⁰⁶

In this passage the poet cannot hide his moral outrage at the treatment of colonised peoples by the coloniser: although part of the Union, Irish people are treated just as poorly as "Red-Indians" and "Bushmen".

The poem also asserts its cultural otherness in other ways. Echoing the language of his broadside ballads, Allingham does not shy away from the use of Hiberno-English, or the inclusion of Irish words (spelt phonetically) and phrases,²⁰⁷ and detailed descriptions of Irish traditions and customs.²⁰⁸ Although

fully aware that, "Laurence Bloomfield" is likely to repel many readers, – those who shun books of verse, and those who seek in them subjects and diction more romantic,"²⁰⁹ he does not let this deter him. In the chapters written in Ireland he is ready to run the risk of marginalisation from the English readership he has courted in his earlier poems. Having left Ireland, he is, however, equally prepared, as Brown notes, to lose potential friends there through his presentation of the Ribbonmen as drunken thugs, a portrayal which to some Irish readers may have seemed but an echoing of the stereotype of the drunken Irishman in England.

Allingham may have claimed to have had an English readership in mind but his poem did not go unnoticed in Ireland.²¹⁰ When the first volume edition of *Laurence Bloomfield* appeared in 1864, John O'Leary not only gave it high praise in the Fenian newspaper, *The Irish People*, but also reprinted much of the poem for his readership. That O'Leary held the poem in high esteem is an indication of how it was greeted and interpreted²¹¹ by Irish nationalists. But it must also be stressed here that, some three years earlier, Gerald Massey, in a review of the reprint of *The Music Master*, had already singled out Allingham as an Irish writer of promise. Massey believed that Allingham's ballads had "the pulse of the Irish heart, the idiom of its speech, the colour of the country",²¹² and described his poetry as "thoroughly national."²¹³

O'Leary was, no doubt, cognisant of Allingham's echoing, through Bloomfield, of Davis's remedy to social inequality and peasant hardship in Ireland. Following on from Davis, Bloomfield insists that, "waste and indebted lands" should be "wisely bought into the nation's hands",²¹⁴ thereby creating "a novel class/ Of Irishmen"²¹⁵ – "Small Owners, namely."²¹⁶ Moreover, the closing chapters of *Lawrence Bloomfield* resound Davis's dream for Ireland:

Fancy the aristocracy, placed by just laws, or by wise concessions, on terms of friendship with their tenants, securing to these tenants every farthing their industry entitled them to; living among them, promoting agriculture and education by example and instruction; sharing their joys, comforting their sorrows, and ready to stand at their head whenever their country called. Think well on it. Suppose it to exist in your own county, in your own barony and parish. See the life of such a landlord, and of such farmers – so busy, so thoughtful, so happy! How the villages would ring with pleasure and trade, and the fields laugh with contented and cheered labour. Imagine the poor supporting themselves on those waste lands, which the home expenditure of our rents and taxes would reclaim, and the workhouse turned into an hospital or a district college. Education and art would prosper; every village, like Italy, with its painter of repute. Then indeed the men of all creeds would be competent by education to judge of doctrines; yet, influenced by that education, to see that God meant men to live, and love, and ennoble their souls; to be just, and to worship Him, and not to consume themselves in rites, or theological contention; or if they did discuss, they would do so not as enemies, but enquirers after truth. The clergy of different creeds would be placed on an equality, and would hope to propagate their faith not by hard names or furious preaching, but by their dignity and wisdom, and by the marked goodness of their flocks. Men might meet or part at church or chapel door without sneer or suspicion.²¹⁷

Not only does Bloomfield become Davis's ideal landlord "on terms of friendship" with his tenants, "promoting agriculture and education by example and instruction", he – likewise recognising the division between Catholic and Protestant,²¹⁸ and in the spirit of the "Godless" colleges approved of by Davis – introduces a nondenominational school, lectures "On Irish things",²¹⁹ and makes

the local workhouse a place where "Each girl or boy receives an honest trade".²²⁰ His village, like Davis's Ireland, rings "with pleasure and trade":

There, to new Market-place a pipe conveys
A cold perpetual water-vein, which plays
All day and night with cheerful soothing tone,
Falling into its shallow tank of stone
In curving crystal fringed with showery spray;
Where sometimes, doubtless, girls and dames delay
With rested pitchers, till a warning stroke
Cuts short at last the gossip and the joke.
Carved shamrocks, mixt with field-flow'rs, grass, and corn,
The stone rim of the dial-face adorn;
Atop, a sleeping infant, left and right
Stout peasant-man and woman, holding tight
A sickle and a basket; rudely true,
The sculpture to a rustic hand is due.²²¹

It is not only Davis's vision for Ireland that Allingham shares, however. He also shares the former's anger at England's "systematic maltreatment"²²² of Ireland. His echoing of Davis's questioning voice in "Conciliation"²²³ is evident in Chapter VII of *Lawrence Bloomfield*:

Where else in Europe is the peasant ragged, fed on roots, in a wigwam, without education? Where else are the towns ruined, trade banished, the till, and the workshop, and the stomach of the artisan empty? Where else is there an exportation of over one-third of the rents, and an absenteeism of the chief landlords? What other country pays four and a half million taxes to a foreign treasury, and has its offices removed or filled with foreigners? Where else are the People told they are free and represented, yet only one in two hundred of them have the franchise? Where, beside, do the majority support the Clergy of the minority? In what other country are the majority excluded from high ranks in the University? In what place, beside, do landlords and agents extort such vast rents from an indigent race? Where else are the tenants ever pulling, the owners ever driving, and both full of anger? And what country so fruitful and populous, so strong, so well marked and guarded by the sea, and with such an ancient name, was reduced to provincialism by bribery and treacherous force, and is denied all national government?²²⁴

'Does the poor man get
 'Bare food and shelter? – praties, cabin, rags.
 'Now fling him out to famish – or he drags
 'His weary body to that gaol and grave
 'The Poorhouse; - he must live and die a slave,
 'Toil, starve, and suffer, creep, and crouch, and crawl,
 'Be cursed and trampled, and submit to all,
 'Without one murmur, one rebellious trace
 'Among the marks of misery on his face!²²⁵

At no time in the poem, in fact, does Allingham attempt to mask his anger at England's treatment of Ireland. Despite his attempt to free his poem of "an orange" or "a green complexion",²²⁶ he runs the risk of accusations of anti-Englishness from his English readership for such impassioned passages in Chapter VI as:

Ireland must lose, no matter who may win;
 Robb'd, crush'd, derided, full of wounds and tears,
 In sullen slavery drag her hopeless years;
 Learning uprooted, industry and trade;
 Of social ties mere cruel scourges made;
 Possessions, rights, religion, language, torn
 And crush'd by Law – a word to hate and scorn
 For those taught English in oppression's school,
 And reading good words by the witches' rule,-
 Law, that meant powerful wrong, with no appeal;
 Law, that in every moment made them feel
 To live an Irishman on Irish ground
 The sole unpardonable crime was found.²²⁷

Indeed, as Linda Hughes has commented, "the Church of England *Guardian*"²²⁸ considered the sixth chapter of the poem, from which the above excerpt is taken, radical. A single notice in response to "Lough Braccan"²²⁹ states:

'Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland,' may be called the epic of Ribandism. The subject is repulsive, nor is there anything in the style or diction to redeem it from vulgarity.²³⁰

That the *Guardian* should react in this way is unsurprising. The narrative voice here identifies with Laurence's decent yet impoverished double, Neal Doran, "being driven to protest and subversion"²³¹ in response to discrimination against his father by landlords and the land agent, Pigot. Through Neal, not Bloomfield, we learn of the sufferings and inequalities suffered by the Irish people under English rule and accordingly as readers find ourselves empathising with Neal's anger and desire for freedom from oppression. That Allingham, through Neal, refers to Henry VIII as the "bloated king", and to his daughter, Elizabeth, as "sour-faced",²³² can only have fuelled the anger of the conservative *Guardian* critic.

V

Hughes has examined the effect of publication format with regard to the serialisation of the poem in *Fraser's Magazine*, arguing that the two versions of the poem, "embody different ideologies because of their differing publication formats" and that, "if the volume edition is aligned with the poetics of empire,²³³ the serial work more nearly embodies the poetics of resistance."²³⁴ Her argument with regard to the poem's serial issuance is an astute one. As she observes,

[...] the intervals between parts assumed a specific function, not only because, between parts, readers' expectation of what Lawrence Bloomfield would and must do could be enlarged, but also because the suspense inherent in a serial publication became politicized.²³⁵

Hence when the poem – after three months of examining the land problem from an Anglo-Irish viewpoint and of convincing the reader of the difficulties of a solution for Bloomfield – unexpectedly switches its focus to the peasant family, the Dorans, in Chapter IV, it undermines the reader's expectation of a decision from Bloomfield and obliges her or him, over the next four chapters, to witness the catalogue of wrong inflicted on the Irish under English rule. The reader has no way of knowing whether the land problem will be resolved peacefully by Bloomfield or bloodily by the Ribbonmen. Hughes's assertion then, that the 1862-63 version,

[...] could linger, without mediation, on the suggestion that the major problem in Ireland was an entrenched history of British brutality, on the legitimacy of a young man's leaguings with a violent resistance group when no other solution seemed available, or on the passivity of even well-intentioned Anglo-Irish landlords while peasants actively suffered,²³⁶

is correct in that the reader of the serial version could reflect at length on both Bloomfield's and Neal's response to the problems faced by the Irish peasantry. Her insinuation that Bloomfield's plans for change may have been judged morally reprehensible by the English Victorian readership of *Fraser's Magazine*, however, does not take account of the reader's likely empathy with Bloomfield's situation. Invited to enter the minds of two men who, despite their social and ideological differences, hope to bring about social change for the rural poor, it is probable that the English Victorian reader would have related to both Bloomfield's and Neal's problems and frustrations, empathising with each protagonist in order to anticipate the potential outcome of the poem. Furthermore, her argument pertaining to the volume edition is flawed. Hughes's

thesis that “the volume edition is aligned with the poetics of empire”, because it seeks to promote understanding of the Irish people and reform of the current power structure – essentially in order to quench the thirst for “revolution and home rule”²³⁷ – is simplistic. While the reader of the serial edition clearly had more time to consider the treatment of tenants by Anglo-Irish landlords, dwell on the “history of British brutality” in Ireland, and empathise with Neal’s misguided attempt to bring about change, the reader of the volume edition is equally obliged to confront these issues from Bloomfield’s and Neal’s point of view and to consider other, more realistic, outcomes when the final plan for Bloomfield’s tenants is revealed. Despite Allingham’s efforts not to sound the nationalist note and call for home rule for Ireland in his poem’s resolution, the sense of outrage induced by the descriptions of peasant poverty and the resolute retelling of Irish colonial history remains and is not diminished by a reading of the poem over a shorter time-span, or by Allingham’s ending. The reader, noting the narrator’s note of caution regarding Bloomfield at the end of Chapter XI (“Look well into the worldly-wise; have they/ Indeed found out the safe, the pleasant way?”)²³⁸ is all too aware of the fictitious nature of the “gay rustic gardens”²³⁹ of Bloomfield’s improved domain. The unrealistic and romantic outcome to the poem thus only serves to magnify Ireland’s tragic history and the blunt realism of the descriptions of peasant poverty that have preceded it. Furthermore, while Allingham could be accused of colluding “with the poetics of empire” in the final two chapters, where Bloomfield surveys his “kingdom”,²⁴⁰ admiring his improvements and noting the possibility of leavening “the mass” with “hope, and

industry, and loyalty” through the creation of “a novel class/ Of Irishmen”,²⁴¹ these chapters are riven with ambiguities that act against Bloomfield’s passivity and point to his weakness and lack of resolve. Perhaps aware of the risk of failing his Irish readership by pandering to his English reading audience, Allingham surely highlights the irony of Bloomfield’s situation for the benefit of his Irish readership in, for example, Chapter XI, where he sounds a further warning note. Having decried the landlord system in Ireland through the greater part of his poem, here he parodies Bloomfield’s powers – which could equally be applied to landlords like Lord Leitrim who, despite their later cruelty to their tenants, had originally set out to improve their lot.²⁴²

He was the State, like Lewis,²⁴³ he alone,
Or rather raised to an autocracy
Temper’d by murder, as in Muscovy;
There, sole, stood he, there lay his subject lands,
To do, or not do, resting in his hands.²⁴⁴

A further disparity is found in Bloomfield’s description of Ireland in

Chapter XII. Having pointed to the dangers of “Ribbonism” in chapters VII, VIII and IX, and described the murder of Pigot, Bloomfield vows that Ireland is the safest country in the world:

The voice of Bloomfield – ‘Search the world around,
‘Where are you safer than on Irish ground?
‘No burglar reconnoitres your abode,
‘No footpad dogs you on the lonely road,
‘No ruffian’s arm or cowardly *garotte*,
‘Walk where you please, is flung across your throat;²⁴⁵

before turning once again to the subject of "Ribbonism". Ireland is not, apparently, as safe as Bloomfield attests and Allingham intimates that he turns a blind eye:

- 'And you have quell'd it – 'twas a noble task!
- 'I know not if I have; I never ask.'²⁴⁶

'Would you not be loth
'To trust a man who took the Ribbon oath?'
- 'Men's lives, and human character, are such,
'Perhaps it puzzles most to know too much;
'I ask no questions.'²⁴⁷

These passages surely form a critique of Bloomfield, who, having refused to "stand for the county" with "watchword *Tenant-right*"²⁴⁸ plays victim and bemoans the mass exodus from the country:

'The people fly by myriads, and their place
'Knows them no more. On whom or what to blame
'We disagree, and struggle without aim.
'Some wish us joy; we're losers just the same.'²⁴⁹

He may have improved conditions on his own estate but as Allingham – seemingly at this point disillusioned with his hero – wryly comments, "the old régime creaks lumbering on".²⁵⁰ (His disillusionment may also have sprung, in part, from his real-life disillusionment with Henry Caldwell Bloomfield who by 1863 had brought over an English workforce to carry out work at his pottery, building a row of houses, far superior to those of the local peasantry, to accommodate them.)²⁵¹ The ambiguous nature of the final chapters hence ensures they do not undermine the possible solutions to Ireland's problem pondered by the reader earlier on. Bloomfield ultimately proves ineffectual. Greater measures are called for, and what these measures should be the reader

must decide from her or his assessment of Ireland's colonial history and current social conditions as presented in the poem.

While he may have suffered misgivings while writing his final chapters and quenched his narrator's tendency to rail against Britain's mistreatment of Ireland – stressing instead Bloomfield's close friendship with his English Pre-Raphaelite friend – Allingham did have the opportunity to edit or rewrite those passages which may have seemed offensive to British readers when the poem was published in its volume edition. He did not. As the *London Times* remarked, with regard to those poems collected in *The Spirit of the Nation*:

[...] poetry is one of the most convenient instruments in the world for saying what you please. Nobody has a right to know exactly how much you may or may not mean. Let a man make his thoughts rhyme, and there is hardly any amount of treason and iniquity he may not utter without giving anybody a right to say positively that he intends it.²⁵²

Despite centre-periphery tensions and feelings of isolation in England,²⁵³

Allingham was still prepared, when on English soil, to doubly marginalise himself from his English readership, both in the serial version of the poem and in the subsequent volume editions that followed.

It is to be regretted that, although Hughes stresses the importance of the context within which literary works are produced and appear, she has not studied *Lawrence Bloomfield* in the context of Allingham's move from Ireland to England. It is this context, as we have noted, which accounts largely for the ambiguities, and the change of tone, in the final five chapters of the poem. When

one reconsiders that the first seven chapters of *Lawrence Bloomfield* were written in Ireland, and that Chapter VIII was the first of the remaining five chapters to be written in Lymington, the disparity in Allingham's writing becomes easier to understand. Now living in England, and conscious, as we have said, of the at times subversive tone of his work, the poet was clearly at pains to tame its tone and change its mood, align it more firmly within the canon of English Victorian poetry. Finding himself unable to fully cut his ties with Ireland, the poem hence alternates between empathy and antagonism towards the Irish people throughout the remaining chapters. At one moment the narrator chastises them, at another defends them. Hence, despite his negative and often witty descriptions of the occupants of the Ribbon Lodge in Chapter VIII, there is a disparity in Allingham's lampooning of them when, through the mouths of those he apparently despises, he continues the history of Irish colonial subjection begun by Neal, whom, as narrator, he has empathised with in Chapter VI. The reader is conscious that the narrator, having spoken through Neal and understood that,

Ireland must lose, no matter who may win;
Derided in her torture and her tears,
In sullen slavery dragging hopeless years;²⁵⁴

shares the sentiments read by Mat from *The Dublin Firebrand*:

'Must Ireland's flocks and herds be always driv'n
'To glut the maw of England? Must our corn
'To her huge bursting granaries be borne?
'And each hard penny saved from Paddy's rent
'On Indian corn and English ships be spent?'²⁵⁵

(The fact that Allingham was writing at a time when the educated Irish had

grown used to describing the lower classes in less than flattering terms must, nonetheless, equally be considered here. Even the nationalist, T. M. Ray, secretary of the Repeal Association, was not immune from such misdemeanours, describing the Irish peasantry, in a report on the Repeal Reading Rooms in 1844 as inclined to, “vice and idleness”).²⁵⁶ Moreover, ambiguous to the last, the poet later describes the Irish as “Suckled on grievances”,²⁵⁷ only to contradict himself soon after by describing Ireland as “A plenteous place of hospitable cheer.”²⁵⁸

Cairns Craig, describing the fear of marginalisation experienced by Scottish and Irish writers in London, has stated that,

[...] to escape the parochial we borrow the eyes of the dominant culture and through those eyes we are allowed to see the ‘world’. But we are also forced to see how close that parochial group-self stands to us – Hyde behind Jekyll – ready to claim again the self we have invented.²⁵⁹

It is the tension caused by Allingham's affinity with this Irish parochial “group-self”, a group-self he sought both to free himself from and embrace, which we see enacted in the final chapters of *Lawrence Bloomfield*. A fictionalised Rossetti²⁶⁰ and a poorly disguised Petrie²⁶¹ are invited into his closing chapter so that the poet might unify both islands and their cultures, as he had previously sought to do in the common Celticism of his earlier poems. But these characters clearly do not belong, are surplus, mere ornaments who serve no purpose in the narrative and introduce us to a Bloomfield who is not at one with the Bloomfield of other chapters, seeming more interested in life outside Ireland now that he has fulfilled his mission. Bloomfield's house, in the preceding Ch XI, is also out

of place, too cluttered with symbols of Ireland's past and denying the poem the realist note struck earlier. An exposition of Davis's plan for educating Ireland executed within the walls of one house – which now appears, without any prior intimation, to represent Ireland herself – does not serve to rescue the poem from its cultural shift from Ireland as periphery to Ireland as centre of great culture. Davis's call to "visit museums and antiquities, and study, and buy, and assist books of history to know what the country and people were, how they fell, how they suffered, and how they arose again,"²⁶² sounds a Pre-Raphaelite note when merged with the influence of Rossetti and Morris and presented in miniature in Bloomfield's mansion:

Enter: you find throughout the spacious rooms,
Gay lit, or mellow with delicious glooms,
Instead of gaudy paper, silk, and paint,
Statues and pictures, books, wood-carvings quaint,
Dim-splendid needlework of Hindostan,
Grave sold furniture of useful plan;
Here a soft blaze of flow'rs in full daylight,
There, ivied casement, shadowing aright
The mournful relics of the secret Past,
Waifs, liftings, from that ocean deep and vast,
The thought and work of many a vanish'd race;
Of Ancient Ireland too is many a trace,
The Druid's torque, moon-shaped, of thinnest gold,
Square bell that to St. Patrick's preaching toll'd,
Cups, coins, and fibulae, and ogham-stones,
Spear, axe, and arrow-heads, of flint or bronze.²⁶³

Davis's ideals make strange bedfellows when married to a hybrid of the rooms of the Royal Irish Academy, the British Museum, and William Morris's Red House.²⁶⁴

Following the narrator's merciless parodying of the landlords, Bloomfield's call for peasant proprietorship in the final chapter of the poem – before going on to mark, 'with what disgust,/ 'What rage they [the landlords] always listen, if they must,/ 'To mere proposals for the general good!'²⁶⁵ – also echoes Davis.²⁶⁶ What Maurice R. O'Connell says of Davis could equally apply to Bloomfield: "Having insulted them repeatedly, he was naïve enough to think that he could induce them to come his way."²⁶⁷ Bloomfield, like Davis, does not consider how his perception of Irish landlords as the "stupid rich" affects his dealings with them and perhaps provokes their "gross tyrannic mood".²⁶⁸ Moreover, as in "Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads", Allingham can find no means of uniting what he perceives to be two distinct tribes. Bloomfield himself may stand "aloof from every stated creed",²⁶⁹ equally despising the spiritual representatives of both the landlords and peasantry, "The vulgar Scripture-Reader" and "meddling Priest",²⁷⁰ but in so doing he, like his narrator, accordingly isolates himself by marrying politics to religion. Like the cultivated Irishmen whom Allingham would later describe in his tribute to Petrie in 1866, Bloomfield stands alone: he has "*no country. Ireland has ceased to be a country*" and "England" is not his.²⁷¹ Ultimately, however, Allingham's sympathies as narrator lie with the Irish peasantry. Considered as a whole, *Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland* reads as an anti-imperialist defence of the Irish peasantry against both their Anglo-Irish landlords and England's "systematic maltreatment" of Ireland, her "coarse and invariable contempt" at "the most sensitive of races".²⁷² Influenced by the equally anti-imperialist Davis, "His harshest verses [...] were directed against the

'Saxon' English and their historic cruelties in Ireland."²⁷³ What thus began as a somewhat hesitant critique of England's historical oppression of Ireland in "Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads" in 1852, became outright condemnation when expressed in heroic couplet form some eight years later.

Once settled in England, Irish ballads and songs no longer served to influence the sound and rhythm of Allingham's poems. But, despite efforts to become more fully involved in the British ballad tradition, "reading, comparing, selecting and copying [...] Ballads"²⁷⁴ for *The Ballad Book*, his mind constantly turned to Ireland. The mixed reviews that greeted *The Ballad Book*²⁷⁵ and a visit to Dublin to lecture on poetry, followed by a holiday in Ballyshannon in the summer of 1865, seem to have prompted Allingham's desire to make Ireland his main literary preoccupation, despite his physical absence. In a letter to Robert Browning in December of that year, the poet again echoed Davis, expressing his desire to write an "Irish History".²⁷⁶ But like Davis's history of Ireland Allingham's history of Ireland would remain unwritten. Ireland and Irish history would not, however, remain absent from his prose: as we shall see in the following chapter, "Donegal Bay and Irish Chronicals",²⁷⁷ an essay providing information on the compilers of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, would be published as part of his *Rambles* series for *Fraser's Magazine* in December 1867, with "The Winding Banks of Erne", a travelogue concerned with the history, mythology and place-names of locations along the river Erne, following it in August 1868.²⁷⁸

Still described as a Unionist by critics such as Quinn,²⁷⁹ it is evident that Allingham was more influenced by the ideals and ideas of Davis and the Irish ballad tradition than he was by Unionist ideology. Seeking to create a tradition of Irish ballad-writing in English, he worked to erase the marginal status of the English-speaking poet of Protestant birth by immersing himself in both the oral Irish tradition and the Anglo-Irish poetry tradition. A believer in peasant proprietorship, he was prepared to run the risk of further marginalisation from his English readership by stressing the brutality of Irish colonial history and the maltreatment of Ireland by England in *Lawrence Bloomfield*. Although centre-periphery tensions filled him with doubt, particularly after his move to England, he nonetheless would continue to draw attention to England's mistreatment of Ireland, risking his literary reputation by doing so and consequently, as we shall see in Chapter Four, finding himself more isolated as an Irishman abroad, during his editorship of *Fraser's*, than he had been in Ireland.

Notes

¹ William Allingham, *Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland*, Ch. VI: "Lough Braccan", *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, 67: 400 (1863: Apr.), pp. 496 – 503, p. 502. Henceforth FM.

² See Introduction, p. 3.

³ Thomas Davis, "The Songs of Ireland", *Thomas Davis, Selections from his Prose and Poetry*, p. 226.

⁴ See Davis, "Property for the People", *Thomas Davis: Essays and Poems*, pp. 137 - 55.

⁵ "Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads", *Household Words*, 4: 94 (1852: Jan. 10), pp. 361 – 68, p. 367.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Matthew Kelly, "Irish Nationalist Opinion and the British Empire in the 1850s and 1860s", *Past and Present*, No. 204 (August 2009), pp. 127 – 54, p. 131.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

¹² Cited in Hazel Hynd, "Celtic Rivals: John Davidson and W.B. Yeats", *Irish Studies Review*, Vol. 10.3; Dec 2002, p. 277.

¹³ Although the changes Allingham later made to his long poem were of the minor variety, reference to it in its original form seemed appropriate.

¹⁴ See "An Introduction to the Ulster-Scots Language", Ulster-Scots Agency, <http://www.ulsterscotsagency.com/what-is-ulster-scots/language/>

¹⁵ ISP, pp. 32 - 34. First published as "The Pilot's Pretty Daughter" in *Poems* (1850), pp. 1 - 5. Thereafter, under same title in MM, pp. 146 – 50. First published as "The Pilot's Daughter" in SBS, pp. 86 – 88.

¹⁶ First published as "Venus Akastria" in *Fraser's Magazine*, Nov, 1851; thereafter as "Venus of the Needle" in DNS, Poem IV, MM, pp. 10 – 12, *Nightingale Valley*, pp. 196 – 98, SBS, pp. 9 – 10.

¹⁷ First published, without the refrain, as "The Maidens of the Mere" in *Poems* (1850), pp. 142 – 43. Thereafter published with refrain in MM, pp. 202 – 204, Published in SBS as "The Maids of Eifin-Mere" pp. 184 – 85.

¹⁸ "George Levison; or, The Schoolfellows", *Household Words*, 16:403 (1857: Dec. 12), pp. 562 – 64. Unsigned. Republished in FMP, pp. 17 – 29, and as "George Hildebrand; or, The Schoolfellows", SBS, pp. 295 – 304.

¹⁹ First published *Household Words*, Jan 10, 1852, No. 94. Abridged version republished in VIP III, pp. 137 - 54. Original essay reprinted in *Ceol*, Vol III, No 1. September, 1967, pp. 2 - 16.

²⁰ Seán Lucy, "Metre and Movement in Anglo-Irish Verse", *Irish University Review*, Vol 8, No 2 (Autumn, 1978), pp. 151 - 177, p. 153.

²¹ His violin manuscript, together with Irish airs, also contains music by Mozart, Rossini, an Austrian waltz and a Russian air. *William Allingham: Irish Airs*, Scrapbook for the Violin. MS 3306. National Library of Ireland.

²² See "George Petrie", VP III, p. 167. First published in FM, 74: 439 (1866: July), pp. 94 - 100. Signed WA.

²³ Gerard Lee, "Oliver Goldsmith", *Irish Historical Record*, Vol 26, No 1 (December 1972), pp. 2 - 17. p. 4.

²⁴ *The Ballad Book: A Selection of the Choicest British Ballads* (London: Macmillan, 1864). Republished by Cambridge, MA, 1865, and by Macmillan in 1893 and 1907.

²⁵ Hugh Shields, *Narrative Singing in Ireland: Lays, Ballads, Come-all-yes and Other Songs*, p. 84.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

²⁸ Seamus Deane, *Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing*, Vol II, p. 5.

- ²⁹ The first reference to Allingham's fiddle-playing in his diary is noted on 5 November 1847 (p. 40). The poet was then twenty-three. It is interesting to note that while Allingham here refers to the instrument as a "fiddle", entries for 1849 describe it as a "violin" (p. 43). One wonders if this can be attributed to Helen Allingham's editing: she herself refers to Allingham's practice of, and long hours of playing, the "violin" (WAD, Ch. 4, p. 66).
- ³⁰ *William Allingham: Irish Airs*, Scrapbook for the Violin. MS 3306. National Library of Ireland.
- ³¹ See Alfred Perceval Graves, "Ireland's Share in the Folk Song Revival", *The Celtic Review*, Vol. 9, No. 34 (Nov 1913), pp. 128 - 48, p. 142.
- ³² Cited in Hugh Shields, "William Allingham and Folk Song", *Hermathena: A Dublin University Review*, No CXVII (Summer 1974), pp. 23 - 36, p. 24. *The Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* (Dublin: M. H. Gill, 1855), pp. 116 - 17. Reprinted Farnborough 1967 & Heppenheim 1969.
- ³³ *Ibid. Music of Ireland: collected, edited, and harmonized for the pianoforte by the late George Petrie* (Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son, 1882), pp. 44 - 45.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.* George Petrie and Charles Villiers Stanford (ed), *The Complete Collection of Irish Music* (London: Boosey & Co, 1902 - 5). No 512, 678, 808, 1325.
- ³⁵ William Allingham, "Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads", *Household Words*, 4: 94 (1852: Jan. 10), p. 367.
- ³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 362.
- ³⁷ *Ibid*.
- ³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 364.
- ³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 367.
- ⁴⁰ Thomas Davis, "The Songs of Ireland", *Thomas Davis, Selections from his Prose and Poetry*, p. 226.
- ⁴¹ Colin Neilands, "Irish Broadside Ballads: Performers and Performances", *Folk Music Journal*, Vol. 6, No 2 (1991), pp. 209-222, p. 218.
- ⁴² *Household Words*, 4: 94 (1852: Jan. 10), p. 361.
- ⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 362.
- ⁴⁴ *Narrative Singing in Ireland*, p. 127.
- ⁴⁵ *Household Words*, 4: 94 (1852: Jan. 10), p. 361.
- ⁴⁶ Padraic Colum, *Broad-Sheet Ballads, Being a Collection of Irish Popular Songs*, p. xiii.
- ⁴⁷ See "The Songs of Ireland", *Thomas Davis, Selections from his Prose and Poetry*, pp. 225 - 231, & Helen F. Mulvey, *Thomas Davis and Ireland: A Biographical Study*, p. 105.
- ⁴⁸ "Irish Voices in Nineteenth-Century English Street Ballads", *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, Volume 28 / 29, Vol. 28, No. 2 - Vol. 29, No. 1 (Fall, 2002 - Spring 2003), pp. 154 - 67, p. 156.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 155.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 156.
- ⁵¹ *Household Words*, 4: 94 (1852: Jan. 10), p. 366.
- ⁵² *Ibid*, p. 367.
- ⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 366.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 367.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid*.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 364.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 362.
- ⁵⁸ See Colin Neilands, "Irish Broadside Ballads: Performers and Performances", *Folk Music Journal*, Vol. 6, No 2 (1991), pp. 210 - 12.
- ⁵⁹ *Household Words*, 4: 94 (1852: Jan. 10), p. 362.
- ⁶⁰ WAD, Ch III, Monday, Jan. 1, 1849, p. 45.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid*.
- ⁶² *Household Words*, 4: 94 (1852: Jan. 10), p. 365.
- ⁶³ Probably Lord John Russell.
- ⁶⁴ *Household Words*, 4: 94 (1852: Jan. 10), p. 365.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 366.
- ⁶⁶ *Household Words*, 4: 94 (1852: Jan. 10), pp. 364 - 65.

- ⁶⁷ See Davis, "Property for the People", *Thomas Davis: Essays and Poems*, pp. 137 – 55.
- ⁶⁸ The opening lines of Stanza III of "Celts and Saxons" read: "What matter that at different shrines/ We pray unto one God". *Thomas Davis: Essays and Poems with a Centenary Memoir*, p. 191.
- ⁶⁹ *Household Words*, 4: 94 (1852: Jan. 10), p. 367.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p. 361.
- ⁷¹ They were probably published by Willie Birmingham and James McGlashan. The surviving broadside in Trinity College, Dublin was published by Birmingham and in a letter to the Brownings, dated 6 June 1853, Allingham states that he is in "the shop of Mr. McGlashan the publisher, in Dublin" and mentions that he has "written four or five Irish Would-Be-Popular Songs (in English) – little else." *Letters from William Allingham to Mr. and Mrs. Browning*, p. 2.
- ⁷² MM, Preface vii – viii.
- ⁷³ SBS, Note A, p. 331.
- ⁷⁴ First published in volume form, with music, in ISP, pp.101 – 03.
- ⁷⁵ Manuscript, Trinity College Library, Dublin. (Dublin: W. Birmingham, c.1860.)
- ⁷⁶ SBS, pp. 153 – 55, and ISP (with music), pp. 35 – 38.
- ⁷⁷ Originally titled "Sir Archibald Grant of Monemus's Reel". *The Fiddler's Companion*, <http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/MON.htm>
- ⁷⁸ First published in volume form in DNS, Poem XXII. Thereafter published in MM, pp. 55 – 57, SBS, pp. 134 – 35, and ISP (with music), pp. 108 – 10.
- ⁷⁹ First published in volume form in MM, pp. 210 – 12, and republished in SBS, pp. 214 – 15.
- ⁸⁰ First published in volume form in *Poems* (1861). Thereafter republished in FMP, pp. 170 – 71, SBS, pp. 155 – 56, and ISP (with music), pp. 133 – 35.
- ⁸¹ First published in volume form in MM, pp. 171 – 75. Republished in SBS, pp. 146 – 49, and ISP (with music), pp. 113 – 16.
- ⁸² "Street Minstrelsy", unsigned, *Household Words*, 19:478 (1859: May 21), Vol XIX, pp. 577 – 580, p. 578. "The Winding Banks of Erne; or, the Emigrant's Adieu to Ballyshannon" was first published in volume form in *Poems* (1861), and thereafter in FMP, pp. 111 – 18, and ISP (with music), titled "The Winding Banks of Erne; or, the Emigrant's Adieu to his Birthplace", pp. 24 – 30.
- ⁸³ *The Athenaeum* 15:26 (1857: January 24), pp. 116 – 17. Also published under this title in *Reynold's Miscellany of Romance* in March 1857 (p. 136), and in *The Dublin Saturday Magazine* on 1 September 1865, pp. 116 – 17. The poem was first published with the title "Abbey Asaroe" in *Fifty Modern Poems* in 1865, pp. 38 – 41. Republished "Abbey Asaroe" in SBS, pp. 136 – 37, and ISP, pp. 45 – 46.
- ⁸⁴ "Street Minstrelsy", *Household Words*, 19:478 (1859: May 21), p. 578.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid*.
- ⁸⁶ "The Emigrant's Adieu to Ballyshannon", *Dublin University Magazine*, LI (February 1858), pp. 173 – 74.
- ⁸⁷ See Note 83.
- ⁸⁸ From MS letter from Miss Allingham, dated 26 June, 1945. Cited in McDonogh, *The Life and Work of William Allingham*, p. 63.
- ⁸⁹ See Peter Denman, *Samuel Ferguson: The Literary Achievement*, p. 63.
- ⁹⁰ *Nightingale Valley* is signed "Giraldus". Allingham included Ferguson's "The Forging of the Anchor", pp.125 – 29, and "The Fairy Thorn", pp. 223 – 26, and Davis's "O'Brien of Arra" pp. 151 – 52. The volume was republished in 1862 under Allingham's name.
- ⁹¹ "Love's Consolation".
- ⁹² *Lays of the Western Gael and Other Poems*, pp. 119 – 25.
- ⁹³ Samuel Ferguson, "The Fair Hills of Ireland", *Poems of Sir Samuel Ferguson*, pp. 60 – 61.
- ⁹⁴ "The Winding Banks of Erne", line 1, stanza III. ISP, p. 27, and "The Fair Hills of Ireland", stanza 1, line 6. *Poems of Sir Samuel Ferguson*, p. 60.
- ⁹⁵ "The Winding Banks of Erne", line I, stanza VII. ISP, p. 29.
- ⁹⁶ "The Fair Hills of Ireland", line 7 of stanza 3. *Poems of Sir Samuel Ferguson*, p. 61.
- ⁹⁷ "The Fair Hills of Ireland", stanza 2, lines 5 – 8, *Poems of Sir Samuel Ferguson*, p. 61.
- ⁹⁸ "Winding Banks of Erne", ISP, p. 30.

- ⁹⁹ "The Fairy Well of Lagnanay", *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry* (ed) W. B. Yeats, pp. 13 – 16.
- ¹⁰⁰ "Mervaunee", SBS, pp. 305 – 26. First appeared as "Mervaunee" in *The Cornhill Magazine* in July & August of 1876. Later published as "The Lady of the Sea: A Legend of Ancient Erin" in ISP, pp. 5 - 23.
- ¹⁰¹ SBS, pp. 323 – 25.
- ¹⁰² *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry*, p. 14.
- ¹⁰³ ISP, pp. 45 – 46.
- ¹⁰⁴ *William Allingham*, by Dr Phil Hans Kropf. Abridged translation from the German by L. J. Passmore, p. 45.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Thomas Davis, Selections from his Prose and Poetry*, pp. 312 – 15.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 313.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 312 – 13.
- ¹⁰⁸ ISP, pp. 113 - 116.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p. 162.
- ¹¹⁰ Robert Farren, *The Course of Irish Verse in English*, p. 50. Alan Warner, *William Allingham*, p. 34.
- ¹¹¹ Warner, *William Allingham*, p. 34.
- ¹¹² ISP, pp. 115 - 16.
- ¹¹³ MM, p. 175.
- ¹¹⁴ ISP, p. 117.
- ¹¹⁵ Liam McIlvanney, "Blair, Burns, and the Invention of Scottish Literature", *Eighteenth Century Life*, Vol. 29, No 2, Spring 2005, pp. 25 – 46, p. 28.
- ¹¹⁶ ISP, p. 114.
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 116.
- ¹¹⁸ *Narrative Singing in Ireland*, p. 90.
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 112. Allingham wrote of Irish music that it had "no gloom, no suggestion of permanent sadness, but a tender pathos, a sweet melancholy (...) plentiful merriment." Cited by Shields, from *By the Way*, p. 91.
- ¹²⁰ See James B. Hepburn, *A Book of Scattered Leaves: Poetry of Poverty in Broadside Ballads: Study and Anthology*, Vol. 2, p. 420.
- ¹²¹ "The Milkmaid", ISP, p. 109.
- ¹²² *Ibid*.
- ¹²³ *Ibid*.
- ¹²⁴ "William Allingham and Folk Song", *Hermathena: A Dublin University Review*, No CXVII (Summer 1974), p. 30.
- ¹²⁵ See *Foclóir: Gaeilge/Béarla—Béarla/Gaeilge*, p. 240.
- ¹²⁶ Manuscript, Trinity College, Dublin. (Dublin: W. Birmingham, c.1860).
- ¹²⁷ ISP, pp. 102 – 03.
- ¹²⁸ See Dictionary of the Scots Language, www.dsl.ac.uk/dsl
- ¹²⁹ Manuscript, Trinity College, Dublin.
- ¹³⁰ *Ibid*.
- ¹³¹ *Ibid*.
- ¹³² "Preface", MM, p. viii.
- ¹³³ From *The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, 1838. Cited in Jason R. Rudy, "On Cultural Neoformalism, Spasmodic Poetry, and the Victorian Ballad", *Victorian Poetry*, Vol. 41, No. 4, Winter 2003. West Virginia University Press, pp. 590 - 96, p. 592.
- ¹³⁴ ISP, pp. 133 - 35.
- ¹³⁵ The ballad refers to Esky in Donegal and portrays the isolation experienced by mountain-dwellers "among the heather" quite vividly.
- ¹³⁶ "Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads", *Household Words*, FM, 4: 94 (1852: Jan. 10), p. 363.
- ¹³⁷ "The Pilot's Daughter", ISP, p. 34.
- ¹³⁸ *Ibid*, stanza VII, line 8, p. 34.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Household Words*, 4: 94 (1852: Jan. 10), p. 364.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² "Venus of the Needle", stanza 8, MM, p. 12.

¹⁴³ M.L. Howe (*Philological Quarterly*, Vol XI, 1932, pp. 290 – 97, pp. 291 – 92.), Robert Farren (*The Course of Irish Verse in English*, p. 52.), Alan Warner (*William Allingham*, p. 37.), and Patricia England (*The Poetry of William Allingham*, p. 72.) have attributed a Pre-Raphaelite influence to the poem, Howe and English particularly stressing the influence of Rossetti.

¹⁴⁴ "The Maids of Elfin-Mere", MM, p. 203.

¹⁴⁵ Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "The Blessed Damsel", stanza 1, line 5. *The Poetical Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, p. 232.

¹⁴⁶ *Philological Quarterly*, Vol XI, 1932, pp. 291 – 92.

¹⁴⁷ The refrain to "The Two Sisters", or "Sister, Dear Sister", in the Irish version, reads thus: "Hey ho, my Nanny, O; / While the swans swim bonny O." (Cited in *The Ballad Book*, "Notes" p. 381.)

¹⁴⁸ *The Ballad Book*, Preface p. xxxiii.

¹⁴⁹ ISP, p.2.

¹⁵⁰ Brian Devine, *Yeats, the Master of Sound*, p. 51.

¹⁵¹ "Pastheen Finn", *Poems of Sir Samuel Ferguson*, pp. 50 - 52. The first four lines of stanza 5 read:

I'll leave my people, both friend and foe;
From all the girls in the world I'll go;
But from you, sweetheart, oh, never! oh, no!
Till I lie in the coffin, stretch'd cold and low!

¹⁵² *Household Words*, 16:403 (1857: Dec. 12), pp. 562 – 64. Unsigned. Republished in FMP, pp. 17 – 29, and as "George Hildebrand; or, The Schoolfellows" in SBS, pp. 295 – 304.

¹⁵³ "George Levison; or The Schoolfellows", FMP, p. 29.

¹⁵⁴ *Poems of Wordsworth*, (ed) Matthew Arnold, pp. 264 – 69, p. 264.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

¹⁵⁶ *The Borough*, "Life of Blaney", "Inhabitants of the Alms-House– Blaney", Letter XIV, pp. 192 – 200, p. 192.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

¹⁵⁸ *Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland*, CH II, "Neighbouring Landlords", FM, 66: 396 (1862: Dec), pp. 709 – 14, p: 711. Henceforth LB.

¹⁵⁹ "George Levison, or, The Schoolfellows", FMP, p. 25.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁶¹ *The Borough*, p. 198.

¹⁶² LB, CH II, FM, 66: 396 (1862: Dec), p. 711.

¹⁶³ FMP, p. 24.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Despite his idyllic surroundings, the narrator of "George Levison" intimates a troubled past after his first meeting with his wife and, before that still, years of sorrow and "toil" (FMP, p. 23). Bearing his past in mind, the reader is forced to question if Levison is the type of man the narrator either once was, or might have become had he not met his wife: while he is clearly repulsed by Levison and uneasy in his presence, he ultimately fails to judge him.

¹⁶⁷ Terence Bareham, *George Crabbe*, p. 70.

¹⁶⁸ LB, "Neighbouring Landlords", CH II, FM, 66: 396 (1862: Dec), p. 711.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, "A Ribbon Lodge", Ch VIII, FM, 67:402 (1863:June), pp. 739 - 45, p. 740.

¹⁷⁰ *By the Way*, p. 112.

¹⁷¹ *Irish Identity and the Literary Revival*, p. 25.

¹⁷² A letter from Allingham to Rossetti on March 12, 1860 states: "I am doing something occasionally at a poem on Irish matters, to have two thousand lines or so, and can see my way through it. One part out of three is done. But alas! when all's done, who will like it? Think of the Landlord and Tenant-Question in flat decasyllables!" A further letter, from Rossetti to Allingham, dated November 29, 1860, states: "I wish you would let me know what the subject is in your

poem. If modern, so much the better; only, if Irish, I fear failing in character and truth." *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham*, p. 230 & p. 248.

¹⁷³ WAD, Ch V, p. 82.

¹⁷⁴ See Ina Taylor, *Victorian Sisters*, pp. 54 – 56.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 56.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*.

¹⁷⁷ WAD, Ch IV, p. 79.

¹⁷⁸ See Judith Flanders, *A Circle of Sisters*, p. 70.

¹⁷⁹ Letter from William Allingham to Thomas Carlyle, January 27, 1866. Allingham adds, that by this time, the Customs office in Ballyshannon was already abolished, and "the duty given over to the Coastguards." It is likely that Allingham already had wind of this change by 1862. Letter 84, *Unpublished Correspondence of William Allingham*, p. 220.

¹⁸⁰ WAD, Ch V, p. 82.

¹⁸¹ "Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads", *Household Words*, 4: 94 (1852: Jan. 10), p.

361.

¹⁸² WAD, Ch V, p. 83.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p. 85.

¹⁸⁶ See WAD, Ch V, p. 88, p. 89, p. 93, p. 95.

¹⁸⁷ See WAD, Ch V, June 28, 1863, p. 85.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, entries for July 11 and August 16, 1863, p. 86.

¹⁸⁹ See The History of Belleek, Part I, The Belleek Collectors' Club, Collector Café http://www.collectorcafe.com/article_archive.asp?article=580&id=1949

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*.

¹⁹¹ See William Edward Vaughan, *Sin, Sheep and Scotsmen: John George Adair and the Derryveagh Evictions, 1861*, p. 11.

¹⁹² Published in the *Dublin University Magazine* in 1849.

¹⁹³ Malcolm Brown, "Allingham's Ireland", *Irish University Review*, Vol. 13, No. 1, (Spring 1983), p. 11.

¹⁹⁴ Matthew Campbell, "Irish Poetry in the Union: William Allingham's *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland*", *European Journal of Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 306.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 307.

¹⁹⁶ LB, Ch VI, "Lough Braccan", FM, 67: 400 (1863: April), pp. 496 – 503, p. 496.

¹⁹⁷ Campbell, pp. 307 - 08.

¹⁹⁸ *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland* (1869), Preface p. v. Henceforth LB (1869).

¹⁹⁹ LB, Ch VII, "Ballytullagh", FM, 67: 401 (1863: May), pp. 637 – 44, p. 640.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 641.

²⁰¹ Malcolm Brown, *Irish University Review*, p. 11.

²⁰² *Ibid*.

²⁰³ *Ibid*, p. 12.

²⁰⁴ See preface to *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland: A Modern Poem* (1864): "It is neither [...] of an orange or green complexion" (p. vii), "To be *doctrinaire* on so large and complex a subject is the furthest possible thing from the present writer's intention" (p. viii).

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*.

²⁰⁶ LB, Ch VII, FM, 67: 401 (1863: May), p. 643.

²⁰⁷ See, for example, Ch VIII, "A Ribbon Lodge", FM, 67: 402 (1863: June): "Och wirrastrua!" ["Och Mhuire as truagh" – "Oh Mary, for pity's sake"] p. 744, and "thigemthu?" ["tuigim thú?" – "you understand/with me?"] p. 745.

²⁰⁸ See, for example, Allingham's reference to the five crosses "made by laying together the fingers of both hands" of the dead when waked, in Ch VII, FM, 67: 401 (1863: May); p. 745. The gloss is provided by Allingham in the volume-edition, *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland* (1864), Ch VIII, p. 171.

²⁰⁹ LB (1869), Preface, p. iv.

- ²¹⁰ *The Irishman* of April 23, 1864, criticised Allingham's political views, asserting that: "Mr Allingham perceives the evils of the tenant-at-will system with regard to individuals, he has not understood it as applied to nations. Without self-government the Irish nation in Ireland is a tenant-at-will, subject to every woe and every evil of the system." (p. 682). Cited in Samira Aghacy Husni, *William Allingham: An Annotated Bibliography*, p. 86.
- ²¹¹ The English reviews of the poem's first volume edition tended to focus on Allingham's character sketches and to interpret the poem as they saw fit. *Chamber's Journal*, for example, described the aim of the poem as "an attempt to teach Irish landlords morality, and their tenants common-sense" ("An Irish Pastoral", *Chamber's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts*, No. 33, Aug. 13, 1864, p. 523.), while *The Athenaeum*, declaring that Ireland's "sorrows and wrongs" were "chiefly self-inflicted", allowed that it was "a plea for tenant-right; a poem for statesmen to read." (*The Athenaeum*, no. 1903, April 16, 1864, p. 537 & p. 538.)
- ²¹² Gerald Massey, "Poets and Poetry of Young Ireland", *North British Review*, Vol. 35, No. 70, November 1861. http://gerald-massey.org.uk/massey/cpr_poetry_of_young_ireland.htm.
- ²¹³ *Ibid.*
- ²¹⁴ LB, Ch XII, FM, 68: 407 (1863: Nov.), p. 636.
- ²¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²¹⁶ *Ibid.* See Davis, "Property for the People", *Thomas Davis: Essays and Poems*, pp. 137 - 55.
- ²¹⁷ "Conciliation", *Thomas Davis: Selections from his Prose and Poems*, pp. 275 - 276.
- ²¹⁸ "Among Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants equally, the chief binding element has been hatred, hence in each an aggravation of the evils of dogma and a suppression of the benevolences of religion", LB (1869), Preface, p. vi.
- ²¹⁹ LB, Ch XI, FM, 68: 405 (1863: Sept.), p. 368.
- ²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 373.
- ²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 370.
- ²²² Preface LB (1869), p. viii.
- ²²³ *Thomas Davis: Selections from his Prose and Poems*, pp. 275 - 78.
- ²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 277.
- ²²⁵ LB, Ch VII, "Ballytullagh", FM, 67: 401 (1863: May), pp. 637 - 44, p. 638.
- ²²⁶ Preface, *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland: A Modern Poem* (1864), p. vi.
- ²²⁷ LB, Ch VI, "Lough Braccan", 67: 400 (1863: Apr.), pp. 496 - 503, pp. 501 - 02.
- ²²⁸ Linda Hughes, "The Poetics of Empire and Resistance: William Allingham's *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland*", *Victorian Poetry*, Vol 28, No. 2, Summer 1990, p. 109.
- ²²⁹ In the 1864 edition of the poem, and in subsequent editions, this chapter is titled, "Neal at the Lough".
- ²³⁰ April 1, 1863 *Guardian* (p. 315), cited in Hughes, pp. 109 - 10.
- ²³¹ Hughes, *Victorian Poetry*, p. 110.
- ²³² LB, Ch. VI, FM, 67: 400 (1863: Apr.), p. 501.
- ²³³ In that "the ideology of the poem ultimately endorses reform of the extant power structure, not revolution and home rule." *Victorian Poetry*, p. 103.
- ²³⁴ *Victorian Poetry*, p. 105.
- ²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 112.
- ²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 114.
- ²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 103.
- ²³⁸ LB, Ch XI, FM, 68: 405 (1863: Sept.), p. 374.
- ²³⁹ *Ibid.*, CH XII, FM, 68: 407 (1863: Nov.), pp. 635 - 47, p. 366.
- ²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 640.
- ²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 636.
- ²⁴² See "Lough Rynn", <http://www.loughrynn.net/id31.htm>
- ²⁴³ Matthew Lewis, author of *The Monk and Journal of a West Indian Proprietor*, where he describes his life on his inherited slave plantations in Jamaica. He supported the abolition of the slave trade, treated his slaves with compassion, but refused to grant them emancipation.
- ²⁴⁴ LB, Ch XI, FM, 68: 405 (1863: Sept.), p. 365.
- ²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Ch XII, FM, 68: 407 (1863: Nov.), p. 639.
- ²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 640.

- ²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 636.
- ²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 647.
- ²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 644.
- ²⁵¹ See "The History of Belleek" Part I, http://www.collectorcafe.com/article_archive.asp?article=580&id=1949
- ²⁵² *The London Times*. Appendix to *Voice of the Nation*, "Notices of the Journals," 7. Cited in *Thomas Davis and Ireland: A Biographical Study*, p. 106.
- ²⁵³ In a retrospective diary entry for 1863, Allingham recalls being depressed in Lymington. A further entry for June 28, 1863, reads: "In the evening walked sadly along the shore of the Solent eastwards by Pylewell – returning, brought home a glow-worm and put it in a white lily, through which it shone." WAD, Ch V, p. 82 & p. 84.
- ²⁵⁴ See Note 227.
- ²⁵⁵ LB, Ch VIII, "A Ribbon Lodge", FM, 67: 402 (1863: June), pp. 739 – 45, p. 740.
- ²⁵⁶ *Repeal Reports*, Vol. 2., p. 335. Cited in Helen F. Mulvey, *Thomas Davis and Ireland: A Biographical Study*, p. 152.
- ²⁵⁷ LB, Ch XII, FM, 68: 407 (1863: Nov.), p. 641.
- ²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 644.
- ²⁵⁹ Cairns Craig, *Out of History: Narrative Paradigms in Scottish and English Culture*, p. 12.
- ²⁶⁰ As "Pictor". See Ch XII, FM, 68: 407 (1863: Nov.), p. 256.
- ²⁶¹ As "George Roe". *Ibid.*
- ²⁶² Thomas Davis, "The History of Ireland", *Thomas Davis, selections from his prose and poetry*, p. 85.
- ²⁶³ LB, Ch XI, FM 68: 405 (1863: Sept), p. 368.
- ²⁶⁴ Allingham stayed at the Red House on several occasions in 1862. See WAD, Ch. IV, p. 80.
- ²⁶⁵ LB, Ch XII, FM 68: 405 (1863: Sept), pp. 645 – 46.
- ²⁶⁶ See Maurice R. O'Connell, "Thomas Davis: a Destructive Conciliator", *The Irish Times*, August 6, 1974, p. 12.
- ²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶⁸ LB, Ch XII, FM 68: 405 (1863: Sept), p. 646.
- ²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 638.
- ²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷¹ "George Petrie", VIP, III, p. 172.
- ²⁷² LB (1869), Preface, p. viii.
- ²⁷³ *Thomas Davis and Ireland: A Biographical Study*, p. 105.
- ²⁷⁴ WAD, Ch V, retrospective entry for June 1863, p. 85.
- ²⁷⁵ The reviewer in *The Athenaeum* accused Allingham of favouring Scottish ballads, unfairly commenting, "Mr Allingham seems to have had considerable difficulty with his English specimens, and almost apologizes for inserting the 'Lyttell Geste of Robin Hood.'" Review of *The Ballad Book*, *The Athenaeum*, No 1943, Jan. 21, 1865, pp. 83 - 84. British Periodicals.
- ²⁷⁶ See Helen F. Mulvey, *Thomas Davis and Ireland*, p. 139, & Letter to Robert Browning, Dec. 14, 1865. Letter 81, *Unpublished Correspondence of William Allingham*, p. 213.
- ²⁷⁷ Published as part of "Rambles by Patricius Walker" series. FM, 76: 456 (1867: Dec.), pp. 741 - 757. Republished in "An Irish River. In Three Chapters" in VIP III, pp. 48 – 110.
- ²⁷⁸ Published as part of *Rambles*. FM, 78: 464 (1868: Aug.), pp. 195 - 213. Republished as part of "An Irish River", VIP III, pp. 48 -110.
- ²⁷⁹ See Introduction, pp. 19 – 21.

Chapter Three

"A Writer Out of Time and Out of Place: William Allingham's *Rambles*"

Their palms are coffins
And their heads are hats for distant clouds.
And behind them there is time
Without flowerpots
Or arms
They had left.
And leaving itself returned
And they did not come back.

"The Exiled", By Hassan Najmi ¹

Allingham's efforts to establish himself in England as a man of letters,² or literary journalist, by the creation of a series of travelogues of Britain and Ireland for *Fraser's Magazine*, will be examined in this chapter. The series of twenty essays, titled *Rambles*, was published sporadically, under the pseudonym of Patricius Walker, from October 1867 to December 1877, a period which saw the writer take over the sub-editorship of *Fraser's*, under Froude, in 1870, and the editorship of that magazine in 1874. (The series also contains two rambles through France, "London Bridge to Cabourg" and "From Cabourg to St. Malo". That these travelogues appeared as an apparent afterthought in 1874,³ however, leaves them outside of Allingham's initial plan.) Despite his pseudonym, Allingham's aim in the eight essays that preceded his sub-editorship of *Fraser's* ⁴ seems to have been to display his prose writing skills to Froude and to the magazine's publishers, Longmans, in the hope of making a name for himself in higher journalism. That he desired to gain the approval of both Froude and Longmans is further borne out by the fact that, between July

1866 and April 1874, the poet had eight other essays published in *Fraser's*, ranging from a tribute to Petrie to a critique of London parks.⁵ His efforts paid off. Longmans eventually offered him the post of sub-editor of the magazine "with Mr. Froude"⁶ in April 1870, a position he kept until, recommended by Carlyle, he was finally made editor in September 1874. The ten travelogues that appeared from November 1870 to February 1874⁷ were hence published during his term as sub-editor of *Fraser's*, with the final two rambles – in November and December of 1877, following a break of two years and eight months – appearing when he had already been editor of the magazine for three years.⁸

The chapter will outline the reasons behind Allingham's decision to turn to prose writing before marking the various stages of his journey from reluctant public figure, as pseudonymous author of *Rambles*, to Victorian moralist and sub-editor of *Fraser's Magazine*. Through attention to his travelogues, it will study how the Donegal poet's ambiguous identity as an Irish prose writer, devoid of a university education, on English soil, manifested itself in his writing. Paying close attention to the conflicts that emerged in his writing when he found himself in areas of England that bore no relation to Ireland, it will be argued that Allingham's most fluent accounts of his rambles in Britain are those that either include reflections on writers whose lives relate to his former life in Ireland, or concern his visits to areas of Britain that bear comparison to Donegal. The disappearance of the writer's early self-doubt with regard to his understanding of British imperial matters⁹ will also be examined. We shall learn how his wavering

opinion regarding British military involvement abroad was crystallised during his sub-editorship of *Fraser's* where he gained confidence in his own authoritative voice and began to assert his anti-imperialism in *Rambles*. It was an anti-imperialism which, in its concern for the welfare of the colonised, would later prove at variance with the "anti-imperialism of Adam Smith, Bright and Cobden",¹⁰ which had aimed "to show that empire, and especially a protective empire, was uneconomic" but had little concern for the wellbeing of those in the colonies.¹¹ His development of this radical humanitarian stance – so at odds with the pro-war sentiments expressed in his 1854 poem on the Crimean War, "Peace and War"¹² – will be found to have shaped Allingham's aims, moral agenda and writer's style as eventual editor of *Fraser's Magazine*. His equal attention in *Rambles* to the inequalities inherent in capitalism and to the spread of atheism in British society will, likewise, be noted as an influence on his future editorship – his concerns for the British working-class and peasantry under the capitalism system only serving to strengthen his anti-imperialism. Although the series was subsequently revised and republished – in part in *Rambles* (1873), and in its entirety in Volumes One and Two of *Varieties in Prose* – this thesis will look to the articles as published in *Fraser's*, deeming the order of publication evidence in itself of Allingham's journey from journalist to editor and public moralist.

Far from the familiar sights and sounds of home in Lymington in 1863 and longing for freedom from the Custom's Service,¹³ poetic inspiration largely failed Allingham after the completion of *Lawrence Bloomfield* in the same year. Having relied on the Donegal countryside as muse for his more successful poems, for some years he seemed unable to find inspiration elsewhere. Letters to Ferguson in 1865 (thanking him for a copy of *Lays of the Western Gael*), and to Moncure Conway in August 1867, reveal how his inability to adapt to change, and his dissatisfaction with life in England, stifled his creativity:

I continue to like this place tolerably well, and see a much greater variety of people than I used at Ballyshannon; yet I don't feel the same "nature" to the scenery and circumstances of life.¹⁴

My own singing (if I ever did any – which now appears very doubtful) is hushed at present. English Trade, and English Society for the most part are ugly things, and I long hourly to flee to the uttermost parts of the sun.¹⁵

An earlier diary entry, for October 1863, further reads, "I go on studying Old Ballads – (no original lyrics coming now, alas!)."¹⁶

The "Old Ballads" were, of course, the ballads that would form part of *The Ballad Book* for Macmillan. Following the now familiar pattern, already noted in Chapters One and Two,¹⁷ of serving to bridge the cultural divide by moving back and forth from volumes intended for an English readership to ballads or poems directly associated with Ireland, on completing *Lawrence Bloomfield* Allingham immediately turned his attention to the United Kingdom with *The Ballad Book*. Disappointed with the final outcome, however,¹⁸ he predictably returned to Irish

matters and, as we shall discuss, to preparations for a history of Ireland. It was, as we shall see, a plan that never came to fruition; financial concerns – and, to a certain extent, the difficulty of obtaining the books required¹⁹ for his history – obliged Allingham to turn his attention to writing of a very different sort.

As a Victorian man of letters, it is unsurprising that Allingham saw his only release from the Custom's Service – and, indeed, his only hope for a poor man's marriage²⁰ – in higher journalism. With the publication of the volume-edition of *Laurence Bloomfield* the transition from lyric poet to public figure had, after all, already begun. His attention to the Irish land question in *Laurence Bloomfield* and his defence of, and engagement with, the socio-cultural concerns of the Irish peasantry aroused the interest of some of the most influential figures of his time. William Hartpole Lecky and John Stuart Mill²¹ were particularly impressed by the poem – as was William Ewart Gladstone who invited the poet for breakfast, following a "highly eulogistic review" in *The Athenaeum*.²² But despite Allingham's ambition it is clear from his 1865 lecture, "On Poetry",²³ that the transition to public figure by way of a poem of social commentary caused him concern in that he essentially viewed himself as a lyric poet. Following *Laurence Bloomfield*, he hence set out to make his mark in the world of letters through prose.

The poet of "On Poetry" is a mystic whose poetry is associated with and comes from God. Clearly influenced by Goethe's "profoundly romantic sense of

the soul in touch with universal life throbbing in nature and man”,²⁴ he harnesses his “intellectual powers” and induces “a peculiar condition of pleasurable excitement and clairvoyance”,²⁵ until “the soul” itself becomes “more refined, clairvoyant, harmonious”.²⁶ In this portrait of the artist there is no space for polemical works such as *Laurence Bloomfield*: “Poetry fills the mind with fair images and high unselfish thoughts, wondrously increases our enjoyment of natural beauty”.²⁷ The split between the inner and outer self, discussed in Chapter One,²⁸ re-emerges two years before Allingham begins his first *Rambles* essay. The privacy of Allingham the lyric poet, involved in a mystical relationship with his God, must be protected at all costs, and the public figure, and writer of “A story in 5000 lines”,²⁹ is not that poet. Standing in front of the meditative lyric poet – who, rather than use his writing as a platform for social and political reform, allows himself to be used by his poetry – the public figure grants the private Allingham his solitude.

While, as a writer, Allingham was desirous to be considered an authority on his country’s social ills and history, and allowed *Laurence Bloomfield* to lend him that authority, Ireland’s tale would henceforth be told in prose so that the poet might continue to glance in his “magic mirror”,³⁰ in spiritual harmony with nature and his meditative self. But Ireland’s tale would not be told in the history, or extended study, of Ireland that the poet had determined to write. It would be related only in its abandoned beginnings: “On the Names of Places in Ireland”,³¹ “Seven Hundred Years Ago: An Historic Sketch”,³² and the two Irish essays of

his *Rambles* series, "Donegal Bay and Irish Chronicles"³³ and "The Winding Banks of Erne."³⁴ Financial worries, and his need to make his mark in the world of higher journalism in order to free himself from public service, would put paid to Allingham's extended Irish work.

The gradual transition from public spokesman for Ireland in *Laurence Bloomfield*, to "public moralist"³⁵ as eventual editor of *Fraser's Magazine*, would prove an uneasy one for the poet. Due to his lack of conventional education and professional success, Allingham was certainly not of the coterie of public moralists whom Stefan Collini identifies as "the 'governing' or 'educated' classes of their day".³⁶ But, in that he would engage in an intimate relationship with his reading audience as editor of *Fraser's* and give "moral considerations priority over other concerns,"³⁷ he fits Collini's definition of the "public moralist". The term will hence be used to describe his editorship of *Fraser's* throughout this chapter and Chapter Four. Increasingly disillusioned by the spread of atheism, inequalities within the Empire – both at home and abroad - and by the recent popularity of poets with "a passion for the artificial",³⁸ such as Charles Baudelaire and Rossetti's new friend Algernon Swinburne, the lyric poet and public moralist would find, as we shall see in Chapter Four, not only his prose and editorship of *Fraser's* under attack but, in the changing landscape of British poetry, also his poems. In his inability to adapt not only to his move from Ireland, but also to a changing society, he would prove a writer out of place and out of time in his environment, his radical Liberal views on Empire, and on Britain's

disparities of wealth at home, increasingly becoming indistinguishable from those of Irish nationalism in the later stages of his editorship of *Fraser's*.

II

Michael Seidel describes the exile as one "who inhabits one place and remembers or projects the reality of another".³⁹ His definition fits Allingham well during his years in Lymington where he remained as Coast Officer until April 1870 before leaving for London to take up the sub-editorship of *Fraser's Magazine*. The recalled landscape in the Donegal exile's head was alien to the world he inhabited. In his diary he records a visit to Tennyson at Farringford in 1865: "Talk of Ireland,- Petrie and other men, of whom A. T. [Alfred Tennyson] hardly knows the existence."⁴⁰ Yet despite his love for his native country Allingham would not return to Ireland after the death of his father in October 1866.⁴¹ We do not know his reasons for this. It seems possible though that, in the late 1860s at least, Allingham, in common with the majority of Irish people at the time, believed the Fenians to be a more powerful organisation than they actually were and sought to distance himself from a country apparently prepared for violent rebellion. Comerford has commented that,

The belief that they had in their midst a secret revolutionary army of unknown strength (with powerful allies across the Atlantic) about to throw the country into indescribable turmoil left most of the inhabitants of Ireland without any stomach for politics.⁴²

Fenian activity in Manchester and London in 1867 (with the shooting dead of a policeman in Manchester and the deaths of several Londoners after the explosion of a bomb at Clerkenwell Prison), can only have tended to keep

Allingham in Ireland. But, on a more personal level, it is likely that the idea of return, without a home to visit, was simply too painful for him. Nonetheless, his thoughts were constantly focused on Donegal. He continued to play "Old Irish airs" on his violin,⁴³ was drawn to mention Ireland in many of his *Rambles* essays, and occupied himself by studying Irish history.

Despite the publication of *Fifty Modern Poems* in February 1865, and some positive reviews of the volume in March and April of that year⁴⁴ (a disparaging review would, as we shall see, follow later in the year), Allingham's muse, as we have noted, had abandoned him, and he had begun to doubt his "own singing." *Fifty Modern Poems* contains merely a handful of new poems (including his long poem, "Southwell Park",⁴⁵ "The Little Dell",⁴⁶ and the very fine sonnet, "After Sunset"⁴⁷), with the remainder mainly reprints, often with amendments, from *The Music Master* and an American edition of Allingham's poems – largely made up of *Day and Night Songs* and entitled *Poems* – published by Ticknor and Fields in 1861.

His move from Ireland aside, the gradual cooling of Allingham's close friendship with Rossetti in the mid-1860s⁴⁸ – and with it critical feedback of his poems – cannot have helped his verse writing either: the support and excitement of the 1850s, when the two poets advised each other with regard to their poems and ballads, had gone.⁴⁹ A late, and thus unanticipated, review of *Fifty Modern Poems* in *Fraser's* in November 1865,⁵⁰ claiming that what is missing from "Mr.

Allingham's poems is – poetry"⁵¹ seems to have robbed the poet of any shred of confidence he had. Signed "An Old Campaigner" Allingham mistakenly believed the writer to be the magazine's then editor and his acquaintance, Froude. (The pseudonymous writer was in reality Froude's close friend, John Skelton, whom Froude had requested to review the collection.)⁵² Taken utterly by surprise, the poet queried in his diary what Froude, who in private was all "cream and sugar",⁵³ could possibly mean. Taking its criticism to heart, Allingham fell out with him for almost two years.⁵⁴ The "contemptuous notice"⁵⁵ from, to the best of Allingham's knowledge, one of the leading lights of Victorian letters appears to have strengthened the poet's conviction that his time would be better dedicated to researching a history of Ireland.

Despite his sincerity and faithfulness to Ireland, however, one cannot help wondering if Allingham thought his intended historical work would convincingly bolster respect for him as an Irish writer in England – he did, after all, lack both the professional credentials and "the publicly endorsed individual achievement"⁵⁶ common among the leading literary journalists and editors of his time. But at heart he must have known that the odds were stacked against him. His studies of Irish history – begun in 1850 out of a desire to educate himself with regard to Ireland's past⁵⁷ – had been, and were, painstakingly slow. Moreover he still suffered, as we shall see in the following pages, from an inferiority complex regarding his lack of a university education, a feeling of inferiority that tended to make him overly defensive. Criticism of his written work seemed to trigger

memories of familial disapproval of his early literary ambitions and to result in a low self-esteem that compelled him to prove his critics wrong. His low self-worth over his poems hence reignited a defiant insistence on being taken seriously as a writer and thinker. His plan for a history of Ireland thus mirrors his failed plan of 1853 to “go to School [...] proceeding the while towards a Degree, as a goal to be visible to family relatives and to hinder them from regarding me as perfectly mad.”⁵⁸ Underpaid (Allingham earned a far smaller salary at the Customs in Lymington in 1867 than he did, for example, at Coleraine in 1853 where he earned £140 per annum, compared to £85 per year at Lymington), and believing himself ill-suited to the post of Coast Officer following the acclaim accorded to him with the publication of *Laurence Bloomfield*, he determined to immerse himself as soon as possible in “a deliberate study of Ireland – historical, topographical, and social”.⁵⁹

The study did not come without conditions, however. In a letter to Robert Browning, dated 14 December, 1865, Allingham asked Browning to contact the Treasury on his behalf regarding his possible retirement and an increase in his pension, stipulating that his “present income (of, in all, about £150 a year)” must be continued and he should be “released at the same time – after nineteen or twenty years’ service – from further official work”.⁶⁰ He had, he reassured his friend, “During long residence in Ireland” made “many preparations” for a history of Ireland.⁶¹ The letter to Browning reads less as a request than a demand by an Irish writer who has already made his mark in the world of English letters. But its

sense of urgency also strikes a somewhat despairing note, as if its writer cannot abide any other outcome. Having stressed the need to be freed from “official work” Allingham reiterates the conditions of his proposed agreement with the Treasury:

But observe, I would not accept my so longed-for Liberty *on condition* of producing what I should hope to produce – essays, lectures, books, on Ireland: - the first essential for me would be to feel myself free.⁶²

Living on English soil, his demand is twofold: freedom to write of Irish matters and recognition for previous work. As a public figure already in receipt of a literary pension from Lord Palmerston (on the strength of *Laurence Bloomfield*),⁶³ he believes himself worth the sum of “about £150 a year” (his £85 allowance from Customs, together with his pension) only when freed from service, not “as a Coast Officer of Customs”.⁶⁴ The Donegal poet has moved forward and away, but his greatest desire is to go back and remap and remember the country he has left behind – to inhabit England while turning his attention to home.

Despite the requested letter from Browning to John Russell, the then Prime Minister, recommending him for the pension,⁶⁵ Allingham’s pension was not raised. (His literary pension was raised to £100 in 1887.)⁶⁶ The fact that it was refused must have gratified Carlyle whose recommendation Allingham also sought.⁶⁷ While the elderly writer had championed Allingham’s efforts at local Irish history,⁶⁸ following the publication of his history of Ballyshannon in the *Ballyshannon Almanac* in 1862,⁶⁹ and constantly encouraged him to write a

history of Ireland, he did not approve of Allingham's bid for freedom. It was Carlyle's belief that such freedom would do the poet nothing "but mischief",⁷⁰ Carlyle's interpretation of mischief no doubt meaning time wasted on writing poetry, which the old man insisted should be mere "fringe or *shirt frill*" to the poet's "Irish fact".⁷¹

Still tied to public service, and so self-conscious over his attire and lack of money that even a well-dressed waiter could intimidate him (in the first essay of his *Rambles* series, Allingham recalls a visit to an inn in Farnham: "I was rather afraid of the waiter at first; for his smart dress-coat, white necktie, his handsomely arranged head of hair, and elegant manners, made him fit, apparently, to wait upon no one with less than 2,000l. a year"),⁷² the poet clearly sought a more lucrative and intellectually stimulating career. The failure of his plan seems to have provided the impetus to extend his prose writing to include essays on the United Kingdom until such time as he secured "the editorship of a major monthly or weekly magazine".⁷³ Collini states that an editorship would have been the norm for writers "successfully launched in the higher journalism",⁷⁴ and a letter of 1867 to Carlyle reveals Allingham's desire for such a career. Although stressing he had "by no means given up" his "designs on Ireland", the poet admitted that he, as yet, considered himself unfit "to write a Book" and desired to practice his hand "*in corpore vili* of magazine papers".⁷⁵ That the forty-three-year-old Allingham was turning his attention to the possibility of a more financially prosperous future is understandable. The death of his

father in 1866 can only have made him all too aware of the passing of time – as so too must have his broken and brief engagement to social butterfly, Alice MacDonald, in 1863. There are constant complaints of loneliness in his diary during this period.⁷⁶ He clearly missed the friendship of the Rossetti of the “early days”,⁷⁷ and longed to find a woman who would repay him “for all the lonely past”.⁷⁸ Like Tennyson, he raged “against the social conditions that made marriage so difficult”.⁷⁹ The shattered hopes that accompanied his broken engagement, the instability of so many moves within the Custom’s Service, and the loss of the security of a home in Ireland following the death of his father, made him yearn for the stability and permanence of a home and family of his own. A low income made that impossible. Collini has noted that,

The absolute minimum on which a single young man could live and still maintain appearances seems to have been around £250 a year in the mid-Victorian period.⁸⁰

As we have already noted, Allingham’s income was at least £100 below that sum in 1867. As a writer, the only option open to him as a single, middle-aged man who longed and prayed for a wife and family,⁸¹ was the editorship of one of the leading journals, where an editor could earn a standard salary of £500 per annum, together with contributor’s rates for articles published in his own review.⁸² It can thus be argued that it was chiefly the writer’s financial position and not a desire to abandon his Irish studies – no matter how difficult they proved – that led to his penning of *Rambles for Fraser’s Magazine*. The poverty and social conditions that Allingham experienced on these so-called rambles strengthened his conviction that England’s time would be better spent investing

at home than in colonies which, according to his belief, England had no right to occupy anyhow.⁸³ That Britain should concentrate on the economic misfortunes of her own people, rather than on the upholding and expansion of Empire, was essentially a Liberal belief and one that was hardly unique at the time. But, as we shall see in Chapter Four, Allingham was to take this argument further. Unlike the majority of other Liberals he empathised as closely with the subjects of Empire as he did with Britain and Ireland's poor, thus creating the impression among his contemporaries that he harboured Irish nationalist sympathies. The series can thus be regarded as the negative from which Allingham's full-blown anti-imperialist view would develop during his *Fraser's* years.

III

Cristina Dascalu, in *Imaginary Homelands of Writers in Exile*, has noted how many novels by exiled writers "take the form of a journey or a pilgrimage", because the "subjectivity of the exile is one of motion, of becoming, but never reaching the certainty of having become."⁸⁴ It is fitting then, that the homesick Allingham should chose to write not a novel, but a series of travelogues, at a time when he was not only exiled from his country but facing uncertainty over his own future. Unaware of the irony, his initial aim in creating *Rambles* seems to have been, aside from his desire to better his financial circumstances, to capitalise on the Victorian penchant for rambling in the British and Irish countryside, on the explosion of tourism within what he described as "this age of touring and villa-building",⁸⁵ and on the Victorian belief that "the countryside

was invested with the Arcadian aura of a 'Golden Age'".⁸⁶ In doing so, he was drawing on an already established tradition of British and Irish travelogues and travel writing, such as James Thorne's *Rambles by River: The Avon*,⁸⁷ Henry John Whitfield's *Rambles in Devonshire, with Tales and Poetry*,⁸⁸ George Borrow's frequently reissued classic, *Wild Wales: Its People, Language and Scenery*,⁸⁹ and Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall's Irish travel writings.⁹⁰ Travelogues allowed the Victorian polymath to consider not only the scenery, peoples, and architecture of the locations he or she visited, but also their history, literature, flora and fauna – and practically anything else that took his or her fancy. Long gaps between publications in Allingham's *Rambles* series, however, robbed it of any real sense of continuity: while the first three essays appeared in consecutive order, from October 1867 to December 1867, the rest of the series, up to the appearance of the final essay in *Fraser's* in December 1877,⁹¹ was irregularly published.

The fact that the poet was not obliged to produce an essay a month, allowed him to change the nature and intent of the series as it continued. Allingham's rambles were hence manipulated to coincide with meetings of The British Association of the Advancement of Science at Devon, Liverpool and Edinburgh – so that the poet might provide a counter-attack to the views of particular scientists present – or, perhaps influenced by Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* (1853 and 1861),⁹² to juxtapose city life in London or Liverpool with the rural ideal. While such essays provide evidence of Allingham's changing voice, and mark his transition from pseudonymous Rambler

to Victorian moralist and public man of letters as editor of *Fraser's*, their heterogeneous blend of travel narrative and sardonic review of science lecture or city life, reads as contrived at times – a microcosm almost of any given issue of *Fraser's Magazine*. But that is not to deny their finer moments. As we shall see, “At Liverpool” contains a highly visual and moving portrait of the Liverpool dock workers, and “In London”⁹³ has perhaps the finest closing passage of any of Allingham’s essays.

Moving from a recollection of the author’s first visit to London, to an evaluation of contemporary theatre, and thence to a consideration of the crowds frequenting the London streets, “In London” closes with a meditation on the coming of dawn. Inspired, apparently, by the last great hush before sunrise in the metropolis, in its vast aerial sweep from one location to another the passage recalls the writer’s poem, “Moonrise”.⁹⁴ But the infusion of sound into the otherwise painterly passage makes it read like a piece for music – the “hum”⁹⁵ of the cities on the Bosphorus and Neva reaching a crescendo when the sun rises above London and the “Railway Trains” begin to “shriek”.⁹⁶

Innocent soft splendour pouring ever in silent cataract over the round shoulder of the rolling Earth has again awakened Europe; the cities on Bosphorus and Neva hum with Moslem and Muscovite; Rome and Berlin are astir, and beleaguered Paris, that slept but ill amid the deadly circle of her foes. And now it comes creeping up the house-crowded Valley of the Thames, between the Kent and Surrey hills and the long slope of Middlesex, touching the gray old Tower, the Cross above the Dome, the pinnacles of Westminster, and glittering on the River with countless masts and many bridges. The murmur of rolling wheels, never altogether silent, waxes and grows incessant; the coming and going Railway Trains shriek like demons, and myriads of chimneys begin to send up their smoke into the morning air.⁹⁷

Allingham's skill as a prose writer is born out in passages such as these where his writing rises above the ordinary. But his ability to detach himself and remain so often the spectator *ab extra*, with whom we are already familiar from Chapters One and Two, also rescues, through his use of wit, his less successful travelogues from obscurity. In a description of the division of the sciences for lecture purposes at the British Association meeting in Exeter, for example, he makes light of the seriousness of the occasion:

The mathematical and physical philosophers, labelled A, meet in the Grammar-school in the High Street; the chemists, marked B, in the Albert Museum in Queen Street; geologists (C) in the Temperance Hall in the outskirts; the terrible biologists (D), with their Huxley, in the Episcopal schools⁹⁸

It is only in those essays that relate either directly or indirectly to Ireland – be they essays on writers who bear a connection to home, such as Swift⁹⁹ or Burns,¹⁰⁰ or travels through the “Celtic” heartlands of Donegal, Wales or Scotland¹⁰¹ – that cohesiveness and fluency is found, however. Still an outsider “in a Strange Land”¹⁰² – a fact reinforced by the title of the series and the persona that Allingham chooses – Allingham's writing is at its best when either describing remote areas of Devon, Wales or Scotland, where the local people remind him of Donegal peasants, or relating the lives of writers who similarly trigger memories of home. Extended readings of Britain can only take place, it seems, through the lens of the country Allingham has left behind.

The fact that the poet was initially reluctant and resentful at having – as he saw it – to write for a magazine, is evident. Having abandoned the opportunity to work in higher journalism during his failed attempt to settle in London in 1854, deeming such writing “desultory and ephemeral” and likely to lead to “countless anxieties and annoyances”,¹⁰³ it seems likely that, at the outset at least, Allingham still considered the task inferior work. This accounts perhaps, for the sporadic publication of the series. The frustration caused by the move away from essays on Ireland – despite the appearance of two independent essays on Ireland bearing his name in *Fraser’s* in 1869 and 1870 (“On the Names of Places in Ireland” and “Seven Hundred Years Ago: An Historic Sketch”),¹⁰⁴ – is also visible when the series is examined in chronological order. Initially including essays such as “Donegal Bay and Irish Chronicles” in December 1867, and “The Winding Banks of Erne” in August 1868, the series moves on to deal, for the most part, with British locations and people. Aggrieved, perhaps, at being torn from his Irish studies, the latter are continually compared to their Irish counterparts – who serve as the authentic and original – and always fall short. The perceived limitations of British scenery and populace cause Allingham to become ever angrier at the social conditions and intellectual climate of an England where he feels increasingly isolated. Taken as a whole then, *Rambles* serves as an example of the fractured existence of an Irish writer in England, torn between two islands and resentful of having to describe the one he lives in at the expense of the one he has left behind.

The lyric poet's initial unease in adapting to the role of man of letters and public moralist in England is discernable in the early British travelogues. Having taken on the persona of Patricius Walker, Allingham travels the Irish and British countryside mixing freely with men of all classes and relating the literary history, daily life, and characteristics of various localities and their inhabitants. By emphasising his persona's peripatetic lifestyle and ability to fraternise with both beggar and man of importance his persona is, at least at the outset, more provincial pilgrim and lover of literature than didact or moralist – though the moralist too attempts to make his presence felt. A writer and thinker on the margins, he seems removed from the centre of the literary world, at home with equally isolated or rebellious writers – such as John Keats and Jonathan Swift¹⁰⁵ – whose lives he relates. Like the eponymous Lawrence Bloomfield of the closing chapters of that poem, he contemplates the land, finds his greatest joy in nature and art, and does not discriminate between peasant and lord. Yet, removed as he is, efforts to establish his authority with his readers as a man of letters and social critic are evident. The uniformity of cathedrals that do not conform to his idea of beauty,¹⁰⁶ some small act of rebellion by William Cobbett or Swift,¹⁰⁷ or the contamination of the countryside by music-hall songs,¹⁰⁸ provide a platform from which he can imply his expertise. As yet disinclined to speak with the grating voice of authoritative didacticism, however, attempts are made in the first travelogue of the series to imply that Walker's authority derives from a spiritual and romantic sensibility. Hence, although Walker's early

revelation of his knowledge of architecture in “Rambles” (through his consideration of Winchester Cathedral), reveals his indebtedness to critics such as John Ruskin, Allingham is at pains to intimate that, like Ruskin, he is an original thinker and a man of vision:

Considering the money, time, earnestness, and architectural skill employed in raising so many perennial structures, one wishes there had been more variety of plan, more invention. I picture to myself, for one example (in the architecture of dreams), a church of long *low* arcades, converging to a great central space, of loftiness almost immeasurable to the eye. In architecture methinks *the delight of smallness* (in pillars, windows, stairs, arches, &c. &c.) is not enough considered.¹⁰⁹

Self-conscious, nonetheless, at his own lack of higher education in an age of university-educated magazine and review writers such as Walter Bagehot, Fitzjames Stephen, and Matthew Arnold, the writers he conjures up from the English countryside in his first ramble are valued not only for their words and deeds but for their very lack of education. Apparently irked – and no doubt personally offended – by Arnold’s thesis on “Culture and its Enemies”, delivered in June 1867 as the last of his Oxford lectures¹¹⁰ and published in the *Cornhill Magazine* the following month (before forming part of *Culture and Anarchy* in 1869), Allingham infers that a university education would have proved deleterious to both Keats and Cobbett as writers. He thus challenges Arnold’s view that, “the sentiment of Oxford for beauty and sweetness conquers”¹¹¹ – before going on to cite Cobbett’s defence of his farming background to strengthen his argument:

One hears a good deal now-a-days in England of 'culture' and 'philistinism' [...] Had Keats gone to Oxford is it likely that he would have risen to college honours, wealth, and power? Methinks the Cultured Philistine is the very Goliath of his people. Who is not daily afflicted by the tongue and pen of the Over-educated Man, so fluent and well worded, so vague and unreal, so haughty and hollow?¹¹²

Without this kind of education, or something very much like it [education as a farmer' boy], - I should have been at this day [...] as great a fool, as inefficient a mortal, as any of those frivolous idiots that are turned out from Winchester and Westminster schools, or from any of those dens of dunces called colleges and universities.¹¹³

Yet to relate more fully to the writers he deals with, and to bring them before his readers' eyes, Allingham requires a stronger bond than a mere lack of higher education. While he has nothing but praise for Keats in "Rambles", citing his "To Autumn" in full,¹¹⁴ and is thoughtful enough to reserve a mention for a near forgotten poet, Rev. Thomas Warton,¹¹⁵ on his ramble, the lives of these two poets are touched on really only in passing. An in-depth account of the ~~writer who once inhabited the landscape~~ Allingham is travelling through, is, it seems, only viable when their existence bears an association to home. Accordingly, his writing in his early travelogues is at its finest when discussing the lives and works of Cobbett and Swift because these men provide a vital link to his early life in Donegal. Here he again proves himself a talented prose writer – this time with a particular gift for biography, a gift that is only enhanced by his attention to small detail. But the link these writers provide to Ireland is, in addition, a unifying bond: it allows Allingham to finally feel at home in England while simultaneously inhabiting his Irish past.

Cobbett and Swift's early years in the English countryside are thus intuited through the poet's early years in Ballyshannon – just as Burns's life in Scotland will later be understood through Allingham's poetic journey in Donegal.¹¹⁶ The memories the two writers reawaken in him in turn colour Allingham's writing and enhance its descriptive qualities, giving it a frankness and immediacy that it may not have otherwise had. (It is an immediacy that we shall meet again in his account of Burns in "In Scotland", and in his descriptions of the Welsh and Scottish peasantry on his trips to the Celtic regions – the latter descriptions heightened, in turn, by Allingham's invocation of the Irish peasantry.) The presence of Cobbett and Swift is, in other words, given body by the ghost of Allingham's own past, adding an air of intimacy and simplicity to his tales:

In my own home in a distant part of the kingdom, Cobbett's name chanced to mix with some of the earliest circumstances of my childhood. My father, who was then a kind of Tory, had in his younger days been a Radical reformer, and subscriber to the *Political Register*, of which paper a long row of volumes bound in red stood on a shelf in his bedroom.¹¹⁷

The "long row of volumes bound in red" captures the warmth of the account of Cobbett's life (with all its "amusing unreasonableness")¹¹⁸ that follows and is repeated in the child Cobbett's "red garters" before he sits to read Swift's "Tale of a Tub".¹¹⁹

I was trudging through Richmond, in my blue smock-frock and my red garters tied under my knees, when staring about me my eyes fell upon a little book in a bookseller's window, on the outside of which was written 'Tale of a Tub – price threepence.' The title was so odd that my curiosity was excited.¹²⁰

It is a warmth that also permeates "Moor Park and Swift" which follows "Rambles"¹²¹ – an essay held in high regard by both Froude and Carlyle.¹²²

Anticipating Yeats's "Words Upon the Window-Pane", Swift makes his presence known to the poet:

The sunny shady hill the slope here of red-stemmed Scotch pines, and the grass-grown lane and valley beneath it are haunted for me by the figure of a tall gaunt young man, rapid and abrupt in gesture, of dusky complexion and somewhat grim look, who hits one in passing with a glance from prominent blue eyes, suspicious, penetrating; hurries on muttering, and strides into the thicket.¹²³

Allingham can "see young Jonathan Swift, haunting these lonely avenues and fir-tree slopes"¹²⁴ because, as with Cobbett (whom he admires for "his hearty compassion and kindness for the working classes and the poor, and his unwearied efforts to improve their condition"),¹²⁵ he recognises not only a kindred spirit but a reconnecting force to home. Like Allingham, Swift had only one living parent and was an outsider in both Ireland and England; like Allingham he knew what it was to be a poor man in England. So strongly does he relate to him – despite his dislike of the "foul smell [...] which so often exhales from Swift's pages"¹²⁶ – that in drawing his portrait Allingham might almost be describing his gauche younger self, an alien in England, on a first visit to London or to Tennyson's home at Twickenham:¹²⁷

And now here is Jonathan at Moor Park, in his twenty-second year, clever, awkward, sensitive, proud, insubordinate, with a strong Dublin brogue, unused to society, ready enough to be moved to contempt or sarcasm by the formalities of public company, yet, at the same time, very willing to study the manners and views of the great, whom he for the first time has a chance of seeing close at hand, and awe-struck, in spite of himself, by the high reputation and dignified manners of Sir William.¹²⁸

Hence when “Mr. Thackeray asks: ‘Would you have liked to be a friend of Swift’s?’”¹²⁹ it is hardly surprising that Allingham, torn between two countries like his putative friend and never really settling in either, answers, “I would”.¹³⁰

The lyric poet’s early unease in conforming to the role of social critic and man of authority in England is perhaps unsurprisingly absent in his Irish essays. Yet Allingham’s efforts to restore Ireland’s image in England, at a time when Fenian activity was at its height, shows a spirit of resilience on his behalf – particularly as he was prepared in both essays – “Donegal Bay and Irish Chronicles”¹³¹ and “The Winding Banks of Erne”¹³² – to hint at his true identity. The fact that “Donegal Bay” was published in December 1867, just weeks after the shooting of an unarmed policeman in Manchester, during the rescue by “about thirty armed fenians”¹³³ of two of their members from a police van, and by the subsequent hanging of William Allen, Michael Larkin and Michael O’Brien – provides evidence of Allingham’s indefatigable determination to make good Ireland’s reputation. Reverting back to home territory at a time when anti-Irish sentiments in England were high, Allingham defiantly confirms his not uneducated Irish background as an autodidact in “Donegal Bay”, and points to his identity by turning his attention to his home county. The reader immediately learns that Walker is now in “a far-away and little-visited corner” of Ireland,¹³⁴ a romantic landscape of ruins and “bleak stony hills, where the poor thatched cabins of the peasantry lurk scarce undistinguished, unless the peat-smoke draws your eye”.¹³⁵ In describing Donegal as “far-away and little-visited” – and

still later, as “ancient”¹³⁶ – Allingham echoes the “Long ago and faraway” opening to a fairytale, thus setting the Northwest of Ireland apart and marking the otherness of the Irish landscape to industrial England. In doing so, he enters into the Celticist’s evocation of the Celtic land as timeless, a timelessness that, as we have seen in Chapter One, the poet associated in his early poems with death and stagnation. That the cabins of the peasantry form part of that landscape, are barely indistinguishable from it, additionally serves to highlight the close relationship that exists between the Irish peasantry and the land. Yet the sudden evidence of their existence amid the stony hills also endows them with a magical and fairylike quality. It is a technique used by Allingham to intensify his description of the despair of the Irish peasantry in the face of unrelenting poverty – a peasantry at odds, as we shall see, with the uncouth English peasantry of the English rambles that follow. Despite their suffering, the Irish peasantry, in Allingham’s view, retain a gentleness and sense of dignity lost to their English counterparts:

The people have a sad and grave demeanour; if you address them, you are received with simple and refined politeness, and an anxiety to please; should you enter one of their poor cabins, for shelter or inquiry, you will find courteous and gentle manners, and a cheerfulness which is considered due to the visitor. If you question with tact, there is generally but one story from all: the increasing poverty of the country, the progress of depopulation, their own hope of sooner or later following their brothers, sons, cousins, &c. to America, and if no hope, an earnest sighing wish that they too had this one resource before them in an otherwise hopeless world.¹³⁷

But his description of the Donegal peasantry also serves as an exposition of British injustice within the Union. Celticism has been used on this occasion, not

as a unifying force wherein the writer can find commonality with Irish and British people alike, but as a counter to the despotism of unjust government or imperialism.

Having set the scene for his account in “Donegal Bay” of the compilers of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, Allingham goes about his historical task. The essay is scrupulously researched and informative – relying for the most part on the works of John O’Donovan and Eugene O’Curry. It does, however, attempt too much in its seventeen pages: Allingham enumerates “all the principle native Annals of Erin”,¹³⁸ before tracing the ancestry of the chief compiler of the *Annals*, Michael O’Cleary, and introducing the reader to a surprisingly brief description of the *Annals of the Four Masters* itself. To his credit, nonetheless, he provides a more thorough background to the writing of the *Annals* than Arnold in *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (1866), thus lending authority to his writing. It is an Irish influence which he is proud to bear. While admitting that he knows “some little” of Ireland’s “antiquities and records” and has “an exceedingly slight smattering of the Gaelic language”,¹³⁹ Allingham is ready to confess himself something of an expert on Irish matters, a writer with “a considerable knowledge of Ireland, topographical and social”.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, he demands respect for himself as a man of letters by placing himself in the company of those whom Arnold describes “as the race of the giants in literary research and industry”.¹⁴¹

I remember shaking O’Donovan’s hand seven or eight years ago, a bright-eyed alert little man, with iron-gray hair, some fifty years of age. It was in the ‘Brehon Law Office,’ in Trinity College, Dublin, where also sat that day among huge old books and uncouth MSS., his fellow-worker,

Eugene O'Curry, a quiet, large bald man, showing even in a snatch of casual talk, the deep enthusiasm as to all Irish interests that pervaded his mind. Both are gone, leaving work done and work still to do.¹⁴²

In associating himself with O'Donovan and O'Curry he brings the two recently deceased men to life again, as he has already done with Swift. Yet here Allingham goes further still and echoes the Celticism of his early poems where Irish culture, carried through the voice of the poet, is seen to be very much alive. By catapulting the British reader out of Ireland's ancient past and placing two modern Irish scholars before their eyes, he portrays Ireland's cultural and intellectual heritage as a living thing and restores his country's tarnished image abroad.

Allingham's insertion of two English travelogues, "In the New Forest" and "By the Stour and Avon" (wherein he finds no link to Ireland and little that is ~~praiseworthy in the English peasantry~~),¹⁴³ and "The Winding Banks of Erne" and "Donegal Bay"¹⁴⁴ is relevant. His refocus on Donegal after his two English rambles reads as an attempt by the writer to simultaneously escape the reality of English life and to reassert the superiority of Irish culture and the Irish peasantry. A development of his earlier "History of Ballys-anon", published in the *Ballyshannon Almanac* in 1862,¹⁴⁵ "The Winding Banks of Erne" traces the course of the Erne from Lough Gowna to Donegal Bay. Describing the scenery of the areas the river travels through, Allingham also provides an account of the inhabitants who live along its banks, together with the etymology of place-names and the mythology and history of various localities. Echoing his earlier "Donegal

Bay", the essay alludes on several occasions to the translation of the *Annals of the Four Masters* by O'Donovan, and to *The Annals of Clonmacnor*, translated by Connall Magloghan. In outlining the differences between the inhabitants of Enniskillen ("the Protestant town")¹⁴⁶ and Ballyshannon, it provides an empathetic picture of the bigotry Irish Catholics face from their Protestant neighbours. Allingham's vivid description of the "farmers of Fermanagh"¹⁴⁷ deserves mention. Here the writer takes the opportunity to poke fun at a group whom he evidently has little time for, his use of hyphenated words adding a roughness to the rhythm of the passage that apes the roughness of the men:

It is worth while to see a gathering of them at a cattle-fair, or afterwards at the market-inn, or railway-station, big, burly, surly, broad-shouldered, deep-voiced, huge-handed men, who drink deep draughts, swear great oaths, and relish a strong-flavoured joke, laughing hugely and calling each other by their Christian names. Neither roses nor toads seem to drop from their lips, but loads of hay, fat oxen, and cartwheels. Much of Ulster is Scoto-Hibernian; these people are more English than Scotch, and might be called the Yorkshiremen of Ulster. They are all Protestants and most of them Orangemen. They are as tolerant of 'a papist' (any papist whomsoever) as a dog is of a rat. The Protestant landowners, millers, tradesmen &c., of the region are of the same stuff, with class modifications.¹⁴⁸

As the river approaches Ballyshannon it is evident that Allingham has breached a channel to home, so personal does the tone of his narration become when he recalls the places he has left behind:

Everywhere is heard the murmur of rushing waters, now at hand, where the current dashes from rock to rock, now remote, where it seethes and bubbles along some deep reach; and harmonising with the voice of the river come the cooings of the woodpigeons in the copse, and the occasional splash of a heavy fish. Even on hot days a cooler breath plays over the wide stream and fans on either brink the overhanging boughs. One can love a river with an almost personal regard.¹⁴⁹

Having described the area where he grew up he seems impelled, having already hinted at his identity in the essay's title, to further reveal himself by quoting two stanzas (stanzas 6 and 7) from "The Winding Banks of Erne" itself. Now also an emigrant, he perhaps feels the true weight of his own, earlier written, words:

A thousand chances are to one I never may return,—
Adieu to Ballyshannon, and the winding banks of Erne.¹⁵⁰

But, despite its flaws, it is the real Ballyshannon he yearns for – a town that stands in contradistinction to the romantic landscape portrayed in the introduction to "Donegal Bay":

Ballyshannon is a place of older-note than Enniskillen, but it is a decayed and poverty-stricken town, with a population, mainly Catholic and Keltic, yearly diminishing by emigration. The situation of it, on either bank of the wide swift river, is as pleasant as need be, the streets on the north side climbing up a somewhat steep hill, and the aspect of the town is picturesque from several distant points; but once enter it, and you find little that is attractive, except indeed a population who, poor and neglected as they are, have much vivacity and intelligence and very kindly manners [...] Both in salubrity, and in variety of interest, Ballyshannon far excels the trimmer and richer Enniskillen.¹⁵¹

In favouring the largely "Catholic and Keltic" Ballyshannon, over the "trimmer and richer Enniskillen", Allingham aligns himself with the Catholic population of Ireland in order to emphasise his "Keltic", rather than his Protestant, heritage. Although natural that he should favour his hometown over the less intimately known Enniskillen, in the light of G. J. Watson's statement that, "It was inevitable [...] after the Act of Union, that [...] Irish Protestants should be seen by the natives as allies and agents of the hated English government"¹⁵² it is nonetheless a significant alliance. Anticipating, as we shall see in Chapter Four,

Allingham's shared sentiments with Irish nationalists over British imperialism, he inadvertently implies his support for the maligned Irish Catholic peasantry.

Moving on to recount the legend of the nearby monastery of Asaroe, Allingham, seemingly fixed on further exposing Walker's true identity, takes the opportunity to include, in full, his ballad "Abbey Asaroe". His inclusion of both it and two stanzas from "The Winding Banks of Erne" again implies that Ireland's intellectual and cultural tradition is not only intact but that its poetry tradition has, in turn, survived. Moreover, unlike contemporary English poetry, conveyed through the work of William Barnes in "By the Stour and Avon", which precedes "The Winding Banks of Erne", the implication seems to be that Ireland will remain a fertile ground for poetry. (While, as we shall see, Allingham heaps praise on Barnes's work, there is a sense that the English poet is an endangered species, islanded and oblivious to the corrupt society that surrounds him.) Cleverly, by including "Abbey Asaroe" in his conclusion, an abbey alluded to in the opening passages of "Donegal Bay", and by placing his second Irish essay after "In the New Forest" and "By the Stour and Avon", Allingham draws the reader's attention back to "Donegal Bay" – thus negating the two aforementioned English rambles wherein he has struggled to find hope for English society.

The voice adopted in these two English rambles is very much that of wry critic of the "turbid and sour [...] fermentation" of the rapidly changing English

“life social”.¹⁵³ Until he revises them for inclusion in *Rambles 1873* – and then recalls similarities between the English gypsies and the Irish peasantry in “In the New Forest”¹⁵⁴ – Allingham, as we have noted, finds no link to Ireland in either “In the New Forest” or “By the Stour and Avon”. Occupying an exilic threshold, he simultaneously inhabits a no-man’s land between Ireland and England on which both science and the city with all its vices, together with the “over-educated man”,¹⁵⁵ encroach. In “In the New Forest” and “By the Stour and Avon” the seeds are thus sown not only for the tenor of the ensuing essays of the series, but also for Allingham’s editorship of *Fraser’s Magazine* where as editor – and particularly in his “Ivy-Leaves” series – he would often take on a defensively moralistic tone. Signs that Allingham’s inability to adapt to life in another country is being intensified by the fast-changing society around him first become evident here, his sense of displacement reaching a climax, as we shall see in Chapter Five, during his Surrey years.

Unmoored from Ireland and at sea in the English countryside, Allingham finds his beloved lyric poetry contaminated by the spread of “slang songs” from the city,¹⁵⁶ with nature, which lends him inspiration for his poetry – together with the God from whom that poetry springs – under threat from scientific rationalism. Hence in “In the New Forest”, after a consideration of the forest’s flora and fauna, the poet feels obliged to call the scientists with their catalogues and deductions to task. Claiming that, “a sound and vigorous imagination catches deeper glimpses, sees, in good moments, further and truer than the reasoning

faculty can through microscope and telescope”,¹⁵⁷ he sets the agenda for future essays and poems that develop his argument further and allow him to rail against material science’s renunciation of God. His attack, as editor of *Fraser’s*, on both dogmatic theology and science in “Modern Prophets”(1877) and in “Evil May-Day” (1878),¹⁵⁸ thus finds its genesis in his accounts of his visits to the British Association for the Advancement of Science in “In Devon”,¹⁵⁹ “At Liverpool”,¹⁶⁰ and “At Edinburgh”,¹⁶¹ wherein he provides a counter-attack to the scientific assault on belief in a higher power. Allingham’s English rambles have ignited the fear that, because meetings such as those of the British Association are “publically taking place everywhere”, “the germ of an almost unparalleled social revolution” may be sown.¹⁶² It is a fear that will not leave him. With no home to return to there is no refuge for him from British atheism in the peace and tranquillity of the Donegal countryside – just as there is little respite from, “the rows of tawdry stucco, for the *beau monde* and its imitators” “on every fair coast” of England,¹⁶³ or from what he terms the “pseudo-poetry and pseudo-criticism”¹⁶⁴ of his time. (Allingham does not qualify what he means by “pseudo-poetry and pseudo-criticism” in “By the Stour and Avon”, but it seems likely that he is taking a swipe at Arnold whom in “Rambles” he appeared to include in his group of “over-educated” university men: “so fluent and well worded, so vague and unreal, so haughty and hollow”.)¹⁶⁵ The magic and mystery has been stripped from his world – from here on in he is a writer out of time and out of place, chancing upon a living ray of hope only in the “Rural pictures, fresh and

pure” of a William Barnes,¹⁶⁶ or in the Celtic areas of Britain that remind him of Donegal.

Even in relating the life of the long deceased William Gilpin in “In the New Forest” the present with its “haughty and hollow” critics intrudes:

In his school he [Gilpin] seems to have been a sort of minor Arnold; took great pains with the morals and religion of his pupils, had a constitutional code, and in certain cases tried a culprit by a jury of his fellows, ‘bound by honour.’¹⁶⁷

But, more damagingly still, the corruption the poet finds at the heart of English society lessens his trust at times in the authenticities of the portrait of country life painted by poets, such as the aforementioned Barnes, who present a picture of:

fields and flowers and wholesome country labours – the neat cottage, the winding brook and bridge, the fieldpath to the church [...] a sense of rustling leaves, flowing waters, lowing cattle, tinkling sheepbells.¹⁶⁸

While he covers Barnes's name of silence and holds his poems in high esteem

championing his poetry in works other than *Rambles* – being the first person to introduce it to “The Brownings, Tennyson, Clough, Rossetti”¹⁶⁹ – he cannot help but doubt the very existence of the dialect poet’s God-fearing peasantry:

If the peasantry hereabouts, old and young [...] have so warm and intelligent a love for the Church and her clergy and her ceremonies as the poet indicates, and so pure a tone of morals, they must be much unlike any English peasantry that I have any acquaintance with.¹⁷⁰

Finding nothing in Dorset to remind him of Ireland, he views the inhabitants of the English lowlands with a jaundiced eye. The English peasantry are inferior to the Donegal peasantry, cannot compare to either the Irish or Welsh, who have

both "a natural ease and courtesy of manner, the very antithesis of English bluntness":¹⁷¹

It would be hard to find on earth a human creature of less vivacity of mind than the ordinary English lowland peasantry, and doubtless his dull monotony of speech reacts upon his intellect.¹⁷²

Unlike the average Irishman then, "full of talk, of theories and fancies, of curiosity and information", he deems "the ordinary Anglo-Saxon character", "neither desirous to learn nor to teach anything."¹⁷³ While later, in his penultimate essay of the series, "In Devon and Cornwall", written when he had already been editor of *Fraser's* for three years, he would - not unlike Arnold in *On the Study of Celtic Literature* - concede that, "To the natural sweetness of Keltic West Wales, England has gradually and surely added a large mixture of strength and sincerity",¹⁷⁴ here he draws firm dividing lines between the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon temperament and, as previously stated, finds the Celt infinitely superior. Accordingly, having revisited Ireland and Ballyshannon in "The Winding Banks of Erne", Allingham turns to Devon not only because The British Association is in Exeter, but because Devon, where "the characteristic manners" are "mainly Keltic",¹⁷⁵ provides the opportunity to re-member Donegal.

Because the "wide blue bay with [...] guardian headlands"¹⁷⁶ of Bideford Bay, Devon, reminds Allingham strongly of Donegal Bay, and because he notices "some curious resemblances in the speech of North Devon to the somewhat peculiar accent of English (flat and drawling) which is found in part of Donegal",¹⁷⁷ North Devon comes alive under his pen. Capturing the moment and

freezing it for posterity's sake, his writing here is every bit as memorable as his description of the village street in the third, fourth, and fifth stanzas of Part II of "The Music Master" (the third stanza of which reads: "See once again our village; with its street/ Dozing in dusty sunshine. All around/ Is silence; save, for slumber not unmeet,/ Some spinning-wheel's continuous whirring sound/ From cottage door, where, stretch'd upon his side,/ The moveless dog is basking, drowsy-eyed."): ¹⁷⁸

A girl was scrubbing a doorstep, and her skirt (not a fashionable train) reached quite across the street. Under the archway sat a shoemaker at work with open door, and showed all the readiness of his craft for conversation [...] Half way down the street is a sea-captain's house with a china bowl in the window, embellished with a ship under sail, and the legend 'Success to the Mary Jane to Bideford,' and here is a favourite lodging for artists, and to all appearance a comfortable. [sic] The captain was at sea when I called, but passes the winter at home. ¹⁷⁹

IV

It was not until he moved to London to take up the position of sub-editor at *Fraser's* in April 1870, however, that the critic of contemporary city life and of imperialism made himself known in *Rambles*. In November and December of 1870 two contrived rambles in London and Liverpool appeared in *Fraser's* – and with them the anti-war and anti-capitalist tendencies of *Fraser's* editor-in-waiting. Allingham had certainly gained confidence in criticising British imperialism in *Laurence Bloomfield*, a poem that forced him to examine more closely his beliefs with regard to the colonial system of the Britain Empire in general and not just as it pertained to Ireland – although, as we have seen, he wavered as a younger man over such issues as Britain's involvement in the Crimean War. But his new-

found authority as sub-editor of *Fraser's*, and the fact that he was granted the vote in England in 1870,¹⁸⁰ left Allingham in little doubt where he stood regarding war and political matters. This was a very different Allingham to the one of 1860 who wrote to the Brownings that,

For my own humble part I can make nothing of current politics and politicians. I wrote in the *Daily News* for war with Russia, and am ashamed ever since, not from having changed opinion, but from seeing that I never had any on the subject worth a farthing.¹⁸¹

Following the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war in July 1870 the fact that war was now so close to home, and so often in the press, alerted Allingham to the dangers of jingoism and to the realisation that there were no winners or losers in war, a realisation expressed in "In London":

Patriotism, an expansion of the love of home, is a natural and beautiful feeling; but how much has it not been perverted; to what dreadful uses has it not been applied by the cunning and ambitious! [...] I love mankind as well, I hope, as another. I detest a 'Nation.' It is selfishness and vanity gigantically incarnate, a stupid and brutal monster, whose strength is his law.

The English Nation is my vexation,
The French is twice as bad;
Germanie she bothes me,
And America drives me mad!

Nations as neighbours, as friends, as fellow-workers, variety in unity – good! Nations as rivals, as counterplotters, as antagonists – bad and Diabolical! Down with all armies of aggression! No more false and foul praise of soldiering for its own sake! Down too with kings and governors whose power rests on cannon and bayonet, and who foster that evil condition of the world which makes this possible!¹⁸²

The final six lines of the above passage from in "In London" resonate with the anti-imperialist spirit already witnessed in *Laurence Bloomfield*, and it seems likely that Allingham's voicing of his reflections on "armies of aggression" in this

passage provided the impetus to consolidate his argument into a full-blown attack on imperialism as editor of *Fraser's Magazine*. When, three years later, Carlyle urged him to visit the scene of two great battles while visiting France, the poet's response was that of a man already hardened in his opinion of British imperialism :

C. [Carlyle] urges me to visit Crecy and Agincourt on my holiday; but the truth is that [...] these old invasions of France by the English seem to me acts of violent injustice, - disgusting and useless butchery.¹⁸³

The anti-capitalist tendencies inherent in a number of the articles Allingham would choose for publication as editor of *Fraser's*¹⁸⁴ are also prevalent in both "In London" and "At Liverpool". As a Liberal supporter of the idea that Britain should seek to rectify the inequalities faced by her own people at home rather than seeking expansion of her Empire, Allingham certainly never went so far as to declare himself a socialist, but the disparities of wealth inherent in capitalism enraged him. Fourteen years later, in 1884, he would reveal that he wanted "reforms and thorough-going ones, but not by the hands of atheists and anarchists", thus "partly" agreeing with the articles in the Social Democratic Federation's weekly socialist newspaper, *Justice* (many of them by his friend, William Morris), and "partly" detesting them.¹⁸⁵ His own program for reform – which we shall witness in "At Liverpool" – did, however, in Morris's words, "go far beyond the ordinary democrat's"¹⁸⁶ in that it called for the abolition within commerce of a credit system that led to the worship of money and repeated commercial crises. Hence, in "In London", Allingham stresses that in a city of "costly [...] carriages and dresses"¹⁸⁷ – where "Society is the real Deity" of the

wealthy, because "Society loves respectability, and money can make almost anything respectable"¹⁸⁸ – neglected street children "are much less cared for" than "horses and dogs, kine and sheep."¹⁸⁹ People "with much money" are accordingly associated with those with "no conscience".¹⁹⁰ Inheritor of his father's early radicalism, Allingham accuses this group, together with "their imitators and hangers-on", of being "the true Dangerous Classes."¹⁹¹ His "early superstitious awe of the great streets and houses"¹⁹² of London has disappeared. Coloured by his aversion to materialism and greed, the once "great streets and houses" now resemble a temple to Mammon. No longer a visitor, with a rural home to return to, the Donegal writer bemoans the city sights before his eyes:

[...] the foolish pretension of these tall buildings, these full shops, this endless walking and driving, buying and selling, shouting and placarding, and all this competitive crush and cram of the paltry paraphernalia of life.¹⁹³

In order to continue his critique of capitalism, Allingham deliberately follows "In London" with "At Liverpool" so that he can address modern commerce and present his ideas for reform. Setting the stage for his argument, the writer describes the affluent villas that encircle the city before exposing its "filthy heart",¹⁹⁴ where overworked dock-labourers, carters and other "grim human creatures" surround him on the "hellish"¹⁹⁵ and imprisoning docks. His argument – born of an outsider's view of a capitalist society where the majority are forced to suffer the failed speculations of the reckless and affluent few – calls for fair trade and the rebalancing of wealth without demanding, as the

socialist Morris would later have him do; that workers produce “for livelihood and not for profit”.¹⁹⁶ In a society as yet untouched by Marxism, Allingham, sharing Carlyle’s disdain for laissez-faire capitalism (as expressed in *Past and Present*), and finding commerce “almost synonymous with “Speculation [...] and Speculation [...] something very like Gambling”,¹⁹⁷ envisions “a ready-money system” that will no longer facilitate the sweeping of “enormous gains” into the pockets of “a few lucky and astute persons”.¹⁹⁸ This, he believes, would check “*mala fide* business” and discourage,

that large department of trade [...] which is only a kind of gambling; which elbows fair trading out of the field; which produces so many compositions with creditors, and ever and anon culminates in a ‘commercial crisis’, in which multitudes of little people suffer who had no part in the ‘speculations’, which the gamblers very usually set up again; and then perhaps ‘trade revives’, they have a run of luck, and all goes merrily forward – till the next crisis.¹⁹⁹

Having pondered deeply, and analysed, the precariousness of trade and its attendant financial hardships for the ordinary working-man, it is easy to see why Allingham would later, as editor of *Fraser’s*, be drawn to include such articles as “The International Working Men’s Association”,²⁰⁰ “Trade-Unions: Their Nature, Character, and Work”,²⁰¹ and “Starvation Wages and Political Economy”²⁰² in the magazine. But his analysis of trade aside, Allingham’s description of the near slave conditions of the Liverpool dock-workers alone presents a panorama of the immorality of capitalism:

all the grim, hard-handed men, white with flour, black with coals, yellow with guano, fluffy with cotton, dusty with maize, who are hoisting and lowering, heaving and shovelling, dragging and hauling, carrying and trundling great bales and boxes, bags and barrels, weights of iron bars

and pigs of lead, mountains of coal, mountains of corn, amid creaking of windlasses, rattling of chain cables, roll of heavy wheels, trampling of great slow horses [...] in that endless range of waterside sheds, with endless range of tall stores looking down across the long narrow street full of mud and noise, and over the prison-like line of the dock wall.²⁰³

His writing is at its descriptive best here because he does not relapse into Victorian sentimentality by painting a “poor Tom portrait” of the workers or take on the tone of the public moralist urging his flock to bring about change in a homiletic cadence – as is the case further on in the essay when he describes yet another visit to the British Association. An even more interesting picture emerges, however, when both “In London” and “At Liverpool” are compared with “Donegal Bay” and “The Winding Banks of Erne”. Examined in this light, the corrupt fruits of English materialism are seen to contrast with the poverty of the vivacious, intelligent and well-mannered Irish peasantry who inhabit an “ancient” landscape. It is a comparison that echoes the analogy drawn between London and Donegal in his earlier poem, “Invitation to a Painter”.²⁰⁴

Flee from London, good my Walter! boundless jail of bricks and gas;
Care not if your Exhibition swarm with portrait and Gil Blas,
Or with marvels dear to Ruskin; fly the swelter, fly the crush,
British Mammon in his glory,— in his breathless race and rush.
Leave the hot tumultuous city for the breakers’ rival roar,
Quit your soft suburban landscape for the rude hills by the shore,
Leagues of smoke for morning vapour lifted off a mountain-range,
Crinoline for barefoot beauty, and for “something new and strange”
All your towny wit and gossip.²⁰⁵

But it also anticipates what G. J. Watson has referred to as the “propaganda”²⁰⁶ of the Land League a decade later, wherein, “Irishmen could measure scornfully England’s materialism by the yardstick of [Irish] peasant poverty”, a poverty made to serve as “a badge of worth.”²⁰⁷ Allingham’s move to England, it seems,

has served to confirm for him the superiority of the Irish rural poor and of Irish life.

While his visit to the Association lectures in “In Devon”²⁰⁸ presents, as we have noted earlier, a witty description of the allocation of disparate buildings and halls to the various schools of science for lecture purposes, and holds out hope that, “Science [...] will never rule over the human race”,²⁰⁹ Allingham’s tone is markedly more defensive and didactic in “At Liverpool”. The marriage of sentimentality and escapism within his appeal to his readers offers no hope, resounding as it does with the anthem of the defeated:

As to the nature of human life, all the accumulated science of mankind up to this hour has not one word to say: Let us take heart, then, brethren – do our work, gather knowledge, tell truth, say our prayers, be kind and helpful to each other, enjoy landscapes and flowers, books and pictures, music and poetry, and fear no protoplasmic philosophies. For my part I believe neither Huxley nor Darwin will hurt a hair of our heads.²¹⁰

It is a defeatism that nonetheless reverts to wry wit in his next visit to the Association lectures in “At Edinburgh”. This later essay captures vividly the social aspect of the Association, with its “soirées” and swarms of people willing to “pay a pound a piece for the amusement of being ‘Associates’ and seeing celebrities.”²¹¹ Nonetheless, science’s increasing dismissal of God would not be forgiven by Allingham. As we shall see in Chapter Four, he would carry out an outright attack on atheism during his tenure at *Fraser’s* – both in the aforementioned “On Modern Prophets”²¹² and “Evil May-Day”,²¹³ and in his

acceptance of submissions defending spiritual belief such as “On the Limits of Science”²¹⁴ and “On the Controversy of Life”.²¹⁵

V

We do not know if Allingham had read Arnold’s *On the Study of Celtic Literature* at the time of writing his Welsh rambles or not, but his constant sarcastic allusions to Arnold, both in *Rambles* and in his later “Ivy-Leaves” series for *Fraser’s*, imply that he regarded Arnold as dull and somewhat insincere,²¹⁶ while his diary confirms that he found “Thyrsis” “very artificial.”²¹⁷ It seems unlikely then that his echoing of Arnold in “A Bird’s Eye View from Crow Castle”²¹⁸ is deliberate. We have already observed, in Chapter One, how Allingham preceded Arnold in his idea of a benign common Celticism of Ireland, Scotland and Wales within the Union, so the fact that they draw similar comparisons between England and Wales, and come to the same conclusions on the Gaelic language, is not entirely unexpected.

Having escaped the “city streets”²¹⁹ to North Wales, Allingham describes himself as being in “a Strange Land”,²²⁰ gazing over a “mystic mountain realm” and the “ruins of a Castle, very ancient.”²²¹ As in Arnold’s *On the Study of Celtic Literature*, the otherness of Wales as a mystical Celtic region is immediately stressed: “Everything is changed”²²² in a “mystic”²²³ landscape, complete with “utterly decayed”²²⁴ castle. Contrasting with England further still, the local people speak “in an unknown tongue”,²²⁵ or what Arnold describes as in a “strange,

unfamiliar speech”,²²⁶ a tongue and speech which both writers ultimately regard as a “hindrance to human progress”.²²⁷ Allingham as an Irishman, and clearly homesick, however, is keen to stress that the “*Gaedhilic* (of Ireland)” is “by far the most important” dialect of “the Keltic tongue”,²²⁸ in “the fullness of its grammatical turns and the number and antiquity of its literary monuments”.²²⁹ Although finding much in common between the Welsh and Irish, he is anxious to underline the superiority of the Irish race. Hence he claims that while each, “uses a branch of the same antique speech, tends to keep itself segregated from the surrounding Saxons, and loves its old histories and genealogies, traditions, legends and poems”,²³⁰ in the “Welshman appears little of the peculiar fun and humour of his Irish cousin.”²³¹ Welsh music, he suggests, is also inferior, lacking the “liveliness and drollery so common in Irish tunes”.²³² Anxious to reiterate the ancient culture and musical skill of Ireland and its superiority to Welsh culture, he quotes Giraldus who found the Irish people,

incomparably more skilful in playing on musical instruments than any other nation I have ever seen. Their modulation on these instruments, *unlike that of the Britons to which I am accustomed*, is not slow and austere (*tarda et morosa*), but lively and rapid, at the same time sweet and jocund of sound.²³³

The Irish writer’s belief that Gaelic as a living language is a “hindrance to human progress” – because, as one of a multitude of languages and dialects within Europe, it acts as a barrier to communication – is not as stable as Arnold’s, however. Perhaps aware of the imperialist connotations associated with the imposition of a language on another people, in the essay following “A Bird’s Eye View from Crow Castle”, “In the Land of the Kymry”,²³⁴ he wavers:

I declare, after all I have said against difference of tongues upon the earth [...] this ancient speech does add much to the piquancy of a Welsh Ramble [...] Nay, I admit not only the piquancy, but that the knowledge more or less of two languages tends in itself to educate and stimulate the mental powers.²³⁵

But torn between two cultures, and seemingly bothered by his inability to make up his mind, he feels obliged to restate his former view: "I must hold to my creed: it is best that mankind be drawn together, and first those that are neighbours."²³⁶

It is a conflict that nonetheless refuses to disappear. It re-emerges in "In Scotland",²³⁷ where the scenes Allingham sees constantly remind him of home and where he speaks a "smattering" of Gaelic "in its Irish form"²³⁸ to his hosts at the Highland cottage where he beds for the night. Despite his indecision over the Gaelic tongue as a living language, he is prepared to speak it: a dichotomy explained, in part, when he turns his attention to the problems that the English language has caused to Irish-speaking and English-speaking poets alike in Ireland:

In Ireland the knowledge of native poetry is confined to a small and decreasing proportion of the inhabitants; and English poetry, even to English speakers, has some touch of alienism. Irish-English (which has never been properly examined) is full of little peculiarities. I do not allude to grammatical errors, but to unusual forms, some of them old-fashioned English, some translated or adapted from Gaelic forms. Yet it cannot be taken as a distinct dialect, like the Scotch. Among other 'Irish difficulties' therefore is this well-nigh insurmountable one, of writing any good *popular* poetry. A Gaelic poet, if one came, would have a very small audience; a writer of classic English flies a little over the people's heads, and is not in connection with their familiar habits and traditions; to write *Irish-English* effectively one would need very special opportunities; and, at best, the associations with the past would be neither ancient nor happy; and the audience must still be a limited one and (worst of all) far from homogeneous in its sympathies [...] I don't see the possibility of an Irish Burns. Still, some not unimportant poetic result might possibly be attained

by the union of poetic genius with a knowledge at once familiar and exact of Irish life, and of Irish-English idioms.²³⁹

In recalling the problems faced in his efforts to reach both the Irish middle class, a local Donegal audience and an English reading public in his earlier ballads and poems, Allingham is reminded once more of his status as an outsider in Ireland. There is an underlying sense of loss in the passage, as if the writer harbours the belief that ultimately his efforts to communicate with the Irish rural poor failed, both through his lack of Gaelic and his inability to master "Irish-English". His inability to speak the native Irish tongue or speak and write in Hiberno-English accounts for his desire for a common tongue within the Union: if Ireland and Great Britain shared a common language, after all, Allingham could have written out of an established tradition of Irish poetry in English and reached his target reading audience on both islands.

What the poet means by the "very special opportunities" required to write Hiberno-English is unclear, but one would assume he is referring to the need to live for an extended period among those who speak it. Yet, although he grants that poetic genius in a writer immersed in Irish life, and in English as spoken by the Irish peasantry, might fuel the flame for a new type of Irish poetry, Allingham does not believe that such writing would be "*popular*". As noted in Chapter Two, his greatest regret is evidently that, due to his middle-class Protestant birth and to the fact that there was no tradition of Irish-English poetry available for him to write out of, he could not be an Irish Burns. It is a regret borne out when the writer continues on his ramble through Scotland to Alloway and the river Doon

and, as with Swift in "Moor Park and Swift", compares his life to that of the dead poet.

Burns, however, does more than provide a link to Ireland or an indirect relation to Allingham's Irish childhood, as did Cobbett and Swift in "Rambles" and "Moor Park and Swift." It was Burns who inspired the young Donegal poet who, likewise, took his inspiration from local ballads and his beloved local countryside:

And here at last is the Doon, familiar name in my heart as I wandered on
a time, I too solitary, by the banks of a no less lovely stream;
accompanied with dreams and hopes.²⁴⁰

The dreams and hopes of that time have, it seems, been dashed for Allingham.

The excitement caused by his first volume of poems among such Victorian luminaries as Rossetti, Tennyson, Browning and Patmore was not to return.

While *Laurence Bloomfield* gained him the respect of politicians and historians alike, it was, as we have seen, the poet's lyric poetry that was closest to his heart. Furthermore, with his transfer to England, he had lost a connection, not only to the land that inspired him, but with the music and ballads of his own people. There was no longer an Irish audience to turn to when his English volumes failed, and his final link to the land of his birth, his history of Ireland, had fallen by the wayside. Language, the great means of communication, has failed him. Unlike Burns, he had ultimately been forced to choose between two cultures, having spent the greater part of his adult life in Ireland and his early years in England trying to bridge the cultural divide. It is this, in turn, that

distinguishes Allingham from Arnold regarding their mutual belief in a single language within the British Isles: while Arnold formed his conviction from mere consideration of the impracticality of the existence of different languages, Allingham's belief seems to have sprung from his frustration at being unable to write in either the native tongue of his country or in the dialect that had emerged from the marriage of its two languages. Burns, he feels, was an altogether more fortunate man: "Burns was in money a poor man [...] but as a poet, wealthy; he inherited the old form of speech and the old songs and song-love of his native land".²⁴¹

In so saying, Allingham admits the "lack" that he has been forced to live with; it is as though, in recalling both Burns and his early life in Donegal, he is finally attempting to lay his past to rest, resigning himself to English life and to writing poetry that lacks an Irish flavour. The three travelogues that follow "In Oxenford"²⁴², "At Canterbury"²⁴², "London, Burgis to Cabourg"²⁴³ and "From Cabourg to St. Malo"²⁴⁴ – are firmly set on English and French soil and provide few reminders of Ireland, while the final two travelogues of 1877 written, as we have stated, during his editorship of *Fraser's*, are from the pen of a man who has clearly adopted England as home.

In "In Devon and Cornwall" the wanderer and seeker who once required and sought for links to Ireland in order to survive his life in Britain has, for the moment, disappeared. Any connection to Ireland now appears to have negative

undertones and Allingham no longer clarifies, as in *Laurence Bloomfield*, who is to blame in a country who has suffered “her necessary changes” by,

fraud, violence, hatred, and all the evil passions of man – these too not sweeping over like a storm, but exhaling like a slow miasma from polluted soil, and infecting one generation after another.²⁴⁵

As stated earlier in this chapter, the newly fledged Victorian man of letters ceased to divide those he considered to be Celt and Anglo-Saxon into distinct races at this stage in his journey. Like Arnold he claimed that “England has gradually and surely added a large mixture of strength and sincerity” to “the natural sweetness of Keltic West Wales” - adding sardonically that,

If there seemed to be any chance of ‘Home-Rule’ making Ireland indeed more homely in the best sense, instead of Ultramontane, and more ruly in thought and act, instead of a thousand times more chaotic than ever, I would become a ‘Home-Ruler’ tomorrow.²⁴⁶

But while Allingham’s virtual dismissal of home rule may have sounded a Conservative note to *Fraser’s* readers, to those in the know, the poet’s referral to papal control in Ireland negates his apparent rejection. As in “Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads”, his objection is not so much to home rule itself but to “an Irish party” built “on the old ground of priestly Catholicism”.²⁴⁷ Home rule built on Ultramontanism will, in Allingham’s opinion, only serve to maintain the fractious two-party system in Ireland. As long as faith continues to be judged indivisible from party allegiance, “Catholics, patriots, would-be rebels” will remain set against “Protestants, Orangemen, wrongful holders of estates, and oppressors in general”.²⁴⁸ The poet’s brother, John,²⁴⁹ who lived in Waterford and, following in their father’s footsteps, was bank manager there, would later

become what Allingham would describe, in a letter to Ferguson in 1882, as a “hot ‘Home-Ruler”.²⁵⁰ The letter contains the same ambiguity regarding Allingham’s views on home rule found in “In Devon and Cornwall”. While the poet stresses to Ferguson that he does not, like his brother, believe that “an Irish parliament would cure all”,²⁵¹ his allowance in his letter for the fact that politics should either be “practical” or “experimental, sometimes at huge risk”,²⁵² implies that, once again indecisive, he is aware that there is no real basis for his objection to home rule for Ireland. Furthermore, he still maintains that, “Politics or no Politics, I would give the waste lands of Ireland into toilful Irish hands.”²⁵³

Allingham’s friend Matilda Bethan-Edwards, a frequent contributor to *Fraser’s* under his editorship, insists that “his views on very many vital questions underwent topsy-turvey”²⁵⁴ in later life. In her view, Allingham became “a strong Conservative, anti-Home Ruler and anti-progressist even in matters intellectual”²⁵⁵ – by which last she presumably meant his antipathy to scientific materialism. Her judgement is somewhat flippant, however. For one thing, she fails to take into account the disdain for capitalism and imperialism so clearly visible in both Allingham’s *Rambles* series and, as we shall see, in his editorship of *Fraser’s Magazine* – or, indeed, the voice he offered to forward-thinking women like herself as editor of *Fraser’s*. Furthermore, we know that Allingham was never a Conservative: as late as 1885 he wrote to Gladstone, asking him to propose his name “at the National Liberal Club”.²⁵⁶ Indeed, had Bethan-Edwards been privy to Allingham’s diary entries for the 1880s, wherein Allingham records

his vociferous defence of Ireland during arguments with Tennyson, she may have had second thoughts about her friend's apparent anti-home rule stance. Allingham would hardly have responded to Tennyson's criticism of Ireland and the Irish by suggesting, "there's some truth in the popular Irish notion that nothing can be got from England except by agitation"²⁵⁷ if he was diametrically opposed to home rule. Nor is it likely that a Conservative would propose, as Allingham did to Tennyson, that "England" should try "leaving them [the Irish] to themselves."²⁵⁸ While Allingham may have tried to convince both his friend and himself of his objection to home rule for Ireland, he remained protective of the land of his birth. When his country was slandered, as we have already seen in Chapter Two when analysing "Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads" and *Lawrence Bloomfield*, his submerged anger at England's mistreatment of Ireland erupted and he jumped to her defence as though she were a disgraced family member spoken ill of by neighbours. For all his efforts to convince himself that he had cut his emotional ties to Ireland, he still remained a writer out of place and out of time in his environment.

With his marriage and the birth of his first two children, Gerald²⁵⁹ and Eva,²⁶⁰ the exile inhabiting one place while remembering another determined to disappear. In his final travelogue of the series, "In Thanet", Allingham declares:

I should like to see the Wonders of the World, note briefly my impressions thereof, and come home again to ramble and muse among woods and rocks and beach pebbles. It is a good thing to know one's country, and think about it (my country is the United Kingdom).²⁶¹

But, as alluded to above, and explored in detail in the following chapter, the writer on the margins of Irish and English culture was not to be so easily erased – and the year 1877 only served to isolate him further.

Notes

¹ Translated by Khaled Mattawa from the author's collection *Hayat Saghira*, Toubqal Editions, Casablanca, 1995. *Masthead*, <http://www.masthead.net.au/issue7/najmi.html>

² John Gross notes in *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters: English Literary Life Since 1800*, that, from the mid-Victorian period until the First World War, the term was used to suggest "a writer of the second rank, a critic, someone who aimed higher than journalism but made no pretence of being primarily an artist." *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters*, p. 9.

³ Patricius Walker, "Rambles: London Bridge to Cabourg" & "From Cabourg to St. Malo", FM, 9: 49 (1874: Jan.), pp. 61 – 77, and 9: 50 (1874: Feb.), pp. 210 - 26. These essays follow a seventeen-month break from the previous essay, "At Canterbury". They appear to have been an effort to re-establish the series in *Fraser's* after its virtual disappearance. The effort was not kept up, however, as the final two essays, "In Devon and Cornwall" and "In Thanet", did not appear until November and December of 1877.

⁴ Patricius Walker, "Rambles", FM, 76: 454 (1867: Oct.), pp. 474 – 90; "Moor Park and Jonathan Swift", FM, 76: 445 (1867: Nov.), pp. 638 – 53; "Donegal Bay and Irish Chronicles", FM, 76: 456 (1867: Dec.), pp. 741 – 57; "In the New Forest", FM, 77: 458 (1868: Feb.), pp. 215 – 32; "By the Stour and Avon", FM, 77: 462 (1868: June), pp. 734 – 56; "The Winding Banks of Erne", FM, 78: 464 (1868: Aug.), pp. 195 – 213; "In Devon", FM, 1: 1 (1870: Jan.), pp. 59 – 71; "Still in Devon", FM, 1: 2 (1870: Feb.), pp. 197 – 210.

⁵ "George Petrie, 1790-1866", See Note 22, Chapter Two. "Arthur Hugh Clough", FM, 74: 442 (1866: Oct.), pp. 525 - 35. Signed WA. Not reprinted. "On Poetry" FM, 75: 448 (1867: Apr.), pp. 523 - 36. Signed WA. Republished in VIP III, pp. 253 - 77. "On the Names of Places in Ireland", FM, 79: 474 (1869: June), pp. 780 - 93. Signed William Allingham. Not republished. "A Poet of the Lower French Empire, FM (1869: Dec.), pp. 769 - 75. Unsigned. Republished in VIP III, pp. 335 - 50. "Seven Hundred Years Ago: An Historic Sketch", FM, 2: 8 (1870: Aug.), pp. 135 - 158. Signed William Allingham. Republished in VIP III, pp. 3 - 47. "Some Curiosities of Criticism", FM, 7: 37 (1873: Jan.), pp. 43 - 51. Unsigned. Republished in VIP, III, pp. 315 - 31. "Green London", FM, 9: 52 (1874: Apr.), pp. 508 - 19. Signed P. W. Not republished.

⁶ WAD, Ch XI, p. 202.

⁷ Patricius Walker, "In London", FM, 2: 11 (1870: Nov.), pp. 569 – 83; "At Liverpool", FM, 2: 12 (1870: Dec.), pp. 735 -- 53; "A Bird's-Eye View from Crow Castle", FM, 3: 15 (1871: Mar.), pp. 343 – 63; "In the Land of the Kymry", FM, 3: 18 (1871: June), pp. 778 – 97; "On the Wye", FM, 4: 20 (1871: Aug.), pp. 193 – 213; "At Edinburgh", FM, 4: 22 (1871: Oct.), pp. 458 – 80; "In Scotland", FM, 4: 24 (1871: Dec.), pp. 746 – 64; "At Canterbury", FM, 6: 31 (1872: July), pp. 117 – 34; "London Bridge to Cabourg", FM, 9: 49 (1874: Jan.), pp. 61 – 77; "From Cabourg to St. Malo", FM, 9: 50 (1874: Feb.), pp. 210 – 26.

⁸ Patricius Walker, "In Devon and Cornwall", FM, 16: 95 (1877: Nov.), pp. 575 – 91, & "In Thanet", FM, 16: 96 (1877: Dec.), pp. 792 – 806.

⁹ See *Letters from William Allingham to Mr. and Mrs. Browning*, p. 10.

¹⁰ Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire: British Radicals and the Imperial Challenge*, p. 33.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Peace and War: An Ode* (London: Routledge, 1854). First printed in *The Daily News*, 20 February, 1854. Not republished in subsequent volumes.

¹³ "I have been an 'Official' all my life, without the least turn for it." William Allingham, WAD, Ch VI, 1864, p. 96.

¹⁴ Letter from William Allingham to Samuel Ferguson, c. 1865. *Sir Samuel Ferguson in the Ireland of His Day: Volume I*, pp. 350 – 51, p. 350.

¹⁵ UCWA, Letter 87, Allingham to Moncure Conway, Aug. 13, 1867, pp. 225 - 26, p. 226.

¹⁶ WAD, Ch V, 23 Oct. 1863, p. 92.

¹⁷ See Ch 1, p. 83, & Ch 2, p. 99.

¹⁸ "'The Ballad Book' for Macmillan occupied the best part of my leisure time – much reading, comparing, selecting and copying of Ballads, to perhaps little result." WAD, Ch V, 1865, p. 85. (Much of the entry for June 28 appears to have been written in hindsight).

- ¹⁹ "I am digging away at old Irish Annals, plenty of materials, but O in such confusion! I can't possibly get the books &c here which I want: none to borrow, a few must be bought painfully! others waited for." Letter from Allingham to Thomas Woolner, Oct. 5, 1866, *Thomas Woolner, R.A., Sculptor and Poet, His Life in Letters*, p. 273.
- ²⁰ See WAD, Ch IX, Aug 25, 1867, p. 158; & Nov. 26, 1867, pp. 166 - 67.
- ²¹ See LWA, pp. 223 - 24, & pp. 220 - 21.
- ²² Alfred Perceval Graves, "William Allingham", *Irish Literary and Musical Studies*, p. 80.
- ²³ "On Poetry", FM, 75: 448 (1867: Apr.), pp. 523 - 36. Republished in VIP III, pp. 251 - 78. This essay is rewritten from Allingham's lecture on poetry, presented in Dublin in May 1865. (See WAD, Ch VII, May 19 1865, pp. 113 -14.)
- ²⁴ Ronald Peacock, "Goethe as Lyric Poet", *Essays on Goethe*, (ed) William Rose, pp. 22 - 44, p. 38.
- ²⁵ "On Poetry", FM, 75: 448 (1867: Apr.), p. 527.
- ²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 528.
- ²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 523.
- ²⁸ See Ch 1, p. 31.
- ²⁹ WAD, Ch V, Thursday, Oct 22, p. 91.
- ³⁰ FM, 75: 448 (1867: Apr.), p. 532.
- ³¹ FM, 79: 474 (1869: June), pp. 780 - 93. Signed William Allingham. Not republished.
- ³² FM, 2:8 (1870: Aug), pp. 135 - 58. Signed William Allingham. Reprinted in VIP III, pp. 3 - 47.
- ³³ FM, 76: 456 (1867: Dec), pp. 741 - 757. Republished, together with "The Winding Banks of Erne", as "An Irish River" in VIP III, pp. 48 - 110.
- ³⁴ FM, 78: 464 (1868: Aug.), pp. 195 - 213.
- ³⁵ Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850 - 1930*, p. 2.
- ³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 3.
- ³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 2.
- ³⁸ "A Poet of the Lower French Empire", FM (1869: Dec.), pp. 769 - 75, p. 769. Unsigned. Republished in VIP III, pp. 333 - 50.
- ³⁹ *Exile and the Narrative Imagination*, p. 10.
- ⁴⁰ WAD, Ch VII, June 24, 1865, p. 127.
- ⁴¹ See WAD, Ch VIII, p. 144.
- ⁴² *The Fenians in Context: Irish Politics and Society 1848 - 82*, p. 109.
- ⁴³ See WAD, Ch XI, Nov. 1869, p. 201.
- ⁴⁴ See, for example, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1 (1866: Mar.) pp. 401 - 02, & *Athenaeum* 1957 (1865: Apr. 29), p. 581.
- ⁴⁵ FMP, pp. 62 - 84.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 85 - 87.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 61.
- ⁴⁸ Allingham did not know why Rossetti suddenly cooled towards him. In 1866 he wrote in his diary that his old regard for Rossetti would "be as warm as ever if he would let it." (WAD, Ch VIII, p. 137.) By 1867, they had "discords not to be resolved." (WAD, Ch IX, p. 166.) The arrival of Swinburne on the scene, however, probably played a major part in their falling out: Rossetti idolised Swinburne while Allingham could not "endure" him. (See WAD, Ch IX, Sept. 19, 1867, p. 162.)
- ⁴⁹ See, for example, Letters from Rossetti to Allingham, Aug. 1854 and Nov. 1854, *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham*, pp. 43 - 48, and pp. 81 - 86.
- ⁵⁰ "Nooks and Byways: Some Song Books", signed An Old Campaigner, FM, 72:431 (1865: Nov.), pp. 629 - 636.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 634.
- ⁵² See letter from Froude to John Skelton, August 25, 1865, in John Skelton, *Table-Talk of Shirley; Reminiscences of and Letters from Froude, Thackeray, Disraeli, Browning, Rossetti, Kingsley, Baynes, Huxley, Tyndall, and Others*, p. 135.
- ⁵³ WAD, Ch VII, Nov. 8, 1865, p. 128.
- ⁵⁴ See WAD, Ch IX, Oct. 16, 1867, p. 165.

- ⁵⁵ WAD, p. 128.
- ⁵⁶ *Public Moralists*, p. 14.
- ⁵⁷ See letter from Carlyle to Allingham, dated 20 June 1850, together with gloss from Helen Allingham, LWA, pp. 128 - 30.
- ⁵⁸ *Letters from William Allingham to Mr. and Mrs. Browning*, 24 Sept. 1853, pp. 2 - 5, p. 5.
- ⁵⁹ UCWA, Letter 81, William Allingham to Robert Browning, Lymington, Dec 14, 1865, pp. 213-14, p. 213.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 214.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 213.
- ⁶² *Ibid*, p. 214.
- ⁶³ His diary entry for June 7, 1864 reads: "Lord Palmerston has recommended me for a Civil List Pension of £60 a year", WAD, Ch VI, p. 100.
- ⁶⁴ UCWA, p. 214.
- ⁶⁵ Unpublished letter, British Library, cited in UCWA, Note 2, p. 215.
- ⁶⁶ See Note 1, WAD, Ch XXII, p. 351.
- ⁶⁷ See UCWA, Letter 82, pp. 215 - 17.
- ⁶⁸ See LWA, Thomas Carlyle to William Allingham, 25 Dec., 1865, pp.136 - 38. & WAD, Ch VIII, 30 July, 1866, p. 138.
- ⁶⁹ LWA, TC to WA, 3 March, 1862, pp. 135 - 36.
- ⁷⁰ LWA, TC to WA, 25 Dec, 1865, pp. 136 - 38, p. 137.
- ⁷¹ LWA, TC to WA, 3 March, 1862, pp. 135 - 36.
- ⁷² "Rambles", FM, 76: 454 (1867:Oct.), pp. 474 - 90, p. 488.
- ⁷³ *Public Moralists*, p. 40.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid*.
- ⁷⁵ UCWA, Letter 88, Nov 2, 1867, pp. 27 - 29, p. 228.
- ⁷⁶ See, for example, WAD, p. 120, p. 131, & p. 155.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid*, Ch IX, 26 Nov., 1867, p. 166.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid*, Ch VII, 15 Feb., 1866, p. 131.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid*, Ch IX, 25 Aug., 1867, p. 158.
- ⁸⁰ *Public Moralists*, p. 35.
- ⁸¹ See WAD, Ch IX, 26 Nov., 1867, pp. 166 - 67.
- ⁸² Collini notes that, "In the mid-1870s John Morley received £800 as editor of *The Fortnightly*", *Public Moralists*, p. 41.
- ⁸³ "England! Leave Asia, Africa, alone, / And mind this little country of thine own." *Blackberries*, p. 67.
- ⁸⁴ *Imaginary Homelands*, p. 13.
- ⁸⁵ "In Scotland", FM, 4: 24 (1871:Dec.), pp. 746 - 64, p. 752.
- ⁸⁶ Frank Trentmann, "Civilization and Its Discontents: English Neo-Romanticism and the Transformation of Anti-Modernism in Twentieth-Century Western Culture", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Oct. 1994), pp.583 - 625. p. 583.
- ⁸⁷ Published in 1845.
- ⁸⁸ Published in 1854.
- ⁸⁹ First published in 1862.
- ⁹⁰ See, for example, *A Week at Killarney* (1843), *Ireland: Its Scenery, Character, &c* (1843), & *Hand-Books for Ireland* (1853).
- ⁹¹ Patricius Walker, "In Thanet", FM, 16: 96 (1877: Dec.), pp. 792 - 806.
- ⁹² First published in three volumes in 1851. Republished to include a fourth volume (co-written with John Binny, Andrew Halliday and Bracebridge Hemyng), on the lives of thieves, beggars and prostitutes, in 1861.
- ⁹³ "In London", FM, 2:11 (1870: Nov), pp. 569 - 83.
- ⁹⁴ See Chapter I, pp. 79 - 81.
- ⁹⁵ FM, 2:11 (1870: Nov), p. 583.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid*.
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid*.
- ⁹⁸ "In Devon", FM 1:1 (1870: Jan.), pp. 59 - 71, p. 62.

- ⁹⁹ "Moor Park and Swift", FM, 76: 445 (1867: Nov.), pp. 638 - 53.
- ¹⁰⁰ "In Scotland", FM, 4: 24 (1871: Dec.), pp. 746 - 64.
- ¹⁰¹ "Donegal Bay and Irish Chronicles" & "The Winding Banks of Erne", FM, 76: 456 (1867: Dec), pp. 741 - 757, & 78: 464 (1868: Aug.), pp. 195 - 213; "A Bird's Eye View From Crow Castle" & "In the Land of the Kymry", FM, 3:15 (1871: March), pp. 343 - 63 & FM, 3:18 (1871: June), pp. 778 - 97; "At Edinburgh" & "In Scotland", FM, 4: 22 (1871: Oct.), pp. 458 - 80, & FM, 4: 24 (1871: Dec.), pp. 746 - 64.
- ¹⁰² Patricius Walker, "A Bird's Eye View from Crow Castle", FM, 3:15 (1871: March), p. 343.
- ¹⁰³ Letter to his sister, Catherine Allingham, WAD, Ch. IV, June 3, 1854, p. 72.
- ¹⁰⁴ "On the Names of Places in Ireland", FM, 79: 474 (1869: June), pp. 780 - 793, signed William Allingham. Not republished. "Seven Hundred Years Ago: An Historic Sketch", FM, 2:8 (1870: Aug.), pp. 135 - 158. Signed William Allingham. Reprinted in VIP III, pp. 3 - 47.
- ¹⁰⁵ See "Rambles", FM, 76: 454 (1867: Oct.), pp. 474 - 90, & "Moor Park and Swift", FM, 76: 445 (1867: Nov.), pp. 638 - 53.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 474 - 75.
- ¹⁰⁷ See FM, 76: 454 (1867: Oct.), pp. 484 - 87, & FM, 76: 445 (1867: Nov.), pp. 640 - 49.
- ¹⁰⁸ See "The Stour; Avon", FM, 77: 462 (1868: June), pp. 736 - 38.
- ¹⁰⁹ "Rambles", FM, 76: 454 (1867: Oct.), p. 475.
- ¹¹⁰ *Matthew Arnold: Culture and Anarchy and Other Writings*, p. xxxiii.
- ¹¹¹ *Ibid*, "Sweetness and Light", p. 74.
- ¹¹² "Rambles" FM, 76: 454 (1867: Oct.), pp. 478 - 79.
- ¹¹³ William Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, cited by Allingham in "Rambles", p. 484.
- ¹¹⁴ FM, 76: 454 (1867: Oct.), pp. 477 - 78.
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 478.
- ¹¹⁶ "In Scotland", FM, 4: 24 (1871: Dec.), pp. 757 - 64.
- ¹¹⁷ FM, 76: 454 (1867: Oct.), p. 480.
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 480.
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 481.
- ¹²⁰ *Ibid*.
- ¹²¹ "Moor Park and Swift", FM, 76: 455 (1867: Nov.), pp. 638 - 53.
- ¹²² See LWA, Letter from Carlyle to Allingham, 1 Nov., 1867, pp. 138 - 39.
- ¹²³ FM, 76: 455 (1867: Nov.), p. 639.
- ¹²⁴ *Ibid*.
- ¹²⁵ FM, 76: 454, p. 487.
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 643.
- ¹²⁷ See WAD, Ch IV, June 28, 1851, pp. 60 - 63.
- ¹²⁸ FM, 76: 455 (1867: Nov.), p. 641
- ¹²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 649.
- ¹³⁰ *Ibid*.
- ¹³¹ See Note 101.
- ¹³² *Ibid*.
- ¹³³ R. V. Comerford, *The Fenians in Context*, p. 148.
- ¹³⁴ FM, 76: 456 (1867: Dec.), p. 741.
- ¹³⁵ *Ibid*.
- ¹³⁶ *Ibid*.
- ¹³⁷ *Ibid*.
- ¹³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 742.
- ¹³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 745.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*.
- ¹⁴¹ *On the Study of Celtic Literature*, p. 26.
- ¹⁴² FM, 76: 456, pp. 755 - 56.
- ¹⁴³ FM, 77: 458 (1868: Feb.), pp. 215 - 32, & FM, 77: 462 (1868: June), pp. 734 - 56.
- ¹⁴⁴ See Note 101.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Ballyshannon Almanac 1862*, pp. 1 - 11.
- ¹⁴⁶ FM, 78: 464 (1868: Aug.), p. 199.

- ¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 203.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 204.
- ¹⁵² G. J. Watson, *Irish Identity and the Literary Revival*, p. 27.
- ¹⁵³ "By the Stour and Avon", FM, 77: 462 (1868: June), p. 738.
- ¹⁵⁴ *Rambles* (1873), "In the New Forest", Ch 1, pp. 1 - 20.
- ¹⁵⁵ "Rambles" FM, 76: 454 (1867: Oct.), p. 478.
- ¹⁵⁶ "By the Stour and Avon", FM, 77: 462 (1868: June), p. 736.
- ¹⁵⁷ "In the New Forest", FM, 77: 458 (1868: Feb.), p. 221.
- ¹⁵⁸ First published anonymously in two parts in FM, September 1878 & November 1878, pp. 381-84, & pp. 537 - 44. Republished in volume-form in *Evil May-Day &c* in 1882.
- ¹⁵⁹ FM, 1: 1 (1870: Jan.), pp. 59 - 71.
- ¹⁶⁰ FM, 2: 12 (1870: Dec.), pp. 735 - 53.
- ¹⁶¹ FM, 4: 22 (1871: Oct.), pp. 458 - 480.
- ¹⁶² "In Devon", FM, 1:1, (1870: Jan.), pp. 59 - 71, p. 63.
- ¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 68.
- ¹⁶⁴ "By the Stour and Avon", FM, 77: 462 (1868: June), p. 744.
- ¹⁶⁵ "Rambles", FM, 76: 454 (1867: Oct.), pp. 478 - 79.
- ¹⁶⁶ "By the Stour and Avon", FM, 77: 462 (1868: June), p. 739.
- ¹⁶⁷ FM, 77: 458 (1868: Feb.), p. 226.
- ¹⁶⁸ FM, 77: 462 (1868: June), p. 739.
- ¹⁶⁹ WAD, Ch VI, Weds. Nov. 2, 1864, p. 109.
- ¹⁷⁰ FM, 77: 462, (1868: June), p. 742.
- ¹⁷¹ "A Bird's Eye View from Crow Castle", FM, 3: 15 (1871: March), pp. 343 - 63, p. 363.
- ¹⁷² "In the Land of the Kymry", FM, 3: 18 (1871: June), pp. 778 - 797, p. 779.
- ¹⁷³ "On the Wye", FM, 4: 20 (1871: Aug.), pp. 193 - 213, p. 203.
- ¹⁷⁴ FM, 16: 95 (1877: Nov.), pp. 575 - 91, p. 584.
- ¹⁷⁵ "In Devon and Cornwall", FM, 16: 95 (1877: Nov.), pp. 575 - 91, p. 584.
- ¹⁷⁶ "Still in Devon", FM, 1: 2 (1870: Feb.), pp. 197 - 210. p. 206.
- ¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 207.
- ¹⁷⁸ See "The Music Master", Part II, MM, pp. 112 - 13, p. 112.
- ¹⁷⁹ FM, 1: 2 (1870: Feb.), p. 209.
- ¹⁸⁰ "As a Customs officer, A. had no vote until he left the service in 1870." Note, LWA, p. 229.
- ¹⁸¹ *Letters from William Allingham to Mr. and Mrs. Browning* (National Library of Ireland: ca. 1913), p. 10. See also Allingham's letter to Arthur Hughes: "The accounts from the war [with Russia] are dreadful. I published a war-ode in the beginning of last year, without due consideration; of which I repented afterwards, - but before we came to blood, - and withdrew it from sale in the separate form; putting a short recantation into *The Critic*, the only paper open to it. 'Tisn't that I say the war is wrong, but that I feel these affairs to be out of the reach of my judgement, and myself, very luckily, out of the necessity of judging." 4 Jan., 1855, LWA, pp. 59 - 60.
- ¹⁸² "In London", FM, 2: 11 (1870: Nov), pp. 580 - 81.
- ¹⁸³ WAD, Ch XIII, Monday, July 28, 1873, p. 226.
- ¹⁸⁴ Including "The Agricultural Strikes" [in the south of England], signed RAA (Sir Arthur Arnold), FM, 10: 60 (1874: Dec.), pp. 767 - 776; "Free Trade in Land", Francis W. Newman, FM, 16: 96 (1877: Dec.), pp. 736 - 47; "The New Factory Act", by Whately Cooke-Taylor (economist), & "Starvation Wages and Political Economy", signed GS, 19: 109 (1879: Jan.), pp. 32 - 41 & pp. 55 - 62.
- ¹⁸⁵ WAD, Ch XX, July 26, 1884, p. 326.
- ¹⁸⁶ LWA, William Morris to William Allingham, 26 Nov., 1884 - 85, pp. 233 - 36, p. 234.
- ¹⁸⁷ FM, 2: 11(1870: Nov.), p. 578.
- ¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 579.

- ¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 580.
- ¹⁹¹ *Ibid*.
- ¹⁹² *Ibid*, p. 582.
- ¹⁹³ *Ibid*.
- ¹⁹⁴ "At Liverpool" FM, 2:12 (1870: Dec.), p. 736.
- ¹⁹⁵ *Ibid*.
- ¹⁹⁶ LWA, p. 234.
- ¹⁹⁷ FM, 2:12, (1870: Dec.), p. 737.
- ¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*.
- ¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 738.
- ²⁰⁰ Unsigned, by Matilda Betham-Edwards. In three parts: FM, 12: 67 (1875: July), pp. 72 - 87, 12: 68 (1875: Aug.), pp. 181 - 94, 12: 69 (1875: Sept.), pp. 300 - 311.
- ²⁰¹ Signed George Howell, FM, 19: 109 (1879: Jan.), pp. 22 - 31.
- ²⁰² Signed GS, FM, 19:109 (1879: Jan.), pp. 32 - 41.
- ²⁰³ "At Liverpool", FM, 2:12 (1870: Dec.), p. 736.
- ²⁰⁴ FMP, pp. 1 - 14.
- ²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 1 - 2.
- ²⁰⁶ *Irish Identity and the Literary Revival*, p. 22.
- ²⁰⁷ *Ibid*.
- ²⁰⁸ "In Devon", 1: 1(1870: Jan.), pp. 59 - 71.
- ²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p. 64.
- ²¹⁰ FM, 2: 12 (1870: Dec.), p. 748.
- ²¹¹ "At Edinburgh", FM, 4: 22 (1871: Oct.), pp. 458 - 80, p. 467.
- ²¹² Signed Unus de Multis, FM, 16: 93 (1877: Sept.), pp. 273 - 292.
- ²¹³ FM, 18: 105 (1878: Sept.), pp. 381 - 84, & FM, 18: 107 (1878: Nov.), pp. 537 - 44.
- ²¹⁴ Signed William Forsyth, FM, 11: 62 (1875: Feb.), pp. 199 - 207.
- ²¹⁵ Signed Edmund Gurney, FM, 18:104 (1878: Sept.), pp. 148 - 66.
- ²¹⁶ See quote from "Rambles" p. 17, and from "In the New Forest", p. 23. Also "Ivy-Leaves", FM, 17: 98 (1878: Feb.), pp. 259 - 268, p. 262.
- ²¹⁷ WAD, Ch. XVIII, 8 Aug., 1880, p. 288.
- ²¹⁸ FM, 3: 15 (1871: March), pp. 343 - 63.
- ²¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 343.
- ²²⁰ *Ibid*. This is also the title he would eventually give the essay when published in VIP. (VIP II, pp. 1- 28.)
- ²²¹ *Ibid*.
- ²²² "Preface", *On the Study of Celtic Literature*, p. 17.
- ²²³ *Ibid*.
- ²²⁴ *Ibid*.
- ²²⁵ "A Bird's Eye View From Crow Castle", FM, 3: 15, (1871: March), pp. 343 - 63, p. 343.
- ²²⁶ *On the Study of Celtic Literature*, p. 18.
- ²²⁷ FM, 3:15, p. 347, & *On the Study of Celtic Literature*, pp. 10 - 11.
- ²²⁸ FM, 3: 15, p. 345.
- ²²⁹ *Ibid*.
- ²³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 363.
- ²³¹ *Ibid*.
- ²³² *Ibid*.
- ²³³ *Ibid*.
- ²³⁴ FM, 3:18 (1871: June), pp. 778 - 797.
- ²³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 779.
- ²³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 780.
- ²³⁷ FM, 4: 24 (1871: Dec.), pp. 746 - 764.
- ²³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 750.
- ²³⁹ "In Scotland", FM, 4: 24 (1871: Dec.), pp. 746 - 64, p. 755.
- ²⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 756.
- ²⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 764.

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- ²⁴² FM, 6: 31 (1872: July), pp. 117 – 134.
- ²⁴³ FM, 9:49 (1874: Jan.), pp. 61 – 77.
- ²⁴⁴ FM, 9: 50 (1874: Feb.), pp. 210 – 226.
- ²⁴⁵ "In Devon and Cornwall", FM, 16: 95 (1877: Nov.), pp. 575 - 91, p. 584.
- ²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴⁷ William Allingham, "Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads", *Ceol*, Vol III, No 1. September, 1967, pp. 9 – 10. See also Chapter 2, p. 11.
- ²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴⁹ Lord Mayor of Waterford in 1884 and 1885.
- ²⁵⁰ *Sir Samuel Ferguson in the Ireland of his Day*, Vol I, p. 355.
- ²⁵¹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵² *Ibid.*
- ²⁵³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵⁴ *Friendly Faces of Three Nationalities*, p. 111.
- ²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵⁶ Letter from William Allingham to W. E. Gladstone, August 17, 1885. MS, 44, 697, National Library of Ireland.
- ²⁵⁷ WAD, Ch XVIII, August 22, 1880, p. 293.
- ²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Ch XX, July 26, 1884, p. 325.
- ²⁵⁹ Gerard or 'Sonny', born 1 Nov., 1875. WAD, p. 241.
- ²⁶⁰ Eva Margaret, or 'Sissy', born 11 Feb., 1877. WAD, p. 255. Their youngest son, Henry, would be born on 11 May, 1882. WAD, p. 316.
- ²⁶¹ "In Thanet", FM, 16: 96 (1877: Dec.), pp. 792 - 806, p. 792.

Chapter Four

“Fraser’s Radical Editor”

England! leave Asia, Africa, alone,
And mind this little country of thine own.

By William Allingham¹

Allingham’s fears over the effects of atheism on society and his increasing dissatisfaction with British capitalism and imperialism became apparent during his term as editor of *Fraser’s Magazine* from 1874 to 1879. This state of discontent is reflected in both his choice of articles for the magazine and in his own articles, essays and poems published during his editorship. Marginalised and made a figure of fun, as both editor and poet, by several of his contemporaries, Allingham’s consequent empathy with the disenfranchised, both at home and abroad, led him to publish articles and essays that gave a voice to, and championed the rights of, the subject peoples of the British Empire and the marginalised within British society, such as rural workers, factory workers, and women. Although coloured by radical Liberalism, Allingham’s anti-imperialism did at times, however, both echo and anticipate the anti-Empire stance of nationalist politicians such as Frank Hugh O’Donnell and Charles Stewart Parnell.² Moreover, as Paul Townend has noted,

aggressive attacks on empire [...] fueled British perceptions of Irish disloyalty. As the cautious editor of the *Limerick Reporter and Tipperary Vindicator* warned early in 1879, opposition to imperial efforts risked angering ‘the bulk of English Liberals.’³

Allingham's attacks on Empire thus further marginalised him from his British contemporaries (especially, perhaps, those apologists for British imperialism who were close to Carlyle, such as Froude and James Fitzjames Stephen)⁴ and, no doubt, from more Conservative Irish thinkers on the London scene, like Samuel Carter Hall, editor of *The Art Journal*.⁵ His anger at England's maltreatment of Ireland, an anger earlier apparent in "Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads" and *Laurence Bloomfield*, was to extend to Britain's treatment of her colonised subjects under the Empire and reach boiling point during his term as editor of *Fraser's Magazine*. As referred to in Chapter Two, the word "imperialism" had been appropriated by Irish nationalists to describe the British government's "despotic and foreign"⁶ rule, and this chapter further demonstrates that Allingham likewise continued to interpret British imperialism as "despotic" more than a decade after the first publication of *Laurence Bloomfield*. But his concentration on capitalism and imperialism alike also inferred an "economic theory"⁷ of imperialism that anticipated the anti-imperialism of the British Radicals of the late 1890s and early 1900s who drew a direct relationship between capitalism and imperialism.⁸

I

To those who judge the low point of the editorship of a Victorian journal or magazine to be the publication of overly long articles concerned with the major issues of the time, at the expense of serialised fiction, poetry, art and literature reviews, then Allingham's greatest failing as editor lies here. Although he lacked

the wit and genius of *Fraser's* first Irish editor, William Maginn,⁹ and the support of his Irish "Fraserians"¹⁰ (including Francis Sylvester Mahony, Thomas Crofton Croker and Francis Stack Murphy),¹¹ Allingham nonetheless attempted to keep *Fraser's* "main emphasis" as it had always been "on politics, religion, and social conditions".¹² It can, accordingly, be argued that, attempting to operate in a similar framework yet to distinguish his editorship from Froude's, Allingham was too rigid in his adherence to this tradition. Unlike his immediate predecessor, who frequently also included poems,¹³ stories, reviews and essays on art and art exhibitions¹⁴, he did not maintain a balance between social, political and religious issues and the worlds of art and literature – trying too late to rectify this in 1878 in his "Ivy-Leaves" series by including book reviews that read almost as an aside. In his apparent desire to please the imagined Victorian polymath reader, several issues of *Fraser's* under Allingham's editorship are thus simply too packed with lengthy articles on disparate, albeit topical, subjects - from "Legislation on Betting"¹⁵ to "The Moral Treatment of Insanity"¹⁶ - and demand, as a resting-place, either the occasional humorous piece or the focus on the single theme, with its accompanying images, that poetry and art provide. The fact that when poems were included they tended to be his own, leaves Allingham open to further posthumous criticism: of the fifteen poems published in the body of the magazine during his term as editor twelve are from his pen with ten of this latter group published anonymously.¹⁷ Despite these failings, however, Allingham's editorship cannot be deemed a failure – immediately noticeable at first glance, for instance, is his praiseworthy inclusion of numerous

articles and essays by talented women writers during his five-year term, a tendency which this chapter will later consider.

For those who argue that the editorship of a Victorian magazine is to be judged by its contributions from the age's most celebrated men of letters, however, then the highlight of Allingham's editorship rests with the publication of one of the original Fraserian's last works, Carlyle's *Early Kings of Norway*¹⁸ and "The Portraits of John Knox", in 1875.¹⁹ Appearing in three parts in *Fraser's* from January to March 1875, *Early Kings of Norway* was published in book form by Chapman and Hall,²⁰ together with "The Portraits of John Knox", later in the year. Published anonymously in *Fraser's*, its republication bearing Carlyle's name only a few months later made it a crowning glory for *Fraser's* still new editor. (Victorian magazines did, after all, capitalise on big names to boost sales – the *Cornhill*, for example, clearly viewed Arnold's success as a poet and critic an advantage when they chose to publish his signed literary articles in 1863).²¹ Less ambitious than such early works as *The French Revolution: A History* (1837), or *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell with Elucidations* (1845), the series celebrates the lives of such figures as "Magnus the Great, Saint Olaf, King Kanut, Olaf the Thickset, and King Sverrir and his successors".²² John Morrow tells us that although, by modern standards, "these men were cruel, rapacious and uncouth [...] Carlyle credited them with having laid the basis of all the later achievements of the peoples of north-western Europe".²³ Always supportive and appreciative of Allingham's prose writing, the

fact that Carlyle granted Allingham first publication of *Early Kings of Norway* and “The Portraits of John Knox” marks both his respect for the Irish poet as a man of letters and his determination to see him succeed as editor.

Unlike Carlyle’s work, Allingham’s essays did not appear in volume form until after his death.²⁴ Of the seven essays published during his editorship²⁵ – including the final two travelogues of his *Rambles* series²⁶ – only five were republished in *Varieties in Prose*.²⁷ The first published of the *Fraser’s* essays, “An Old Story of a Feast and a Battle”,²⁸ appeared in the magazine in May, 1875. It tells the story of King Domnall’s feast and the Battle of Moyra, referencing both O’Donovan’s translation of *The Banquet of Dun na N-Gedh and the Battle of Magh Rath* (1842) and Ferguson’s *Congal* (1870). Belonging with Allingham’s Irish essays, it is a work which we shall later examine within that context, providing, as it does, the opportunity for him to champion Ferguson’s work through the inclusion of passages from *Congal* and to vent his frustration at the neglect of Irish poetry in England.

Frustration is also evident in the second-published essay, “Artist and Critic” (1875), this time at the tendencies Allingham finds in British art. Here the poet, angry with British artists for undervaluing and misunderstanding “SUBJECT”²⁹ in their paintings, speaks as an art authority, taking to task such revered British artists, as Briton Rivière and Millais for their “sham” subjects.³⁰ The first part of the essay examines the differences between the artist and

critic's evaluation of what constitutes a good painting. It makes for interesting reading, particularly with regard to art criticism. Artists object to critics and accuse them of ignorance, Allingham argues, because it is their belief that, having never been involved in "real art-work" critics cannot understand "the technical difficulties and the means of overcoming these."³¹ In Allingham's opinion, technique is everything for the artist: "The Artist loves the *art* in a picture so much that he is jealous of the subject. Praise the subject, and he had almost as lief you praised the frame."³² Yet he believes the critic has his place: "as to comparison of works and styles, the critic may probably have seen a greater number and variety of the best things extant in the world than most Artists."³³ Nonetheless, he argues, when critics deal "mainly with something that may be considered more within their reach, namely the *Subject*, Artists, or many of them, call this 'literary criticism [...]' and consider that they have thus disposed of its claims to attention."³⁴ For Allingham the subject "is the soul"³⁵ of a picture. He tires of seeing the "real subject" of a picture pretending to be "quite another",³⁶ through its title and artist-added glosses and notes in exhibition catalogues, and goes about exposing this tendency in the latter half of his essay.

As an imaginary example of what he terms a "sham" subject, Allingham takes for example the painting of a wood, which, he asserts, is the artist's "real subject".³⁷ The artist, however, "adds figures and calls it 'Apollo and Daphne,' or 'Love's Young Dream'".³⁸ "This case of a landscape subject pretending to be a human one is very common",³⁹ he tells his readers, inadvertently once more

drawing the division between life and landscape we have already found in his early poems. Looking to the Academy Exhibition for 1875, he examines, in turn, those paintings which he believes are the most pretentious in subject, holding Millais's "The Crown of Love", which depicts a young man carrying a maiden up a hill, to be "the Academy's most pretentious Picture in subject, as set forth in the title and quotation [...] it has no intelligible subject at all."⁴⁰ As a poet and magazine editor on the fringes of the art world, his scathing criticism of both Millais's work and that of the other artists he criticises is brave, but his apparent lack of appreciation of otherwise well-crafted paintings that are pleasing to the eye weakens his argument somewhat. Seeking to strengthen his argument, by playing the impartial and unbiased critic, he later singles out Millais's "Old Knight Carrying Two Children across a Ford", for praise. It is, he deems, like Burne-Jones's "Night", "suggestive [...] of many things, so that the picture [...] is an open door through which thought flies on as in a dream."⁴¹

In "The Proposed Byron Monument" (1876), Allingham extends his dissatisfaction with the literary tastes of the English reading public to the British prime minister. Anticipating his later verbal assaults on Disraeli's person, which this chapter will later examine, he uses Disraeli's proposal for a Byron monument as an opportunity to criticise both his leadership and writings. In so doing, he marks the Liberal status of *Fraser's* under his editorship. But his criticism of Disraeli is, even for a Liberal journal, harsh. The politician's novels, speeches and poems are found to be heavily influenced by Byron, his

preference in language accordingly, “high-flown, declamatory, and melodramatic.”⁴² Disraeli is, Allingham assures his readers, liable at any moment in his speeches or books, “to begin swelling and strutting about on tiptoe.”⁴³ This actorly quality, he reflects,

[...] in one who comes much before the public is far from an unpopular quality, and is very likely to ‘take;’ people in general are often in the mood of a theatrical audience – while comfortable at the same time in the underlying feeling that, after all, nothing serious is meant.⁴⁴

“Whether”, he continues, casting a damning aspersion on Disraeli’s leadership, “it be not past a joke when a man of this kind becomes Head of the Government of England is a question which our sons will probably be able to answer more distinctly than we can.”⁴⁵ Yet reliable or unreliable, Allingham does not believe that a prime minister has any “official authority whatsoever to establish the literary rank of a poet”.⁴⁶ Disraeli’s literary judgement must therefore be tested by the strength of his own poems – his “opus magnum in verse”, *The Revolutionary Epick* (1834), serving as an example of same. Allingham wryly quotes from the book’s preface before assessing the poem. Here, much to his apparent delight, Disraeli claims he has “a good chance of becoming the peer of Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Milton.”⁴⁷ Allingham, however, deems the diction and style “florid and monotonous” with “long-drawn page after page [...] of personification and artificiality, turgid language, awkward verse, pompous commonplace in thought, confusing accumulation of tawdry imagery.”⁴⁸

Byron himself escapes rather more lightly. Despite taking the high moral ground and deeming Byron’s work, “degrading and injurious to the imagination

of youthful readers”,⁴⁹ with neither *Childe Harold* or *Don Juan* capable of taking “high rank as a poem”,⁵⁰ Allingham can at least find elements of his work to praise. The style of *Don Juan*, for example, he describes as “flowing and easy” and “the language and tone” that “of a cultivated man of the world.”⁵¹ Moreover, while criticising *Don Juan* for “its serious artistic defects”,⁵² he lauds its “shrewdness, humour and wit (aided often by admirably clever comic rhymes)” and “its air of conscious mastery.”⁵³

“Modern Prophets” (1877) provides Allingham with the opportunity to pour scorn on theologians and modern prophets, i.e., scientific materialists – such as John Tyndall and Thomas Henry Huxley – and positivists alike. The essay is unnecessarily long and repetitive, moving from an expression of the writer’s early distaste for organised religion to his rejection of the denial of God by scientific materialism and positivism. In Allingham’s opinion, if dogmatic theology is an “old crust of lying and chicanery”⁵⁴ then scientific materialism and positivism rejoice in “Everlasting Death.”⁵⁵ In the absence of God, the writer, as a Victorian moralist, worries about the demise of morality: “Suppose it shall be found that to the majority no faith would mean no morals: ‘Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die’”.⁵⁶ Yet, as a poet, Allingham seems more concerned here with the death of the soul, whose presence is denied with the rejection of God. As touched on in his earlier essay, “On Poetry” (1865), his belief is that the soul is his inner life, the high seat of his poetry.

His final essay for *Fraser's* appeared in the last issue under his editorship. Titled "Some Fifty Years Ago" (1879), it provides a summary of contributions to *Fraser's* during the first three years of the magazine's publication. Beginning with a synopsis of the first issue of the magazine in February 1830 – with contributions from, among others, Robert Southey, Crofton Croker and Allingham's friend, B. W. Procter ("Barry Cornwall") and William Maginn – Allingham moves on to describe the famous "Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters" drawn by Maclise, before providing a general overview of contributions. His overview is cut rather short, however. Several pages are taken up with a lengthy description of an early story by Carlyle in Number XII, "Cruthers and Jonson; or, the Outskirts of Life. A true story".⁵⁷ Having, apparently, lost interest in his subject, Allingham takes the opportunity to praise Carlyle's work – in return, no doubt, for his contributions and support during his editorship.

The poet's year-long "Ivy-Leaves" series (1878), a panoply of musings and miscellanies from the fictitious Eastern Hermit of "The Hermitage, Epping Forest",⁵⁸ is of further interest. It provides a microcosm of the multifarious nature of the magazine itself, including epigrams and poems of little quality amid considerations of such subjects as nature, theatre, French literature and politics. But it is Allingham's repeated critique of British patriotism within these columns that makes the series relevant to any study of his later poetry – particularly those anti-imperialist poems published in *Fraser's*⁵⁹ in 1879 – providing evidence that his poetry of this time was increasingly born from his prose.

The series itself suffers from an unexpected change of tone that is out of character with his persona's voice and the contemplative tenor of the first miscellany's opening passages when Allingham places himself centre stage, however. His meditative persona seemingly forgotten, he becomes increasingly antagonistic and defensive as the series continues. Moreover, while the format allows for sudden shifts – from, for instance, a consideration of the blocking of field-paths to the hypocrisy inherent in British patriotism⁶⁰ – when Allingham's attention repeatedly turns to an ongoing row with the *Spectator* in 1878, the shifting focus of the series is slowed. The reader is left feeling increasingly uneasy as the column becomes a means of both attack and defence for *Fraser's* now vulnerable editor. The row between *Fraser's* and the *Spectator* had started when Allingham, reacting to criticism of *Fraser's* by the *Spectator*, asserted that weeklies had no right to criticise monthlies. The *Spectator* responded anonymously, initially criticising Allingham's editorship but soon extending its somewhat ruthless condemnation to Allingham's poems, a condemnation that Allingham reprinted in "Ivy-Leaves". As we shall see, their caustic criticism marks a tendency among his contemporaries, particularly Froude and Denis Florence MacCarthy, to marginalise and ridicule *Fraser's* second, less gifted and less successful, Irish editor. Increasingly poor reviews of *Songs, Ballads, and Stories*, following its publication in 1877, from such leading periodicals as *The Athenaeum*, which looked back to the poet's early work and found that his latest offering simply did not measure up,⁶¹ apparently left Allingham, as editor of *Fraser's*, an easy target for ridicule. In a city where "Irish people colonised

central areas of [...] metropolitan life – notably journalism, the law, medicine, the arts and [...] politics”,⁶² it appears that Allingham, the Irishman who could not be described as either Unionist or Nationalist, was singled out for criticism. *The Athenaeum*’s observation that “Mr. Allingham’s readers are, perhaps, half tempted to be unjust, in proportion to their disappointment”,⁶³ unfortunately proved all too true. That “Ivy-Leaves” deals with Allingham’s negative relationship with “the respectable weekly”⁶⁴ of the time (the *Spectator*), only serves to highlight his status as outsider in the late Victorian world of higher journalism. The fact that, under his editorship, *Fraser’s* drew attention to the plight of marginalised groups within England and her Empire, and repeatedly condemned Britain’s imperial policy, cannot have escaped his enemies either, perhaps raising suspicions as to Allingham’s true political beliefs. Not easily finding acceptance as editor or poet in the England of the 1870s, it was only natural that Allingham should seek to defend those as vulnerable – albeit in very different ways – as himself. For those concerned with the publication of what can be termed “voices from the periphery”, it was a defence that paid off. It is by Allingham’s attention to these marginalised groups, and his publication of articles by women writers, anti-imperialists, black Africans and guilt-ridden colonials anxious to affirm the dignity and equality of subject peoples, that his true success as editor of *Fraser’s* can be measured.

In providing a voice for the disenfranchised within both Union and Empire, Allingham answered back to the very centre within which he edited one of its

leading magazines. That these voices were backed up by the simultaneous publication of articles supporting the rights of women and workers, within a clearly discriminatory and class-divided England, only served to further question Britain's problematic Empire: if England could not attend to her affairs at home then how could she expect to govern abroad? There is a direct association therefore between Allingham's anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism, as witnessed during his editorship of *Fraser's*. Lord Granville's recall of troops from New Zealand under the Gladstone administration in 1869, and his belief that "the confederation of the British North American Provinces [...] must ultimately lead to their separation from Great Britain",⁶⁵ bred apprehension among Conservatives. Already fearful of class wars with the rise of democracy, they feared that Radicals and moderate Liberals planned to bring about the end of Empire. It was a state of apprehension that persisted in the 1870s. In publishing articles supporting the dissolution of Empire and worker's rights at home, Allingham deliberately played on Conservative fears.

Had he not been Irish, Allingham's focus on the negative aspects of Empire and the needs and rights of those at home – be they rights to union representation or land – might merely have categorised him as a compassionate Liberal. But being Irish another, perhaps more controversial, link existed: his anti-imperialism associated him in the politics of the day with Irish nationalism and the nationalist critique of Empire wherein Ireland was seen to be treated much like Britain's non-white colonies.⁶⁶ Like Davis before him, Allingham

clearly indicated his empathy with “other subject peoples within the empire”⁶⁷ through his publication of articles implying either their ill-treatment at the hands of the British or the destruction of their culture.⁶⁸ His further publication of articles critiquing jingoism and empire, and his own strongly-worded critiques of England’s support of the Ottoman Empire and her determination to protect and uphold the Indian Empire, can only have fuelled suspicions among *Fraser’s* readers that Allingham harboured Irish Nationalist sympathies in his apparent support for “all oppressed nations”.⁶⁹ As Bernard Porter noted in *Critics of Empire*, “sympathetic approach to alien civilizations” was rare “in English colonial criticism.”⁷⁰ These suspicions must have seemed confirmed with the appearance of the aforementioned anti-imperialist poems, published in *Fraser’s* in 1879, “In Snow”, “Words and Deeds” and “Patriotism”, the most scathing of these⁷¹ carrying Allingham’s name. The poems did not - as in the earlier Radical Liberal anti-imperialism of Cobden and Bright⁷² – confine themselves to the economic consequences of Britain’s colonies or wars: they followed the Irish nationalist tendency to focus on Britain’s cruelty and deception of the non-white peoples of the Empire.⁷³

Despite Allingham’s protestations that he was “more impartial than most people”,⁷⁴ even his friend Tennyson seemed to suspect him of tacit nationalist sympathies: although perhaps not always cognisant of it, in his revolt against British imperialism he re-sounded the romantic nationalist note struck at times in “Irish Ballad Singers and Irish Street Ballads” and in *Laurence Bloomfield*.

Through English eyes, according to an unsigned article in *Fraser's* on the Irish census for 1871, the "contest [...] being fought" in Ireland was, after all, "a contest between Imperialism and [...] Nationalism" and "the principles of Romanism and those of Protestantism or Liberalism."⁷⁵ We have noted Allingham's vociferous defence of Ireland in response to Tennyson's criticism in the previous chapter, but it is important to point out here that Tennyson's condemnation of Ireland repeatedly arose after allusion to Allingham's anti-imperialism. That Allingham did not care "a pin for the grand Empire of England"⁷⁶ was directly associated in Tennyson's mind with the "raging and roaring"⁷⁷ Irish whom Allingham consistently defended. In an age of Empire Allingham's Donegal background and antipathy to imperialism ensured he remained a marginalised Irishman abroad. With a thriving middle-class Irish community in London, however, this need not have the case. Allingham's refusal to support Home Rule, perhaps, isolated him from other London-based Irish writers, such as the nationalists Justin McCarthy (who the "Irish Tory press of his own day dismissed [...] much to his amusement, as a 'London novelist' more familiar with Pomerania than Ireland")⁷⁸ and Thomas Power O'Connor.⁷⁹

II

The year he took on the editorship of *Fraser's* must have seemed an auspicious one for Allingham. He married the watercolour artist Helen Paterson in August 1874 and, following Froude's resignation,⁸⁰ was appointed to the editorship in September. In a letter of 10 August, 1874, Allingham broke the

news of his forthcoming marriage to Emily Tennyson: "I am to be married on the 22nd. The lady is Miss Helen Paterson, an artist of some reputation [...] She is a full score of years my junior, which is to be regretted."⁸¹ Despite the age difference, the couple nonetheless appeared well-suited. Already respected as an artist for her paintings of children by such luminaries as Ruskin, Paterson had trained at the Royal Academy School in London and until her marriage was a freelance illustrator and a staff member of the *Graphic*, the first illustrated weekly London magazine.⁸² An independent woman, marriage did not quench her artistic ambitions. During the first seven years of their marriage, she exhibited over a hundred paintings and following the couple's move from London to Surrey in 1881, she painted outdoors from dawn to dusk, working on what would be a highly profitable series of paintings of English cottages. When she died in 1926 she left £25,000 in her will – compared to the mere £200 left to her by Allingham.

Their courtship was brief. As L. S. Loomer comments, "There is no mention of Allingham's meeting with and courtship of Helen" in the *Diary*: "She appears abruptly in her editor's note just before the *Diary* resumes, as Venus rising from the sea!"⁸³ The couple were probably engaged by May 1874, at which time Thomas Hardy first met Paterson, who was illustrating his novel *Far from the Madding Crowd* for the *Cornhill*.⁸⁴ There can be little doubt that Allingham felt financially secure enough to offer the artist his hand in marriage following news from Carlyle that he had highly recommended him for editor in place of Froude who "found it impossible to attend to the magazine work"⁸⁵

following the sudden death of his wife in February of that year. Froude's versions of his reason for giving up the editorship of *Fraser's* were rather different, however. In 1887 he wrote in his journal that he "gave up *Fraser* because Carlyle wanted it for Allingham,"⁸⁶ and in 1890, in his biography of Benjamin Disraeli, *Lord Beaconsfield*, he recollected that Carlyle had "a faint pleasure in Disraeli's accession to power in 1874" and "was [...] anxious that I should myself accept a proposal of a seat in Parliament which had been made to me as a *quasi* follower of Disraeli."⁸⁷ It seems likely that Carlyle, out of sympathy for his bereaved friend, encouraged Froude to leave the country that he might have time to grieve for his wife and that Froude, recognising Carlyle's high regard for Allingham, had later misinterpreted his intent. Whatever the case may be, Froude's understanding of his reasons for giving up *Fraser's* was, as far as Allingham was concerned, to cast a shadow over his editorship of the magazine.

Although never given credit for it, Allingham's editorship of the magazine began in March of 1874 rather than in September. Froude left London for Crogan House, North Wales, in March 1874, "that he might think in quiet and plan what to do next",⁸⁸ remaining there until June. A letter to Allingham, dated June 2, 1874, thanks him for "having taken *Fraser* off my hands during these months."⁸⁹ During this period Froude was involved in discussions with Lord Carnarvon who wished him to act as his "personal representative"⁹⁰ in South Africa, a country still in a state of conflict following the annexation of Griqualand West by the Imperial government in 1871. Agreement between the two men as

to the exact role Froude should play in South Africa was finally reached in late June, and *Fraser's* ex-editor set sail on 23 August, 1874. It was a move he would come to regret. Still involved in South African affairs in August 1876, Froude wrote to his daughter Margaret: "Oh, that I was editing *Fraser* again, and writing a new book! If I am dragged deeper into the political mudpond, I shall never have a pleasant moment again."⁹¹ That Allingham now occupied the position Froude craved so deeply did not augur well for Allingham as editor.

The relationship between the two men was, regardless of later circumstances, marred by distrust on Allingham's part from the outset. Although, as we have seen, the anonymous critic of Allingham's *Fifty Modern Poems* in *Fraser's* in 1865 proved not to be Froude, Allingham still remained uneasy in the former's company. After breakfasting with the historian in early 1868, Allingham – despite Froude's praise of his prose style – later wrote in his diary that he felt "awkward with him".⁹² Twelve years later, in 1877, he confessed that, although he had, "always tried to trust Froude" he "could never succeed."⁹³ His sub-editorship of *Fraser's* under Froude did little to improve their relationship. Due perhaps to Froude's absence when away on lecture tours in America during his term as sub-editor,⁹⁴ it was Allingham's belief that he did "at least 9/10th of the work always."⁹⁵ Nor, seemingly, did their mutual friendship with Carlyle serve to ease the tension between them: Froude's assertion that he "gave up *Fraser* because Carlyle wanted it for Allingham" seems to express resentment at both men. Irked by Carlyle's affection,⁹⁶ it is not inconceivable that Froude felt that

Allingham had begun to replace him in Carlyle's affections. Froude had, after all, been friends with Carlyle from 1860 and, "except when either or both" of them "were out of town [...] never ceased to see him twice or three times a week, and to have two or three hours of conversation with him."⁹⁷ From 1870 onwards, however, Allingham also spent an increasing amount of time with Carlyle, sometimes in Froude's company,⁹⁸ whose manner he privately described as "sub-sarcastic."⁹⁹

Sensitive and quick to take offence, Allingham must have felt hurt and slighted when, officially appointed editor of *Fraser's*, his name – unlike Froude's before him¹⁰⁰ – did not appear on the title page. A notice on the front page of the magazine for the September 1874 issue also failed to mention he had replaced Froude as editor and simply read:

The retirement of Mr. James Anthony Froude from the Editorship of this Magazine will not, we are happy to say, deprive it of the valuable aid of his pen; and we hope soon to present to our readers some novel and important articles from that distinguished writer.¹⁰¹

The articles did, indeed, appear. Numbering six in all, the first article was published in May 1875¹⁰² and the last in February 1878.¹⁰³ Seemingly obliged to stand in Froude's shadow as editor, Allingham's newfound authority appeared undermined from the start. Once again he was being marginalised, in this case ostensibly deemed inferior to his predecessor. The odds apparently stacked against him from the first days of his editorship, there was not, in addition, "a single novel coming out serially at a time when that was essential for the

success of a magazine".¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, *Fraser's* faced stiff competition from other monthlies, such as *Macmillan's* and the *Cornhill*,¹⁰⁵ as well as a lack of "young liberal writers"¹⁰⁶ in the wake of Froude's editorship. There is no way of ascertaining the terms of Allingham's contract, but, taking both the notice of Froude's retirement and later events into consideration, it would appear that Longmans were less than happy to let their star editor go and possibly had high hopes for the former editor's return. Allingham must have sensed this in his dealings with them: a diary entry for 1875 records a conversation with Carlyle during which the old man, having praised Allingham's current issue of *Fraser*, suddenly states, "Froude is coming home."¹⁰⁷ Although Allingham does not comment on the news, his having restated it implies shock on his behalf. If he felt apprehensive it was with good reason. On 27 January, 1877, he received a letter from Longmans, in which they informed him that it was their "wish, as well as his own, that Mr Froude should be asked to resume the editorship of *Fraser's Magazine*."¹⁰⁸

Allingham avoids mention of it in his letters, but a drop in sales, together with Froude's renewed availability, may have been what finally decided the matter for Longmans. Husni tells us that "the average copies sold in 1873 was 2328 a month as opposed to 2164 in 1877."¹⁰⁹ It would seem unfair, however, if Allingham were to be held to account for *Fraser's* poorer sales. During Froude's term as editor there had also a decrease in sales from 1864 to 1870, and following that period sales had continued to increase into the first two years of

Allingham's editorship.¹¹⁰ Although Carlyle appears to have dissuaded Froude from returning, and the latter later claimed "there was 'a misunderstanding'; he would *not* take *Fraser*",¹¹¹ his behaviour hurt Allingham so deeply he resigned his position. When Longman asked him to reconsider, however, he tentatively did so, his responsibility as a married man and father probably uppermost in his mind. That Carlyle repeated back to Allingham "a number of unpleasant things" Froude had said of him, both to him "and perhaps to others", cannot have helped,¹¹² and a sardonic letter published under his name in the *Echo* only four days before the Longman's letter surely added to his distress. The content of the letter must have caused him to wonder if there was a behind the scenes campaign to destroy his good name and if Froude, who had already spoken ill of him behind his back, was somehow responsible for it. This accounts in part, perhaps, for Allingham's public overreaction and his visible distress therein.

The letter, signed William Allingham, was published in the *Echo*, a Liberal evening newspaper, on 23 January, 1877. Allingham did not learn of it until 31 January. The forger, although Allingham does not appear to have discovered his identity, was Denis Florence MacCarthy,¹¹³ who used the letter to mock Allingham's poetry and to imply that he had abandoned his Irish cultural heritage in order to write English-sounding poems. MacCarthy, also residing in London at the time, was a minor Irish poet who had contributed many patriotic poems to the *Nation*. A fluent Spanish speaker he had also translated several of Pedro Calderón de la Barca's plays into English. Penned by a Catholic nationalist, the

letter appears to have been written both out of bigotry and spite. It is also possible, however, that MacCarthy was disgruntled with Allingham for not including any of his poems in his 1860 selection, *Nightingale Valley*. MacCarthy sent copies of his missive to several of Allingham's friends, some of whom responded to Allingham, fully convinced the letter was his. The poet, already upset by the Froude episode, instantly went to the *Echo* offices. He received an apology from the editor who promised the publication of a disavowal – it did not, however, appear. Allingham hence posted a short note in *The Athenaeum* to alert his readers to the fact that the *Echo* letter was a forgery. It was sufficient to meet the case. Yet unwisely he followed it up with a longer letter, which *The Athenaeum* published on 10 February. In this letter the Donegal poet sounded the note of the indignant Victorian moralist, chastising the *Echo* and quoting excerpts from the forgery.

Headed "Scottish, English, and Irish Poets", Allingham informed the *Athenaeum's* readers, the forged letter bearing his name had begun with a complaint that, "á propos of the Burns statue [erected in Glasgow on 25 January, 1877] (...)distinguished Scotchmen are scored to the credit of Scotland, but (...) distinguished Irishmen are merged in the glory of England."¹¹⁴ The tone was serious: "a well-written protest against the designation of Irish writers and artists as 'English.'"¹¹⁵ But thenceforth the letter took a nasty turn. The supposed Allingham alluded to himself as "the tuneful twitterer of Ballyshannon" and as "the sole proprietor of *Nightingale Valley*".¹¹⁶ Allingham's friend, Ferguson, was

referred to as “the soaring seagull of Dublin Bay”.¹¹⁷ “No-one”, MacCarthy stressed, “would (...) take ‘Laurence Bloomfield’ for an Irishman or ‘The Forging of the Anchor’ for an Irish poem.”¹¹⁸ *Nightingale Valley* was furthermore described as “only intended for the recreation of serious persons”, the visitor looking “in vain for the frolic vivacity of ‘will-wag-tail,’ or cheery chirp of the irrepressible ‘Chaffer””.¹¹⁹ MacCarthy’s description of Allingham as “sole proprietor of *Nightingale Valley*” alludes no doubt to Allingham’s inclusion of several of his own poems in the 1860 selection, while the bird references poke fun at his earlier poem, “The Lover and Birds”.¹²⁰ A parody of Allingham’s friendship with Tennyson followed.

In drawing renewed attention to the affair through his *Athenaeum* letter, Allingham did himself no favours either as editor or poet. Already made a figure of fun by MacCarthy’s letter, he fixed a negative portrait of himself in the minds of those not familiar with his poetry by repeating the contents of MacCarthy’s missive – thus encouraging those who apparently took delight in his over-reaction to bait him further. Furthermore, the searing honesty of Allingham’s *Athenaeum* confession, that the affair had “induced some of my friends to speculate in sober seriousness as to my sanity”,¹²¹ left him teetering on the margins of the world of the self-assured and moralistic man of letters.

III

As alluded to earlier, poor reviews of *Songs, Ballads and Stories* followed when it was released in April of the following year. The book was published when Allingham was still trying to cope with a serious illness suffered by his wife. (The illness was brought on by the birth of their second child, Eva, on 21 February, 1877.)¹²² That he was no longer a promising up-and-coming poet, rising to potential prominence along with members of a daring new art movement, but a middle-aged editor eclipsed by poets such as Swinburne and the Aesthetic Movement was inferred by reviewers.¹²³ The reviews were unfair. *Songs, Ballads and Stories*, though in need of a good editor to cast out its poesy, contains many fine poems, old and new. Of the new poems the untitled "The boy from his bedroom window",¹²⁴ "Half-Waking",¹²⁵ "The Statuette",¹²⁶ "The Queen of the Forest"¹²⁷ and "Mervaunee"¹²⁸ are particularly noteworthy for their visual and dreamlike qualities and, in the case of the former two, their cutting-edge simplicity. Taking advantage of his fall from grace, perhaps, and the *Echo* affair still fresh in their minds, the *Spectator* launched their unwarranted attack on Allingham's person, editorship, and poetry in their pages the following year.

In his response to the aforementioned criticism of *Fraser's* by the *Spectator*, Allingham had taken on an increasingly moralistic and patronising tone in the February and March editions of "Ivy-Leaves". Having denied, as we have earlier outlined, weeklies the right to critique monthlies, and used the

Spectator as a hypothetical example of a critical weekly, he asserted that the editors of weeklies were ignorant “of the troubles and trials connected with the task of editing a magazine”.¹²⁹ The *Spectator* struck back anonymously. The vehemence of its response must have caught Allingham, who had dined only months before with Meredith Townsend,¹³⁰ joint proprietor and editor of the paper along with Richard Holt Hutton, totally unaware. He also must have pondered the true reason for the attack when the anonymous writer singled out an article by Froude as the lone bright star in the February issue of the magazine. Compelled, as with the *Echo* letter, to respond, he immediately reprinted “the latter part”¹³¹ of the *Spectator*’s rejoinder for his readership’s attention in “Ivy-Leaves”:

As to the criticism itself which has generated such excitement in Epping Forest, he is obliged in conscience to repeat it. The defect of *Fraser’s Magazine* among magazines is snippetiness, a habit of publishing so many articles that they are none of them exhaustive, and many of them comparatively poor. We have, for example, tried diligently in this number of *Fraser* [February 1878] to find articles for praise, and have found none, except what seems to us a very lucid and striking account of Celsus’s argument against Christianity [“Origen and Celsus” by J. A. Froude].¹³²

The *Fraser*’s issue singled out was certainly not one of Allingham’s best, but the accusation that, overall, many of the articles published in *Fraser*’s were “comparatively poor” was, as we shall see, unfair. Moreover, not content with belittling Allingham’s editorship, the critic went on to deride Allingham’s prose writing. The poet’s nihilistic reflection in the February issue of “Ivy-Leaves” that, “In a Palace of Dreams, or at worst, a Hut of Illusions, poor Man strives to shelter himself while he may amid the dreadful Desert of the Universe” was

described as “rubbish” and deemed “only worthy of Bulwer.”¹³³ Clearly out of his depth - on the one hand desirous to retaliate and on the other conscious of the eye of Longmans and the fragility of his position following the Froude episode - Allingham veered between attack and apology in his response. In defending his choice of articles for *Fraser's* he inferred that weekly critics were ignorant and lacking in good English, before immediately rowing back:

And now, having said thus much, I wish I had said nothing at all. The *Spectator* has often done, and is doing now, good public service in matters of more moment than the readability of a magazine, and I have no feeling to it, on the whole, but a kind one.¹³⁴

His praise of the *Spectator*, after its outright denigration of his editorship and writing, reads like a child's last-ditch attempt to call a halt to a bully's taunts by flattering him. In exposing his vulnerability, he once again played into the hands of those who hoped to demean him, both as editor, prose writer and poet. Goading Allingham on, no doubt for the benefit of those who had already taken a perverse pleasure in his response to the hoax in the *Echo*, the *Spectator* published a scathing review of *Songs, Ballads and Stories* on 4 May which Allingham, to their apparent delight, reprinted in part in the June issue of “Ivy-Leaves”.¹³⁵

Suspiciously echoing John Skelton's earlier review of *Fifty Modern Poems* in *Fraser's*,¹³⁶ the anonymous reviewer claimed that in perusing *Songs, Ballads and Stories*, “he could not, from cover to cover, find a piece, or a stanza, or even a line, deserving the name of poetry.”¹³⁷ That Allingham had originally imagined the anonymous critic of *Fifty Modern Poems* to be Froude can only have – rightly

or wrongly - further strengthened his concern that Froude had somehow and somewhere a hand in the weekly's increasingly personal onslaught. The anonymous writer went on to give his general verdict on the poems included in *Songs, Ballads and Stories*, concluding that,

[...] the best thing we can say for them [...] is that they are totally innocent in intention, and they may perhaps have a further usefulness in warning young would-be poets against the facile expression of commonplace thoughts.¹³⁸

If the attack on his poems was intended to strip Allingham of his confidence, it succeeded. Clearly disheartened, he seems to have been incapable of summoning up more than five pages, compared to the original eight or nine, for the July issue of his "Ivy-Leaves" series. But even then he was unable to let the matter lie, providing his readers with the *Spectator's* reply to his response to their review of *Songs, Ballads and Stories* - despite the magazine's insistence that the "pea-shooting with *Fraser's*" gave it "distinct pleasure."¹³⁹

The *Spectator* accused Allingham of making an inexcusable mistake - presumably due to Allingham's accusation that their review, coming as it did over a year after the publication of *Songs, Ballads and Stories*, was included to further slight him. The *Spectator* claimed it was written by "an outsider" who did "not know Mr. Allingham from Adam",¹⁴⁰ and that it had been held back for many weeks. Once again hitting below the belt, it referred to Allingham's "unfairness of mind", "incapacity of self-criticism", and "groundless" insistence in believing "his own verses to be poetry".¹⁴¹ Allingham responded, as before, with a

counterattack and an appeal for sympathy. He inferred the *Spectator* had a dubious history, compared its moral standards with those of the eighteenth century newspaper of the same name, and advised “its present conductors to keep it from degradation”.¹⁴² This time around, however, the ensuing call for compassion went directly to Townsend:

I have reason to believe, however, that one of the two last mentioned gentlemen [Messrs. Hutton and Townsend] has had no hand in the present affair; he is a thoughtful man, and if he will quietly consider it for himself it may give him food for reflection.¹⁴³

As joint editor of the paper, nonetheless, Townsend can only have been aware of the affair from start to finish. That he had allowed it to continue for so many months proves that, in certain journalistic quarters at least – and worryingly in one of the most respected – *Fraser's* Irish editor and poet was viewed as an easy target for ridicule.

IV

Oblivious to what lay ahead of him in 1874, however, and living with Helen in their new home in Chelsea, Allingham sought immediately to leave his imprint upon *Fraser's* and to distinguish his editorship from Froude's. Although there was some continuity, in that contributors such as the divine, Andrew Kennedy Hutchinson Boyd, and the Radicals Francis W. Newman and Arthur Arnold continued to submit, by the second month of his editorship Allingham's anti-imperialist stance, and his concern for the rights of the colonised people of the British Empire, began to make itself known. Mindful of his middle-class

readership and no doubt anxious to maintain *Fraser's* increase in sales, it was nonetheless imperative that *Fraser's* new editor tread carefully. Although *Fraser's* had become a Liberal publication under the William John Parkers (father and son), who took over the publication and editorship in 1847, a tradition which Froude had kept up (though not always politically),¹⁴⁴ Allingham could not afford to be reckless. Collini has noted how Victorian editors constantly adjusted "the contents of their publications to try to accommodate or appeal to the relevant market."¹⁴⁵ Hot-headed by nature,¹⁴⁶ Allingham, as we shall see, did not find this easy – particularly with regard to his own inclusions for the magazine. The first of many articles by disparate contributors concerned with either the injustice of British imperialism or the inequality of the colonised, Allingham published Francis William Newman's "The Dangerous Glories of India"¹⁴⁷ in October 1874. Anticipating his own later pronouncements on India in "Ivy-Leaves" in August 1878,¹⁴⁸ Newman called the British to task for their occupation of India:

If England were brought to the bar of judgement by foreigners who considered only that our wisdom (such as it is) is unequal to the task of governing Ireland well, yet that we have added to our responsibility the oversight of two hundred millions of Indians, separated from us by a vast breadth of continent, and a still greater oceanic distance; we might be pronounced guilty of very culpable wild ambition and monstrous imprudence.¹⁴⁹

Further anticipating Allingham, Newman also recommended that India be trained "into governing herself, until English advice is superfluous".¹⁵⁰ In both his and Allingham's opinion, a continued English presence in India could not "be morally justified."¹⁵¹

Deceptively the article came after two unsigned pro-Empire articles in the issue that announced Froude's resignation, "The Indian Famine",¹⁵² and "Colonial Distinctions".¹⁵³ The first laid partial blame for the famine at the feet of the Indian people, who were described as ignorant and proud, their belief in fate leaving them "prepared to suffer like martyrs",¹⁵⁴ while "Colonial Distinctions" favoured both the expansion of the British Empire and hereditary titles for colonial elites in the colonies. Allingham, it can thus be argued, had set up *Fraser's* readers, by leading them to assume their new editor shared Froude's belief in Empire and Imperial Federation,¹⁵⁵ only to shock them out of their complacency in the subsequent issue. Although, like Froude, he tried "not to limit himself"¹⁵⁶ by presenting only one side of any argument and continued to accept some pro-imperialist articles during his five years as editor, those that either refute imperialism, or present the inhabitants of the colonies as deserving of greater respect and equality, are noticeably greater in number.¹⁵⁷

Keen to inform his readers of the effects of colonialism on native peoples and to restore the dignity of the colonised by allowing them to answer back, Allingham co-opted Edward W. Bryden to write a series of articles for the magazine from 1875.¹⁵⁸ Bryden, *Fraser's* informed the reader, "was a negro of the purest African blood" and "Principal of the Presbyterian High School, Liberia, West Africa."¹⁵⁹ His first article, on "Mohammedanism and the Negro Race"¹⁶⁰ must surely have caught readers unaware. Prepared to learn of the negative effects of Islam upon the African people, they were treated instead to an

exposition of the poor treatment of African converts by European Christian missionaries. Bryden's writing was ahead of its time. It boldly stated what Victorian Christians often feared to admit:

With every wish, no doubt, to the contrary, the European seldom or never gets over the feeling of distance, if not of repulsion, which he experiences on first seeing the Negro. While he joyfully admits the Negro to be his brother, having the same nature in all its essential attributes, still, owing to the diversity in type and colour, he naturally concludes that the inferiority which to him appears on the surface must extend deeper than the skin, and affect the soul.¹⁶¹

In confronting readers with a portrait of a proud and sensitive people, exploited by Christian religious and made to feel inferior, Bryden re-humanised the too often dehumanised African, just as Allingham had re-humanised the often dehumanised Irish peasant in *Laurence Bloomfield*:

The African convert [...] looking upon his instructor as superior to himself or at least *apart* from himself, not only in spiritual and temporal knowledge, but in every other respect – acquires a very low opinion of himself, learns to depreciate and deprecate his own personal characteristics, and loses that 'sense of the dignity of human nature' which observant travellers have noticed in the Mohammedan Negro.¹⁶²

Presumably to the chagrin of some readers, Bryden praised the Arab missionaries for, "speaking to the people in a sympathetic and perfectly intelligible language",¹⁶³ and allowed that "Africans should not be grudged, "The glimpses of truth which they catch from the Koran".¹⁶⁴

In a similar vein, the dignity of the Arab people was stressed in an article by Roger D. Upton, an army officer and purchaser of Arabian horses, in the April 1877 issue, entitled "On the Bedaween of the Arabian Desert: Notes on a

Recent Visit".¹⁶⁵ Upton was keen to emphasise the Arab influence on Europe and appeared, like Bryden, to be acting as spokesman for a belittled people:

The Arabs are not savages, they are not barbarians, they are totally unlike the Indians of North America, they are not a degraded people, like the early inhabitants of Greece, living in holes in the earth and eating roots and garbage. They are not miserable outcasts, nor at all like the neglected street-boys of London [...] The Arabs have given their language to millions, and diffused light, knowledge, and science to the benighted peoples of Europe.¹⁶⁶

Nor did Upton hesitate to praise the tribes of the Bedouin for their laws and customs – or hold back from inferring that they did not require “civilising” by white Europeans:

They are a great people, highly intelligent and of quick perception, and it is hard to see how they could be benefited or rendered more happy by civilisation, as it is usually called.¹⁶⁷

No doubt comparing the stigmatisation of the Irish peasantry by the English to that of the Bedouin, Allingham must have empathised with Upton's argument that they should not be “counted as outcasts, as the term is misapplied in England, or stigmatised as homeless vagabonds”.¹⁶⁸ Essaying to increase his readers' knowledge of other peoples through “understanding, compassion, careful study and analysis for their own sakes”,¹⁶⁹ and to engage them in a sense of community with all races, Allingham evidently selected Upton's piece – together with Bryden's, and those articles on Burma by P. Hordern in 1877 and 1878¹⁷⁰ – to stress the dignity of tribes and races denied the opportunity to answer back for themselves.

Allingham's decision to publish articles on Burma was almost unique in itself. As Deborah Deacon Boyer has commented, prior to 1885 when the War for the Acquisition of the States of Upper Burma took place, "not much was written about Burma in the British press except that which was written by military men with personal experience in the area",¹⁷¹ Burma being considered "an uneventful backwater, worthy of little attention in Britain."¹⁷² Already having broken the mould, with the publication in August 1875 of "The Kingdom of Burmah in 1875", by a Captain Edmond Browne,¹⁷³ Allingham set out to further educate his readers on the people of Burma in 1877 and 1878, a time when northern Burma was not yet under British rule.¹⁷⁴ Although threaded with a strand of white European superiority, Hordern's essays on Burma are informative and present a vivid picture of the Burmese who are ultimately deemed worthy of special status when Hordern expresses doubt as to the continuing benefits of an imperial presence. A *Blackwood* correspondent and director of public instruction in British Burma, Allingham was probably unsurprised – and, at the same time, no doubt wryly amused – by Hordern's derogatory comparison of the Burmese to the Irish in the first article of his series, "Among the Burmese":¹⁷⁵

This mixture of humour and gaiety, carelessness and extravagance, has won for him not unjustly the title of the Irishman of the East. Like the Irishman, loving nothing better than a 'row,' he is as 'easily duped and as easily led'.¹⁷⁶

His later meticulous descriptions of the southern Burmese, however – down to their dress, tattoos, and smoking habits – clearly saved the day for *Fraser's* anti-

imperialist editor. So detailed are they that they manage to negate Hordern's prior indictment, allowing the reader to come so close to the Burmese, so privy to their customs and habits, that she or he feels the necessity of protecting their culture from outside forces and further invasion. That Hordern emphasises the equalities inherent in Burmese culture adds weight to the uniqueness of their culture and additionally serves to confirm, furthermore, Britain's class-divided society:

Boys of every rank are taught the same lessons in the same school; rich and poor flock to the same religious festivals; the same dramatic representations, the same popular games and sports.¹⁷⁷

Having explored and described their customs, culture and society, Hordern is ready to deem Burma, "one of the most interesting and one of the happiest nations in the world".¹⁷⁸ While initially perhaps imparting knowledge of the careless and extravagant Burmese to indicate their continued need for control by a rational English presence, his awareness that it is "one of the most interesting and one of the happiest nations in the world" apparently leaves him guilt-ridden. Colluding, unbeknownst to himself, with Allingham's anti-imperialist sentiments, the director of public instruction in British Burmah feels morally obliged to ask if, "the presence of the Englishman, with his just laws and his material comforts, is in reality any boon to a simple Eastern people".¹⁷⁹ In doing so, he questions the very concept of the British Empire itself. British imperialism, with its imposition of British culture on its colonies will, he intimates, ultimately lead to the destruction of less advanced societies:

[...] it must be confessed that the sight of the simple village life of the country is calculated to raise in the mind of the most ardent lover of progress grave doubts whether, when we have secured to the people the peaceful enjoyment of such a life, we can add anything to it by the further revolution which must follow in the train of the education and laws, the arts and sciences of the West.¹⁸⁰

His doubts must surely have satisfied the author of *Laurence Bloomfield* who, not satisfied with drawing attention to the immorality of the British Empire, further queried those very “just laws” and “material comforts” that Hordern took for granted at home by publishing a sizeable number of articles by women, several concerned with women’s rights and social issues.

V

The finest of these articles is, ironically, the shortest. “Latest Intelligence from the Planet Venus”, by Bertha Thomas,¹⁸¹ highlights the injustice of British laws regarding women’s rights, by wryly comparing life on Venus to life in 1870s Britain. The freshness of Thomas’s writing and her style puts it years ahead of its time. On making contact with Venus, the British are disappointed to discover that its inhabitants are in the same stage of advancement and that their political and social institutions are uncannily similar. There is one marked difference, however, which they are loath to reveal for fear of mayhem within the family unit: “all political business, electoral and parliamentary” on Venus “is allotted to women.”¹⁸² Moreover, “Women only have the right to vote and sit in the House of Commons, and the Upper House is formed of the eldest daughters of deceased peers.”¹⁸³ Thomas goes on to parody how the idea of the

enfranchisement of women in Britain is treated by most men, relating how certain males on the planet Venus, supported by younger females, have recently begun a campaign for male suffrage which is not being taken seriously. An opposition speaker in the planet's House of Commons explains why this is so when speaking out against a motion for male suffrage. Men, she claims, although superior in physical strength and suited to employment in the army or as engineers and scientists, lack the quickness and clearness of the female intellect. They are also less suited to "sedentary life" or to "study and thought" than women.¹⁸⁴ The busy professional man has, moreover, little time "for household superintendence" and consequently cannot be trusted to give time to "matters requiring such careful study as the government of a nation".¹⁸⁵

Overwhelmed with business, husbands are in desperate need of relaxation, while their wives, "have lives comparatively unoccupied and of physical and intellectual leisure enough and to spare" for politics.¹⁸⁶ After expanding her argument to include the threat of force against women from male politicians should both sexes be included in parliament, the motion for male suffrage on Venus is shelved, "amid loud cheers."¹⁸⁷ In publishing Thomas's article – and also a later article from Thomas advocating the need for technical training schools for girls¹⁸⁸ - Allingham emphasises the unjust treatment of women within an imperial centre where, as in the colonies, those without power are denied equal rights to the governing white male.

Thomas's arguments are supported by articles both from other women writers, such as the unsigned "Training-Schools for Nurses"¹⁸⁹ and "The Industrial Employment of Women" by Edith Simcox,¹⁹⁰ and the work of male writers anxious to highlight the need for improvement in work and social conditions for women.¹⁹¹ Most notable among these, perhaps, is an article on "The New Factory Act", by Whately Cooke-Taylor¹⁹² (son of Irish journalist and historian, William Cooke-Taylor), which argues that the new factory act "withdraws from many [women] the protection that they previously enjoyed."¹⁹³ Cooke-Taylor provides an interesting portrait of women's work at the time, and the abuses therein, in the course of his argument. He examines the hardships faced by women engaged in flax scotch mills in Ireland and working in private houses in England at, "straw-plait making, pillow-lace making, and glove making", where "no factory or workshop Act is hereafter to apply at all".¹⁹⁴ It seems likely that Allingham was particularly drawn to Cooke-Taylor's article due to his closing avowal that he is a "firm" friend "of everything that is calculated to exalt and enfranchise women".¹⁹⁵

Through the female voice Allingham additionally explores alternative options to the profit-driven capitalist system he despises, including an article on "Three Experiments in Co-Operative Agriculture",¹⁹⁶ by Matilda Betham-Edwards, and a three-part series on "The International Working Men's Association", also by Edwards.¹⁹⁷ While other female contributors choose to write on other matters –with "An English Lady" contributing "Two years in

Natal",¹⁹⁸ and Janet Ross providing "Popular Songs of Tuscany"¹⁹⁹ – the presence of their articles nonetheless implies the female right to be heard and treated equally. Particularly interesting is Allingham's inclusion of several essays from Vernon Lee (the penname of Violet Paget), best remembered for her short fiction on the supernatural and her involvement in the Aesthetic Movement. These essays include "Tuscan Peasant Plays",²⁰⁰ "The Academy of Arcadi" (A Study of Italian Literary Life in the Eighteenth Century),²⁰¹ and "Metastasio and the Opera of the Eighteenth Century".²⁰²

The rights of other dispossessed groups – be they rights to union representation or land – appear alongside such articles, as Allingham exposes the inequity and poverty suffered by those denied the right to a decent wage, home or land in a country that seeks to expand and maintain its Empire abroad. Richard Jefferies, for example, examines the hardships inherent in the everyday life of the English peasantry,²⁰³ while George Howell writes in favour of trade-unions.²⁰⁴ The former radical Liberal politician, Arthur Arnold,²⁰⁵ also joins the chorus and argues persuasively for the rights of farm labourers in the south of England. In "The Agricultural Strikes",²⁰⁶ Arnold emphasises the poor wages and "scanty diets"²⁰⁷ of the labourers. The origin of their poverty lies, in his opinion (and, no doubt, in Allingham's), with the capitalists who have bought up "all the lesser farms",²⁰⁸ and with the Enclosure Act of 1845. The labourer, he insists, should be given "the chance of acquiring the possession, either as tenant on

lease, or owner, of a few acres of his own".²⁰⁹ To Allingham's credit he thereafter quotes from Chapter Three of *Laurence Bloomfield*:

For ownership, however small it be,
Breeds diligence, content, and loyalty,
And tirelessly compels the rudest field,
Inch after inch, its very most to yield!
Wealth might its true prerogatives retain;
And no man lose, and all men greatly gain!²¹⁰

That he does so proves the lasting appeal of Allingham's poem in England and reminds the Victorian reader that Allingham is far more than the "tuneful twitterer of Ballyshannon". But Arnold's quotation additionally provides evidence that the ideals expressed in *Laurence Bloomfield* translated outside Ireland. Understood and shared by non-Irish people the poem itself had become a reference point for supporters of peasant proprietorship a very long way from Donegal. The fact that Arnold includes an excerpt from a poem that also condemns British imperialism which, as we shall see, Allingham directly associated with financial hardship under the Union, was surely not lost on the poet who was soon to set his anti-imperialism directly under the spotlight as editor of *Fraser's*.

VI

It was the Bulgarian agitation of May 1876, and the subsequent Russo-Turkish War culminating in the British occupation of Cyprus, that allowed Allingham to bring his anti-imperialism to the fore. But in his opposition to the Turkish massacre by Muslim irregulars, of some "fifteen thousand [largely unarmed] Bulgarian men, women and children",²¹¹ following the attempted

insurrection of Bulgarian nationalists in May 1876, he was, of course, not alone. Disraeli's pro-Turkish Eastern policy, in the face of the slaughter of innocent civilians, outraged religious and non-religious groups alike. Despite "the fragmentation of the intellectual reaction"²¹² – Carlyle and William Morris, for example, supported the agitation, while Matthew Arnold and Swinburne were against it – many of *Fraser's* readers would have shared Allingham's views. As Richard T. Shannon has noted, in *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation, 1876*,

[...] condemnation of the atrocities inflicted by the Turks on their Bulgarian subjects [...] was one of the great semi-religious, semi-political agitations which aimed in nineteenth-century Britain at bringing the force of organised moral indignation to bear on the conduct of public affairs.²¹³

It was Allingham's continued criticism of British support for the Ottomans in the aftermath of the Turkish massacre of the Bulgarians – together with his support of Russia – that made his stance not only brave but somewhat unique. Following an attack on Turkey by Russia in 1877, war between Britain and Russia seemed likely. Due to the weight of public opinion, Disraeli had been forced to remain neutral in the war and Russia's potential gains were perceived as a major threat to the stability of the British Empire. As the Russians advanced towards Constantinople a spirit of patriotism swept London and the provinces. Russia was seen to pose a threat to the Indian Empire, and in January 1878, "anti-Russian demonstrations were held in the provinces [...] and in London gangs of roughs broke up or threatened anti-war meetings."²¹⁴ Jingoism was at its height, breaking into a fervour when a British fleet was sent to the Dardanelles. By the end of January anti-war meetings had become a near

impossibility, so great had the threat of rioting and jingoist attack become. In this year, however, from January to September, Allingham published two strongly worded articles, by anonymous contributors, critiquing the policy of Disraeli's government with regard to Turkey, along with two equally strongly-worded critiques of his own in his "Ivy-Leaves" column in *Fraser's*.

A comparison of Allingham's stance as editor to that of Leslie Stephen of the *Cornhill Magazine*, George Grove of *Macmillan's Magazine*, James Knowles of *The Nineteenth Century* and John Morley of *The Fortnightly Review*, for example, leaves little doubt as to his rebellious and radical spirit concerning British support of Turkey. The *Cornhill* carries only one article that could be considered anti-Turk in this year,²¹⁵ while *Macmillan's* tends to side with the Ottomans, carrying two pro-Turkish articles²¹⁶ and one article concerning itself with the need for reform within the Ottoman Empire.²¹⁷ *The Nineteenth Century* takes a firm Liberal stance, publishing several articles by Gladstone who, while condemning British support of Turkey,²¹⁸ also expresses concern over the advances of a Russian power "opposed to English sympathies".²¹⁹ Moreover, Gladstone exhibits contempt for those, like Allingham, "who say they are for the Russians",²²⁰ and continues to stress the need for defence of the Indian Empire with the Russian advance.²²¹ Only Allingham's fellow anti-imperialist, the radical John Morley of *The Fortnightly Review*, which likewise published articles favouring the emancipation of women (John Gross has commented that Morley "contrived to give his readers the sense that they were riding a great central

wave of Progress, intellectual, scientific and political all in one”),²²² speaks out against British support of Turkey and vents his wrath at the Conservative government. But there is a difference between Morley’s anxiety over Conservative support of Turkey and Allingham’s. Morley as an Englishman, while sharing Allingham’s anger over the Conservative, “contempt for freedom [...] resentment against principles [...] rancour against justice”,²²³ is chiefly concerned, not with the plight of those under the Supreme Porte’s rule but with England’s reputation abroad. The current British government, in Morley’s eyes, have brought “ridicule and humiliation” upon “the name of England”.²²⁴ While Morley expresses shame, Allingham, as an Irishman and outsider whose concern is for the protection of Christians under Turkish rule, does not. *Fraser’s* editor will continue to blame, not only Lord Beaconsfield’s government, but also the British public in general.

That Allingham likewise found an ally in Carlyle must have initially surprised him. The now elderly writer had, after all, supported Governor Eyre when “he faced legal action in England in 1865 over his responsibility for savage reprisals against rioters and their alleged supporters in Jamaica”.²²⁵ But it cannot be assumed that Allingham – unlike Froude who, “left by Carlyle to his own devices [...] would not have supported the agitation”²²⁶ – simply fell under his friend’s sway. He was no doubt pleased with Carlyle’s condemnation of British support for the “unspeakable Turk”²²⁷ and with his championing of Russia,²²⁸ but he had already formed his own views by this time: we have, after all, already

witnessed the poet's antipathy to British imperialism in both *Laurence Bloomfield* and in his *Rambles* essay for *Fraser's*, "In London".²²⁹ Furthermore, through contact with his brother, John Allingham, he was most likely aware that, in certain quarters in Ireland, Turkish atrocities were being compared to English atrocities once committed on Irish soil.²³⁰ Despite his reservations about Home Rule, it was a comparison that Allingham, when we consider his preface to the 1869 edition of *Laurence Bloomfield*²³¹ – together with those passages within the poem that berate England for her treatment of Ireland – must have found apt. Bearing these passages in mind, it is likely, that at this stage, he regarded Russia, in its support and later protection of the subject Slavic peoples, as a defender of their right to form a pan-Slavic union, rather than an opposing imperial power seeking to expand its territories. Naïve as he may have initially been about Russia's aims – Allingham later saw little difference between British and Russian imperialism²³² - he was quite capable of forming his own opinions. Shannon's assertion that he was "shepherded" into the agitation by Morris, along with "practically the entire pre-Raphaelite movement",²³³ is, accordingly, nothing short of ridiculous (Allingham had, in fact, been the one to initiate contact with Morris on the matter).²³⁴

Moreover, before the Turkish massacre had taken place, Allingham, in the January 1876 issue of *Fraser's*, had already presented an article, by an anonymous contributor, criticising British support of, and loans to, Turkey and Egypt.²³⁵ This article was further supported, in August 1876, by Arthur Arnold's

“Russia in Europe”,²³⁶ an article equally contumacious of the Disraeli government’s support for Turkey. (Anticipating Morley’s later article, it likewise expressed shame on behalf of the English people who, “have a natural aversion to be regarded as the particular and bosom friend of Turkey”).²³⁷ In January 1878, however, Allingham nailed his colours to the mast as editor. In the first article of his “Ivy-Leaves” series for *Fraser’s*, he made his stance on the hypocrisy of English patriotism, and England’s hopes for the defeat of Russia in the Russo-Turkish War,²³⁸ clear. Echoing an abhorrence of the jingoistic tendencies of patriotism already expressed in “In London”,²³⁹ Allingham lambasted the hypocrisy of British support for the Ottomans:

True Patriotism consists in preferring the interests of your country to your private interests; and this is noble and beneficent. But when ‘Patriotism’ is held to justify unfairness to other countries of men because they are ‘foreign’ – then ‘Patriotism’ is an iniquitous thing; essentially selfish; not true Patriotism at all; but a counterfeit [...]

The demeanour of many Englishmen at present to Russia seems to me a conspicuous example of false Patriotism: it is thoroughly and avowedly selfish. After long warnings and many attempts at accommodation, Russia attacks Turkey, with so good a *casus belli* that it would be difficult to find a better in all history. A certain proportion of the statesmen, newspaper writers, and general public of England declare the attempts at accommodation insincere, and the alleged *casus belli* a pretext for conquest. Setting up their hypothesis as a matter of fact, they go on to argue that Russia may [...] think of attacking India or obstructing England’s access to India, and that therefore Patriotism requires Englishmen to wish Russia to be weakened, to be beaten in any war she attempts, especially against the Turks; because let the Turks be what they may, they have been supposed to constitute one of the breakwaters and defences of ‘British Interests.’²⁴⁰

Allingham’s definition of patriotism in the first passage is of note in that it could equally be applied to England’s attitude to Ireland, as expressed in his preface to

the 1869 edition of *Laurence Bloomfield*. The excerpt from *Bloomfield*, and his later call therein for England to bring “deliverance”²⁴¹ to Ireland, is worth citing here:

Ireland has been in your hands these many long centuries, and you have woefully mismanaged her. Past history, present facts, the consensus of educated opinion throughout the civilized world, put this beyond question. And to systematic maltreatment you have added, in dealing with the most sensitive of races, a coarse and invariable contempt. Justice [...] demands a new attitude on your part.²⁴²

The modern world is disturbed and discontented to the core; full of vague but profound uneasiness, as though half aroused from trance; full of dim and deep longing for a word of deliverance, for the example of a step into freer and truer life. Will England [...] now speak the word – step to the front?²⁴³

In January 1878 the call “for a word of deliverance” went out, not to Conservative England - whose chief concern, in Allingham’s view, was with maintaining and extending the British Empire - but to a morally conscious Russia. England, in Allingham’s opinion, could no longer be trusted to act in fairness, and her stance with regard to both Turkey and India was a subject to which he would inevitably return. In the meantime, however, he kept Disraeli’s misplaced support of Turkey in his readers’ minds; the following month a further critique of Britain’s protection of her interests appeared in the magazine.

Published anonymously and titled “The Policy of Lord Beaconsfield’s Government”,²⁴⁴ the article does not bear the mark of Allingham’s pen. He would, nonetheless, have agreed with its sentiments. Once again the selfishness and greed underlying “British interests” are emphasised - by placing the two

words in quotation marks - and Britain is held to account for the misery inflicted on Ottoman subjects. Considering Britain's potential war with Turkey, the article goes one step further than Allingham in "Ivy-Leaves", however. Deploring the jingoistic climate of the time, the article's anonymous writer asserts that, "the argument of 'British interests' on which we are asked to fight is thoroughly sordid, base, and contemptible"²⁴⁵ and calls on Disraeli – who had, as we have earlier noted, already faced the vitriol of Allingham's pen in "The Proposed Byron Monument" – to resign:

We must say plainly, for we thoroughly believe, that the Prime Minister is the man chiefly to blame for the perilous and undignified position in which we find ourselves [...] England does not trust Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield; his own party does not trust him; his own colleagues do not trust him. He has the opportunity, rare for a man in his position, of giving relief and satisfaction to all parties, both in Parliament and the country, by resigning.²⁴⁶

VII

In August of the same year²⁴⁷ Allingham, supporting the Liberal argument that the financial burden of the colonies penalised those at home, turned his attention in his "Ivy-Leaves" column, not to those subject to Ottoman rule but to England's blatant disregard for her own citizens and to the futility of her Indian Empire. At odds with pro-Empire friends, such as Tennyson and Carlyle, Allingham showed no fear of offending them or his readership, so keen was he to address the injustices and inequalities inherent in British imperialism. In a time of "great commercial depressions", he stressed, England had spent "millions in hasty war preparations",²⁴⁸ and had now assumed,

[...] the government of the bankrupt island of Cyprus and the protectorate of those heterogenous regions known as Turkey in Asia. Why? On account of British dominion in India, supposed, but not at all proved, to be threatened, directly or indirectly, by Russia.²⁴⁹

Expanding on his condemnation of Britain in the January issue of "Ivy-Leaves", he directly challenged all supporters of the British Empire, mocking the very notion of "Empire" by citing it in quotation marks:

[...] in future wars England will, if necessary, rely largely on the military capacity of her large 'Empire' in the East [...] It has a public debt of about 125 millions sterling and a large yearly excess of expenditure over income. The notions of making India Christian and making India loyal [...] are equally illusory [...] We teach the Hindoo and Moslem English but we can never make them Englishmen [...] It is not in the nature of things that the English in India should ever be other than a band of foreigners ruling by force and policy.²⁵⁰

Although his critique of the English in India could equally apply to Ireland, a fact that surely cannot have escaped his notice, Allingham, echoing the anti-imperialist historian Goldwin Smith,²⁵¹ appeased his perhaps now disgruntled readers by stressing that India was not quite ready for independence. Like Ireland,²⁵² India needed time to prepare for self-rule, and English withdrawal must therefore be gradual:

We have led India away from her old paths and must not abandon her in a wilderness. Our duty is to teach her to govern herself, to prepare her for self-government, to so plan that in the slow processes of history a time may come [...] when England and India may quietly fall asunder, and each roll away in an orbit of its own and there revolve without collision.²⁵³

The suggestion that England should prepare to abandon her Empire is, nonetheless, unlikely to have pleased its most ardent supporters. But no-one was immune from criticism regarding England's imperial objectives in the eyes of

Fraser's anti-imperialist editor. Accordingly, it was to the Liberals that Allingham turned his attention, with the publication of "Peace with Honour",²⁵⁴ in the September issue of the magazine.

Following the Anglo-Turkish convention in 1878, the Ottoman Empire ceded the possession and administration of Cyprus to Britain in return for British support against Russian advances. Allingham's anti-imperial ardour was apparently enflamed, with the anonymous writer of "Peace with Honour" acting as his mouthpiece. Its author deemed British occupation of the island as a proclamation of England's "right of pre-emption in regard to Asia Minor."²⁵⁵ Like Allingham before him, he alluded to the hypocrisy and jingoism of the British government and its people:

The leaders of the people have lost their heads, great organs in the press have departed from their old traditions, and become maudlin with delight on the revived magnificence of 'Imperial' England [...] Parliament itself has become an adjunct of the new Imperialism; and tamely follows its master [...] For the sake of appearing great, of seeming to overawe the world, the English people will endure much. This is an age when it is better to go hungry, to plunge up to the eyes in debt, rather than forego display; and as in private life, so with the nation. Much will be endured rather than surrender Cyprus or cease to pose as saviours of the Turks and a great Imperial Power.²⁵⁶

We do not know what Allingham's feelings were with regard to the Liberal Party's silence on Britain's occupation of Cyprus, but it would seem highly probable that he supported his contributor's view that,

We have but to look at the condition of the Liberal party to see that all chance of a speedy revival of sound political wisdom is hopeless. There is in fact no Liberal Party, hardly so much as a rump. Many Liberals are as deeply smitten with the Imperial dream of Lord Beaconsfield as the most

benighted Tory in the land. The vanity of the country has been inflated till it is ready to commit any folly with alacrity.²⁵⁷

Although, in later years, Allingham would write to Gladstone asking him to propose his name at the National Liberal Club²⁵⁸ and toy with the idea of setting up a Liberal newspaper,²⁵⁹ he must have felt betrayed by the great statesman's lack of outright condemnation of the government's expansionist policy and the renewed English jingoism of 1878. That this jingoistic spirit and Britain's continuing insecurity over her hold on India threatened to bring about a second Anglo-Afghan war later that year, only served to enrage him further still. When war did break out, following a Russian diplomatic mission to Afghanistan and that country's subsequent refusal of such a mission from England, Allingham's anti-Empire stance was hardened, resulting in the publication, in the January 1879 issue of *Fraser's*, of one of his finest sonnets, "In Snow".

The poem is worth quoting in full:

O English Mother in the ruddy glow
Hugging your baby closer when outside
You see the silent, soft, and cruel snow
Falling again, and think what ills betide
Unshelter'd creatures, – your sad thoughts may go
Where War and Winter now two spectral wolves,
Hunt in the freezing vapour that involves
Those Asian peaks of ice and gulfs below.
Does this young Soldier heed the snow that fills
His mouth and open eyes? or mind, in truth,
Tonight, *his* mother's parting syllables?
His coat is red – but what of that? Keep ruth
For others; this is but an Afghan youth
Shot by the stranger on his native hills.²⁶⁰

“In Snow”, with its Afghan youth bloodied enough to be confused for a “redcoat”, is not only an anti-war poem: the blatant disregard for the rights, dignity and culture of other races demonstrated by Britain’s Conservative government is also laid bare here. But the poem goes further still: it can also be said to act as a critique of the hypocrisy of British Liberal anti-imperialism which, in its obsession with England’s reputation abroad, generally failed to take into account the suffering of other races. That “In Snow” was influenced not only by the second Anglo-Afghan war but also by the ideas developed in Allingham’s prose is clear. The deaths of young Afghan soldiers, defending their homeland against invasion, are of no consequence to the English public. Allingham, like Charles Stewart Parnell, is able to empathise with the invaded, “as an Irishman, coming from a country which had experienced the result of English interference in its affairs, and the consequences of English cruelty and tyranny”.²⁶¹ Although he shares Liberal values, his anti-imperialism has an emotional resonance due to his familiarity with Irish history and the hardships faced by the Irish peasantry. His view is the view of the Afghan youth staring down the nozzle of the invader’s gun – not the view of the disgruntled Liberal upset by the expenditure of war and the blackening of England’s name. Shying away, perhaps, from comparisons with Irish nationalism and the Home Rule party, Allingham published the poem anonymously in *Fraser’s*, only revealing it as his own in its subsequent republication in *Blackberries* (1884). Three months later, however, and nearing the date of his resignation from *Fraser’s*,²⁶² he showed no such qualms in signing his name to a poem overtly critical of the inhumanity of Englishmen in

general. Titled “Words and Deeds”,²⁶³ the poem begins with a critique of the Zulu War and opens up to become a full-blown condemnation of the English race in general:

The soldier’s boast – to meet, unmoved, Death’s eye.
Allow that Zulu men know how to die,
Fighting against the spoiler in their land;
The savage virtue which they highest hold
They practise well; no lions half so bold.
But other virtues, too, we understand,
Being Englishmen and Christians; counting good
Justice, Unselfishness, and Brotherhood, -
Nay, best. We know the way to talk of things.
O God! are we the cruellest of hordes,
With deadliest weapons and with falsest words
Of any race the quiet moon rings?²⁶⁴

Allingham’s use of the intimate and ironic “we” makes it a particularly powerful poem – the imperial “we” slipping constantly into the accusatory “you” when one considers his Irishness. Anticipating the sentiments of this poem, together with those of in “In Snow”, and “Patriotism”²⁶⁵ – a less powerful poem expressing

penultimate “Ivy-Leaves” article to a series of pro-war articles, published in the *Times* in 1878, in no uncertain terms.²⁶⁶

The *Times* articles, supporting war with Afghanistan, had been published in response to letters in the newspaper from the Liberal “Lord Lawrence, Earl Grey and Sir Charles Trevelyan”.²⁶⁷ The letters from Lawrence, Grey and Trevelyan “forcibly” pointed out “the injustice and impolicy” of England’s “conduct towards Afghanistan,”²⁶⁸ and coming in their wake the pro-war articles seemed a travesty to Allingham. Wearing now, it seems, with trying to raise consciousness

among the British public of the dangers of patriotism, Allingham set out to attack anti-imperialists. British "Patriotism" this time around was characterised as not only selfish but "used to disguise the worst forms of selfishness – even oppression, rapine, slaughter".²⁶⁹ Furthermore, Allingham directly criticised British public opinion and the coercion of the Afghans by Britain:

The Times lately published [...] letters from Lord Lawrence, Earl Grey and Sir Charles Trevelyan, forcibly pointing out the injustice and impolicy of our conduct towards Afghanistan; and as a counterpoise to these the Times gravely put forward a puppet 'Politicus,' backed by leading articles which would perfectly represent English public opinion if John Bull were the selfish brutal bully that some of his bitterest enemies have pictured him. He is not this, but he can look like it at times, and seldom has his demeanour been less worthy of admiration, seldom have his worst qualities shown themselves in the ascendant more unmistakably than within the last few weeks. 'Politicus' was followed by more substantial correspondents, saying in effect, and almost in so many words, 'We mean to hold India, and to do anything we consider expedient for that purpose.' [...] That we may hold India it is now necessary, say these writers – Lord Lawrence's opinion being the exact contrary – to coerce the Afghans into an alliance with us, and to prevent their making friends with Russia. No one argues that we have the least right, legal or equitable, to act in this way. What is argued is that the civilised power of Russia is spreading in barbarous Central Asia, and cannot help becoming after some time a rival influence to ours.²⁷⁰

Allingham was not prepared to stop here, however. Even more condemnatory was his echoing of those lines from Chapter Seven of *Laurence Bloomfield* that emphasise the invader's eternal indifference to human suffering in his desire to conquer whatever land he chooses, at any time, and at any cost:

"But always, everywhere, it has been so;
"Red-Indians, Bushmen, Irish – they must go!"²⁷¹

For Allingham, it was England who was chief among those deserving of the title of bloodthirsty and power-crazed warmonger now - and he was not afraid to

spell it out to *Fraser's* readers: "We have made some preparations for war; we have nobody else on our hands at present; let us at once attack the Afghan people and crush them."²⁷² Again, as in "Words and Deeds", use is made of the intimate "we" in order to apportion blame, a "we" that also implicates his readers as British citizens. In this excerpt, and in the above cited passages, Allingham set himself apart from the anti-expansionist Liberal camp of Gladstone, whose chief concern was the "encumbrance of empire",²⁷³ by answering back to the imperial centre on behalf of those at the mercy of the "selfish brutal bully" England. In so doing it can be argued that, as an Irishman, he also – and perhaps at times unconsciously – spoke out on behalf of those Irishmen who had likewise suffered under British rule. His reference to England's decision to crush the Afghans, simply because they had the necessary power available does, after all, anticipate the Irish MP and obstructionist John O'Connor Power's²⁷⁴ condemnation in the House of Commons just four months later of "the strong craving for what is called jingoism in the English people" with regard to the Zulu War.²⁷⁵ While no comparison is drawn between England's treatment of the people of Afghanistan and the Irish people, one senses, as in "In Snow" and "Words and Deeds", that Allingham's unspoken accusation is that the Irish have also "suffered from the evils arising from this aggressive imperialism."²⁷⁶

VIII

Allingham's consciousness of the connotations associated with his anti-imperialism might account for the fact that his choice of articles on Ireland –

twelve in all – appear to have been chosen not only to emphasise the richness of Irish culture and literature but also to refute charges of Irish nationalist sympathies. The only article that deals directly with the Irish land question, “The Irish Land Question” by W. Bence Jones,²⁷⁷ might have been written by one of the landlords satirised in *Laurence Bloomfield*. A landlord and agriculturalist, Bence Jones believes the Irish are prone to lying and that evictions have therefore been greatly exaggerated. He is set against tenant ownership: Irish tenants exist in a “state of ignorance”²⁷⁸ and need landowners, such as Bence Jones, to farm their land for them.

Echoing Bence Jones’s dismissive attitude to the Irish, “English Parties and Irish Faction; with Suggestions for Rearrangement”²⁷⁹ is similarly impatient of Irish demands, concentrating on Parnell’s obstruction of public business in the House of Commons. Signed only “By a Conservative” and “J.C.P.”, the writer claims Ireland has too much power over England and suggests, “A royal palace on one of the banks of the beautiful Irish lakes or bays would soon effect a greater change than any amount of legislation”.²⁸⁰ In J.C.P.’s opinion, it is necessary, “to permanently reduce the quota of Irish representatives in the Imperial Parliament”.²⁸¹

Even an article on the Irish census for 1871 is marred by anti-nationalist sentiment and bigotry.²⁸² The anonymous author accuses the commissioners – one of them Sir William Wilde – of partisanship and exceeding “the limits of their

duty".²⁸³ The commissioners have no right, the writer believes, to state that the largest section of the Irish population have historically been placed "at a disadvantage" to that "other section" - which had "all possible advantages of property, position, and employment up to a date almost within memory."²⁸⁴ Even more reprehensible in the anonymous critic's view, however, is what he terms the commissioners' "soliciting favour on behalf of the Roman Catholic institutions".²⁸⁵ Using the data from the census to support his anti-nationalist stance, he insists that imperialism will triumph in Ireland. Due to the increased presence of "Englishmen and Scotchmen" who "find advantage in the transfer of their residence as well as of their capital and industry to Ireland,"²⁸⁶ nationalism – and presumably the indigenous Irish race - will die out.

Allingham obviously did not agree with sentiments such as these. Nor would he have approved of the writer's condemnation of the census commissioners – William Wilde was, after all, a friend.²⁸⁷ While sheltering himself from accusations of nationalism and trying to maintain the balancing act kept by Froude of publishing articles that did not support his viewpoint, it seems likely that he also published the aforementioned articles as an example of English intolerance and bigotry. Though tame in comparison, his three chosen submissions on ancient Irish history,²⁸⁸ together with his own article, "An Old Story of a Feast and a Battle",²⁸⁹ were probably intended "to counter the ignorance and prejudice of Victorian Englishmen against Ireland"²⁹⁰ exposed in such pieces. His introduction to "An Old Story of a Feast and a Battle" not only

indicates his despair at English indifference and disdain to all things Irish but indeed appears to act as a counter to English prejudice against Ireland:

Early Irish History is, to the English reader, extremely uninteresting – nay, exasperating. Uncouth names, unknown people, unintelligible events, meet him at every turn; the associations raised in his mind by a recognisable phrase here and there, such as ‘Fenian,’ are the contrary of pleasant; indeed, the words ‘Ireland’ and ‘Irish’ themselves suggest discord, complaint, beggary, boasting, and all kinds of botheration. ‘No Irish need apply.’²⁹¹

The essay, evidently also a tribute to his friend, Samuel Ferguson, and to the latter’s epic poem, *Congal* (1870), is informative and well written. Before playing seanacháí to his English reading audience,²⁹² Allingham emphasises the importance attached to poetry and story-telling in medieval Ireland, explaining how the higher order of poets “were obliged to have seven times fifty Chief Stories and twice fifty sub-stories.”²⁹³ Subjects common to the poets’ repertoire were, he tells his English readership, “Demolitions, Cattle-Spoilers, Courtships, Battles, Caves, Voyages, Tragedies, Feasts, Sieges, Adventures, Elopements, and Plunders.”²⁹⁴ The story, embroidered with the seanacháí’s skill of threading colour through his tale, is simply and skilfully told, although leaning perhaps too heavily at times on O’Donovan’s translation:²⁹⁵

Domnall son of Hugh was at this time renowned King over Erin; for his ancestor, Ugany Mor, had from all the chief men of the land extracted oaths by the sun and moon, by the sea, by the dew, by colours, and by all the elements visible and invisible, that the sovereignty should be to his descendants for ever; and therefore did many kings of that race rule, and they dwelt in the high Rath of Tara.²⁹⁶

Now on the day appointed for the great Feast, those who were busy with the preparations saw approaching them two folk of very strange appearance, namely, a Man and a Woman, of huge stature, their skin

darker than smoke, their eyes whiter than snow, and if a sackful of apples had been thrown upon their heads few would have fallen to the ground, for the apples would have stuck upon the sharp points of their bristly hair; and the woman had whiskers, but the man was without whiskers; and they carried between them a great tub-full of goose eggs.²⁹⁷

Having, as referenced earlier, looked to John O'Donovan's literal translation of *The Banquet of Dun na N-Gedh and the Battle of Magh Rath*, Allingham sets the stage for some excerpts from Ferguson's *Congal* – here seizing, once again, the opportunity to return to the subject of British contempt for Irish culture and literature:

In our day this old subject, 'The Battle of Moyra' has been taken up by a new Bard [...] but in one thing the modern poet's estate is far less gracious, - he has no sympathising audience ready to enjoy and applaud his song. The British public and its Oracles have little stomach, as we have said, for 'Irish kings' and the like; the region of Irish Archaeology is to them indeed as a cave, dark, damp, and cold.²⁹⁸

There is an irony in the fact that, despite his awareness of the British public's negative views on "Ireland" and the "Irish", and their consequent disinterest in "Irish Archaeology", Allingham insists on telling them an Irish tale. In doing so, he equates himself, as a modern Irish poet, with Ferguson who lacks, "a sympathising audience ready to enjoy and applaud his song", and defiantly marks his territory on the margins of British culture. This state of marginality in turn accounts for his empathy with the beleaguered subjects of the British and Ottoman Empire whose cultures were equally slighted by the general British public. But Allingham was also feeling the impact of a very different kind of colonisation and one that was taking place in England: "the march/ And countermarch"²⁹⁹ of atheism on British society.

Having, as we have seen in Chapter Three, already voiced his worries over the denial of God by certain scientists in his *Rambles* essays, these concerns became an overriding obsession with the birth of his children – particularly that of his first child, Gerald. Both his essay “Modern Prophets” and his long poem “Evil May-Day”³⁰⁰ reflect the quintessential Victorian desire to preserve spiritual belief in the face of scientific materialism and, although not among his best essays or poems, are of interest within this context. But they also provide further evidence that the ideas explored in Allingham’s poems in the 1870s first found their voice in prose. If Allingham’s anti-imperialist poems grew from his prose then so too did “Evil May-Day”. Overly long and clichéd in parts and lapsing too easily into Victorian melodrama at times, “Evil May-Day”, like the equally flawed “The Music Master”, has its finer moments. But, taking its lead from “Modern Prophets”, what lies at its core is a plea to readers to observe “*The surface of things*”³⁰¹ – as opposed to the anatomy of things. In Allingham’s opinion, when what we see is reduced by scientists to mere atoms or vibrations it loses its true essence, an essence that lies on the surface awaiting transformation into art through the imagination. The scientist’s world is thus as cold and damp a cave to Allingham as Irish culture and history is to the British. Within it art and poetry, inspired by “the surface of things”, cannot survive. In “Modern Prophets” he is still, nonetheless, able to view the enthusiasm of atheists, such as the mathematician W. K. Clifford, for their theories with a modicum of wit:

He thinks he is able to conceive Space as *limited*; and that if he could travel from, say, Charing Cross out among the planets and comets, suns, and moons, a very very long way in a straight line, he would at last find himself exactly at Charing Cross again. This conception, Professor Clifford tells us, he finds a great comfort to him. I must confess it is not the least comfort to me.³⁰²

No such wit is present in "Evil May-Day", where Allingham attempts to seek solace and inspiration in nature only to find it thwarted by the denial of God. But it is not, as one might expect, the loss of a life after death that disturbs him. For the poet, "It is this my life/ I would not lose, the life within this life."³⁰³ This inner self, looking to nature for its inspiration, is his "soul", a soul that is, in turn, contained in the soul of the earth. The produce of that soul already under attack from critics, the source of Allingham's creativity now finds itself threatened by "a world of diagrams":³⁰⁴

The dream I had is fled; I wake aghast.
I see this world a body without soul;
I see the flow'rs and greenery of May
A garland on a corpse. 'There is no God.'³⁰⁵

Weary of the English public's support of imperialism and its perception of the Irish, there is no longer, as in the past, nature to turn to for solace – just as, following the death of the poet's father, there was no Irish home to return to. Moreover, even when he throws off his doubts, his very avowal of faith in a higher power is increasingly out of tune with the age, rendering archaic his poetry in an England where atheism is,

taught in schools, classes, lectures to working-men, lectures to the fashionable world, Sunday afternoon discourses, 'lay-sermons' of all sorts, books and periodicals addressed to people of every rank and every degree of culture [...] its doctrines [...] served up in the flavouring of countless novels and poems.³⁰⁶

If one is to judge from "Evil May-Day", the crisis of faith which Allingham appears to have suffered at this time accounts also perhaps for the sparseness of his poems during this period and for the fact that, finding the seat of his creativity threatened, he increasingly looked to his prose, rather than nature, as a solace.

An embattled soul he may have been but to Allingham the choice was clear:

Day and night,
Earth, ocean, sky, the seasons, peopled full
With countless forms of life; a world imbued
With beauty and with wonder and with awe,
Powers inexpressible and infinite,
Whereto man's spirit exquisitely thrills,
Raised, rapt, and soaring on celestial wings, -
Which extasy begetteth Art in some,
In every sane soul Worship in some wise,
Voiceless or silent, - shall we see instead
The tall ghost of a pair of compasses
Stalking about a world of diagrams,
And algebraic regiments that march
And counter-march and wheel?³⁰⁷

In well-crafted passages like these, with their fine use of inner rhyme, assonance rhymes and startling use of imagery, Allingham proved that all was not lost. Yet his very doubt in his gift and in the wavering authority of his voice infects the greater part of the poem which repeatedly reads as the work of a poet whose inspiration has run dry. The colonisation of late Victorian society by scientific materialism was to prove a far greater blow to the poet than British imperialism or the apathy with which Irish literature and history were greeted in England. Already a marginalised figure – as a poet, as an editor, and as an Irishman in

London – Allingham was no longer in tune with his time. Henceforth, having given up the editorship of *Fraser's*, the poet retreated into the Ireland of his past, compiling *Irish Poems and Songs* for publication in 1887 and working on his autobiography. There were other poems to come, of course, to which attention shall be turned in the following chapter. It was Allingham's Irish poems, however – and those early poems from *Day and Night Songs* republished in *Flower Pieces* in 1888 – that were, as we shall see, to capture the heart and mind of the young Yeats.

Notes

¹ By William Allingham. *Blackberries* (1884), p. 67.

² For example, O'Donnell, a journalist and politician, believed that, "Ireland [...] should act as the natural leader of all oppressed nations in the empire and, consequently, intervene on their behalf whenever necessary" (Jill Bender, "The Imperial Politics of Famine: The 1873–74 Bengal Famine and Irish Parliamentary Nationalism", *Éire-Ireland* 42.1-2 (2007), pp. 132-156, p. 147), and in "No Imperial Privilege": Justin McCarthy, Home Rule, and Empire", Paul A. Townend writes that, "In Parliament in 1878, charges of treason were leveled against Parnell for opposing the Afghan war" (*Éire-Ireland*, Volume 42:1&2, Earrach/Samhradh / Spring/Summer 2007, pp. 201-228, p. 203).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See Gary Peatling, "Race and Empire in Nineteenth-Century British Intellectual Life: James Fitzjames Stephen, James Anthony Froude, Ireland, and England", *Éire-Ireland* 42: 1 & 2 Spr/Sum 07, pp. 157-79.

⁵ See Laurel Brake & Marysa Demoor, "Hall, Samuel Carter", *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Britain and Ireland*, p. 266.

⁶ See Chapter Two, p. 97, Note 8.

⁷ Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire: British Radicals and the Imperial Challenge*, p. 41.

⁸ *Ibid.* In their opinion, over-production "led to pressure for new markets" and "pressure for new markets led to imperial expansion".

⁹ Maginn, a Tory, founded *Fraser's* in 1830 with Hugh Fraser and edited the magazine until 1836.

¹⁰ Patrick Leary, "Fraser's Magazine and the Literary Life, 1830-1847", *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Summer, 1994), pp. 105-126, p. 110.

¹¹ See R. F. Foster, 'Conquering England': Ireland in Victorian London, p. 15.

¹² "Introduction", *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country 1830-1882*, Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals.

¹³ The poems published by Froude were, as a rule, poor, and largely concerned with historical events or characters.

¹⁴ See, for example: "On Mountain Beauty" [largely concerned with John Ruskin's art], unsigned, & "The Hierarchy of Art" [A consideration of art, poetry, & music], signed Frances Power Cobbe. FM, 71: 421 (1865: Jan.), pp. 111- 23, & pp. 97 – 108; "The Royal Academy Exhibition", signed W. M. Rossetti, FM, 71: 426 (1865: June), pp. 736 – 57; "Fiction and Its Uses", signed Decem [Edward Dowden], FM, 72: 432 (1865: Dec.), pp. 746 – 60; "Conington's *Aeneid*", unsigned, FM, 75: 445 (1867: Jan.), pp. 83 – 88; "A Conversation – the Portraits at South Kensington", unsigned [Sir William Frederick Pollock], FM, 76: 451 (1867: July), pp. 93 – 102; "Some Notes on Modern Italian Art", signed J. Jackson Tarves, FM, 2: 11 (1870: Nov.), pp. 626 – 30; "Thomas Ingoldsby (Barham)" [Review of *The Life and Legends of the Rev. Richard Harris Barham, Author of the Ingoldsby Legends*], unsigned, FM, 3: 15 (1871: Mar.), pp. 302 – 16.

¹⁵ "Legislation on Betting [on horse racing] Practically Considered", signed JGB [James Glass Bertram – sportsman], FM, 10: 59 (1874: Nov.), pp. 611 - 19.

¹⁶ "The Moral Treatment of Insanity", FM, 15: 88 (1877: Apr), signed Ellice Hopkins, [social reformer], pp. 444 - 459.

¹⁷ Poems by Allingham published in *Fraser's* during his editorship: "The Happy Man", unsigned, FM, 10: 57 (1874: Sept.), p. 345. Republished in LP. "A Week-Day Hymn", unsigned, FM, 11: 61 (1875: Jan.), p. 72. Republished in *Evil May-Day* & LP. "A Holiday", unsigned, FM, 13:76 (1876: Apr.), p. 496. Republished in SBS. "Grapes, Wine and Vinegar", unsigned, FM, 13: 77 (1876: May), p. 613. Republished in SBS and LP. "King Henry's Hut", signed WA, FM, 14: 83 (1876: Nov.), p. 638. Republished SBS. "The Honest Farmer", unsigned, FM, 16: 96 (1877: Dec.), p. 748. Republished *Evil May-Day*. "Evil May-Day", unsigned, Part I, FM, 18: 105 (1878: Sept.), pp. 381 – 84, Part II, FM, 18:107 (1878: Nov.), pp. 537 - 44. Republished *Evil May-Day*. "A Sad

Song", unsigned, FM, 18:108 (1878: Dec), p. 795. Republished *Evil May-Day*. "In Snow" unsigned, FM, 19:109 (1879: Jan.), p. 134. Republished *Blackberries*. "Words and Deeds", signed William Allingham, FM, 19: 112 (1879: Apr.), p. 532. Republished *Blackberries*. "O lonely woods, and lonely sea!", untitled & unsigned, & "Patriotism", unsigned, FM, 19: 114 (1879: June), p. 740 & p. 800. "Patriotism" republished in *Blackberries*.

Poems by others published during Allingham's editorship: "A Flower", unsigned, FM, 19: 110 (1879: Feb.), p. 237. "Skeleton City", unsigned, FM, 19: 111 (1879: Mar.), p. 341. "The Vizier and the Horse", signed R. Garnett [Richard Garnett], FM, 19:112 (1879: Apr.) pp. 480 - 1.

¹⁸ "Early Kings of Norway", FM, 11: 61 (1875: Jan.), pp. 1- 26, FM, 11: 62 (1875: Feb.), pp. 135 - 55, FM, 11: 63 (1875: Mar.), pp. 273 - 88.

¹⁹ Carlyle, a regular early contributor, appears in Daniel Maclise's drawing of *The Fraserians* for the magazine's "Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters". See *'Conquering England': Ireland in Victorian London*, p. 15.

²⁰ *The Early Kings of Norway: also an Essay on the Portraits of John Knox* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1875).

²¹ See "Cornhill Culture", Elizabeth Teare, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 33, No. 2, Summer 2000, pp. 117 - 37, p. 118.

²² John Morrow, *Thomas Carlyle*, p. 169.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ VIP, Vol III (1893).

²⁵ "An Old Story of a Feast and a Battle", signed P.W., FM, 11:65 (1875: May), pp. 642 - 54; "Artist and Critic", signed P.W., FM, 12:68 (1875: Aug.), pp. 255 - 69; "The Proposed Byron Monument", unsigned, FM, 13:74 (1876: Feb.), pp. 246 - 60; "Modern Prophets", signed Unus de Multis, FM,16: 93 (1877: Sept.), pp. 273 - 292; "Some Fifty Years Ago", unsigned, FM, 19:114 (1879: June), pp. 790 - 800.

²⁶ "In Devon and Cornwall", FM, 16: 95 (1877: Nov.), pp. 575 - 591, republished in VIP II (1893), pp. 44 - 71, & "In Thanet", FM, 16:96 (1877: Dec.), pp. 792 - 806, VIP II, pp. 211 - 37.

²⁷ The two *Rambles* essays, "In Devon and Cornwall and "In Thanet" (See Note 15), together with "Artist and Critic" (retitled "Painter and Critic"), "The Proposed Byron Monument" (retitled "Disraeli's Monument to Byron"), and "Modern Prophets", VIP III, pp. 219 - 50, pp. 279 - 312, & pp. 179 - 218.

²⁸ FM, 11: 65 (1875: May), pp. 642 - 54; FM, 12: 68 (1875: Aug.), p. 258.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 258.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 258 - 59.

³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 259.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 261. "You are informed in the catalogue that the young man is a knight, the young woman a princess with whom he is in love; that he has been promised her hand on condition of his carrying her to the top of a certain steep mountain; and you are told in printed words not merely the past history and present relations of the pair - which are nowise indicated pictorially - but the future into the bargain."

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁴² FM, 13: 74 (1876: Feb.), p. 252.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

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- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 256.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 255.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 257.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁴ FM, 16: 93 (1877: Sept.), p. 273.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 292.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 275.
- ⁵⁷ FM, 19: 114 (1879: June), pp. 795 - 99.
- ⁵⁸ "Ivy-Leaves" ran in *Fraser's* for the year 1878.
- ⁵⁹ "In Snow" unsigned, FM, 19:109 (1879: Jan.), p. 134. Republished in *Blackberries* (1884), p. 66. "Words and Deeds", signed William Allingham, 19: 112 (1879: Apr.), p. 532. Republished in *Blackberries*, p. 67. "Patriotism", unsigned, 19: 114: (1879: June), p. 800. Republished in *Blackberries*, pp. 65 - 66.
- ⁶⁰ "Ivy-Leaves", by Eastern Hermit, FM, 17: 97 (1878: Jan.) pp. 127 - 134, pp. 129 - 32.
- ⁶¹ "What we all took to be noble promise has turned out to be the full performance", "Recent Verse", *The Athenaeum*, No. 2597 (1877: Aug. 4), p. 135. See also *The Examiner*, "Allingham's Poems" (SBS), No 3612 (1877: Apr. 21), p. 499 - 500, for a somewhat negative - and very patronising - appraisal of SBS.
- ⁶² 'Conquering England': *Ireland in Victorian London*, p. 12.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁴ *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters*, p. 94.
- ⁶⁵ R. L. Schuyler, "The Climax of Anti-Imperialism in England", *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Dec., 1921), pp. 537 - 560, p. 550 & p. 553.
- ⁶⁶ See Niamh Lynch, "Defining Irish Nationalist Anti-Imperialism: Thomas Davis and John Mitchel", *Éire-Ireland*, Volume 42:1 & 2, Spring/Summer 2007, pp. 82 -107; Matthew Kelly, "Irish Nationalist Opinion and the British Empire in the 1850s and 1860s", *Past and Present* (2009), Vol. 204, Issue 1, pp. 127 - 54; Paul A. Townend, "Between Two Worlds: Irish Nationalists and Imperial Crisis 1878-1880", *Past and Present* (2007), Vol. 194, Issue 1, pp. 139 - 74, & *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. 4, pp. 131 - 32.
- ⁶⁷ "Defining Irish Nationalist Anti-Imperialism: Thomas Davis and John Mitchel", *Éire-Ireland*, Vol. 42: 1 & 2, Spring/Summer 2007, p. 91.
- ⁶⁸ That Allingham was aware from early childhood of Ireland's status as an occupied country is evident from his unfinished autobiography. In his sixties, Allingham would remember Ballyshannon as a garrison town where red-coats went on the march and officers were billeted to the Allingham home from time to time. (See WAD, pp. 18 - 19.)
- ⁶⁹ *Éire-Ireland*, Vol 42: 1 & 2, Spring/Summer 2007, p. 91.
- ⁷⁰ *Critics of Empire*, p. 28. Porter was referring to the sentiments of Richard Congreve. A Positivist, Congreve described the British occupation of India not only as "selfish and immoral" but a sin in its "reckless want of sympathy" with the Indian people (p. 28).
- ⁷¹ See Note 59. "Words and Deeds", signed William Allingham, FM, 19:112 (1879: Apr.), p. 532.
- ⁷² According to Bernard Porter, Cobden and Bright, for example, "were chiefly concerned [...] with the interests of England, and retrenchment and domestic reform remained the guiding principles behind their opposition to military expenditure, imperial defence and interference in the affairs of other countries." *Critics of Empire*, p. 13.
- ⁷³ "Settlement in Canada and Australia was rarely criticized [by Irish nationalists]", Matthew Kelly, "Irish Nationalist Opinion and the British Empire in the 1850s and 1860s", *Past and Present* (2009), Vol. 204, Issue 1, p. 140.
- ⁷⁴ WAD, Ch XX, July 26, 1884, p. 325.
- ⁷⁵ Unsigned, "The Irish Census of 1871", FM, 13: 76 (1876: Apr.), pp. 458 - 67, p. 458.
- ⁷⁶ WAD, Ch XX, July 26, 1884, p. 325.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁸ Paul A. Townend, "'No Imperial Privilege': Justin McCarthy, Home Rule, and Empire", *Éire-Ireland*, Volume 42:1&2, Earrach/Samhradh / Spring/Summer 2007, pp. 201-228, p. 207.

- ⁷⁹ See 'Conquering England', p. 47.
- ⁸⁰ A letter from Allingham to Messers Longman, dated 29, Jan., 1877, states that Froude "resigned" the editorship "in July 1874" to which Allingham "was then appointed." UCWA, Letter 99, pp. 253 - 54, p. 253. However, Froude is still cited as editor in August 1874.
- ⁸¹ Letter from WA to Emily Tennyson, Tennyson Research Centre, Lincoln, cited in *Helen Allingham's England: An Idyllic View of Rural Life*, p. 31.
- ⁸² See *Allinghams*, p. 32.
- ⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 30.
- ⁸⁴ Hardy was evidently smitten by Helen, and later wrote to Edmund Gosse, "She and I were married about the same time in the progress of our mutual work but not to each other [...] Though I have never thought of her for the last twenty years your inquiry makes me feel 'quite romantical' about her [...] you might hunt her up [...] If you do, please give her my kind regards, but you must not add that those two almost simultaneous weddings would have been one but for a stupid blunder of God Almighty." Letter from Thomas Hardy to Edmund Gosse, July 1906, cited in *Allinghams*, p. 33.
- ⁸⁵ *James Anthony Froude: A Biography*, Vol II, 1857-1894, p. 349. Henceforth, JAF II.
- ⁸⁶ Cited in JAF II., p. 550.
- ⁸⁷ *Lord Beaconsfield*, p. 3.
- ⁸⁸ JAF II, p. 389.
- ⁸⁹ Allingham Correspondence, University of Illinois, cited in Introduction, Note 49, Wellesley Periodicals Index, *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country, 1830-1882*.
- ⁹⁰ JAF II, p. 392.
- ⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 349.
- ⁹² WAD, Ch X, Friday, Feb. 7 1868, p. 171.
- ⁹³ UCWA, Letter 100, Allingham to Hallam Tennyson, 11 Feb., 1877, pp. 255 - 56, p. 256.
- ⁹⁴ See Introduction, Note 50, Wellesley Periodicals Index, *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country, 1830-1882*.
- ⁹⁵ UCWA, Letter 100, p. 256.
- ⁹⁶ *Diary* entry for May 22, 1868 reads: "Breakfast with Froude [...] F. speaks of my *Fraser* articles, says 'Carlyle has a greater regard for you than for anybody almost.'" Ch X, p. 179.
- ⁹⁷ James Anthony Froude, cited in JAF II, pp. 317 - 18.
- ⁹⁸ See, for example, WAD, Ch XII, 11 May, 1872, p. 209, & Ch XV, 26 Jan., 1876, p. 245.
- ⁹⁹ WAD, Ch XII, 11 May, 1872, p. 209.
- ¹⁰⁰ Froude's name appeared in bold print on the title page of *Fraser's* from 1870.
- ¹⁰¹ FM, 10: 57, (1874: Sept).
- ¹⁰² "Sea Studies" [An article extolling travel by sea and reading classics onboard], signed JAF, FM, 11: 65 (1875: May), pp. 541 - 60.
- ¹⁰³ "Origen and Celsus" signed J A Froude, FM, 17: 98 (1878: Feb.), pp. 142 - 67.
- ¹⁰⁴ See Introduction, *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country, 1830-1882*, Wellesley Periodicals Index.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, Note 37.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*. See also Note 38 of same.
- ¹⁰⁷ WAD, Ch XIV, 1 Feb., 1875, p. 235.
- ¹⁰⁸ Cited in UCWA, Letter 99, Allingham to Messrs Longman, 29 Jan., 1877, p. 253.
- ¹⁰⁹ General Ledger of J. W. Parker, Son and Bourn, at the University of Reading (F. 554 - 559), cited in UCWA, p. 256.
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid*.
- ¹¹¹ UCWA, Letter 100, Allingham to Hallam Tennyson, p. 255.
- ¹¹² Froude now claimed that Allingham "never was any use to him as Sub Ed" and that he only took him on to please both Carlyle and Tennyson. See UCWA, Letter 100, Allingham to Hallam Tennyson, 11 Feb., 1877, pp. 255 - 56, p. 256.
- ¹¹³ William Irwin Patrick MacDonogh notes that "the printed letter", cut out of the *Echo*, was found among MacCarthy's unpublished papers. On it were "corrections of a number of misprints in his [MacCarthy's] hand." A list of Allingham's works, headed "'Mr. William Allingham, Poet', as he is called in the catalogue of the British Museum Library", was also found among MacCarthy's

papers, in which particular attention was paid to those poems Allingham did, and did not, include in *Nightingale Valley*. See MacDonogh, *The Life and Work of William Allingham*, pp. 70 – 71.

¹¹⁴ "The Hoax in the Echo", signed William Allingham, *The Athenaeum*, No 2572 (Feb. 10, 1877), p. 191.

¹¹⁵ William Irwin Patrick MacDonogh, *The Life and Work of William Allingham*, p. 70.

¹¹⁶ Denis Florence MacCarthy, cited in *The Athenaeum*, No 2572 (Feb. 10, 1877), p. 191.

¹¹⁷ Denis Florence MacCarthy, cited in *The Life and Work of William Allingham*, p. 70.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Denis Florence MacCarthy, cited in *The Athenaeum*, No 2572 (Feb. 10, 1877), p. 191.

¹²⁰ See MM, pp. 52 – 54.

¹²¹ *The Athenaeum*, No 2572 (Feb. 10, 1877), p. 191.

¹²² See WAD, Ch XVI, Note 1, p. 255.

¹²³ See "Recent Verse", *The Athenaeum*, No. 2597 (1877: Aug. 4), p. 135, & "Allingham's Poems" (SBS), *The Examiner*, No 3612 (1877: Apr. 21), p. 499 – 500.

¹²⁴ SBS, pp. 49 – 50. Republished in FP, p. 111.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 59 – 60. Republished in FP, p. 107.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 100 – 01.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 305 – 26. Republished in ISP, pp. 5 – 23.

¹²⁹ "Ivy-Leaves", FM, 17: 99 (1878: Mar.), pp. 259 - 268, p. 400.

¹³⁰ See WAD, Ch XVI, Dec. 1877, p. 259.

¹³¹ "Ivy-Leaves", FM, 17:99 (1878: Mar.), pp. 259 - 268, p. 400.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ "Ivy-Leaves", FM, 17: 102 (1878: June), pp. 799 - 806.

¹³⁶ See Ch. 3, pp. 173- 74.

¹³⁷ "Ivy-Leaves", FM, 17: 102 (1878: June), p. 801.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ "Ivy-Leaves", FM, 18:103 (1878: July), pp. 130 - 34, p. 132.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ See Introduction, *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country, 1830-1882*, Wellesley Periodicals Index.

¹⁴⁵ *Public Moralists*, p. 56.

¹⁴⁶ "William Allingham, of all the pig-headed, obstinate, cross-grained, argumentative Irishmen in London, you are the worst." Thomas Carlyle, cited by John Reade at Allingham centenary celebration, Séamus Ó Casaide, "Irish Literary Society: a commemoration of the centenary of the birth of William Allingham with a talk by 'his friend' Alfred Perceval Graves", *The Irish Book Lover*, Vol. XIV, May, 1924, No. 5. pp. 78 – 79, p. 79.

¹⁴⁷ FM, 10 :58 (1874: Oct.), pp. 448 - 64.

¹⁴⁸ FM, 18: 104 (1878: Aug.), pp. 262 - 268.

¹⁴⁹ FM, 10:58 (1874: Oct.), p. 448.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 449.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 464.

¹⁵² "The Indian Famine", unsigned, FM, 10: 57 (1874: Sept.), pp. 293 – 303.

¹⁵³ "Colonial Distinctions", unsigned, FM, 10: 57 (1874: Sept.), pp. 316 – 24.

¹⁵⁴ "The Indian Famine", FM, 10: 57 (1874: Sept.), p. 296.

¹⁵⁵ See John Skelton, "Reminiscences of James Anthony Froude – I", *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 56: 950, (1894: Dec), pp. 756 – 776, p. 765.

¹⁵⁶ JAF II, p. 332.

¹⁵⁷ For pro-imperialist essays – excluding the aforementioned "The Indian Famine" and "Colonial Distinctions" – see: "The Kingdom of Burmah in 1875", signed Captain Edmond Browne, 12: 68

(1875: Aug), pp. 224 – 232; "Employment in India", unsigned, FM, 13: 73 (1876: Jan.), pp. 86 – 99; "Great Britain and Her Colonies", signed A Victorian, FM, 13: 75 (1876: Mar.), pp. 269 – 282; "English Foreign Policy and the Eastern Question", unsigned, FM, 13: 77 (1876: May), pp. 537 – 45; "The West-India Question", signed H.E. Watts, FM, 16: 95 (1877: Nov.), pp. 649 – 74; "England and Her Colonies", signed George Baden Powell [Conservative MP for Liverpool Kirkdale from 1885-1898], FM, 17: 97 (1878: Jan.), pp. 1 – 17; "The Defence of Our Empire", signed George Baden-Powell, FM, 18:103 (1878: July) pp.1 – 19; "How to Treat India", FM, 19: 109 (1879: Jan.), signed X, pp. 107 - 114.

For essays with an anti-imperialist slant see: "The Dangerous Glory of India", signed Francis William Newman, FM, 10: 58 (1875: Oct.), pp. 448 – 64; "Some Political Aspects of Sir Samuel Baker's Expedition", signed AJW [Alexander Johnstone Wilson], FM, 11: 63 (1875: Mar.), pp. 338 – 47; "Mohammedanism and the Negro Race", signed Edward W Blyden, FM, 12:71 (1875: Nov.), pp. 598 – 615; "Turkey, Egypt, and the Eastern Question", unsigned, FM, 13: 73 (1876: Jan.), pp.1 – 12; "Christianity and the Negro Race", FM, 13: 77 (1876: May), signed Edward W. Blyden, pp. 554 – 568 (Part II in 13: 78); "Russia in Europe", signed Arthur Arnold, FM, 14: 80 (1876: Aug.), pp. 135 – 149; "Christian Missions in West Africa", signed A Negro [Edward W. Blyden], FM, 14: 82 (1876: Oct.), pp. 504 – 21; "Islam and Race Distinctions", signed Edward W. Blyden, FM, 14: 83 (1876: Nov.), pp. 624 – 37; "On the Bedaween of the Arabian Desert", signed Roger D Upton, FM, 15: 88 (1877: Apr.), pp. 432 – 443; "Budhist [sic] Schools in Burmah", signed P Hordern, FM, 16: 95 (1877: Nov.), pp. 626 – 34; "Can England Easily Bear the Cost of a Great War?", signed W., FM, 17: 101 (1878: May), pp. 537 – 47; "Among the Burmese: Part I", signed P Hordern, FM, 18: 103 (1878: Aug.), pp. 85 – 102, Part II, 18: 104 (1878: Sept.), pp. 245 – 61, Part III, 18: 105 (1878: Sept.), pp. 296 – 307, Part IV, 18: 106 (1878: Oct.), pp. 471 – 81, Part V, 18: 107 (1878: Nov.), pp. 599 – 608, Part VI, 18:108 (1878: Dec.), pp. 758 – 66; "The Policy of Lord Beaconsfield's Government", unsigned, FM, 17: 98 (1878: Feb.), pp. 135 – 41; "Africa and the Africans", signed a Negro [Edward W Blyden], FM, 18:104 (1878: Sept.), pp. 178 – 196; "Peace With Honour", unsigned, 18:105 (1878: Sept.), pp. 385 – 395; "Negro Slavery Under English Rule", signed Francis William Newman, 19: 109 (1879: Jan.), pp. 88 - 106.

¹⁵⁸ "Mohammedanism and the Negro Race", signed Edward W Blyden, FM, 12: 71 (1875: Nov.), pp. 598 – 615.

¹⁵⁹ Edward W. Bryden, "Mohammedanism and the Negro Race", FM, 12: 71 (1875: Nov.), pp. 598 – 615, p. 598; "Christianity and the Negro Race", signed Edward W. Blyden, FM, 13: 77 (1876: May), pp. 554 – 568 (Part II in 13:78); "Christian Missions in West Africa", signed A Negro [Edward W. Blyden], FM, 14: 82 (1876: Oct.), pp. 504 – 21; "Islam and Race Distinctions", signed Edward W. Blyden, FM, 14: 83 (1876: Nov.), pp. 624 – 37; "Africa and the Africans", signed a Negro [Edward W Blyden], FM, 18: 104 (1878: Sept.), pp. 178 – 196.

¹⁶⁰ Edward W. Bryden, "Mohammedanism and the Negro Race", FM, 12: 71 (1875: Nov.), pp. 598 – 615.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 612.

¹⁶² *Ibid*.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, p. 613.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*.

¹⁶⁵ FM, 15: 88 (1877: Apr.), pp. 432 - 443.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 432.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 434.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*.

¹⁶⁹ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, Preface (2003), p. xiv.

¹⁷⁰ See Note 157.

¹⁷¹ Deborah Deacon Boyer, "Picturing the Other: Images of Burmah in Imperial Britain", *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Fall, 2002), pp. 214 – 226, p. 214.

¹⁷² *Ibid*, p. 214.

¹⁷³ FM, 12: 68 (1875: Aug.), pp. 224 – 232. While the article calls for a show of power by the British, in order that no obstacle be laid "in the way of our trade with Western China" (p. 232), it nonetheless stresses that "Almost every Burman can read and write" (p. 231). Furthermore, despite emphasising their inferiority ("temperate, abstemious, and hardy, but idle, with neither

fixedness of purpose nor perseverance"), Browne allows that "they are not devoid of a certain degree of enterprise." (p. 232).

¹⁷⁴ Britain annexed Upper Burma as a colony in 1885 and Burma became part of the British Empire on 1 Jan., 1886.

¹⁷⁵ P. Hordern, "Among the Burmese", FM, 18: 103 (1878: July), pp. 85 – 102.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ "Latest Intelligence from the Planet Venus", signed B T [Bertha Thomas, novelist], FM, 10: 60 (1874: Dec.), pp. 763 - 66.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 763.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 764.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 765.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 766.

¹⁸⁸ "Technical Training for Girls", signed B T [Bertha Thomas], FM, 19:111 (1879: Mar.), pp. 343 - 51.

¹⁸⁹ Unsigned, FM, 10: 60 (1874: Dec.), pp. 706 -13.

¹⁹⁰ Signed Edith Simcox, FM, 19:110 (1879: Feb.), pp. 246 - 55.

¹⁹¹ See, for example, "Ladies as Clerks, by a Government Official" [on the success of...], unsigned, FM 12: 69 (1875: Sept.), pp. 335 – 40; "Field-Faring Women" [An article on the difficulties facing peasant mothers and women in the countryside], signed Richard Jeffries, FM 12: 69 (1875: Sept.), pp. 382 – 94.

¹⁹² FM, 19:109 (1879: Jan.), pp. 52 – 62.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁹⁶ "Three Experiments in Co-Operative Agriculture", signed Matilda Barbara Bethan-Edwards, FM, 11: 64 (1875: Apr.), pp. 529 - 539. The article includes an account of the Ralahine commune in Co. Clare in the 1830s.

¹⁹⁷ "The International Working Men's Association", signed Matilda Betham-Edwards [writer on French life], in three parts: 12: 67 (1875: July), pp.72 – 87, 12:68 (1875: Aug.), pp. 181 – 94, 12:69 (1875: Sept.), pp. 300 - 311.

¹⁹⁸ Signed An English Lady, FM, 12: 69 (1875: Sept.), pp. 312 – 34.

¹⁹⁹ Signed Janet Ross, FM, 15:88 (1877: Apr.) pp. 407 - 21.

²⁰⁰ "Tuscan Peasant Plays" signed V Paget, FM, 15: 86 (1877: Feb), pp. 224 - 234.

²⁰¹ "The Academy of Arcadi", signed Vernon Lee, FM, 17:102 (1878: June), pp. 779 – 798. Part II in FM 18:103 (1878: July), pp. 33 - 59.

²⁰² "Metastasio and the Opera of the Eighteenth Century", signed Vernon Lee, Part I, FM, 19:111 (1879: Mar.), pp. 371 - 93, Part II, 19:112, pp. 495 - 510, Part III, 19:113, pp. 583 - 614.

²⁰³ "The Labourer's Daily Life", FM, 10: 59 (1874: Nov.), pp. 654 – 69.

²⁰⁴ "Trade-Unions: Their Nature, Character, and Work", FM, 19: 109 (1879: Jan.), pp. 22 – 31.

²⁰⁵ Arnold was an unsuccessful candidate in the Huntingdon by-election in 1873. He was also, co-incidentally, the first editor of *The Echo*.

²⁰⁶ "The Agricultural Strikes" [in the south of England], signed RAA [Sir Arthur Arnold], FM, 10: 60 (1874: Dec.), pp. 767 - 776.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 769.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 770.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 773.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation 1876*, p. 22.

²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 203.

- ²¹³ *Ibid*, Introduction, p. xi.
- ²¹⁴ *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary*, p. 217.
- ²¹⁵ "Over the Balkans with General Gourko", signed Mathew E. Hale, the *Cornhill Magazine*, 37: 218 (1878: Feb.), pp. 201 – 220.
- ²¹⁶ "A Month with the Turkish Army in the Balkans", signed G. J. Playfair, *Macmillan's Magazine*, 37: 220 (1878: Feb.), pp. 286 – 298, "The War Campaign and the War Correspondent", signed W. F. Butler, 37: 221 (1878: Mar.), pp. 398 – 405.
- ²¹⁷ "Reform in Turkey", Anon [Sir Robert Hamilton Lang, Consul at Cyprus], *Macmillan's Magazine*, 39: 229 (1878: Nov.), pp. 82 – 90.
- ²¹⁸ See, for example (all signed W. E. Gladstone): "The Peace to Come", *The Nineteenth Century*, 3:12 (1878: Feb.), pp. 209 – 226; "The Paths of Honour and of Shame", 3: 13, (1878: Mar.), pp. 591 – 604; "England's Mission", 4: 19 (1878: Sept.), pp. 560 – 84.
- ²¹⁹ W. E. Gladstone, "The Peace to Come", *The Nineteenth Century*, 3:12 (1878: Feb.), p. 209.
- ²²⁰ W. E. Gladstone, "The Peace to Come", *The Nineteenth Century*, 3:12 (1878: Feb.), p. 209.
- ²²¹ See "The Peace to Come", 3:12, (1878: Feb.), p. 226, and "England's Mission", 4: 19, (1878: Sept.), p. 572.
- ²²² *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters*, p. 113.
- ²²³ John Morley, "Home and Foreign Affairs", *The Fortnightly Review*, 23:135 (1878: Mar.), pp. 469 – 76, p. 475. See also "Home and Foreign Affairs": 23: 133 (1878: Jan.), pp. 139 – 49, 23: 134 (1878: Feb.), pp. 297 – 308.
- ²²⁴ "Home and Foreign Affairs", *The Fortnightly Review*, 23:135 (1878: Mar.), p. 476.
- ²²⁵ *Thomas Carlyle*, p. 129.
- ²²⁶ *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation 1876*, p. 222.
- ²²⁷ See Note 1, *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation 1876*, p. 209.
- ²²⁸ For Carlyle's admiration for Russia see *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation*, pp. 209 – 10, & John Morrow, *Thomas Carlyle*, p. 195 & 199.
- ²²⁹ See Chapter Three, pp. 200– 02.
- ²³⁰ See *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation 1876*, pp. 159 – 60.
- ²³¹ "To England [...] I would say: Ireland has been in your hands these many long centuries, and you have woefully mismanaged her [...] And to systematic maltreatment you have added [...] a coarse and invariable contempt. Justice demands a new attitude on your part." LB (1869), p. viii.
- ²³² "Protean Selfishness puts on no guise/ More art than 'Patriotism' to blind our eyes;/ Shall Briton, Frenchman, Russ, American,/ Glory in things that would disgrace a Man?" From opening lines of "Patriotism", unsigned [by Allingham], FM, 19:114: (1879: June), p. 800. Republished in *Blackberries* (1884), pp. 65 – 66.
- ²³³ *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation 1876*, p. 219.
- ²³⁴ Allingham had written to Morris, expressing "the desire that something should be done, and done as speedily as possible", and Morris had cited him as "feeling strongly and rightly about the matter" in a letter to the *Daily News* in November 1876. See *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary*, p. 207.
- ²³⁵ "Turkey, Egypt, and the Eastern Question," unsigned, FM, 13:73 (1876: Jan.), pp. 1 – 12.
- ²³⁶ FM, 14: 80 (1876: Aug.), pp. 135 – 49.
- ²³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 149.
- ²³⁸ Russo-Turkish War, 1877 – 78.
- ²³⁹ See Chapter Three, pp. 200 - 01.
- ²⁴⁰ "Ivy-Leaves", by Eastern Hermit. FM, 17: 97 (1878: Jan.), pp. 127 – 34, p. 132.
- ²⁴¹ *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland: or, the New Landlord*, Preface, p. x.
- ²⁴² *Ibid*, p. viii.
- ²⁴³ *Ibid*, p. x.
- ²⁴⁴ "The Policy of Lord Beaconsfield's Government", unsigned, FM, 17: 98 (1878: Feb.), pp. 135 - 41.
- ²⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 137.
- ²⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 141.
- ²⁴⁷ FM 18:104 (1878: Aug.) pp. 262 - 268.
- ²⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 262.

- ²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵¹ See R. L. Schuyler, "The Climax of Anti-Imperialism in England", *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Dec., 1921), p. 539, and Goldwin Smith, *The Empire: A Series of Letters Published in "The Daily News", 1862, 1863*, p. 265 – 66 & p. 292.
- ²⁵² See Preface to LB (1869), pp. vii – viii.
- ²⁵³ FM 18: 104 , pp. 262 – 63.
- ²⁵⁴ "Peace with Honour", unsigned, FM, 18:105 (1878: Sept.), pp. 385 - 395.
- ²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 394.
- ²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 394 – 95.
- ²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 395.
- ²⁵⁸ Letter from Allingham to W. E. Gladstone, 17 August 1885, National Library of Ireland, MS 44, 697.
- ²⁵⁹ See LWA, letter from P. W. Clayden to Allingham, 25 September, 1884, pp. 151 – 52.
- ²⁶⁰ "In Snow", unsigned, FM, 19:109 (1879: Jan.), p. 134. See Note 48.
- ²⁶¹ Charles Stewart Parnell, with regard to the government's confederation bill for South Africa, 1877. Cited in Paul A. Townend, "Between Two Worlds: Irish Nationalists and Imperial Crisis 1878-1880", *Past and Present* (2007), Vol. 194, Issue 1, p. 166.
- ²⁶² Allingham resigned in June 1879.
- ²⁶³ "Words and Deeds", signed William Allingham, FM, 19:112 (1879: Apr.), p. 532. See Note 49.
- ²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶⁵ "Patriotism", unsigned, FM, 19:114: (1879: June), p. 800.
- ²⁶⁶ "Ivy-Leaves", FM, 18: 107 (1878: Nov.), pp. 662 - 666.
- ²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 662.
- ²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 662.
- ²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 662.
- ²⁷¹ LB, Ch VII, FM, 67: 401 (1863: May), p. 643.
- ²⁷² "Ivy-Leaves", FM, 18: 107, p. 662.
- ²⁷³ R. L. Schuyler, "The Climax of Anti-Imperialism in England", *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Dec., 1921), p. 537.
- ²⁷⁴ Representative for Mayo in the House of Commons and Home Rule League politician.
- ²⁷⁵ Cited in Paul A. Townend, "Between Two Worlds: Irish Nationalists and Imperial Crisis 1878-1880", *Past and Present* (2007), Vol. 194, Issue 1, p. 164.
- ²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷⁷ "The Irish Land Question; by a landlord", signed W. Bence Jones, FM, 14:80 (1876: Aug), pp. 250 - 56.
- ²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 254.
- ²⁷⁹ "English Parties and Irish Faction. With Suggestions for Rearrangement." Signed a Conservative & J.C.P, FM, 19:110 (1879: Feb.), pp. 159 - 69.
- ²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 169.
- ²⁸¹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸² "The Irish Census of 1871", unsigned, FM, 13: 76 (1876: Apr.), pp. 458 – 67.
- ²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 464.
- ²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 465.
- ²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 460.
- ²⁸⁷ See WAD, Ch. VII, Entry for 24 May, 1865, p. 115.
- ²⁸⁸ "The Ancient Irish", signed David Fitzgerald, FM, 12: 67 (1875: July), pp. 97-110; "Spenser's Irish Rivers", signed P. W. Joyce [Patrick Weston Joyce, Irish antiquary and historian], FM, 17: 99 (1878: Mar.), pp. 315 – 333; "The Laws and Customs of the Ancient Irish", signed David Fitzgerald, FM, 17:100 (1878: Apr.), pp. 458 - 481.
- ²⁸⁹ "An Old Story of a Feast and a Battle" signed P.W. [Patricius Walker], FM, 11: 65 (1875: May), pp. 642 - 54.
- ²⁹⁰ Alan Warner, *William Allingham*, p. 84.

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- ²⁹¹ "An Old Story of a Feast and a Battle" signed P.W. [Patricius Walker], FM, 11:65 (1875: May), p. 642.
- ²⁹² "More than 1,200 years are past and gone since there was a famous feast held in Erin, in the Palace of King Domnall; and a famous and bloody Battle fought on the plain of Moyra; and the way was this." FM, 11:65 (1875: May), p. 642.
- ²⁹³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹⁵ See *The Banquet of Dun na N-Gedh and the Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 226.
- ²⁹⁶ FM, 11: 65 (1875: May), p. 642.
- ²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 644.
- ²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 650.
- ²⁹⁹ "Evil May-Day", Part II, FM, 18: 107 (1878: Nov.), pp. 537 – 44, p. 540.
- ³⁰⁰ Published in two parts in FM, unsigned. Part I, FM, 18: 105 (1878: Sept.), 381 – 84, Part II, FM, 18: 107 (1878: Nov.), pp. 537 – 44.
- ³⁰¹ "Modern Prophets", signed Unus de Multus, FM, 16: 93 (1877: Sept.), p. 291.
- ³⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 288.
- ³⁰³ "Evil May-Day", Part I, FM, 18: 105 (1878: Sept.), pp. 381 – 84, p. 384.
- ³⁰⁴ "Evil May-Day", Part II, FM, 18: 107 (1878: Nov.), p. 540.
- ³⁰⁵ "Evil May-Day", Part I, FM, 18: 105 (1878: Sept.), p. 382.
- ³⁰⁶ "Modern Prophets", FM, 16: 93 (1877: Sept.), p. 274.
- ³⁰⁷ "Evil May-Day", Part II, 18: 107 (1878: Nov.), p. 540.

Chapter Five

I hear the hum of earth, alive and merry
I hear the dashing of the restless wave;
I hear a slow bell ringing where they bury;
I hear a small bird singing by a grave;
I hear the steady tramp of Time; I hear
My own blood pulsing in my pillow'd ear.
I hear no sound at all, afar or near.
I hear a river of enchantment flowing
Out of the stars, and round the dim world going.

Untitled, By William Allingham¹

“Far from the ‘little town’:² Allingham’s final poems and his influence on W. B. Yeats”

In a diary entry for June 10, 1888, Allingham recalls a visit to Robert Browning’s home at 29 De Vere Gardens:

Enter R. B., friendly and vigorous. He asked me, Did I often come up to town?

‘Very seldom.’

On which he remarked (I think premeditatedly), that in his early life he had much secluded himself, and he often since regretted it. He sees that he lost much by it.³

A footnote, added either by Helen Allingham, or by Dollie Radford (who acted as joint editor of the *Diary*), further reads:

This remark of Browning’s chimed in with what was often in Allingham’s mind. Although fond of the country, he had keenly missed there the intellectual life and interests of London. He had made the move to Witley chiefly on account of his wife and children—and never regretted it.⁴

Allingham’s inclusion of the incident, however, rather negates the footnote:

evidently worried that his seclusion was doing him harm, Allingham was apparently so relieved and touched to find someone who empathised with his

situation that he afterwards put it in writing. Browning's later gesture, however, is even more revelatory. Reminiscing about Carlyle, Browning confessed that he had felt towards him "as John Forster did to Landor."⁵ Landor, he said,

used sometimes to write most unreasonable and exasperating letters to Forster, and one day that I was with Forster and he had been talking of Landor almost with indignation, he suddenly exclaimed "If he were standing here before me—I'd hug the old man!"⁶

to which Allingham replied, "and so would I Carlyle".⁷ Browning, Allingham adds in his diary, "In saying this [...] hugged me closely with his broad chest and strong arms, and laughed merrily."⁸ It was a hug that, taken with his earlier remark to Allingham, and his request to him on his departure ("both B. and his sister asked me repeatedly and warmly to come soon again—any day I chose"),⁹ was evidently born from sympathy and received with gratitude. Despite his marriage Allingham was living a life of isolation.

This chapter will examine how Allingham's final years in Surrey impacted on his final poems, poems in which a conflict appears between those works influenced by his wife's paintings and those born from anxiety at his sheltered rural middle-class existence. Still not at home in England, it will find that, yet again, Allingham's solution was to seek refuge in his Donegal childhood and a remembered Donegal landscape in his poems. Together with his early poems, they were works that would, in turn, influence the young W. B. Yeats in whose own early poems Allingham's love of place, beckoning supernatural and uncanny voices can be found.

Following the death of Carlyle on 5 February, 1881, Allingham moved with his wife and two children from their Chelsea home to Sandhills in Witley, Surrey. The couple's third child, Henry, was born in June of the following year. At Sandhills they were just six miles from Tennyson's home at Aldworth to which the couple were often invited. There were other visits as well, to and from – among others – the artist and illustrator, Myles Birket Foster and his wife, and the artists Kate Greenaway and Charles Keene. Here Helen, now a member of The Old Watercolour Society, began her successful and idyllic series of paintings of Surrey Cottages, capturing the old thatched cottages on canvas before they were modernised or demolished, while Allingham once again turned his attention to his writing. *Evil May-Day* (the title poem of which, as we have seen in Chapter Four, was published in *Fraser's* in 1878),¹⁰ was published in 1882. It includes several new poems, which this chapter shall examine, together with pieces from earlier volumes. It was followed in 1884 by two volumes: a new volume of *Day and Night Songs* – now divided into four parts and with new poems added to those previously published in 1854 and 1855 – and *Blackberries Picked Off Many Bushes by D. Pollex and Others*, a collection of satirical and moralistic fragments and short poems. Three years before his death in 1889, the poet began editing, and arranging into volumes, those poetic works by which he wished to be remembered. The six-volume edition includes *Rhymes for the Young Folk* (1887), with illustrations by Helen Allingham, Kate Greenaway, Caroline Paterson and Harry Furniss, *Irish Songs and Poems*

(1887), *Flower Pieces and Other Poems* (1888), *Laurence Bloomfield; or, Rich and Poor in Ireland* (1888), *Life and Phantasy* (1889), and *Thought and Word and Ashby Manor* (1890). *Rhymes for the Young Folk* (1887) is dedicated to the author's children and includes "The Fairies" and other earlier poems for children, such as "The Bird"¹¹ and "Wishing",¹² alongside nursery rhymes written for the poet's children, some of which had already featured in *Evil May-Day*. *Irish Songs and Poems* (1887) includes Irish poems and ballads previously published in *Poems* (1850), *The Music Master* (1855), and *Songs, Ballads and Stories* (1877), together with two new Irish poems, "Familiar Epistle to a Little Boy"¹³ and "A Stormy Night".¹⁴ Several more new poems additionally appear in *Flower Pieces* (1888). These include the poet's twelve flower sonnets, written in the mid-1880s, and "At a Window",¹⁵ the rest of the volume being made up of the earlier "Flowers and Poets" series from *Poems* (1850), the "Day and Night Songs" series as arranged in *Day and Night Songs* (1884), and poems and ballads – such as "Lady Alice"¹⁶ and "The Maids of Elfin-Mere"¹⁷ – previously published in *The Music Master* and *Songs, Ballads, and Stories*.¹⁸

A new preface is included in *Laurence Bloomfield; or, Rich and Poor in Ireland* (1888), but excepting this and a few emendations, the poem remains almost identical to the previous two volume editions, *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland. A Modern Poem* (1864), and *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland; or, the New Landlord* (1869). The fifth volume of the six-volume edition, *Life and Phantasy* (1889), comprises mainly old poems, while *Thought and Word and Ashby Manor*

(1890) includes work from earlier collections, together with poems previously published in *Evil May-Day*, and the poet's amateurish attempt at a two-act play dealing with the English civil war, written in blank verse and prose, *Ashby Manor* (1882). (The play was never performed.)

Allingham had also begun work on his autobiography in the late 1880s, and was busy, moreover, collecting and editing the travelogues from his *Rambles* series and his other essays – both the early Irish essays and those later published in *Fraser's* – for publication in volume form. (The essays were collected in the three-volume *Varieties in Prose* which was published posthumously in 1893.) His autobiography remained unfinished, but it is difficult to determine exactly how much was completed. Excerpts were later included in the *Diary* by Helen, but it is clear, both from comparisons of manuscript letters to those letters collected in *Letters to William Allingham* (1911), and from extracts from the original *Diary* published in Hallam Tennyson's memoir of his father, that Helen expurgated his letters and his diaries.¹⁹ In her preface to the 1907 edition of the *Diary* she informs the reader that, "he wrote in detailed narrative only of the period dealing with his childhood, and some later portions—such as the accounts of his intercourse with Carlyle and Tennyson: nothing was left ready for publication."²⁰ A mere twenty-seven pages on Allingham's childhood are included in the *Diary*, some of which may have been abridged: we know from H. Tennyson's memoir, after all, that Allingham's record of conversations with

Alfred Tennyson and Julia Cameron, as it appears in the *Diary*, is rather different to the original, as cited by Tennyson.²¹

Apart from continued visits to the British Association the poet seems to have retreated largely into family and country life during his Surrey years, making a couple with Helen at dinners, walking with the children, and rambling the countryside alone when not writing and reading into the small hours of the morning. Helen's influence on Allingham's poems of this period, together with that of her artist friends, is evident (see Appendices 6 and 7). Her series of Surrey cottages, mirroring the rural scenes painted by Birket Foster, while skilfully painted and picturesque, evade reality, a tendency Allingham emulates in his series of twelve sonnets, "Flowers and Months", written between 1882 and 1885, and in *Rhymes for the Young Folk* where his children are frozen into model Victorian children in illustrations by his wife and by Greenaway. The sonnets seem to have been written mainly to impress Helen and Greenaway, who had published *Language of Flowers*, an illustrated guide to flowers and their meaning, in 1884. While capitalising on the Victorian penchant for books in which flowers communicated "various moral and spiritual truths, as well as emotions connected with home, family, and romance",²² the poems largely attribute the same meaning to flowers as those of Greenaway's book. Of these sonnets "Honeysuckle" is perhaps the finest. Although relying too heavily on descriptive words ("luscious treasure", "Dusty wayfarers"), and adhering to Greenaway's association of honeysuckle with "Generous and devoted

affection"²³ in its closing lines, it resounds with the mystical mood of Allingham's earlier poems:

First a cloud of fragrance. Then one sees
Coronets of ivory, coral, and gold,
Full of luscious treasure for the bees,
In their hedgerow-wreathage manifold
Clustering, or outswinging at their ease,
Watching in the hayfield those who hold
Scythe and rake, or overpeering bold
Dusty wayfarers 'twixt roadside trees.

Honeysuckle-scented Summer Night!
Leaves above and dewy woods around,
Save the purring nightjar not a sound,
Save the tender glowing stars no light,—
Thou hast hid thy lovers out of sight,
Bower'd, or wandering through enchanted ground.²⁴

Interestingly, wild nature is not to be found in either this sonnet about a wildflower or in any of Allingham's other English flower sonnets or poems of the 1880s. The anodyne world of paintings of idyllic English cottages and gardens, and of Victorian book illustrations for children, manifests its influence in sentimental or life-affirming poems. Accordingly "In a Cottage Garden" (1880)²⁵ and the aforementioned "At a Window" (1887) deny the trials and tribulations of the rural poor and are supported in this denial by poems such as "The Honest Farmer".²⁶ The "rolling Globe" of "In a Cottage Garden" seems to hold steady and protect the – apparently well-to-do – couple's home as it turns, with its "apple-boughs", its "rose-lawn and its martin's nest".²⁷ In "At a Window",²⁸ a sense of possessiveness over a tamed nature, that excludes all but the speaker and his partner, is expressed when the poet states that, "all the powers of all mankind/ Drawn to a point, could never make/ One scented little Jasmin-star/ Of

these that by our window shake".²⁹ Nature has not only been tamed but is seen to protect middle-class family life by which it is, in turn, nurtured. Unlike the earlier flower-filled "George Levison", where the introduction of the flowers early on in the poem emphasises the vulnerability of a family under threat from outside influences,³⁰ no danger is posed to the speaker's idyllic domestic rural life. Wild nature is reserved for the poet's final Irish poems: "Familiar Epistle to a Little Boy" (1882) and "A Stormy Night" (1884).

Contradicting the ideal rural life of these poems, Allingham's other work of the period nonetheless suggests he was aware that the portrait of family life portrayed in his English poems was a myth. It is difficult to reconcile, for example, the cynical and extremely clever distichs and short poems collected in *Blackberries* (1884) with the English poems of this period – let alone with the equally sentimental short poems and couplets likewise included in *Blackberries*. The untitled and pleasant, "Honour and Fortune never sought thee out"³¹ for example, seems at odds with the cynical yet witty "Squirmley",³² "Portrait of Peter Palette by Himself",³³ and the epigrams on "Snort" and "Scratch" and "A.B." and "B".³⁴

Honour and Fortune never sought thee out;
 'Tis not their way;
And had'st thou left thy home in search of these,
Thy shady nook, and miss'd them, thou no doubt
 Would'st rue it dearly: nay,
If thou had'st found them. Is thy mind at ease?
Thy little house wholesome and seemly? Rest
Contented there, and welcome as a guest
 Each coming day.³⁵

"Squirmley"

If I could hate thee, Squirmley, thus I'd curse—
"Remain thyself!"—I could not wish thee worse.³⁶

"Portrait of Peter Palette by Himself"

In splendid drapery and heroic pose
(Not the snug vulgar little man one knows)—
And Brown reviews his own books, happy elf!³⁷

Snort cares not for my writings. That's but fair;
Since I for Snort's opinions nothing care.³⁸

Scratch also writes; and if you can and do
Praise Scratch, then Scratch will honestly praise you.³⁹

I loved A.B. yet my praise was cool.
I flatter'd X.Y. and thought him a fool.⁴⁰

B's wine is excellent—but you
Must swallow his conversation too.⁴¹

Even more at odds, however, are Allingham's short poems and couplets on marriage. While aphorisms like, "Right marriage: elevation in communion,/ The joy of perfect freedom, closest union",⁴² complement those aforementioned poems published in *Five May-Day and Flower Pieces* that describe an idyllic home life, other distiches and short poems, such as "With whom were it a grievous lot to live?/ A woman, stupid and yet sensitive",⁴³ and,

Good Marriage, good Marriage, the greatest prize,
Must that also be a compromise?
Not thoroughly true, patch'd up with lies?
What endless cobwebs tease us, poor flies?⁴⁴

raise questions about the sincerity of the former poems. Furthermore, the closed domestic world of Allingham's idyllic English country poems is challenged by the inclusion of the poet's anti-imperialist poems, previously published in *Fraser's*, "Patriotism",⁴⁵ "In Snow",⁴⁶ and "Words and Deeds".⁴⁷ Ireland's unique position,

as a colonised island forming part of the Union, is not forgotten either, serving as a wry reminder to Allingham's readers of his status as an outsider in England:

An Englishman has a country,
A Scotchman has two;
An Irishman has none at all,
And doesn't know what to do.⁴⁸

As had already been intimated by the poet in *Evil May-Day* (1882), where he appears to parody the idyllic rural life of his English poems, England is still not home.

II

Expressing his reservations over his own sheltered life in Surrey and his portrayal of that life in his poems, in *Evil May-Day* the ideal world of Allingham's flower sonnets – two of which were first published in the volume⁴⁹ – and of "In a Cottage Garden" is destabilised. In "A Modern Pleasaunce" the idyllic garden has become a living hell:

Our Garden is full of flowers and bowers;
But the toll of a death-bell haunts the air.
We have tried to drown it with lute and voice,
Love-songs and banquet-songs for choice,
But still it is ever tolling there;
And who can silence that dreadful bell?
Take the grim key-note; modulate well;
Let us keep time and tune with the knell,—
Sing of mad pleasure and fierce despair,
Roses, and blood, and the fire of hell!
With pants and sobs, with shrieks and moans,
Loud laughter mingled with dying groans;
The death-bell knolling pitilessly
Through all, our key-note,—and what care we,
In our Garden full of bowers and flowers?⁵⁰

While several readings of the poem are possible (the poet may, for instance, be either criticising his own evasion of the Famine in his earlier work and his consequent retreat into the world of poetry, or parodying the work and beliefs of decadent poets, such as Baudelaire), it seems most likely that it forms a critique of the affluent Victorian society, concerned with its own petty woes, of which Allingham is a part. Viewed in this light, the poem challenges the charmed romantic world so eloquently described in the closing lines of "In a Cottage Garden":

Look aloft,
The stars are gathering, cool and soft
The twilight in our garden-croft
Purples the crimson-folded rose,
(O tell me how so sweet it grows!)
Makes gleam like stars the cluster'd white;
And beauty too is infinite.⁵¹

When compared to "A Modern Pleasaunce", the aside of the final stanza of "In a Cottage Garden"; "(O tell me how so sweet it grows!)" reads like a plea from one who needs reassurance as to the rose's sweetness having felt its thorns.

The untitled "See what lives of mortals are" forms a similar critique of Victorian society:

See what lives of mortals are
On our foolish little star!
Toils unceasing, pleasures flying,
Aspirations fall'n to sighing,
Old deceits in garbs newfangled,
Angel-wings with cobwebs tangled,
Selfish comfort, drugg'd with sense,
Ambition's poverty immense,
Tender memory, sad in vain,

Flickering hope and haunting pain,
 Cries of suffering, sweat of strife,—
 But where the strong victorious life?
 Perchance its deeds make little noise;
 No record of its pains and joys,
 Save in mystic forms enscroll'd,
 Spiritual eyes behold,
 Seeing what lives of mortals are
 On our foolish little star.⁵²

Echoing "A Modern Pleasaunce", the poem also seems to express discontent with the poet's life. "Selfish comfort, drugg'd with sense" perhaps infers that Allingham is aware of the selfishness of his rural middle-class lifestyle and the picturesque poetry that springs from it. Inspired by an orderly outer world, rather than by the visions and thoughts that arrive from an inner meditative state, the poem indicates that the poet craves to return to the latter state, recommended in his 1865 lecture, "On Poetry",⁵³ where the true poet, engaged in a mystical relationship with his God, is alert to the divine power of poetry. Yet, in spite of his frustration, an otherworldly mood pervades both "A Modern Pleasaunce" and "See what lives of mortals are". The fact that the owners and inhabitants of "A Modern Pleasaunce" remain unnamed creates an air of mystique about the poem, as do the "Angel-wings with cobwebs tangled" and the "Spiritual eyes" in "See what lives of mortals are". It is a mood that is perpetuated in the later short and untitled poem, "I hear the hum of earth, alive and merry",⁵⁴ which is perhaps one of Allingham's most expertly crafted later poems. But filled with the conviction, in his darker moments, that "The Age of Poetry is gone",/The Age of Suicide sweeps on"⁵⁵ Allingham lacked the necessary faith in his own poetry to

further develop this mood in his other poems and turned, for solace, to what he believed he knew best: Ireland.

III

It is unclear if Yeats was aware that the Allingham poem from which he so often quoted,⁵⁶ “A Stormy Night: A Story of the Donegal Coast”⁵⁷ – the first stanza of which is included in his selection of Allingham’s poems, *Sixteen Poems by William Allingham* (1905),⁵⁸ titled “Let Me Sing of What I Know” – was written in Witley, Surrey. The poem tells the story of Redmond, a reckless young Donegal fisherman and gambler, who drowns himself after what he imagines to be the ghost of his brother, whom he has robbed and strangled in the belief that he was a shipwrecked stranger, appears before him. That it was written in England, not Ireland, when Allingham was sixty years old, allows for a very different interpretation of the poem which, if unpublished and discovered among his papers, would no doubt be judged as an early Irish piece:

A wild west Coast, a little Town,
Where little folk go up and down,
Tides flow and winds blow:
Night and Tempest and the Sea,
Human Will and Human Fate:
What is little, what is great?
Howsoe’er the answer be,
Let me sing of what I know.⁵⁹

Having lived twenty-one years in England Allingham, anticipating Yeats’s longing for Ireland while in London as a young man, again signals England is not home. He does not “know” it: England does not inspire him “to sing”. What he

does know, and what he is compelled to sing of in his sixtieth year, is the west coast of Ireland and the "little Town" of his birth. In the opening stanza of his story poem the poet therefore asserts his distinctiveness as an Irishman, and turns his back on English life. Moreover, by the final stanza he is ready to include himself among the simple people of that remote town:

The poor little Folk in our poor little Town
On their poor little business go up and go down.⁶⁰

The town where "little folk go up and down" is not simply the town from which his story derives. It is "our poor little Town"; my "poor little Town". In writing his poem he becomes one, once again, with the Ballyshannon peasantry whom he has not seen for over twenty years and manages to sound as if he has never left his hometown – perhaps because he had already revisited Donegal and his Donegal childhood in his 1876 poem, "Mervaunee", later titled "The Lady of the Sea",⁶¹ in his two 1877 poems, the untitled "The boy from his bedroom window"⁶² and "Half-Waking",⁶³ and in to "Familiar Epistle to a Little Boy" (1882).

"Mervaunee", or "The Lady of the Sea", tells the tale of a mortal man in twelfth century Ireland who marries a sea-woman. It was probably inspired by Goethe's "Der Fischer", which Allingham had translated in 1854.⁶⁴ More intent on telling his tale than setting it in within an identifiably Irish landscape, with its fairy-like atmosphere and easy flow the two-part poem reads particularly well as a poem for children. Despite its lack of place-names, however, the poem ends in Donegal, which Allingham seems to reinhabit as he writes:

The Rath has been for ages long

A grassy hill; the Standing-stone
Looks on a country bare and lone,
And lonelier billows,—half a word
Of ogham at the edge, all blurr'd
With crust of lichens yellow and gray.
There you may sit of a summer day,
And watch the white foam rise and fall
On rampart cliffs of Donegal,
And the wild sheep on the greensward stray,
And the sea-line sparkle far away.⁶⁵

More personal by far, “The boy from his bedroom window” and “Half-Waking” were probably inspired by the birth of Allingham’s first two children, Gerald and Evey, in 1875 and 1877 respectively. Their presence in his life must have brought to mind his own very different childhood in Donegal. The poems poignantly capture the almost surreal vividness of early childhood impressions and the sense of mystery attached to the small closed world of the child. Through the eyes of his young self, Allingham sees again both the view from his bedroom window in Ballyshannon and the interior of that room, where his mother sits, watching until he sleeps. In both poems there is a sense of distress at being removed from Donegal: in “The boy from his bedroom window” the poet cannot ascertain if the things he saw as a child were real or imagined as the actual landscape has faded from memory, and in “Half-Waking” he is as a stranger in the world in which he now lives: “Mong strangers cold I live instead,/ From dreary day to day.”⁶⁶ It is interesting to note the progression from these two poems of 1877 to “Familiar Epistle to a Little Boy” in 1882.⁶⁷ In the latter and later poem, the poet urges his son, Gerald, or “Sonny”, to visit Donegal when he is dead. Having done so, the poet takes an apparent delight in writing, as if to be

read aloud, the place-names of dearly remembered locations whose rough and foreign-sounding names and long vowel sounds slow the running lines and begin to read like mantras as the poem continues:

Nor will that ghost be happy unless he may know
That your footsteps have wandered where his used to go
In the young time and song-time—among those green hills
And gray mossy rocks, and swift-flowing rills,
On mountain, by river, and wave-trampled shore,
Where the wild region nourish'd the poet it bore,
And colour'd his mind with its shadows and gleams.
That lonely west coast was the house of his dreams
And his visions,—O Future and Past that combine
At a point ever shifting and flitting, to shine
In the spark of the Present! Old stories re-sown
Sprang to life once again, became part of my own,
Like 'mummy-wheat' sprouting in little home-croft;
The Ladder for Angels—it slanted aloft
From our meadow; the Star in the East hung on high
Where Fermanagh spreads dark to the midwinter sky;
And the Last Trumpet sounded o'er Mullinashee
With its graves old and new. And now, tenderly, see
They glide forward, and gaily, the sweet shapes of Greece,
All natives, and neighbours, for wonders don't cease;
Shy Dryads come peeping in woody Corlay,
And ~~our~~ ~~fit~~ ~~Nereids~~ ~~in~~ ~~Donegal~~ ~~Bay~~.
Olympus lay south, where the mists meet and melt
Upon Truskar. My Helicon, drought never felt;
It was Tubbernavoca, that deep cressy well.
A goddess-nymph kissed my boy-lips if I fell
Into slumber at Pan's hour in fragrant June grass;
Processions of helmeted heroes would pass
In the twilight; I saw the white robes of the bard
With his lyre. But the harp whose clear music I heard
Was Irish, and Erin could also unfold
Her songs, and her dreams, and her stories of old.
See Ireland, dear Sonny! my nurture was there;
And my song-gift, for which you at least are to care,
Took colours and flavours unfitted for vogue,
(With a tinge of the shamrock, a touch of the brogue,
Unconsciously mingling and threading through all)
On that wild verge of Europe, in dark Donegal.⁶⁸

It is perhaps Allingham's most personal and heartfelt poem and one in which he asserts his absolute distinctiveness as an Irish poet in England. It would be easy to say that the poet plays here on the Victorian penchant for sublime locations, perpetuating the myth of Ireland under Victoria as wild, remote, and untouched for an English readership. But to do so would be to deny the poem's sincerity. Like "A Stormy Night", the poem is not written by a young Irish poet propagating British stereotypes of his country to gain acceptance in England. It is the work of an aging writer, long resident in England, who is convinced that his nurture and the main inspiration for his poems came from the Donegal landscape and the Irish songs, myths and stories that he heard there. Finding, like Arnold, a perfect marriage between Hebraism and Hellenism⁶⁹ ("The Ladder for Angels—it slanted aloft / From our meadow"), Allingham nonetheless emphasises that his "song-gift" was inherited from a very different culture. Although Greek mythology was freely available for him to read (the conflation of Greek mythology with Irish locations was perhaps inspired by Thomas Comerford's attempt "to relate Gaelic culture to that of ancient Greece"⁷⁰ in his 1751 history of Ireland),⁷¹ and appealed to his boyish imagination, as an Irish youth the "harp" whose "clear music" he heard was "Irish". While addressed to his son, the poem also informs Allingham's future readers that he wishes to be remembered as an Irish poet. It was a wish that would be reiterated three years later in a letter to Ferguson in which Allingham stresses that, "The thought is dear to me of distinctly connecting my name as a Poet with that of the Old Country."⁷²

Allingham's Irish poems, ballads, essays, rambles and unfinished autobiography bear testament to the fact that this had always been his wish. That two of the six volumes of poetry collected for posterity (*Irish Songs and Poems* and *Laurence Bloomfield*) deal with Irish subject-matter, and that other poems inspired by his love of Ballyshannon and by Irish ballads are scattered throughout, and enrich, the other volumes of the collection, make it an indisputable fact. The poet's decision to, furthermore, republish his Irish rambles in Volume Three of *Varieties in Prose*,⁷³ together with such early Irish essays as "St Patrick's Day",⁷⁴ "St Patrick's Purgatory",⁷⁵ "Irish Ballad Singers and Street Ballads",⁷⁶ and "The Midsummer Fire",⁷⁷ adds further proof of his desire to be remembered as an Irish writer – which he was, by, among others, a young up-and-coming Irish poet. In a review of *Irish Songs and Poems* for the *Providence Sunday Journal* of September 1888, W. B. Yeats praised the older Irish poet for his local themes and for those poems and ballads that demonstrate Allingham's love of place. Ultimately, however, he deemed Allingham "though always Irish", in "no way national".⁷⁸

Allingham's "want of sympathy" with the national life and history", the twenty-three-year-old Yeats, anxious to be seen to be writing from a national literary tradition, asserted, "has limited his vision, has driven away from his poetry much beauty and power – has thinned his blood."⁷⁹ Having received the review from Katharine Tynan – and apparently misinterpreted Yeats's in "no way national" – Allingham simply noted in his diary, "'The Poet of Ballyshannon.' (non-

national, how sad!) “⁸⁰ He would never know how his Irish poems and ballads of place, and the mystical poems of the “Day and Night Songs” collected in *Flower Pieces*, had shaped, and would continue to shape, the early poems of a poet who would, in time, be considered one of Ireland’s most distinguished and talented poets. Allingham died on 18 November, 1889, following a move to Hampstead (the poet did not want his children to attend boarding-school – which would have been a necessity had the family stayed in Surrey) and a year’s illness that was most likely caused by cancer. Tennyson, now aged eighty, was particularly struck by his final words and often repeated them: “I am seeing things that you know nothing of.”⁸¹

III

Describing the inspiration for his early poems, before discussing his work and reading from poems both old and new, to an audience at St Bartholomew’s Vicarage, Clyde Road, Dublin, during the Irish civil war, Yeats, according to an unnamed *Irish Times* journalist, told his audience, that,

[...] he became a poet because of the place where he lived as a child and a very young man. He lived in the town of Sligo with his grandparents, and whenever he looked from the window of their house out on Belbulben [sic] Mountain there came to his mind the verse written by William Allingham—:

Up the heathery [sic] mountain,
Down the rushy glen—
I dared [sic] not go a-hunting
For fear of little men.

He early made up his mind that he would try to do in verse for Sligo what Allingham had done for Ballyshannon. He took for his motto the lines, “A little town, where little folk go up and down.”⁸²

That Yeats, at this time an internationally renowned and public figure, was prepared to own that it was Allingham who had inspired him to write of, and to take his inspiration from, Sligo, leaves Allingham's influence on Yeats's early poems incontrovertible. The poet stresses to his audience that Allingham's poetry not only came to mind when he gazed on Ben Bulbin as a young man but that he took "for his motto" the opening lines of his precursor's "A Stormy Night." Davis and Ferguson are no longer acknowledged as influences. (Yeats, while influenced by the Irish myth and legend of the latter's poems, had, in fact, long cast off his high regard for Ferguson's poetic work, finding as John P. Frayne has noted, "with each repeated mention [...] a new fault,"⁸³ and in 1909 he had expressed regret at his one-time acceptance of Davis's idea of how love of Ireland should be expressed in poetry.)⁸⁴ His early ambition, Yeats tells his audience, was not to create a national literature but "to do in verse for Sligo what Allingham had done for Dallyshannon." His admission adds weight to a disclosure made many years earlier to Allingham's widow, Helen. In 1904, in a letter requesting permission to "make a small selection" from Allingham's poetry, "for publication by the Dun Emer Press",⁸⁵ Yeats revealed that, "I am sometimes inclined to believe that he [Allingham] was my own master in Irish verse, starting me in the way I have gone whether for good or evil."⁸⁶

Yet, as a young poet, Yeats's high regard for Allingham was problematized by his desire to be seen to be contributing to an Irish national literature (particularly in the American newspaper, the aforementioned

Providence Sunday Journal, and in *United Ireland*,⁸⁷ where he first reviewed Allingham's poems). While he could describe the Unionist Ferguson as an "essentially national writer,"⁸⁸ because he wrote "heroic poetry"⁸⁹ and, like Davis, arguably "ever celebrated the national life",⁹⁰ Allingham's focus on Ballyshannon, together with the "personal nature"⁹¹ of many of his lyric poems, created a quandary. Largely unimpressed by *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland*,⁹² in which Allingham indeed "sang to sweeten Ireland's wrong",⁹³ and in spite of Allingham's Irish ballad-writing, he could not reconcile the poet's poems of place with Irish national literature: Allingham was posthumously to become a victim of the conflict in Yeats's mind between the national literary tradition he believed he should create and the poetry of place that actually inspired him.

Allingham's departure from Ireland, in Yeats's opinion, placed him in a category with those other Irish writers, such as "Lever and Lover"⁹⁴ who "had to go to England for their audience".⁹⁵ That the poet with whom he most empathised did not stay and continue to look to Ballyshannon for inspiration clearly enraged him. In an anonymous 1893 review of *Verses by the Way* by James Dryden Hosken and *The Questions at the Well* by Fenil Haig (the pseudonym for Ford Madox Ford),⁹⁶ he vented his rage, declaring that he kept "alive a smouldering fit of anger against the late Mr. Allingham for having in his latter days renounced Ballishannon [sic] and Ballishannon songs, and thereby watered his good grain until it became a kind of cosmopolitan water-gruel."⁹⁷

In the light of the inner conflict Yeats faced over his writing, his declaration to Helen Allingham, that the non-nationalist Allingham had started him "in the way" he had gone "whether for good or evil", can accordingly be read as an earlier admission that Allingham's "Ballishannon songs", and the "personal nature" of his work, had primarily inspired his early poems. "For good or evil", Allingham's personal poems of place had taken Yeats's full attention from "heroic poetry" and from Davis's vision of "Ireland free and prospering".⁹⁸ Still, at this stage, divided in his mind between what he believed he should write and what inspired him to put pen to paper, he remained unsure if taking Allingham's lead and setting his poems in the countryside he had loved as a child was the right decision. Five years after penning his letter to Allingham's widow, however, he had no such qualms.

In 1909 Yeats owned that he had erred in allowing himself to be sidetracked from an inspiration drawn, like Allingham's, from the "instinctive"⁹⁹ love of "the place one grew up in",¹⁰⁰ to what he now termed Davis's "artificial idea" of love of Ireland, which found its expression in "conscious patriotism".¹⁰¹ Allingham's love of place "left the soul free",¹⁰² he felt, while Davis's patriotism had done him "harm" because it was "built up" by "commonplace men" and accordingly lacked "spontaneity."¹⁰³ The note of regret contained in his declaration that, "If I could have kept it [an instinctive love of place] and yet never felt the influence of Young Ireland I had given a more profound picture of Ireland in my work"¹⁰⁴ is testimony to his esteem for Allingham's work and an

inadvertent disclosure of the insincerity of his earlier proscriptive nationalist rhetoric. It is a proscription that the young Yeats was likely conscious of when he criticised Allingham for his non-nationalism in his early, highly ambiguous, reviews. Over-conscious of his nationalist readership perhaps, and of instilling the concept of a national literature in his readers' minds, in "The Poet of Ballyshannon" (1888) and "A Poet We Have Neglected" (1891) he extols the simple beauty of Allingham's work, becomes aware that the work he is commending does not fit within an Irish national literary tradition, and searches for reasons to condemn it. Bearing this tendency in mind, the two aforementioned reviews can be adduced to support his 1923 confession that it was Allingham who had first inspired him to write of what he knew best – Sligo. When Yeats's use of the distancing "you" and "your" is replaced by "I" and "my" in the following passage from "The Poet of Ballyshannon", for example, his later protestations of Allingham's non-nationalism in the same article read as disingenuous, mere posturing compared to the genuine admiration and empathy expressed in the passage:

Perhaps, also, to fully understand these poems one needs to have been born and bred in one of those western Irish towns; to remember how it was the centre of your world, how the mountains and the river and the roads became a portion of your life forever; to have loved with a sense of possession even the roadside bushes where the roadside cottagers hung their clothes to dry. That sense of possession was the very centre of the matter. Elsewhere you are only a passer-by, for everything is owned by so many that it is owned by no one. Down there as you hummed over Allingham's "Fairies" and looked up at the mountain where they lived, it seemed to you that a portion of your life was the subject. How much, too, did it not add to remember that old Bidy So-and-So, at the river's side, laid milk and bread outside her door every evening to wheedle into prosperity-giving humor those same fairies of the song:

Up the airy mountain,
Down the rushy glen,
We daren't go a-hunting
For fear of little men;
Wee folk, good folk,
Trooping all together;
Green jacket, red cap,
And white owl's feather!¹⁰⁵

The poet's equally warm regard for Allingham's Irish poems in "A Poet We Have Neglected" similarly negates his later accusation, in the same review, that Allingham was "no national poet"¹⁰⁶:

In it [*Irish Songs and Poems*] is enshrined that passionate devotion that so many Irishmen feel for the little town where they were born, and for the mountains they saw from the doors they passed through in childhood. It should be dear to our exiles, and grow a new link in the chain that binds them to their native land [...] He [Allingham] will always, however, be best loved by those, who like the present writer, have spent their childhood in some small Western seaboard town, and who remember how it was for years the centre of their world, and how its enclosing mountains and its quiet rivers became a portion of their life for ever.¹⁰⁷

Bearing these passages in mind, there is surely no coincidence that the town of Ballah, which Yeats tells us in the preface to his novella, *John Sherman*, (written in 1888 and published in 1891), is Sligo, sounds as an abbreviated corruption of both Ballyshannon and "Belashanny".¹⁰⁸ We have already seen how, in later years, Yeats associated Allingham with Sligo when he recalled gazing out on Ben Bulbin as a young man. So closely did he identify one with the other that they seem to have become irrevocably linked in his mind, and there is evidence that this had long been the case. In a letter to Katherine Tynan of 1889 Yeats inadvertently drew an immediate relationship between Sligo and Allingham:

Hey-ho, I wish I was out of London in order that I might see the world. Here one gets into one's minority among the people who are like one's self – mystical literary folk, and such like. Down at Sligo one sees the whole world in a day's walk, every man is a class. It is too small there for minorities. All this bloodless philosophical chatter is poor substitute for news, but then I have none. 'You must not go to the pear-tree for apples,' as our Allingham said, or me for news.¹⁰⁹

Having expressed a desire to be "out of London" and in "the world" of Sligo, "our Allingham" immediately comes to mind – as, indeed, he seemed to have done a year earlier when Yeats was still writing *John Sherman*. We know from his September 1888 review that Yeats had read *Irish Songs and Poems*, and it is likely that Allingham's poems of a small western seaboard town, together with his own homesickness for Ireland while in London, reawakened Yeats's boyhood love for Sligo. Sligo, or "Ballah", is, accordingly, re-imagined and represented in *John Sherman* in much the same way as Allingham's Ballyshannon. An unsuspecting reader could, for instance, be forgiven for believing the greater part of Allingham's introduction to *Irish Songs and Poems* to be a passage from

John Sherman:

He sees the steep little Town, with its long Bridge, the country side and its thatched Cottages [...] among rocky knolls and moors. The sun is fresh upon the morning Sea, or sends a parting smile across the green-hilled Harbour; the fishermen haul their nets; they lie asleep on the grass; the sailors 'yo-heave-O' sounds up, the clank of the chain cable, the ceaseless hum of the waterfall [...] The Atlantic stretches limitless, the seafowl rise from the strand and fly across black cliffs capt with thymy sward [...] Wavy outline of a Mountain-range runs along the sky; the valleys lead up through slope and crag; ferns and wildflowers tremble in the breath of the torrent.¹¹⁰

Both writers describe the town and scenery of the northwest in an idyllic light, recalling a remote coastal town where familiarity with daily work routines and

landmarks act as a fortress against the sublime powers of nature that are continually called to mind by the sheer height of the mountains and by the sound of the waterfall:

Ballah was being constantly suggested to him. The grey corner of a cloud slanting its rain upon Cheapside called to mind by some remote suggestion the clouds rushing and falling in cloven surf on the seaward steep of a mountain north of Ballah. A certain street corner made him remember an angle of the Ballah fish-market [...] Delayed by a crush on the strand he heard a faint trickling of water near by; it came from a shop window where a little water-jet balanced a wooden ball upon its point. The sound suggested a cataract with a long Gaelic name, that leaped crying into the Gate of the Winds at Ballah.¹¹¹

Notable too is Yeats's similarly picturesque presentation of both the Atlantic and those who make their living from it. Allingham's fishermen and sailors and Yeats's fish-market create a fairytale-like or folk atmosphere in order to set the scene for the mystical "hum" or "crying" of the "cataract" that inevitably follows. In the work of both writers the Atlantic itself is a sunlit sea whose brightness is comparable to the blackness or vastness of the cliffs over which seagulls suddenly appear, either rising from the strand or emerging out of the mist:

SS *Lavinia* [...] was approaching the Donegal cliffs. They were covered by a faint mist, which made them loom even vaster than they were. To westward the sun shone on a perfectly blue sea. Seagulls came out of the mist and plunged into the sunlight, and out of the sunlight and plunged into the mist. To the westward gannets were striking continually, and a porpoise showed now and then, his fin and back gleaming in the sun.¹¹²

In a later letter to Tynan, of 2 December, 1891,¹¹³ Yeats drew a direct comparison between Sherman and Allingham. Sherman, he informed Tynan, could similarly be described as "an Irish type".¹¹⁴ Sherman's "devotion to Ballah",

like Allingham's for Ballyshannon, described "a typical Irish feeling".¹¹⁵ Or, more correctly, he added "A West of Ireland feeling", for,

[...] like that of Allingham for Ballyshannon, it is West rather than National. Sherman belonged like Allingham to the small gentry who, in the West at any rate, love their native places without perhaps loving Ireland. They do not travel and are shut off from England by the whole breadth of Ireland, with the result that they are forced to make their native town their world. I remember when we were children how intense our devotion was to all things in Sligo and still see in my mother the old feeling.¹¹⁶

Accordingly, with a few place name changes, "The Winding Banks of Erne" could serve as Sherman's lament – on his return to London after his revisit to Ballah – for the town where he was "bred and born":¹¹⁷ for the "trout rising to the fly, the salmon to the fall";¹¹⁸ for "the music of the water-fall, the mirror of the tide".¹¹⁹

IV

Yet, as Yeats would intimate in his 1923 reference to both "The Fairies" and "A Stormy Night", Allingham's influence was certainly not confined to *John Sherman*. His use of place names alone, in such poems as "Abbey Asaroe"¹²⁰ and the aforementioned "Familiar Epistle to a Little Boy", clearly impressed the young poet. While, as Nicholas Grene has commented,

Irish literary tradition supplied him [Yeats] with plenty of precedents for incorporating place names into poetry in laments and love songs, and the translations and adaptations into English by J. J. Callanan, James Clarence Mangan, and Samuel Ferguson would have made them familiar to Yeats,¹²¹

it is apparent that Yeats empathised with the love and intimate knowledge of place and its traditions that lay behind Allingham's inclusion of place-names, a love and knowledge that, as we have seen, caused those places, with their long vowel sounds and foreign-sounding names, to sound like mantras within particular poems. Hence Yeats takes from Allingham the use of the named place as a portal to a childhood world, whose sense of wonder is brought to life again in the very act of naming. In such poems as "The Stolen Child",¹²² "The Lake Isle of Innisfree",¹²³ and "The Man Who Dreamed of Faeryland",¹²⁴ place-names sound like incantations for the poet who remembers the places of his childhood.

Moreover, so great was Yeats's devotion to Allingham's "little town", with the memories it conjured up for him of childhood days spent in Sligo, that he could not refrain from directly echoing it in his own early poems. His mantra, "a little town, where little folk go up and down", from the opening lines of "A Stormy Night", hence re-sounds in "The Madness of King Goll":¹²⁵

I came upon a little town
That slumbered in the harvest moon,
And passed a-tiptoe up and down.¹²⁶

But his echoing of Allingham is not confined to the "little town". Yeats re-sounds his lines again, this time from another poem, in the opening stanza of "The Ballad of Father Gilligan".¹²⁷ Here the first four lines of "The Abbot of Inisfallen"¹²⁸ are echoed – a ballad that Yeats not only praised and cited in "The Poet of

Ballyshannon¹²⁹ but later also included in *A Book of Irish Verse*¹³⁰ and in *Sixteen Poems*:¹³¹

The old priest Peter Gilligan
Was weary night and day;
For half his flock were in their beds,
Or under green sods lay.¹³²

The Abbot of Inisfalen
Awoke ere dawn of day;
Under the dewy green leaves
Went he forth to pray.¹³³

It is in “The Stolen Child”, “The Everlasting Voices”¹³⁴ and “The Song of Wandering Aengus”¹³⁵ that Yeats echoes Allingham most consistently, however. As we have seen, the younger poet made no secret of his appreciation of “The Fairies”, which even a cursory glance tells us anticipates “The Stolen Child” (although the “Rosses”¹³⁶ of Allingham’s poem does not, in fact, describe the same location as Yeats’s “Rosses”¹³⁷).¹³⁸ The authority of the Irish oral-storytelling tradition – alongside that of the ballad tradition – is apparent in both poems. Anticipating “The Stolen Child”, “The Fairies” bears the influence of the ballad tradition in its refrain, and contains the immediacy and intimacy of the oral story: like Allingham Yeats tells his story in the first person plural, sets his poem in a named location, and creates a contemporaneous mood through his use of the present tense. In so doing, he places himself alongside Allingham within a living Irish folk tradition, rather than within a written Gaelic or English tradition. Furthermore, in an appeal to the Victorian lust for the picturesque, both poets prettify their verse, reining in the uneasy atmosphere – created by the marriage

of human to unknowable-other – through their use of colour. Inspired by Allingham’s painterly Celticism, Yeats paints with words: his “faery vats” full of “reddest stolen cherries”,¹³⁹ his “dim gray sands” glossed with moonlight,¹⁴⁰ his “brown mice” bobbing round the oatmeal chest framed against a “warm hillside” dotted with calves,¹⁴¹ correspond to Allingham’s “yellow tide-foam”,¹⁴² “black mountain lake”,¹⁴³ “white mist”,¹⁴⁴ and brightly dressed little men, in that they equally suggest painterly scenes or storybook illustrations. But the Allingham/Yeats picturesque is a picturesque that ultimately resists its own quaintness, spills out of the page and into a state of indeterminacy. Tainted with a deliberate Celtic otherness, as both poets strive to create a dreamy Celticism that distinguishes their work from English poetry, the mapped landscape of the northwest coast of Ireland is pitted against the unnamed/unknown world of faery. “Little Bridget” comes “down”¹⁴⁵ but we are not told from where, and the boy in “The Stolen Child” is called away from what can be visualised as a storybook illustration to an unspecified “waters and [...] wild”¹⁴⁶ that seems to lie beyond the textual world.

That the crossing of the mystical, marginal space, leads to death – either actual death or the death of human contact – is a concern also shared by Samuel Ferguson in his rendition of a fairy kidnapping, “The Fairy Thorn”,¹⁴⁷ to which Yeats’s “Stolen Child” has also been compared by critics such as Peter Denman.¹⁴⁸ Ferguson’s fairies do not, however, share the ambiguities of Allingham’s or Yeats’s fairies: there is a Gothic flavour to Ferguson’s poem that

is simply not present in "The Stolen Child". Remaining invisible, the others who inhabit the Ferguson countryside are stripped of all quaintness and granted far greater power: no innocent displays of fairy tenderness exist in Ferguson's poem. In fact his ballad seems to hint at rape and accordingly, Ferguson keeps himself, as writer, at a safe moral distance in the third person plural as opposed to the first person plural of Allingham and Yeats's poems. Lacking, as it does, the simplicity of the two later poems and their refrain, the language of his ballad is also fustian by comparison.

Campbell has further noted how Yeats, like Allingham, places his fairies in liminal locations – on shores and in lake reeds – "places in which the self-consciously Celtic imagination can find remnants of beliefs which are both unsettling and liberating, and imaginatively connected with liminal space".¹⁴⁹ Campbell's point is an important one: Allingham's faery and supernatural poems are filled with such marginal locations, thresholds between the mortal and supernatural worlds. Sharing Allingham's "self-consciously Celtic imagination", Yeats makes of them his own, also drawing on the marginal locations of "The Fairies" for "The Host of the Air",¹⁵⁰ and "Who Goes With Fergus?",¹⁵¹ and mirroring that used by Allingham in "The Queen of the Forest"¹⁵² for "The Song of Wandering Aengus".

With regard to the fairies of "The Fairies" and "The Stolen Child", we have seen how the places in which they make their appearances are directly

comparable in both poems, but what of their behaviour? Characterising those very “remnants of beliefs which are both unsettling and liberating”, both sets of fairies display parental tenderness to the child they have stolen while remaining indifferent to the child’s need for the company of other mortals and the security of home. Allingham’s little men keep vigil over the deceased Bridget, believing she sleeps; Yeats’s immortals lead the human child hand in hand from the familiar to the wild. The human child is as alien to the fairies as the fairies are to the “we” of Allingham’s poem. The world of faery is both contiguous and yet antipodal to the human, a state of ambiguity whose poetic possibilities Yeats explores more fully in “The Song of Wandering Aengus.”

It is perhaps significant that Yeats’s highest praise was not reserved for “The Fairies”, but for another of Allingham’s poems, “Twilight Voices”.¹⁵³ In “A Poet We Have Neglected”, Yeats describes the poem as “that most exquisite of all his [Allingham’s] lyrics”,¹⁵⁴ and further cites it as a favourite in an overview of Allingham’s work in *The Poets and the Poetry of the Century* a year later.¹⁵⁵ The summoning voice of “Twilight Voices” – with its alternating “Come, let us go”,¹⁵⁶ “Come, come”,¹⁵⁷ “Come, come away”¹⁵⁸ – in which an aging man heeds the immortal voices who urge him on to the spirit-world, hence echoes through several of Yeats’s early poems. It is found in the refrain of “The Stolen Child”, in Niamh’s, “Away, come away” in “The Hosting of the Sidhe”,¹⁵⁹ in the theme and title of “The Everlasting Voices” and in the beckoning voice of the “glimmering girl”¹⁶⁰ in “The Song of Wandering Aengus” (who likewise echoes the “Voices

from the woodlands”¹⁶¹ and “Mystic sounds”¹⁶² of Allingham’s “The Queen of the Forest”). Critics – with the exception of Frayne¹⁶³ – who have tended to look merely to the influence of “The Fairies” on “The Stolen Child” have therefore missed the equal influence of “Twilight Voices” on “The Stolen Child”, despite the fact that it is likely that the call of Yeats’s refrain, “Come away, O human child!”¹⁶⁴ would not have existed had he not read Allingham’s twilight poem.

V

In his absorption in the Celtic Twilight School, it surely did not escape Yeats’s attention that there were fourteen twilight poems in the “Day and Night Songs” section of Allingham’s *Flower Pieces and Other Poems* – a selection which he recommended to readers in “A Poet We Have Neglected”¹⁶⁵ and of which “Twilight Voices” forms a part. Although not all these twilight poems are associated with the faery or spirit world, they nonetheless evoke a dreamy Celtic mood which the young Yeats must have found inspiring. He had his own personal belief concerning the twilight, after all:

I will not of a certainty believe that there is nothing in the sunset, where our forefathers imagined the dead following their shepherd the sun, or nothing but some vague presence as little moving as nothing.¹⁶⁶

It is evident then that Yeats did not simply discover the association of twilight or dawn with faery, as retold in *The Celtic Twilight*, through his conversations with the Irish peasantry or through his perusal of the stories of Lady Wilde or Thomas Crofton Croker. Anticipating his own “Fergus and the Druid”,¹⁶⁷ “The Hosting of the Sidhe”,¹⁶⁸ “The Host of the Air”¹⁶⁹ and “The Song of Wandering Aengus”,¹⁷⁰

“The Fairies”, “Twilight Voices” and “The Queen of the Forest” – like Ferguson’s “Fairy Thorn”, by which Yeats was also influenced – further the Celtic mood of mysticism by having the supernatural visitation occur in a liminal moment or space, using either twilight or dawn as a threshold opening on the supernatural world. In “The Fairies” “little Bridget” is taken back to the lake “between the night and morrow”,¹⁷¹ the “Twilight Voices” inhabit the supernatural threshold of dusk, and “The Queen of the Forest” visits the mortal man “betwixt moonlight and morning.”¹⁷² The motif of the beckoning supernatural – associated not only with the presence of faery or spirit, but also with the creation of a liminal space between the corporeal world and the world of the supernatural – within “The Stolen Child”, “The Hosting of the Sidhe”, “Everlasting Voices”, and “The Song of Wandering Aengus” can thus be said to have its genesis in both Ferguson and Allingham’s work. But it is Allingham’s influence alone, his romantic association of the supernatural voices with nature’s “mystic sounds” in “The Queen of the Forest”¹⁷³ and with the “dusky blast” in “Twilight Voices”,¹⁷⁴ that is found repeated in “The Everlasting Voices”, who “call in birds, in wind on the hill,/ In shaken boughs, in tide on the shore”,¹⁷⁵ in “The Hosting of the Sidhe”, where Niamh’s voice sounds over the awakening “winds”,¹⁷⁶ and in “The Song of Wandering Aengus”, where the rustling “on the floor”¹⁷⁷ may well be confused for a supernatural voice.

The desire to follow the summoning voice of Allingham’s “Twilight Voices”, however, is most potently revealed in “The Song of Wandering

Aengus". Moreover, while "The Song of Wandering Aengus" embraces the world of faery more surely than Allingham's "The Queen of the Forest" – where the speaker of the poem urges the mortal man not to follow the "hiding Enchantress"¹⁷⁸ – there are, nonetheless, many telling similarities between the two poems. Like "Twilight Voices", "The Queen of the Forest" directly anticipates Yeats. Both poems are about longing and searching and, as we have already noted, contain a supernatural call. Even more central, however, is the motif of the supernatural woman who momentarily manifests herself and then disappears. Yeats's assertion that, "The poem was suggested to me by a Greek folk song"¹⁷⁹ simply does not ring true. Following his "master in verse", whose supernatural temptress materialises and disappears at dawn, his "glimmering girl"¹⁸⁰ likewise fades through "the brightening air"¹⁸¹ of dawn and, as in Allingham's poem, her arrival is signalled by a sound. This sound is specifically introduced, in both poems, to alert the reader to the fact that the protagonist may be dreaming. In "The Queen of the Forest" the "mystic sounds" relate to the "Tangled roof"¹⁸² of the branches of the forest and, as already alluded to, Yeats continues the blurring between tree and girl in "The Song of Wandering Aengus" through his use of the word "rustled",¹⁸³ a word commonly used to describe the sound of the wind in the trees. His "glimmering girl", quickly fading from view, hence proves herself but a brighter version of the "flitting, fading gleam" that describes Allingham's "enchantress", as she leaves the mortal man to haunt "the dusk woods".¹⁸⁴ The behaviour of their protagonists is also uncannily alike: Allingham's bewitched man, left "Wandering slowly all the day, / Through the

woodlands, far away”¹⁸⁵ in search of a “kiss”,¹⁸⁶ clearly anticipates Aengus who soon becomes “old with wandering / Through hollow lands and hilly lands”¹⁸⁷ in search of a kiss from his dream bride.

Helen Vendler has described “The Song of Wandering Aengus” as “a poem deriving from the Irish *aisling* lyric, in which the speaker is vouchsafed a vision of a female embodying the national spirit.”¹⁸⁸ It is interesting to view both “The Queen of the Forest” and “The Song of Wandering Aengus” in this light, in order to make further comparisons. If Yeats’s mortal man is bent on finding out “where she has gone”,¹⁸⁹ Allingham’s speaker provides a warning not to follow her. Examined in this context, Allingham’s “Queen of the Forest”, with its warning to stay away from a queen who will ultimately lead a mortal man to his death, serves – probably quite unconsciously on Allingham’s part – as a subverted *aisling* that may reflect Allingham’s fear of a nationalist uprising, while at the same time anticipating his later emigration to England. It is ironic, therefore, that Yeats chose to model what may be a patriotic poem on a poem which seems to deny the very spirit of cultural nationalism that the young Yeats generally hoped to inspire in his readers. Yet, as is obvious from his emulation of not only “The Queen of the Forest”, but also of “The Fairies” and “Twilight Voices”, Yeats was as equally influenced by Allingham’s shared Celticism between Ireland, Scotland and Wales, as he was by his love of place. Like Allingham, the young Yeats sought acceptance in England through a common Celticism, a Celticism that in England could be either interpreted as posing little

threat to the Union or regarded as anti-imperialist and forming a part of the social and cultural distinctiveness of nationalism. Had Yeats read Allingham's *Laurence Bloomfield* more closely, or studied his *Rambles*, his "Ivy-Leaves" series in *Fraser's* and his chosen contributions for that magazine, he would, perhaps, have recognised that in his anti-imperialism Allingham was cognate with many of the views of the cultural nationalist and that his non-nationalism was not as unambiguously clear as it seemed. Yet, their perceived differences aside, the two poets had much in common. Like Allingham Yeats turned to the Irish ballad tradition. Like Allingham he gathered songs and tales from the rural poor. Like Allingham he engaged in Celticism to please an English readership: like Allingham he took inspiration from place. In broader terms, Allingham served as a warning of the problems the Irish writer writing in English faced in trying to present himself to both an English and an Irish reading audience; a reminder that, despite the passage of time between Allingham's high point as a poet and Yeats's early years as a poet, those problems persisted. No wonder then that Allingham was often on his mind, and that he chose to echo him so faithfully in both *John Sherman* and his early poems, while affecting to repudiate him as "non-national".

Notes

- ¹ Untitled, by William Allingham. *Blackberries*, p. 170.
- ² "A Stormy Night", ISP, p. 136.
- ³ WAD, Ch. XXIII, p. 372.
- ⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 372 - 73.
- ⁵ *Ibid*, p. 374.
- ⁶ *Ibid*.
- ⁷ *Ibid*.
- ⁸ *Ibid*.
- ⁹ *Ibid*.
- ¹⁰ See Chapter Four, pp. 281 - 84.
- ¹¹ *Rhymes for the Young Folk* (1887), p. 41. First published in *Poems* (1850), pp. 267 - 68. Republished in MM, p.p. 189 - 90, & SBS, p. 165.
- ¹² *Rhymes for the Young Folk*, pp. 42 - 43. First published in MM, pp. 176 - 77. Republished in SBS, p. 164.
- ¹³ ISP, pp. 153 - 57. First published in *Evil May-Day* (1882), pp. 92 - 97.
- ¹⁴ ISP, pp. 136 - 44. First published in *Longman's Magazine*, 5: 26 (1884: Dec.), pp. 148 - 55.
- ¹⁵ FP, pp. 32 - 33. First published in *Macmillan's Magazine*, 56: 333 (1887: July), p. 200, signed William Allingham.
- ¹⁶ FP, pp. 121 - 23.
- ¹⁷ FP, 159 - 60.
- ¹⁸ MM, pp. 202 - 04. SBS, pp. 184 - 85.
- ¹⁹ Compare, for example, those passages from Allingham's original diary for October 3, 1863, included in the Appendix to Hallam Tennyson's, *Lord Alfred Tennyson, A Memoir by his Son*, Vol. I, pp. 512 - 14, to WAD, Ch. V, pp. 87 - 89. Also see unexpurgated diary entry for August 5, 1880, *Lord Alfred Tennyson*, Vol II, pp. 259 - 60, and WAD, Ch XVIII, pp. 286 - 88.
- ²⁰ Helen Allingham, *William Allingham: A Diary*, Preface, p. v.
- ²¹ See Note 19.
- ²² Beverly Seaton, "Considering the Lilies: Ruskin's "Proserpina" and Other Victorian Flower Books", Beverly Seaton, *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 28, No 2., Winter 1985, pp. 255 - 82, p. 255.
- ²³ Kate Crossaway, *Language of Flowers* (1884), p. 22.
- ²⁴ FP, p. 9.
- ²⁵ First published in *The Athenaeum*, 2753 (1880: July 31), pp. 145 - 46. Signed W. Allingham. Republished in *Evil May-Day*, pp. 31 - 32, and in FP, retitled "In a Garden", p. 31.
- ²⁶ *Evil May-Day*, p. 34.
- ²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 31.
- ²⁸ First published in *Macmillan's Magazine*, 56: 333 (1887: July), p. 200, signed William Allingham. Republished in FP, pp. 32 - 33.
- ²⁹ FP, p. 32.
- ³⁰ See FMP, pp. 17 - 18.
- ³¹ *Blackberries* (1884), p. 122.
- ³² *Ibid*, p. 126.
- ³³ *Ibid*, p. 89.
- ³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 86, p. 87, p. 127, & p. 136.
- ³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 122.
- ³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 126.
- ³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 89.
- ³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 86.
- ³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 87.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 127.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 136.
- ⁴² *Ibid*, p. 63.
- ⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 60.

- ⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 62.
- ⁴⁵ *Blackberries*, pp. 65 – 66. First published FM, 19:114: (1879: June), p. 800. Unsigned.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 66. First published FM, 19:109 (1879: Jan.), p. 134. Unsigned.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 67. First published FM, 19:112 (1879: Apr.), p. 532. Signed William Allingham.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 80.
- ⁴⁹ “Daffodil”, *Evil May-Day*, p. 33, & “A Flower” (later titled “Snowdrop in FP, p. 4.), p. 40.
- ⁵⁰ *Evil May-Day*, p. 63. Republished in LP, p. 140.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 32.
- ⁵² *Ibid*, p. 35.
- ⁵³ “On Poetry”, FM, 75: 448 (1867: Apr.), pp. 523 – 36. Republished in VIP III, pp. 251 – 78. See also Chapter Three, p. 169.
- ⁵⁴ Untitled, *Blackberries*, p. 170. See epigraph to this chapter.
- ⁵⁵ Untitled, *Blackberries*, p. 25.
- ⁵⁶ See, for example, W. B. Yeats, “The Poet of Ballyshannon”, *Letters to the New Island*, pp. 72 – 78, p. 71; John P. Frayne, *Uncollected Prose by W. B. Yeats*, Vol I, “A Poet We Have Neglected” (First published *United Ireland*, Dec. 12, 1891), pp. 208 – 12, p. 210, “Irish National Literature, I: From Callanan to Carleton” (First published the *Bookman*, July 1895), pp. 359 – 64, p. 363, “William Allingham”, pp. 258 – 61, p. 259, and *The Irish Times*, Jan 30, 1923, “Mr. W. B. Yeats’s Secrets: How His Poems Were Inspired”, Unsigned.
- ⁵⁷ First published in *Longman’s Magazine*, 5: 26 (1884: Dec.), pp. 148 – 55. Republished in ISP, pp. 136 – 44.
- ⁵⁸ See “Let Me Sing of What I Know”, *Sixteen Poems of William Allingham* (1905), p. 1.
- ⁵⁹ “A Stormy Night”, ISP, p. 136.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 144.
- ⁶¹ First published, in two parts, as “Mervaunee” in *The Cornhill Magazine*, 34: 199 (1876: July), pp. 122 – 28, and 34: 200 (1876: Aug.), pp. 248 – 56. Signed William Allingham. Republished in SBS as “Mervaunee”, pp. 305 – 26, and in ISP as “Lady of the Sea”, pp. 5 – 23.
- ⁶² Untitled, SBS, pp. 49 – 50. Republished in FP, p. 111.
- ⁶³ *Ibid*, pp. 59 – 60. Republished in FP, p. 107.
- ⁶⁴ “The Fisherman”. First published in DNS, Poem V. Republished in MM, pp. 13 – 14, and FP, pp. 187 – 88.
- ⁶⁵ “Mervaunee”, Part II, SBS, p. 326.
- ⁶⁶ FP, p. 60.
- ⁶⁷ *Evil May-Day*, pp. 92 – 97.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 93 – 94.
- ⁶⁹ See Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy and other writings* (ed) Stefan Collini, p. 140.
- ⁷⁰ R. F. Foster, “History and the Irish Question”, *Paddy & Mr. Punch*, p. 3.
- ⁷¹ Thomas Comerford, *History of Ireland from the Earliest Accounts of Time to the Invasion of the English under King Henry II* (1751).
- ⁷² Letter to Ferguson, June 6, 1885. MS 5747, National Library of Ireland. An abridged version of the letter appears in *Sir Samuel Ferguson in the Ireland of his Day*, Vol I, pp. 360 – 61, p. 360.
- ⁷³ “An Irish River” VP III, pp. 48 – 110.
- ⁷⁴ VP III, pp. 111 – 22.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 123 – 36.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 137 – 54.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 155 – 60.
- ⁷⁸ W. B. Yeats, “The Poet of Ballyshannon”, *Letters to the New Island*, pp. 71 – 78, p. 74. (Henceforth LNI.) First published in the *Providence Sunday Journal*, 2 September, 1888, under column headed, “The Literary World. Book Reviews and News”, whose footnote reads: *Irish Songs and Poems*. By William Allingham. With Music. Reeves and Turner.”
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 77.
- ⁸⁰ WAD, Ch. XXIII, Tuesday, Sept. 18, 1888, p. 380.
- ⁸¹ See Alfred Lord Tennyson, *A Memoir by his Son*, Vol II, p. 369, & WAD, CH XXIII, p. 388.
- ⁸² *The Irish Times*, Jan 30, 1923, “Mr. W. B. Yeats’s Secrets: How His Poems Were Inspired”, Unsigned. Proquest, *The Irish Times*, p. 8.

- ⁸³ John P. Frayne, Introduction to *Uncollected Prose by W. B. Yeats*, Vol I (Henceforth UP I), p. 46.
- ⁸⁴ See WBY, "Estrangement", *Autobiographies*, pp. 471 - 472. Yeats describes Davis's idea of love for Ireland as "artificial", and accuses Davis of "conscious patriotism" in his ballads. (p. 472).
- ⁸⁵ Letter to Mrs William Allingham, Dec 7, 1904. *The Letters of W. B. Yeats*, p. 446. The publication was *Sixteen poems by William Allingham*.
- ⁸⁶ *The Letters of W. B. Yeats*, p. 446.
- ⁸⁷ "A Poet We Have Neglected". First published in *United Ireland*, Dec. 12, 1891. A review of the six-volume collected edition of Allingham's poems. Republished in UP I, pp. 208 - 12.
- ⁸⁸ "The Poet of Ballyshannon", LNI, p. 74.
- ⁸⁹ "The Poetry of Sir Samuel Ferguson - II", UP I, pp. 87 - 104, p. 103.
- ⁹⁰ LNI, p. 74.
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹² See "The Poet of Ballyshannon", LNI, pp. 77 - 78.
- ⁹³ WBY, "To Ireland in the Coming Times", *The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W. B. Yeats*, pp. 137 - 39, p. 137. First published in *The Countess Kathleen and Various Legends and Lyrics* (1892), under the title 'Apologia Addressed to Ireland in the coming days.'
- ⁹⁴ The novelists, Charles Lever and Samuel Lover.
- ⁹⁵ "The Poet of Ballyshannon", LNI, p. 78.
- ⁹⁶ See "Two Minor Lyricists", UP I, pp. 288 - 91. First published in the *Speaker*, Aug. 26, 1893.
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 289.
- ⁹⁸ "The Poet of Ballyshannon", LNI, p. 74.
- ⁹⁹ WBY, "Estrangement", *Autobiographies*, p. 472.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 471.
- ¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 472.
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁵ "The Poet of Ballyshannon", LNI, pp. 72 - 3.
- ¹⁰⁶ "A Poet We Have Neglected", UP I, p. 212.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p. 210.
- ¹⁰⁸ See "The Winding Banks of Erne", *ISP*, pp. 24 - 30, p. 26.
- ¹⁰⁹ *The Collected Letters of W. B. Yeats*, Vol. I, Letter to Katharine Tynan, 1 March, 1889, p. 153. Yeats wrongly attributes the maxim to Allingham - see Note 5, p. 153.
- ¹¹⁰ Allingham, *ISP*, pp. 1 - 2.
- ¹¹¹ "John Sherman", *W. B. Yeats: Short Fiction*, p. 46.
- ¹¹² *Ibid*, p. 54.
- ¹¹³ *Collected Letters*, Vol I, pp. 274 - 75.
- ¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 274.
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 275.
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁷ "The Winding Banks of Erne", *ISP*, p. 26.
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 27.
- ¹²⁰ *ISP*, pp. 45 - 46.
- ¹²¹ *Yeats's Poetic Codes*, p. 80.
- ¹²² *The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W. B. Yeats*, pp. 86 - 9. First published in *The Irish Monthly*, Dec., 1886. Republished in *Crossways* (1889).
- ¹²³ *Variorum Edition*, p. 117. First published in *The National Observer*, 13 Dec., 1890. Republished in *The Rose* (1893).
- ¹²⁴ *Variorum Edition*, pp. 126 - 28. Written in 1891 and published in *The Rose* (1893).
- ¹²⁵ *Variorum Edition*, pp. 81 - 86. First published in *Crossways* (1889).
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 85.
- ¹²⁷ *Variorum Edition*, pp. 132 - 34. First published as "Father Gilligan" in the *Scots Observer*, 5 July 1890.

- ¹²⁸ First published as "The Abbot of Innisfallen: A Killarney Legend", *Macmillan's Magazine*, 10: 58 (1864: Aug.), pp. 288 – 89. First published in volume form in FMP, pp. 131 – 36. Republished as "The Abbot of Inisfallen: A Killarney Legend", in SBS, pp. 149 – 53, & ISP, pp. 104 – 07.
- ¹²⁹ UP I, pp. 75 – 77.
- ¹³⁰ *A Book of Irish Verse*, pp. 160 – 64.
- ¹³¹ *Sixteen Poems by William Allingham*, pp. 30 – 33.
- ¹³² "The Ballad of Father Gilligan", *Variorum Edition*, p. 132.
- ¹³³ "The Abbot of Inisfallen", ISP, p. 104.
- ¹³⁴ *Variorum Edition*, p. 141. First published in *The Wind Among the Reeds* (1899).
- ¹³⁵ *Variorum Edition*, pp. 149 – 50. First published in the *Sketch*, 1897, entitled "A Mad Song". Republished in *The Wind Among the Reeds* (1899).
- ¹³⁶ "The Fairies", Stanza 3, ISP, p. 128.
- ¹³⁷ "The Stolen Child", Stanza 2, *Variorum Edition*, p. 87.
- ¹³⁸ Allingham was referring to the Rosses, a region in the west of Donegal, while Yeats refers to Rosses Point and Strand in Co. Sligo.
- ¹³⁹ "The Stolen Child", Stanza 1, *Variorum Edition*, pp. 86 – 7.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Stanza 4, p. 88.
- ¹⁴² "The Fairies", Stanza 2, ISP, p. 128.
- ¹⁴³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Stanza 3.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Stanza 4, p. 129.
- ¹⁴⁶ "The Stolen Child", *Variorum Edition*, pp. 87 – 88.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Poems of Sir Samuel Ferguson*, (With an introduction by Alfred Perceval Graves), pp. 62 – 64.
- ¹⁴⁸ See Peter Denman, *Samuel Ferguson: The Literary Achievement*, p. 177.
- ¹⁴⁹ "Letting the Past Be Past: The English Poet and the Irish Poem", *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol. 32, No. 1, 2004, pp. 63 – 82, p. 67.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Variorum Edition*, pp. 143 – 45. First published in *The Wind Among the Reeds* (1899).
- ¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 125 – 26. First published in *The Countess Kathleen and Various Legends and Lyrics* (1892).
- ¹⁵² First published in FM, 58: 346 (1858: Oct.), p. 479. Republished in FMP, pp. 106 – 08, SBS, pp. 100 – 01, FP, pp. 65 – 66.
- ¹⁵³ First published in *The St. James Magazine*: 1 (1868: Apr.), p. 477. Republished in SBS, pp. 71 – 2, & FP, pp. 92 – 3.
- ¹⁵⁴ UP I, p. 212.
- ¹⁵⁵ "William Allingham 1824-1889" (1892), UP I, pp. 259 – 61, pp. 260 – 61.
- ¹⁵⁶ "Twilight Voices", Stanza 1, FP, p. 92.
- ¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Stanza 2.
- ¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Stanza 3.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Variorum Edition*, pp. 140 – 41, p. 140. First published in *The National Observer* (1893). Republished in *The Wind Among the Reeds* (1899).
- ¹⁶⁰ "The Song of Wandering Aengus", Stanza 2, *Variorum Edition*, p. 149.
- ¹⁶¹ "The Queen of the Forest", Stanza 1, FP, p. 65.
- ¹⁶² *Ibid.*, Stanza 2.
- ¹⁶³ See UP I, pp. 208 – 09.
- ¹⁶⁴ "The Stolen Child", Stanzas 1 – 3, *Variorum Edition*, pp. 86 – 8.
- ¹⁶⁵ UP I, p. 212.
- ¹⁶⁶ WBY, *The Celtic Twilight*, p. 107.
- ¹⁶⁷ *Variorum Edition*, pp. 102 – 04. ("And now at last you wear a human shape,/ A thin grey man half lost in gathering night." p. 102.) First published in *The National Observer*, 21 May, 1892. Republished in *The Rose* (1893).
- ¹⁶⁸ "The host is rushing 'twixt night and day", *Variorum Edition*, p. 141.
- ¹⁶⁹ *Variorum Edition*, pp. 143 – 45. Stanza 2: "And he saw how the reeds grew dark/ At the coming of night-tide", p. 144. First published *The Wind Among the Reeds* (1899).

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- ¹⁷⁰ The poem opens at dusk, "when moth-like stars were flickering out", and the girl fades "through the brightening air" of dawn. *Variorum Edition*, p. 149.
- ¹⁷¹ "The Fairies", Stanza 4, ISP, p. 129.
- ¹⁷² "The Queen of the Forest", Stanza 3, FP, p. 66.
- ¹⁷³ FP, p. 65.
- ¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 92.
- ¹⁷⁵ *Variorum Edition*, p. 141.
- ¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 140.
- ¹⁷⁷ "The Song of Wandering Aengus", Stanza 2, *Variorum Edition*, p. 149.
- ¹⁷⁸ FP, p. 66.
- ¹⁷⁹ *Variorum Edition*, Appendix I, Notes, p. 806.
- ¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*.
- ¹⁸¹ *Ibid*.
- ¹⁸² Stanza 2, FP, p. 65.
- ¹⁸³ Stanza 2, *Variorum Edition*, p. 149.
- ¹⁸⁴ Stanza 3, FP, p. 66.
- ¹⁸⁵ Stanza 2, FP, p. 65.
- ¹⁸⁶ Stanza 3, FP, p. 66.
- ¹⁸⁷ Stanza 3, *Variorum Edition*, p. 150.
- ¹⁸⁸ *Our Secret Discipline: Yeats and Lyric Form*, p. 105.
- ¹⁸⁹ "The Song of Wandering Aengus", Stanza 3, *Variorum Edition*, p. 150.

Conclusion

Is Criticism of any use? Then, bless your eyes;
Why don't you try and learn to criticise?

By William Allingham¹

In the introduction to *The Book of Irish Verse: An Anthology of Irish Poetry from the Sixth Century to the Present* (1974), John Montague notes a “strange phenomenon in nineteenth-century Irish poetry” whereby Irish poets, such as Mangan, rarely speak in their “own voice” but let “the past speak”² through them. Allingham, it can be argued, should not be included in this group. Unlike his contemporaries, Mangan, Ferguson and De Vere, he allows the present to speak through him, and this is one of his greatest achievements. In an age concerned with mapping Ireland’s past, the Donegal poet immerses himself in Irish folk culture and in the Irish ballad tradition and draws attention to the Irish land problem and to peasant proprietorship, repeatedly praising the Irish peasantry and drawing attention to Irish achievements and Irish antiquaries and writers in his *Rambles* series and in his articles for *Fraser’s Magazine*. This achievement, together with many others, has been noted in this thesis, which examined Allingham’s work within a social, political and cultural context and provided in-depth accounts of previously neglected areas of study. Such neglected areas include Allingham’s radical liberalism and anti-imperialism, his efforts to appeal to Irish and English reading audiences alike, his attachment to Ballyshannon and reluctance to leave it, his travel writings, editorship of *Fraser’s Magazine* and influence on the young W. B. Yeats.

With regard to Allingham's Irish years, the most important information gleaned from previously unknown aspects of his life and work is arguably the influence of the Famine and Irish landscape art on his early poems, his attempt to create a common Celticism accessible to Irish and British readers alike, and the influence of Thomas Davis on his ballad-writing and on *Laurence Bloomfield*. Likewise virtually ignored until now, and shaping his most powerful prose and poems of the period and his editorship of *Fraser's*, Allingham's radical liberalism and anti-imperialism, alluded to in Chapter Two but discussed in greater length in Chapters Three and Four, are surely the most important driving force of the poet's English years, while his influence on the young Yeats's early poems and *John Sherman*, discussed in Chapter Five, is of utmost importance to Irish literary history.

Such disregard, up to now, of the above outlined literary and aesthetic influences on Allingham, and of his political beliefs and tendencies, proves ironic: these influences and attributes engendered, after all, his greatest accomplishments. The Famine-influenced "Aeolian Harp" series of poems, for example,³ together with those poems influenced by Irish landscape art (and particularly the work of Petrie), such as "The Ruined Chapel"⁴ and "Wayconnell Tower",⁵ are among Allingham's finest early Irish poems. Moreover, as outlined in Chapter Two, one of Allingham's best loved ballads, "Abbey Asaroe",⁶ owes much to the influence of Davis, as do the ideas and sentiments that inform *Laurence Bloomfield*. Finally, and as already stated above, the anti-imperialist

poems of his English years – and particularly “In Snow”⁷ and “Words and Deeds”⁸ – are among Allingham’s finest. The writer who emerges from this thesis is hence a very different person to the one derided by Denis Florence MacCarthy⁹ or, for that matter, the one whom posterity remembers – when it remembers at all. History appears to be repeating itself, in fact, in that Allingham, who deliberately distributed his broadside ballads anonymously among the local Donegal people, often goes unmentioned when his most popular poem, “The Fairies” is referenced in contemporary culture.¹⁰

Posterity has generally not been kind to Allingham in England: for the most part, he is remembered by English anthology editors as a writer of sentimental verse. John Wain, for instance, in *The Oxford Anthology of English Poetry: Vol II: Blake to Heaney* (1991), chose to merely include “Four ducks on a pond”,¹¹ while Daniel Karlin, editor of *The Penguin Book of Victorian Verse* (1997), did little to showcase Allingham’s work – his inclusion of “In Snow”¹² aside – by merely referring to *Blackberries* (1884) and opting for such works as “By and by, we shall meet”,¹³ “Writing”,¹⁴ “The Fairy King”,¹⁵ and “Everything passes and vanishes”.¹⁶

Irish anthology editors have fortunately featured work that is slightly more representative of Allingham’s poetry as a whole. Patrick Crotty’s recent selection of Allingham’s poems and ballads for *The Penguin Book of Irish Poetry* (2010) is particularly promising. Crotty includes three stanzas from “Invitation to a

Painter”,¹⁷ “The Abbot of Inisfalen (A Killarney Legend)”,¹⁸ four excerpts from *Laurence Bloomfield* – from Ch II, “Neighbouring Landlords”,¹⁹ from Ch V, Ballytullagh”,²⁰ from Ch VII, Tenants at Will²¹ and from Ch IX, The Fair²² – “In Snow”,²³ and “Lovely Mary Donnelly”.²⁴ His selection, veering away from the mystical and menacing theme and mood found in “The Fairies” and so favoured by popular culture, presents Allingham not only as an interpreter of local Irish folk customs and culture and as a ballad-writer but – with the inclusion of such excerpts from *Laurence Bloomfield* as “Neighbouring Landlords” and “Tenants at Will” and the sonnet “In Snow” – as a satirist and a political writer. Allingham’s Irishness is thus emphasised, as is his anti-imperialism, as Crotty lays the sentimental Allingham of the anthologies of English and Victorian verse to rest.

Yet Crotty, following in the footsteps of former editors of Irish verse collections, including Brendan Kennelly and Thomas Kinsella, fails to give Allingham further pride of place in Irish Victorian poetry by referring to him in his introduction. This was an honour bestowed on Allingham only by John Montague in his selection for *The Book of Irish Verse: An Anthology of Irish Poetry from the Sixth Century to the Present*. Here Montague deemed Allingham: “The most professional poet of the second half of the (19th) century” and rightly declared that, “*Laurence Bloomfield*, a study of Irish landlordism, deserves reprinting for both literary and historical reasons.”²⁵

Attention to *Laurence Bloomfield* by Montague and other Irish poetry anthology editors and poets serves to keep the poem in the public eye. But the repeated inclusion of "Tenants of Will", either in full or merely including the eviction scene,²⁶ perhaps implies a reliance by compilers of anthologies of Irish verse on the selections of former Irish editors (Crotty is obviously an exception here), and a consequent unwillingness to explore Allingham's other poems. The fact that, excluding Crotty, prior editors chose to include only one other poem or ballad to accompany an excerpt, or excerpts, from *Laurence Bloomfield* is telling as to their knowledge of the full extent of the poet's work (Kennelly, for example, chose "The Winding Banks of Erne",²⁷ Montague opted for "The Dream" [sic],²⁸ and Kinsella included "Four ducks on a pond").²⁹ Nonetheless, outside of the limited sphere of the anthology, and despite Foster's omission of him in *Words Alone: Yeats and his Inheritances*, the latter's recognition of Allingham as "a particular inspiration for Yeats"³⁰ in the earlier *'Conquering England': Ireland in Victorian London* (2005)³¹ is praiseworthy. Foster reaffirms the interests the two poets shared for a British and an Irish reading audience and emphasises the true extent of Allingham's influence on the younger poet.

That influence, paradoxically, guarantees Allingham a lasting impact on Irish literature: if he is forgotten in years to come his "supernatural themes"³² will nonetheless live on in the early poems of Yeats. He is unlikely to be forgotten, however. Consigned forever to Leopold Bloom's bookshelf – his work placed ironically (considering Allingham's concern over the Russo-Turkish war and his

early interest in astronomy) between *Hozier's History of the Russo-Turkish War* and *A Handbook of Astronomy*³³ – Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland will no doubt tempt future generations to open and read.

Notes

¹ *Blackberries*, p. 90.

² *The Book of Irish Verse: An Anthology of Irish Poetry from the Sixth Century to the Present*, p. 33.

³ See Ch 1, pp. 70 – 75.

⁴ See Ch 1, p. 59, p. 62 & pp. 63 – 65.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 60 – 69.

⁶ See Ch 2, pp. 114 – 16.

⁷ See Ch 4, pp. 270 – 71.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 271 – 72.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 242 – 44.

¹⁰ The poem has been reinterpreted for a thrill-hungry audience in a new age of films of menacing fairytales with universal appeal, low-budget horror films and horror stories for teenagers. The first four lines of “The Fairies”, for example, are misquoted both by the Tinker (played by Peter Capell) in *Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory*, 1971 (“Up the airy mountain,/ Down the rushing [sic] glen,/ We dare not [sic] go a-hunting/ For fear of little men”. The lines are spoken by the Tinker whom Charlie meets outside the factory gates on his way home from school), and by a crazed elderly female patient in the 1973 low-budget horror film *Don't Look in the Basement* (directed by S. F. Brownrigg, the film is set in a sanatorium for the insane). Furthermore, a short young adult horror story titled “Up the Airy Mountain”, included in *A Nightmare's Dozen: Stories from the Dark*, edited by Michael Stearns (1996) and written by Debra Doyle and James D. Macdonald, borrows its title from Allingham's poem.

“The Fairies” has thus been deracinated from its Donegal setting and Celtic context to be become part of a cinematic monoculture which presents the first four lines of the refrain as an incantation in which the “little men”, removed from their environment, are made particularly menacing. Internet and print sources that cite the poem in full, however, generally provide Allingham's name: it is included, for example, in Theodora Goss's online Poems of the Fantastic and Macabre (<http://poemsofthefantastic.com/william-allingham-1824-1889/>), together with “The Ruined Chapel”, “The Witch Bride”, “The Maids of Elfin-Mere” and “Twilight Voices”, while British print sources, such as Helen Gardner's *New Oxford Book of English Verse 1250-1950* (1972) likewise cite the poem in full and allow Allingham his name (“The Fairies”, *New Oxford Book of English Verse 1250-1950*, p. 709).

¹¹ *The Oxford Anthology of English Poetry: Vol II: Blake to Heaney*, p. 460.

¹² *The Penguin Book of Victorian Verse*, p. 408.

¹³ *Ibid.* “Untitled”, first published *Blackberries*, p. 95.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 409. First published ISP, p. 130.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* First published, *Evil May-Day*, p. 32.

¹⁷ Stanzas I, V, VI, *The Penguin Book of Irish Poetry* (2010), pp. 516 - 18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 519 - 20.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 521 – 22.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 522 – 23.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 524 - 26.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 526 – 28.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 528.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 904 – 06. Included in the Ballad Section.

²⁵ *The Book of Irish Verse*, p. 33.

²⁶ Kennelly includes the entire chapter in *The Penguin Book of Irish Verse* (1970) pp. 244 - 52, Montague opts for the eviction scene only in *The Book of Irish Verse: An Anthology of Irish Poetry from the Sixth Century to the Present* (1974), pp. 209 -10 and in doing so is mirrored by Kinsella in *The New Oxford Book of Irish Verse* (1986) pp. 307 – 08.

²⁷ *The Penguin Book of Irish Verse*, pp. 241 - 44.

²⁸ *The Book of Irish Verse: An Anthology of Irish Poetry from the Sixth Century to the Present* (1974), pp. 211 - 12.

²⁹ *The New Oxford Book of Irish Verse*, p. 308.

³⁰ 'Conquering England', p. 19.

³¹ *Ibid*, pp. 19 - 20.

³² *Ibid*, p. 20.

³³ See "Ithaca", *Ulysses*, p. 833.

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Don't Look in the Basement. Dir. S. F. Brownrigg. Perf. Bill McGhee, Jessie Lee Fulton, Robert Dracup. Camera Two Productions, Century Films, 1973. Film.

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Appendices

Appendix 1



"An Ejectment in Ireland", or "A Tear and a Prayer for Erin", R. G. Kelly (1847)

Appendix 2



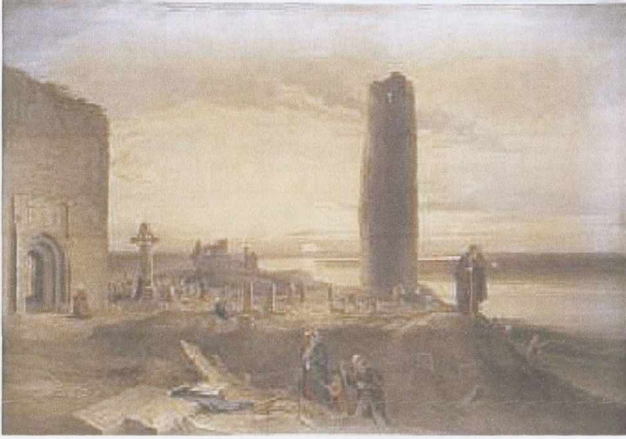
"Morning", James Arthur O'Connor (ca 1828-40)

Appendix 3



"Landscape with trees in foreground and distant hills", James Arthur O'Connor (1840)

Appendix 4



“Last Circuit of Pilgrims at Clonmacnoise”, George Petrie (1828)



“Gougane Barra”, George Petrie (c.1831)

Appendix 5



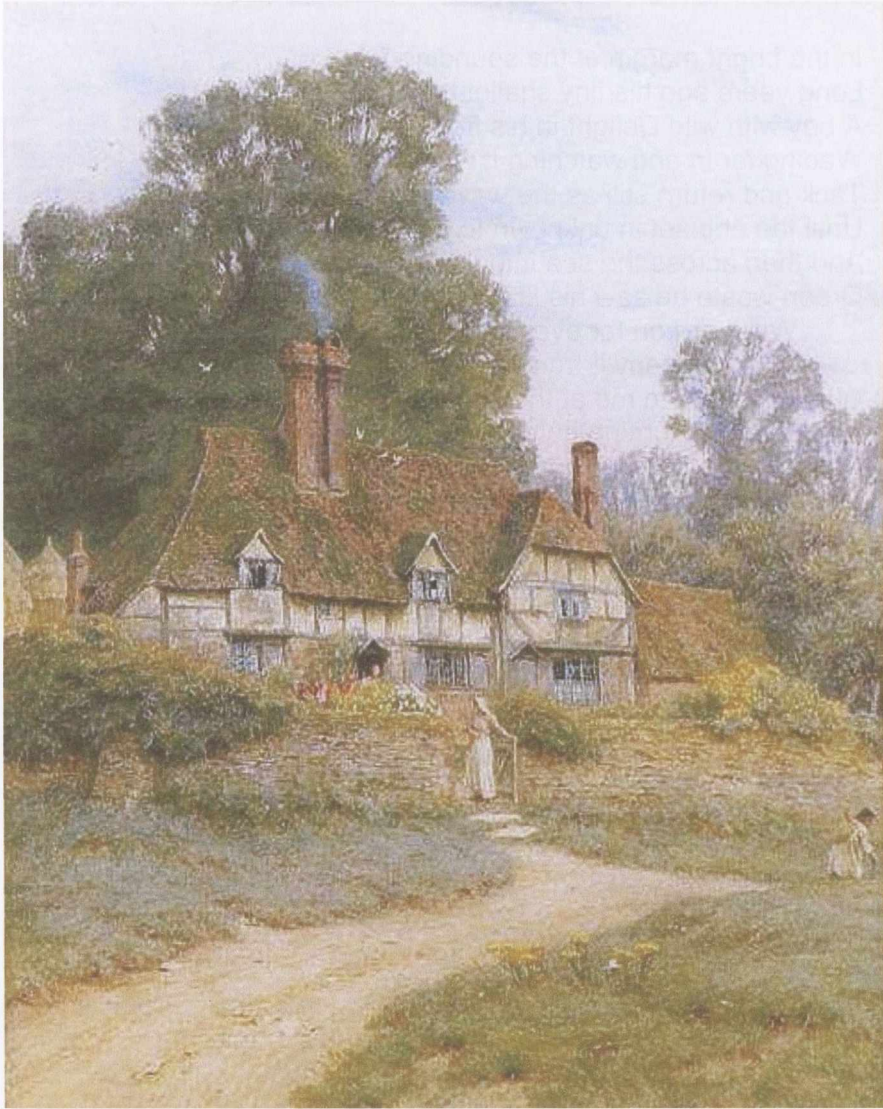
"Conway Castle", by Francis Danby

Appendix 6



"A Cottage Near Brook, Witley", Helen Allingham

Appendix 7



"Off Marketing", Helen Allingham

Appendix 8

“Coming and Going”

In the bright margin of the sounding tide
Long years ago his tiny shallot tries
A boy with wild Delight in his fresh eyes,
Wading far in and watching it with pride
Tack and return still as the wavelet's guide;
Until the ebb set in unknown to him,—
And then across the sea into the dim
Green waste he saw his little frigate ride!
 Will it sail on for ever and a day?
 Will they espy it from some New-Found-Land?
Why went it from me at the last away?
Wondered he turning homeward, his toy gone;
And many a time since from this life-strand
The sad mysterious ebb hath made him moan.

Unpublished poem by William Allingham. Rossetti Archive, M.S. Poetry,
1869.70.71