

Women and reading
in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland

A dissertation for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

2017

Mai Yatani

Trinity College Dublin

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and it is entirely my own work.

I agree to deposit this thesis in the Library of Trinity College Dublin and to allow the Library to lend or copy the thesis on request.

I agree to deposit this thesis in the University's open access institutional repository or allow the library to do so on my behalf, subject to Irish Copyright Legislation and Trinity College Library conditions of use and acknowledgement.

Mai Yatani

Summary

There is a general understanding that women at the turn of the twentieth century operated under the strict guidance of male authority, and women's reading activities are no exception. Existing studies, which are strongly influenced by feminist ideas, have explained this as one facet of the general oppression of women. This approach has emphasised the image of women as victims and denied women's own will and agency.

Aiming for a more balanced historiography, this thesis seeks to challenge this set of assumptions by providing a wide-ranging exploration of the relationship between women and reading in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland. Based on primary research in archives across Ireland, the thesis employs an interdisciplinary methodology which combines quantitative and textual analyses of the contemporary press, diaries and memoirs. The thesis has three main objectives: to reconstruct the general landscape of Irish people's reading activity around the turn of the twentieth century; to outline how women enjoyed reading throughout their lifetime; and to consider what meaning such reading activity had for women. This thesis also aims to address following questions: what were regarded as "good" or "bad" readings? How restricted was female reading in that period? If so, what restricted women's freedom of reading? Were women powerless to challenge these restrictions? If not, what was the strategies to broaden their possibilities?

Chapter One outlines the debate on reading activities of Irish people and the transformation of the nature of public libraries throughout the turn of the twentieth century. Opening almost simultaneously with the Revival, the debate on reading activities of Irish people focused on how to make a reading public out of non-reading public in Ireland. Reacting this tide, many public libraries started to open their doors to the broader public. Chapter Two describes the intolerant attitude of Catholic Church toward Irish people's reading activities and how they made use of people's taste at the same time. People's inclination to cheap English publications was regarded as a threat and Catholic publications increased as a solution to this

problem. Although people's preference of fictional works were generally denounced by Catholic authorities, the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland sought ways to utilise this tendency and produced many pamphlets of fictional works.

As chapter One and Two mainly focus on top-down dimension of reading activities, the other three chapters show actual readers' experiences. Chapter Three examines the reading activities held in literary societies in prominent girls' schools of both Protestant and Catholic denominations. Belonging to such societies was meaningful not only for pupils but also for alumni, since these societies networked both past and present pupils and connected them to intellectual activities, which were seldom available for married alumni. Chapter Four explores the activities of adult reading clubs. Gathering for reading activities enabled women not only to fulfil their intellectual curiosities, but also to showcase their talents. Although the demands of the clubs were fairly high, reading activities were not only purpose in these clubs - through the activities they could socialise and enjoy sophisticated and intellectual atmosphere. It could be also considered that these reading activities played an important role as pseudo-higher education in the time when entering universities was not possible for everyone.

Chapter Five analyses private reading activities of contemporary women. Looking at their memoirs, particular narratives can be observed to describe their reading from childhood to adulthood. The history of reading almost equals to the history of inner independence of women. The latter half of this chapter shows a woman's actual reading activity in detail, taking the example of Mary Hayden's diaries. This detailed diary vividly shows us how reading activity transformed throughout her lifetime, how and where she read and what she thought. Finally, Conclusion will answer the research questions.

Table of contents

Summary.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	vi
List of Tables	ix
List of Figures (graphs, maps and images).....	x
List of abbreviations.....	xii
Introduction.....	1
1. <i>Fin-de-siècle</i> Ireland and women	2
2. Women and reading	7
3. The debate on female reading in <i>fin-de-siècle</i> Ireland	13
Thesis structure.....	20
Chapter 1: General Reading Practice of People in <i>fin-de-siècle</i> Ireland	22
1. Instructions on reading given to Irish people	24
2. People’s usage of libraries in <i>fin-de-siècle</i> Dublin	39
(1) The Royal Dublin Society Library	39
(2) National Library of Ireland	48
(3) Public Libraries.....	56
(4) Circulating libraries: the example of John Greene’s Library in 16 Clare Street	67
Conclusion.....	70
Chapter 2: Attitude of Catholic Authorities towards People’s Reading Activities: The Examples of Catholic Periodicals and the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland	71
1. Instructions on reading given to Catholics.....	71
2. Using taste: the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland	83
(1) The foundation of the CTSI.....	85
(2) The attitudes of the CTSI	95
(3) The publications and the reception of the CTSI	101
Conclusion.....	111
Chapter 3: Reading Activities in Girls’ Schools: The Roles of Literary Societies and School Magazines.....	113
1. Protestant girls’ schools: Alexandra College and the Victoria College Belfast	120
(1) The Alexandra College	120
(2) Victoria College in Belfast	130
2. Catholic girls’ schools in Dublin: Loreto Convent school and Dominican Colleges (Sion Hill and St. Mary’s University College).....	138
(1) The Loreto Magazines	140
(2) Dominican College Sion Hill.....	145
(3) St. Mary’s University College	148

Conclusion	158
Chapter 4: Shared Reading of Female Readers: A Study of Reading Clubs and Literary Societies in Belfast, Cork and Dublin	161
1. "Our reading club" in Belfast	167
2. Cork Shakespearian Society	175
3. The 90 club in Dublin.....	187
4. A male only reading club: The Caliban Club in the Trinity College Dublin	204
5. Comparison of the gatherings.....	208
Conclusion	211
Chapter 5 Private Reading.....	214
1. Female reading experiences, as reflected in biographical works	216
(1) Katharine Tynan.....	218
(2) Mary Colum	224
(3) Sophie O'Brien	227
(4) Mary E. L. Butler.....	228
(5) Comparison.....	230
2. Mary Hayden's reading experience	233
Conclusion	258
Conclusion.....	260
Appendix: Mary Hayden's reading of contemporary books, 1878-1903.....	264
Bibliography.....	271
Primary Sources	271
Secondary Sources	277

Acknowledgements

Since this project started in 2012, I have been blessed with the support of many people. I wish to acknowledge in particular the support of my two supervisors, Professors David Dickson and Ciaran O'Neill. Without their advice, guidance and above all, encouragement, I could not have completed this thesis. It has been a great honour to work under their supervision. Professor Louis M. Cullen has also supported me and gave me many insightful comments on my drafts. I am also very grateful to my examiners, Professor Mridu Rai, Dr Anne Dolan, Dr Martine Cuypers, Professor Patrick Geoghegan and Professor James H. Murphy for their most helpful advice.

I gratefully acknowledge the financial support by Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Japan Student Services Organization and Trinity College Dublin Research Postgraduate studentship. Librarians and archivists in various repositories across Ireland not only provided access to documents but also gave me great advice on my research. Having conversation with them over a cup of tea, sometimes meals, provided me a great opportunity for refreshment in between conducting archival research.

Although pursuing PhD in Ireland as a non-native English speaker was hard, many friends that I made here gave me warm help. Thanks to these colleagues, I could have spent four wonderful years. They are not only very good friends, but are also excellent proof-readers who brushed up my awkward English writing. I would like to highlight in particular the friendship and support of Ellie Payne, Chloe O'Reilly, Alex Tierney, Stephen McQuillan, Jerome Devitt, Ciska Neits, Kayoko Yukimura, Fionnuala Walsh, Neasa McGarrigle, Ailish Veale and Mary Hatfield. Having started PhD with Stephen, Neasa, Jerome and Mary in 2012 was really fortunate, since I could share the experience of this journey with the best teammates anyone could ever hope to have. My friends in the Irish conversation circle, especially Ray Ó Cealloigh and Séamus Ó Louingsigh have always gave me warm support as well.

On the Japanese side, the most fortunate thing for me was to have two prominent

historians as my supervisors, Professors Kazuhiko Kondo and Shunsuke Katsuta. Without attending Professor Kondo's class, and without him introducing me to Professor Katsuta, I could have never dreamed of specialising in modern Irish history. It was also very fortunate for me to attend Professor Masami Nakao's class on Irish literature – without attending her class, I could have never been interested in literary side of Ireland. I am also fortunate to have many Japanese friends who are also studying in Ireland. I am especially thankful to the friendship of two Joyceans, Soichiro Onose and Kaori Hirashige. Not to mention the privilege of listening to their "lecture" about Joyce which gave me a lot of ideas and insights, just having casual conversations with them was relaxing and refreshing. Above all, I cannot thank Kayoko enough. She has always been a wonderful predecessor who set a great example and I could always turn to her advice. If she were not studying in TCD under Professor Dickson, and without her introduction of me to Professors Dickson and O'Neill, I could not have even dreamed of pursuing my PhD here. Although they are not PhD students, I must not forget to name Penny and Tyson, two wonderful dogs of my landlord in Ireland. I owe them much for my good health, both physical and mental, during the PhD years.

I also benefitted from Japanese PhD friends of mine based in Europe. The online discussions with Haruki Inagaki, who started his PhD in King's College London in 2012, the same year as me, were valuable. He kindly read my draft and gave me insightful comments from time to time. Sayaka Nakagomi, who was doing her PhD in University College London, also gave me valuable advice. I was also fortunate to travel around Europe, visiting my predecessors - Keita Saito and his wife Noriko Saito in Berlin, and Takashi Hasegawa in Bordeaux. They warmly welcomed me and showed me around the town, taking me to both historical and non-historical sites.

Talking, mostly online, with my friends and family in Japan always encouraged and relaxed me. Thanks to the chat tool, I survived these past four years without feeling homesick. My friends, Tomoko Inagaki, Mahoko Hayama, Hitomi Nakagawa, Yumiko Nakayama, Natsumi

Hagihara, Yuka Kamiya, Aki Uehara, Masumi Oka, Atsuko Sunami, Mayuko Nobuhiro, Mio Otsubo, Ami Watanabe always welcomed me when I went back in Japan for a visit. Making my grandparents, Toshiko Yatani, Mohei Konishi and Hiroko Konishi happy has been always the chief reason for finishing PhD. Every time I visited Tokyo, my uncle Akio Konishi and his wife Naomi Konishi kindly offered their place during my stay. My younger sister Mio Yatani kept distracting me by sending me silly short messages, but I understand that it was her way of encouraging me. My beloved Shiba dog Maro has always been a great soothing presence. My parents, Yoshihide Yatani and Kazue Yatani, who have been always supportive of their daughter's adventure. Above all, my greatest debt is to all the women who appeared in this thesis. Their detailed records of reading activity enabled me to relive women's experiences in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland and have always inspired me a lot. This thesis is dedicated to them with my appreciation.

List of Tables

Table 2-1 The fiction pamphlets published in 1900	104
Table 3-1 "Books recommended" quoted from the Loreto Magazine, Xmas Number 1896, p. 68.....	142
Table 3-2 "Books recommended" for juniors	142
Table 4-1 New list of members which was made in October 1891	168
Table 5-1 List of the publications mentioned in the quoted autobiographical works	231
Table 5-2 List of contemporary (published between 1870s and 1890s) works which Mary Hayden read from 1878 to 1903	249

List of Figures (graphs, maps and images)

Figure 1-1 Total annual book borrowings from the RDS Library, 1892 to 1910	44
Figure 1-2 Numbers of the borrowed books from the RDS Library classified by genre from 1892 to 1910	46
Figure 1-3 Circulation of the magazines and reviews in the RDS Library, 1895 to 1910	47
Figure 1-4 The number of attendances at the NLI, 1878 to 1915.....	50
Figure 1-5 Daily averages of attendance at the NLI, 1878 to 1915.....	51
Figure 1-6 NLI visitors by gender, 1898 to 1910	54
Figure 1-7 Number of books borrowed from the NLI, 1898-1915.....	55
Figure 1-8 Total number of the books in stock in the Capel Street and Thomas Street Public Libraries, Dublin, 1884 to 1886.....	60
Figure 1-9 Number of books in stock in the Capel Public Street Library, Dublin, 1884 to 1886	61
Figure 1-10 Number of books in stock in Thomas Street Public Library, Dublin, 1884 to 1886	61
Figure 1-11 Annual attendance at Capel Street and Thomas Street Public Libraries, 1884 to 1886	63
Figure 1-12 Visitors by occupation at the Capel Street Public Library, 1885-6.....	64
Figure 1-13 Visitors by occupation at the Thomas Street Public Library, 1885-6.....	64
Figure 1-14 Seasonal variation of visitors in Capel Street and Thomas Street Public Libraries, 1885	67
Figure 1-15 Genres of books added to Greene’s Circulating Library Supplemental Catalogue, 1883	68
Figure 2-1 The relative importance of different genre of the CTSI pamphlet published between 1900 and 1920	102
Figure 3-1 Topics discussed by St Mary’s Literary Academy, 1889 to 1913	149
Figure 3-2 Choices of the topics on a yearly basis	150
Figure 3-3 The frequency and the proportion of the Irish or Female matters discussed	151
Figure 3-4 Classification of the genres of the literary topics	152
Figure 3-5 Classification of genres of the literary topics: yearly transition	153
Figure 4-1 The list of original members at the time of foundation of the club	167
Figure 4-2 “Our reading club” meeting locations	170
Figure 4-3 The frequency of the reading club addresses that invited more than five guests	171
Figure 4-4 Average number of attendants to the club meetings	172

Figure 4-5 Authors chosen at “Our reading club” in Belfast	173
Figure 4-6 List of works chosen repeatedly at “Our reading club” (3/3/1890-5/2/1901)	174
Figure 4-7 Crawford Municipal School of Science and Art, Cork	181
Figure 4-8 Chosen works and their repetition from 1894 to 19	183
Figure 4-9 The advertisement brochure of the meeting at 20th December, 1899	186
Figure 4-10 Member’s areas of residence	188
Figure 4-11 Age groups of the entrants to the club	194
Figure 4-12 The places for the meetings of the 90 club	195
Figure 4-13 The premises of the club meetings and the frequency	204
Figure 4-14 Chosen works at the reading clubs	206
Figure 5-1 Mary Hayden’s library usages from 1882 to 1903	240
Figure 5-2 Mary Hayden’s readings classified by literary genres from 1878 to 1903	246
Figure 5-3 Mary Hayden’s readings classified by publication periods	247

List of abbreviations

CCCA: Cork City and County Archives

CTSE: Catholic Truth Society of England

CTSI: Catholic Truth Society of Ireland

DIB: Dictionary of Irish Biography

IER: Irish Ecclesiastical Record

NLI: National Library of Ireland

ODNB: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

PRONI: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland

QCB: Queen's College Belfast

QCC: Queen's College Cork

RDS: Royal Dublin Society

RUI: Royal University of Ireland

TCD: Trinity College Dublin

TCDA: Trinity College Dublin Archives

Introduction

'[...]You read too many novels anyhow. When I was a girl I wasn't so much as allowed to look at a novel.'

'Oh, how can you call 'Ben Hur' a novel when it's really such a religious book?' protested Anne. '[...] I never read *any* book now unless either Miss Stacy or Mrs Allan thinks it is a proper book for a girl thirteen and three-quarters to read. Miss Stacy made me promise that. She found me reading a book one day called 'The Lurid Mystery of the Haunted Hall'. It was [...] so fascinating and creepy. [...] But Miss Stacy said it was a very silly, unwholesome book, and she asked me not to read any more of it or any like it. I didn't mind promising not to read any more like it, but it was *agonising* to give back that book without knowing how it turned out.[...]

L. M. Montgomery, *Anne of Green Gables* (1908)

The expansion of the reading population was a global phenomenon throughout the nineteenth century. Pastime reading, which was only an option for people of high social status prior to this, became popular among wider public.¹ This same phenomenon, however, generated a fear in some quarters of moral hazard and among those who held power were many who became keen to direct and control people's reading. Since women – all women – were regarded as more vulnerable to the influence of cheap and low-quality publications, they became the main target for censorship. The fictional frustrations of Anne Shirley in the quotation above exemplifies the general experience of educated women readers, even at the beginning of the twentieth century. Women were guided and directed what to read and as what they should not read by the (generally male) authorities. Finding that Anne was reading a "fascinating and creepy" book which she had borrowed from her friend, Miss Stacy, her schoolteacher told Anne not to read such "a very silly, unwholesome book". Although "it was agonising to give back that book without knowing how it turned out", Anne accepted that

¹ Harvey J. Graff, *The Legacies of Literacy: Continuities and Contradictions in Western Culture and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

guidance and stopped reading. In this way, reading must be understood as a situated social practice, as Brandt and Clinton have argued.² It is not the outcome of free choice for anyone, but is usually culturally controlled, and by multiple actors.

Were women really powerless to resist such direction of their reading? How did women feel about these kinds of instructions? If women did not like such directions, did they have access to any loopholes? Did they resist or confirm, and why? The main purpose of this thesis is to explore this question of female agency or conformity in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland through an analysis of their reading patterns and practices.

Considering that women's reading activities in late-nineteenth-century Ireland can be placed at the intersecting point of cultural history, women's history and the history of books, this Introduction will outline the relationship of each topic to the thesis. The first section reviews the general historiography of the cultural landscape of the late-nineteenth-century Ireland, focusing on the growth of the Catholic middle class in that period. The second section will outline the unique character of the history of reading in late-nineteenth century Ireland and will also explain the relationship between women and reading. The third section will focus on two separate debates in the 1880s and 1906 on girls' reading.

1. *Fin-de-siècle* Ireland and women

W. B. Yeats famously described *fin-de-siècle* Ireland as the "long gestation",³ and cultural activities in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland have long been understood as vital to the emergence of the

² D. Brandt and K. Clinton, "Limits of the Local: Expanding Perspectives on Literacy as a Social Practice," *Journal of Literacy Research* 34, no. 3 (2002).

³ "The modern literature of Ireland, and indeed all that stir of thought which prepare for the Anglo-Irish war, began when Parnell fell from power in 1891. A disillusioned and embittered Ireland turned from parliamentary politics; an event was conceived; and the race began, as I think, to be troubled by that event's long gestation." W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies* (London: Macmillan, 1955), 554.

subsequent revolutionary generation.⁴ This Yeatsian view has been endorsed by nationalist historians and has remained influential even after revisionist critiques.⁵ Although it is difficult to prove that a cultural movement can directly influence a political movement, it is also difficult to deny strong connections between cultural activities and political movements as Roger Chartier and Robert Darnton famously argue in their work on the relationship between print culture and French Revolution.⁶ Cultural activity in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland had enough energy to influence actual society and even politics.

This has often been explained as, at least partially, a product of the improvement of the Irish educational system in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. The Catholic University in Dublin (1854) began to offer university education to Catholic population in the mid-century, and it developed alongside the non-denominational Queens' Colleges established in 1845 that helped to widen access to higher education somewhat.⁷ John Hutchinson explains that this improvement in higher education resulted in the "blocked mobility" of newly emergent Catholic middle classes. It has been said that opportunity for securing employment was not improved in line with education and that many young Catholic graduates were condemned to under-employment, having to settle for lower status positions.

⁴ Both Tom Garvin and John Hutchinson argue that a distinct and revitalised Irish culture became the ideological weapon for nationalists in this period. Hutchinson also defined the *fin-de-siècle* as the period of "crystallisation" and "articulation" of radical thought through the Revival movement. See Tom Garvin, *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland 1858-1928* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism : The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987). A recent and influential account of the generational argument can be found in R. F. Foster, *Vivid Faces : The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland, 1890-1923*, First American edition. ed. (London: Allen Lane, 2014).

⁵ For example, F. S. L. Lyons evaluated the activities of the Gaelic League as "the nursery of revolutionaries". F. S. L. Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971).

⁶ Roger Chartier, *Les Origines Culturelles De La Révolution Française*, L'univers Historique (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990); Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1984).

⁷ Susan M. Parkes, "Higher Education, 1793-1908," in *A New History of Ireland. Vol. 6 : Ireland under the Union, Pt. 2, 1870-1921*, ed. W. E. Vaughan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

According to Hutchinson, the Revival movement worked as an outlet for educated lower-middle-class Catholics who felt dissatisfied with contemporary social inequalities.⁸

This kind of interpretation, however, looks only at the results of political movements. R. F. Foster has criticised the tendency to see cultural activity in this period as an alternative to politics and maintains that people's participation in cultural activities should rather be seen "as another facet of a maturing and sophisticated society."⁹ People's participation in cultural activities in this period should be interpreted in wider context. Apart from the opportunities offered by Revival organisations, there was an expansion in the range of cultural opportunities and people engaged in these from a variety of motives. Senia Pašeta, for example, focuses on the activities of student societies in University College Dublin at the turn-of-the-twentieth century. Pašeta's study of extracurricular activities is also noteworthy in that most previous studies have just focused on institutional dimension of higher education in this period.¹⁰ Historians of science have also revealed that many academic bodies, both public and private, were active and offered people alternative intellectual outlets.¹¹ As Sherra Murphy has pointed out, such opportunities provided appealing cultural options, especially in urban areas in late-nineteenth century Ireland.¹²

Another important characteristic of *fin-de-siècle* Ireland was the influence of conservative atmosphere of the society. As Pašeta maintains, most cultural and nationalist organisations in

⁸ Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism : The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*, 258-71.

⁹ R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1988), 432. In his another work *Paddy and Mr. Punch*, Foster repeatedly criticised the attitude of seeing people's joining the movement simply as the expression of their loyalty for the movement. *Paddy and Mr Punch : Connections in Irish and English History* (London: Allen Lane, 1993), 272.

¹⁰ Senia Pašeta, *Before the Revolution : Nationalism, Social Change and Ireland's Catholic Elite, 1879-1922* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1999).

¹¹ For example, see Juliana Adelman, *Communities of Science in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009).

¹² Sherra Murphy, "The Learned Gentlemen Are in Town: The British Association Meeting of 1857 in Dublin's Popular Press," in *Science and Technology in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. Juliana Adelman, Éadaoin Agnew, and Society for the Study of Nineteenth-Century Ireland. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), 168.

this period were not free from social orthodoxy.¹³ It has been suggested that women in particular were subject to this tendency. As Eibhlín Breathnach notes, despite the gradual improvement of female higher education, the movement was still strongly influenced by middle-class ethos and “the role of women in society were left unchallenged”, that is, to be good wives and mothers.¹⁴ This was a prominent feature of contemporary discourse. For example, Mary E. L. Butler, a prominent language enthusiast, insisted that the movement for the revival of the Irish language was suitable for Irishwomen because of its conservative nature:

[...] Because this language movement is not an academic one. It is a living one. What is wanted is to make the language living in the land; to do this it is necessary to make it the home language; and to make it the home language it is necessary to enlist the co-operation of woman – the home maker. [...] [The language movement] is [...] warfare which can best be waged not by shrieking viragoes or aggressive amazons, but by gentle, low-voiced women who teach little children [...]. To most Irish people it is extremely distasteful to see a woman mount a platform and hold forth in public. We are the most conservative people in the world [...]. Let it then be thoroughly understood that when Irishwomen are invited to take part in the language movement, they are not required to plunge into the vortex of public life. No, the work which they best can do is work to be done at home. Their mission is to make the homes of Ireland Irish. If the homes are Irish the whole country will be Irish.¹⁵

This has been considered a typical example of female conservatism.¹⁶ Butler emphasises the primary role of women as wives and mothers. Claiming that “[w]e are the most conservative people in the world”, Butler was arguing that married women could also contribute to the language movement through their home education, without damaging their femininity by

¹³ Pašeta, *Before the Revolution : Nationalism, Social Change and Ireland's Catholic Elite, 1879-1922*, 151-2.

¹⁴ Eibhlín Breathnach, "Charting New Waters: Women's Experience in Higher Education, 1879-1908," in *Girls Don't Do Honours : Irish Women in Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries*

ed. Mary Cullen (Dublin: Women's Education Bureau, 1987), 76.

¹⁵ Mary E. L. Butler, "Irishwomen and the home language", Gaelic League Pamphlets No. 6, c. 1900, 1-2.

¹⁶ Frank A. Biletz, "Women and Irish-Ireland: The Domestic Nationalism of Mary Butler," *New Hibernia Review* 6, no. 1 (2002).

“[plunging] into the vortex of public life” like “shrieking viragoes or aggressive amazons” – a clear reference to the nascent and controversial New Woman movement that had emerged over the previous decade or so both in Britain and Ireland.

Although this kind of statement could be seen as emblematic of a repressive conservatism, the fact that these views were expressed by women themselves should be kept in mind. In a period when women did not have freedom to act by their own will, it might also have been their strategy to act, or to pretend to act, within the framework of the moral values which were imposed on women. Furthermore, these strategies could have been important in order to enlist the co-operation of women who had previously hesitated to participate in public activities.¹⁷ As suggested above, cultural activities offered appealing options of pastime to the people. Cultural activities in this period can be also seen as a third way for women, offering a happy medium between becoming independent (by obtaining paid employment) and becoming housewives and retiring from all public social activity. In this sense, women may have used an ideology of domesticity as a means to an end, whether they fully agreed with it or not. In many other instances, women genuinely held such orthodox views and their articulation of them should not be read as particularly regressive.

The involvement of women in major cultural activities has been greatly overlooked. The experience of women was for a long time ignored in Irish historiography, which had a tendency to overemphasise political history. In recent years, women’s history has become far more prominent.¹⁸ The historiography, however, has tended to focus on the existence of women at the extremities of the social and political spectrum, such as female revolutionaries or socially marginalised women like unmarried mothers.¹⁹ This could be in part because the

¹⁷ This “enlistment” of women was pointed out as a characteristics of political movement in *fin-de-siècle* Britain. Takashi Koseki explains this by taking example of the recruitment campaign of the Primrose League. 小関 隆『プリムローズ・リーグの時代—世紀転換期イギリスの保守主義』(東京: 岩波書店, 2006)。

¹⁸ For example, Oonagh Walsh, *Ireland's Independence, 1880-1923*, Introductions to History (London: Routledge, 2002).

¹⁹ For example, as for female revolutionaries, Ann Matthews, *Renegades : Irish Republican*

historiography of women's history has been strongly influenced by feminist ideas since the 1970s.²⁰ With the intention of documenting women as powerless victims in a male dominant society, women's agency has frequently been overlooked both consciously and unconsciously. This can be the reason for the rather unbalanced historiography: "prominent" women have always attracted historians' attentions, "ordinary" women within the middle strata have been neglected.²¹ The overemphasis on "prominent" women, however, should be challenged as they could not be representative figures.

2. Women and reading

The history of reading is also not free from the tendency of historiography as noted above. The existence of a female readership has long been ignored. Female readers are, for example, almost absent in the pioneering work of Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader*.²² After that literary critics gradually began to pay some attention to female reading practices in the exploration of popular reception of literary works. As Kate Flint argues, "[w]oman as reader' is a fashionable topic in feminist criticism".²³ Sally Mitchell, one such pioneer of this emerging feminist criticism, explains the importance of "light fictions" for women as their pastime

Women 1900-1922 (Cork: Mercier Press, 2010); Sinéad McCoole, *No Ordinary Women : Irish Female Activists in the Revolutionary Years, 1900-1923* (Dublin : O'Brien Press, 2015).

Regarding the women on "social bottom", Cliona Rattigan, *'What Else Could I Do?': Single Mothers and Infanticide, Ireland 1900-1950* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2012).

²⁰ For an excellent recent survey of the field, see Gerardine Meaney, Mary O'Dowd, and Bernadette Whelan, *Reading the Irish Woman : Studies in Cultural Encounters and Exchange, 1714-1960* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013); Jennifer Redmond et al., *Sexual Politics in Modern Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2015).

²¹ Attention to the agency of "ordinary" people began in Nazi studies with Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's work which provoked fierce controversy. Although this thesis is not necessarily supporting Goldhagen's view, his interpretation inspired fundamental idea of this thesis. Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners : Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Knopf : Distributed by Random House, 1996).

²² Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader; a Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

²³ Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 16.

reading, analysing the representation of heroines or female protagonists in fictional works in late nineteenth-century Britain. Mitchell concludes that such fictional works were particularly important for giving women an escape from daily routine and authors of such work tended to describe fantasies in fictional works for women.²⁴ As for the relationship between reading behaviour and women, Karin Littau has maintained that reading activities have been understood as sensuous rather than rational. Littau concluded that this is why the history of popular reading itself has been so strongly connected to women.²⁵ In addition, female reading is taken to have been a rather passive behaviour in which women were merely considered consumers of literature. This view strongly reflects the view of female readers as coming predominantly from the lower ranks of society. Flint, in her work *The Woman Reader 1837-1914*, has explored how female readers of nineteenth century Britain were described, drawing on the images of female readers or the debates on female reading that appeared in contemporary publications.²⁶

These studies, however, have mainly focused on the top-down dimensions of female readings. Although existing studies on female reading have thought to shed light on the structure of patriarchal control by examining the type of directions and instructions on reading imposed on women, the actual experience of female readers has generally been overlooked.²⁷ This problem, the absence of any discussion of female agency in the existing historiography, is partly due to obvious limitation of sources. To explore women's agency in relation to reading,

²⁴ Sally Mitchell, "Sentiment and Suffering: Women's Recreational Reading in the 1860s," 1977, 43-45. Later Mitchell developed this work into the inclusive work of middle-class British women's reading, *The Fallen Angel: Chastity, Class, and Women's Reading, 1835-1880* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1981).

²⁵ Karin Littau, *Theories of Reading: Books, Bodies, and Bibliomania* (Cambridge: Polity, 2006), 157; Meredith Rogers Cherland, *Private Practices: Girls Reading Fiction and Constructing Identity*, Critical Perspectives on Literacy and Education (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994).

²⁶ Flint, *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914*.

²⁷ Although Flint also mentions readers' experiences by quoting some recollections of women, it must be pointed out that she was not careful enough to pay attention to the reliability of the sources. As a nature of ego-documents, writers tend to victimise themselves in their recollections. *Ibid.*, 129.

it is necessary to search for private records such as diaries and correspondence. Considering that relatively few Irish women within the higher social ranks have had their diaries and correspondence archived, the evidence is fairly thin.

Nonetheless, the older approaches to female reading has been gradually challenged in some recent studies. The change can be seen when one looks at the historiography of general women's history. Stephanie Rains, for example, focuses on how "ordinary" housewives had an influence on consumer culture in nineteenth-century Ireland. Rains explains that women could express their opinions even without raising their voice through their purchasing choices.²⁸ Kota Ito et al. who have researched British women in the period have shown how they who maximised social participation by adopting the norms of "femininity".²⁹ Focusing on the history of reading, Juliette Atkinson has demonstrated that cross reading of both public and private sources can illuminate women's choices of books.³⁰ In her study, Atkinson revealed that Jane Carlyle, the wife of Thomas Carlyle, borrowed Paul de Kock's novel from the London Library by using a pseudonym. Gerardine Meaney, Mary O'Dowd and Bernadette Whelan have highlighted some women readers as the examples of intellectual women who were prominent in the early-nineteenth century. They reveal the ways in which intellectual women used a variety of methods to expand their reading matter. Since women were excluded from most academic institutions and scholarly bodies, they had to take measures, or even find loopholes, to realise their wishes.³¹ Moreover, recent English studies have proved ways of exploring women's choices. Although it has been the accepted opinion that it is very difficult to determine the reading preferences of women of the lower classes, Teresa Gerrard and Alexis

²⁸ Stephanie Rains, *Commodity Culture and Social Class in Dublin 1850-1916* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010).

²⁹ 伊藤航多, 佐藤繭香, 菅靖子編著『欲ばりな女たち—近現代イギリス女性史論集』(東京: 彩流社, 2013)。

³⁰ Juliette Atkinson, "The London Library and the Circulation of French Fiction in the 1840s," *Information & Culture: A Journal of History* 48, no. 4 (2013).

³¹ Meaney, O'Dowd, and Whelan, *Reading the Irish Woman : Studies in Cultural Encounters and Exchange, 1714-1960*, 69.

Weedon have demonstrated that it is possible to see women's agency through the analysis of public records.³² Using library records of the Female Educational Institute Library in Huddersfield, they have managed to reveal the reading activities of working-class women there.³³ Through a diversified analysis of the sources, they discovered that there was a real discrepancy between the wishes of library administration committees and the actual female student readers. Although the committee intended to direct students to read books that were considered as morally uplifting, such as religious works, it becomes clear from the library records that students preferred fictional or biographical works. Their choice of books demonstrates readers' agency in that they were not reading for the sake of character-building or ethical improvement as the committee wanted.

Gender norms can be read not only on paper, but in other form of sources, like architecture. Studies on library buildings are particularly useful on this point. Brendan Grimes has highlighted how Victorian moral values influenced library architecture, taking as examples the Carnegie libraries in Ireland.³⁴ Alistair Black, Simon Pepper and Kaye Bagshaw's work, which focuses on public library buildings in Britain also illustrates how the transition in the nature of libraries was reflected in the changes in library design. Similar to Grimes, they also attention to the role and character of ladies' reading rooms, which were installed in most public libraries.³⁵ Ladies' reading rooms were, however, unpopular and later abolished in

³² Teresa Gerrard and Alexis Weedon, "Working-Class Women's Education in Huddersfield: A Case Study of the Female Educational Institute Library, 1856–1857," *Information & Culture: A Journal of History* 49, no. 2 (2014).

³³ Although it has been generally accepted that mainly women in middle- or upper-class backgrounds were socially "visible" and publicly active in the late-nineteenth century, it should be noted that this view is also questioned by recent studies. Carol Dyhouse, for example, states that working-class women had more freedom to participate in public activities than middle-class women, since middle-class women were more bound to their houses. Carol Dyhouse, *Girl Trouble : Panic and Progress in the History of Young Women* (London: Zed Books, 2013), 43-45.

³⁴ Brendan Grimes, "Carnegie Libraries in Ireland," *History Ireland* 6, no. 4 (1998).

³⁵ Alistair Black, Simon Pepper, and Kaye Bagshaw, *Books, Buildings and Social Engineering : Early Public Libraries in Britain from Past to Present* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 98.

many libraries.³⁶ Apart from the architectural dimension, Chris Baggs has focused on what kind of reading materials were available in ladies' reading rooms, using the lists of reading materials as sources. According to Baggs, ladies' reading rooms were not popular among users in spite of their promotion by administrators, since the reading material that female users was offered there was considered too light and trivial. Baggs concludes that this shows the discrepancy between administrators' assumptions about what female readers might like and the actual tastes of female readers.³⁷ It is noteworthy that the recent studies which have begun to pay attention to women's agency have done so by using new methodologies.

It is also certainly to consider female reading as a passive activity. In *The Oxford History of the Irish Book* vol. IV: *The Irish Book in English 1800-1891*, three chapters were devoted to examine female literary activity, both reading and writing and these chapters demonstrate that women's reading practices are now viewed as a result of co-operations and interactions between provider and reader. This dimension has been particularly emphasised in several studies on the relationship between magazines and women readers. In her study of the relationship between female readers and Catholic magazines in late nineteenth century, Úna Ní Bhroiméil show how Catholic magazines paid attention to the potential of female readers as housemakers. Since women were regarded "as influential in the private, domestic sphere", magazine editors expected that they could also influence the family members of the female readers through their magazines.³⁸ She also points out that even class difference among the readers could be overcome "by binding ties of religion".³⁹ This dimension of forming a

³⁶ Ibid., 140, 234.

³⁷ Chris Baggs, "In the Separate Reading Room for Ladies Are Provided Those Publications Specially Interesting to Them": Ladies' Reading Rooms and British Public Libraries 1850-1914," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 38, no. 3 (2005).

³⁸ Ú. Ní Bhroiméil, "Women readers and Catholic magazines" in *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, ed. James H. Murphy, Oxford History of the Irish Book (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 382. In the case of religious practices as well, women were "enlisted" to create particular religious culture. See Mary Peckham Magray, *The Transforming Power of the Nuns: Women, Religion, and Cultural Change in Ireland, 1750-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 87-106.

³⁹ Úna Ní Bhroiméil, "Women Readers and Catholic Magazines," in *The Irish Book in English*,

common forum is also explored by Michelle J. Smith, who has shown how the *Girls' Own Paper* played an important role in building an identity for girls as subjects of British empire.⁴⁰ Outside the British context, Erika Imada has shown how the process of gender identity formation among girls was aided, and also the establishment of networks among the readers of girls' magazine in modern Japan.⁴¹ As these studies demonstrate, shared reading experience enabled female readers to create a sense of community.

The experience of reading sometimes offered women the incentive and the opportunity of writing publicly as well. As Heidi Hansson argues, writing was one of few opportunities for women to "enter the public arena" and religious writing, in particular, was regarded as morally acceptable for women.⁴² Ní Bhroiméil has also pointed out that one of the most celebrated magazines, *The Irish Monthly* promoted many female writers.⁴³ Máire Kennedy states that even eighteenth-century Irish magazines encouraged female readers to contribute literary material. In this sense women could find an outlet in certain forms of media, not only by reading them passively but also by participating in the forum as contributors.⁴⁴

Ní Bhroiméil maintains that female readers of Catholic periodicals were "very attentive to features of that literature that were specific to the gendered cultural discourse of the nineteenth century", highlighting the passages underlined by female owners.⁴⁵ Kennedy analysed several female book owners' profiles, by examining the bookplates. Apart from that, Kennedy explored questions like: "What works attracted the greatest proportion of women

1800-1891 / Edited by James H. Murphy., ed. James H. Murphy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 384-5.

⁴⁰ Michelle J. Smith, *Empire in British Girls' Literature and Culture : Imperial Girls, 1880-1915* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 27-33.

⁴¹ 今田 絵里香『「少女」の社会史』(東京: 勁草書房, 2007), 135-87 頁。

⁴² Heidi Hansson, "Selina Bunbury, Religion, and the Woman Writer," in *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, ed. James H. Murphy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 322-23.

⁴³ Ní Bhroiméil, "Women Readers and Catholic Magazines," 382.

⁴⁴ Máire Kennedy, "Women and Reading in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," in *The Experience of Reading : Irish Historical Perspectives*, ed. Bernadette Cunningham and Máire Kennedy (Dublin: Rare Books Group of the Library Association of Ireland and Economic and Social History Society of Ireland, 1999), 82.

⁴⁵ Ní Bhroiméil, "Women Readers and Catholic Magazines," 380-1.

subscribers? Did women support the writings of other women to a greater degree? Was there a specific effort made to attract women readers for certain publications?" by analysing subscription lists.⁴⁶ These examples clearly show that women's agency can be uncovered by combining several methodologies, despite the paucity of sources.

3. The debate on female reading in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland

So far, this introduction has outlined the various research topics and questions addressed in previous studies of *fin-de-siècle* Ireland, women's history and the history of women's reading. However, it is important to clarify the focus of this thesis: who were "female readers"? How can one define the readership?

Relating to that, the most typical and general view on girls' reading should be reviewed first. According to Fénelon's *The Education of Girls* which was influential on girls' education throughout the nineteenth century Europe, Fénelon stated:

I think it is not unprofitable to allow girls, according to their leisure and the extent of their intelligence, to read profane books that contain nothing dangerous to the passions. This is, indeed, the means of disgusting them with comedies and romances. Put into their hands, then, Greek and Roman histories [...]. I should also permit girls, though with much discretion, to read works of eloquence and poetry, if I saw that they had a taste for these subjects and that their judgments were sound enough to confine them to the right use of such books; but I would beware of unsettling their too active imaginations and wish to see a careful moderation in all this. Everything that can awaken the passion of love seems to me the more dangerous, the more it is softened and cloaked.⁴⁷

It seems that Fénelon's views on female reading were generous; however, one can also see that surprisingly few genres were freely permitted to girls – other than history and poetry.

The restrictions placed on reading tended to be stricter for Catholic girls, whether in Ireland or elsewhere. Janet Erskine Stuart, in her *The Education of Catholic Girls* (1912),

⁴⁶ Kennedy, "Women and Reading in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," 87-93.

⁴⁷ François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon and Kate Lupton, *The Education of Girls* (Boston: Ginn, 1891), 108-09.

devoted a lot of space to explain why reading was not necessary for girls. Although she did not advocate forbidding reading outright, she was suspicious about the result of reading too much. She noted “[a]bundance of books and leisure and fostering conditions are helps but not essentials for mental growth. If few books can be had, but these are of the best, they will do more for the mind by continued reading than abundance for those who have not yet learned to use it.”⁴⁸ As can be seen here, Stuart also emphasised the importance of the readiness of girls for knowledge. In a later part of her book, Stuart repeated this view by maintaining that “[n]o one thinks it waste of time to write and illustrate books for children, [...] and the result of historical research and the most critical care of texts is put within the children's reach with a real understanding of what they can care for. A true appreciation of the English classics must result from this, and the mere reading of what is choice is an early safeguard against the less good.”⁴⁹

At the same time, however, it could be considered that Stuart had a double-standard with regards to reading as she also maintained that “[w]hat can be done for the girls to give them first more independence in their language and then more power to express themselves [...] is reading; a taste for the best reading alters the whole condition of mental life, and without being directly attacked the defects in conversation will correct themselves.”⁵⁰ As an example of good reading, which she especially recommended was “[r]ecitation and reading aloud” from a pedagogical view.⁵¹ As the basis of her discussion, Stuart referred to the example of the reading instructions in Catholic boys’ education that:

The present Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, when rector of St. John's Seminary, Womersley, used to lay down the following rules for his students, and on condition of their adhering to these rules he allowed them great freedom in their reading, but if they were disregarded, it was understood that the rector took no responsibility about the books they read : –

⁴⁸ Janet Erskine Stuart, *The Education of Catholic Girls* (Westminster: Newman Press, 1912), 52.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

1. " Be perfectly conscientious, and if you find a book is doing you harm stop reading it at once. If you know you cannot stop you must be most careful not to read anything you don't know about."
 2. "Be perfectly frank with your confessor and other superiors. Don't keep anything hidden from them."
 3. "Don't recommend books to others which, although they may do no harm to you, might do harm to them."
- These rules are very short but they call for a great deal of self-control, frankness, and discretion.

As can be seen in this example, Stuart did not necessarily assume that there were fundamental differences between boys' and girls' education.

Another assumption was that class was a determining factor in the vulnerability of girls to low-brow publications. There was a broadly shared idea in Victorian England that girls of low social status were more exposed to the dangers of immoral publications. The most prominent example was the highly influential article, "What Girls Read" by Edward G. Salmon, which appeared in *The Nineteenth Century* in 1886.

[...]But let us go into the houses of the poor, and try to discover what is the effect on the maiden mind of the trash which maidens buy. If we were to trace the matter to its source, we should probably find that the high-flown conceits and pretensions spring largely from notions imbibed in the course of a perusal of their penny fictions. [...] With the exception of the *Girl's Own Paper* and *Every Girls' Magazine*, which are not largely purchased by working-class girls, there is hardly a magazine read by them which it would not be a moral benefit [...]. Girls can hardly be much blamed for reading the hideous nonsense they do [...].

Girls do not, however, by any means confine their reading to the books and magazines published specially for them. [...] Girls are, of course, among the chief supporters of the lending library, and eagerly rush after [...] in the shape of three-volume novels.⁵²

Salmon warned against the influence of inappropriate fiction which could be found in the "houses of the poor" and claimed that "the poorer girls of the period , their dislike of manual work and love of freedom, spring largely from [...] a perusal of their penny fictions". In Salmon's view, therefore, poorer girls were more exposed to low-quality publishing, notably fantasies. However, Salmon conceded that it was the difficult to distinguish between good and

⁵² Edward G. Salmon, "What Girls Read" *Nineteenth Century*, October 1886, vol. 20, no. 116, 523-524.

bad reading materials. He stated that listing up “the works most suited for girls’ reading” would be of no value, admitting that “[t]o indicate a course for reading for men and women is difficult; to indicate such a course for the young is doubly difficult”.⁵³ Nevertheless, Salmon insisted that there were certain differences between the two genders on the matter of reading:

Boys’ literature of a sound kind ought to help to build up men. Girls’ literature ought to help to build up women. If in choosing the books that boys shall read it is necessary to remember that we are choosing mental food for the future chiefs of a great race, it is equally important not to forget in choosing books for girls that we are choosing mental food for the future wives and mothers of that race. [...] Perhaps the best readings which girls can possibly have is biography, especially female biography, of which many excellent works have been published. One cannot help as one reads the biographies of great women – whether of Miss Florence Nightingale, Mrs. Fry, or Lady Russell – being struck by the purity of purpose and God-fearing zeal which moved most of their subjects. [...] Fiction should lend relief to girl-life, biography should impart right principle, and poetry grace. [...] [T]hey[books for girls] are bought by parents and friends for presents. If girls were to choose their own books, in other words, they would make a choice for themselves very different from that which their elders make for them.⁵⁴

Although Salmon argued that it was difficult to indicate what to read, he still recommended that girls read biographies, especially female ones. Salmon was not necessarily negative to fiction, although his endorsement was rather weak.

Focusing on the context of Ireland at the turn-of-the-twentieth century, the magazine *The Lady of the House*, which was published first in 1890 is a good arbiter of Irish girls’ reading of the period. It ran a number of special features on “A danger to young Irish girls” throughout 1906. In the first number of the feature series, the writer Mary Costello explained:

It is through the novel that new theories of life are now largely presented, that national follies are satirized, social problems discussed, new creeds and philosophies advertised.

Unfortunately this development of popularity is now becoming a serious menace to the morals of the rising generation. [...] And it is with girls that we are concerned. With Irish girls of the upper and upper-middle classes, those whose

⁵³ Ibid, 525.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 526-9.

parents are in a position to keep in touch with the advanced literary movement. That is, either to buy the startling 6/- novel which everyone is talking about or to get it from the library. Those who cannot afford this, who are content with the fiction provided by the sixpenny magazine, and notably by the popular penny journal, are free from this growing danger.⁵⁵

The unique point here is that Costello maintains that “Irish girls of the upper and upper-middle classes” could be most vulnerable to the “coarse fiction” as defined here. As shown in Salmon’s article, it was usually girls of the lower middle-class or middle-class who were seen to be in danger from the influence of bad publications. Considering that, it is noteworthy that in this example girls of lower classes who could not afford expensive books were deemed to be safer than the girls of upper classes, in Costello’s view.

Furthermore, it must be noted that the target here was not limited to “penny dreadfuls” but any novels which discussed “new theories of life”, “national follies” and “social problems” or the novels of “the advanced literary movement”. In the same sequel to the article, Mrs. H. Fraser mentioned Austen, Oliphant, Dickens and Thackeray as authors to be recommended for girls but she also wrote that some of Kipling’s works were “too strong for Irish girls, I hope, for it takes an extensive view of life to see *all* its meaning, and no maiden may look into its depths” although she herself could “both admire and enjoy everything Mr. Kipling has written”.⁵⁶ The important point here is that the quality of the fiction was not the problem. However her view of fiction is unusual; whilst she considered this fiction to be undesirable, she nonetheless admired these writers since their stories “were written as serious warnings” and “all these old novelists wrote with a purpose”.⁵⁷ This can be seen as an example of the effort to deal with ambivalent views toward fiction; they could not condemn all fiction. And as to what Fraser meant by bad reading materials, she noted how:

[...] The hockey-playing girl and her “pals” [...] may consider themselves up-to-date, [...] in reading “A Yellow Aster,” “The Woman who Did,” and similar poisoners of to-day – I have never even seen either of the above! [...] Hockey, tennis, and

⁵⁵ Mary Costello, “A Danger to Young Irish Girls” *Lady of the House*, 14th April, 1906, 9.

⁵⁶ “A danger to the young Irish girl” *Lady of the House*, Vol. XVIII, No. 201, 15th May, 1906, 8.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

gymnastics have done much to foster the health and develop the physique of our Irish girls, and it is only the morbidly inclined among them who either imbibe a masculine tone and offensive manners from these games, or who take to the coarse novel for their mental recreation.

Personally, I confess that though "Queechy," "The Wide, Wide World," "The Heir of Redclyffe," "The Children of the Abbey," "*Paul et Virginie et Cie*" were all on the shelves where I browsed at will, I never even looked into one of them!⁵⁸

As can be clearly seen here, Fraser juxtaposes reading "coarse novels" with playing hockey or tennis like boys. She believed that they might make Irish girls "masculine" and "offensive". Another contributor, Etta Catterson-Smith stated that "[w]omen who play bridge all the afternoon do worse, in my opinion, than the girls who read such thin stuff as "Red as a Rose," etc., etc." As can be seen from these examples, the accusers equalled reading contemporary novels to the behaviours of the New Woman.⁵⁹ Instead of contemporary novels, Catterson-Smith recommended young women to read biographies since there was a "value to those who have yet to face the world to learn how the word came to great ones in the past – how it *appeared* to them, how they *met* it, and what *results* were meted out to them in their aims and endeavours".⁶⁰

At the same time, however, what must also be noted is that it was considered desirable to let girls think for themselves. One example can be seen in the sequel to the same debate "A danger to the young Irish girl", in the issue of 14th July 1906.

When the educated gentlewomen and the average intermediate schoolgirl seek relaxation from work, they are not satisfied with the mental anodynes of forty years ago. As a rule, they won't read wishy-washy love stories nor threadworn melodrama. [...]Whether for good or for evil, we are training our girls to think for themselves, and to develop individuality, with the result that they are now educated enough to appreciate the flood of brilliant erotic literature – mainly the work of cultured emancipated women – which the reduced price of the novel and

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ On the image of "New Woman", see Gillian Sutherland, *In Search of the New Woman : Middle-Class Women and Work in Britain, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1-8.

⁶⁰ "A danger to young Irish girls: To the editor of "The Lady of the House"", *Lady of the House*, Vol. XVIII, No. 202, 15th June, 1906, 8.

the increasing numbers of circulating libraries have brought within their reach.⁶¹

Costello emphasised the importance of respecting girls' autonomy in their choice of books here. This must be compared to the attitude in Catholic periodicals which will be explored in Chapter 2; the writers of Catholic periodicals repeatedly insisted on the importance of regulation and control of reading matters in their articles.

Based on these contributions in the *Lady of the House*, an open discussion on the topic "Should girls be guided in their reading?" was debated by contributors in the issue of 15th September 1906. Two of the eight responses printed in the magazine were against the motion: a reader, Constance Beere, answered that "[a] girl then needs no other guidance as regards her reading than her own keen sense of right and wrong, and a good example before her, which is a thousand times better than many words of warning." Another reader who called herself "Nettles" answered that "By their own common sense, certainly – not by external influences. [...] In any case, arbitrary restrictions only serve to whet the taste for the forbidden sweets [...]" They admitted girls' autonomy in the selection of books. However, it should be noted that these opinions were based on the assumption that "the home library is kept well stocked with pure and wholesome literature" and that "the girl educated in a book-loving home will be surrounded from early youth by the noblest classics of the language [...] will refuse to be satisfied with mediocrity or downright vileness." The reader "Ailsa Craig" agreed with the view that girls should be guided in their reading, whilst also arguing that "[...]fiction apart, I should be inclined to counsel unrestricted choice. [...] there are dangerous paths in philosophy, biography, theology, in fact, that every branch of literature has its perils for the uninitiated." She pointed out the arbitrariness of censorship of fiction "Byron used to be prohibited to the properly brought up jeune fille, but he was milk for babies compared with some of our up-to-date productions in the fiction line."⁶²

⁶¹ "A danger to the young Irish girl" *Lady of the House*, Vol. XVIII, No. 203, 14th July, 1906, 6.

⁶² "The Women's Parliament: Should girls be guided in their reading?" *Lady of the House*, Vol. XVIII, No. 205, 15th September, 1906, 17.

To sum up, it could be considered that there were obvious double-standards on women's reading, especially on girls' reading. For women, reading was what should be encouraged, as long as it was guided and instructed. Nevertheless, it is also considered that girls' autonomy should be respected by avoiding too much instructions. Although it is obvious that female reading activities were restricted by authorities, it should be also noted that there was no consensus.

Thesis structure

Chapter one and two will mainly demonstrate the top-down dimensions of reading practices of Irish people. Chapter one outlines the debate on the reading practices of Irish people and also the transformation of public libraries in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland. Chapter two will focus on Catholic views around female reading as a typical example of strict guidance and censorship. After looking at the general debate on reading in Catholic periodicals, we will examine one prominent Catholic organisation which aimed to guide people through their publication, the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland.

Following on from these chapters, chapter three, four and five will analyse bottom-up dimension of reading practices of Irish women, by illustrating their actual reading activities. Chapter three and four will examine what literary activities meant to women, analysing examples of collective reading. Chapter three explores the examples of literary societies of four prominent girls' schools, Alexandra College, Dominican's Colleges, Loreto College and Victoria College. Chapter four illustrates the activities of adult reading clubs in three cities, Belfast, Cork and Dublin. Chapter five will focus on women's private reading, examining the autobiographical works of prominent female figures and also the diaries of Mary Hayden. Finally, the Conclusion evaluates the meaning of literary activity to women in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland.

Together the chapters provide a systematic evaluation of reading practices of Irish

women at the *fin-de-siècle*, considering whether women accepted directions on reading imposed on them, how women reacted or subverted such instructions, and what reading activities meant to women in their own words. The thesis aims to reveal female agency that has been hidden and ignored in previous studies. The reading practices of Irish women will show that women acted cleverly to maximise their possibilities through various strategies and know-how. The thesis thus contributes to scholarship on Ireland at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century, the history of women in Ireland and the history of reading.

Chapter 1: General Reading Practice of People in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland

It would seem, however, that a large number of the Dublin readers need no direction. While at Paris over 70 per cent. of the books applied for in 1884 belonged to the departments of novels, literature, poetry, and the drama, at Capel-street library the works of the same class borrowed were only 55 per cent. of the whole. The figures for the Thomas-street library are not so good; but they are quite up to Paris record. As we suppose that an educational, scientific, historical or biographical work takes up much more time than a work of fiction, we may conclude that the leisure time devoted to “fortifying studies” by the Dublin readers greatly exceeded that spent in lighter reading.

“Our Public Libraries”, *Nation*, 30th October, 1886, 4.

This chapter focuses on the general reading practices of Irish people at the turn of the twentieth century. The first section will showcase various contemporary debates on the reading practices and consider whether these can be seen as exceptional. The second section will examine people’s actual reading tastes, mainly focusing on three points: the basic infrastructure of reading facilities in *fin-de-siècle* Dublin, the actual usage of these facilities and people’s reading tastes as evidenced by their reading choices. For this purpose, several types of public library will be analysed.

Throughout the late nineteenth century, Britain experienced a great expansion of public libraries, partly in response to the corresponding increase of the literate population. After the passing of the Public Library Act in 1850, a nationwide public library movement began, led by promoters such as William Ewart and Edward Edwards. It is obvious that this movement closely reflected Victorian moral values – the shared paternalistic idea that wealthy and educated people must lead lower-class people by example, and the imperative to discourage potentially immoral behaviour such as drinking and gambling by providing more uplifting alternative pastimes or recreational possibilities. In some senses the public library movement can be considered an evolution of the temperance movement which had started in early nineteenth century, and it was certainly connected to wider philanthropic goals.

It should be also noted that the demand for libraries differed markedly between the

earlier and later nineteenth-century. As shown above, the establishment or expansion of public libraries started in the wake of the improvement ideologies dating from the early nineteenth century. It was to some extent top-down in nature, but by the second half of the nineteenth century the demand was from below, or at least, more so. People's thirst for knowledge in later nineteenth century led to the demand for more dedicated space where people could access reading materials more easily.

This expansion came about in a different way in Ireland. As Gerard Long has maintained, the development of the library landscape in Ireland can be seen as "a local manifestation of European trends, such as spread of literacy, and the emergence of a middle class" and some particular Irish facts such as "the legislative changes brought about by the Act of Union, the foundation and development of national institutions, the consolidation of the established professions, the impact of Catholic emancipation, and the demand for increased access to university education."¹ These factors obviously had a strong impact on every dimension of society in late-nineteenth century Ireland. Foremost in the promoters' concerns was the lack of reading ability or of desire evident among most Irish people. Therefore, promoters of public libraries in Ireland had to consider not only how to spread public libraries but also how to make libraries more familiar to the public. In other words, they had to localise the public library movement to meet the particular need of Irish reading tastes and habits.

Existing literature has examined the role of libraries in the urban landscape, and also their architectural significance, but many studies lack a close analysis of user experience. For example, what genres were the most popular in these libraries at their inception and what genres were not? Moreover, how did people's actual usage affect the policies of libraries, such as the selection and arrangement of the books, the layout of the library buildings etc.? With what intentions did people use libraries in Ireland? Considering that the usage of libraries was

¹ Gerard Long, "Institutional Libraries and Private Collections," in *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, ed. James H. Murphy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 281.

shaped by the actual interactions between libraries and the users, it is essential to look at readership more closely.

1. Instructions on reading given to Irish people

Reading activities may play an important role for identity formation of people. The article announcing the formation of an Irish section of the Home Reading Union can be a good example:

[...] We shall, for instance, be able, through the agency of the federation, to ensure a large circulation for the books of the Library of Ireland, [...] and of other works by Irish writers which we can recommend to the support of our people. We have arranged with the Home Reading Union for the formation of an Irish section of the union, and this, again, we hope to make a success with the help of the federation. The objects of the Home Reading Union, it may be well to state, are to form and develop the habit of reading, to guide readers in the selection of the books most suitable for studying the particular subjects in which they are interested, and to assist them to understand the books read. Each society or branch of the federation will, under our home reading scheme, be divided into "reading circles," consisting of groups of not fewer than five members, who will meet under the guidance of a leader for the discussion and explanation of the subjects read.

The subscription to the Irish section of the Union will be only 1s 6d a year, and for this small sum members will be supplied with lists of the necessary books for the reading courses and the magazine of the Union, a section of which is to be controlled by our society, giving directions as to the best methods of reading, introductions to our recommended books, explanatory notes, answers to correspondents, guides to our students, and reports of meetings of our reading circles.²

The National Home Reading Union was founded by John Brown Paton in London in 1889, following the example of the Chautauqua movement in the United States.³ The movement

² *Freeman's Journal*, 31st August, 1893.

³ The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Reading Circle was founded in New York in 1871 by the Methodist Church and grew to hold membership of 100,000 readers. For more on the Chautauqua movement, see Theodore Morrison, *Chautauqua : A Center for Education, Religion, and the Arts in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

spread rapidly throughout Britain and its colonies.⁴ Although the original purpose of the union was to guide reading of working-class people who were considered to have inclination to low-quality publication, the movement was mainly conducted by middle-class readers since the basic pattern of the union activities such as the gatherings in members' houses perfectly fitted in existing social programmes of middle-class readers.⁵ It has been also argued that in some colonies "the ideals of the union were adapted to serve imperial interests" to "maintain and foster the spirit of loyalty to the Queen and fidelity of the British Empire."⁶ Taking the example of two branches founded in South Africa, Archie L. Dick maintains that the movement also showed the "cultural aspects of imperialism and colonial nationalism".⁷ Robert Snape states that the Brisbane Literary Circle, a branch set up in Australia, sought a new way "to be more suitable for new countries such as America and Australia" while focusing on British culture.⁸ In Ireland, there was no further record to show that Irish branch of the Home Reading Union was founded.

Revivalists, of course, also paid greater attention to this function of identity formation. Many of the most famous Revival texts have much to say about reading: but none more so than Douglas Hyde's "The Necessity for the de-anglicising Ireland" (1892). In the speech, Hyde took up the question of reading material as his first priority for de-anglicisation.

That is the necessity for encouraging the use of Anglo-Irish literature instead of English books, especially instead of English periodicals. We must set our faces sternly against penny dreadfuls, shilling shockers, and still more, the garbage of vulgar English weeklies like *Bow Bells* and the *Police Intelligence*.⁹

⁴ Robert Snape, "The National Home Reading Union," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 7, no. 1 (2002): 89-92.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁶ Archie L. Dick, "'To Make the People of South Africa Proud of Their Membership of the Great British Empire': Home Reading Unions in South Africa, 1900-1914," *Libraries & Culture* 40, no. 1 (2005): 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁸ Robert Snape, "Reading across the Empire: The National Home Reading Union Abroad," in *Reading Communities from Salons to Cyberspace*, ed. Sedo DeNel Rehberg (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 68.

⁹ Charles Gavan Sir Duffy, *The Revival of Irish Literature. Addresses by Sir C. G. Duffy, Dr. G. Sigerson, and Dr. D. Hyde* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894), 159.

As a solution to this problem, Hyde maintained “every house should have a copy of Moore and Davis” and should read their works. This kind of narrative recurred in the speeches and essays of many cultural revivalists.¹⁰ For example, in her paper “the Reign of Humbug” which was published c. 1900 as a Gaelic League pamphlet, Agnes O’Farrelly observed:

Look at the book-stalls in the city, at the railway stations, in the country towns – everywhere you go through the length and breadth of the land – English books and English journals, not the best or the second-best of English literature. Think of it, and all it portends – the purity of the Celtic mind coming in contact with London’s exhalations! The philosophic spirit of the thinking Irishman being nourished on the third-rate literature of England!¹¹

As can be seen in these two examples above, the flood of cheap English publications was regarded as a serious problem. As O’Farrelly stated, however, they were not necessarily hostile to all the English literature since she carefully excluded “the best or the second-best of English literature”. They warned of the danger of too much exposure of Irish people to “the third-rate literature of England” – the penny dreadfuls, and the shilling shockers.

Another and perhaps most famous example was in D. P. Moran’s essay, “The Battle of Two Civilizations”, published in the *New Ireland Review*.¹² In it, Moran blamed the flood of English publications in Ireland as the cause of people’s losing a sense of Irishness.

I think I have read somewhere that the great Duke of Marlborough knew no English history except that which he learned from Shakespeare’s works. I mention this in order to point out that it takes an Englishman to get the most out of English

¹⁰ For more see Philip O’Leary, *The Prose Literature of the Gaelic Revival, 1881-1921 : Ideology and Innovation* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994); Patrick Maume, *The Long Gestation : Irish Nationalist Life, 1891-1918* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1999); P. J. Mathews, *Revival : The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Fein, the Gaelic League and the Co-Operative Movement*, Critical Conditions (Cork: Cork University Press in association with Field Day, 2003).

¹¹ Agnes O’Farrelly, “The Reign of Humbug”, Gaelic League Pamphlets No. 10, c. 1900, p. 6. For more on O’Farrelly see Riona Nic Congáil, *Úna Ní Fhaircheallaigh Agus an Fhís Utóipeach Ghaelach* (Galway: Arlen House, 2010).

¹² D. P. Moran, “The Battle of Two Civilizations” *New Ireland Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 6, 1900, 323-36.

literature [...]. A literature steeped on the history, traditions, and genius of one nation, is at the best only an imperfect tutor to the people of another nation; in fact, the common, half-educated people of another nation will have none of it. The Irish nation has, this century, been brought up on English literature. [...] Tell me of any ordinary man in Dublin, Cork or elsewhere, who professes an appreciation for the best products of English literature, and I will have no hesitation in informing you that he is an intellectual snob [...]. Literature, to the common Irishman, is an ingenious collection of fine words which no doubt have some meaning, but which he is not going to presume to understand.¹³

As can be seen here, Moran's view was similar to O'Farrelly's – he did not necessarily deny the value of the best English literature such as Shakespeare. Moran stated that a nation's history or literature could only be "an imperfect tutor to the people of another nation" so English literature could not provide the cultivation of Irish people, no matter how superior they might be.

The Irish people dropped off reading, not from any lack of intellectual desire, but because nowhere was to be found that which would interest them. Then the great rise of cheap periodicals came about in England, and the market in Ireland was flooded with them. Ireland being a poor country, the cheapest class of periodicals only is within the popular resources, and it soon became evident that a great evil was threatening us, and that Ireland was largely feeding on a questionable type of British reading matter.¹⁴

Here Moran also stated that "Irish people dropped off reading" because Irish reading materials were not interesting for Irish people. For the Revivalists' works, Moran criticised that "[p]ractically no one in Ireland understands Mr. Yeats or his school [...]."¹⁵ Although Moran maintained here that the reason why Irish people did not read was "not from any lack of intellectual desire", it is obvious that Moran did not see Irish people as a proper reading public.

¹³ D. P. Moran, *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland* (Dublin: James Duffy & Co., 1905), pp. 100-01. For a fuller discussion of D. P. Moran, see Donal McCartney, "Hyde, D. P. Moran, and Irish-Ireland," in *Leaders and Men of the Easter Rising*, ed. Francis Xavier Martin (London: Methuen, 1967); Patrick Maume and Historical Association of Ireland., *D.P. Moran, Life and Times* (Dublin: Historical Association of Ireland, 1995); Paul Delaney, "D.P. Moran and "the Leader": Writing an Irish Ireland through Partition," *Eire-Ireland* 38, no. 3/4 (2003).

¹⁴ Moran, *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland*, 102.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 103.

For this point, Patrick Maume points out that “Moran had no such highbrow aspirations”.¹⁶ Admitting that “[t]here is manifestly no essential difference between first-class literary work executed by an English-speaking man born in Ireland, and that executed by an English-speaking man born in England”, Moran insisted that they should make a difference between them.¹⁷ Moran’s view of “Irish literature” can be seen as an extreme example; however, his views had considerable influence on the Irish people, especially on the young Catholic professionals who became the main force of revolutionary movement.¹⁸

Another instructive example can be seen in the magazine *The Irish Monthly*. In the article “Wanted an Irish Novelist”, which appeared in the number of July 1891, the author “R. M.” deplored the lack of national Irish novelists.

[...]Another year has come and gone without bringing us the novelist we are hoping for, whom we are in need of, to show us ourselves as we are [...]. Every nation has its novelists, and the art has not yet reached its highest development [...]. The roll-call of Irish novelist is far too short and unsatisfactory, and if it be true that the growth of the novel increases with the prosperity and consequent intellectual culture of a country, we have not far to seek for the reason of our poverty of art.¹⁹

Although the writer was regretting the absence of national literati, the writer was assuming that “the growth of the novel” would occur in parallel with the “prosperity” and “intellectual culture of a country”. Therefore, creative writers were in some sense inspired by the growth of the reading population at that time. It is uncertain how this writer was differentiating “English” and “Irish” writers; the latter named were Rosa Mulholland, Gerald Griffin, the Banims, William Carleton, Maria Edgeworth, Lady Mogan and Charles Lever. These were labelled “Irish” writers who were writing for Irish people, while Lewis Wingfield, Richard Ashe

¹⁶ David Patrick Moran and Patrick Maume, *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland*, Classics of Irish History, (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2006), xiii.

¹⁷ Moran, *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland*, 103.

¹⁸ T. G. McMahon, *Grand Opportunity : The Gaelic Revival and Irish Society, 1893-1910*, 1st ed., Irish Studies (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2008).

¹⁹ R. M., “Wanted an Irish Novelist” *The Irish Monthly*, Vol. 19, No. 217, July 1891, 368-69.

King, Justin McCarthy, Frances Sarah Hoey and Richard Dowling were named as Irish writers writing for English people.

It is a noticeable fact that writers who produce one good Irish novel, giving promise of store to come, almost invariably cease to be Irish at that point, and afterwards cast the tributary stream of their powers into the universal river of English fiction. Thus Mr. Lewis Wingfield, having given us that fine picture of Ireland in the day of the Volunteers, *My Lords of Strogue*, turned his back upon us, and became in consequence less distinguished and less interesting in his work. Mr. Richard Ashe King in like manner having delighted Irish readers with the *Wearing of the Green*, now supplies an English novel to an English periodical, hiding his shamrock in a field of common clover. Mr. Justin McCarthy also writes perfect English for the English, and the clever books of Mrs. Cashel Hoey show no trace of the fact that she is Irish of the Irish, not only by her birth, but in faithful affection. Mr. Richard Dowling, who in his early days of delicate promise migrated to London, and pitched his tent beside the publishers, would doubtless have given us much more beautiful and delicate work if he had stayed within hearing of Shandon Bells. Yet how can we quarrel with any of these bright spirits if they prefer to live their lives pleasantly and in affluent circumstances in the busy, working, paying world of London, rather than content themselves with the ideally uncomfortable conditions of him who elects to chew the cud of sweet and bitter Irish fancies, with his feet in an Irish bog and his head in a rainbow?²⁰

The writer's view is that Irish novelists should have been based in Ireland for their work to have real significance. However, the writer did not blame the novelists who were producing novels for English people since London was more appealing for them than Ireland. This kind of argument about what could be called "Irish" books can be seen everywhere in the contemporary periodicals. "The New Irish Library" which appeared in *The New Ireland Review* is a good example. In the article, the writer whose nom-de-plume is "Z" took the example of the list of the "Irish Library" which was selected by Charles Gavan Duffy:

1. The Patriot Parliament of 1689. By Thomas Davis.
2. The Bog of Stars. By Standish O'Grady.
3. The New Spirit of the Nation. Edited by Martin MacDermott.
4. A Parish Providence. By Mrs. E. M. Lynch.
5. The Irish Song Book. Edited by A. P. Graves.
6. The Story of Early Gaelic Literature. By Douglas Hyde.
7. The Life of Patrick Sarsfield. By Dr. John Todhunter.
8. Owen Roe O'Neill. By John F. Taylor, Q. C.

²⁰ Ibid., 369.

9. Swift in Ireland. By Richard Ashe King.
10. A Short Life of Thomas Davis. By Sir Charles Gavan Duffy.

As for this project of setting up the “Irish Library”, “Z” pointed out the failure of the plan and explained that:

But though some improvement has been effected, it seems evident from Mr. Unwin’s communication that the New Irish Library has not been, up to the present at least, as successful as it was reasonable to hope. [...] For it is impossible not to recognise in the publisher’s announcement another illustration of the fact regretfully noted by Sir Charles Duffy himself in an address to the members of the Society just mentioned[Irish Literary Society], [...] and little interest shown in literature by Irishmen whether it be the literature of their own or of other countries. An English publisher of eminence and experience, who had made a serious effort to reach the Irish book market, lately stated that there is no such thing as a steady sale for books among any class in Ireland. [...] Sir Charles Duffy is finding that now, [...] the Irish people are “incuriosi suorum.”²¹

The primary reason for failure according to “Z” was the indifference of Irish people towards their own history. “An address” mentioned here was the one that Duffy made to a gathering of the Irish Literary Society where he had insisted on the importance of publishing “picturesque biographies, which are history idealised, or vivid sketches of memorable eras, which are history vitalised”, not “[b]ig books of history” which were “only for students” since “they are never read by the people”.²² “Z” pointed out the vulnerability of the way of describing history as advocated by Duffy that:

Everyone will agree that both the objects here stated are worthy of being pursued - - that to fill up the gaps in our national biography, and to raise the standard of literary taste among the people, is a taskworthy of the best literary talent which the learning and patriotism of the country can produce. [...] On such a principle it is not difficult to imagine a series of biographies in which the history of Ireland might be narrated [...] with that comprehensive sympathy for persons, ideas and movements often mutually antagonistic [...]. A polemical publication written by a political propagandist with the object, however single-minded and sincere, or

²¹ Z, “The New Irish Library: A unionist’s view” *New Ireland Review*, July 1896, Vol. V, No. 5, 265-66. For Gavan Duffy’s views see his autobiography, Charles Gavan Sir Duffy, *My Life in Two Hemispheres* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898); León Ó Broin, *Charles Gavan Duffy : Patriot and Statesman* (Dublin: Duffy, 1967).

²² “The New Irish Library”, 267.

furthering a political movement may have many merits, but it is manifestly not well adapted to secure for such an enterprise as that in hand the support and sympathy of Irishmen of opposite political sympathies.²³

As can be seen from this, “Z” criticised Duffy’s selection of books as being too arbitrary and could cause sectarian antagonism.

Considering that the Revivalists often adopted Thomas Davis’s philosophy in their movement, it might be thought as natural that they would adopt Davis’s policies on libraries and reading rooms. The typical view towards the reading issue in the age of the Revival can be seen in a series of articles that appeared in the *United Irishman*. One that appeared on 18 November 1899 criticised the selection policy of Dublin public libraries: “Both Thomas-street and Capel-street are wretchedly supplied with books on Irish matters, but are stocked with the latest lucubrations of the British novelists of the day. [...] £300 will [...] be spent on the “popular” productions of writers like Kipling, Max Pemberton, Guy Boothby, and a host of other mediocre scribblers, the whole tenor of whose work is the worship of Anglo-Saxon ideas”. Their hostility towards “the worship of Anglo-Saxon ideas” is evident in this article. One can see that the priority was to have Irish libraries supply books on Irish matters.²⁴

It was important that there should be vigilance. Charlotte O’Connor Eccles maintained that the books children needed for their education must be carefully selected:

Parents and teachers apart, the principal channel by which wholesome ideas may reach the rising generation is reading. Without being so optimistic as to think books in themselves can supply the lack of home training and good parental influence [...]. To accomplish this, however, it is necessary that boys and girls should have access to books; books carefully chosen and suited to their need. [...] Snippet journals, penny novelettes written to excite the passions, rouse sympathy with crime, or develop sentimentality, which is scarcely less evil in its effects on untutored minds. Sentimentality combined with vanity is a striking characteristic of the viciously-inclined, and is especially dangerous to girls. The snippet journals are relatively harmless in so far that their moral standard is good except for the sentimental tendency inseparable in British publications from cheapness [...].²⁵

²³ Ibid., 268-71.

²⁴ *United Irishman*, 18 November 1899.

²⁵ Charlotte O’Connor Eccles, “Children’s Libraries – I”, *New Ireland Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 2,

She also stated that “[t]he children who had left school, and those of neglected education, had need of more guidance than could be afforded them in the general library.”²⁶ Her intention here was to that the libraries now being established should act as proxy educational institutions and target children.

There are three periodical publications in whose prosperity our readers ought [...] to be specially interested. The first of these is intended only for a particular class of our readers. [...] The current series of *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* – [...] is eminently worthy of the support of its own important public. Strange enough to say, it is the only periodical in the English language written by priests for priests. [...] The second periodical [...] is their own magazine, *THE IRISH MONTHLY*. [...] The third magazine, in which even gravest readers should take an interest for the sake of their little friends, is the one which corresponds with the title of this paper.²⁷

In this article, the writer maintained the need of children’s periodicals to have same qualities of some established adult magazines.

Based on the debate over what people should read, the importance of creating facilities for circulation of publications was also discussed. The most typical example of this was the debate on libraries. In one major article titled “What our country folk read”, which appeared in 1894 in the *New Ireland Review*, the writer “G” maintained that:

[...]There are numbers of religious works, stories for children, several books suitable for intelligent and thinking young men, a fair percentage of Irish historical works, but a great scarcity of readable fiction. [...]It is greatly to be desired that young people should read in their spare hours books which will instruct them, but in choosing such books too little regard is shown to the necessity of amusing and interesting as well as instructing the reader. [...]They should not assume, as I know has only too often been done, that the public taste for reading is as strong and as wide reaching as that of the promoters themselves. The reading of the average farmer’s son, or young artisan in the country, is confined to the weekly papers, with sometimes the addition of the *Budget*, the *Shamrock*, or *Young Ireland*. If these young men read at all they read merely to be amused, and if only such excellent books as “Lives of the Saints,” “Self-Help,” “Speeches,” volumes, even, of Irish poetry, and others mentioned in your list, are placed in their hands they

October 1904, 67.

²⁶ Ibid, 70.

²⁷ “A Magazine for children” *Irish Monthly*, Vol. 10, No. 112, October 1882, 673-74.

will quickly weary of them, and vote the library a bore. [...]The chief difficulty with our young country folk is to get them to read a book right through; [...]Everyone who has had the advantage of a collegiate education knows that it is in this manner a taste for reading is fostered in our principal colleges; [...]It is perfectly useless to expect the average class of country people to read Newman, De Quincey, Smiles, religious works or even history, until by a course of light healthy reading they have acquired a literary taste, and will read for the sake of reading, and not merely to pass away a spare hour. Where a library is started in a parish, an almost certain way to make it a success is to have a monthly re-union in the School-house, where the president would deliver a short lecture on the various books in the library, and explain what to read and how to read profitably. Those gatherings could be made very pleasant by singing, music, recitation, or reading aloud. If young people can be amused in this manner they will attend, and from constantly hearing of books they will read them.

Here the writer was criticising the book selection in local Irish libraries and maintaining that it was useless to expect the “average” Irish person to read high class materials such as “Newman, De Quincey, Smiles, religious works or even history” because such books only make the people weary and encourage them to visit libraries less and less frequently. According to “G”, the most important thing was to make the people frequent visitors to the libraries and strengthen their functions of offering various recreational opportunities.²⁸ In another article titled “A library in a small town”, by John Condon, a librarian of National Library of Ireland, also argued for the necessity of libraries in the rural area:

The popular mind conceives a library to be a source of recreation, rather than an institution of serious educational purpose; a place chiefly where novels are stored. [...] Clergymen are sometimes hostile through the fear of demoralising literature being circulated [...]. The library has many functions. That which is seldomest considered is the commercial and economic one All business men find it a necessity to have ready access to directories [...]. Though not attractive, they are the indispensable tools of commerce, and should always be at the command of even the smallest trader. [...] Men gladly go into the battle field to escape it [boredom]. Here again, [...] is an important part the library can play in a country town. [...] The library is a better place to be in than the public-house, costs less, is a valuable social agency in brining minds together [...].²⁹

For Condon, there were therefore several positive possibilities arising from the construction

²⁸ “What our country folk read”, *New Ireland Review* Vol. I, No. 2, April 1894, 131-2.

²⁹ John Condon, “A library in a small town” *New Ireland Review*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, September 1906, 29-31.

of libraries, not least the means of escapes from boring rural life. Condon also pointed out the possibility of expanding the appeal of rural areas by setting up proper libraries thus:

According to their views, in Dublin there are libraries, concert halls, literary societies, theatres, social gatherings, strange faces, new voices; the variety, in fact, which is one of the great attractions of town life. [...]Perhaps the library may come in here as a means of making rural life attractive.³⁰

The entertaining aspect of libraries was also emphasised here by juxtaposing libraries to “concert halls, literary societies, theatres, social gatherings” in Dublin.

Let us see what the library can do for the Gaelic Leaguer. When substantial advance has been made in Irish, the student wants to exercise his newly acquired faculty on something more interesting than the little texts used in teaching, something solid in history or literature. [...] In many parts of Ireland the technical school is now being established. It should have, as in the case of the Dublin Technical Schools at Kevin Street, a library in its neighbourhood. [...] The little library is the place for them [technical school students who wanted to refer text-books which were of limited circulation], [...] it gives youngsters the good habit of frequenting a place where books are to be had for the asking. They may come in touch with Miss Stokes’s *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, Ferguson’s *Hibernian Nights Entertainments*, Mitchel’s *Jail Journal*, or Lecky’s *Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* – works which may arouse in them a love and respect for their country[...].³¹

Another striking point here is Condon’s suggestion of libraries’ possible contribution to the Revival movement, enabling Gaelic Leaguers to read “something more interesting than the little texts used in teaching, something solid in history or literature”. It would seem that Condon was trying to suggest the possibility of voluntary learning rather than didactic or directed reading. Even in practical terms, what Condon predicted was a side effect of libraries’ mission to foster national minds. He took the example of the library beside the Dublin Technical Schools in Kevin Street and argued that if the students had a habit of frequenting the library to read books for their study, they might meet canonical national writings. Condon’s aims were two-fold; firstly, to make people use libraries for a great variety of purposes, and secondly, to prompt casual readers become readers of the national literatures.

³⁰ Ibid., 31-32.

³¹ Ibid.,32-33.

In advocating for library extension, Condon also mentioned “[t]he aid to scholars and students; the brightening, ennobling influence of good books; the help towards creating a national literature; the formative influence on national character”, and concluded that the matters of libraries could be key to shaping national minds.

Condon was not alone in this. A similar tone can also be seen in a pamphlet *Village Libraries* by Rev. Jeremiah O’Donovan. In it, O’Donovan argued that libraries should provide books on technical subjects, but that the most important role of the libraries was “to change an unlitrary people [...] into a litrary people”. According to O’Donovan, this would be achieved “by placing in the hands of the people, instead of the vapid books they now read, really good literature.”³² He also mentioned the importance of the Revival movement of Irish language as “one of the first steps in the process of re-nationalisation”, and that ‘the parish library will give life to the dying national spirit’ by playing its part in the Revival. Although the meaning of “its part” was not made clear, he presumably meant by providing books in Irish or Irish textbooks, as O’Donovan included Eugene O’Growney’s *Simple Lessons in Irish* in his list of one hundred books suitable for a village library that he compiled for the *Irish Homestead* of 11 November 1899.³³ However the most important point here is that the mission of the library was in changing “an unlitrary people [...]into a litrary people”.

In an 1894 article, “Parish Libraries”, the contributor “Irish C. C.” regretted that in many rural areas people did not have any books other than prayer-books or national school textbooks and maintained that books must be provided to the people by first establishing lending libraries in those areas.

[...]In many rural parishes, beyond their prayer-books and a few national school manuals, we find no books in the people’s houses. Books must be brought to the people, and the best means by which they can be brought is the parochial lending

³² Jeremiah O’Donovan, *Village Libraries. Reprinted from the Irish Homestead*, Dublin, 1900, 5. For a similar initiative see an analysis of William Rooney’s “Rural Library” published in the *United Irishman* in 1900. Gerard Long, “William Rooney’s ‘an Irish Rural Library’,” *Dublin James Joyce Journal* 3, no. 3 (2009).

³³ *The Irish Homestead*, Vol. V, No. 45, 11 November 1899, 558-9.

library.

Class A. – Religious – all in cloth bindings

Class B. – Irish History and Literature

Class C. – Novels, Tales etc.: include the Irish Agent, by Carleton, Selections from Carleton, by W. B. Yeates[sic], Forge of Clohogue and Shan Van Voght[sic]

[...]So long as care is taken that they contain nothing contrary to religion and morals, they will have a very enlightening and civilizing effect on the minds of our country readers.

The classification proposed here was original and not a little unusual in its contents.³⁴ The ideas of the author seem didactic and paternalistic since the first priority given was on enlightenment and on civilizing of the country people through their reading the books which he chose.

Adding to the debate on libraries, some people also regarded the lack of “Irish publishers” problematic. For example, in an article appeared in the *New Ireland Review* in 1897, the writer Robert Blake pointed out how:

[...] Ireland is rather an importer than an exporter of books. [...] Ireland has only her booksellers. This does not arise from any want of literary skill among Irish people, for, [...] Ireland produces a far larger number of brilliant writers than either Scotland or England. But all her writers, unless they are satisfied with a purely local reputation, are obliged to publish in England. In Ireland they might print; they could not practically publish at all. [...] The popularity of Carleton, Lever, and others is quite conclusive on that point. And these were Irishmen who wrote Irish books; not Irishmen, like Mr. McCarthy, Mr. Doyle, and so many other distinguished men of letters, whose books are in no respect distinctively Irish. [...] What is wanted is a school of writers in Ireland who will carry on the work of Carleton and Lever in fiction, and of Moore and Goldsmith in poetry; writers modern, brilliant, not touched at all with antiquarianism, devoted to the description of Irish life and of Ireland herself [...].³⁵

For Blake, the scarcity of publishers did not mean that there was a lack of either talent or potential reader in Ireland. The situation was that Irish writers were forced to seek their publishing opportunities in England, which caused the drain of literary talent from Ireland.

³⁴ Irish C. C., “Parish Libraries” *New Ireland Review*, Vol. I, No. 4, June 1894, 266-8.

³⁵ Robert Blake, “The publisher in Ireland” *New Ireland Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, October 1897, 112.

Blake's main argument, therefore, can be summarised that Ireland should lay stress on fostering domestic publishers in order to encourage Irish writers to publish their work at home.

The fact that publishing cannot be said to exist, as a business, in Ireland, and that in consequence literature distinctively Irish has ceased to be produced, not only implies the financial loss [...] but the loss of all the influence Ireland might wield if she were properly represented in the world of letters. [...] Irishmen, and the children of Irish parents, are constantly losing touch with Irish sentiment, and allowing themselves to be absorbed into other nationalities. The whole, or almost the whole, upper class of Ireland, many of whose members are of purely Irish race, have in this way become Anglified[...]. [...]With their support a home market, small, indeed, but sufficient for a start, would be provided for works of a high-class published in Ireland. [...] I have no doubt that light, humorous, graceful Irish fiction, [...] would very soon drive entirely from the English market the clumsy, ill-written, extravagant monstrosities which are at present forced into popularity there [...], and so often thrown away in disappointment and disgust before they are half finished by those whom curiosity has tempted to buy them.³⁶

Many contemporary publications railed against the impropriety of working-class exposure to inferior imported literature. Blake argued instead that it was the upper classes of Ireland who were "Anglified" by the flood of English publications. This could be considered as similar to the tone of the debate on girls' reading noted in the Introduction. On this matter of the lack of domestic publishers, Michael J. Gill, a family member of the publisher M. H. Gill & Son,³⁷ also lamented the "great invasion of ephemeral English reading matter, [...] mostly arising in London in the early eighties" and the situation that "Moore, Davis, Mangan, Kickham, and other Anglo-Irish writers, [...] have to yield up their place to worthless British periodicals".³⁸

While the examples shown above related mainly to the debate on how to change the non-reading public into a reading public, there was also a debate about the reading public that already existed as one writer lamented in 1897:

But the reading public in general, with no admitted claims to enviable scientific acquirements, have followed well in their wake. A little leaven suffices for a whole

³⁶ Ibid., 113-115.

³⁷ C. J. Woods, "Michael Henry Gill" *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

³⁸ Michael J. Gill, "General Aspect" *Public Libraries for Ireland* (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1903), 10.

mass, and a little accurate information for a whole community. They too, being ignorant, fancy they know something. Scientific gabbling has become fashionable. They will have nothing else. [...] Hence it is, we may take it, that, without referring to works of more lofty pretensions, or, on the other hand, to novels of the confessedly *penny-a-line* style, stories of the pattern of *Trillby*, and of the *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, of Rider Haggard's *She*, and of Corelli's *Cameos*, can not alone be allowed to pass, but can be praised and admired to the point of enthusiasm. [...] Is Fiction approaching its second childhood and ultimate extinction? and is the last state simply worse than the first since we are required to take as probable the utterly impossible?³⁹

The writer did not necessarily blame people for seeking scientific knowledge through reading casual novels, but was warning of frivolous attitudes among the public. To acquire some knowledge was becoming fashionable as more people were able to spare time and money on their pastimes. The writer's concern here is that people tended to be attracted by the easiest was of being informed.

Books are published incontinently nowadays. The number printed annually almost equals the number of fools in the time of Solomon. [...] We are harassed by the monotonous regularity with which, at intervals of about six months, the greatest novel of the age and the greatest scientific or philosophic work of the age present themselves, like literary highwaymen, commanding us to throw up our hands and give them recognition and praise. [...] We are told we must read some recent novel, and the reason sometimes gives in because everybody is reading it, has read it or will read it – that is, everybody who is anybody. Against an argument of this kind there seems very little defence. [...] We daily run the risk of being asked, even by ladies, whether we have read some latest novel [...].⁴⁰

In this article, Father Brosnahan explained the pressure to read best-selling contemporary works. He criticised the tendency that for people to be attracted too easily by these best-sellers. It is also noteworthy that the phrase “even by ladies” in the last sentence apparently shows the tacit understanding that women were part of this competitive environment to read

³⁹ M. M., “The Science of Fiction” *New Ireland Review*, Vol. VII, No.4, June 1897, pp. 240-41. For more on “impure literature” see John Springhall, “Disseminating Impure Literature’: The ‘Penny Dreadful’ Publishing Business since 1861,” *The Economic History Review* 47, no. 3 (1994); Christopher Pittard, *Purity and Contamination in Late Victorian Detective Fiction* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

⁴⁰ Timothy Brosnahan, S. J., “Thoughts on reading” *Irish Monthly*, Vol. 25, No. 284, February 1897, 95-96.

the latest. As can be seen in these essays, some new concerns about reading were coming to the surface in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland.

2. People's usage of libraries in *fin-de-siècle* Dublin

The increase of a reading public raises the issue of the availability of reading spaces in Ireland. Most people could not afford most of the books they read since the books were still expensive, therefore the majority of readers had to seek other means of access to reading materials. Libraries were the best place where people could view reading materials; however, many libraries were not genuinely public in those days. Although there was a continuous demand for opening or maintaining libraries for the people, most existing libraries were specific in their purpose and for most of the nineteenth century restricted access to their members.⁴¹

As indicated earlier in this chapter, some work has been done on the institutional histories of various libraries around Dublin, but much less on how people used them on a day-to-day basis. The section will examine this in more detail by looking at usage in the Royal Dublin Society Library, the National Library of Ireland, and certain public libraries and circulating libraries.

(1) The Royal Dublin Society Library

The Royal Dublin Society was established in 1731 as an agency promoting economic and social improvement across Ireland; it was championed by a network of Anglo-Irish gentry and Church of Ireland clergy, and heavily supported both by Irish parliament, and by post-Union governments. It sponsored all the principal cultural institutions of nineteenth-century Dublin,

⁴¹ Clara Cullen, "Reading Spaces in Dublin," in *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, ed. James H. Murphy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 276.

and it oversaw the premier library in the city until the opening of the National Library of Ireland in 1891.⁴² The Society's remit was utilitarian and this was reflected in its library. As Desmond Clarke argues, "the dissemination of useful information was imperative if the Society was to justify its existence and the main, indeed only, source of information was printed books, pamphlets and the transactions of kindred Societies."

During the first century or so after its foundation, the Library had enjoyed exclusive status. Usage was strictly limited to members and the main readers were scholars and antiquarians. The particular richness of books on botanical and scientific subjects in the library was one of the main reasons.⁴³ It operated mainly as a reference library for the professional academicians. Bright has noted that this scholar-friendly atmosphere was so strong that there were debates in the Library Committee about lending works of reference to the members and a request for a separate reading room for scholars in 1836.⁴⁴ The literary side of Library was however weak, reducing its attractiveness even to its general members. The committee insisted on policy of excluding all works of poetry and religion.⁴⁵

There was, however, growing pressure to open the doors of the Library to a wider public, much like the British Museum had recently done. Clarke maintained that the committee of 1836 recommended making an arrangement to allow non-members to use the facilities. For this purpose, the need for a separate reading room "to accommodate students [...], so much to the satisfaction of the public [...]" was appealed and it was proposed that "for this purpose such reading room should be open to the public during the greatest number of days in the week and of hours in the day".⁴⁶ Although an extension of opening hours had been already

⁴² David Dickson, *Dublin : The Making of a Capital City*, (Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014).

⁴³ Kevin Bright, *The Royal Dublin Society, 1815-45* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 31.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁴⁵ Desmond Clarke, "The Library," in *RDS, the Royal Dublin Society, 1731-1981*, ed. James Meenan Royal Dublin Society, and Desmond Clarke (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1981), 79.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 80.

discussed,⁴⁷ this public-oriented debate at that time is noteworthy, considering the public use of the Library later. Also after the dissolution of the committee in 1836, an *ad hoc* committee set plans in motion for rooms for use by non-members.⁴⁸ Such people were to pay twenty guineas for life membership or two guineas for annual membership⁴⁹ and the candidates were vetted.⁵⁰ In order to obtain “lady associateship,” women had to pay two guineas annually and also had to be “proposed by at least two Corporate Members of the Society”⁵¹, but they were not permitted to vote at any Meeting, nor had they the right of admission to the Conversation room [...].⁵² This plan for the admission of non-members, therefore, can be considered as a big change in the history of the Royal Dublin Society, considering that expensive fees and complicated procedures were the order of the day prior to this innovation.

Some members did not like this initiative, as they were concerned that their status as a member of what was a select club would be diminished by the inflow of socially inferior non-members, and in some senses they were correct. The number of the readers grew drastically as a result of this arrangement: from a few hundred in 1836 to 4,860 in 1844. Over eight thousand readers were recorded as using the Library in the five years up to 1849 and shortly before 1877, the year when the Science and Art Museum Act passed, the number of readers had increased to over 20,000 per annum.⁵³

This striking growth directly reflected the committee’s book purchasing policy, “with a tendency to purchase a more popular type of book than heretofore.” The original core of readers, the gentry, the lawyers and the university professors who had controlled the policy of the Society heretofore, no longer had a monopoly over the choice of accessions.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ Ibid., 77.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ The Charters and Statutes of the Royal Dublin Society: The existing by-laws and proposed by-laws, May 1889, RDS Archive, 43.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 44.

⁵¹ Ibid., 47.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Desmond Clarke, "The Library", 81.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

These changes were reflected in a revolution of the rules in the second half of nineteenth century. This is evident even in the opening hours. In 1866 it was decided that “The Library shall be open daily, from eleven o’clock A. M. to five o’clock P. M., and from half-past seven to ten in the evening, on all week days, except from Good Friday to Easter Monday, and from Christmas Eve to New Year’s Day, inclusive.”⁵⁵ A debate followed the proposal of this rule, resulting in the decision to open from 11am to 6pm, Sundays excepted.⁵⁶ As for the admission of non-members, one can find a proviso in the rules that “[s]trangers desiring to visit the Library can do so in company with a Member or Officer of the Society.”

As for the purchase of books, rules 4 and 5 stated the basic policy that:

4. A “Suggestion Book,” to be laid before the Committee at every Meeting, shall be open in the Library, to enable Members and Readers to enter the particulars of any books which they may wish to recommend to the Committee for purchase.

5. The power of selecting books for purchase is vested in the Library Committee. Works of fiction, and works of a purely theological, legal, or medical character, shall not be purchased, unless on special grounds, at the discretion of the Committee.⁵⁷

As can be seen from this, the object of their book purchasing policy was still restricted. However, both Clarke and Bright pointed out that this may have been a somewhat misleading public stance: for example, Bright shows that Brindley Hone, chairman of the Library Committee, noted that “the library could not purchase works on divinity, they being outside the scope of the society’s objects, but there was nothing to prevent them from accepting a gift of such works.”⁵⁸ In fact, the Society received a considerable donation of the books every year and sometimes in the form of bequests, such as the one made by Reverend William Tew, Ballysax, Co. Kildare, life member of the RDS from 1813 until his death in 1837.⁵⁹ Such

⁵⁵ “Draft Library Rules as framed by the Sub Committee and submitted as their Report”, RDS Library Committee Minute Book: June 1862 to March 1871, 4th April, 1866, RDS Archive.

⁵⁶ RDS Library Committee Minute Book: June 1862 to March 1871, 22nd January 1868, RDS Archive, 278.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Bright, *The Royal Dublin Society, 1815-45*, 153.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

donations were mainly made by clerics of the Established Church, who occupied a significant proportion of the membership of the Society.⁶⁰ Clarke also states that there existed a record of purchasing “light and trivial books” made for members and their families. Therefore, there is a possibility that the basic rules were quietly relaxed. As for the purchasing orders by female readers, there was a resolution that “[l]adies wishing to suggest a purchase of any Book are informed that by applying to the Library Clerk, they may procure the Suggestion Book, in which the particulars should be entered, & the proposal will then be considered by the Library Committee.”⁶¹

As for the lending of books, the basic rule was laid down in rule 30, which stated that “[m]embers of the Royal Dublin Society (whose subscriptions are not in arrear), and the Professors of the Society, are allowed the privilege of borrowing books from the Library [...]”⁶² There was also a rule that the books lent by the society shall have been returned within a fortnight. Adding to this, there was a privilege held by the Society’s Professors who were “allowed the additional privilege of taking [books] to their lecture rooms, for the period of each lecture [...]”⁶³

As for the borrowing trends, there are detailed records in the annual proceedings.

⁶⁰ Desmond Clarke, "The Library," 79.

⁶¹ RDS Library Committee Minute Book: April 1871 to April 1889, 2nd January, 1872, RDS Archive, 29.

⁶² RDS Library Committee Minute Book: June 1862 to March 1871, 4th April, 1866, RDS Archive, 151.

⁶³ Ibid.

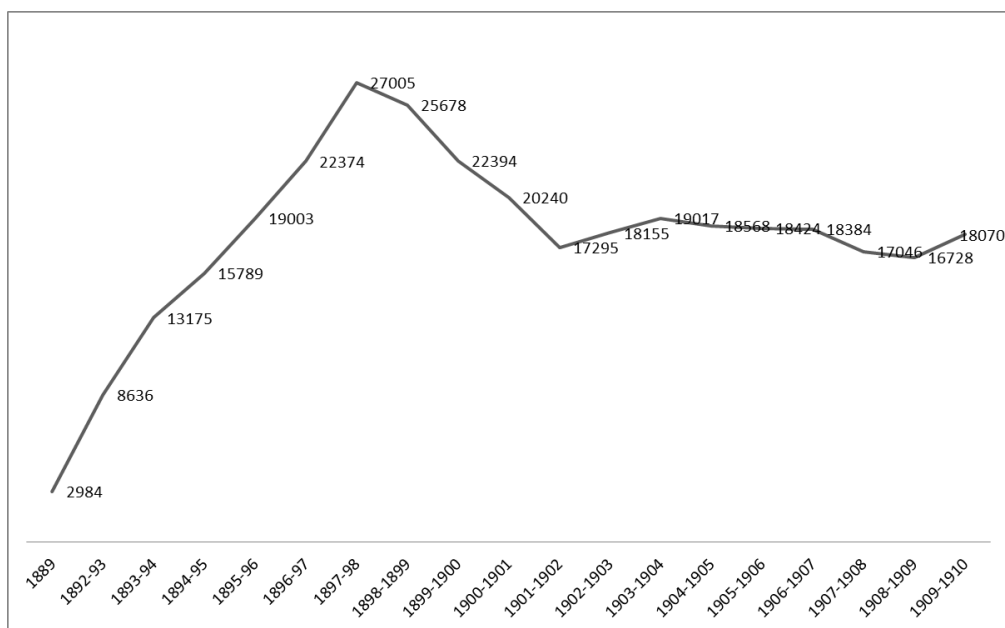


Figure 1-1 Total annual book borrowings from the RDS Library, 1889 to 1910⁶⁴

Looking at the transition of total borrowings from 1892 to 1910, they appear to increase very rapidly from 1889 to 1898: almost ten-fold in ten years. There is a comment on this increase in the annual returns: “[f]ive years ago [the year of 1889] the number of books borrowed in twelve months was 2984”, and that “[t]o a great extent of this increase is due to the large accession of Members and Lady Associates.”⁶⁵ This also caused space to become scarce and the Committee reported that “[t]he Committee must again express their regret that the very limited accommodation at the Society’s disposal does not enable them to make satisfactory arrangements [...]”⁶⁶ The increasing number of library users was not the only cause of overcrowding. With the books purchased and donated every year, the storage space became full and a plan to expand storage space was also discussed in 1895:

[o]wing to the rapid increase in the number of books in the Society’s Library it has been found necessary to provide additional shelving, and there is no place available for the purpose [...]. The works for which additional space is required are

⁶⁴ Made from *Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society*, Vol. 132-143.

⁶⁵ *Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society* from November 8, 1894 to March 15, 1895, Vol. 131, 42.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

of the same class as those now stored in the Members Reading Room on the first floor. They are kept in that room because they are much in demand for borrowing purposes.⁶⁷

After the number of the visitors peaked in 1898, it started to decline until 1901 and stayed almost level from that point onwards. The report explained that “this decrease [in the issue of books], [...] probably does not point in any way to a diminution in the usefulness or popularity of the Library, but to the fact, already pointed out in the last Report, that only Members and Associates now have access to the Library”⁶⁸ and concluded that “[r]eaders in the Library have derived much advantage from the regulation which excludes all but Members and Associates from admission to it, while the adoption of more stringent rules has resulted in the much more punctual return of books borrowed [...]”.⁶⁹ According to the proceedings, this new rule was laid down in 1899.⁷⁰ Although it was not recorded clearly whether this amendment was introduced in order to make more spaces for the members, the lack of the space was discussed again in 1902; “[t]he great increase which has taken place in recent years in the number of books borrowed from the Library makes the necessity for further accommodation for the Library increasingly urgent. In 1890 the number of books borrowed was only 3660, in 1900 the number was 20,240. The Committee have done everything in their power to cope with the difficulties that have arisen owing to want of accommodation, but so long as it is necessary to use the Members’ Reading Room as an office for the transaction of general business relating to the Library, it will be impossible to afford reasonable reading room accommodation to Members and Associates [...]”.⁷¹ This chronic congestion of the storage

⁶⁷ *Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society* from November 14, 1895 to September 7, 1896, Vol. 132, RDS Archive, 45.

⁶⁸ *Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society* from November 8th, 1900 to March 14th, 1901, Vol. 137, RDS Archive, 48.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁷⁰ *Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society* from November 9th, 1899 to March 8th, 1900, Vol. 136, RDS Archive, 53.

⁷¹ *Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society* from November 14, 1901 to March 13th, 1902, Vol. 138, RDS Archive, 50.

space was resolved for the time being in 1906, as can be seen in the report for that year. “Some much needed new shelving has been put up in two of the rooms and in the corridor of the upper floor of the Library. This will to some extent lessen the overcrowding of the shelves, and make room for the books which are being constantly acquired.”⁷²

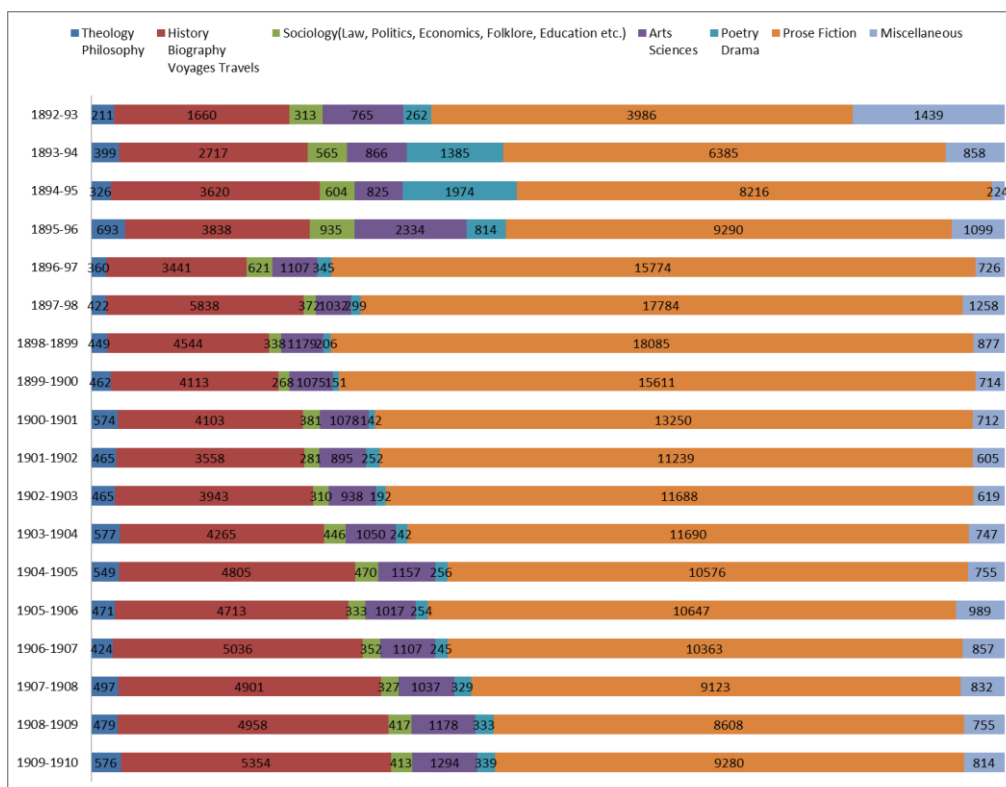


Figure 1-2 Numbers of the borrowed books from the RDS Library classified by genre from 1892 to 1910⁷³

Looking at the records of borrowings more closely, the proportion of fictional works when compared to other genres is striking, as can be seen from the graph above. One also notices that the amount of fiction borrowed continued to increase rapidly from 1892 to 1899, from which year it gradually decreased. This explosion in the number of fiction items borrowed struck the committee as remarkable, as they mentioned this phenomenon in the

⁷² *Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society* from November 8, 1906 to March 14th, 1907, Vol. 143, RDS Archive, 52.

⁷³ Made from *Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society*, Vol. 132-143.

proceedings.⁷⁴ As a result of banning of all but members and associates of the Royal Dublin Society, the number of readers of fictional works decreased from 1898. Nevertheless, fiction remained one of the most popular genres of books borrowed each year. The circulation of fiction was a special concern of the Committee, as can be seen from their statement that “[t]his decrease shows itself in the majority of subjects, not excepting Fiction, which has always attracted the largest number of readers, the figures denoting its circulation exceeding in amount those of all the other subjects combined.”⁷⁵ Looking at other genres, no such big changes is observable over the course of twenty years or so.

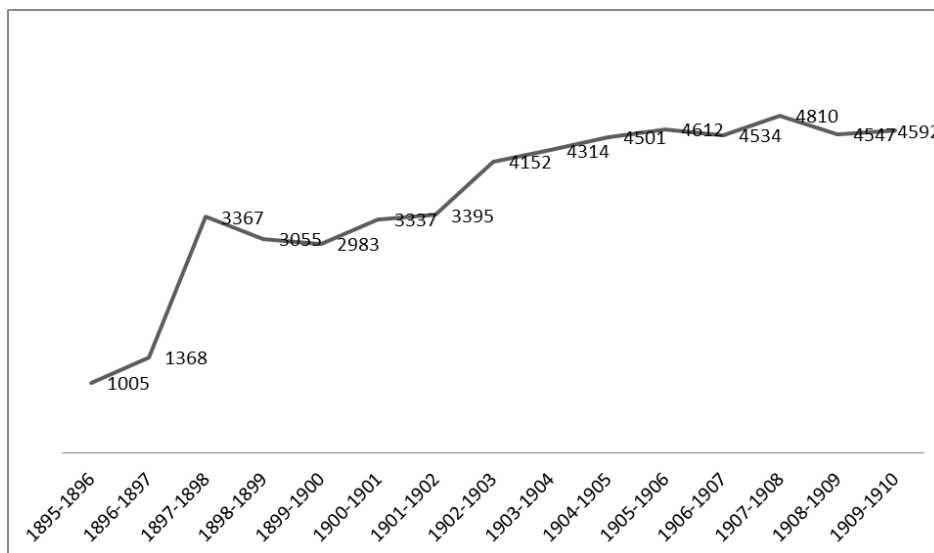


Figure 1-3 Circulation of the magazines and reviews in the RDS Library, 1895 to 1910⁷⁶

Adding to the records of the books borrowed, the Committee also made a record of the magazines and reviews in circulation. Although the existing record starts only from 1895, the number of titles constantly increased, and in 1909-1910, it grew to more than quadruple the

⁷⁴ *Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society* from November 10th, 1898 to March 9th, 1899, Vol. 135, RDS Archive, 72.

⁷⁵ *Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society* from November 14th, 1907 to March 12th, 1908, Vol. 144, RDS Archive, 44.

⁷⁶ Made from *Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society*, Vol. 132-143.

circulation volume of 1895-1896. As can be seen from the graph above, there was a significant increase during those fifteen years.

Thus the attempt to open the Royal Dublin Society to broader public did not necessarily proceed smoothly – they dealt with the process through trial and error and sought to reach the best compromise between existing and new users, and were obviously by the emergence and growth of the step-child on their doorstep, the National Library of Ireland.

(2) National Library of Ireland

The National Library of Ireland opened in 1878 within the old Royal Dublin Society building in Leinster House, its book stock at the beginning made up entirely of the Society's former non-fiction collections, purchased (with much else) from the Society by the state in 1877. New rules were laid down, reflecting the RDS practices but with more liberal opening hours:

Rule 2. The Library shall be open daily from ten o'clock, A. M., to ten o'clock, P. M., except on Sundays, Good Friday, and the day following, and Easter Monday and Tuesday, Christmas Day, and the week-day immediately before and after. It shall be closed at such other times and for such intervals as may be requisite for purposes of cleaning or arrangement, due notice thereof being posted in the Library.⁷⁷

Considering that the RDS Library was open from 11 am to 6 pm, these were a major change. But this kind of reader-friendly decision was being made at the National Library, some elements of the privileged status of the Royal Dublin Society remained. One can see the character of exclusivity the National Library retained, especially in rules 12-15 that relate to the admission of readers to the library;

12. Readers duly introduced as below, shall be admitted to the Library during open hours (for which see Rule 2).
13. Admission is obtained upon a recommendation signed by some person of known respectable standing, which must be founded on personal knowledge of the applicant.
14. A Trustee, the Director of the Science and Art Museum, and the Librarian, shall each by virtue of his office, be empowered to introduce any person known to

⁷⁷ "I. General Regulations", National Library of Ireland: Library Rules, 1894, NLI.

him to be of respectable standing, upon personal application, to read in the Library.

15. Upon such approved introduction, the Librarian shall provide each applicant with a Ticket of Admission, available for six months, but which he may renew at the expiration of that term, or subsequently, provided he is satisfied that such Reader has not been guilty of any branch of these Rules.⁷⁸

Similar to the RDS regulations, readers were not allowed to “take any book from the shelves, or replace it there” except reference books placed in the reading room. Furthermore, “[r]eaders shall not be admitted to any part of the Library, except that provided for them, unless accompanied by the Librarian or other officer of the Library.” As can be seen from these rules, the library was perceived as an exclusive reference library from the beginning. Added to this, lending privileges were only offered to the members of the RDS who had joined before the 31st December, 1877.

Considering this kind of restriction, the early National Library was not a library for the general public. However, the number of the readers increased greatly especially during the tenure of two librarians, William Archer and Thomas Lyster.⁷⁹ Alf MacLochlainn describes the different attitudes of these two librarians thus: Archer had a nationalistic outlook in the “exclusively protestant ascendancy management period” of the Library, and repeatedly remarked that “materials in the National Library belonged not to the government in London but to the people of Ireland.” Lyster, on the other hand, tried to imbue the Library with some international stature and initiated the acquisition of international official publications as part of his policy.⁸⁰ Added to this, their personal policies, they both made efforts to make the Library more open to the public. One such initiative was the “new books” initiative trialled under Lyster in 1899.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Lyster occasionally published in library journals. See T. W. Lyster, “Notes on Shelf-Classification by the Dewey System,” *The Library* 1, no. 1 (1897): 329-39. And for a reply L. Stanley Jast, “The Dewey Classification, and Some Recent Criticism,” *ibid.*: 340-5.

⁸⁰ As for Lyster’s effort on management of the library, and also on spread of public libraries countrywide, see Ernest A. Savage, “The Friendliest Library in the World,” *Library Review* 13, no. 6 (1952): 360-7.

The experiment of displaying on the Library counter a small group of selected books of interest, or of new books, or of a group on a given subject, has been tried during 1899, and we are encouraged to think that it is worth continuing. The books are changed frequently, and an effort is made not only to show what people might look for, but to make known valuable books which might not have been looked for. It is thought that the claims of natural curiosity, and general interest, should not be slighted, as a Guide to Study should be steadfastly borne in mind.⁸¹

But this period, as MacLochlainn pointed out, “at the turn of the century [...] public librarianship was in its infancy.”⁸² As a result of their effort, the number of the visitors kept increasing almost constantly every year, as Figure 1-4 shows:

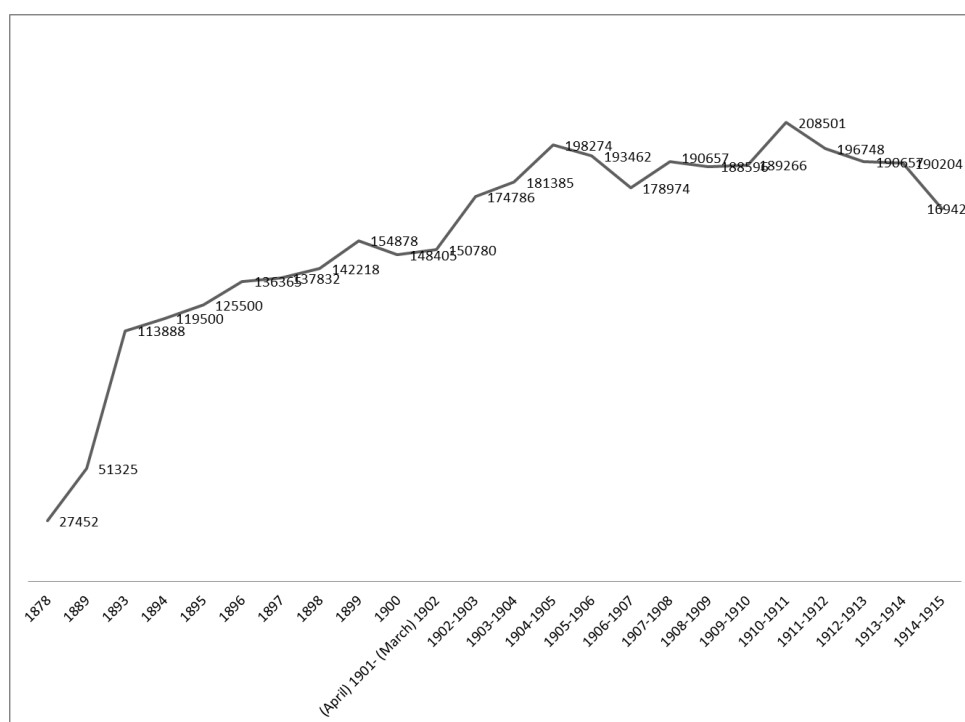


Figure 1-4 The number of attendances at the NLI, 1878 to 1915⁸³

⁸¹ “Report of the Librarian”, February 22nd 1900 in *Report of the Council of Trustees for the year 1899*, p. 11. For more on librarianship of the period see William Baker, “Libraries and Librarians in the 1890s: A Survey of the Library Scene 100 Years Ago,” *ibid.* 39, no. 2 (1990).

⁸² Alf MacLochlainn, “The National Library of Ireland 1877-1977,” *Irish University Review* 7, no. 2 (1977): 161.

⁸³ Made from *Report of The Council of Trustees for the National Library of Ireland, 1898-1911*.

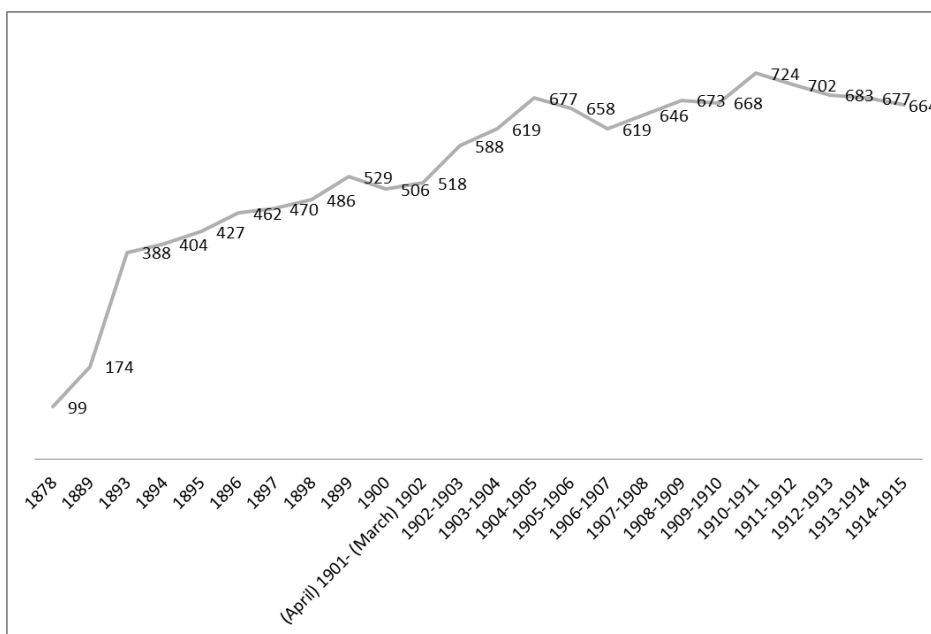


Figure 1-5 Daily averages of attendance at the NLI, 1878 to 1915⁸⁴

This increase in the attendance inevitably created a shortage of reading space. In 1905, the Trustees made the following appeal to expand this space:

The General Reading Room affords seating accommodation for 128 persons. No records are kept of the number of readers present in the room at one time: but the returns given in the Annual Reports of the Trustees show a great increase in the attendance at the Library, and furnish sufficient evidence for the belief that, on the whole, the tendency will continue in this direction. The Reading Room is used more and more as a hall of study by students of the Royal University, Training Colleges for Teachers, and other educational institutions in Dublin. It should be noted that this class of reader is refused admittance to the Reading Room of the British Museum. There is, however, no other Library in Dublin which affords facilities for the above-mentioned categories of Students.

In 1893, the first year in which reliable returns were made, the average daily attendances were 388; the corresponding figure for the past three years, taken as an average, has been 628. Having regard to these numbers, and to the fact that the flow of reader is not uniform, the Library being much more frequented by the public at some periods of the year and certain hours of the day than others, we feel satisfied that the General Reading Room is at times overcrowded, and that additional accommodation to that now afforded is desirable.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Made from *Report of The Council of Trustees for the National Library of Ireland, 1898-1911*.

⁸⁵ "Accommodation for the National Library of Ireland: Report of Committee. Dublin, 19th June, 1905.", 2.

As this passage shows, the original seating capacity was 128 which was too limited to accommodate daily attendances that grew from 388 to 628 on average from 1893 to around 1905. Furthermore, "the flow of reader is not uniform" so the librarians insisted that they should anticipate further growth of readers.

The experience in all Libraries has shown that the provision of a separate Reading Room for the use of ladies is unnecessary; and the National Library is no exception in this respect. The room set apart for lady readers is used by them to a very small extent. The great majority of lady visitors prefer to sit in the General Reading Room; and there could, we think, be no objection to requiring that the remainder should follow their example if a table were reserved for ladies in the General Reading Room.⁸⁶

Interestingly enough, they discussed whether the separate reading room for ladies should be abolished because most elected to ignore it. The compromise here was to set a table reserved for female readers. The plan was discussed in detail:

The inadequacy of accommodation in the General Reading Room cannot, we think, be remedied by any alteration of the present arrangements for seating readers. No more tables could conveniently be placed in the room; nor could any reduction in the table space allowed to each individual be made. To relieve the congestion, therefore, it is necessary that the floor space should be extended; and the most desirable means in every respect of attaining this object would be to throw open, as part of the room available for the general public, the Reading Room now reserved for the use of ladies. It is on the same floor as the General Reading Room, [...], [and] could be removed. The number of tables in this room could, if required, be increased so that seating accommodation could be provided for 40 readers, and, [...] it will be seen that the course we propose will mean a substantial addition to the accommodation available for readers in the Library. The walls of the Ladies' Room can also be fitted with presses to hold books of reference, for which the wall space in the present General Reading Room has, so far as practicable, been already utilised.⁸⁷

Gendered library space was a common feature of the late Victorian reading experience.⁸⁸ A

⁸⁶ Ibid., 4.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Baggs, "'In the Separate Reading Room for Ladies Are Provided Those Publications Specially Interesting to Them': Ladies' Reading Rooms and British Public Libraries 1850-1914," 280-306. See also Paula Sequiros and Sónia Passos, "The Feminine Reading Room: A

limited number of female visitors actually used ladies' reading rooms because of the different types of books and the periodicals provided there, although the establishment of ladies' reading rooms in libraries throughout Britain facilitated women's visit to the libraries to a certain degree. For example, more serious political periodicals and general newspapers were absent from ladies' reading rooms. The provision of reading materials in ladies' reading rooms reflected the (usually) male chief librarians' ideas as to what was appropriate or not for the female readership.⁸⁹ As a result, ladies' reading rooms started to close from around the turn of the century, although some reports had commented on how popular ladies' reading rooms were. In the case of the National Library of Ireland, the nature of library as a reference library may explain the unpopularity of ladies' reading rooms, since female users would likely only have visited the library for serious scholarly purposes, similar to those of male users.

In the course of the debate, the actual cost was estimated thus:

[with] the removal so far as possible of the dividing wall between the General Reading Room and the Ladies' Room; [...] It should be noted that £400 has been allowed for making a large opening between the General and the Ladies' Reading Rooms. We are advised [...] that the only object to be secured by it is increased facility of supervising readers from the counter in the General Reading Room. [...] Of course it is understood that its omission will not affect the proposal to use the Ladies' Room for general readers.⁹⁰

As can be seen from this, the original plan was to remove the dividing wall between the general reading room and the ladies' reading room. However, the actual debate did not appear again in the report. Considering that the space of the former ladies' reading room still exists in its original form, it can be speculated that this expensive proposal was abandoned

Separate Space for Women in a Portuguese Public Library," *Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Libraries 2* 2012: 163-75.

⁸⁹ There are other ways of reading female space as "sanctuary". For more on this see Karen A. Franck and Lynn Paxson, "Women and Urban Public Space," in *Public Places and Spaces*, ed. Irwin Altman and Erwin Zube (Berlin: Springer, 1989); Ella L. J. Edmondson Bell and Stella M. Nkomo, *Our Separate Ways : Black and White Women and the Struggle for Professional Identity* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 2001).

⁹⁰ "Accommodation for the National Library of Ireland: Report of Committee. Dublin, 19th June, 1905." 7.

and that other uses of the room were considered instead.

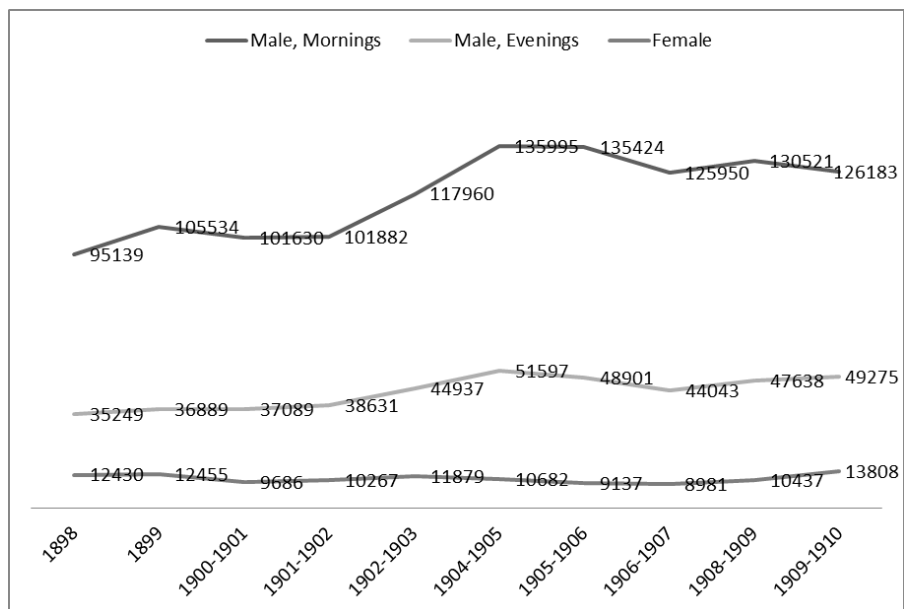


Figure 1-6 NLI visitors by gender, 1898 to 1910⁹¹

When one looks at the attendances according to the gender, the female usage of the National Library is quite small compared to male usage – less than half of male usage during the evening opening hours. It is also notable that the graph for women almost levels for these ten years, while some increases and decreases can be seen in male usage.

⁹¹ Made from *Report of The Council of Trustees for the National Library of Ireland, 1898-1911*.

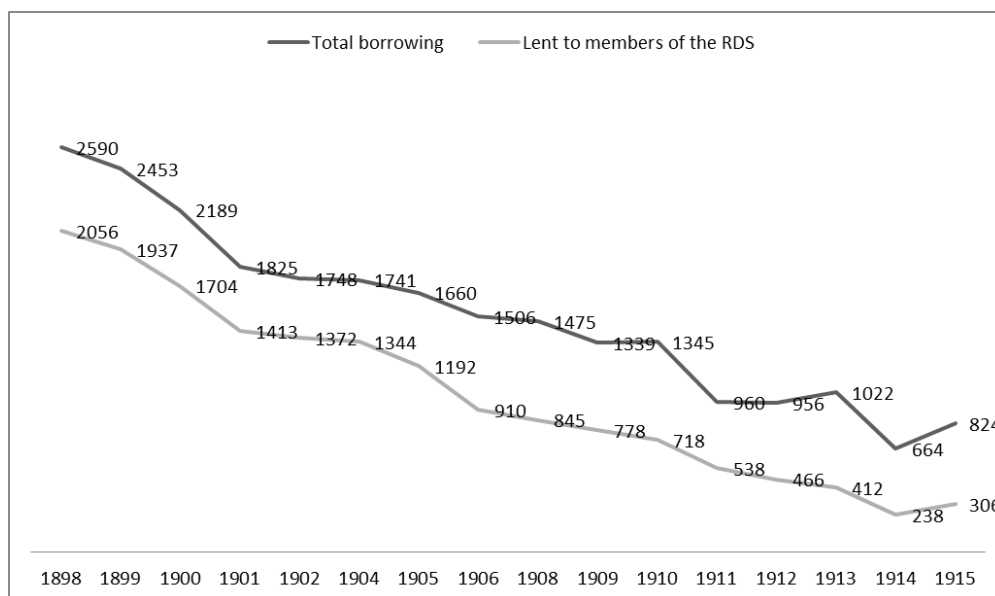


Figure 1-7 Number of books borrowed from the NLI, 1898-1915⁹²

Looking at the number of borrowed books, a fairly constant decline is evident: from 2,590 p.a. in 1898 to 1,475 in 1907. The report did not mention the reason for this decline; however, the lending service was a privilege for some classes of people including members of the Royal Dublin Society, as noted above. Therefore, this tendency does not necessarily reflect ordinary non-RDS library usage. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that lending did not increase at the same rate as that of attendance.

⁹² Made from *Report of The Council of Trustees for the National Library of Ireland, 1898-1911*.

(3) Public libraries

Despite the effort of the Royal Dublin Society and the National Library of Ireland to open their doors to a broader public, these two institutions were still catering for limited classes of people. Influenced by the passing of the Public Library Act in 1850, the importance of public libraries especially for the lower classes came to be emphasised throughout Britain and Ireland. Clara Cullen has noted that access to books for the general reader in Dublin comparatively low compared to many other cities, and that “[a]n answer to the question ‘[w]here did Dubliners read?’ would not have differed significantly in 1900 from the answer given in 1855”.⁹³

Stimulated by the establishment of the National Library, the needs of new public libraries were also discussed with greater energy from 1883. In the minutes of the municipal council of Dublin Corporation in 1883, one can find the first record of these debates when Councillor Mayne moved that:

That a Committee, consisting of nine members, be appointed to consider and report as to the extent to which it would be desirable to avail of the Public Libraries’ Act in Dublin, by establishing general libraries in situations convenient for the people; the Committee to consider and report specially as to the adapting of existing buildings to the objects of the Act; and also as to the cost both of putting such a scheme in operation and of maintaining it in future.

This content of the motion was expanded in the form of an address to the Lord Mayor that:

The past few years, however, have shown that a single Library has not been sufficient in any of the large towns of the kingdom, and in addition to the Central Library of most of these towns, branch or district libraries have been opened, and been found to meet the public requirements. [...] The Committee presented a report which showed that while Dublin was exceptionally rich in its library collections, the facilities afforded to the general public were restricted and insufficient. It was pointed out that whilst at the splendid library of Trinity College (200,000 vols.), at that of the Benchers of King’s Inns (60,000 vols.), and at that of the Royal Irish Academy (40,000 vols.), the privilege of reading could be obtained, under prescribed regulations, by persons not members of these bodies, general facilities for reading were available only at the National Library at Leinster House (100,000 vols.) and at the Library and News-room of the Mechanics’ Institute. To

⁹³ Clara Cullen, "Dublin Is Also in Great Need of a Library Which Shall Be at Once Accessible to the Public and Contain a Good Supply of Modern and Foreign Books': Dublin's Nineteenth-Century 'Public' Libraries," *Library History* 23, no. 1 (2007): 59.

obtain access to the National Library the recommendation of any person of known respectability is sufficient, while the advantages of the Mechanics' Institute can be had on payment of a small subscription. Both Institutions, however, are situated on the eastern side of the city, and the Committee reported that in the western and more densely populated parts, no practical facilities of access to books existed. Under these circumstances the Committee recommended the establishment of two libraries in the west of the city.⁹⁴

Although the exclusivity of the existing libraries was clearly stated here, it did not mean that there was no library which was accessible to the common readers in Dublin. As the Lord Mayor mentioned, there was already the Dublin Mechanics' Institute on Abbey Street which offered lectures and library uses for the members.⁹⁵ The problem was, however, the disproportionate concentration of libraries in eastern side of Dublin and the Lord Mayor explained that this was the reason why new libraries should be established in the west of the city. As the actual means of establishing libraries, the Committee submitted a report which "named on 2nd April, 1883, *re* Establishing and Maintaining of General Libraries (No. 160), Report recommending that two Libraries be opened and maintained at an annual cost of £1,000" and "this amount be allocated from the Borough Fund".⁹⁶

Public libraries were opened on October 1st, 1884 quite quickly in Thomas Street and Capel Street, where long opening hours were set from the start – from 10 am to 10.30 pm for the reading rooms and 10 am – 9 pm for the lending libraries. The *Freeman's Journal* reported on the opening of the public libraries, adding a sarcastic comment on the exclusivity and academic-orientation of the existing libraries in Dublin:

⁹⁴ "First Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1884" *Dublin Corporation Reports*, 1885, Vol. 2, 30-31.

⁹⁵ Cullen, "Reading Spaces in Dublin," p. 278. As for the Dublin Mechanics' Institute itself, see Jim Cooke, "The Dublin Mechanics' Institute, 1824-1919," *Dublin Historical Record* 52, no. 1 (1999). For the Mechanics' Institutes Library movement, see Martyn Walker, "'For the Last Many Years in England Everybody Has Been Educating the People, but They Have Forgotten to Find Them Any Books': The Mechanics' Institutes Library Movement and Its Contribution to Working-Class Adult Education During the Nineteenth Century," *Library & Information History* 29, no. 4 (November 2013). From 1900 onwards, Andrew Carnegie started building libraries across Ireland. Grimes, "Carnegie Libraries in Ireland."

⁹⁶ "First Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1884" *Dublin Corporation Reports*, 1885, Vol. 2, 30-31.

The Libraries are not rich treasures of valuable and rare literature, like older ones (such as Trinity College Library), which are show places in our city, nor can we hope that they will attract the learned leisure of the *savant* [...], but they will confer more general good and do public service by bringing to the mind of the workingman the recreation and the knowledge of the books, and having and spreading this refining influence which will reach the heart of even home life.⁹⁷

The point being emphasised was the public benefit of the new libraries. This was also reflected in the books stocked in each library. In the report of 1884, one can see that the people in charge of selecting books for the libraries decided thus:

To the preparation of a list of the books most suitable for the Libraries considerable attention was given by the Committee. Citizens distinguished in various branches were invited to suggest works in their several departments of knowledge, and to the following gentlemen the Committee are indebted for valuable assistance: -

Art – Thomas Farrell, R. H. A.; P. Vincent Duffy, R. H. A.

CHEMISTRY AND METALLURGY – Professor Hartley, Royal College of Science.

The DRAMA. – Sir Samuel Ferguson, LL. D. President of the Royal Irish Academy.

ENGINEERING – Professor O'Reilly, Royal College of Science.

FICTION – George Noble Plunkett.

HISTORY – John Kells Ingram, LL. D., F. T. C. D., Librarian Trinity College, Dublin.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY – Rev. Maxwell Close, M. A., Treasurer of the Royal Irish Academy; Rev. John O'Hanlon.

HISTORY OF IRELAND – Alfred Webb.

MECHANICAL ARTS – Councillor W. E. Doherty, C. E.

MUSIC – Sir Robert Stewart, *Mus D.*

NATURAL HISTORY – Rev. Maxwell Close; Rev. Samuel Haughton, LL. D., M. D., F.T.C.D.

PHYSICS – Professor Barrett, Royal College of Science.

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS – Charles Eason.

RECORD PUBLICATIONS – John T. Gilbert, F. S. A.

TECHNICAL INDUSTRIES – Theobald Brophy; William McCormack.

TECHNOLOGY AND PRACTICAL MECHANICS – Professor Hennessy. F. R. S.

It was not considered advisable to admit works of polemical controversy, and it was decided that all works of an immoral or infidel character should be excluded.

⁹⁸

⁹⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 2nd October, 1894.

⁹⁸ "First Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1884" *Dublin Corporation Reports*, 1885, Vol. 2, 26-27. This list is a fascinating one. John T. Gilbert was the leading historian of Dublin and husband of the novelist Rosa Mulholland. George Noble Plunkett was a prominent scholar, a future director of the National Museum of Ireland, and father of the future 1916 icon, Joseph Mary Plunkett. For more on Alfred Webb see Jennifer Regan-Lefebvre, *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire : Ireland, India and the Politics of Alfred Webb* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). And for more on Haughton see W. J. E. Jessop, "Samuel Haughton: A Victorian Polymath," *Hermathena*, no. 116 (1973): 3-26.

As can be seen from the list of people, some were the leading professional experts in the area and some were not, and includes some prominent figures such as the poet and archivist Samuel Ferguson.⁹⁹ Perhaps the Committee expected to produce some added publicity by selecting these people and showing their names in the report, although the intention behind the selection of such a list was not clarified. Furthermore, the report declared the exclusion of “works of polemical controversy” and of “all works of an immoral or infidel character”, although it did not clearly state what their standard was or where it was determined. The report also showed that the tenders for the supply of books, newspapers and periodicals had been solicited, and that Mr. Combridge chosen as the books supplier and Mr. W. F. Kenny the supplier of newspapers and periodicals.¹⁰⁰ As for the librarians in each library, the selection was made by ballot and it was decided to appoint Patrick Gogan for the Capel Street and Matthew D. Weir for Thomas Street. Both had experiences as librarians – Gogan “had been Assistant in the Library of the Royal College, Maynooth, for some years, and had previously made a catalogue of the books in the Library of the late distinguished President of the College, the Very Rev. Charles William Russell, D. D.” Weir “had previously had experience in connection with the Libraries at the French College, Blackrock, and at Clongowes-wood College.”¹⁰¹ These descriptions indicate that the Committee regarded the candidates’ abilities as professional librarians foremost. Gogan, in particular, came with abundant with his cataloguing experience.

The new appointees drew on the experience of public libraries in England, several of which were visited;

Both the Librarians, [...] visited Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Bradford and

⁹⁹ Malcolm Johnston Brown, *Sir Samuel Ferguson* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1973); Eve Patten, *Samuel Ferguson and the Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004); Jan Jędrzejewski, "Anthologizing Samuel Ferguson: Literature, History, Politics," *Text Matters - A Journal of Literature, Theory and Culture* (2014).

¹⁰⁰ Public Libraries Committee, 1884 Report, 27.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 28.

Birmingham, in which the Libraries Acts have been extensively availed of, and presented reports describing in detail the arrangements as to furniture, fittings, floor-covering, indicators, readers' tickets, the lending of books, book-binding, &c. Mr. Grogan made a special visit and report as to Birkenhead Public Library. The Committee are much indebted to the Librarians and officers of the Public Libraries visited for the cordial manner in which they supplied exhaustive information to all details.¹⁰²

Marie-Louise Legg has noted that two public libraries had already been established in Ireland – in Dundalk (1858) and Sligo (1880), so this was not the first case of a municipal library opening in Ireland.¹⁰³ However, it is telling that new librarians felt it necessary to learn not from local experiences but from the newest systems in England, right down to questions of “furniture, fittings, floor-covering, indicators, readers' tickets, the lending of books, book-binding, &c.” as their aim was to open “the New Public Libraries”.¹⁰⁴

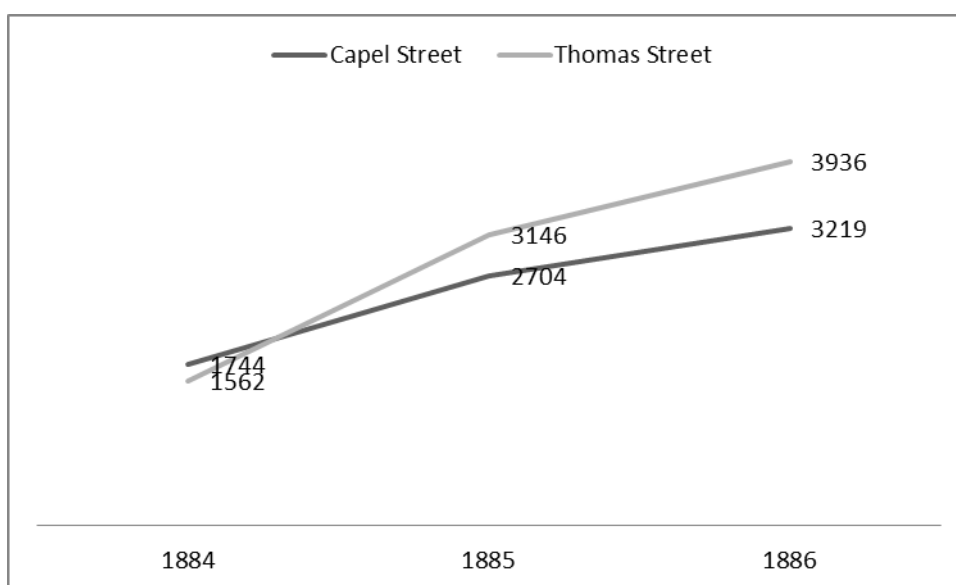


Figure 1-8 Total number of the books in stock in the Capel Street and Thomas Street Public Libraries, Dublin, 1884 to 1886¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Ibid., 28-29.

¹⁰³ Marie-Louise Legg, "Libraries," in *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, Vol. Iv: The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, ed. James H. Murphy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 259.

¹⁰⁴ "First Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1884" *Dublin Corporation Reports, 1885, Vol. 2, 29.*

¹⁰⁵ Made from "Second Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1885" *Dublin Corporation Reports etc, 1886, Vol. 3, 422-3;* "Third Report of the

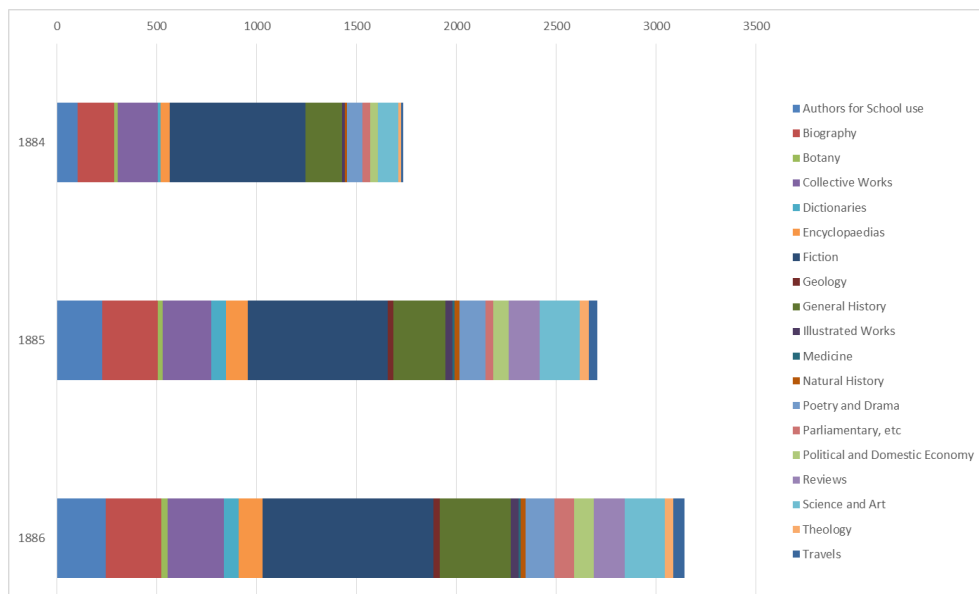


Figure 1-9 Number of books in stock in the Capel Public Street Library, Dublin, 1884 to 1886¹⁰⁶

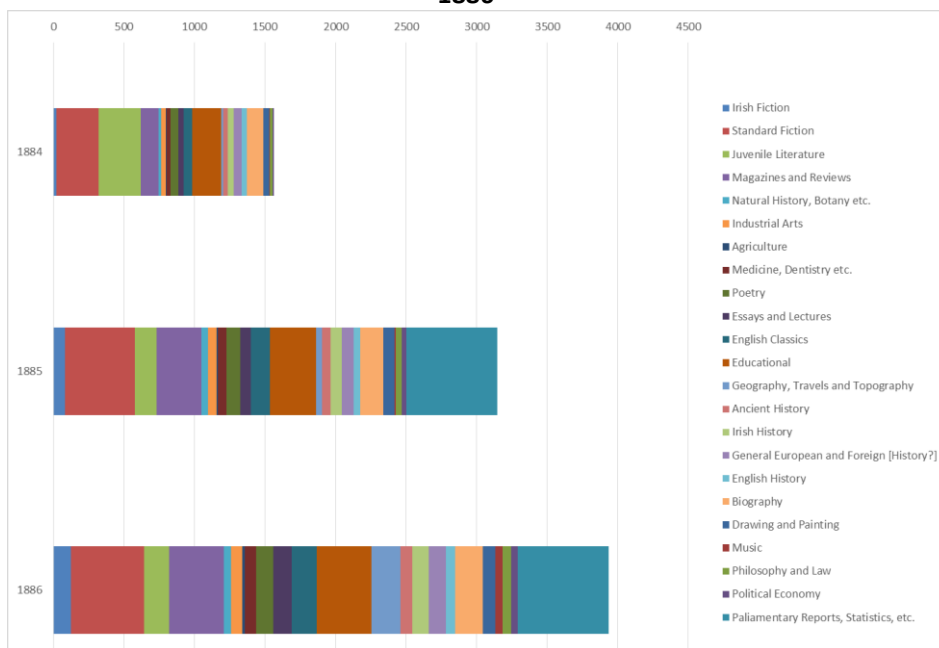


Figure 1-10 Number of books in stock in Thomas Street Public Library, Dublin, 1884 to 1886¹⁰⁷

Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1886" *Dublin Corporation Reports etc*, 1887, Vol. 1, 396-7.

¹⁰⁶ Made from "Second Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1885" *Dublin Corporation Reports etc*, 1886, Vol. 3, 422; "Third Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1886" *Dublin Corporation Reports etc*, 1887, Vol. 1, 396.

¹⁰⁷ Made from "Second Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st

As can be seen in Figures 1-8 to 1-10, which show the books held in stock, the total increased impressively at the beginning. In terms of genre, fictional works dominated. The second most popular genre was Biography or History. These stocks may have reflected the users' occupations – for example, Thomas Street Library had more books on Medicine than Capel Street Library. This might be a reflection of the medical students' usage of the Thomas Street Library. Furthermore, it can be seen that Thomas Street held more books on "Irish" literature such as "Irish fiction" and "Irish history". It seems that the system of classification had not been structured at this time so it might be more arbitrary than it appears. The person in charge of book selection was in each case the librarian himself, and M. D. Weir in Thomas, who had an involvement with Pan-Celtic society.¹⁰⁸ It is likely that his own tastes impacted on the selection of books to a considerable extent.

The libraries attracted a very considerable number of readers as soon as they opened, as shown in figure 1-11:

December, 1885" Dublin Corporation Reports etc, 1886, Vol. 3, 423; "Third Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1886" Dublin Corporation Reports etc, 1887, Vol. 1, 397.

¹⁰⁸ "Pan-Celtic Society, Dublin" *Nation*, 24th March, 1889, 9.

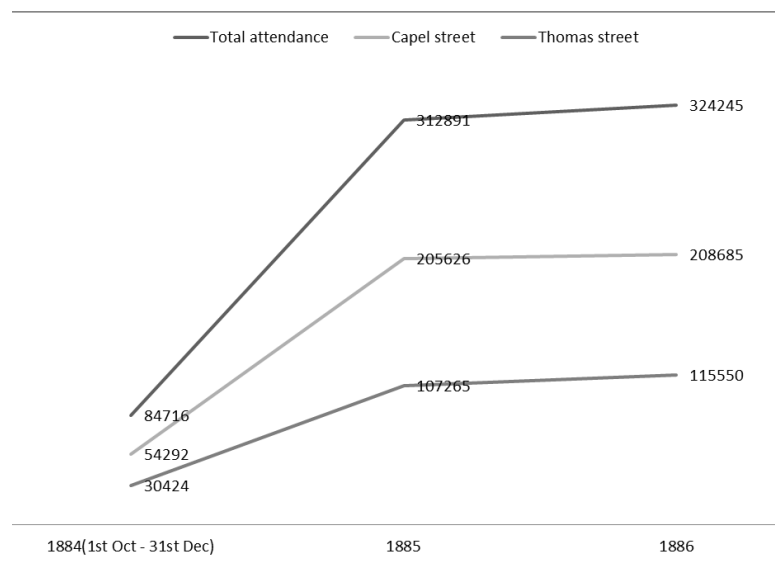


Figure 1-11 Annual attendance at Capel Street and Thomas Street Public Libraries (Reading Room for Newspapers, Magazines and Periodicals), 1884 to 1886¹⁰⁹

Considering that the number of visitors in 1884 shows only the attendance over the last three months, from 1st October to 31st December of the year, the estimated figure would be almost four times that of the amount shown. Therefore, the average annual attendance would be calculated to be around 325,000. This number of the visitors is impressive, far exceeding that of the National Library at that time, which was around 50,000. Furthermore, there was also a proviso that “the years set apart for perusal of newspapers, magazines and periodicals” in the reports of 1885 and 1886, so the number reflects the usage of the reading room only.

¹⁰⁹ Made from “First Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1884” *Dublin Corporation Reports etc*, 1885, Vol. 2, 36; “Second Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1885” *Dublin Corporation Reports etc*, 1886, Vol. 3, 418; “Third Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1886” *Dublin Corporation Reports etc*, 1887, Vol. 1, 391.

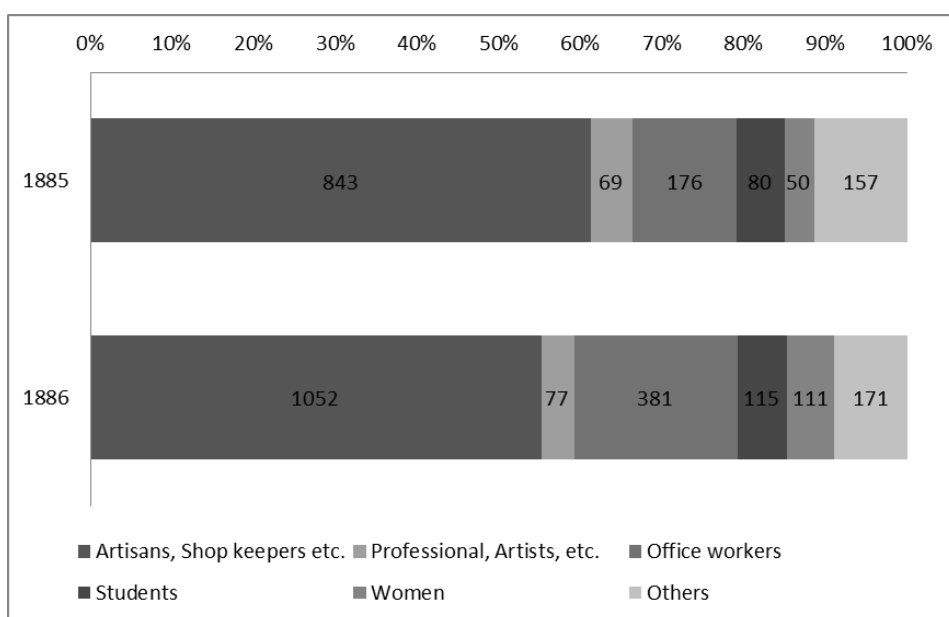


Figure 1-12 Visitors by occupation at the Capel Street Public Library, 1885-6¹¹⁰

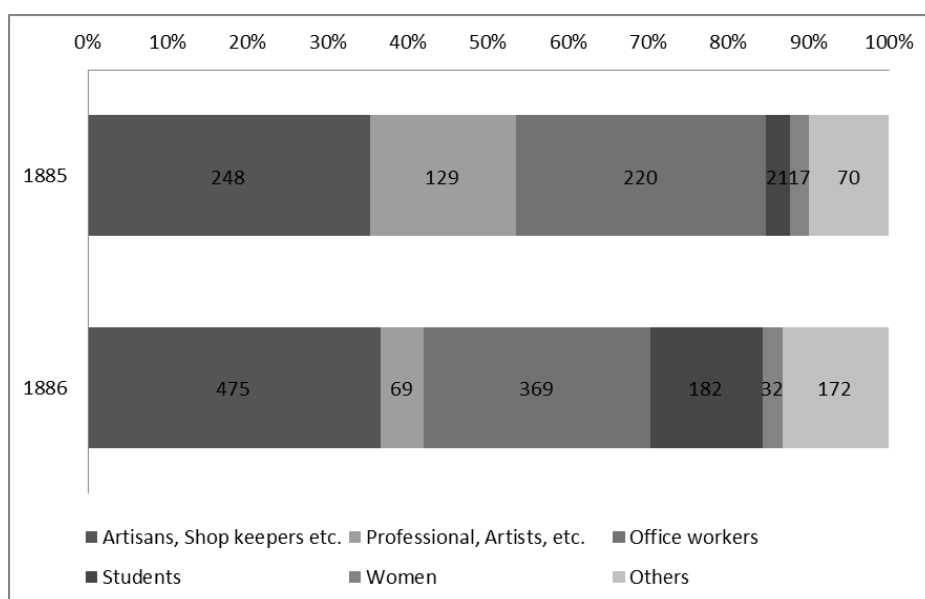


Figure 1-13 Visitors by occupation at the Thomas Street Public Library, 1885-6¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Made from "Second Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1885" *Dublin Corporation Reports etc*, 1886, Vol. 3, 419-20; "Third Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1886" *Dublin Corporation Reports etc*, 1887, Vol. 1, 392-43.

¹¹¹ Made from "Second Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1885" *Dublin Corporation Reports etc*, 1886, Vol. 3, 420-1; "Third Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1886" *Dublin Corporation Reports etc*, 1887, Vol. 1, 394-5.

The Thomas Street and Capel Street Library initially kept records of visitors by occupation, as shown in these two graphs above. Perhaps surprisingly, artisans and shop keepers (including labourers) comprised the largest portion of visitors. After them came the clerical and shop workers. The predominant users of these two libraries were, therefore, non-academic people. However, this does not mean that no professors used these libraries. Although the number is small, the statistics for the year 1886 shows five professors were registered as borrowers at Capel Street Library and three at Thomas Street Library. A certain number of professionals such as barristers, dentists and physicians were also registered as users of the libraries. Female usage seems generally small, and users included governesses, nurses and waitresses. However, it should be noted that there is a possibility that female users may have registered themselves as “no occupation given”, since there is a proviso that “As a rule, Ladies do not give their occupation” in the report on visitor statistics in 1885.¹¹² It was not mentioned whether these two libraries had separate reading rooms or desks for female users.

Although the public libraries started with just two new buildings, there were calls to add more branches. In particular, it was suggested that libraries should be established in the following three areas:

[...] in view of the absence of all opportunities for the literary and educational improvement of the poorer citizens inhabiting the manufacturing districts of the South Dock and Trinity Wards, and the Southern line of Quays, the Public Libraries Committee be instructed to forthwith consider the desirability of providing a Public Library in the neighbourhood of South Great Brunswick-street [...].¹¹³

This kind of broader public-oriented spirit can also be seen in the other arguments: for example, it was argued that schoolchildren should be allowed to borrow books from the new libraries.

¹¹² Second Report of the Public Libraries Committee in Dublin Corporation Reports, 1887, Vol. 1, 419.

¹¹³ *Minutes of the municipal council of the city of Dublin*, 1891, 65.

A letter was submitted from the Town Clerk, intimating that the Public Libraries Committee had, with the object of encouraging a taste for healthy literature among the youth of the city. Decided to avail themselves of the powers conferred upon them by the Public Libraries (Ireland) Act, 1902, to lend books through the medium of the City Primary Schools.¹¹⁴

As the result of these policies, the number of people who used these libraries increased rapidly and it led to overcrowding, similar to the situation at the National Library. For example, the need of expansion of the Thomas Street Library was voiced:

The crowded state of the existing news room in the Thomas Street Library, especially during the winter months, and the impossibility, owing to its situation on the second floor, of properly ventilating it, have decided us to utilise the yard space at the rete of the building for the erection of a structure which would relieve the present congestion and, upon a re-arrangement of the lending and reference departments, supersede the old rooms. [...] It is of importance that the work should commence at once, so as to enable us to open the new reading room before the winter season.¹¹⁵

Considering the fact that the library was congested especially during the winter months, it is possible some visitors did not visit the libraries to read: some may have visited libraries, to stay warm. Moreover, it should be noted that the crowded state existed in the news-room and “re-arrangement of the lending and reference departments” was put forward as a solution. This could mean that most users of the Thomas Street Library visited it to peruse newspapers and perhaps avoid the cold.

¹¹⁴ *Minutes of the Municipal Council of the city of Dublin, 1903, 384.*

¹¹⁵ *Dublin Corporation Reports etc. 1902, Vol. 2, 135-6.*

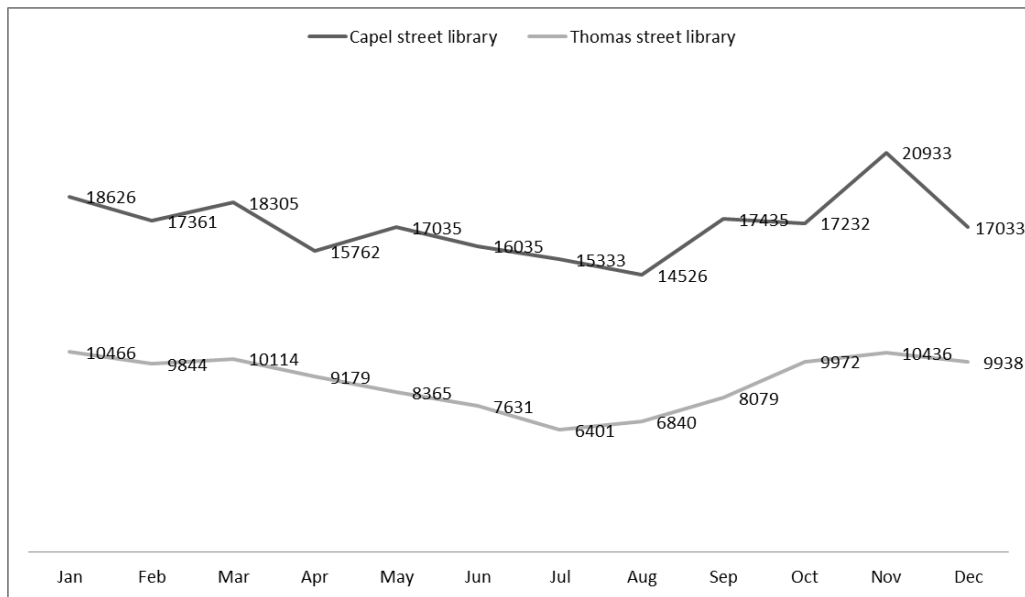


Figure 1-14 Seasonal variation of visitors in Capel Street and Thomas Street Public Libraries, 1885¹¹⁶

As can be seen in the graph showing the transition in the number of visitors for the year 1885, the number of visitors shows a V-shaped turnaround: it decreases toward the midsummer, July or August and starts increasing from that point onwards. This apparently indicates that more people visited library during the colder winter months.

(4) Circulating libraries: the example of John Greene’s Library in 16 Clare Street

John Greene’s Library, called simply “Greene’s Library”, was a circulating library located in 16 Clare Street, Dublin. Although it is not clear when it was founded, there is a description of this library in *Irish Monthly*, in 1886 which spoke of “the supply of new novels furnished by a circulating library, like Mudie’s in London or Greene’s in Dublin”,¹¹⁷ and implies that it was well known at that time. The importance of the circulating library in the readership to the British novel is undisputed, but it is curiously under-researched in an Irish context.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Made from “Second Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1885” *Dublin Corporation Reports etc*, 1886, Vol. 3, 418.

¹¹⁷ The Present Writer, “Harmless Novels” *Irish Monthly*, 1886, 206.

¹¹⁸ Guinevere Lindley Griest, *Mudie’s Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1970); Edward H. Jacobs, “Anonymous Signatures: Circulating

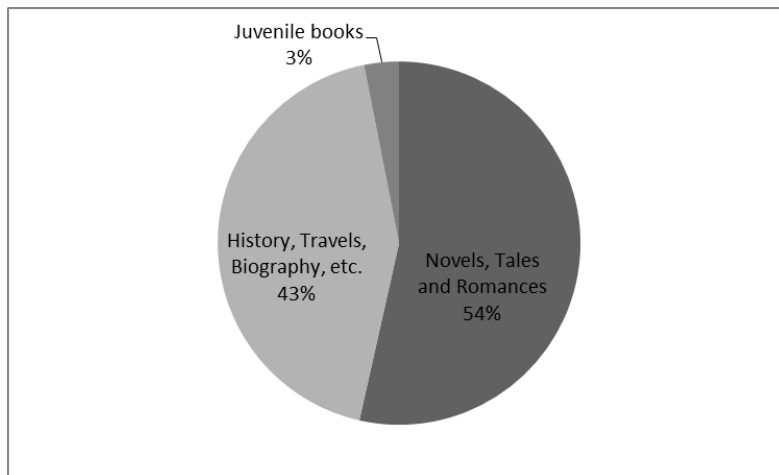


Figure 1-15 Genres of books added to Greene's Circulating Library Supplemental Catalogue, 1883¹¹⁹

In a surviving list of items added to their stock, Figure 15 indicates the composition of Greene's business: fictional works occupied 54 % of the titles, excluding juvenile books, which occupied just 3%. In all, 1,711 new works of fiction were added to the stock in 1883, so this assortment can be considered as significant, compared to other reading facilities in Dublin. In light of the three genres added, it is evident that the major users of Greene's books were women and children. In addition to books, the library also supplied 22 magazines and reviews, nearly all British: *All the Year Round*, *Argosy*, *Belgravia*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, *Century Magazine*, *Chambers' Journal*, *Cornhill Magazine*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, *Harper's Magazine*, *London Society*, *Longman's Magazine*, *Macmillan's Magazine*, *Temple Bar Magazine*, *Tinsley's Magazine*, *The Contemporary Review*, *The Dublin Review*, *The Edinburgh Review*, *The Fortnightly Review*, *The Nineteenth Century Review*, *The Quarterly Review*, *The Revue des Deux Mondes* and *The Westminster Review*.¹²⁰ Considering the assortment, it is likely that this

Libraries, Conventionality, and the Production of Gothic Romances," *English Literary History* 62, no. 3 (1995); Lewis Roberts, "Trafficking in Literary Authority: Mudie's Select Library and the Commodification of the Victorian Novel," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 34, no. 1 (2006).

¹¹⁹ Made from *Supplemental Catalogue: John Greene's Public Library, 16 Clare Street (Merrion Square)*, Dublin, 1883.

¹²⁰ *Supplemental Catalogue: John Greene's Public Library, 16 Clare Street (Merrion Square)*,

mostly targeted male readers.

The subscription for an individual volume was eight shillings for three months, 13 shillings for six months and 21 shillings for a year. Added to this normal subscription rate, Greene's also offered "short subscriptions" which allowed monthly or weekly subscriptions, which was a shilling for one volume at a time for a week. Furthermore, there were also "first class" and "second class" subscriptions for newer publications: the first class subscription was for the newest issues and the second class was for those which passed six months after the first publication. In using these systems, they recommended combining them:

[A] portion only, a Subscription on both classes is recommended. For example: An Annual Subscription of £6 6s. – being £3 3s. First Class, and £3 3s. Second Class – would entitle the Subscriber to Twenty Volumes at a time, Eight Volumes being of the Newest Works. On this plan a certain number of the Newest Publications is insured.¹²¹

Apart from the rich stock of the works belonging to the popular genres, these variations of the payment system must have been attractive to a broader spectrum of readers. By paying this subscription, readers could also have the books they ordered delivered (the shipping cost was not included).¹²² These subscription regimes were, however, still too expensive for working-class people and the main users of circulating libraries can be confidently assumed to have been middle- or upper-middle-class readers.¹²³

Just how widening provision of public libraries in Dublin affected the business of commercial circulating libraries like Greene's remains a matter of speculation; Greene's adapted and indeed remained as a successful independent book shop until the twenty-first century.

Dublin, 1883, 4.

¹²¹ Ibid., 5.

¹²² Ibid., 4.

¹²³ Chris Baggs, "Radical Reading? Working-Class Libraries in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Alistair Black and Peter Hoare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 171.

Conclusion

The debate on reading practice developed in a different way in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland from the debate in Great Britain. The primary concerns of opinion leaders were that Irish people were too exposed to the menace of cheap publications flowing from England. To resist this, the production of high-quality Irish reading materials and the transformation of a transforming non-reading public into a reading public were presented as urgent issues, especially by those with a Revivalist or nationalist agenda. This is the reason why the promoters of public library movement in Ireland approached things differently. The main criteria for book selection was to ensure the exclusion of harmful “light” publications, but it is also clear that some Irish promoters maintained that libraries should also stock safe publications, including fiction, to entice people to visit libraries informally. At the same time, the nature of public libraries currently available was considered in need of transformation. Since the principal reading facilities in Dublin, such as the Royal Dublin Society Library and the National Library were originally exclusive in their membership criteria, ordinary people necessarily had limited reading choices. Both the National Library of Ireland and the Royal Dublin Society, however, had to change their admission policies in response to a demand for public engagement and wider access. The records of libraries clearly show that there were interactions between libraries and users in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland: many user-friendly innovations such as the extension of opening hours occurred in this period. In other words, and for the first time, libraries were no longer exclusive places that only allowed privileged people through their doors. The success of the capital’s public libraries were the best evidence of this transformation under way.

Chapter 2: Attitude of Catholic Authorities towards People's Reading Activities: the Examples of Catholic Periodicals and the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland

[...] the English cess-pool Press has a market, and a very wide one, in this country; and it is time to close it down. Catholic newsagents and newspaper readers have the power if they have the will. What can they do? Stop selling and buying the English weekly newspapers, which are, without a single exception, all filth. Simple remedy, isn't it?

“Vicious books and filthy English weekly newspapers”,
Irish Rosary, Vol. XII, No. 5, May 1908, 470.

As we have seen, fictional works were consistently the most popular genre among the Irish reading public, no matter what social class or gender. At the same time, people's appetite for fictional works including cheap literature was a source of anxiety. It was seen as problematic by all religious bodies, but particularly by the Catholic Church. The first section of this chapter will probe Catholic views on reading during this period, using leading Catholic periodicals such as *Irish Monthly* and *Irish Rosary* as an indication of contemporary discourse.¹

People's preference for fictional works, however, was also considered as key to projects of moral improvement. In this sense, the popularity of fiction was seen an opportunity by some. The second section will investigate this kind of opportunistic and instrumental guidance by a predominantly lay Association, the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland.

1. Instructions on reading given to Catholics

This section will take as a first example of a reading public, the Catholic laity.² Juliana

¹ For background on the *Irish Monthly* see James H. Murphy, "The Literature of Nineteenth Century Ireland," *New Hibernia Review* 7, no. 2 (2003); Declan O'Keefe, "A Beacon in the Twilight: Matthew Russell S.J. And the *Irish Monthly*," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 99, no. 394.

² See also James H. Murphy, *Catholic Fiction and Social Reality in Ireland, 1873-1922* (Westport: Greenwood, 1997); Emer Nolan, *Catholic Emancipations: Irish Fiction from Thomas Moore to James Joyce*, 1st ed., Irish Studies (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2007); Ann Wilson, "Irish Catholic Fiction of the Early Twentieth Century: The Power of Imagery," *New Hibernia Review* 18, no. 1 (2014).

Adelman has noted that there are strong connections between political and social developments in nineteenth century and the tone of Irish periodicals, and in particular a notable increase in the number of periodicals after Emancipation.³ However, as Úna Ní Bhroiméil pointed out, there was already some tension between Catholic teaching and the reading tastes of people.⁴ According to Ní Bhroiméil, clerical concern was already evident in the early nineteenth century.⁵ However, by the end of the century, there was ongoing fiery denunciations over what constituted a “bad book” or “filthy” publications cropped up in some Catholic publications, but this peaked in the early years of the new century. Quite what was meant by such terms in this period is not always clear, but some examples from *The Irish Rosary* are instructive.⁶

Although Catholic clerical attitudes towards fictional works have been considered as generally hostile, there were the voices that maintained fiction could be useful when they were written “properly”. For example, one writer in the *Dublin Review* in 1878 argued that even good fictional works could be harmful if they were used inappropriately:

There may be an evil as well as a good in the reading of fiction, even of Catholic fiction. In two ways it may have an ill effect. As a habit it may lead to the misappropriation of time, because [...] [t]he fascination of fiction increases with indulgence[...]. [...] The second ill effect that may be produced by fiction deserves more serious thought. [...] For them [Catholic men and women] the unreal story is often a precious relief or refreshment when grief, anxiety, or work are only too real. [...] Reading fiction is but too likely to change from occasional pastime to habit, and to weaken, or perhaps destroy, their taste for more solid food for the mind [...]. [...] But when a story is read, if it is powerful enough to gain the attention, and if it deals with character more than with events, it must infallibly leave an

³ Juliana Adelman, *Communities of Science in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, Science and Culture in the Nineteenth Century (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009), 134-5.

⁴ Ní Bhroiméil, "Women Readers and Catholic Magazines," 380.

⁵ Ní Bhroiméil took an example of *Kennedy's British and Irish Catholic Magazine and Journal of Miscellaneous Knowledge* in May 1837 and the list of categories of “bad books” for the Catholic children appeared in it. *Ibid.*

⁶ For background on the *Irish Rosary* see J. A. MacMahon, "The Catholic Clergy and the Social Question in Ireland 1891-1916," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 70, no. 280 (1981); Susannah Riordan, "The Unpopular Front: Catholic Revival and Irish Cultural Identity," in *Ireland: The Politics of Independence 1922-49*, ed. Mike Cronin and John M. Regan (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2000).

impression, conscious or unconscious, upon the heart.⁷

The writer's view here could be seen as neutral. The writer did not simply blame people reading fiction – his / her concern was that reading any type of fiction could become a “habit” which easily led people to escapism. As a possible solution to this danger, the writer argued the importance of fostering writers who wrote stories of high quality.

[...] Now comes a phase of life illustrated by many a bright and facile pen – life in Ireland, the Irish story, which ought essentially to be a Catholic story, because it tells of a faithful land and a faithful people. [...] the two defects which many so-called harmless novels have [is] – ultra-sensationalism, and the spirit of vanity and worldliness. [...] There is one outlet for the publication of fiction where it might be made, as a rule, much better and more telling than it is. This outlet is our periodical literature. [...] Compared with forty years ago, when Catholic books were few, and Catholic periodicals fewer, the present extent and vitality of our literature shows that its growth has been nothing less than marvellous. [...] When the day comes that Catholic pens will produce, as their ordinary work, books equal in value to those that head this sketch of our fiction, then the Catholic novelist will invade the province of secular and frivolous literature [...]. [...] Then let our young writers analyse the best and most popular of non-Catholic novels, let them mentally take them to pieces and see how they were put together, to what they owe their success, and how the masters of style make up that attractive style out of the very same words with which others make books tedious.⁸

This was an interesting line of argument at that time: advocating the potential benefit of Catholic fiction, given that more Catholic fiction could now be produced thanks to changes in the media and the rise of Catholic periodicals. At the same time, however, the writer was recommending young Catholic writers to learn from the works of popular non-Catholic writers for the sake of producing Catholic fiction.

Here one can see several key concepts ever present in the debate on fiction in late nineteenth century – the “Catholic” story, “harmless novels” and the idea of “mental food (“food for the mind”)”. It is notable that the definition of the concept “Catholic” was quite broad. It will be useful to see what was considered as “Catholic” as a first step in our analysis.⁹

⁷ “Catholic Fiction” *Dublin Review*, Vol. 31, No. 62, October 1878, 440-2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 452-61.

⁹ Some broader work has been done on this. See Thomas M. Woodman, *Faithful Fictions: The Catholic Novel in British Literature* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1991); Brian

One article that appeared in the highly successful magazine *The Irish Monthly* (founded in 1873) provides a good example. First the writer defended the novel-reading public: “[t]here is one class of the community which is, I think, very unfairly judged and, in fact, slandered – namely, the novel-reading public. Novel-reading ladies are generally denounced as indolent idlers. They seem to me, on the contrary, to be most laborious and indeed courageous”; the writer then defined what kind of novel-reading would be “harmless” especially for the Catholic people, in response to an enquiry the writer had received: “Would you be so good as to give me the names of a few Catholic novelists whose books are readeable[sic]? [...] The reason of my inquiry just now it, that I am trying to put a library together for our Catholic Institute, and I feel rather *squeamish* about the books I set in circulation.” Answering this question, the writer maintained that:

Catholic and *readable* may here have two principal meanings assigned to them. “Readable” may mean, “sufficiently moral to be read without danger;” and, again, “sufficiently clever to be read with some intellectual profit.” [...] In the second place, a Catholic novelist may either be a Catholic who writes novels for the general literary market, or else one who lays his or her story in Catholic scenes, alludes to Catholic feelings and customs, and this without aiming at the construction of a strictly religious novel. [...] Catholics are supposed to receive parsons and other Protestant dignitaries as parts of general literature, whereas any fair delineation of a priest or any discussion of Catholic subjects, would be likely to mark a book off as distinctively Catholic and meant only to be read by Catholics.¹⁰

Here the writer clarified the definition of several words. The “Catholic” writing here can be understood as a type of writing which deals with Catholic subject matter. It should be also noted that inclusiveness was evident here as well: the writer maintained that Catholic writings should be also readable for the readers of other religion, including Protestants. In this way literature was to be made a vehicle for a religious understanding, perhaps even of manipulation.

Sudlow, *Catholic Literature and Secularisation in France and England, 1880-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2011).

¹⁰ “Harmless Novels” *Irish Monthly*, Vol. 14, No. 154, April 1886, 208.

This kind of vague and inclusive definition can be found in much writing in the late nineteenth century. Ten years later a follow-up comment on this theme appeared in *The Irish Monthly*:

That the present writer has no pretensions whatever to be qualified to make such a selection [of suitable books] will be evident from his reply to a Liverpool priest who was good enough to imply something to the contrary by writing as follows. "Will you kindly let me trouble you again? Your article 'Harmless Novels' (*Irish Monthly*, April 1886) has been of immense service to me for our church library. You mention in it Richard Dowling as a Catholic. Can his novels be put into the hands of good Catholics like the readers in our library, nearly all of whom are young women? W. H. Smith's offers them for sale and cheap. I do think it would be a great advantage to Catholic libraries like mine if you would continue these articles and tell us the titles of any good novels which you can guarantee."¹¹

It would seem therefore that Catholic priests had difficulties in identifying Catholic material and constructing good "Catholic libraries".

A rather different argument as well, as can be seen in *The Irish Rosary*,¹² that literature could give Catholics a way to define themselves. In the article "Wanted – Catholic Students and Writers", that appeared in August, 1907, the writer M. H. MacInerny considered that it was problematic that many libraries mainly circulated "those [books] of Protestant authors, many of them intensely hostile to the Catholic Church."¹³ MacInerny argued that non-Catholic publications tended to disseminate quite rapidly all over the English-speaking countries since London was the great centre of publication in the English language.

Week by week, and year after year, a steady stream of literature, more or less hostile to the Catholic faith, pours unceasingly from the London Press and finds its way into every city and township throughout Australia, and probably throughout America as well. When a rapidly anti-Catholic novel is published in London it speedily finds its way into the bookshops and circulating libraries of Australia and elsewhere. [...]Why are the Protestant guns continually booming, and why do the Catholic guns so seldom reply? [...]Of whatsoever kind or class it [Catholic book] may be, if the writer gives us of his best, and if his standpoint is thoroughly Catholic,

¹¹ "Another talk about harmless novels" *Irish Monthly*, Vol. 23, No. 164, June 1895, 333.

¹² *The Irish Rosary* was founded in April 1897 by Irish Dominicans. "Periodical Literature – Ireland" in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11681a.htm> [accessed 15/09/2016]

¹³ "Wanted – Catholic Students and Writers" in *The Irish Rosary*, Vol. XI, No. 8, August, 1907, 657.

his work will be certain to bear fruit [...].¹⁴

This was the main reason why he felt that proper Catholic writers were needed urgently. Maclnery raised here the interesting spectre of interdenominational war, fought through fiction. Despite his tone, “Catholic writers” were defined very broadly here: the only requirement for such an accolade was whether “his standpoint is thoroughly Catholic”. This is a more reductive definition of what it meant to write Catholic fiction.

Maclnery also expressed his hostility against Protestant writers that they were distorting historical fact for their own interests. According to Maclnery, one of the typical examples was “‘Book of Martyrs’ of ‘that malignant liar, John Foxe’” which “was preserved in the parish churches of England and perused by generation after generation of misguided people [...]”.¹⁵ As a solution, Maclnery insisted the need for Catholic writers, who specialised history.

We have to defend ourselves – we have to vindicate the faith of the great inarticulate mass of Catholic people – against the attacks of Protestants on the one hand and of infidels on the other. Doubtless, time will remove Protestantism, [...] but, meanwhile, we must repel its attacks and expose its falsehoods. [...] We really need in these English-speaking countries a corps of some twenty or thirty industrious Catholic writers who should familiarise themselves thoroughly with the facts of Reformation history, and become, in fact, specialists on the subject. If a man were to specialise in the history of Protestantism in Ireland alone, what a series of useful books and pamphlets he might write; what effective answers he might give to the audacious Protestant fables which are being so actively circulated [...]! [...] Protestant writers have been prying for ages into every minute recess of Catholic history: it is high time for Catholics to reciprocate the attention.

It is very much to our interest to popularise – by means of books, pamphlets, and review articles – a knowledge of the real facts of Protestant history [...].¹⁶

This was indeed a political project; Maclnery considered it vitally important “to popularise

¹⁴ Ibid., 658-59.

¹⁵ Ibid., 660. For the cultural significance of Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs* in Irish History see Linda Colley, “Britishness and Otherness: An Argument,” *The Journal of British Studies* 31, no. 4 (1992); John N. King, *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹⁶ Ibid., 660-63.

[...] a knowledge of the real facts of Protestant history” by the circulation of Catholic history.¹⁷

His main aim at the very least was to rectify the imbalance in information provided to Catholics and Protestants, and perhaps to roll back what was seen as a partisan propaganda.

Although it is not clear if they actually started their project to foster “Catholic writers”, *The Irish Rosary* held literary competitions to foster Catholic writers. The response, however, was not very promising:

We must confess that we have been sorely disappointed with regards to the entries for the Literary Prize Competition announced in our last number. What can have come over our intelligent readers? [...] Very few have responded, though a couple of years ago, after announcing a similar competition, we received answers from every part of the country and from across the water as well. [...] Can the reason of this be that nothing now attracts but the enormous prizes of the English papers?¹⁸

Nevertheless, editor concluded with the optimistic view that “[h]owever, as thousands of students from our colleges and convents and other places will be now on vacation, and at leisure to read and write [...].”

The intentional generation of a sense of crisis and the characterisation of the Protestant as traditional enemy was a common feature of Catholic propaganda, however, other religions were also targeted sometimes, in particular Jews and their activities trading in Catholic goods.¹⁹

The worst of the matter is that this trade in cheap and trashy pious object is at present under no control by the Church. If the manufacture is in the hands of Jews, [...] it is rotten [...]. We ought not to be satisfied until we can take this trade altogether out of the hands of the foreigner. [...] [I]t is a disgrace to allow it to be controlled by foreigners, whether they be Jews or infidels. [...] It is the Jews, too, who are mainly responsible for the trashy foreign prayerbooks published without approbation. This degradation of sacred things is the result of the Jew trading on the piety of the Christian, and every effort should be made to put a stop to it.²⁰

¹⁷ Ibid., 662.

¹⁸ “Disappointed about the Literary Competition” *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XIV, No. 7, July 1910, 549.

¹⁹ For more on anti-semitic sentiment in this period see Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce : A Socioeconomic History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

²⁰ “Examine unauthorised leaflets and prayerbooks” *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, January

Clerical direction on reading instruction were not limited to criticising the religion of the authors of the works. In another article, “Vicious books and filthy English weekly newspapers”, a writer in *The Irish Rosary* advocated the regular inspection of periodicals or books.

[...] [Y]ou must have noticed that there is quite a downpour of “popular instruction” publications mainly appearing in fortnightly numbers at accessible prices. [...] To give a case in point, let me name [...] “The Children’s Encyclopaedia.” Parents, beware of it. It does not quite pursue the old, ignorant line of “Little Arthur’s History of England,” which, [...] industriously taught children to hate Papists, to regard the Pope as anti-Christ, to despise Catholic relics [...], and to dismiss the great Catholic personages of history as hypocrites, liars, and murderers.²¹

Here the writer specified “The Children’s Encyclopaedia” as an example of an insidious publication, as this book could “give the child the impression that early Catholicism endeavoured to thrive on ignorance and superstition.” What can be taken from this article is that their definition of “filthiness” was equivalent to anti-Catholicity and not reflecting on any quality in the publication, other than a Protestant interpretation of the past. In the writer’s view, the root of various evils lay in the false information provided by such publications. These was the main reason why critics insisted that the strict instruction and guidance were urgently needed.

One of the targets of such instructions and guidance was Catholic children, as can be seen from the example above which saw harm in particular children’s books. In another *Rosary* article in 1910, “Foster the Taste in the Young”, the writer sought to popularise Catholic periodicals within schools.

The antidote to secularism is to be found in Catholic newspapers and magazines which, in our opinion, ought to circulate freely during recreation hours in our schools. [...] But if the taste for the matters treated of in these papers and magazines is not fostered during the impressionable years of youth, if the minds of our students are directed exclusively into secular channels of thought, can it be expected that they will take up readily in after life what has been ignored and neglected during the years of school life? [...] What we wish to convey is that a

1909, 4.

²¹ “Vicious books and filthy English weekly newspapers” *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XII, No. 5, May 1908, 470.

teacher who reads a certain amount of current Catholic periodical literature, and takes an interest in what is going on in the Catholic world of the present day, is able to impart that interest in casual conversation with his pupils and will exercise far more influence in forming his pupils into good Catholic citizens than a teacher who confines his attention to purely scholastic matters.²²

Here the writer stating the importance not only of making schoolchildren read Catholic reading materials but also schoolteachers read Catholic periodicals and thereby “forming his pupils into good Catholic citizens”. Such teachers were needed more “than a teacher who confines his attention to purely scholastic matters.”

An earlier book review in the *Rosary*, “Non-sectarian versus Catholic libraries” reveals something of the importance of space and place in this debate.

The bringing out of this book, with such an obvious moral, shows us what importance priests in America attach to the reading of good books, and the preservation of their people from the contamination that they fear they would experience in using the ordinary public libraries. A great many truths are skilfully woven through the course of this story [...].²³

Since this article was a review of, *The Training of Silas*, the reviewer praised its rejections of non-sectarianism and its advocacy of a “strong hand and a stronger mind to control them [children]”. As can be seen in this article, the question is often discussed without any reference to the problem of libraries.

Issues of gender, specifically Catholic girls, excited much interest in those exercised by the need for “clean” reading. In an article that appeared in the *Irish Monthly* in 1888, William Hughes had warned of the danger of fiction for girls, quoting a curious encounter in Australia.

Not long ago a young lady in Melbourne asked aloud at a bookseller’s for one of the worst novels of an infamous French author. A Catholic priest who happened to be within hearing, turned to look at her, [...] to see what kind of a monster she was. He felt disappointed. The brazen audacity which he expected to find was not to be seen, but rather the gentle and refined look of a modest girl. [...] The priest who, from the girl’s appearance, could not believe that she knew the vileness of the work, concluded that she must be a confirmed novel reader, a thirst for a new sensation, and that having heard some talk of the book she was but thoughtlessly yielding to a dangerous

²² “Foster the taste in the young” and “To exercise real influence” *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XIV, No. 7, July 1910, 548.

²³ “Non-Sectarian versus Catholic libraries” *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XI, No. 2, February 1907, 157.

curiosity. [...] The “Three-penny Dreadfuls” for the young of both sexes, the colonial reprints of some of the lowest modern English novels, the cheap editions of the English novels of the last century, and the realistic French novels in the original or in translations are now put within easy reach, and must throw great temptation in the way of all who know how to read. [...] In denouncing bad novels, I do not deny that there is a class of novels, of which *Fabiola* and *Callista* are the types, that put before us the highest idea of Christian holiness [...].²⁴

Here girls who were regarded as most vulnerable to provocative publications. The writer was juxtaposing “the lowest modern English novels” with “the English novels of the last century” and “the realistic French novels”. As the examples of good novels for girls, he chose *Fabiola* and *Callista* written by John Henry Cardinal Newman, then perhaps the most famous Catholic prelate in Britain or Ireland.

Female writers were under suspicion as well as female readers. In an *Irish Rosary* article in 1907 the writer made a bizarre assertion:

Touching the filthy novel question, so widely discussed during last month, I should like to give a rough and ready rule for household guidance. Beware of the novel with a woman’s name as author. Among the prominent men novelists there are just two – three at the outside – who should get jail. But there are fully twenty-three women novelists who should be kept in a criminal lunatic asylum [...]. [...] The head of the household would do well to make a literary investigation on discovering a woman writers’ novel in the family circle.²⁵

Although the writer’s standard was not clarified here, the assumption was that in the preponderance of women’s fiction the female writer was immoral.²⁶ Any female authored works, even if they were published by established publishers should be avoided, and he cited the word of “a very versatile lady litterateur” that “[a]s regards women’s novels, I have on my desk five produced by reputable publishing firms, which are not fit to be read by any man or woman who has the least respect for morality”. This mysterious “very versatile lady litterateur, accustomed to the arduous work of reviewing” appeared on the same issue of the *Rosary* and

²⁴ The Rev. William Hughes, S.J., “A word about novels” *Irish Monthly*, Vol. 16, No. 175, January 1888, 59-60.

²⁵ “An easy guard against filthy novels” *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XI, No. 2, February 1907, 554.

²⁶ *The Irish Rosary* has been referred to as “bigoted” by Richard Kearney, “Between Politics and Literature: The Irish Cultural Journal,” *The Crane Bag* 7, no. 2 (1983).

gave an advice for avoiding “filthy novels”. The advice is really simple: “[b]eware of the novel with a woman’s name as author.” It could be speculated that the writer was trying to justify his opinion by showing that even women themselves were criticising the works of female writers. According to this “versatile lady litterateur”, there were five volumes by her hand that were not appropriate to be read by men or women, although they were “produced by reputable publishing firms”. The aim of this article was “to give a rough and ready rule for household guidance”, so she concluded that the head of household really ought to investigate the work whenever they found a novel written by a woman in their house. At the beginning of the article, the writer stated that “[t]here are at least three women novelists to-day and two male novelists all of whom should, I think, be sent to jail together with their publishers.”²⁷ Here again, female novelists were denounced as more harmful than those of males, although the writer did not specify the titles of the novels, perhaps to avoid further notice of their existence.

Adding to the novelists’ gender, the writer pointed out that what should be condemned most was “the best advertisement” of these works since “[t]he authors pretend they are aiming at ‘artistic truth’ or ‘social reform,’ [...] but their whole object is really commercial [...]” The writer concluded by suggesting that the Catholic periodical could be a vanguard against such “filthy fictions”, reflecting the strong state of Catholic periodicals after the turn of the century. An interesting point here is that the author admitted that “[a]uthors of Catholic spirit are few just at moment”, but Catholic periodicals “if only supported, would become very influential, and give a Catholic turn to current literature” and “can well take the place of feeble and filthy fiction.”²⁸ The assumption was that Irish Catholics were in a dangerous situation

²⁷ “Catholic periodicals versus filthy fictions” *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XI, No. 12, December 1907, 953. For some interesting comments on the position of women in contemporary journals of the period see Emily Anne Janda Monteiro, “Communal Formations: Development of Gendered Identities in Early Twentieth-Century Women’s Periodicals” (PhD thesis, Texas A&M University, 2013).

²⁸ “Catholic periodicals versus filthy fictions”, 954.

facing the flood of Protestant publications, regardless of their form, and such writers recognized the urgency in supplying a counter literature that would be popular and entertaining for the public.

Another theme, taken up a few years later, was the supposedly alarming state of modern journalism.

To cope with this awful evil, the public should rouse themselves to a conception of the irreparable injury such publicity causes, and if it goes on, the same public must, in self defence, take effective steps to mark their sense of disapproval of such methods of modern journalism. [...] A bad book may cause infinite mischief, and a bad newspaper, reporting what it should not report, may be equally harmful. [...] It is said that, thanks to those means and media of instruction, our novels and newspapers, young girls now-a-days know more of those matters than at twice their mothers or grandmothers did.²⁹

The target here was not Protestant publication as such, as it praised an initiative being taken in England. The disputed point was whether the publications should be “regulated and controlled”³⁰ or not. The editors highlighted this article, suggesting that “[t]he article of Mr. Richard Kelly on the ‘Perils of Publicity’ is well worthy of attention. Improper books of fiction are largely read in Ireland as well as in England, and must do equal, if not greater, harm here. [...] Let us hope that the strong measures taken by the English libraries will hinder the further distribution in our country of novels so dangerous to morality.”³¹

As can be seen in the quotations above, the tone of the debate on the control of popular literature was hardening from around the turn-of-the-twentieth century and had become quite extreme by 1907. It climaxed around the time of the debate on girls’ reading already noted that appeared in the *Lady of the House* magazine. In both cases, the assumption was that both women and children were the ones who were the vulnerable readers of unwanted materials. Heavy gender bias existed in the debate, most evident in the gross attacks on female writers as generally “filthy”.

²⁹ *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, February 1910, 114-115.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 112.

³¹ “The bad books question again” *Ibid.*, 85.

2. Using taste: the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland

As noted in previous section, despite the general hostility towards works of fiction in Catholic periodicals, some people recognised the possible utility of works of fiction when they were “properly” written and read. It is obvious that there were several attempts to encourage “Catholic writers” and to make use of their works for guidance of the people since about the 1870s. One example of such a project at the turn-of-the-twentieth century, this was undertaken by the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland³² which was established in 1890. We will first review the general history of the CTSI and the outlook and the purpose of the organisation will be examined, why was the CTSI set up, what was its ideology and plans and, lastly, what were its actual publications and what reception did the work of the CTSI receive. Based on these points, we will consider whether the CTSI was a unique organisation within Ireland in its day, and whether it was an anti-British or a distinctly Irish organisation, or both.

The gradual expansion of Catholic secondary education also meant an increase in the number of relatively wealthy middle-class Catholics who could afford extensive reading as a pastime. The strengthening of the Catholic middle class has been cited as an important factor in the radicalisation of the nationalist movement. But was this increase in Catholic readership can be qualified as an important or unique feature of the *fin-de-siècle* Ireland? It can certainly be argued that the CTSI was a reflection of a changing society and flourished at an interesting intersection of various features of various social processes. The importance of the CTSI has however hardly been remarked upon. Many scholars view it as merely being part of the conservative tendency evident across the Catholic Church that originated with the *Syllabus of Errors* by Pius IX in 1864.³³ That characterisation has been reinforced by the fact that the CTSI

³² Hereinafter shortened to CTSI.

³³ Gene Burns, "The Politics of Ideology: The Papal Struggle with Liberalism," *American Journal of Sociology* (1990); Darrell Jodock, *Catholicism Contending with Modernity : Roman Catholic Modernism and Anti-Modernism in Historical Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

became the leading force behind censorship during the Free State period, loudly articulating Pope Pius XI's call. "Catholic Action", when they proclaimed that their mission was to distribute "intensely Catholic and National"³⁴ writings. The presence of pervasive anti-British sentiment is also commonly seen as a factor explaining the particular character of the CTSI. Maurice Curtis has argued that the ideology of the CTSI can be usefully placed alongside Douglas Hyde's famous speech "On the necessity for de-anglicising Ireland" delivered in 1892.³⁵ Perhaps, but, what must also be taken into consideration is the increased number of female readers and female writers active by the turn of the century. As Ní Bhroiméil and Kennedy both argue, female writers were quite often able to find an outlet to publish their works through the CTSI, and enjoyed a high reputation as a result.

At times the attitudes and policies of the CTSI seem ambivalent. Its direction was mainly in the hands of Maynooth-trained priests and those who joined the CTSI later became the main force behind censorship. These Maynooth graduates came mainly from a lower-middle class background like shopkeeping. However, as James H. Murphy has pointed out, "[i]t was an Ireland of shopkeepers and farmers who saw themselves as the heirs to a noble history".³⁶ One of the best known of those involved, Michael O'Riordan, became famous for his fierce criticism of Horace Plunkett.³⁷ Another prominent figure was Canon Sheehan, who is known primarily as a novelist. The views of the leaders like O'Riordan and Sheehan will be examined in detail below.

The complicated relationship between the Catholic Church and Irish public culture has not been studied extensively so far; Kevin Collins's work can be cited not only as providing an

³⁴ R. J. Kelly, "The Purpose and publication of the society" Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, *Catholic Truth Annual* 1904, 74.

³⁵ Maurice Curtis, *A Challenge to Democracy: Militant Catholicism in Modern Ireland* (Dublin: History Press, 2010).

³⁶ James H. Murphy, "Catholics and Fiction During the Union, 1801-1922," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Irish Novel*, ed. John Wilson Foster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 104.

³⁷ Patrick Long, "Michael O'Riordan," in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

overall review of the existing studies up to the early 2000, but also as an attempt to reconsider the relationship. Most of the Catholic clergy were fundamentally hostile towards revolutionary nationalism. The hostility was supposed to arise from their experience in and after 1798, which resurfaced at the time of the Young Ireland movement, before finally reaching a peak with the appearance of Fenianism. Historians have argued that the main cause of their antagonism was that revolutionary nationalism had its roots in Jacobinism, which had profound anti-Catholic tendencies. Collins does not totally deny this interpretation, but has added the important but often overlooked point that the Revival movement in the nineteenth century was able to be a “common ground” where clergy and revolutionaries could stand together, “with the result that by the early twentieth century the revolutionary tradition in Ireland had become as solidly Catholic as it had become Celtic Revivalist.”³⁸

As for the sources to examine the CTSI, the Civil War in 1922 destroyed its headquarters at 24 Upper O’Connell Street, and there are almost sources. According to P. J. Corish, author of a commemorative study, *First Fifty Years*, all the stock, accounts and records relating to the CTSI that point were destroyed.³⁹ For that reason, our main sources are the pamphlets they published themselves, the best set of which were collected and preserved in the Veritas offices, the origins of which lie with the CTSI;⁴⁰ in addition the *Catholic Truth Annual*, the *Records of the Maynooth Union* and the commemoration book *First Fifty Years* published in 1949 help to fill out the picture.

(1) The foundation of the CTSI

The CTSI was founded in 1899 at a meeting of the Maynooth Union (itself established in 1895). It adapted a model pioneered in England with the first Catholic Truth Society, first

³⁸ Kevin Collins, *Catholic Churchmen and the Celtic Revival in Ireland, 1848-1916* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), 17. For a more recent reassertion of this see Oliver Rafferty, *Violence, Politics and Catholicism in Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016).

³⁹ Corish, *First Fifty Years*, 1949.

⁴⁰ <http://www.veritasbooksonline.com/about> [accessed 15/09/2016]

launched in 1868 and relaunched in 1884, the aim of which was to publish Catholic devotional and apologetical material. The main mover for a distinctly Irish organisation was Michael O’Riordan and after O’Riordan moved his motion Patrick Sheehan pleaded the case for its immediate creation.

Michael O’Riordan was born in Limerick as the son of a wealthy local farmer. He was ordained in 1883 and worked until 1887 in the diocese of Westminster. He later shot to public notoriety in the acrimonious debate with Horace Plunkett in 1905-6.⁴¹ The notable features of his outlook consist of two; his strong orientation toward Rome and his close connection with nationalist politics. From the beginning, he was surrounded by other priests who had strong nationalistic feelings, such as John Hagan, while it was said of himself that he did not wish to be involved in politics. Patrick Long has pointed out that the aim of such men was “Irish independence with a catholic power structure closely allied to Rome”.⁴² At the same time, however, it should not be overlooked that O’Riordan was reputedly more concerned about establishing a distinct Irish nationality and moved toward full-blown separatism, around the time of the outbreak of World War I. According to Jérôme Aan de Wiel, O’Riordan kept a certain distance from ultramontanism, unlike his contemporary Edward O’Dwyer.⁴³ O’Riordan’s views found full expression in his very popular work *Catholicity and Progress in Ireland* (1905), in which he criticised Horace Plunkett’s *Ireland in the New Century*. His anti-modernist attitudes seem clear when he stated that human and social progress and mere material or industrial progress.⁴⁴ Although O’Riordan did not deny that Catholicity could

⁴¹ Liam Kennedy, "The Early Response of the Irish Catholic Clergy to the Co-Operative Movement," *Irish Historical Studies* 21, no. 81 (1978); Sean L'Estrange, "A Community of Communities" - Catholic Communitarianism and Societal Crises in Ireland, 1890s-1950s," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 20, no. 4 (2007).

⁴² Patrick Long, "Michael O'Riordan," in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁴³ Jérôme aan de Wiel, "Monsignor O'Riordan, Bishop O'Dwyer and the Shaping of New Relations between Nationalist Ireland and the Vatican during World War One," *Archivum Hibernicum* 53 (1999): 97.

⁴⁴ Michael O'Riordan, *Catholicity and Progress in Ireland* (London: Kegan Paul, 1905), 60.

sometimes clash with the forces underlying industrial progress,⁴⁵ he strongly warned of the moral hazard that came with material progress in non-Catholic countries such as England or America, mentioning examples such as child abuse in the factories or divorce the incidence of which was increasing with industrial progress. It should also be noted that O’Riordan did not necessarily attack Protestants. What O’Riordan aimed at was the presentation of the image of Ireland other than through “the coloured glasses of a Unionist and a Protestant”.⁴⁶ This attitude of “modification” can be considered as similar to those discussed in the previous chapter.⁴⁷

Examining O’Riordan’s speech delivered at the Maynooth Union in 1899, two interesting points can be noted; first, he recognised the improvement in Irish education, especially for Irish Catholics in the speech. He saw the improvement as the fruit of long effort. At the same time, he worried about people now having much easier access to the reading materials. According to O’Riordan, the problem was their “often incomplete and ill-regulated” knowledge. In other words, Irish people were exposed to new danger as they became more educated.

This idea was still being echoed in the commemorative book of the CTSI, *Fifty years later*. Corish spoke of the improvement of education as a potential source of the evil: the increase in the literacy rate at the end of nineteenth-century was prompting Irish people to turn to English writings.⁴⁸ The CTSI regarded the influx of publications from England with a sense of crisis and this is why the CTSI laid great stress on creating publications in English, not those in Irish, from the beginning even though O’Riordan was well known as a supporter of Irish language revival. J. W. Foster has classified Irish writers during the Revival period into three

⁴⁵ Ibid., 46.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 2.

⁴⁷ For this binary issue in the debate between Plunkett and O’Riordan see Marianne Elliott, *When God Took Sides : Religion and Identity in Ireland : Unfinished History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁴⁸ P. J. Corish, “The Catholic Truth Society of Ireland: The first fifty years 1899-1949” *First Fifty Years*, 1949, 11.

categories; the writers who were self-consciously writing for a British audience; the writers of broad appeal whose fiction was set unselfconsciously in Ireland; and the writers who wrote out of a need for self-realisation, in order to illuminate the universal in the particular.⁴⁹ The publication of the CTSI can be defined as a mixture of the first and second types if one adopts Foster's classification.

O'Riordan's views on the publications that should be undertaken by the CTSI were clear. He argued that "short biographies of distinguished Irishmen[...], series of pamphlets on important events in Irish history, not mere dry, chronological narratives, but giving the spirit of history[...], pamphlets in the legends and traditions connected with castles, churches, and holy wells all over the country" should be published as part of their campaign. O'Riordan also remarked that "light literature" gave responses "which are foreign to our national feelings".⁵⁰ These preferences of the Society are reflected in their early publications during 1900. According to the record, booklets published that year were classified as follows: 6 were devotional or doctrinal, 28 biographical and/or historical, 6 were social scientific, 2 miscellaneous and 17 fiction.⁵¹

The second important figure in the early history of the CTSI is Partick Sheehan. Canon Sheehan, as he was universally remembered, started his literary career in the columns of the *Irish Monthly* as did other writers like "Katharine Tynan, Hilaire Belloc, Alice Furlong, Dora Sigerson, Oscar Wilde, and M. E. Francis".⁵² As a young priest just ordained, Sheehan spent three years in England.⁵³ According to Michal J. Phelan, Sheehan was "impressed by the fact

⁴⁹ John Wilson Foster, *Fictions of the Irish Literary Revival: A Changeling Art*, Irish Studies (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1987), xi-xx.

⁵⁰ Michael O'Riordan, "A Catholic Truth Society" *Record of The Maynooth Union, 1898-1899*, (Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1899), 43.

⁵¹ "List of Booklets published by the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland from 1900" *First Fifty Years*, 1949, 60.

⁵² Rev. Michael J. Phelan, S. J., *Canon Sheehan: A Sketch*, Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 1913, p. 10.

⁵³ Catherine Candy, *Priestly Fictions: Popular Irish Novelists of the Early 20th Century: Patrick A. Sheehan, Joseph Guinam, Gerald O'donovan* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1995), 23.

that the novel was the main channel through which men most successfully poured their views and convictions over the minds of others, so he [Sheehan] determined to use it in order to secure a hearing”.⁵⁴ Although the CTSI at first declared it was “not a branch of the English Catholic Truth Society”⁵⁵ and tried to keep itself distinctly Irish, Sheehan’s personal experience in England obviously influenced him from the beginning.

The articles which Sheehan earlier published in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*⁵⁶ provide a window onto Sheehan’s evolving ideas. As Catherine Candy points out, Sheehan’s experience in Queenstown (the present day Cobh) as a parish priest should be taken into consideration. He saw great waves of emigration there and expressed his anxiety in an article “The effect of emigration on the Irish church”, which appeared in the *IER* in 1882. Sheehan lamented there the emigrants’ loss of a Catholic identity.⁵⁷ Sheehan at the point already regarded Catholic identity as intrinsic to and inseparable from Irish Identity.⁵⁸ He insisted that emigration would cause “a change from the quiet holy life of the Irish mountain and valley, to the tumult and the bustle, the ambition and the sin of mighty cities”.⁵⁹ His somewhat reactionary attitude is evident here. He warned that “many of the second or third generations, while bearing Irish names are the enemies of the Irish race and religion” based on the fact that most of the 10 million people professing to be Catholics in America were Germans although the Irish population in America, he claimed, was at least 20 million at that time.⁶⁰ Sheehan apparently thought that Irish identity should be intrinsically Catholic identity and this view is similar to the ideas recurring in the Catholic magazines noted above. On the other hand,

⁵⁴ Rev. Michael J. Phelan, S. J., *Canon Sheehan: A Sketch*, Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 1913, 11.

⁵⁵ “The Catholic Truth Society of Ireland” *Catholic Truth Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 7, Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 1961, 2.

⁵⁶ Hereinafter shortened as *IER*.

⁵⁷ Patrick A. Sheehan, “The effect of emigration on the Irish church” *IER* Ser. III, 1882, 602-15.

⁵⁸ For more on this see Gabriel Doherty, *Revisiting Canon Sheehan of Doneraile, 1852-1913 : Author, Activist, Priest* (Somerset: Smenos, 2014).

⁵⁹ Sheehan, “The effect of emigration on the Irish church”, 612.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

Sheehan was also conscious about trends in other English-speaking countries. At the 1899 Maynooth Union debate, Sheehan argued the case for establishing the CTSI on the ground that “[e]very other English-speaking country had a Catholic Truth Society. Why should they not have a Catholic Truth Society of their own in Ireland?”⁶¹

Almost two decades earlier Sheehan had complained in the *IER* how “all the literature of the day, home and foreign, [...] is filled [...] with powerfully developed arguments and elaborated sarcasms against the Church and Revelation and God”. He claimed that “Celtic” people were especially fond of literature⁶² and therefore, were peculiarly susceptible to literary influences and needed proper restraint and direction. Sheehan especially lamented the absence of Catholic writers who might “catch the fire and the glow that illuminate every page of profane literature” referring to the struggles that the English Catholics had gone through since the Oxford Revival.⁶³ According to Sheehan, Irish emigrants abroad tended to be readily influenced by “pagan” thoughts and were vulnerable to “pagan” writings. Clearly Sheehan’s thought was shaped by his early experience in England. Furthermore, he considered the Irish situation in relation to that in other areas, notably England and America, not least because these were the two most common destinations for the Irish emigrants.

Regarding other CTSI leaders, it was noted in the *Annual and Record of Conference of 1904* that the Society’s president at that time was John Healy, archbishop of Tuam, who was famous for his strong political conservatism. He was a graduate of Maynooth and a champion of agricultural education, the cooperative movement, the Gaelic League and the improvement of Catholic education. He had intellectually conservative view Irish history.⁶⁴ The vice-

⁶¹ “Speech of Most Rev. Dr. Sheehan” *Record of The Maynooth Union, 1898-1899* (Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1899), 45.

⁶² “I venture to say that in Cork, Limerick, or Dublin, there will be found a larger average of young men acquainted with current literature than in Manchester itself, the centre of English thought and progress. Celtic talent is very versatile; but it is fond of running in literary lines[...].” *IER*, September 1881, 526.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 528.

⁶⁴ Patrick Maume, “John Healy” in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

presidents were Nicholas Donnelly (the bishop of Canea), Monsignor Murphy, Baronet Thomas Grattan Esmonde who was a Parnellite-turned anti-Parnellite, Francis R. Cruise, a doctor and devoted Catholic author, Judge Carton and W. R. J. Molloy. Honourable secretaries were F. E. O'Loughlin and John Rochford, who was a famous hurler. According to the *First Fifty Years*, Daniel Mannix, the professor of Dogmatic and Moral Theology in Maynooth (and soon to be president of the college) called a meeting of the organising committee of the CTSI on 12th October 1899. In addition to Mannix, Canon Fricker, Healy, Donnelly, Murphy, Molloy, Cruise O'Loughlin and Rochford, the committee included Count Moore and D. Downing. They seem to have had a common outlook. Mannix himself had no interest in the Revival movement and concentrated on the development of clerical education in English since many of his students were destined to engage in work abroad with the Irish diaspora.⁶⁵ Molony has described Mannix's character as a mix of the conservative and the liberal. Donnelly also had conservative views, considering that he opposed the agrarian agitation.⁶⁶ And regardless of whether they supported the language revival movement or not, none gave primacy to the Irish language. Rather their concern was the provision of a Catholic service for Irish people who spoke English first. This feature can be seen as distinctive to this CTSI group.

It is also an important feature that the Society's leadership consisted of clericals and laymen in almost equal numbers. In public statements they emphasised that their work was entirely approved of by the clergy: "it was his [Archbishop of Tuam] emphatic opinion that without the effective and visible co-operation [...] of the venerable Hierarchy of Ireland, and also of the clergy, both secular and regular, as well as the intelligent Catholic laity throughout the country, the Catholic Truth Society could not hope to make any real progress with its important work".⁶⁷ As regards the clerical members, their Maynooth connection cannot be

⁶⁵ John Molony, "Daniel Mannix" in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁶⁶ C. J. Woods, "Nicholas Donnelly" in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁶⁷ "The Inaugural meeting" *Catholic Truth Annual*, 1904, 26.

overstated. The Maynooth Union was set up on 27th June 1895, the last day of the centenary celebrations of Maynooth College, and the object was the establishment of an alumni society. And the subsequent creation of the CTSI can be considered as a reflection of the ideological colouring of the Maynooth College itself. According to Corish, a drastic widening of the approved readings for students occurred in Maynooth at the turn of the century. In 1903, a range of Catholic periodicals written in Italian, French, German and English were permitted. Magazines like the *Athenaeum*, the *Saturday Review* and *Nature* were allowed in 1905. The professors also formed a "Reading Association" and discussed which magazine should be allowed. Even some novels were allowed in the library for students.⁶⁸ It is obvious that there was a growing attention to the reading practice in the seminary community at this period. In 1898, students won approval for a subscription to the official journal of the Gaelic League, *Fáinne an Lae*. In other words, there was some cautious movement towards intellectual freedom happening at the time.

As the name of the CTSI suggests, it was originally launched as a branch of the Catholic Truth Society of England.⁶⁹ O'Riordan, however, considered that the work of the CTSE did not meet the needs of the Irish people.⁷⁰ John Francis Hogan, later vice-president (1910), then president (1912-18) of Maynooth,⁷¹ also strongly opposed to having the CTSI seen as a mere branch of the CTSE.

We were obliged to take during these early years what was next to hand, to republish papers that were not originally intended for us, to choose from such original matter as we could get from generous contributors what we found best adapted to our aims, and to supplement our own limited supply by drawing with discrimination and judgement on the rich stores of the Catholic Truth Society of England.⁷²

⁶⁸ Patrick J. Corish, *Maynooth College, 1795-1995* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1995), 283-4.

⁶⁹ Hereinafter shortened to CTSE.

⁷⁰ Andrew McCarthy, "Publishing for Catholic Ireland," in *The Irish Book in English, 1891-2000* ed. Clare Hutton (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 250.

⁷¹ Helen Andrews, "John Francis Hogan" in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁷² J. F. Hogan, "The Aims of the Conference" *Catholic Truth Annual*, 1904, 41.

Hogan's unwillingness was due to the fact that the materials were not "originally intended for" Irish people. Despite this fact, the CTSI were not hostile to the CTSE just because they were "Anglo-Saxon". Rather, it can be seen from the records that many CTSE leaders attended the annual conferences of the CTSI, so there seems to be some degree of cooperation between the CTSI and the CTSE. However, for the contemporaries involved in the field, the most pressing concern was the flood of the English publications, as discussed in Chapter 1. This led them to favour Ireland's own body of literature and to try and provide high quality and cheap publications specifically for Irish Catholics in order, it was later claimed, "to deepen the knowledge acquired in [their] younger days, to realise the implications of the various parts of Catholic doctrine, and be familiar with the arguments used to defend them".⁷³ The word "defend" is crucial here because Cardinal John Francis D'Alton, writing in the 1960s, explicitly mentioned that "[i]ts first aim" had been "to provide an antidote of the anti-Christian literature coming to our shores in increasing quantity with every passing year".⁷⁴ This echoed statements from the first years of the CTSI; thus in commentary of the Society's First Conference in October 1903, the reporter maintained that:

The purveyors of popular literature in this country and elsewhere had small thought about making Christ the foundation of their work, in issuing their literature from the Press. As a matter of fact, for the most part, they ignored Christ; they ignored revealed religion; they ignored supernatural life; they ignored Divine influences of every kind.⁷⁵

Two things should be noted here: firstly, it is clear that the CTSI was originally the product of a strongly reactionary rather than a modernising movement. Secondly, if they were primarily concerned about "anti-Christian literature", was this actually a code for anti-Protestant literature?

In considering these two problems, it is necessary to look more closely at the activities of

⁷³ Cardinal D'Alton, *The Catholic Truth Society of Ireland: its Origin and Purpose*, Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 196?, 6.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ "The Inaugural meeting" *Catholic Truth Annual*, 1904, 27.

the CTSE. As Rene Keller has pointed out, the CTSE was founded as a reaction to the powerful anti-Catholicism embedded in Victorian England. Keller has argued that the CTSE really had its origin in the early nineteenth century and that English Catholics had long felt the need to fight against constant attack. That is why the CTSE had started publishing penny pamphlets, the purpose of being to diffuse a more enlightened knowledge among the public as to the elements of Catholic doctrine.⁷⁶ In this sense, therefore, the foundation and activities of the CTSE can be considered as a continuation of the “tract culture” and printed polemics so characteristic of the early nineteenth century. At the same time, however, the statement of founder member James Britten as to one of the motives for setting up their organisation should not be overlooked;

[...]About four years since, one of us went into one of the numerous bookshops in which cheap Anglican publications are sold [...]. Their number, variety, attractiveness, and general excellence much impressed the two or three priests and others to whom they were shown; and the idea arose that “we Catholics” might do something of the kind.⁷⁷

According to this, they set up their organisation inspired by the activity of their Anglican counterparts. He clearly stated that they were adopting the methods of the highly successful Association for the Promoting Christian Knowledge and explained to the CTSI in 1904 that “it was felt in many quarters that there was great need for an organisation which should be to Catholics what such bodies as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Religious Tract Society are to the Protestants”.⁷⁸ Their aims were also “to meet the rationalism, indifferentism, and religious diversities of the day” and for that reason “testimonies of popular Protestant writers in favour of the Catholic Church and against the Reformation – e.g., Macaulay, Hallam, Cobbett, &c” were used.⁷⁹ The CTSE aimed not only to spread cheap

⁷⁶ Rene Keller, “James Britten, the Catholic Truth Society, and the Defense of Convent Life in Late Victorian England,” *Australasian Catholic Record* 88, no. 1 (2011): 32-4.

⁷⁷ James Britten, “Art. ix.-the Catholic Truth Society,” *The Dublin Review* 17, no. 2 (1887): 400.

⁷⁸ James Britten, “The work of the Catholic Truth Society” *Catholic Truth Annual*, 1904, 51.

⁷⁹ Britten, “Art. ix.-the Catholic Truth Society,” 409.

Catholic literature among the Catholic people but also among the Protestants who it was felt misunderstood Catholic beliefs. At the Maynooth Union where the foundation of the CTSI was decided in 1899, Dean Lynch from Manchester, one of the four founder members of the CTSE, pledged to support the establishment of the CTSI.⁸⁰ Lynch advised the meeting that the CTSI should start by publishing “penny publications and cheap prayer-books” and also “the books should be illustrated where illustrations were necessary”.⁸¹ Seen from these facts, it is obvious that the CTSI and the CTSE had in the early days a cordial and probably mutually beneficial relationship.

(2) The attitudes of the CTSI

When the CTSI was founded at Maynooth, Cardinal Logue pledged his support to the movement and announced that the organisation should be one “which applied to the whole of the country” even though its own Belfast already had the Belfast Catholic Truth Society by then.⁸² Kelly, the bishop of Ross, seconded the resolution based on the reason below:

[...]When their people were less educated than they were at present, it was not so necessary that they should be able to give a fully dogmatic account to themselves of their own faith; but when men’s minds were trained, [...]their own minds would put them questions about the faith, and except they could satisfactorily answer those questions to themselves, their faith was danger. Furthermore at present their people went largely abroad to foreign countries, and the moral teaching of the faith which they got at home was no always sufficient when they were brought into contact with the scoffers against religion in foreign countries. Hence it was necessary that they should disseminate amongst them literature of the kind that was proposed.⁸³

⁸⁰ The Catholic Truth movement was widespread across the British World. See Paul Smith, "Reclaiming Community? From Welfare Society to Welfare State in Australian Catholic Social Thought," *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 49, no. 1 (2003); "The Canadian Catholic Truth Society," *The Tablet* (1921).

⁸¹ Eamonn Dunne, "Action and Reaction: Catholic Lay Organisations in Dublin in the 1920s and 1930s," *Archivium Hibernicum* 48 (1994).

⁸² "Practical steps taken" *Record of The Maynooth Union, 1898-1899*, Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1899, 46-7.

⁸³ *Ibid*, 47.

He was emphasising two points; the particular danger posed to the people when they were more fully educated, and the specific danger of “contamination” when they went abroad. These two points were equally important to O’Riordan and Sheehan. Just before Kelly made the statement, he indicated that “it was not enough that they should have the faith, but they must be able to give an account of the faith that was in them.”⁸⁴

In the early volumes of the *Annals of the CTSI*, these ideals of publication were articulated explicitly and repeatedly. For example, Sheehan directed fierce criticism against then current state of literature in general.

From the printing-presses of the world pours forth, day by day, a stream of pollution, poisoning the minds of the young and inexperienced, and preparing the way by its solvent and destructive properties, for those social and political upheavals that threaten the destruction of civilisation. You may easily trace all the evils of the world to corrupt literature. The English Deists of the 18th century, Toland, Shaftesbary, Tindal, Mandeville, Bolingbroke, inspired the Diderot and Helvetius and Holbach of the *Encyclopedia*[sic]. Rousseau created the French Revolution. Voltaire inspires the attack on the Religious Orders in France to-day. Mazzini completed the spoliation of the Roman States. Tolstoy creates a railway-strike in Pittsburg. The Rationalist Press of London is, I am sorry to say, pouring out by the million its copies of works, nominally scientific, positively blasphemous and aggressive. You may see these infamous booklets, endorsed by names famous in science and literature, selling at sixpence even here in your Catholic city; and you may see them advertised and recommended in newspapers owned by Catholics. I have read these books, and can testify that an untrained mind would suffer serious injury to faith, if without precaution or antidote, it read these books which are standard volumes on irreligion and infidelity.⁸⁵

The most notable point here is his selection of writers of undesirable books. The typical target in this kind of criticism had been the so-called “penny dreadfuls” or sensationalist publications including newspapers. However, here Sheehan attacked writers like “Toland, Shaftesbary, Tindal, Mandeville, Bolingbroke”. All of them caused a sensation, especially to Catholic minds, “nominally scientific” but “positively blasphemous and aggressive”. Rousseau, Voltaire and Tolstoy were also regarded as evil writers from the Catholic viewpoint. Such an attitude colours

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ P. A. Sheehan, “The limitations and possibilities of Catholic literature” *Catholic Truth Annual*, 1904, 16-7.

John Robert O'Connell's article "Municipal Libraries" in the 1905 *Annual*; O'Connell was a prominent Dublin solicitor and pamphleteer.⁸⁶ In that article, O'Connell attacked "the grossness of Zola, the sentimentality and blasphemy of Marie Corelli, the sugary sentimentality of Ouida, the sensationalism of Hall Caine, and the bigoted misrepresentation of all Catholic ideas and practices of Seton Merriman," and adding to "the Free Press literature, the cheap novel, the weekly novelettes and stories, the cheap and nasty magazines, and the other [...] low class English journalism".⁸⁷ The writers mentioned above were also cited as examples of harmful writers by Roderic Desmond in a companion article, "The attitude of Catholics towards municipal free libraries": "One does not feel happy in finding a Catholic girl display an intimate acquaintance with Ouida, or Zola, or even Marie Corelli or Mrs. Humphrey Ward".⁸⁸ Like Sheehan, Desmond also was warning of "the dangers of free access to the modern scientific or philosophic work, when not read with proper safeguards".⁸⁹

In this critique of so much of contemporary literature, was the CTSI anti-Protestant or not? To determine this, it is worth comparing the case of the Catholic Defence Society, which was also founded at the Maynooth Union at their gathering in 1905. A predecessor, the Catholic Association, had been founded for the sake of helping Catholic business enterprise. However, it had been short-lived because of criticism it had soon faced. From beginning to end, the motion supporting the creation of the Catholic Defence Society was written in a quite military tone and showed very clearly hostility towards the Protestant-dominated nature of contemporary society. Their aim was "to secure justice and equality for the Catholic laity of Ireland in the civil life of the country".⁹⁰ According to Curtis, the large-scale entertainment

⁸⁶ Daire Hogan, "John Robert O'Connell" in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). O'Connell was unusual in being ordained as a priest when he was a widower in his sixties.

⁸⁷ J. R. O'Connell, "Municipal Libraries" *Catholic Truth Annual*, 1905, 64.

⁸⁸ Roderic Desmond, "The attitude of Catholics towards municipal free libraries" *Ibid.*, 75.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Record of the Maynooth Union, 1906-1907*, Dublin, 1907, 34.

that they organised was one of their notable features.⁹¹ They emphasised that they were not necessarily hostile toward “intelligent, honest, justice-loving non-Catholics, who are not only not opposed to our demands for justice and fair play, but are quite willing to help”.⁹² As far as the statements of the CTSI are concerned, on the other hand, there was nothing outwardly hostile towards Protestants. Taking all the above into consideration, the CTSI should be best considered as part of the confluence of broader cosmopolitan Catholic influences and the special “national” questions of Ireland.

The CTSI certainly attached importance to the Irishness of the works they chose to publish. On this point, Michael O’Hickey’s presence is important. O’Hickey had supported O’Riordan’s motion, wishing success of the Gaelic League, which “were endeavouring to make the 700,000 or 800,000 Irish speakers in Ireland readers in Irish, and as soon as they had got so far as to make them Irish readers”⁹³ and O’Hickey argued that the CTSI should be a distinctly “Irish” society and able to cater for the future demands of potential Irish readers. As for O’Hickey’s own background, he had worked as a diocesan religious examiner in a diocese that had a considerable number of Irish speakers. It is likely that this background and his reputation as a famous Gaelic Leaguer led him to make the argument for establishing an Irish body of organisation:

We can never hope to produce a literature as attractive and popular as the world’s literature, because we can never appeal to the two great elements of popularity – passion and untruth! [...]Our fiction, our poetry, our drama, our art, must be, above all things, pure [...]. [...]Hence, I have no toleration for those who cry out: We want a Burns! We want a Tolstoy or an Ibsen! Even as poets, I would not compare for a moment Robert Burns with our own Moore and Mangan; [...]whilst Mangan was so scrupulously pure that he made the greatest sacrifice a poet can make by watering down in his translations the rather burning words of German or Irish poets.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Curtis, *A Challenge to Democracy : Militant Catholicism in Modern Ireland*.

⁹² *Record of the Maynooth Union, 1906-1907*, Dublin, 1907, 34

⁹³ *Record of the Maynooth Union, 1898-1899*, Dublin, 1899, 46.

⁹⁴ Sheehan, “The limitations and possibilities of Catholic literature” *Catholic Truth Annual*, 1904, 19.

Here Sheehan emphasised the pureness of “our” literature like “Moore and Mangan” and distinguished it from other literature like “a Burns”, “a Tolstoy or an Ibsen” which capitalised on its “passion and untruth”. According to Ruth Fleischmann, Sheehan’s position is unique: first, Sheehan tended to emphasise the political and religious distinctions dividing Irishmen although he regarded himself as a follower of Davis. Second, Sheehan had the view that Ireland did not need economic development, which made him differ from many other nationalists. Third, Sheehan did not bear any hostility against the lower-middle class Catholics.⁹⁵ Also from the quotation above, we must consider what distinguished “good” from “bad” books in the eyes of the CTSI leaders.

Lamentations over a general ignorance of the Irish past were frequent in the CTSI publications. Kelly, a founder member of the CTSI was very explicit:

To me it is lamentable to see Irish boys and girls growing up, as they do, who know all about English, French, Roman, and Scotch history, [...]but who are scandalously ignorant of everything concerning their own land, and its more glorious past. [...]Our Society can produce, and has already published, books concerning the most notable of the old ruins, abbeys, churches, and castles that cover our land, and link with the story of their foundation some interesting local history, which any Irish child should be ashamed not to know.⁹⁶

Considering that Kelly was a co-founder of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society, a Gaelic Leaguer and a Parnellite who remained so through the split, this emphasis is not unexpected. However, the CTSI always maintained this emphasis on the distinctiveness of things Irish. From 1905, they started to hold literary prize competitions “[w]ith a view to encourage young Catholic writers”. The subjects were not only to be about Catholic concerns, but had a specifically Irish character. The subjects of the competition of 1905 were:

- I. The invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce
- II. The life and Achievements of the Red Earl of Ulster
- III. An historical romance in any period of Irish history

⁹⁵ Ruth Fleischmann, *Catholic Nationalism in the Irish Revival : A Study of Canon Sheehan, 1852-1913* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 152.

⁹⁶ R. J. Kelly, “The Purpose and Publications of the society” *Catholic Truth Annual*, 1904, 75.

- IV. A story illustrating the evils of intemperance
- V. Catholic emancipation

Submissions were to be booklets that did not exceed “in length 40 pages, crown octavo, that is to say, from 15,000 to about 16,300 words”. As a prize, £5 each was to be given “for the best booklet on each [...]subjects”.⁹⁷ However, the situation regarding the competition seems to have been bleak. The same competition was held in 1907, in which subjects were changed to “I. The life of Patrick Sarsfield / II. The Geraldines / III. An historical romance in any period of Irish history / IV. A story illustrating some of the causes and evil effects of emigration”.⁹⁸ However, according to *the Annual* in 1908, “[i]n two years only two of the prizes could be awarded, so inferior in style were the majority of the MSS.” Considering this, the Committee “have reluctantly decided to withdraw the prizes.” The editor concluded that “it seems strange that it should be so hard to get young Irish Catholic writers”.⁹⁹ It is indeed striking how unsuccessful the Society was in generating interest in such a competition.

It was however revived in 1912. This time the subjects had been changed and the contestants were now invited to write pamphlets on more contemporary themes: “I. The Catholic Church and the workingman / II. The Catholic capitalist and the Catholic artisan / III. The problems of poverty in Ireland and their remedies / IV. What the Catholic Church has done for science / V. What the Catholic church has done for art”. This competition was also advertised in the *Freeman’s Journal*.¹⁰⁰ Regarding the first three subjects, a note clarified that “the Manuscripts on the above three subjects must be written from the standpoint of, and have special attention directed to, the problems so far as they relate to, and are affected by, conditions of life in Ireland”.¹⁰¹ These obviously reflected the contemporary phenomenon of socialism in lead-up to the Dublin Lockout in 1913; the Catholic Church had been generally

⁹⁷ *Catholic Truth Annual*, 1905, 16.

⁹⁸ *Catholic Truth Annual*, 1907, 16.

⁹⁹ *Catholic Truth Annual*, 1908, 13.

¹⁰⁰ *Freeman’s Journal*, Wednesday, 27th November, 1912.

¹⁰¹ *The Catholic Truth Annual*, 1912, 52.

hostile to the socialist movement, but such topics also reflected the encyclical "*Singulari Quadam*", in which Pius X addressed issues of labour organisations that year. It is not clear whether this reflected a new interest in the CTSI towards social problems.

(3) The publications and the reception of the CTSI

Before taking a close look at the contents of the CTSI pamphlets, the physical context is important to note. First of all, each pamphlet ran to around 20 to 30 pages. They were distributed to parish churches, and the CTSI supplied boxes beside which a selection of pamphlets could be placed at the porch of the church; people put coins into the boxes when they took the pamphlets away. Mannix also boasted of their early success in this method: "on Trinity Sunday the boxes of the Society were first placed at the Church doors in Dublin, and in ten days 13,000 pennies were deposited in the cash boxes".¹⁰² As for this system of distribution, it obviously targeted people already in the habit of attending Catholic churches every week. This also indicates that the CTSI were targeting people with some spare coin in their pockets.

On the genres of the pamphlets, there were five categories ("Fiction", "Social science", "Biographical and historical" and "devotional and doctrinal") and fiction occupied the largest, some years the largest share of their publication list, reflecting the priorities of Sheehan and his co-founders'.

¹⁰² *Record of the Maynooth Union: 1899-1900*, Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1900, 14-5.

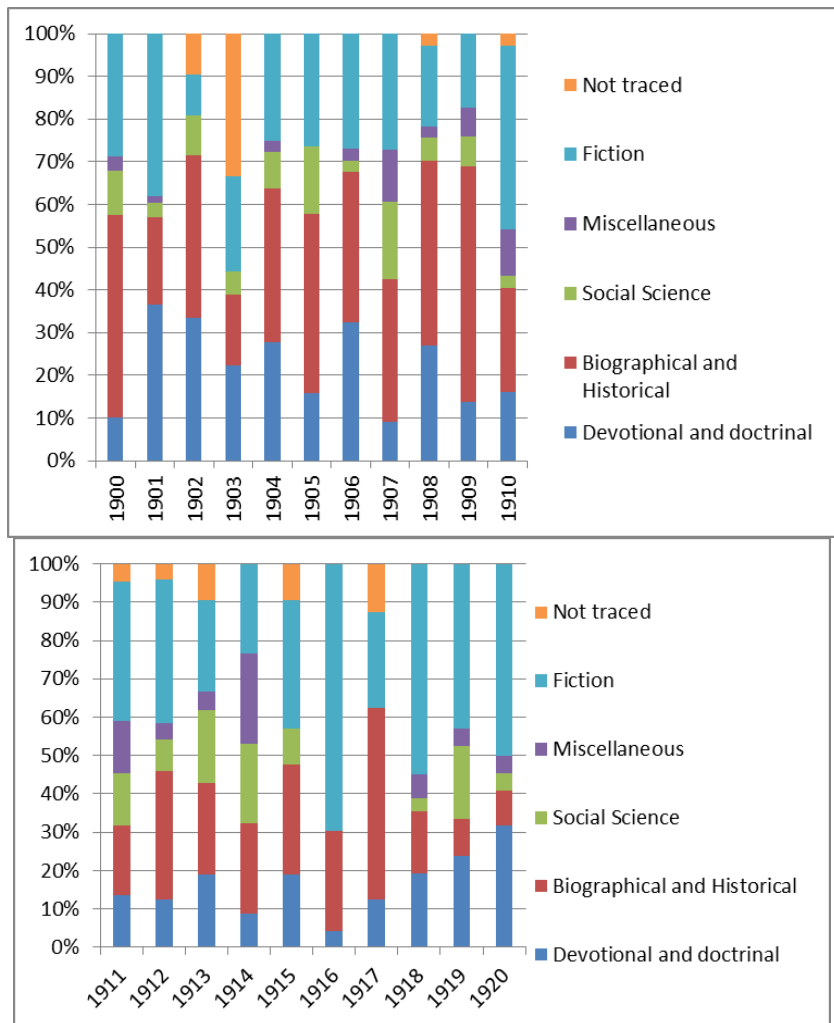


Figure 2-1 The relative importance of different genre of the CTSI pamphlet published between 1900 and 1920¹⁰³

As seen from Figure 2-1, the CTSI put particular emphasis on two genres – fiction and biographical / historical works. For example, there are 17 works of fiction among the 59 publications in 1900, the first year of the Society’s activities (others were 6 devotional and doctrinal, 28 biographical and historical works, 6 on social sciences and 2 miscellaneous). Considered from the standpoint of the readers, it can be said that fiction was likely to have been the most popular of their pamphlets. The Veritas Company holds inventory cards for each pamphlet, and although this card record is very incomplete (the system started in 1920s),

¹⁰³ Made from “List of Booklets Published by the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland from 1900” *First Fifty Years*, 60-81.

it is possible to infer the pattern of publication in earlier decades. According to the Veritas records, the Society ordered first printings of around 10,000 copies of fiction pamphlet, sometimes reprinted 10,000 more in the case of the especially popular ones. For example, Lady Gilbert's *The Five Cobblers of Brescia* was first printed in 1901 as pamphlet no. 63, and reprinted five times in very large quantities (10,000 for 1924, 10,000 for 1935, 5,000 for 1944, 10,000 for 1945 and 5,000 for unrecorded year). D. K. Harrington's *Aileen, The Bride of Glenmore* was published for the first time in 1901 and remained very popular: it was reprinted at least three times (5,000 for 1943, 15,000 for 1945 and 15,000 for 1950). Most pamphlets of other genres, on the other hand, show no signs of having been reprinted.

Table 2-1 The fiction pamphlets published in 1900

<i>Author</i>	<i>Title</i>	
Lady Gilbert	The Ghost at the Rath (missing)	
P. A. Sheehan	Rita the Street Singer	
Grace V. Christmas	Tonio's Trial and So as by Fire (missing)	
Katherine Roche	Willie's Revenge	
P. A. Sheehan	How the Angel became Happy and Frank Forrest's Mince Pie	
Canon Frank	The Agnus Dei (missing)	
Kathleen O Meara	Aline	
M. E. Francis	The Little Cross-Bearer and About Poor Judy	
M. E. Francis	Anne's Husband	
S. M. G.	The Hillside Flower: An Incident of the Penal Days in Ireland	
Lady Gilbert	Mrs. Blake's Next-of-Kin	
Lady Gilbert	A Mother of Emigrants	Retitled "The American Money," 1943
Lady Gilbert	Among the Violets	
Lady Gilbert	Avourneen	
Canon Schmid	The Wooden Cross	Tales for Children No. 1
Lady Gilbert	Marigold	Marigold Series No. 1
Lady Gilbert	The Mystery of Ora	Marigold Series No. 2

Although it is hard to identify who the actual readers of CTSI pamphlets were, it is possible to see what kind of readers the CTSI expected when one examines at the details of fiction list closely. Taking the fiction pamphlets published in 1900, eleven were apparently targeting female readers (three of these are not extant). Furthermore, among the 9 authors of these works, there are at least 6 female writers. Among them, Rosa Mulholland who wrote their most frequent contributor. Mulholland, also known as Lady Gilbert, built her literary career mainly by producing fiction and Yeats later anthologised her in *Representative Irish Tales* (1891).¹⁰⁴ As a celebrated best-selling novelist, seven works of her fiction appeared as the

¹⁰⁴ James H. Murphy, "Rosa Mulholland (Lady Gilbert)" in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). For more on Rosa Mulholland see James H. Murphy, "Rosa Mulholland, W.P. Ryan and Irish Catholic Fiction at the Time of the Anglo-Irish Revival," in *Forging in the Smithy: National Identity and Representation in Anglo-Irish Literary History*, ed. Joseph Theodoor Leerssen, A. H. Van der weel, and Bart Westerweel (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995); *Catholic Fiction and Social Reality in Ireland, 1873-1922*. On M.

CTSI pamphlets in 1900. As with other female authors these were strongly orientated towards female readers. At the 1903 annual conference, Kelly warned of the vulnerability of Irish women to “low, loose literatures” such as novelettes which were “chiefly read by women” and especially by Irish women, as the “English or Scotch” since Irish were “more imaginative”.¹⁰⁵ This particular concern about women’s indulge in the cheap literature helps explain this tendency to stay with the pamphlet form of publication.¹⁰⁶

Apart from the fiction directly targeting female readers, there were a significant number of stories for children produced. Almost of them were written by Canon Schmid and serialised as the “Tales for children”. Those publications were, however, not necessarily published for the children themselves. Firstly, the size of the letters is about 2mm square, the same as other pamphlets for adults. Secondly, most pamphlets have no illustrations. This might suggest that the CTSI published these pamphlets to be read aloud by mothers, not for the children themselves. They intended to show the pamphlets to the secondary readers, namely, the parents of the children. These kinds of fiction publications can be seen as unique if one sees the CTSI as a part of tract culture.

On the contents of the pamphlets, the stories reflected their views strongly. Lady Gilbert’s *Avourneen* (1900), for example, is a tragic story of a girl who lives in Inish-glas, an island in “the Western Irish coast”. One day she saved a young shipwrecked boy who came to be called “Tan” and later falls in love with him. He read an English newspaper which his friend from Liverpool handed to him and went to England attracted by the city life. Tan got married and settled in England, forgetting all the things in Inish-glas. When he visited Inish-glas thirty

E. Francis, see Whitney Standlee, *Power to Observe: Irish Women Novelists in Britain, 1890-1916* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2015), 153-92.

¹⁰⁵ R. J. Kelly, “The Purpose and publication of the society” *Catholic Truth Annual*, 1903, 73.

¹⁰⁶ For more on this issue, and particularly on female collaboration see Paula M. Kane, “The Willing Captive of Home?': The English Catholic Women's League, 1906-1920,” *Church History* 60, no. 3 (1991); Mary V. Newman, “The Educational Work of Catholic Women's League in England 1906-1923” (PhD Thesis, Institute of Education, University of London, 2010).

years later, he finds that Avourneen has passed away young, dreaming of his return to the island. In this story, an English newspaper played the key role in leading the young lovers to a tragic end.

Anti-metropolitan feelings also appear quite frequently in these pamphlets. Canon Schmid's *The Wooden Cross* described the heroine's life "In the city, she had lived in a very small, dismal house, in a dark-street; and for the whole year around, she never saw the sun or moon shine into her dusky bed-room." Sheehan's *How the Angel became Happy and Frank Forrest's Mince Pie* also described the house in the city in the following way: "A dark and narrow lane in a crowded city, a tall house, black and begrimed from smoke, windows broken and patched with paper".¹⁰⁷ Both stories were most likely published for children.

Apart from their own commentary, the most ready and reliable examples of what kind of reputation the CTSI publications had, can be observed in the reviews of their publications:

The Catholic Truth Society of Ireland in publishing the Iona Series of books of a fresh and absorbing Irish interest, by Irish writers, well printed and bound in Dublin, at the popular price of one shilling, merit a generous appreciation. [...] By making a larger use of the Iona Series the authorities who have [anything] to do with organizing parish and school libraries will confer a direct benefit on Irish literature, and will do something they will never live to regret.¹⁰⁸

This is an extract from the review of *The Iona Series: New books by Irish writers* numbers 1 to 6 which appeared in the *IER*. The reviewer praised the fact that not only the topics and writers were all Irish but also that the books were "printed and bound in Dublin". Their affordable price, one shilling, was also commended. It is also notable that the reviewer referred to "parish and school libraries", given that Catholic schools generally did not recommend pastime reading to their pupils.¹⁰⁹ The publication of the CTSI may have helped change this.

Although the leaders of the CTSI boasted their success, Corish writing half a century later

¹⁰⁷ P. A. Sheehan, *How the Angel became Happy and Frank Forrest's Mince Pie*, 1900, Dublin: Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 5

¹⁰⁸ "The Iona Series. New Books by Irish Writers" *IER*, ser. 4, Vol. 27, April 1910, 435-9.

¹⁰⁹ Christina de Bellaigue, "'Only What Is Pure and Exquisite': Girls' Reading at School in France, 1800–70," *French History* 27, no. 2 (2013): 16.

repeatedly pointed to the constant financial drain on the CTSI's resources. Despite some success with a best-selling publication like O'Loughlin's *Life of Our Lord* or Francis Cruise's translation of *The Imitation of Christ*, and repeated appeals for financial support, they did not receive the income they expected. And they sometimes had advertisements on the back covers of pamphlets, advertising revenues was probably too limited to be relied upon, considering that the advertisements were for often Catholic charitable organisations such as a working girls' hostel¹¹⁰ or a free night shelter run by St. Vincent de Paul.¹¹¹ The editor kept calling for subscriptions and donations to the Society instead. According to one appeal that appeared in the 1920s, subscribers, willing to pay 5 shillings or upward, or 2/6 for associates were actively sought. Life membership, as offered for 10 pounds. However as Andrew McCarthy has pointed out there were never many members despite the very wide circulation of their publications¹¹². It seems that they always suffered from a shortage of funds and until the Veritas company took over the business of the society in 1928.¹¹³

In their early days of the CTSI, one report claimed that "about eighteen hundred persons [were] being presented" at the annual conferences. Referring to such persons in the report of the First Catholic Truth Conference held in Ireland on October 14th 1903, they proudly noted the high recognition which the CTSI had quickly achieved, evident from the fact that "[t]he dais was occupied by a number of Bishops and Priests, and other prominent gentlemen" and they came "not only from Dublin, but from various parts of Ireland and England".¹¹⁴ It can be argued in so doing, the CTSI tried to assert their universal appeal.

They also pointed out how "Ladies also formed a large proportion of the audience."¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Canon Sheehan, Pamphlet no. 6, *Rita: the street singer*, Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 1900.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² According to McCarthy, over forty million items were sold from 1918 to 1949. McCarthy, "Publishing for Catholic Ireland," 250.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 251.

¹¹⁴ *Record of the Maynooth Union, 1906-1907*, Dublin, 1907, 34.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 26.

The emphasis on women's roles was evident in an article by a Mrs. Moore where announced the establishment of a "Catholic Reading Guild" the purpose of which was to re-distribute Catholic papers and books rather than throwing them away for confronting the flood of "infidel and immoral" literature.¹¹⁶ She also stressed the unique importance of women in these activities:

[...] This too, is a work which we women, even the very poorest, can take up earnestly and, [...] bring Catholic Truth more and more into the homes of the people. [...] The influence of woman is one of the greatest factors in God's Providence. The minds and hearts of men melt before the influence of a holy mother or a good wife, and they in their own sphere are true rulers in their own homes. Let the women of Ireland unite to take up this work. The married ladies in business, the farmers' wives, the shop assistants, and the servant girls.¹¹⁷

Here Moore invokes the image of "a holy mother or a good wife" as "true rulers in their own homes" and emphasised their roles in "their own sphere". This kind of "exploitation" of opportunities by women is ostensible especially in cultural activities in that period.¹¹⁸ In the Irish context, one should note that this kind of praise of maternity and femininity is also common to the discourse of the language revival movement.¹¹⁹ These writers emphasised the uniqueness of their movement, where women could participate in their activities without compromising their respectability as ladies. This recruiting campaign was aimed at conservative women, and was a technique that could be seen not only in Ireland but everywhere in Britain, especially in the sphere of politics at the *fin-de-siècle*, and many of them

¹¹⁶ Robert Snape points out that similar book-sharing scheme can be seen in the activities of the National Home Reading Union, which was founded in England by John Paton in 1889. According to Snape, it is probably influenced by the method used in the famous Chautauqua movement in America. Robert Snape, "An English Chautauqua: The National Home Reading Union and the Development of Rational Holidays in Late Victorian Britain," *Journal of Tourism History* 2, no. 3 (2010): 214.

¹¹⁷ Mrs. Moore, "The Catholic Reading Guild" *Catholic Truth Annual*, 1904, 56-7.

¹¹⁸ Dick, "'To Make the People of South Africa Proud of Their Membership of the Great British Empire': Home Reading Unions in South Africa, 1900-1914," 3.

¹¹⁹ See Mary E. L. Butler, "Irishwomen and the home language", Gaelic League Pamphlets No. 6.

achieved great success.¹²⁰ This point is worth serious consideration when one examines the CTSI. Since the main target of this re-distribution of reading material is “the poor, the aged, and the sick”, it can also be assumed that they intended to imply some charitable dimension of this movement. In addition, looking at the women who were called in this article, one can notice that women of socially low rank such as “farmers’ wives, the shop assistants, and the servant girls” were also the target of their recruiting. There can be seen an intention to make this “Guild” movement as one for all classes.

Furthermore, as James H. Murphy mentioned, the decade of the 1890s can be seen as a watershed in Irish society and this is reflected in Irish Catholic fiction. It reflected the outlook of the Catholic upper middle class before the 1890s; however, after that it reflected the interests of the emerging Catholic intelligentsia.¹²¹ This emergence has been much discussed and John Hutchinson has characterised this feature as the phases of “Crystallization” and “Articulation” phases in the “third” Irish cultural revival.¹²² Furthermore, their rise has been explained as the cause of the emergent conflict in the Arnoldian sense between two classes; that is, Anglo-Irish aristocracy and Catholic middle class. However, the emergence of an educated Catholic lower middle class was the concern not only of Anglo-Irish but also of the Catholic upper middle class.¹²³ In spite of all these tendencies, the existence of a Catholic upper class has been neglected. Taking these things into consideration, the quotation above reveals an important fact: it included all types of women in contemporary Ireland from well-off mothers or wives to lower-middle class or working class women like “the married ladies in

¹²⁰ The most typical example of this would be the Primrose League which was established in 1883. Martin Pugh, "Popular Conservatism in Britain: Continuity and Change, 1880-1987," *Journal of British Studies* 27, no. 3 (1988): p. 264. See also Kane, "'The Willing Captive of Home?': The English Catholic Women's League, 1906-1920," 331-55.

¹²¹ Murphy, "Rosa Mulholland, W.P. Ryan and Irish Catholic Fiction at the Time of the Anglo-Irish Revival," 220.

¹²² Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism : The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*, 50.

¹²³ Murphy, "Rosa Mulholland, W.P. Ryan and Irish Catholic Fiction at the Time of the Anglo-Irish Revival."

business, the farmers' wives, the shop assistants, and the servant girls" as their force, and called upon them to unite in their purpose. Interestingly, this kind of inclusion can be commonly seen in other female Catholic organisations. Taking the example of American Catholic reading circles, Thomas F. O'Connor has also pointed out similar features. Firstly, the circles were open to working-class girls and to higher class young ladies alike.¹²⁴ Secondly, the members were not limited to Catholics.¹²⁵ O'Connor concluded that American Catholic reading circles at the turn-of-the twentieth century worked as "a means of self-education for Catholic women who lacked the opportunity for formal higher education".¹²⁶ This point was not clearly mentioned in the Irish context, but it must necessarily be taken into account especially when we consider the importance of upper-class Catholic women.

From the above, the important features of the CTSI can be divided into four points: firstly, the CTSI was founded as a result of the concern about the ease of access that Catholic people now had to cheap English publications resulting from the improvement in the education system that was happening at the same time. Secondly, they were not entirely hostile towards Protestants but aimed to modify the misconceptions about the Catholics. As a result of this, they reacted to any works or writers which/who could be seen as anti-Christian or anti-Catholic, no matter how reputable they were. Thirdly, they prioritised the Irishness of their works, but at the same time, did not overemphasise the publication in Irish. Their priority was always put on Irish publications written in English. Fourthly, they put special emphasis on publishing fiction and targeted women and children. They also enlisted women as forces of positive influence in the home. By doing this, they united (or at least tried to unite) all classes of Catholic people from the working class to the upper-middle class.

As can be seen from these points, they have a lot in common with other aspects of the

¹²⁴ Thomas F. O'Connor, "American Catholic Reading Circles, 1886-1909," *Libraries & Culture* 26, no. 2 (1991): 336.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 337.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 343.

Revival movement. One of the reasons could be that they included so many members who participated in other cultural organisations like the Gaelic League. It is obvious that the foundation of the CTSI strongly reflected other trends in the Irish cultural scene at the time. At the same time, however, it should also be noted here that the experiences of English Catholics and the wider cosmopolitan atmosphere also influenced their foundation. This can be overlooked if one only considers the foundation of the CTSI as part of a process of evolving Irish Catholic attitudes.

Conclusion

Catholic authorities were concerned about people's reading practices in the turn-of-twentieth century Ireland, and tried to direct appropriate reading in a paternalistic manner. Their definition of good reading, however, differed greatly and was also somewhat vague. Adding to a broad definition of "Catholic", it reflected their sense of being threatened by Protestant, Jewish, and other rival religious communities. From the fear that people were too much influenced by morally dubious fiction or history by Protestant authors, they tended to be hostile to Protestant publications. As for the definition of "Protestant", there seems to have been a general and widely accepted tendency to equate "Protestant" and "English", in much the same way as Irish and Catholic were often used interchangeably. It is also noteworthy that they were hostile to female authored fiction outside their own circle.

Despite sharing general Catholic attitudes toward popular reading, the CTSI can be regarded as an organisation that exploited the people's tastes for their own distinct aims in promoting authorised light reading. Although the Catholic Church had a hostile view toward fictional works in general, the CTSI had a pragmatic view that facilitating people's appetite for light literatures took precedence in the basic Catholic policy for reading. They learned the method from their English predecessors and took action by distributing pamphlets, whose

contents were mainly short stories written by Catholic novelists, including prominent contemporary writers. As can be seen from the data, they put an emphasis on publishing fictional works especially targeting women and children, who were regarded as main consumers of fictional works in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland.

Chapter 3: Reading Activities in Girls' Schools: The Roles of Literary Societies and School Magazines

THE LITERARY SOCIETY, the oldest of all [societies], is especially an aid to the numerous girls who, after leaving College, desire to keep in touch with Literature and Art, and to foster the intellectual life which has grown within them in the liberal and favourable atmosphere of the home of their studies. The work done by this society both within and without the College walls is of great value,; and it works by a complex and admirable organisation, allotting portions of the field of its activity to various branches – as the Shakespeare Class, the Choral Society, the Reading Union.

“Preface”, *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. 1, January, 1893

Chapter 3 and 4 will analyse collaborative reading and will analyse what meaning we should assign to the literary activities of what were mostly middle-class women at the *fin-de-siècle*. This chapter will describe how the pupils and the alumni of girls' schools engaged in reading activities at various levels, focusing particularly on the roles of literary societies within schools and also of school magazines. Literary activities in four established girls' schools of Ireland will provide examples – Alexandra College, Dublin, Victoria College Belfast, and Dominican Colleges and the Loreto Convent school in Dublin. Referring mainly to the official records such as school magazines, reports, prospectuses and the minutes of students' societies, we will reconstruct the cultural landscape of these girls' schools. Previous chapters have focused on guided or didactic forms of reading. In this chapter we will be looking more at voluntary readings of women.

The analysis of the reading activities in the girls' schools can be contextualised by the debate over women's education in Ireland since it can be assumed that educational formation created the background or context for basic reading practices. As Jane McDermid states, female education was regarded as less important than male education across Ireland and Britain for much of the nineteenth century. The purpose of female education tried “[to] instil in them the domestic ideal and train them in the social graces to make them attractive marital prospects and companionable wives” but this view was became criticised by both radicals and

conservatives since the late eighteenth century.¹ However it was an objective shared by Catholic educationists. McDermid has pointed out that the Catholic religious orders had views similar to those who ran the main boarding schools in England should be offered in their schools.²

The “University Question” in those days must be also considered. Female secondary schools such as the Alexandra College, the Loreto College or the Dominican Colleges in Dublin are, in one sense, the product of the University Question. Although the University Question originally started as religious matter,³ it was far more complicated issue for women. In addition to the religious question, there were two gender problems for women: whether they should be allowed to enter universities and whether co-education should be the norm. On this complicated situation, Alice Oldham,⁴ one of the leading female educationists, argued in *New Ireland Review* that:

[...] It is true that the teaching in Physical Science of the Royal College of Science, Stephen's Green. Dublin, is open to women. The classes also of the Queen's Colleges and Magee Colleges have been gradually opened to them, and this year the prizes and scholarships of the former Colleges have become obtainable by women. On the whole, however, but a small proportion of the women-students of the Royal University have received their University education from these endowed Colleges. It is probable that the same causes which have prevented larger numbers of men-students attending the Colleges of Cork and Galway have made the attendance of women-students also small. In Belfast, Victoria College attracts most of the women-students. The expenses of the courses, to which must be added the cost of private teaching, have been probably too great for the majority of women,

¹ Jane McDermid, *The Schooling of Girls in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1900*, Routledge Research in Gender and History (New York: Routledge, 2012), 69.

² Ibid., 75. See also John Logan, "Sufficient to Their Needs: Literacy and Elementary Schooling in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Origins of Popular Literacy in Ireland: Language Change and Educational Development 1700-1920*, ed. Mary Daly and David Dickson (Dublin: Department of Modern History Department of Modern History, University College, 1990); Margaret Ó hÓgartaigh, "A Quiet Revolution: Women and Second-Level Education in Ireland, 1878-1930," *New Hibernia Review* 13, no. 2 (2009).

³ Pašeta, *Before the Revolution: Nationalism, Social Change and Ireland's Catholic Elite, 1879-1922*, 7.

⁴ Deirdre Bryan, "Oldham, Alice" in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Anne V. O'Connor and Susan M. Parkes, *Gladly Learn and Gladly Teach: Alexandra College and School, 1866-1966* (Tallaght: Blackwater, 1984).

who, as a rule, have very little money to expend on higher education.

It is, however, impossible to doubt that there is another cause which has in Ireland thrown the work of University teaching upon private and unendowed women's colleges – a cause more powerful than any of those I have suggested – that is, a widespread objection in this country to mixed classes, to men and women studying together at college lectures. [...] ⁵

Since female admission to the universities was not allowed regardless of their denomination until the establishment of the Royal University of Ireland in 1879,⁶ there was an urgent need for the establishment of female-only educational institutions that offered university-level instruction.⁷ Protestant girls' schools, such as the Ladies Collegiate School in Belfast (founded in 1859, later the Victoria College), Alexandra College (founded in 1866), and the Ladies Institute in Belfast (founded in 1867) were established for that purpose. According to Susan M. Parkes, the founders of these three schools were all influenced by the high-school movement in England which had begun in 1840s.⁸ Furthermore, Parkes and Judith Harford have suggested that the opening of Girton College and Newnham College in Cambridge provided models for these new schools.⁹ As for Catholic schools, the need for advanced institutions for girls came to light after the introduction of the Intermediate Education System in 1878 and the establishment of the RUI in 1879. But even after the establishment of RUI, which had no religious tests and therefore no barrier to Catholics, the Catholic hierarchy continued to

⁵ Alice Oldham, "Women and the Irish University Question" *New Ireland Review*, Vol. VI, No. 5, January 1897, 258.

⁶ Hereinafter shortened to RUI.

⁷ As for the contemporary debate, see also Lilian Daly, "Women and the University Question" *New Ireland Review* Vol. XVII, No. 2, April 1902, 74-80; Hannah Sheehy, "Women and the University Question" *New Ireland Review* Vol. XVII, No. 3, May 1902, 148-51.

⁸ Deirdre Raftery and Susan M. Parkes, *Female Education in Ireland 1700-1900 : Minerva or Madonna* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007), 70; Judith Harford, "The Movement for the Higher Education of Women in Ireland: Gender Equality or Denominational Rivalry?," *History of Education* 34, no. 5 (2005); "An Experiment in the Development of Social Networks for Women: Women's Colleges in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century," *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 3 (2007); Judith Harford and Claire Rush, *Have Women Made a Difference? : Women in Irish Universities, 1850-2010* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010); Susan M. Parkes and Dublin University Women Graduates' Association., *A Danger to the Men? : A History of Women in Trinity College Dublin, 1904-2004* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2004).

⁹ Raftery and Parkes, *Female Education in Ireland 1700-1900 : Minerva or Madonna*, 105.

denounce the “godless” Colleges.¹⁰ Furthermore, although Catholic schools such as the Ursuline College and the Dominican College were established and supported with the constant fear that Catholic girls might enter Protestant schools, the Catholic hierarchy were still against the idea that Catholic girls should engage in any system that was based on competition. Thus the University Question as it affected women was far from settled in the late nineteenth century in those days, and this was particularly the case for ambitious Catholic women.

The background to this was the pervasive social conservatism that was characteristic of this period. Frank A. Biletz has pointed out that most political organizations and literary societies continued to reject women’s enrolment during the 1890s, and the Gaelic League was one of the few exceptions.¹¹ As for reading, in particular, it is said that there was a very limited range of reading materials available for women, and this can be seen to have been strongly the case with most Catholic women. But as has been shown in previous chapters, there was a conflicting attitude can be seen in the relationship between women and reading. In the education of girls, reading was to be encouraged but controlled and they were to be closely guided at the same time. In general, Catholic schools were considered to have had stricter policies about their pupils’ readings compared to Protestant counterparts.

The position of reading or related literary activities in Irish female education has not yet been discussed thoroughly. An examination of literary activities in girls’ schools at *fin-de-siècle* Ireland may therefore be examined.¹² Literary societies were founded in most schools as one of the main extracurricular activities in the late nineteenth century, and this was at the same time as the great expansion of examination oriented Catholic girls’ schools. Judith Harford

¹⁰ Senia Pašeta, "Achieving Equality: Women and the Foundation of the University," in *National University of Ireland, 1908-2008: Centenary Essays*, ed. Tom Dunne (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2008), 23.

¹¹ Biletz, "Women and Irish-Ireland: The Domestic Nationalism of Mary Butler," 59.

¹² Sally Ledger, *The New Woman : Fiction and Feminism at the Fin-De-Siècle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Michelle Elizabeth Tusan, "Inventing the New Woman: Print Culture and Identity Politics During the Fin-De-Siècle," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 31, no. 2 (1998); Mary Louise Roberts, *Disruptive Acts : The New Woman in Fin-De-Siècle France* (Chicago, Ill. ; London: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

describes the role of the advanced women's colleges in Ireland as not only offering higher education but also vital social networks for women. Student societies there played a significant role in providing a chance for women to enter public life through their student activities and experience. In particular, the literary society was a key institution in the majority of women's colleges and participation in a society's activities enabled girls to shape and express their outlook attitudes, not only on the literary issues but also on matters of the outer world including politics.¹³ Maria Luddy's study of female philanthropic activities touches on this point. One of the characteristics of female philanthropic societies in Ireland was their exclusivity since "membership was determined by social background but to a greater extent by religious affiliation".¹⁴ Furthermore, philanthropic societies provided women with "a sense of purpose and achievement" by asking women to contribute to the organisation's activities by using their own skills.¹⁵ Alumni networks and activities within student societies can be considered as ideal training grounds for women, especially for those who had already graduated from school and were searching for opportunities for intellectual exchange or social interaction. Apart from the social networking, in joining Literary Societies they could enjoy a much broader range of books and reading, lectures by famous alumni, prestigious "Lady Visitors" and also the prominent scholars of the time.

Taking them together, literary societies can be seen to have worked as an extended opportunity for women to pursue their intellectual interests.¹⁶ Gaining membership of the societies means that they could receive not only the reading facilities but also the opportunities of intellectual exchanges. This could be considered as a strong appeal for women,

¹³ Harford, "An Experiment in the Development of Social Networks for Women: Women's Colleges in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century," 373.

¹⁴ Maria Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 215.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 217.

¹⁶ For an interesting look at literary societies in an earlier period see Suellen Diaconoff, *Through the Reading Glass : Women, Books, and Sex in the French Enlightenment* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2005).

especially in the case of Catholic secondary schools, where poor facilities for reading were the constant cause of pupil dissatisfaction. For example, Mary Hayden, whose reading habits will be closely examined in chapter 5, complained that they were badly served in terms of access to reading materials in the convent secondary school that she had entered when she first began to keep in her diary.¹⁷ On this point, Judith Harford has mentioned that the literary societies in the Catholic schools “only granted limited freedom of expression” although some student societies enabled women to state their opinion on various social matters.¹⁸ Such restrictions may even have caused some Catholic girls to enter Protestant schools, so it became a pressing matter in the more prestigious Catholic secondary schools to foster a more intellectually stimulating environment – which included the setting up of advanced literary societies. In this chapter, we will examine whether there were differences between the activities of literary societies in Protestant schools and those in Catholic schools, comparing the situation in Protestant and Catholic case studies.

In previous studies of such secondary schools there has been a concentration on the development of institutional or systematic elements of the girls’ education and writers have not paid much attention to the dimension of extracurricular activity. Voluntary activities should be examined closely in order to understand the girls school culture more precisely. Apart from Harford’s work, mentioned earlier in this section, one rare example is Pašeta’s study of the sub-cultures of the students in what became University College Dublin at the beginning of twentieth century. Taking the examples of student paper *St. Stephens*, the Gaelic Society and the Literary and Historical Society, Pašeta argues that students sought some outlet for the political debate in their activities outside formal education, and away from the perennial

¹⁷ Senia Pašeta, "Achieving Equality: Women and the Foundation of the University," in *The National University of Ireland, 1908 - 2008 : Centenary Essays*, ed. Tom Dunne (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2008), 22.

¹⁸ Judith Harford, *The Opening of University Education to Women in Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2008), 119.

arguments over the University Question.¹⁹ Furthermore, as Christina Hunt Mahony maintains, not all the women involved were degree-oriented, although this does not mean that they were not interested in academic matters. It was an important routine for “ordinary” middle-class women to attend intellectual gatherings such as afternoon lecture series that were open to the public.²⁰ Such lectures were delivered at accessible venues, by celebrated local scholars such as Edward Dowden, and were an appealing opportunity for city-based women. According to Mahony, women could enjoy not only the content of such university-level lectures, but also the sophisticated and fashionable atmosphere created by attending such events. Intellectual activities, therefore, were not limited to the school. Juliana Adelman states that such *conversazione* was the key factor in the popularisation of voluntary academic societies, using the example of the Cork Scientific and Literary Society. According to Adelman, “*conversaciones* were limited to the friends and family of the society” but were very well attended every time, from 200 to 300 people. One characteristic of such gatherings was a substantial women’s presence. Those attending enjoyed the demonstrations of new technological inventions such as the electric telegraph, and could then converse over light refreshment and take the opportunity to dress fashionably.²¹ On such occasions, even scientific knowledge was arguably consumed as an entertainment. Adelman mentions that such *conversaciones* had originally started as the entertainment for middle-class people,²² so this must be also considered as an expansion of cultural opportunities.

Adding to the roles of the literary societies, the role of school magazines will be analysed closely. In her study of women’s magazines published in England from 1800 to 1914, Margaret

¹⁹ Pašeta, *Before the Revolution : Nationalism, Social Change and Ireland's Catholic Elite, 1879-1922*.

²⁰ Christina Hunt Mahony, "Women's Education, Edward Dowden and the University Curriculum in English Literature: An Unlikely Progression," in *Gender Perspectives in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. Margaret Kelleher and James H. Murphy (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1997), 197-201.

²¹ Adelman, *Communities of Science in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, 30.

²² They were also held for working-class people later, in the venues such as mechanics’ institutes. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

Beetham has stated that magazines were “circulating in the cultural economy of collective meaning and constructing an identity for the individual reader as a gendered and sexual being” and were also “a medium of exchange among a community of women”.²³ While it is true that school magazines and ordinary magazines were different in many ways, school magazines also had the basic function of strengthening the solidarity of a particular community.

1. Protestant girls’ schools: Alexandra College and the Victoria College Belfast

(1) The Alexandra College

The first example is Alexandra College, which was established in 1866 with a Protestant ethos. The establishment of this college really marks the beginning of female higher education in Ireland and it influenced almost every sphere of it. As will be seen later in this chapter, it is not too much to say that the development of higher education for Catholic girls in Ireland was motivated by the fear that brilliant Catholic girls might be drawn to enter Alexandra College, especially after the introduction of the Intermediate system in 1878. In Alexandra, the development of various social activities were led by Louisa La Touche, Anne Jellicoe the founder’s successor. She personally placed great emphasis on literary activities and encouraged the students to join in the Literary Society, providing them with attractive facilities such as a room with a fire or access to books in the library.²⁴ One notable feature of this society was that it did not limit its activity to literature. “Sometimes courses in cookery were held as a practical aid to the otherwise theoretical classes in domestic economy for the Intermediate Examination”.²⁵ La Touche was also eager to organise cultural events, such as the Students’ Day, which was first held during her tenure. In the event students arranged entertainment by themselves, enjoying music and reading of classical works such as Richard

²³ Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own? : Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 1996), 2.

²⁴ O'Connor and Parkes, *Gladly Learn and Gladly Teach : Alexandra College and School, 1866-1966*, 37.

²⁵ Ibid.

Brinsley Sheridan's *The Critic*. This evolved into an event called Students' Night that continued to be enjoyed under the next principal, Miss White, in the 1890s and early 1900s.²⁶ Thus Alexandra College was committed to vigorous cultural and social activities from the early stage of the College.

Alumni associations connected past and present students in elite schools.²⁷ The alumni bulletins particularly played the role of a forum. Alexandra's alumni association, the Alexandra College Guild, was founded in 1897 for the purpose of connecting the alumni to their alma mater. It also aimed "to encourage the undertaking by them of useful work – literary, social and philanthropic, and to interest them in, and inform them about, women's work."²⁸ As seen from this, this foundation was originally focused on women's their possible contribution. The philanthropic aim of the Guild would be attractive to many alumni. The annual subscription was 2s. 6d with the exception that "members of other College Societies, who are eligible for Guild Membership, shall be allowed to join on payment of a subscription of 2s".²⁹ To sum up, the Alexandra College Guild could be ideal forum for the alumni of the Alexandra College were thirsty for opportunities for their self-realisation and intellectual exchange with people of similar social strata. In the Guild, they became devoted to various philanthropic works including the opening of a hostel for working girls, the provision of night-time classes for factory girls, and also temperance activities.

As to the Alexandra Literary Society, they stated their aims and purpose thus:

Its wise foundress, Mrs. Jellicoe, saw that when a girl's regular college course was

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ See Michelle Fine, "'The Public' in Public Schools: The Social Construction/Constriction of Moral Communities," *Journal of Social Issues* 46, no. 1 (1990). This is a live debate in contemporary educational sociology. See, Charles T. Clotfelter, "Alumni Giving to Elite Private Colleges and Universities," *Economics of Education Review* 22, no. 2 (2003); Agnès Van Zanten, "The Sociology of Elite Education," in *The Routledge International Handbook of the Sociology of Education*, ed. Michael W. Apple, Stephen J. Ball, and Luís Armando Gandin (London: Routledge, 2010), 329-37.

²⁸ "Alexandra College Guild," *Alexandra College Magazine* No. I, January 1893, 3.

²⁹ "Alexandra College Societies and Clubs," *Alexandra College Magazine* No. XI, December 1897, 229.

over, there came a blank in her life, when the girl was too likely to neglect the cultivation of her mind, and to waste her spare time in trifles, so she sounded the LITERARY SOCIETY in order to give such girls the opportunity of remaining linked with the college they loved, and keeping up some habit of study. It does not attempt the place of college classes, only to fill a gap which regular college classes could not fill.³⁰

It can be assumed that originally the nature of their activities was close to adult education or a kind of continuing education, and they showed it as forum to which eminent lecturers could be invited, including some lecturers like Edward Dowden who were opposed to the extension of female education.

According to the records in *Alexandra Magazine*, there are mainly four elements offered to society members: classes, lectures, annual *conversazioni* and Annual General Meetings. As for the classes, the society was divided into five sections at first: the Shakespeare class, Church history class, History of art class, the Browning class and the Modern English literature class. Several new branches, including a branch for reading Contemporary Irish Literature, were founded later and their activities were reported thus: “[t]he meetings took the form of social evenings, and the subject last session was Lady Gregory’s plays”,³¹ on that occasion three plays were read and discussed and also papers were contributed. The Literary Society itself was reorganised as The Literary and Scientific Society in 1913, responding to some demands that “it would be an excellent opportunity to form a scientific branch of the Guild, and [...] there was practically no opening for women in science, and that this would give girls leaving college an opportunity of meeting other minds and thoughts upon the subject.”³² A certain transformation of the Society can be seen in these transitions, evolving from a complete devotion to English canonical works to an interest in much wider literary works and then even scientific topics, clearly reflecting the influence of the Revival as well as the entrance of women into a broader spectrum of professional life. The categories were all professionally

³⁰ *Alexandra College Magazine* No. I, January 1893, 9.

³¹ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XLIV, June 1914, 52-53.

³² *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XLIII, December 1913, 36-37.

or socially aspirational, and one of them focused on domestic economy, or any other traditionally female non-bourgeois work.

Prominent female figures of their day took charge of these classes held at the Society: for example, the Shakespeare class was taken by Lady Ferguson, the Church history class was by Lady Stokes. These are female corollaries, in terms of status, of the group of men assigned to book a place in the Thomas Street and Capel Street libraries in Chapter one, and in some cases were married to them. In the summer months, the Sketching Class was held by a Mr. Walsh.³³ It should be noted that most of those in charge were the family members of prominent Revivalists: Mary Catherine Ferguson was Samuel Ferguson's wife. Margaret Stokes was the daughter of William Stokes and also the sister of Whitley Stokes. Although they themselves were educated at home, they acquired professional knowledge in the process of helping their fathers or husbands. It can be considered that the blending of academic knowledge and social rank as housewives in the Lady Visitors was appealing enough to be considered role models for the students. As for the roles of the Lady Visitors, Stephanie Spencer states that they were invited to chaperone young girls attending lectures that were given by male lecturers and required to be "role models for those upper-middle-class girls from the same social strata, acting as informal educators".³⁴ They were originally designated as non-teaching, non-governing staff, however gradually they expanded their sphere.³⁵ Also here in Alexandra College, it seems that Lady Visitors had specific privileges as they sometimes gave lectures to the students. Furthermore, as the school magazine noted, "Lady Ferguson then read a paper on "The Unwritten Thoughts of Hamlet," which was very interesting and

³³ As for the relationship between women and arts, Patricia Butler maintained that it was recognised as one of "polite accomplishments" and governess taught drawing as a part of the basic curriculum from the childhood. Patricia Butler, *The Silent Companion : An Illustrated History of the Water Colour Society of Ireland* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2010), 69.

³⁴ Stephanie Spencer, "The Lady Visitors at Queen's College: From the Back of the Class to a Seat on the Council," *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 36, no. 1 (2004): 49.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.

suggestive” at the Spring General Meeting on June 4th, 1901,³⁶ indicating that they not only supervised the extracurricular activities but also on occasion joined them.

In addition to the Literary Society, a reading union was formed which was “open to members of the Guild”,³⁷ in other words, also to those who were not members of the Literary Society. In particular, it should be noted that this reading union did its business mainly by correspondence since it was originally formed “to meet the wants of residents in the country”.³⁸ According to a report in the school magazine in 1905, they had twelve members at that time and were reading Browning’s poetry. It is reported that they read “Christmas Eve and Easter Day”, “Cleon”, “Pippa Passes”, “Strafford”, “The Flight of the Duchess” and other short poems. The coordinator, Helen Warren, commented that:

The members, most of whom live in the country, where they have neither lectures to attend, nor libraries with books to refer to, write once a fortnight to tell what difficulties they have met with in the portion read; and when I reply, sending explanations or the needed information, I also add questions for them to answer on points to which I see their attention should be drawn. We try thus to make it as much like a class as is possible under the circumstances.³⁹

Many members were it seems based in culturally isolated places “where they have neither lectures to attend, nor libraries with books to refer to”. This problem was touched on later in the magazine:

The Reading Union is an endeavour to meet the needs of girls who, on leaving College, go to live in country districts, where they have little opportunity of finding sympathy or help in any kind of serious reading. [...] But, however good their intentions may have been, when they find themselves without guidance, without sympathy, without help in their difficulties, without even the means of consulting books of reference, such as are in large libraries, and with perhaps many fascinating and distracting interests of other kinds demanding their time and attention, is it any wonder that nothing which can be called a study of Literature finds its place in their lives? [and] that nothing better than circulating library books

³⁶ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XVIII, December 1901, 226.

³⁷ Edith. V. McComas, *Alexandra College Guild Report 1898 to 1913*, (Dublin: Corrigan & Wilson, 1913), 23-4.

³⁸ *Alexandra College Magazine* No. I, January 1893, 8

³⁹ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XXVI, June 1905, 33.

is read by them?⁴⁰

These descriptions show that the demand for such a service existed; at the same time, Warren maintained that reading should be guided appropriately. Warren noted that Maud Joynt helped her “when the Members become too many for me to manage alone [...] by undertaking the correspondence with some of the Members.”⁴¹ Furthermore, there were examinations on the poems which they learnt in the union activities and prizes were given to the 1st and 2nd examinees. At the ending of the report, Warren mentioned that she was “I am trying to arrange for two Divisions, one of which will continue to study Browning, while the other will take some of Carlyle’s works.” According to the another report which appeared in the school magazine in 1906, the reading union then consisted “of three branches, one under Miss H. Warren for the study of Browning; another under Miss Maud Joynt, for Carlyle; and the third under Mrs. Thacker for Tennyson.”⁴² Later in December 1906, it was reported that “Miss Joynt could take two or three more members in the Carlyle Branch, but the others are now full for this winter.”⁴³ Although the exact number of members was not shown, these comments show the intense popularity of the reading union within the alumni circle. This union should be seen as unique not only because this kind of system cannot be seen in other schools, but also because it operated both as alumni network and a correspondence course that gave some intellectual challenge to past pupils who moved to provincial locations.⁴⁴

At first there were two courses in the Literary Society headed by prominent female figures, one in English History which was taken by Alice Oldham, the other in English Literature by a Miss Story. The groups met on a weekly basis; however not all the alumni could attend, especially when they did not live in Dublin or its outskirts.

⁴⁰ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XXIV, June 1904, 37.

⁴¹ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XXVI, June 1905, 33.

⁴² *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XXVIII, June 1906, 43.

⁴³ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XXIX, December 1906, 88.

⁴⁴ On the social meaning of this type of closed circuit reading group, see Mary Hammond, *Reading, Publishing and the Formation of Literary Taste in England, 1880-1914* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006).

They were also offering the opportunities for cultural gatherings in the form of lectures held by leading figures, musical concerts and poetry readings. The lectures were held with different admissions charges according to the attendee's status, that is, one shilling for general attendees, members of the society were admitted free and six pence for students of the Alexandra College.⁴⁵ Public lectures played significant role in collecting funds for their activities. They covered wide-ranged topics: for example, at the Annual General Meeting of 1893, "'The Weather and the Sun.'" by Professor Barrett; "The recently discovered treatise on the Athenian Constitution" by Professor Tyrrell; on "Ireland and the Irish" by Canon Carmichael; and two on Music by Mr. Culwick: piano-forte recitals by Mr. Quarry; and a reading from Wordsworth by Dr. Graves, Vice-Warden of the College." It can be assumed that lecturers were invited through the personal connection with Alexandra alumni: for example, Mr. Culwick (James Cooksey Culwick, professor of music) was presumably invited because his daughter, Florence, was a past pupil and a teacher of music at Alexandra.⁴⁶ A branch of the society, the Shakespeare class, was also offering the group readings which included musical performance. There are also the lecture series offered in "Admission to each Lecture, One Shilling. Members free. Students of A. C., Sixpence."⁴⁷ The topics ranged broadly: at the lecture on 4th February 1891, "Mr. Hemsley gave [...] a lecture, entitles "An Hour with Schumann and his Works"." This included not only an explanations of Schumann's life and works, but was also illustrated with some performances. At the next meeting, "a very interesting Pianoforte Recital by Mr. Quarry" was given. Some influence of the Revival movement on the topics can also be seen: for example, Standish O'Grady gave a lecture titled "Social Life in Ireland in the Reign of Elizabeth" at the meeting on February 4th, 1897.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *Alexandra College Magazine* I, No. V, December 1894, 209.

⁴⁶ John Rouse, "Culwick, Florence," in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). The Culwick Choral Society founded by J. C. Culwick is still active in Dublin. <http://awacsband.com/> [accessed 15/09/2016]

⁴⁷ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. V, December 1894, 209.

⁴⁸ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. X, June 1897, 179.

Adding to these lectures and musical recitals was, the annual *conversazione*.⁴⁹ On that occasion, the audience enjoyed tableaux accompanied by reading and chorus, such as “Tableaux illustrating Tennyson’s “Princess” were the entertainment provided. The special passages illustrated were read by Miss J. Carson, and many of the songs sung by members of the Choral society [...].”⁵⁰

The Society also sponsored essay competitions occasionally:

A Prize of £1 in Books is offered this Session for the best Essay written by a member of the Society (if not fewer than three members compete) on one of the following subjects:-

- I. *Characteristics of the Art of Michael Angelo, and how it was affected by the time in which he lived.*
- II. *The influence of the Gothic invasion on Italy.*
- III. *The poetry of Sir Samuel Ferguson.*
- IV. *A visit to Venice, with Mr. Ruskin as guide.*

The essays are to be sent in February to the Hon. Sec. Alexandra College Literary Society.

As can be seen from the topics listed, they called for wide ranging essays, including historical topic and also creative writings. Sometimes they also held verse or prose competitions which were the contests over the translation of the verses or proses given in German or French in the school magazine.

The Society offered other informal entertainments not limited to literature. They set up the facilities to make students’ reading more comfortable, and asked that graduates would lead by example. By setting up the students’ room they made gatherings much easier. *The Students’ Own*, a students’ magazine that was derived from *The Alexandra College Magazine* even boasted that “if the presentation of books continues at the same rate, it will very soon be unnecessary for our lecturers to complain of their non-admission to T. C. D. Library, since,

⁴⁹ These events were also reported in newspapers. “The annual *conversazione* of the Alexandra Literary Society took place at the Alexandra College last evening, and was in every way most sociable and enjoyable.” *Irish Independent*, Saturday, 28th January, 1905, 4.

⁵⁰ *Alexandra College Magazine* No. 1, January 1893, 9.

[...] they may gain admittance to the Students' Room!"⁵¹ By offering the forum in a variety of ways and providing the physical place for students and alumni to gather, they shared cultural experience not limited to readings.

Another notable point is the close relationship between the Society and the Revival movement. Apart from Lady Visitors' lectures such as Margaret Stokes, lectures were given by prominent scholars of Irish language or culture such as Kuno Meyer, Douglas Hyde, William Ridgeway and R. A. S. Macalister.⁵² Winning the support of these prominent figures also helped to enrich their library holdings, as can be seen in the description that "The old members of the "Shakespeare Society," wishing to raise a memorial to their late President, Lady Ferguson, have presented to the Society a bookcase, with an engraved plate, and a number of books connected with the study of Shakespere[sic]. Canon Carmichael also very kindly presented "Cruces Shakesperianae," by Kinnear; and Judge Madden, "Diary of William Silence," by Madden; and "Ornithology of Shakespere[sic]," by Harting."⁵³

Apart from the activities of the Literary Society, the *Alexandra Magazine* itself became a forum for connecting past and present pupils. Being a product of the activities of the Society, the magazine contained many essays contributed by the Society members. Adding to the literary topics that mainly treated classical works or authors such as A. Peter's "Goethe's *Iphigenie*"⁵⁴, L. Christie's "Some types of wives as portrayed by Shakespeare"⁵⁵, M. E. C. Hemphill's "Ghosts in literature: Chiefly in Shakespeare"⁵⁶ and also Emily M. Overend's

⁵¹ *The Students' Own*, No. 1, 4.

⁵² O'Connor and Parkes, *Gladly Learn and Gladly Teach : Alexandra College and School, 1866-1966*, 57.

⁵³ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XXVIII, June 1906, 40. For a discussion of the place of Shakespeare in Irish culture see Andrew Murphy, *But the Irish Sea Betwixt Us : Ireland, Colonialism, and Renaissance Literature*, Irish Literature, History & Culture (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999); Adam Putz, *The Celtic Revival in Shakespeare's Wake : Appropriation and Cultural Politics in Ireland, 1867-1922* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), still image.

⁵⁴ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. IV, June 1894, 155.

⁵⁵ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XVIII, December 1901, 201-9.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 209-17.

“Ophelia’s influence on Hamlet”⁵⁷, some criticism of contemporary novels can be seen, such as H. M. White’s reviews, “George Eliot’s Women”,⁵⁸ “Early Victorian Fiction”,⁵⁹ Anne Douglas Sedgwick on “Some Modern Novelists as Thinkers”,⁶⁰ and Ethel Goddard Davidson on “The Poems of Emily Lawless and Alice Meynell”.⁶¹ Although discussion of Shakespeare and other canonical works were overwhelming, the inclusion of contemporary works shows that there were also strong interests in them. Also here one can see a considerable influence of the Revival movement: for example, H. H. Dickinson’s “Two Irish Poets: A Contrast” Eleanor Hull’s “The Old Songs of Ireland”,⁶² and Mary Hayden’s “The Irish language movement and the Gaelic League”.⁶³ As for the Hayden’s article, *The Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette* reviewed and re-published it.⁶⁴ There were also discussions of social matters relating to women, notably M. C. Ferguson’s “The Influence of Women”⁶⁵. Some Irish topics can also be seen, such as Alberta Gore Cuthbert’s “The Irish Lace Industry”⁶⁶ Maud Joynt’s “The High Crosses of Ireland”.⁶⁷

Correspondence from alumni who had entered prominent colleges or universities such as Girton College or Newnham College in Cambridge appeared in the magazine, in almost every number, perhaps helping to highlight positive career moves for current pupils. It is also notable that the alumni made prominent reference to activities that would have seemed very familiar to the Alexandra readers. For example, in correspondence from Somerville Hall in Oxford, came the report that “Literary Clubs are also numerous, A “Browning” and a “Shakespeare” meet weekly. A large Scientific-Philosophical and a “Mermaid” Society hold

⁵⁷ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XXIII, December 1903, 19-25.

⁵⁸ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XXXI, December 1907, 5-15.

⁵⁹ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XXXI, December 1907, 27- 36.

⁶⁰ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XLIV, June 1914, 22-32.

⁶¹ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XLVI, June 1915, 19-29.

⁶² *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XI, December 1897, 205-10.

⁶³ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XXIII, December 1903, 3-9.

⁶⁴ O'Connor and Parkes, *Gladly Learn and Gladly Teach : Alexandra College and School, 1866-1966*, 58.

⁶⁵ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XIV, June 1899, 375-80.

⁶⁶ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XV, December 1899, 447-8.

⁶⁷ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XV, December 1899, 419-26.

their meetings once a fortnight, at which papers are read, and discussed.”⁶⁸ There was also a series of articles which introduced several “feminine” professions such as “Medicine as a profession for women”⁶⁹, “Journalism as a profession for women”⁷⁰, “Nursing as a vocation: Its rewards as a profession”⁷¹ and “Home life as a profession” in the various issues of the magazine.⁷²

There was also the correspondence from other schools, especially Victoria College in Belfast. The editor of the *Victoria College Magazine* reported primarily on the activities of the societies in Victoria College. From the list of other school magazines which were sent to the Alexandra College including the “*Girton Review, The Fritillary, Cheltenham Ladies’ College Magazine, Victoria College Magazine, and the Niagara Rainbow*”, it would seem that there were closely-tied networks linking the girls’ schools, especially Protestant girls’ schools. The Alexandra magazine also contained poetry and short novels written by prominent female writers, such as Katharine Tynan and Jane Barlow. The magazine was thus offering its readers, both past and present pupils, not only reports of school activities and alumni achievement but also pointers to a variety of intellectual opportunities.

(2) Victoria College in Belfast

This section will explore another example of reading activities in a Protestant girls school, Victoria College in Belfast which was founded by Margaret Byers in 1859. She opened the school arising from her strong belief that girls needed a solid and thorough education, not a traditional and fragmental one. Alison Jordan explains the social background of this: Belfast

⁶⁸ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. III, December 1893, 125.

⁶⁹ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XIV, June 1899, 368-75.

⁷⁰ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XV, December 1899, 427-33.

⁷¹ *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XVIII, June 1901, 140-3.

⁷² *Alexandra College Magazine*, No. XXVI, June 1905, 16-20. For equivalent material in English schools see Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (London: Croom Helm, 1982); Sally Mitchell, *The New Girl : Girls' Culture in England, 1880-1915* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

had experienced rapid urbanization and industrialization which caused a sharp growth in the number of “middle class merchants, manufacturers and professionals whose daughters needed to be educated”.⁷³ Byer’s school was opened at 13 Wellington Place on the corner of Queen Street but it was only one of thirty-three girls’ schools in Belfast at that time.⁷⁴ Changing its location several times, it evolved from the Ladies Collegiate School Belfast, to become Victoria College.⁷⁵ Because of Byer’s vision that education should start in very early, children as young as from four year of age were admitted.⁷⁶ Although Byers’s original and strongest intention was to foster academic education, she also encouraged her pupils to acquire other skills including homemaking ones.⁷⁷

Various societies became active in the Victoria College. In the academic year 1876-7, the Crescent Literary Society was founded, to be revived in 1886, under the presidency of Byers herself. According to Julie Kerr’s sesquicentenary history of the college, *Victoria College Belfast: The First 150 Years*, this Society “was intended for senior girls who were over eighteen” and met in Byers’ drawing room. In the opening address, Byers stated that their initial object was “self-improvement” and that “[t]he Crescent Society is being revived, in order to afford you who meet here on equal terms the opportunity of cultivating not only thought, but also a ready and fluent power of expressing it in clear and elegant language.”⁷⁸ After explaining the state of higher education including the issue of university education for women, Byers stated that:

[...] This society will be quite useless unless you are all willing to exert yourselves

⁷³ Alison Jordan, *Margaret Byers : Pioneer of Women's Education and Founder of Victoria College, Belfast* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast, 1987), 3-4; Pamela Emerson, "Reading Shakespeare at 22 University Square," in *Belfast : The Emerging City, 1850-1914*, ed. Olwen Purdue (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2013); "From Club Room to Carnegie Library: Patterns of Book Borrowing and Lending in Ulster 1788-1908" (PhD Thesis, University of Ulster, 2013).

⁷⁴ Julie Kerr, *Victoria College Belfast: The First 150 Years* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2009), 12.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁷⁸ "The Crescent Literary Society", 29.

persistently for your own self-improvement. If you will not yourselves make an effort to think and to overcome a foolish and hurtful shyness, nobody can force you. You ought to try to think methodically, and at the same time to express your ideas, not in a loose, slack or haphazard manner, but in such a way as shall at once indicate that your education has given you thought and the capacity of expressing it clearly.⁷⁹

In their early stages, their activities were mostly divided into two kinds: debating and paper presentations. As for the debate, they enjoyed the debates over the topic such as “Capital punishment is necessary for the safety of society”⁸⁰ and “Should the Stage be abolished?”⁸¹ being divided into positive and negative groups. At the end of each debates, they decided collectively which side won. As for the presentations, lectures by prominent female figures were mostly read: for example, “an interesting account of the work of the late Miss H. M. Ramsey, after receiving her education here, as a teacher, first in England, and afterwards in New Zealand” which was written by Mrs. Woodhouse, the Head Mistress of Sheffield High School.⁸² Mrs. Byers’s charisma still dominated the Society and her papers were read often.

Papers were also given by members and some outstanding ones were published in the *Victoria College Magazine*. For example, the paper “Some lady novelists” presented by T. M’Glade at the meeting of 24th October, 1887 appeared in the magazine issued in November that year:

[...] From novel-reading too, we obtain much insight into character, and, as a consequence, increased sympathy with humanity, and a fuller knowledge of the trials and difficulties of mankind. Indeed on the ground of the influence which works of fiction have in enabling us to understand one another better, we may claim for novel-reading a high degree of moral usefulness, although it is perhaps unadvisable to admit that imaginative writings depend in the least for their value upon didactic or definite aims.⁸³

After maintaining the importance of novel readings, M’Glade explained her view in detail, taking up George Eliot, Charlotte Bronte, Jane Austen, Margaret Ferrier, Maria Edgeworth,

⁷⁹ “Address by Mrs. Byers”, *Ladies Collegiate School Magazine*, No. 1, March 1887, 29-30.

⁸⁰ *Victoria College Magazine*, No. 4, July 1888, 214.

⁸¹ *Victoria College Magazine*, No. 5, November 1888, 234.

⁸² *Victoria College Magazine*, No. 11, November 1890, 559-60.

⁸³ “Some Lady Novelists”, *Victoria College Magazine*, No. 2, November 1887, 81.

Charlotte Yonge, Margaret Oliphant, Dinah Craik and Rosa Mulholland. It is notable thing that M'Glade likened these novelists to British canonical writers, such as Shakespeare, Scott and Carlyle. M'Glade praised Eliot in particular, likening her to Shakespeare: "George Eliot also resembles Shakespeare in the circumstance, that her wisdom and knowledge of humanity are the principal sources of her power."⁸⁴ She also pointed out that "one and only one objection can be maintained against novels – some of them are demoralizing in tone" and she denounced some contemporary female novelists that "the works of Ouida, and the still more execrable books of Miss Rhoda Broughton, unhappily prove that if we have many women writers who are entitled to unqualified love and admiration, there are a few whose writings would be very much better unread",⁸⁵ quoting Guizot's word that "[...] I seldom read German or French novels, [...] my delight is to read English novels, particularly those written by women." M'Glade, however, was also somewhat critical of Austen: "[i]t is true that the detail with Miss Austen describes the incidents of every-day life, [...] but her characters [...] seem seldom worth the trouble of examination".⁸⁶

Similar opinions could also be seen in articles in the school magazine, *the Victoria College Magazine* which offered a forum for the past and present pupils to publish their own thoughts. In the article "In a library", one contributor whose nom de plume was "Bookworm" adjudges the fickle tastes of the reading public thus:

Statistics prove that an overwhelmingly large proportion of the volumes issued by circulating libraries is composed of fiction, the demand being generally commensurate with the popularity of the author, and more especially the novelty of the book. It may be taken as a rule that, at most, but a few years suffice to kill the interest awakened by a startling work of fiction. After its brief reign it is consigned to the dusty companionship of others that have passed through the same ordeal of success, waning interest and final neglect.

We all remember the *furor* excited by the appearance of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab*, and *She*. We are not over-estimating the fickleness of public taste when we prophesy that the oblivion even now attending these once popular works will in due time efface from our ken *The Heavenly Twins* and *The*

⁸⁴ Ibid, 82.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 88.

⁸⁶ Ibid, 89.

Yellow Aster.⁸⁷

One senior school student, "K. G." contributed an article that critically appraised Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* against his other work.

[...]Its English is good, better than we hope for, as a rule, from Kipling, and we cannot but feel it a relief to be free from his somewhat wearisome slang, and the unspeakable jargon of the Tommies. It [*Kim*] is certainly the best book he has yet written; we fear the best he will ever write. [...] It is an extraordinary but by no means unparalleled fact that the works which have made Rudyard Kipling famous, or perhaps I should say popular, are by no means those which are likely to hand down his name to posterity. This somewhat trite reflection is forced on us in considering Rudyard Kipling's poetry. [...]but it is hard to say how they have gained such an extraordinary vogue. They contain little real poetry, and are, as a rule, nothing but catchy jingles, which, nevertheless, stay with us and ring in our ears. [...]⁸⁸

She, however, conceded that Kipling's "less well-known poems breathe the spirit of true poetry." Mentioning that Kipling was regarded as "the poet of Imperialism", she concluded by suggesting that "If all Imperialists realised Kipling's conception of the duties of empire, "to bear the white man's burden," to bring liberty to the captives of sin and ignorance, there would be little cause to fear the future of England."⁸⁹

Later, however, a debating society was formed, and the activities of the Literary Society became more focused on the papers presented by members. They took up various topics, literary and non-literary. As to literary topics, Miss Osborne, B. A., read a paper on "The Place of Biography in the Study of Literature" at a meeting of 1st December, 1904, and on science topics, Miss Linnell, B. Sc.'s paper on "The Sun and its Relation to the Earth". The presentation was described as "the lecture was amply illustrated by a series of magic lantern slides, and the subject, though purely scientific, was presented so lucidly as to be intelligible to the youngest present."⁹⁰ Miss Turner, B. Sc. lectured on "The origin and development of Instinct", distinguishing "between the manifestations of instinct and intelligence in animals, illustrating

⁸⁷ "In a library", *Victoria College Magazine*, No. 24, March 1895, 26.

⁸⁸ "Rudyard Kipling", *Victoria College Magazine*, No. 48, March 1903, 37.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 38.

⁹⁰ *Victoria College Magazine*, No. 54, July 1905, 57.

her points by blackboard diagrams and anecdotes drawn from her own personal observation.”⁹¹ The commonality between these presentations on scientific topics was that their presentations were given with visual aids such as magic lantern slides and diagrams, which could be considered to have entertained the members in a different way from their usual papers. There were musical topics such as that given by the Choral Class tutor of the College, Mr. Crowe on “Voice and Choir training”, which was “illustrated from time to time by part songs, rendered by the efficient school choir, whose singing was characterised by correct phrasing, expression and careful attention to light and shade.”⁹² Adding to these kinds of gatherings, there were also musical recitals from time to time.⁹³ Thus the full range of middle-class “taste” was on show across the various activities at Victoria College, and was broadly comparable with the type of “polish” that was expected to be provided by institution of its type. It was certainly comparable to Alexandra College in Dublin, in this respect.

There was also a reading society at Victoria College that had thirteen exceptionally strict rules:

- I. Former and present pupils may join this Society. No one admitted under eighteen years of age.
- II. Everyone joining the Society is considered a member for a year: but may be released from membership at any time by the payment of a fine of two shillings, together with fines incurred.
- III. Yearly subscription, one shilling, payable in advance.
- IV. All fines incurred (see Rule VIII), together with an exact list of them, must be sent to the Editor of the Magazine at the end of each year, November 1. If not sent within a week of the day mentioned, an extra fine of one shilling to be paid.
- V. Prizes will be given yearly to the members who have incurred the least number of fines. The fines to be applied to the purchase of prizes.
- VI. A list of fines incurred, prizes gained, books read etc., will be published in the Magazine yearly.
- VII. An hour to be devoted daily to reading, except on Sunday, and during the last two weeks of December, the first week of January, and Easter week.

⁹¹ *Victoria College Magazine*, No. 55, January 1906, 39.

⁹² *Victoria College Magazine*, No. 55, January 1906, 39-40.

⁹³ *Victoria College Magazine*, No. 2, March 1888, 158.

- VIII. A fine of one penny to be paid for every hour missed.
- IX. Solid literature must be read. Novels, magazines, and newspapers, or anything of a light and fragmentary character, not allowed. Any member reading such will not be entitled to a prize, and will incur a fine of two shillings at the end of the year.
- X. A list of the books read to be sent to the Editor of the Magazine at the end of the year.
- XI. Members attending classes must certify that the books read for the Society are not read in connection with their ordinary studies.
- XII. Reading after 10 p. m. does not come within the scope of the above Rules.
- XIII. The Rules are not binding in case of real illness.

All who wish to join the Reading Society must send their names and subscriptions to the Editor before the 1st of October. The year of connection will date from the issue of the Magazine, November 1, 1887.⁹⁴

Although rule VI spoke of fines, no details of any fines were in recorded, and other rules may have been hard to enforce. This was very much a reading society for the most senior pupils over eighteen years of age who were making a habit of reading, willing to submit to such compulsion and to accept financial penalties. It is also notable that they contrasted “solid literature” and “novels, magazines, and newspapers, or anything of a light and fragmentary character”. Since no definition of solid literature was given, where the literary line was drawn remains unclear.

The Victoria College Debating Society, founded in the academic year 1894-1895, also seems to have been culturally important. According to the School News which appeared in the College Magazine in March 1895, the Society was “so long advocated by teachers and lecturers” that it was expected that “the sharp practice debates [...] will be a good training-ground for thought; and that ready expression of views on many practical though debateable questions, with which young educated ladies are now expected to be thoroughly familiar, may be the result of these meetings.”⁹⁵ After the setting up of this debating society, most debates in the school were held under the auspices of the society. There is a record of a joint session with the

⁹⁴ *Ladies' Collegiate School Magazine*, No. 1, May 1887, 54-5.

⁹⁵ *Victoria College Magazine*, No. 24, 1895, 45.

Crescent Literary Society which was held in November 23rd 1900.⁹⁶ Various topics were discussed at the society: including “Is the World Getting Better?” which was discussed in the joint session, also “Is Burial preferable to Cremation?”, “Is our Sunday being Spoiled?”, “Does Modern Dress need reform?”, “Is suicide ever Justifiable?”, “Do our Friends or our Enemies help us Most?”, “Should there be a Tax on Bachelors?”,⁹⁷ “Is slang defensible?”, “Are chaperons ever necessary?”, “Is deceit ever justifiable?”, “Is early rising preferable to burning the midnight oil?” and “Is a belief in ghosts rational?”.⁹⁸ It seems that such topics were chosen to allow members to enjoy the debate and hone their skills. It can be speculated that some crucial topics in the political area, were carefully avoided.

There was also a social meeting, according to the article on a gathering on 3rd November, 1905. This included musical performances: “the programme also included a violin solo, by M. Fleming, piano solos by M. Harper and H. M’Alister, and songs by L. Galbraith and G. I. Acheson. Others contributed dance music [...]”.⁹⁹ This social meeting worked as a kind of reunion event, as it was noted that “we were glad to see so many old girls.”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ *Victoria College Magazine*, No. 42, March 1901, 457-8.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 458.

⁹⁸ *Victoria College Magazine*, No. 5, March 1904, 72.

⁹⁹ *Victoria College Magazine*, No. 55, January 1906, 40-1.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 40.

2. Catholic girls' schools in Dublin: Loreto Convent school and Dominican Colleges (Sion Hill and St. Mary's University College)

This section will examine the reading activities in certain Catholic girls' schools. As Tony Fahey has maintained, a form of institutionalised Catholic girls' education had already started in the eighteenth-century as a part of charitable works by nuns separate from their mission of care for homeless girls or for the reform of "fallen women". The situation under the penal laws had greatly affected the education of Catholics; because the schooling within Ireland was prohibited for Catholic children, well-off parents had had to send their children to the Continent. Catholic education, more or less, had an element of cosmopolitanism embedded, as can be seen in the emphasis on French or Classics across many schools. On this point, Ciaran O'Neill has made a close examination in his work *Catholics of Consequence*.¹⁰¹ Because of this Continental education influence, nuns were regarded to have high skills in teaching drawing, painting, music and French.¹⁰² And the option remained for many upper-class Catholics families to have their children educated by governesses at their homes. Up until the mid-nineteenth century Catholic girls' education served no purpose except "finishing" the girls, shaping their character and their proficiency to be mothers, hostesses and homemakers.

Among the female Catholic congregations, the Dominicans were the first order to provide higher education for the Catholic girls in Ireland, and the Dominicans had a very long tradition of involvement in the education of upper-class girls in Ireland, going back to the seventeenth century, although the scale of their activities was always very modest.¹⁰³ The first modern initiative in higher education was the opening of their institution in was Eccles Street,

¹⁰¹ Ciaran O'Neill, *Catholics of Consequence : Transnational Education, Social Mobility, and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹⁰² Tony Fahey, "Nuns in the Catholic Church in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century," in *Girls Don't Do Honours : Irish Women in Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Mary Cullen (Dublin: Women's Education Bureau, 1987), 20-21.

¹⁰³ As for earlier stage of convent education, see Magray, *The Transforming Power of the Nuns : Women, Religion, and Cultural Change in Ireland, 1750-1900*.

in 1882. Although the Dominican Convent at Sion Hill had provided secondary education for Catholic girls since 1836, the education provided there was focused on the traditional accomplishments and on finishing, as can be seen from the list of subjects offered in 1876: "Music (instrumental & choral), History, Christian Doctrine, English, French, Geography, Italian, German, Orthography, Art, Sewing, Arithmetic, Politeness and Flower Modelling".¹⁰⁴ The introduction of the Intermediate Act (1878) and also the coming of the Royal University (1880) were a watershed in the history of female education in Ireland, and the Dominican schools quick to respond.¹⁰⁵ They became much more examination-oriented and far more systematic in the curriculum offered. They claimed that their aim was not mere accomplishment or "finishing" as in traditional Catholic girl's schools, but to prepare students for public examinations. As a result of their efforts, they gained a high reputation and were praised for their performance, sometimes seen as a Catholic triumph over Protestant education as when a student was awarded first place in Ireland in 1891 and acquired the studentship and later a Junior Fellowship to the Royal University Ireland in 1895.

Their aim, however, was not unduly prescriptive and their students; trajectories might include marriage and the creation of a happy home, and therefore they also fostered the traditional convent curriculum which included ornamental needlework, practical domestic economy, and cookery. Domestic science was particularly important and was taught in four sections – household management, domestic economy, cooking, needlework and the keeping of the accounts. As for the academic subjects, O'Driscoll also maintained that there was an emphasis on English classics as "the foundation of all culture", however it was also regarded

¹⁰⁴ <http://sionhillcollege.ie/about-2/history/> [accessed 15/09/2016]. See also Jenny Collins, "'To the Very Antipodes': Nineteenth-Century Dominican Sister-Teachers in Ireland and New Zealand," *Paedagogica Historica* 49, no. 4 (2013); Mary M. Kealy, *Dominican Education in Ireland, 1820-1930* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007).

¹⁰⁵ Ó hÓgartaigh, "A Quiet Revolution: Women and Second-Level Education in Ireland, 1878-1930."; Eibhlín Breathnach, "Women and Higher Education in Ireland (1879-1914)," *The Crane Bag* 4, no. 1 (1980); Harford, *The Opening of University Education to Women in Ireland*.

as pastime at the same time. The emphasis attached to essay writing was also mentioned and the school encouraged senior students not only to produce essays but also to read them in the gatherings of literary societies.¹⁰⁶

The other notable point of Dominican education is the close link with the Revival movement. O'Driscoll has noted that a lot of the opportunities were given to learn the Irish language. They were not only eager to introduce the latest pedagogy in the teaching of Irish but also encouraged the pupils to communicate with native Irish speakers.¹⁰⁷ And apart from the regular classes in core subjects, pupils often performed musical instruments for their parents and College emphasised the importance of a musical education. It is notable that in the prospectus parents were informed that pupils could take lessons on the Irish harp if they paid an extra fee.¹⁰⁸ This can perhaps be considered as another reflection of the Revival movement.

(1) The Loreto Magazines

The Loreto College was established in St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, in 1893 and this was the second attempt to set up an institute for Catholic girls in Ireland. Similar to the case of the Dominican colleges, it was established mainly from a concern that Catholic girls would attend the very successful Alexandra College or other Protestant schools if there was an absence of similar modern Catholic educational institutions available for Catholic girls.¹⁰⁹ The Loreto College succeeded in gaining a high reputation thanks to their prompt response when the demand for female university-level education grew; however musical education was still

¹⁰⁶ Jeremiah Finbarr O'Driscoll, "Dominican Convents in the Diocese of Dublin and Their Contribution to the Higher Education of Women, 1882-1924" (M. Ed. Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1984), 184.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 452-3.

¹⁰⁸ Prospectus for St. Mary's High School including Elementary Classes, Boys and Girls from the age of four years, F1/2/3, Dominican Convent Muckross Park.

¹⁰⁹ Harford, "The Movement for the Higher Education of Women in Ireland: Gender Equality or Denominational Rivalry?," 511.

central to their curriculum, as with other Catholic girls' schools. A close relationship with the Revival movement is also evident here, considering that Mother Michael Corcoran, Fourth Superior-General IBVM herself invited the founders of the Gaelic League into the school and encouraged them to give Irish language lessons to the students and to herself as well. Breda Rice pointed out that they could also take summer courses which were especially organised, and the prominent scholars at that time such as professors of University College Dublin or Leinster College were appointed as teachers.¹¹⁰

Loreto Convent school also set up an alumni bulletin named *The Loreto Magazine*, and it became the forum for present and past students. They also had a reading circle in the magazine. Their reading matter, however, was perhaps oriented more to the taste of the girls rather than to adult women. The "books recommended" were thus;

¹¹⁰ Breda Rice, "'Half Women Are Not for Our Times': A Study on the Contribution of the Loreto Order to Women's Education in Ireland, from 1822-1922" (M. Ed. Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1990), 89.

Table 3-1 "Books recommended" quoted from the *Loreto Magazine*, Xmas Number 1896, p.

68.

Literary History of England	Mrs. Oliphant
Ethics of the Dust	Ruskin
Life of Hope Scott	Ormsby
History of Our Own Times	Justin McCarthy
Life of Mother Francis Raphael	Drane
Aroer	A. T. Drane
Constance Sherwood	Lady G. Fullerton
Silas Marner	G. Eliot
Adelaide Proctor's Poems	

Apart from this list above for adult women, there is also a list "for juniors" as well.

Table 3-2 "Books recommended" for juniors

The Grey House on the Hill	Hon. Mrs. Greene
The Schoolboy Baronet	<i>Do.</i>
The Little Lady of Lavender	
Cushions and Corners	Hon. Mrs. Greene
The Lances of Lynwood	Miss Yonge

What is notable is that female authors' works were recommended here, adding to a list with the usual British canonical authors such as Ruskin and Eliot. Georgiana Fullerton was highly recommended in this magazine. In the article titled "Lady Georgiana Fullerton and her Writings", the contributor "M. F." wrote that Fullerton's life story was filled with self-sacrifice and charity.¹¹¹ It can be assumed that female authors' works listed here were considered to have a potentially positive influence for women, both adult women and girls.

Elsewhere in the magazine, a reading circle was advertised in 1895.

Many of the Loretto[sic] Girls will be glad to hear that this Magazine will be the centre of a Reading Circle, the members of which will give their opinion on the books they have read, and propose new ones for discussion. As a beginning, we suggest that those who have an opportunity of reading such books, and who wish to join our circle, should select one historical, biographical, or scientific work (or a work of fiction, if they prefer it), and send their opinion of it to the Editor, who

¹¹¹ "Lady Georgiana Fullerton and her writings" *Loreto Magazine* (Xmas number, 1898), 61-63.

will publish some of the best criticisms in the next number of the MAGAZINE.¹¹²

As seen from this quotation, although book selections were subject to pupils' choice, they obviously preferred a particular genre of reading: "historical, biographical, or scientific" and fiction was clearly a second preference. The book list which followed this notice, however, was almost all fiction aimed at teenage girls. This fact provoked discussion in the magazine and an explanation appeared in the next issue:

Our attention has been specially drawn to one point in the first number of this MAGAZINE, namely, the list of books consisting solely of works of fiction. It is true that in the prefatory notice we invited the contributors to select some historical, biographical, or scientific works, for their reading, and to furnish us with observations on them; but the fact remains that novels *only* were named on the given list; and, consequently, we were misunderstood; so we have been asked by friends, whose opinion has the greatest weight with us, do we wish "to foster a taste for a novel-reading?" adding that a great number of girls indulge in it to excess, and "some do very little else but read novels."¹¹³

Admitting that their selection of books might tend to lead the girls "do very little else but read novels" and stating that "we are most anxious to promote a desire for more instructive reading"¹¹⁴, they showed another book list which was selected from broader genres, including the works of Ruskin, Cardinal Newman, Macaulay and Cardinal Manning.

Another point of note in this magazine was the presence of a column entitled "Children's Page", in which children's brief compositions appeared. In that, children often presented what they read. For example, Nora Little wrote that she had read *The Illustrated Monitor*, *The False Witness*, *Theobald*, *Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales*, *Grimm's Fairy Tales* and *We have Tales to Tell*, for which she got for a prize.¹¹⁵ Another girl, Lily Murray wrote about her readings during the holidays. With the preliminary comment that "As I am only ten years of age, you will be surprised to hear that I read the following", and she reported that she had read *Roland Yorke*, *The Channings*, *Ivanhoe*, *Eric*, or *Little by Little*, *St. Winifred's*, *Bootle's Baby*, *Buttons*, *Hugh*

¹¹² "A Reading Circle" *Loretto Magazine* (Midsummer number), 1895, 51.

¹¹³ "Books" *Loretto Magazine* (Christmas number), 1895, 57.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ "Books that I have read" *Loretto Magazine* (Christmas number), 1895, 63-64.

Roche, The Forge of Clohogue, The Tower of London, Winning His Spurs, Captain Trafalgar and Mark Twain's books. Adding to all that, she wrote that she had also begun *Waverly* and *Vanity Fair* but had not finished them yet.¹¹⁶ As for *Vanity Fair*, another ten-years-old girl Irene O'Hanlon reviewed it in another volume, commenting that the characters of the book were "so natural". On the one hand she liked Amelia "because she was so nice and gentle" while on the other, she described the protagonist Becky Sharpe as "a great hypocrite, as well as very ungrateful and worldly. She was sometimes most impertinent to her superiors. As for her son, she did not care for him; all she cared for was a high place in Society."¹¹⁷ In another volume, Maudie Irvine recommended that "if any children want to get a nice book for the Xmas holidays I advise them to get "*Four-footed Friends*" and she reviewed it briefly.¹¹⁸

Comparing her favourite parts with the parts she did not like, Madeline Ross reviewed Scott's *Ivanhoe*, "this is a book for old and young – all can find interest in it. I read it when I was only nine, and I have reread it several times since."¹¹⁹ Their opinions on their readings were clearly personal and individual judgements; however they depict children's reading activities quite vividly.

Apart from the contributed papers, a novel titled "Alone" was published in serial form from 1898. The story was set in the penal era and the heroine of the story was an orphaned girl, Hilda. In it, Hilda and her cousin, Roy faced various difficulties because of their religion and both finally lost their lives. Although it is not possible to sense the reaction from readers, the serialisation continued until 1900. The novel could be considered as both educational and religious, therefore appropriate for the school magazine of a Catholic convent school. It could also be seen as a unique idea to make the magazine entertaining, and an example of actively guiding pupils' reading.

¹¹⁶ "How I spent my holidays" *Loretto Magazine* (Christmas number), 1895, 64.

¹¹⁷ "A book that I delight in: Analysis of *Vanity Fair*" *Loretto Magazine* (Christmas number), 1896, 75.

¹¹⁸ "A book for holidays" *Loretto Magazine* (Christmas number), 1897, 64.

¹¹⁹ "Ivanhor. – Sir Walter Scott" *Loretto Magazine* (Midsummer number), 1898, 78.

(2) Dominican College Sion Hill

A school magazine, *Veritas* was published by at the Dominican College at Sion Hill, and this became the forum where pupils and alumni could exchange opinions.¹²⁰ On literary matters, in an article “Books I have read”, Louie Conry took up two books, Dickens’s *The Tale of Two Cities* and Alice Hegan Rice’s *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch* and reviewed them:

Since everyday facts are apt to bore, and actual truths essentially tiresome, so, from an innate longing for the unreal eagerly I share the pleasures and troubles alike of my fictitious friends. As in life we choose our friends, so, in reading, do we choose our books. [...] In *The Tale of Two Cities* Dickens had taken a noble world-stirring subject, has risen to the lofty height himself, and elevates us to the highest pitch of keen interest.

Alice Hegan Rice, on the other hand, has chosen a subject from a type of life, not alone simple but almost sordid. Her heroes and heroines know no more lofty struggle than that for existence.¹²¹

In this article, Conry juxtaposed two different kind of novels, a canonical work by Dickens and the almost contemporary Alice Hegan Rice’s work and she showed how each had a different kind of attractions for her. In the next article “The books we read”, however, a past pupil Mary Maher expressed more conservative ideas about reading:

Since then I have asked myself the question often, and I will ask “our girls” the question to-day: Does the young girl who gives herself licence [sic] indiscriminate reading love virtue? Does the mother who allows this indiscriminate reading to go on year after year love virtue? Do people who keep in their homes books written by evil-loving and sordid minds books against faith and morals, love virtue? The answer is most emphatically “No”, and yet the love of virtue is the spiritual armour of the Christian soul, safeguarding it against every danger and temptation. [...] Now some girls, [...] will read for education, for information or for recreation. [...] But, alas! there are girls who read for another purpose, viz., *to kill time*. [...] [The girls read] Any kind and every kind of cheap, unhealthy literature. Novels with plots and

¹²⁰ This magazine was also advertised in Catholic periodicals. “A casual perusal of the “School News,” [in *Veritas* magazine] written by one of the pupils, shows what a bewildering variety of matters relating to the religious and intellectual training of the children, and to their recreation, come up for solution day by day during the school year, and the difficulty that must be encountered in fitting them all in and giving each its proper proportion of time in the curriculum. Still, we plead for the cultivation of a taste for Catholic periodical literature, in view of so many wasted lives and so much misdirected energy among many who have received in full measure all the benefits of convent education.” “*Veritas*.” *The Sion Hill Annual*” *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XIV, No. 7, July 1910, 548-9.

¹²¹ “Books I Have Read” *Veritas*, Vol. 1, 1907, 20-21.

intrigues, no matter how miserably written, are, so to speak, devoured by them. [...] It is sad to think that many girls – many convent educated girls – belong to this class of readers. [...] There is another class of girl readers who certainly do not indulge in low class novel reading, they rather despise it, but they read without any scruple the fashionable agnostic works of the day. They will tell you that they quite understand that the authors write against faith, but it will do them no harm!¹²²

Although Maher did not reveal which novels could be defined as “cheap” and “unhealthy”, it seems that she had internalised a particular standard of assessment. It is notable that she insisted that many convent-educated girls belonged to a low-class of readers. She also pointed out that there were girl readers who were knowingly reading morally inappropriate books. According to the prefatory note of the first issue, it was noted that Maher has displayed an “in recognition of her active zeal in the cause of Temperance”, “an old pupil of Sion” and also “has long been prominently identified with the work of the Catholic Truth Society”. Considering such a background, perhaps her strict view on reading are not surprising, her experience in the Temperance movement and the CTSI, both of which campaigned vigorously against immoral literature. Other literary topics discussed in the magazine included “Christina Rossetti” and “The Womanliness of Lady Macbeth”, that both topics where gender mattered.

Although this school magazine sometimes worked as a forum for developing progressive ideas, a conservative tone of argument was also presented consistently. For example, Lily Bermingham contributed an article titled “Should women have votes? by a country girl” and concluded that women should not, taking up mainly three reasons: first, involvement in politics could harm women’s “purity”; second, women would have to rely on “the advice of some male relation” which would be “a humiliating situation” and third, if a husband and a wife had different political opinions, that could be “a disturber to the domestic hearth”.¹²³

¹²² “The Books We Read” *Veritas*, Vol. 2, 1908?, 23-4.

¹²³ “Should Women have Votes?” *Veritas*, Vol. 2, 1908?, 38-9. This was, of course, a common opinion at the time. See Julia Bush, *Women against the Vote : Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Megan K. Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere : Middle-Class Women in Civic Life in Scotland, C.1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); Jo Gill, “‘Quite the Opposite of a Feminist’: Phyllis Mcginley, Betty Friedan and Discourses of Gender in Mid-Century American Culture,”

There was also a Literary and Debating Society in the Dominican Convent School Sion Hill. About 20 members were in the Society which held four debates each year under the supervision of the president Mary Dwyer, B.A.. In an article reporting on the activities of the fourth year of the Society, 1909, one can get a detailed sense of its proceedings:

On Sunday, the 17th of October, we held our first debate, and [...] we discussed very learnedly the relative advantages of Aerial Navigation and Polar Exploration. Papers were read for the former by M. M'Carthy and M. Keegan, and by E. Delaney and W. Rose for the latter. [...] and the decision we came to was that the navigation of the air was more deserving of our support. [...] In November, Oliver Goldsmith and Richard Steele, both as men and writers, occupied our attention, and the victory went to Goldsmith by a majority of ten. Perhaps the hottest contest we ever had was in December, over Sarsfield and Hugh O'Neill. [...] Such books as Mitchel's *Life of Hugh O'Neill*, *Lives of Illustrious Irishmen*, *In Sarsfield's Days*, various lives of Sarsfield, *Sullivan's Story of Ireland*, were eagerly sought after and read with enthusiasm, thus bringing to a red eat patriotism in the school.

In February we again gave proof of the fact that we were all thoroughly in and of our time by deciding unanimously, after a long and interesting debate, that Manhood Suffrage would be an incalculable benefit to the country.

We closed our session on March 22nd, with a comparison of Caesar and Napoleon as Statesmen and Generals.¹²⁴

Thus the topics discussed were unusually broad and not limited to literary matters but to social, historical and sometimes even scientific topics, such as aerial navigation and polar exploration.

On the literary topics, the presence of canonical works of British literature such as Shakespeare and Dickens was overwhelming found here also. For example, they discussed topics such as "Child Characters from Dickens" taking up Paul Dombey from *Dombey and Son*, Nell Trent from *The Old Curiosity Shop*, Jo from *Bleak House*, Tiny Tim from the *Christmas Carol* and *David Copperfield*. As can be seen in this line-up, there was an obvious emphasis on canonical works of English literature.

As for the social matters debated, some reflection of current affairs can be seen: for example, they chose as a debating topic the issue of socialism in the winter of 1910. Four

Women's History Review 22, no. 3 (2013).

¹²⁴ "Debates", *Veritas*, Vol. I, No. IV, 44-45.

papers entitled “The Rise and Spread of Socialism”, “What the Socialists Wants”, “Can Socialism Satisfy the Socialist?” and “The Cure for Socialism” were read at a meeting chaired by Finbar Ryan. In the next year, a paper titled “Are Strikes justifiable?” was read and discussed.¹²⁵ Such examples clearly reflect of the rise of socialist agitation in Dublin in the days before the Lockout of 1913. It also shows that the school did not prohibit students from discussing sensitive matters such as socialism. It is not clear to what extent this Society was managed by students’ autonomously, but it seems reasonable to assume that controversial topics were deliberately chosen for debate and actively discussed because they were of direct interest to those involved. As for historical topics, they discussed “Daniel O’Connell v. Henry Grattan” and on social and scientific topics they ranged widely, including “[s]hould motor cars supersede all other street vehicles?” and “[c]an we do anything to stop emigration?”.¹²⁶

The activities of the Society were usually reported in the “School Notes” and one can see that the space allocated to report its activities became larger every year, so it can be assumed that more and more attention was being paid to their activities. According to the *Veritas* magazine, there was also a story competition held and many members of the Literary and Debating Society joined in and won the prizes.¹²⁷

(3) St. Mary’s University College

As for extracurricular activities, literary societies were generally active in their schools and the most prominent one was that of St. Mary’s University College. The college had been established “to facilitate higher education amongst Catholic ladies” at 28 Merrion Square on 5th September 1893. St. Mary’s Literary Academy originally established in Eccles Street in 1889. Similar to the literary societies in other schools or colleges, the Academy’s primary concern

¹²⁵ *Veritas* Vol. II, No. VI, 59.

¹²⁶ For more on school-based discourse and identity politics, see Ian Grosvenor, “‘There’s No Place Like Home’: Education and the Making of National Identity,” *History of Education* 28, no. 3 (1999).

¹²⁷ “The Story Competition” *Veritas*, Vol. 1, No. IV, 62.

was to hold public lectures “in English and French”. On the one hand, the emphasis was on French literatures such as “Mme. de Sévigné; Boileau; Chateaubriand; and Corneille” in the Academy but there was also a close connection with the Revival movement evident here. The Academy invited famous Revivalists such as Douglas Hyde and Patrick Pearse to attend the meetings. They also held social gatherings including “Irish Night”, there is a record that one studentship holder Máire Ni Chinnéide read her paper in Irish. As a consequence of this upsurge of the Revival movement, a branch of Gaelic League was established in December, 1908.¹²⁸ The minute books from 1889 to 1913 gives quite thorough information.

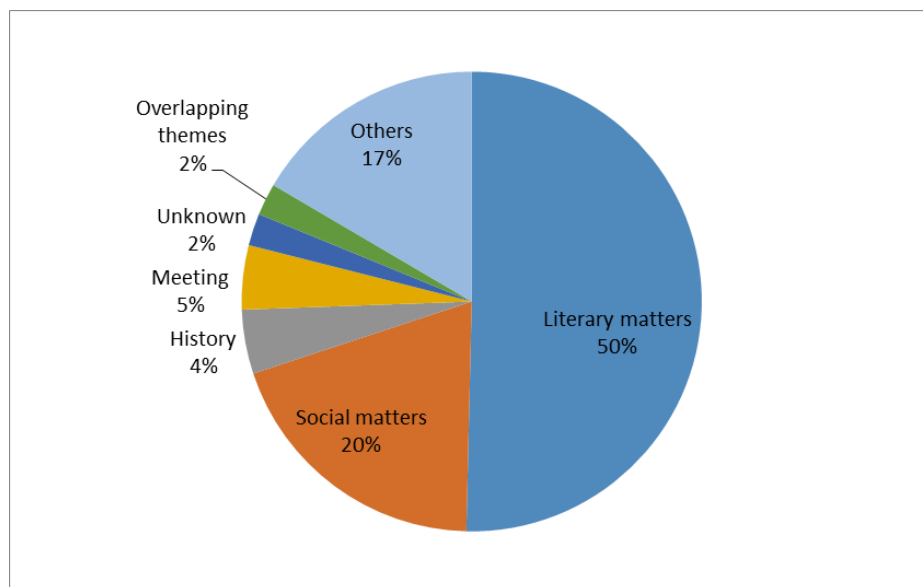


Figure 3-1 Topics discussed by St Mary's Literary Academy, 1889 to 1913¹²⁹

According to the minute books, they discussed many matters and were not limited to purely literary subject matter. Roughly divided, literary topics came first (67 times) and social

¹²⁸ M. Benevenuta, "St. Mary's University College," *University Review* 3, no. 4 (1964): 42. See also Harford, "An Experiment in the Development of Social Networks for Women: Women's Colleges in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century.,"; Joyce Padbury, "Mary Hayden and Women's Admission to the University," *Dublin Historical Record* 61, no. 1 (2008).

¹²⁹ Made from the Minute book of St. Mary's Literary Academy, OPG/E7/3, Archives of the Dominican Sisters, Cabra.

matters second (26 times) in the 133 meetings held between 1889 and 1913. Apart from these two topics, history was also one of their preferences for debate. Looking at the topics more closely, one can also notice that female issues and Irish matters were discussed relatively often but they did not dominate: female matters were discussed 15 times and Irish matters 14 times.

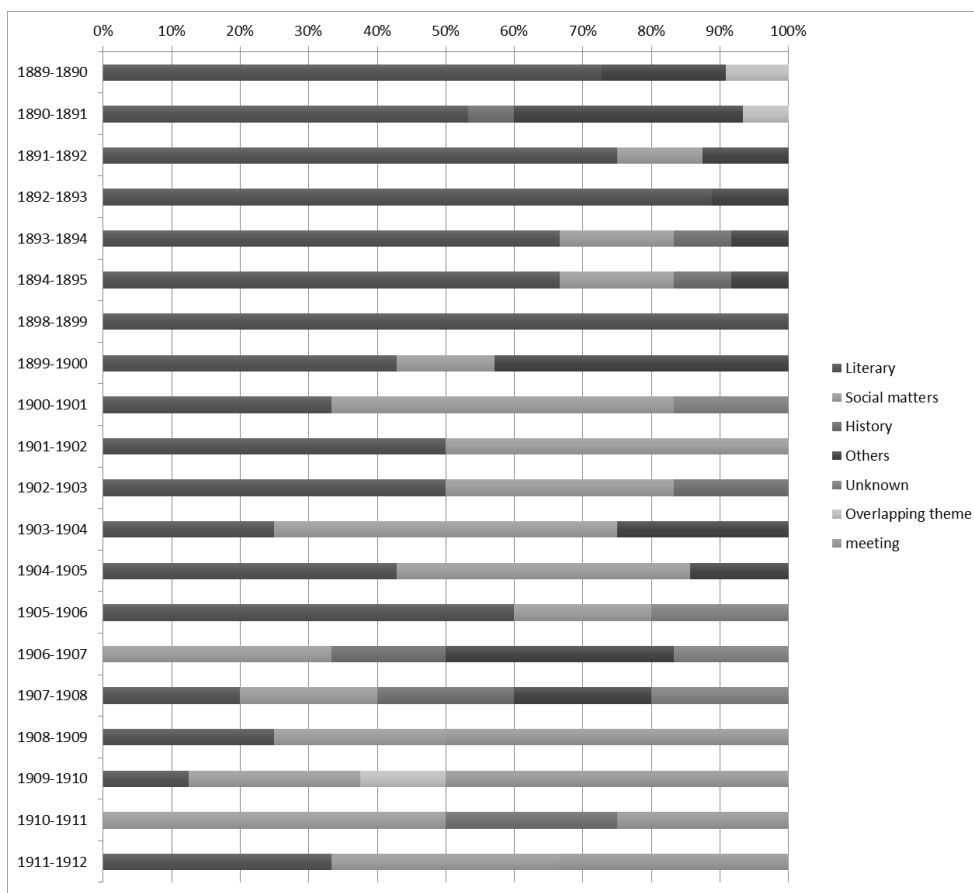


Figure 3-2 Choices of the topics on a yearly basis¹³⁰

When one looks at the choices of the topics on a yearly basis, some trends can be seen. As can be seen in the figure 3-2, literary matters were overwhelming popular in the first decade (1889-1899). From 1900, however, the presence of the other topics, especially social matters became more prominent. For example, issues such as “Education of women” (21st April 1903),

¹³⁰ Made from the Minute book of St. Mary’s Literary Academy, OPG/E7/3, Archives of the Dominican Sisters, Cabra. Records were absent for the academic years 1895-96 to 1897-98.

“What women can do for our city poor” (11th December 1903), “Some Remediable Sufferings from City Poor” (9th November 1904) and “What the Schools of Ireland could do for the Irish Cause” (11th December 1906) were discussed.

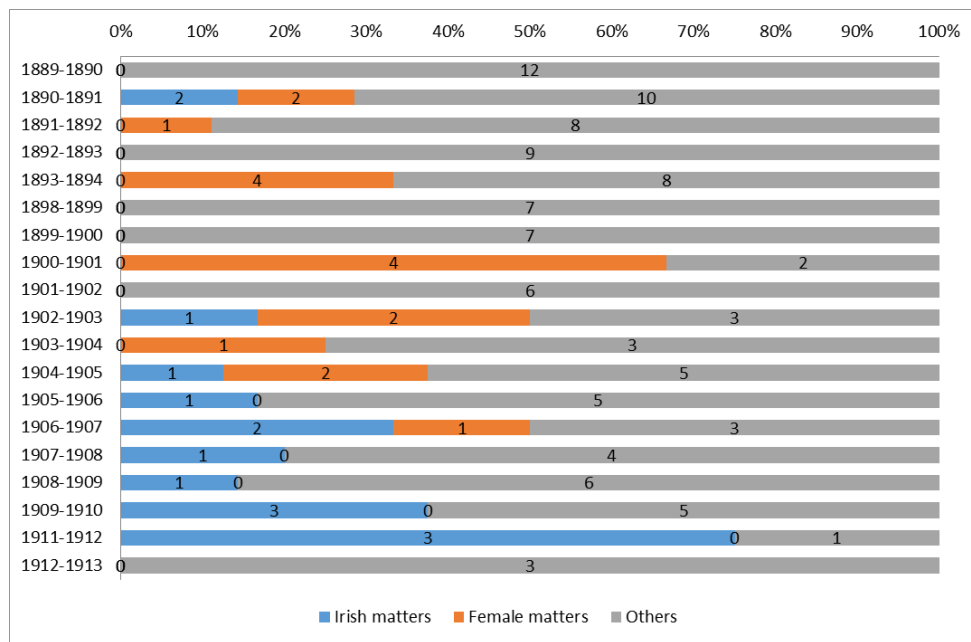


Figure 3-3 The frequency and the proportion of the Irish or Female matters discussed¹³¹

If one takes a look at particularly Irish or female topics, it can be seen that Irish matters were discussed more often after the turn of the century. Especially, Irish matters became more prominent and were very frequent from 1904. In the academic year 1911-1912, 3 in 4 meetings were devoted to discussing Irish matters. Interestingly enough, female topics were not discussed at all from 1908 onward, although that was the time when the suffragette movement was at its height.

¹³¹ Made from the Minute book of St. Mary’s Literary Academy, OPG/E7/3, Archives of the Dominican Sisters, Cabra.

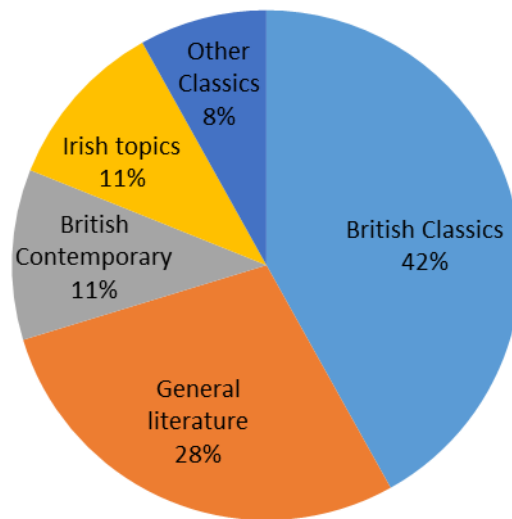


Figure 3-4 Classification of the genres of the literary topics¹³²

As one focuses on literary topics, the classification of genres is as the figure 3-4 shows: In the 74 meetings at which literary matters were discussed, 31 (42%) focused on British classics. The topics were, for example, “A study of *Twelfth Night*” (19th April 1890), “The Comedies of Sheridan” (27th May 1890) and “Milton as a poet and politician” (2nd July 1891). The second largest group was general literature, discussed 21 times (28%) and topics were “Criticism in 18th Century” (21st March 1890), “On the English Novel” (19th April 1890) and “Is there an overproduction of literature?” (28th November 1890). British contemporary and Irish works came third and were the subject of 8 meetings (11%). Examples of British topics were “Daniel Deronda” (21st March 1890), “Mrs Humphrey Ward and her writings” (4th June 1901) and “Lewis Carroll” (20th April 1904). The examples of Irish works were “Clarence Mangan” (28th November 1890), “Ossianic lays and legends” (14th February 1890) and “George Bernard Shaw, Dramatist and Philosopher” (26th November 1909). The smallest group is other classics, which was discussed 6 times (8%) and mixed genre topics such as “On Greeks and Sanskrit Epic

¹³² Made from the Minute book of St. Mary’s Literary Academy, OPG/E7/3, Archives of the Dominican Sisters, Cabra.

poetry” (13th December 1898), “The Character of Goethe's Faustus” (28th December 1893) and “One of the Maximes of La Rochefoucauld” (9th April 1894). As can be seen from this classification, British works, especially British classics were chosen as topics quite often.

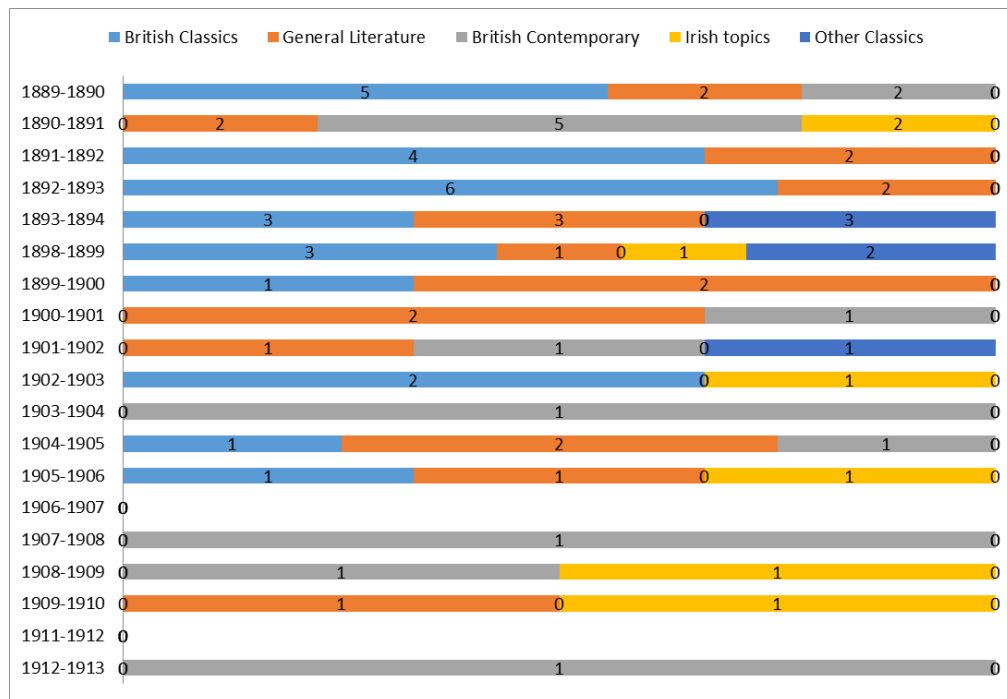


Figure 3-5 Classification of genres of the literary topics: yearly transition¹³³

If one looks at the yearly classifications, some trend can be seen: British classics were discussed more often in the first decade than later, and in the second decade more and more British contemporary and Irish writers featured.

As for the audience, it is notable that many celebrated cultural figures who attended the meetings.¹³⁴ Many of these are connected with the Revival movement, especially from 1899 onwards. Joseph Darlington, Professor of English at UCD, chaired most sessions. One also can

¹³³ Made from the Minute book of St. Mary’s Literary Academy, OPG/E7/3, Archives of the Dominican Sisters, Cabra.

¹³⁴ For the relationship with the clergy and the College, see Finbarr O’Driscoll, "Archbishop Walsh and St. Mary’s University College, 1893-1908," *Irish Educational Studies* 5, no. 2 (1985).

find the names of celebrated Revivalists, such as Hyde, MacNeill, Meyer, Edmund Ignatius Hogan, Arthur Cleary and Louise Gavan Duffy on the lists, and also the campaigner for women's rights, Francis Sheehy Skeffington. Prominent female literary figures like Katharine Tynan and Rosa Mulholland also attended the Academy, and Tynan herself was its first vice-president.¹³⁵ One can also find the name of Henrietta White, the principal of the Alexandra College (1889-1931) on the lists, so it seems that there were some inter-school and cross-denominational connections.

Famous cultural figures not only attended the meetings but also read their papers quite often. Such papers attracted public attention, not limited within the College. For example, Agnes O'Farrelly, the prominent Gaelic Leaguer, read a paper titled "Reign of Humbug" criticising the anglicisation of Ireland and the exclusive use of English at the meeting of 11th December 1900. The talk was later published as a Gaelic League pamphlet.¹³⁶ When Nora Meade delivered a speech "Women in Universities" and advocated the importance of a separate university education, Mary Hayden and Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington answered it with an article.¹³⁷ This clearly shows that the activities of the Academy were not just for the private pleasure of the students or the alumni any longer, but were also a centre of social attention.

As for the contents of the paper read at the meetings, as shown above, nationalistic concerns and female matters were at times popular. As for nationalist topics, Kathleen Murphy read a paper titled at the meeting of 11th December, 1906. According to the minute of that day,

[...] In her paper Miss Murphy showed how the Irish cause depended on the schools of the country. Hence how important it was that the national schools, the training college, the secondary schools and the Ecclesiastical colleges of the country should have their programmes based on principles of nationality. Having lucidly reviewed the work already done in the primary [and] secondary schools she proceeded to show how much more could be done by taking a keene [sic] interest

¹³⁵ Benevenuta, "St. Mary's University College," 42.

¹³⁶ There is a description that "The substance of a paper read at a meeting of the Literary Academy, St. Mary's University College, Muckross Park, Donnybrook, December 11, 1900." Agnes O'Farrelly, "The Reign of Humbug", Gaelic League Pamphlets No. 10.

¹³⁷ O'Driscoll, "Dominican Convents in the Diocese of Dublin and Their Contribution to the Higher Education of Women, 1882-1924", 393-9.

in things Irish, in Irish history, the use of Irish manufacture could consequently the stopping of emigration. [...] ¹³⁸

It seems clear that there was a growing tendency towards more overt nationalist feeling connected to Irish-Irelandism. For example, the famous female Gaelic Leaguer Mary E. L. Butler, whose biographical work will be examined in the final chapter, read a paper entitled “Nationality versus Cosmopolitanism in Literature” where she stated that only literature written in Irish could be called as “Irish” literature. In her paper, she attacked cosmopolitanism like in a similar way to Agnes O’Farrelly.

[...] it is universally acknowledged that all literature or art to be true must be original. If unoriginal it is not worthy to be classed as literature. It is merely a construction not a creation. [...] most people will agree that the National spirit is more favourable to the development of originality than the Cosmopolitan one [...]. [...] If the lack of national instinct would be a deadening, demoralising influence in every detail of life, in literature – which, as before remarked, must be regarded as the crystallization of the national genius, - in literature above all things its absence would be an incalculable loss. ¹³⁹

For Butler, the root of “originality” in literature could be traced to its nationality. And originality connected with nationality was most essential for evaluating literature. It is notable that she insisted that there would be a “demoralising influence” if literature lacked its national character.

On gender matters, Eileen Kingston read a paper titled “Woman’s sphere” at the meeting of 17th November 1893. In a surprisingly strong paper she insisted that the women’s sphere was a created one and should not be seen as a natural one:

Taking then as the definition of a “proper sphere”, that sphere most suited to one’s capacities, we resent the claim of any man to determine arbitrarily fixed limits beyond which the energies of one half of his fellow creatures must not extend. From my definition it follows that the determination of Woman’s Sphere is a question of capacity, of natural equipment. [...] Why should women let their natural talents lie

¹³⁸ 11th December 1906, Minute book of St. Mary’s Literary Academy, OPG/E7/3, Archives of the Dominican Sisters, Cabra.

¹³⁹ Mary E. L. Butler, “Nationality versus Cosmopolitanism in Literature”, F1/2/4/3, Dominican Convent Muckcross Park.

buried, like the unfaithful servant of the parable, while their brothers are allowed to treble theirs? This would be indeed a monstrous arrangement, that women, merely because they are women, or rather because men are men, should be debarred from the use of their proper powers.¹⁴⁰

Eight years later Eva Fitzgerald spoke on “The last four generations of women” at the meeting of 12th March 1901, pointing out the lack of working opportunities for highly educated women.

After tracing three previous generations from eighteenth century, she noted how:

The universities were indeed opened to them [women], but the public offices and positions of trust and responsibility were and are withheld. Women can receive a high education, but sh [sic] has not the practical means of turning it to account as a man who has received the same training. Their [Women’s] other great claim was for “Political Rights”. This was mainly a claim for the parliamentary and municipal franchise. Its advocates made for it as strong an argument as for “Industrial Rights”, and at present, women can sit on council boards and boards of guardians.¹⁴¹

In their speeches, progressive ideas about women were emerging: in the first paper, Kingston spoke of the unfairness imposed on women in that women’s “proper” spheres were “arbitrarily fixed limits” set by men. Fitzgerald appreciated that opportunities were expanding for women compared to their predecessors, but there still limitations in the professions for women.

Apart from social matters, literary topics were discussed. In the paper “On Good and Bad books”, Kathleen Murphy criticised several books as bad because of “irreligious” content or immorality. Particularly notable was her repudiation of modern realistic novels by Balzac and Zora. Murphy also denounced the novels of Georges Sand and Ouida, although admitting the attraction of such novelists as “[...] their vicious characters are made into heroes and heroines so charming that one’s sense of right and wrong is likely to become somewhat confused, for how can such irresistible men and women be called sinners?” The novelists she blamed here were all French writers, perhaps reflecting the general emphasis in this society on French literature from the beginning. Despite French language and culture being situated at the root

¹⁴⁰ Eileen Kingston, “Woman’s Sphere”, F1/2/4/3, Dominican Convent Muckcross Park.

¹⁴¹ Eva Fitzgerald, “The last four generations of women”, F1/2/4/3, Dominican Convent Muckcross Park, 12-13.

of convent education in Ireland, it could now be viewed as a source of most inappropriate literature. While she judged such French novelists as bad, she praised “our great Novel-writers, Scott, Dickens, Thackeray” since the tone of their works was the promotion of “public morals” and “the relation of cause and effect”.¹⁴² Comparing Butler’s rather radical opinion that only works written in Irish language could be called Irish literature to Murphy’s views, the latter’s appropriation of British writing as “our” literature is quite striking. The essays that were read at the Academy over the years were a reflection of this diversity of perspectives, for the Academy was a particularly active forum, allowing different ideas, agendas and airing.

Another notable theme was the literary concerns many of the papers – for example, in O’Farrelly’s paper mentioned above, one of her concerns was that the book-stalls everywhere in Ireland were now occupied with third-rate English literature and she argued that this meant “the purity of the Celtic mind [was] coming in contact with London’s exhalations”.¹⁴³ O’Farrelly also regarded the lack of musical concerts in Irish rural areas as problematic and maintained that “it is the duty of all interested in these performances to see that no foreign music-hall catches creep into the programme”.¹⁴⁴ An apparent caution against English popular culture could be seen here. This speech was made in 11th December 1900, just after O’Farrelly took her Master degree.

The prize essays were broad in their topics. There are titles “Richelieu” which was written in French, “Greek and Sanskrit epic poetry”, “The last four generations of women”, “On Self-Development and Self-Sacrifice”, “Woman’s sphere” and “On Good and Bad books”. As can be seen from these, some were academic and others raised social concerns. The students or past pupils could utilise this opportunity to make their political or social opinions public, which was much less easy in their daily lives. But there was a tendency for the same figures to

¹⁴² Kathleen Murphy, “On Good and Bad Books”, F1/2/4/3, Dominican Convent Muckross Park.

¹⁴³ Agnes O’Farrelly, “The Reign of Humbug”, Gaelic League Pamphlets No. 10, c. 1900, 6.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 8.

be repeatedly chosen as award-winners. For example, Daisy Fallon, notorious for her denouncement of Jesuit education won the prize twice at least.

There is also some evidence of the contacts between the literary societies in various schools. Thus, at a meeting on 12th April 1910, when “[t]he secretary read a letter received from Loreto Debating Society”, and at a meeting on 22nd April 1910, “[t]he [...] letter was read from the secretary of Alexandra College Debating Society”. It seems obvious that, in such a small circle, many of the personalities and topics overlapped between schools and even across the denominational barriers.

Conclusion

The literary societies and school magazines produced in the schools studies here can be said to have been located midway between formal educational activity and voluntary association. In some schools, literary societies worked very closely with the mainstream activities of institutional education, perhaps most strongly in Protestant girls’ schools such as Alexandra College and Victoria College Belfast. In Alexandra, the Literary Society was divided into several “classes” which were taken charge of by Lady Visitors, who were mainly prominent female figures. They also had the Reading Union as a service offered to alumni who lived in rural areas, in other words, in supposed cultural isolation, and even in that association, examinations were held regularly.

Both the Literary Society and Debating Society in Victoria College could be considered as places where students could learn how to express their opinions, to get used to make their opinions public and mostly, to enjoy intellectual discussion. The topics were, therefore, chosen carefully, avoiding provocative subject matter. They organised a Reading Society as well, focused on a compulsory reading programme rather than on reading as a pastime. As can be seen from these examples or and indeed from the presidency of the Literary Society of

Margaret Byers herself, the society's activities were principally didactic.

In the Catholic schools studied, especially the Dominican schools, discussions in the literary society went deep into social and political issues. These discussions were on occasion rather radical and there was a certain inclination towards Irish-Irelandism among the members. As already seen in introductory section of this chapter, there has been a tendency in the literature to assume that literary activities in Catholic schools were more restricted than those in Protestant schools. However, it appears that the literary societies in the Catholic schools studied here allowed greater freedom of speech for women than might be expected, particularly in the case of St. Mary's University College. This difference between Protestant and Catholic schools could be seen as the difference in their policies, but one other thing that differentiates the literary activity in St. Mary's University College from those in other schools: the question of male supervision. As far as one sees from the examples above, there was a tendency for all literary events to be supervised by female authorities who could be stricter than those supervised by men. When the supervisors were female authorities, they tried to guide their students reflecting their own juvenile experiences. It could also be where women appointed male authorities simply to display that they were supervised properly, yet: within the framework of male supervision, they could discuss any topics they liked. In this sense, at least in the case of the Literary Academy of St. Mary's University College which tried to maximise the possibilities and learn how to get on in a male-dominant world.

There was also a particular connection to the Revival movement at St. Mary's; it is also notable that many leaders including Douglas Hyde and Eoin MacNeill attended its meetings. While literary topics were likeliest to be chosen, a focus on female matters and Irish topics increased particularly after the turn of the century. In Loreto schools, however, the reading circle as well, there seem to have placed the emphasis on historical, biographical or scientific subjects.

What are commonly seen in society activities, both at Protestant and Catholic girls'

schools, were some recreational elements such as musical recitals or social gatherings including reunions, which were set apart from purely literary activities. Adding to the networking function between alumni and current pupils, it could be seen that these extracurricular activities aimed to offer various social opportunities not limited to the purely literary sphere.

Science featured heavily across the schools. As McDermid has stated, scientific education was also what girls' schools were featuring in the late nineteenth century,¹⁴⁵ even despite the near complete lack of female professionals in science. The pioneer female scientists who received their degrees from universities may be one reason for this, since it can be assumed that lectures given by female scientists were appealing to female students.¹⁴⁶ Also considering the examples of the Lady Visitors attending the Literary Society of Alexandra College, one of the most important roles of the lecturers or speakers was to be role models for the girls attending these schools.

The school magazines worked as a forum of opinions both of past and present pupil in these schools. They displayed reports of school activities, outstanding essays, and correspondences from the graduate students from abroad or from female colleges in some top-class universities such as Girton College of Cambridge University. Some literary works like short novels, poetry and even serialised novels also appeared in these school magazines, and in many cases the material was contributed by prominent local female writers.

¹⁴⁵ McDermid, *The Schooling of Girls in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1900*, 75. See also James H. Murphy, "The Irish Catholics in Science Debate : John Tyndall, Cardinal Cullen and the Uses of Science at Castleknock College in the Nineteenth Century," in *Science and Technology in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. Juliana Adelman and Eadaoin Agnew (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009); Don O'Leary, *Irish Catholicism and Science : From 'Godless Colleges' to the 'Celtic Tiger'* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2012).

¹⁴⁶ Laura Kelly, "'Fascinating Scalpel-Wielders and Fair Dissectors': Women's Experience of Irish Medical Education, C. 1880s-1920s," *Medical History* 54, no. 4 (2010).

Chapter 4: Shared Reading of Female Readers: A Study of Reading Clubs and Literary Societies in Belfast, Cork and Dublin

She had been the moving spirit in a little literary club to which many of us belonged, and which met at each other's houses and sometimes on country excursions on moonlight nights – we were known as “moonlighters”. This club, the forerunner of the 90 club now in vigorous being, never met after her disease.

Alfred Webb, *Autobiography*, ff. 390.

In this chapter several forms of shared reading will be examined and compared. Reading groups or literary societies formed by adult men and women will provide the evidence here.

When one focuses on the culture of *fin-de-siècle* Ireland in particular, the most prominent feature is the Revival movement affecting all aspects of what was taken to be Irish culture, and this movement is generally considered to have affected the ideological formation of those involved in the later War of independence. As for the dimension of a shared culture, a lot of scholars have pointed out the importance of school or university education as the cradle of radical thought and noted how radical nationalist thought, in particular, was disseminated via the networks created during schooling. R. F. Foster, in his book *Vivid Faces*, argues that adult citizen's self-education could also have served as a nursery of revolutionary thought in addition to their experience in formal education. But the activists were mostly born and bred into an “upper-middle-class Catholic home where politics were rarely discussed”,¹ and therefore it was often personal relationships which drew educated people into advanced political thought. Foster has maintained that personal relationships – sometimes separate to intellectual relationships – should be looked at more closely, for example, through the romantic relationships of revolutionaries.² Especially for women, the situation was frustrating for, as Foster pointed out, middle-class or upper-class women “could – and did – feel imprisoned by the limitations and expectations enforced by gender.”³ This could also mean

¹ Foster, *Vivid Faces : The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland, 1890-1923*, 71.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, 15.

that women in higher social classes tended to be more radicalised than women in lower social classes.

The problem with these studies is, as noted in the Introduction of this thesis, that many of them treat *fin-de-siècle* Ireland as a “pre-revolution” period on the assumption that the intensification of political thought was inexorable and inevitable. These studies focus on how the revolutionaries knew and influenced each other or how they acquired their radical ideas. A viewpoint that tends to be overlooked is, as Senia Pašeta has argued, that the educated and mostly well-off people who took a leading part in the Revival movement did not grow up embedded in a Celtic or Gaelicised culture from infancy.⁴ The Revivalists and revolutionaries got acquainted with Irish culture in their adulthood, and the dominant culture at the time was still a powerful metropolitan British culture, represented by the dominance of classical works of British literature. Therefore in order to see the contours of the cultural landscape more clearly, it is crucial to ascertain what kind of cultural tastes people actually shared.

To this end, the actual literary activities of Irish groups will be examined here. To determine the collective taste of the reading public in particular, the activities of three literary clubs in Belfast, Cork and Dublin will be examined. The clubs chosen here were local in their membership and not particularly pro-Revival, so it is hoped that this analysis will enable us to see what kind of books a broader reading public were enjoying in those days. By looking at people’s shared reading experiences, their actual reading preferences will be clarified.

When examining the relationship between women and shared reading experience, there are some notable characteristics: an emphasis on classic British literature, the particular places where the reading clubs were held, and the development of reading as a form of cultural consumption. Firstly, as for the prevalence of classic works of British literature, there are several points to be considered in relation to British literature for Irish *fin-de-siècle* literary

⁴ Pašeta, *Before the Revolution : Nationalism, Social Change and Ireland's Catholic Elite, 1879-1922*, 151-2.

tastes. In particular, as the emphasis on Shakespearian works can be commonly seen in three clubs, Irish people may have attached some symbolic significance to Shakespeare's works since Shakespeare was a strong source of national identity and also of national pride for English people. As Robin E. Bates argues, it was impossible for Irish authors to ignore English masterpieces so they utilised their fragmented identity to recalibrate English literature.⁵ Adam Putz focuses on the appropriation of Shakespearian works by the Irish literati. According to Putz, "Shakespearean text could read as Catholic and Protestant, nationalist and unionist, Irish and English, Celtic and Anglo-Saxon".⁶ Shakespeare's works perhaps functioned more as a forum that connected people of different backgrounds, denominations and thoughts. Focusing on the relationships between women and Shakespeare, Fiona Ritchie and Gail Marshall's studies give us some useful perspectives. Focusing on Englishwomen in the eighteenth century, Ritchie pointed out that Shakespeare was a source of national pride especially in eighteenth -century England and female playgoers rather preferred the genre of history that "might conventionally be thought of as a masculine genre since they deal with public figures and political events, rather than the domestic and private subjects that women might have been expected to prefer".⁷ Elizabeth Montagu has argued that history plays were distinct among Shakespeare's plays and they were appropriated "to fulfil the moral function of drama";⁸ Ritchie concluded that women utilised history plays for their own purposes, influencing both the theatre repertory and the critical reception of Shakespeare's works.⁹ Marshall, on the other hand, has a different view on this. Focusing on how Victorian women enjoyed Shakespeare's works, Marshall pointed out the appropriation of Shakespeare just as

⁵ Robin E. Bates, *Shakespeare and the Cultural Colonization of Ireland* (London: Routledge, 2008), 34.

⁶ Adam Putz, *The Celtic Revival in Shakespeare's Wake: Appropriation and Cultural Politics in Ireland, 1867-1922* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 12. See also Murphy, *But the Irish Sea Betwixt Us : Ireland, Colonialism, and Renaissance Literature*.

⁷ Fiona Ritchie, *Women and Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 175.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 175.

Putz has argued. According to Marshall, while Shakespeare's works were used as "a safeguard against inappropriate reading habits",¹⁰ Victorian girls and women radicalised Shakespeare by interpreting his works in light of the specific situations that they were placed in, "rather than simply the purveyor of timelessness".¹¹

It must also be noted that there are certain relationships between shared reading and canonical works. Taking up the example of Afternoon Lectures held in mid-nineteenth century Dublin, Christina Hunt Mahony has pointed out that canonical works which were "already somewhat familiar to the audience"¹² and were frequently chosen as lecture topics. Attending the lectures could be a new form of cultural accomplishment for the women, perhaps even a kind of marriage market to seek suitors, and part of the fashionable urban cultural landscape.

As for the activities of group reading, William Leahy and Thane Whetstone's study on American women's clubs is useful. According to Leahy and Whetstone, voluntary study on Shakespeare had several meanings for American women. The first meaning was equivalence to higher education, where opportunities were still limited for women.¹³ Leahy and Whetstone maintained that "women readers and writers were encouraged by Shakespeare's lack of formal education" and also "by the number of heroines who are literate, challenge authority, take on men's roles in their own feminine manner, yet maintain their honour and virtue."¹⁴ Relating to this feature, Leahy and Whetstone also pointed out that some clubs laid down systematic curriculums as an equivalence of higher education.¹⁵ Furthermore, some

¹⁰ Gail Marshall, *Shakespeare and Victorian Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 18.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹² Christina Hunt Mahony, "Women's Education, Edward Dowden and the University Curriculum in English Literature: An Unlikely Progression" in *Gender Perspectives in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. Margaret Kelleher and James H. Murphy (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1997), 197.

¹³ William Leahy and Thane Whetstone, "Women's Clubs: Dispersing Shakespeare across America," *Symbiosis* 15, no. 2 (2011): 1. See also Kim C. Sturgess, *Shakespeare and the American Nation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹⁴ William Leahy and Thane Whetstone, "Women's Clubs: Dispersing Shakespeare across America," *Symbiosis* (2011): 8.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

clubs did not limit their topics strictly to Shakespeare's works and took up other classical works written by authors such as Macaulay, Hawthorne and Tennyson.¹⁶ A second meaning for women was the opportunity for cultural gatherings: some clubs hosted parties "to celebrate the birth and commemorate the death of Shakespeare" and so on. Leahy and Whetstone regarded it important since "each woman appropriated the cultural cachet of Shakespeare for herself as an individual and together as a collective, inducting themselves into the very sphere of his elite status."¹⁷ However, Leahy and Whetstone also pointed out that this club movement deprived Shakespeare from lowbrow readers and made remained the preserve of so-called highbrow readers, since the most club members were well-off women of "at least upper middle-class [...] who [...] had husbands with money, plus servants, leisure time, and some incentives and encouragement for education."¹⁸ Elizabeth Long also points out that what makes women's book club distinct was the higher educational background of the participants. Generally book clubs contained some who had "attained master's or Ph. D. degrees" and such reading groups play the role of "continuing or lifelong education rather than a compensatory activity."¹⁹ For the fundamental question "why are most participants (of reading groups) women?", Long answers that the fact that modern American society was not prepared for women's progression meant that there was an urgent need for educational opportunities which were wholly informal and voluntary.²⁰ Katherine West Scheil's study of Shakespeare reading clubs in America also offers useful insights into the self-realisation of the women through the activities of reading clubs. Pointing out that club members had a lot of "assignments" to be done at home such as reading works, memorising lines and writing essays, Scheil argued that Shakespeare reading club offered an alternative education and "a space

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., 12.

¹⁸ Ibid., 13.

¹⁹ Elizabeth Long, *Book Clubs : Women and the Uses of Reading in Everyday Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 61-2.

²⁰ Ibid., 62-3.

where both men and women could contribute equally, and where women's opinions and thoughts were given equal weight to those of men".²¹ As for the place they gathered in for the club activities, Scheil maintained that the members' home played an important role in the reading club activities since most clubs were usually held in members' houses and they were also encouraged to serve refreshments after the club activities. In other words, they had opportunities to showcase their housekeeping and hosting skills. It can also be considered that Shakespeare reading clubs flourished all the more because they could display domestic skills while enjoying intellectual exchanges. On this point, Stephanie Rains's study shows the relationship between femininity and consumerism in 1890s Ireland, stressing the importance of the magazine *Lady of the House* which was founded in 1890.²² According to Rains, the magazine became a symbol of Dublin commodity culture and it also offered women the feeling that they "had the opportunity to effect social or political change through their role as consumers."²³ This shows that there were several possible ways for women to contribute socially apart from actual participation in politics. The large circulation of the magazine also shows that there was a certain need on the part of women to participate socially as females.

For examples that reflect the cultural landscape, this chapter maps out the role reading clubs assumed in the women's lives in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ireland. Three literary clubs will be taken as examples and are compared here – "Our Reading Club" in Belfast, the "Cork Shakespearian Society" and "The 90 Club" in Dublin. After describing the activities of the clubs in each locality, a comparison and analysis will be made in section four. Here one can see what the people actually read and discussed, where people gathered and for what purpose and whether any regional difference between the clubs or societies can be seen.

²¹ Katherine West Scheil, *She Hath Been Reading : Women and Shakespeare Clubs in America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 8.

²² Rains, *Commodity Culture and Social Class in Dublin 1850-1916*, 132.

²³ Ibid.

1. "Our reading club" in Belfast

The first example is the club named "Our reading club" which was founded in Belfast in 1889, "to read [...] the writings of British authors".²⁴ The club members were expected to meet on a fortnightly basis at the house of a member. As can be seen from the fact that the meetings were held in "the house of a member", the membership was necessarily limited to those who possessed houses that could seat at least 12 members.

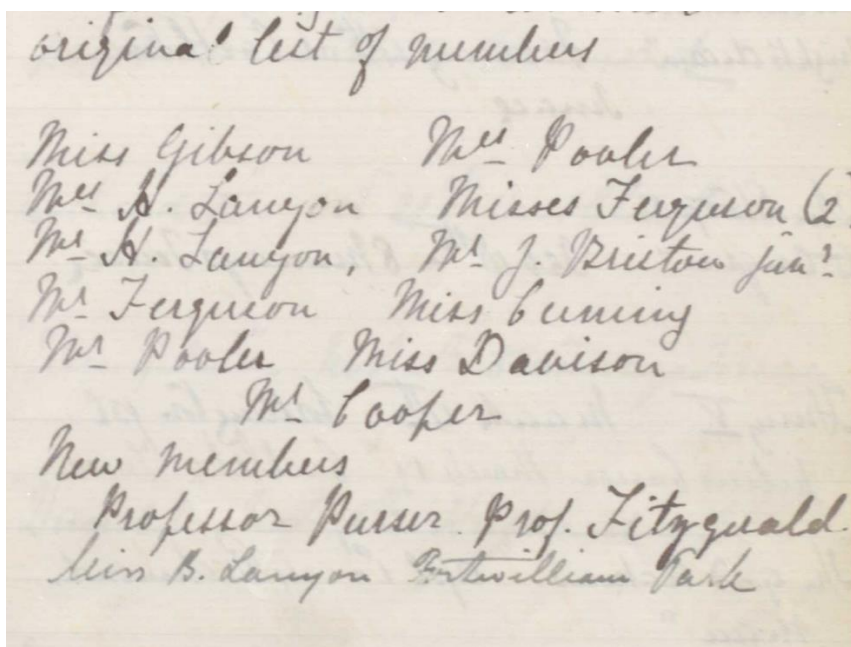


Figure 4-1 The list of original members at the time of foundation of the club²⁵

As for the membership, this club had rather strict provisions. 12 members (Miss Gibson, Mr. and Mrs. Pooler, Mr. and Mrs. H. O. Lanyon, two Misses Ferguson, Mr. J. Bristow, Mr. Ferguson, Miss Cuning, Miss Davison and Mr. Cooper) were noted in the membership as "original members". This was not to be extended "except in the event of the death or resignation of a member" and it was also agreed that "a new member may be proposed and recorded by two

²⁴ Belfast Reading Club notebook, D777/1, PRONI.

²⁵ Author photograph, Belfast Reading Club notebook, D777/1, PRONI.

members and balloted for.” To obtain membership, they had to follow this complicated procedure. However, the club allowed host members to invite their friends as guests at each session. Rule VIII said that “the member at whose house the meeting is being held shall have the privilege of inviting a friend or friends to hear or take part in the reading, provided that the members shall not be deprived of any of the privileges of the club in consequence.” On average, there were 3 guests per 12 total attendees. In fact, past members often attended the club as guests even after their resignation. For example, Mr. and Mrs. H. O. Lanyon resigned in November 1892, but attended the club on 21st November as guests. Although the reasons for the resignations of the members were not mentioned in the minutes, it is clear that resignations were not fatal separations. While on the one hand they maintained their exclusivity, laying down the regulations about membership, on the other hand they kept their door open to select people beyond their current membership. After some entries and resignations, a new list of members was made in October 1891. However, the number of members was still 12.²⁶ Among these 12 members, 10 people of the original members (Miss Gibson, Mr. and Mrs. H. O. Lanyon, Misses Ferguson, Mr. J. Bristow, Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Cooper, Professor Purser and Miss B. Lanyon) remained in the club since its foundation. In the case of Mr. and Mrs. Cooper, Mrs. Cooper resigned the club in 1891 although Mr. Cooper remained.²⁷

Table 4-1 New list of members which was made in October 1891

Mrs. H. O. Lanyon	Castleton Terrace
Mr. H. O. Lanyon	
Miss B. Lanyon	Lisbreen
Miss Gibson	Laurine
Mr. J. Bristow	Cliftonville
Mr. Purser	Queens College
Misses Ferguson	Murrays Terrace
Mr. T. Ferguson	
Mr. Cooper	Whitehouse
Miss Blackley	Laurine
Mr. A. Duffin	University Square
Mrs. Duffin	

²⁶ October 1891, Belfast Reading Club notebook, D777/1, PRONI.

²⁷ Ibid.

As for the personal details of the members, 8 Murray's Terrace where Misses Ferguson and Mr. T. Ferguson lived was owned by a surgeon, H. S. Ferguson.²⁸ And Laurine where Miss Blackley lived was owned by Captain Travers Blackley.²⁹ Probably reflecting the professional demographic of the city, this club contained many higher professionals and also the family members of professionals.

It is noticeable that, although the majority of the members were female, some male names appear on the membership list. As seen in the list of original members shown above, the names of "Professor Purser" and "Professor Fitzgerald" appear as "new members" in the list. This could be because they needed some privileged instructors or supporters in order to validate their status as a private reading group. These were not experts in English Literature: Professor Purser is John Purser (1835-1903), was Professor of Mathematics at Queen's College Belfast.³⁰ Professor Maurice Frederick Fitzgerald (1850-1927) was Professor of Civil Engineering at QCB.³¹ As for Fitzgerald, there are records that show his attendance at other local academic bodies such as the Belfast Natural Historical Society.³² Considering that natural history was not Fitzgerald's field, these examples also show that there was a close relationship between college professors and amateur local academic bodies in Belfast. In such gatherings of private or voluntary learning, college scholars had the same status as other club members in that they were not the experts in the area, and thus they probably shared the same literary experience.

²⁸ <http://www.lennonwylie.co.uk/mcomplete1890.htm> [accessed 15/9/2016]

²⁹ <http://www.lennonwylie.co.uk/alphanames1880ab.htm> [accessed 15/9/2016]

³⁰ Hereinafter shortened to QCB. T. W. Moody, *Queen's Belfast 1845-1949: The History of a University*, vol. 2 (London: Faber & Faber, 1959), 604.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 585.

³² *Freeman's Journal*, 3rd February, 1892, 5.



Figure 4-2 “Our reading club” meeting locations³³

³³ The numbers in the red circle show frequency of the gatherings. (Courtesy of the

As for the venue of the club meetings, the pattern was rather a geographic spread. Most of them were located in the far north of the city between Dock ward and Duncairn ward. Apart from the northern area, they also chose the area between St. George's ward and Cromac ward. In other words, they did not choose to meet in the central area often.

As can be seen from the graph above, they gathered most frequently at Castleton Terrace where Mr. And Mrs. H. O. Lanyon lived, secondly often at Lisbreen where Miss B. Lanyon's house was located, and thirdly at Donegall park (Cluan) where the architect Godfrey W. Ferguson had a house according to the street directory in 1901.³⁴ The fact that not all the venues were located in central Belfast shows that they did not necessarily consider distance an issue. This could mean that people had to, or were willing to, travel all the way for the reading club, no matter where the club meeting was held.

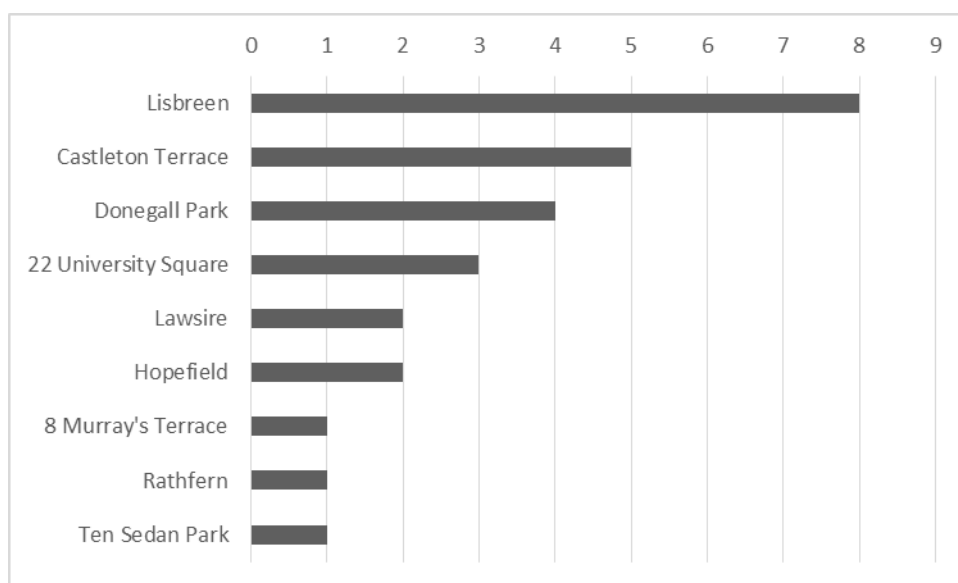


Figure 4-3 The frequency of the reading club addresses that invited more than five guests³⁵

When one looks at the houses where a meeting had more than five guests, Castleton Terrace, Lisbreen and Donegall Park are particularly striking: Lisbreen hosted the clubs eight

Glucksman Map Library, TCD)

³⁴ http://www.lennonwylie.co.uk/dcomplete1901_1.htm [accessed 15/9/2016]

³⁵ Made from Belfast Reading Club notebook, D777/1, PRONI.

times, Castleton Terrace hosted five times, and Donegall Park hosted four times in which more than five guests were presented. It can be assumed that Castleton Terrace and Lisbreen were big enough to seat a large number of people. The professions of the club members are also of interest: H. O. Lanyon, the master of Castleton Terrace was a flax merchant³⁶ and he was also the president of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce.³⁷ As for Lisbreen where Miss B. Lanyon lived, the owner of the house, John C. E. Lanyon, was head of the leading architectural practice in the city and son of perhaps its most famous architect; he was also a prominent civil engineer.³⁸ One can assume there may have been a personal connection between John Lanyon and M. F. Fitzgerald who were both civil engineers.

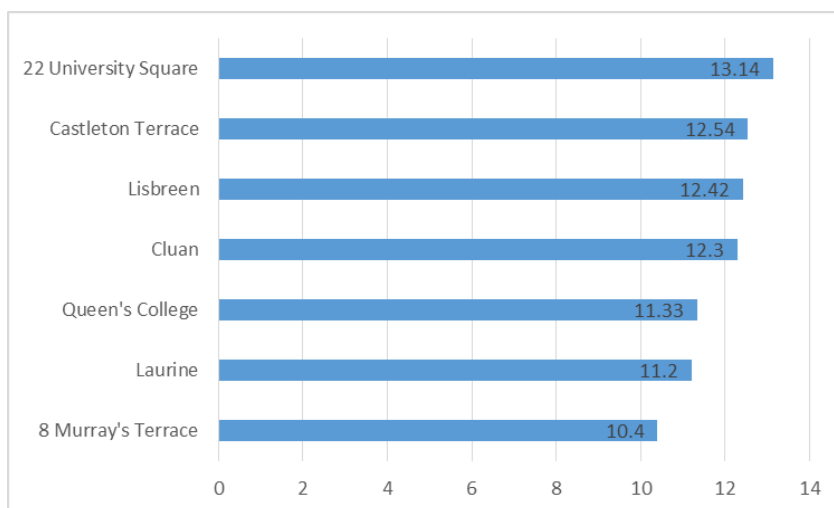


Figure 4-4 Average number of attendants to the club meetings³⁹

As regards the number of the guests, 22 University Square, the address at which Mr. and Mrs. Adam Duffin lived, was outstanding. The house hosted the reading club eight times in total and Duffin invited as many as nine, six and eight guests on three different occasions. As can be

³⁶ <http://www.lennonwylie.co.uk/acomplete1890.htm> [accessed 15/9/2016]

³⁷ "Railway to Bailieboro: An encouraging reception" *Anglo-Celt*, 11/8/1894, 3.

³⁸ <http://www.lennonwylie.co.uk/alphanames1880ijkl.htm> [accessed 15/9/2016] For Lanyon, see <http://www.dia.ie/architects/view/3086/LANYON,+JOHN> [accessed 15/9/2016]

³⁹ Made from Belfast Reading Club notebook, D777/1, PRONI.

seen from the graph above, the average number of attendants at this location stands out from the others. The fact that not so many people gathered at the QCB shows that attendance was not the simply a matter of geographical advantage. The fact that the house was located near the city centre and just beside the QCB made it attractive as a venue to the club members. Duffin was a leading figure in the Belfast commerce circle and also owned a stock-broking company.⁴⁰ Considering that the rule allowed host members to invite their friends as the guests, possibly Duffin and his wife invited guests who were part of their business network. Furthermore, it is notable that two businessmen, Lanyon and Duffin, joined the club with their wives. This might indicate that they utilised the club activities to socialise as well.

Regarding to the books chosen at the reading club, as rule III which says “The object of the club shall be to read *in parti* the writings of British authors” suggests,⁴¹ classic works of British literature appear to have been the most popular choices.

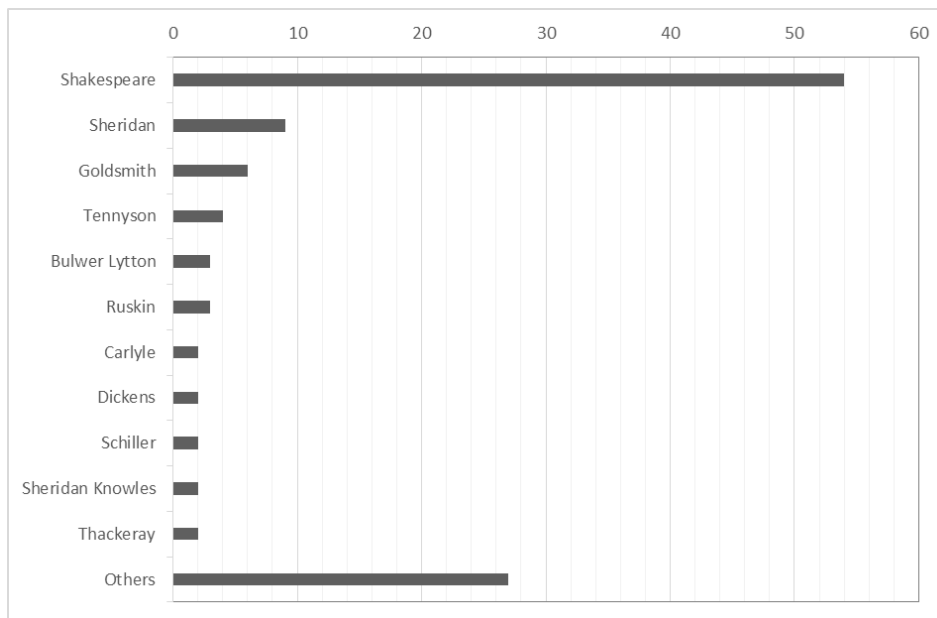


Figure 4-5 Authors chosen at “Our reading club” in Belfast⁴²

⁴⁰ <http://www.lennonwylie.co.uk/alphanames1901DE.htm> [accessed 15/9/2016]

⁴¹ “Rule III”, Belfast Reading Club notebook, D777/1, PRONI.

⁴² Made from Belfast Reading Club notebook, D777/1, PRONI.

As can be seen from the graph above, classical works of the British literature, especially Shakespeare dominated, comprising 68 per cent of all the works chosen, particularly the Histories and Tragedies. It should be also noted that most works read were either dramas or poetry. Apart from Shakespeare, the dramas of Sheridan or Goldsmith were also popular. Although the numbers are small, near-contemporary works such as Dickens or Thackeray were also read.

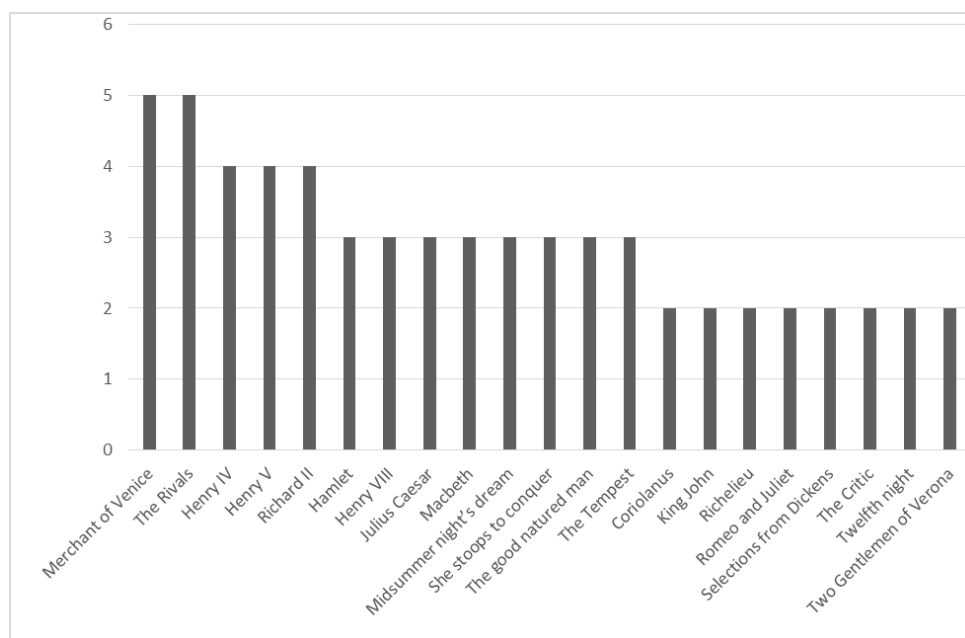


Figure 4-6 List of works chosen repeatedly at “Our reading club” (3/3/1890-5/2/1901)⁴³

Sometimes they re-read the same works. Between 1889 and 1901, 21 works were chosen more than twice and 15 works of these were Shakespeare’s. *Merchant of Venice* and Sheridan’s *The Rivals* were chosen five times each. Among the 38 plays of Shakespeare’s works, there were several which were not chosen as topics. In the case of works previously read, the club sometimes opted for alternative or additional activities such as reciting the works, or allotting

⁴³ Made from Belfast Reading Club notebook, D777/1, PRONI.

character roles to members and acting them out. They also it seems enjoyed debating a specific topic, assigning books on reading lists beforehand. For example, they recited *Paolo and Francesca*, assigning three books: Stephen Phillips's *Paolo and Francesca* (1900), Leigh Hunt's *A Tale of Rimini* [sic] (1816) and Dante's *Inferno* c. v. 69-end on 7th January 1901. A year previously they debated "Shakespeare's Female Characters" and on another occasion "Shakespeare's Heroines" and indeed most of the topics for debate reflected feminine concerns. They did not necessarily focus on a specific type of work each time, but tried several options with the aim of expanding their reading repertoire. This repeated reading could be interpreted in various ways. Considering that some business members may have utilised the club meetings as social occasions, perhaps there was no intention to deepen the understanding the works themselves: they may just have attended the reading clubs in order to enjoy the appearance of intellectual and high-brow culture.

2. Cork Shakespearian Society

A second regional example, the Cork Shakespearian Society, was founded in February 1894 and specialised in the reading and discussion of Shakespearian works. This Society had an impressive 197 members altogether. They invited seven cultural figures as honorary members: Professor G. F. Savage-Armstrong, Professor of History and English Literature at Queen's College Cork (1871-1905),⁴⁴ Professor Edward Dowden, Professor of English Literature at Trinity College Dublin, Professor Knight of the University of St. Andrews, Sir Henry Irving of Lyceum Theatre, London, Frank R. Benson and Mrs. Benson, Professor Charles Keen, Professor of Greek at QCC, and Professor William F. Butler, Professor of Modern Language at QCC (1895-1910) and Librarian there (1896-1900). Among the general membership, one could find the names of the editors of the *Cork Examiner*, the President of Literary and Scientific

⁴⁴ Hereinafter shortened to QCC.

Society, a staff member of the department store Arnott's, and teachers in the Cork Grammar School. As can be seen from the presence of the editors of the *Cork Examiner* and also the staff member of Arnott's, some businessmen were also members. As for the religious denomination of the members, although information from available sources is limited, there was a mix of Catholics and Protestants involved.

The members were also given lectures by prestigious speakers including Frank Benson, the famous actor, Savage-Armstrong, Butler and Dowden. What is notable was the prominence of QCC scholars. From the regulations of the society, was eager to include them as *ex-officio* members, for it states – that “The Professors of Literature at the Queen's College to be honorary members of the Council.”⁴⁵ The early years of QCC had been “a honeymoon period for town-gown relations, as the citizens of scholarly interests expressed their expectations of the new institutions.”⁴⁶ The QCC scholars joined and actively supported the local scholarly bodies such as the Cork Scientific and Literary Society and the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society.⁴⁷ This connection attracted many “business or professional people who could not pursue their (mostly) scientific interests by day”. Such occasions provided local residents with the opportunity to attend free lectures by College professors. Murphy argues that this proves there was popular thirst for knowledge in the city and also an expectation that “the college would respond to popular demand”.⁴⁸ Savage-Armstrong stated his views on the duty as a scholar in Cork at the General Meeting on 19th October, 1895:

He [Savage-Armstrong] said that he had never ignored the fact that the Professor of English Literature in the Queen's College both had duties to discharge to the county and city of Cork outside those attached to his Collegiate chair. It was a satisfaction to find that Cork was mindful of its fairest tradition, and there was no need to complain of lack of intellectual enthusiasm on this part of our country, where within the past few years so many excellent societies for the extension of

⁴⁵ “Meeting of Provisional Council”, 17/2/1894, Minute book of Cork Shakespearian Society 1894-1901, IE CCCA/SM675, CCCA.

⁴⁶ John A. Murphy, *The College : A History of Queen's/University College Cork, 1845-1995* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1995), 60.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 60-62.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 60-1.

knowledge had been started.⁴⁹

It seems that there was shared view among these scholars that supporting local academic bodies as professional academicians was a kind of *noblesse oblige*. Savage-Armstrong also stated that the foundation of the society had been influenced by some Shakespeare reading groups in the Trinity College Dublin:

The society, [...] occupies itself as its meetings in the reading and critical examination of Shakspeare's[sic] plays after the manner of the "Mermaid" and "Caliban" Clubs of Trinity College, Dublin, which proved to be no unimportant adjunct amongst all earnest classes of students, to the lesson which with rare ability and authority were taught in the lecture room.⁵⁰

It is clear that what was intended was a society that had both academic tone and also voluntary character, which would enable people to discuss academic matters in a relaxed atmosphere.

Apart from the QCC scholars, Dowden's presence in this society was significant: being "an opponent of a national Anglo-Irish literature as well as an outspoken opponent of home rule",⁵¹ Dowden never believed that Ireland could produce great writers such as Shakespeare.⁵² Dowden's position was indeed ambiguous: although he was eager to spread academic knowledge by lecturing outside Trinity College Dublin such as at the Afternoon lecture series or at Alexandra College, yet he had similar views to that of Matthew Arnold on the exclusive nature of high culture. How a most distinguished Shakespearian scholar like Dowden was invited to the Society is not clarified in the minute book. However, presumably his local family connections and the fact that he was a QCC alumnus (he had enrolled there in 1858) made this invitation to the local literary society possible. Being quite different from "Our

⁴⁹ Newspaper extract from Minute book of Cork Shakespearian Society 1894-1901, IE CCCA/SM675, CCCA.

⁵⁰ "Professor Savage Armstrong and Shakspeare [sic]", Newspaper extract from Minute book of Cork Shakespearian Society 1894-1901, IE CCCA/SM675, CCCA.

⁵¹ Gwynn, E. J. "Dowden, Edward (1843–1913)." Rev. Arthur Sherbo. In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: OUP, 2004. Online ed., edited by Lawrence Goldman, September 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32882> [accessed 15/09/2016].

⁵² Putz, *The Celtic Revival in Shakespeare's Wake: Appropriation and Cultural Politics in Ireland, 1867-1922*, 81.

reading club” in Belfast, the patrons in this society were all experts in English literature. This should be considered a factor accounting for the differences in their attitude toward culture and its dissemination. It was rather paternalistic – members did not study or enjoy literature together, but facilitated the scholars who were in a position to give the academic guidance.

If one looks at the ordinary memberships, the Committee and council included local celebrities such as Dr. Edward Allsom who also was on the committee of the Church of Ireland Cork Young men’s Association and James G. Crosbie, the editor and proprietor of the *Cork Examiner* and also a member of Irish Newspaper Society.⁵³ It is notable that the Committee included five women: Isabelle Tuckey, Elize Murphy, G. Gilpin, Mary Ahearne and Henrietta Evans. While there were both male and female members, it is obvious from the record of their activities that the society was substantially run by its female members. These female members were prominent in other cultural societies in Cork. One committee member, Isabelle Tuckey, was also a member of the Cork Literary and Scientific Society and her speech at a meeting of the Literary and Scientific Society appeared in the *Skibbereen Eagle*. The writer of the article praised her speech entitled “The Heroines of Fiction” for containing “many germs of interest [to] women readers” and noting some remarkable points in her speech:

[S]he at once brought her hearers face to face with real life, as opposed to fiction, admirably introducing the arrange interest and sympathy which “real people” often awake in others in the same way that a fiction character will do. This was a good remark too, containing a sound note of warning, which relates to the fiction heroine who enters a profession for which she has had no preparation, for, under the advanced conditions of female life, there is no fact more needful for a woman to bear in mind than that she must begin, as men do, at the lowest rung of whichever professional ladder she decides to climb. Shirking of drudgery, unmindfulness of detail, and want of thoroughness generally, will never place women, any more than it has placed men, to an honourable, satisfactory position, and the quicker women learn this fact, the sooner they cease to “shriek” over their actions as “*woman’s work*,” and woman’s wrongs, rights, and fiddlesticks, so much the better for their hopes of success, and their channel of earning respect and toleration. The next truth Miss Tuckey deducts from fiction heroines is the undeniable shrinking character, and which is a quality held, perhaps, more universally in common by mortals than any other, but more particularly by

⁵³ For example, see *Irish Examiner*, 3rd March 1909.

women.⁵⁴

Tuckey did not fully encourage women to enter into professional life. On the contrary, she warned that the unprofessional attitudes of women such as imperfect preparing or “shirking of drudgery”, could cause a biased view against “*woman’s work*”, taking fictional heroines as examples. Tuckey took three heroines – Becky Sharp in Thackeray’s *Vanity Fair* (1847-48), Violet in Charlotte Yonge’s *Heartsease, or the Brother’s Wife* (1854) and Ayesha in Rider Haggard’s *She: a History of Adventure* (1886-87).

[I]n the sketch of “Becky Sharp” – is that women have a battle to fight, and that if the women of the present day do not look well to themselves, and note carefully the path they are treading, they will speedily develop into exaggerated counterparts of the heroine whose most salient characteristics are want of veneration for anyone or anything, a certain self-denial which does not prevent her from being supremely selfish, and which her quick wit enables her to due to her own advantage, and an intellect allowed so to overrule all other considerations that her mutual emotions never get a chance of lifting her out of or beyond her narrow self. On the other hand, it seems to me that there is a warning, too, against over much dependence, want of decision and energy, or exaggerated womanly weakness, call it which you will, in Charlotte Yonge’s “Violet” a heroine the very opposite of “Becky Sharp,” while the summing up of “Cynthia’s” mother in “Wives and daughters” might well appeal to many and many a mother. The last fiction heroine brought before her audience by Miss Tuckey was Rider Haggard’s “She,” or “Ayesha,” who has always seemed to me a death blow to the old time theory that a woman is most charming during her “sweet seventeen” period, and before the “sorrow and song” got life have given her an insight into, and sympathy with, human nature, and added to her charm that intensity and personality which make of her an individual being rather than a copy of a fairly common pattern.⁵⁵

According to the reporter, while Tuckey cautioned “want of veneration”, “self-denial which does not prevent her [Becky Sharp] from being supremely selfish” and ambition for “a chance of lifting he out of or beyond her narrow self” which can be seen in Becky Sharp, she also warned of too “much dependence, want of decision and energy, or exaggerated womanly weakness” which can be seen in Violet. As for Ayesha’s character in *She*, although Tuckey’s view was not clearly noted, the reporter stated that “[Ayesha is someone] who has always

⁵⁴ “Our Ladies Column” *Skibbereen Eagle*, 8th December 1894, 2.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

seemed to me a death blow to the old time theory that a woman is most charming during her “sweet seventeen” period”. What can be seen here is that Tuckey had mixed views on female independence. The reporter also commended Tuckey’s endorsement of the character “as a specimen of the woman who sees no reason why she should not, if the fancy takes her, express her views in public. Miss Tuckey is a proof of how unfair it is to say that a woman’s love of hearing herself speak always runs away with her, for the address was by no means long, and no sign of unnecessary verbiage marred the brightness of its composition.”⁵⁶

Susanne Rouvier Day, honorary secretary of the Cork Shakespearian Society was well-known as a writer, suffragist and also as daughter of Robert Day, president of both the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society and the Cork Literary and Scientific Society. In the latter, Day became acquainted with Edith Somerville and was the co-founder and secretary of the Munster Women’s Franchise League with Somerville.⁵⁷ It seems clear that Tuckey and Day had different ideas about the situation in which Irish women were placed,⁵⁸ but that this society could be a forum that could accommodate people with a wide range of social and political views. As it pertains to the literary activities of suffragists, Cliona Murphy stated that their literary skills would have helped them to achieve their political goals.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Patrick Long, "Susanne Rouvier Day," in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁵⁸ It is reported that in the paper named “The Heroines of Fiction” which Tuckey read at the meeting of the Cork Literary and Scientific Society, Tuckey criticised the tendency of women’s social-participation since women cannot be placed in the same position as men. “Our Ladies Column” *Skibbereen Eagle*, 8th December 1894, 2.

⁵⁹ Cliona Murphy, *The Women's Suffrage Movement and Irish Society in the Early Twentieth Century* (Brighton: Harvester, 1988), 112.

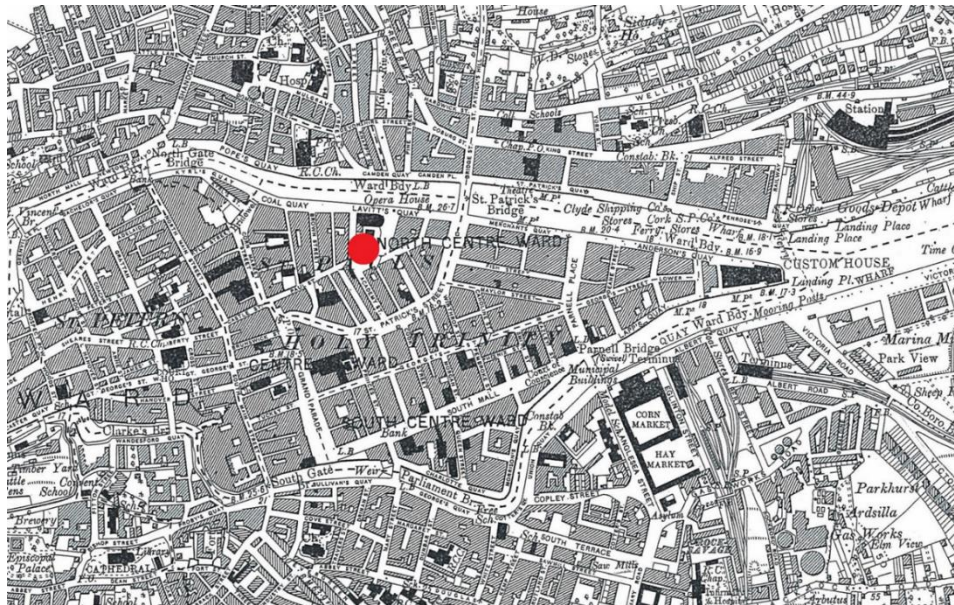


Figure 4-7 Crawford Municipal School of Science and Art, Cork

Unlike the reading clubs in Belfast and in Dublin, the meeting place of the Cork society was fixed at the Crawford Municipal School of Science and Art, located in central Cork, which was used as a venue for other cultural activities such as Irish language classes.⁶⁰ One can see from the records that they paid a rent of five pounds a year.⁶¹ The meetings were usually held in the evenings of the second Saturday of each month for an hour and a half. Approximately twenty people usually attended the meetings. Before the “ordinary” meetings, committee meetings were held almost every week. As can be seen from this, the proceedings of this society were relatively formal and structured. Furthermore, the society seems to have encouraged exchanges with other societies. For example, there is a description of the telegraph which they received from the president of the Literary and Scientific Society. Considering that the Cork Literary and Scientific Society was one of the leading local academic

⁶⁰ For example, see 22nd March, 1902 of Diary Liam De Roiste, IE CCCA/U271/A/1: Liam De Roiste Papers, CCCA.

⁶¹ For example, see the report of the Annual General Meeting at 20th April 1895, Minute book of Cork Shakespearian Society 1894-1901, IE CCCA/SM675, CCCA.

institutions in Cork, it could be seen that they tried to cement their position as an up-and-coming organisation. It could also be considered as a reason why they invited well-known cultural figures to become honorary members.

To obtain membership, a procedure had to be followed. "All persons desirous of becoming members shall be proposed and seconded at the meeting of the Council and shall be declared elected if their nomination be supported by two-third of the members of Council present." This democratic but complicated process of induction, however, was not the only way to gain access to their events. In fact, the society frequently advertised their activities in the newspapers and also offered "tickets for lecture course only" at two and six pence.⁶²

At the meetings, the first hour was devoted to the reading of a play previously chosen and the remainder to a critical discussion. The characters in the play were allotted to members in advance, but in the event of a member's absence, other members were required to read in his or her part. As can be seen from the description in the minutes such as "[...] this sudden call on the resources of the readers proved in some cases how well individual members had studied the play, and it emphasises the need there is for each member to know it in every part so as to be ready in a like emergency".⁶³ The expectations placed on the members were apparently high. It could be considered that some members enjoyed the challenging tasks as an intellectual pastimes.⁶⁴ The aim of the reading in public, the Society explained in a newspaper comment was that:

[F]or the oral rendering of the lines demands serious thought, consideration, and judgement. Mental reading is often mindless reading, but reading before a society must be thoughtful. Some have questioned the educational utility of our society, because there is no criticism of the reader's apprehension in rendering of the lines to be the subject of public criticism – which would certainly be more or less diverse[sic] – it would have the effect of cooling his ardour, crushing his aspirations and of begetting in him a fear of ever again uplifting his voice in the presence of

⁶² "Cork Shakespearian Society Session, 1896-97", Minute book of Cork Shakespearian Society 1894-1901, IE CCCA/SM675, CCCA.

⁶³ 10th November 1894, Minute book of Cork Shakespearian Society 1894-1901, IE CCCA/SM675, CCCA.

⁶⁴ Scheil, *She Hath Been Reading : Women and Shakespeare Clubs in America*.

others. Such a rule would have a tendency to thwart the objects of our society, which is to create and develop good reading [...].⁶⁵

However, commitment depended on each member’s passion. In another public report of a General Meeting, it was noted that “[t]he task of writing essays is too often shirked by members of our society, and the work left to a few, which is very much to be regretted. The essays are a great help to the debates, and we know that it is not for lack of ideas, originality, or power, that so many members have never contributed any.”⁶⁶ Members were apparently polarised into two types: active participants and bystanders.

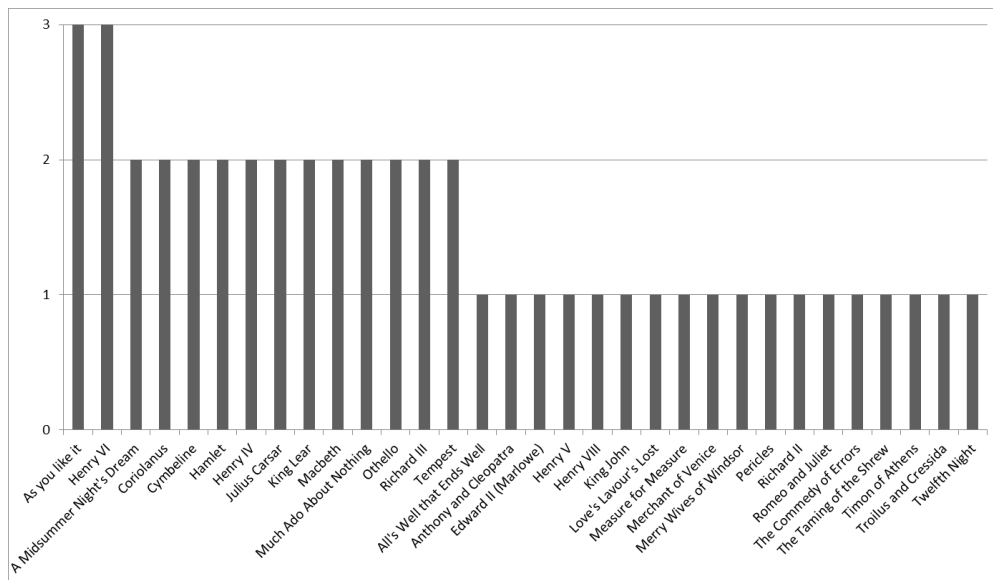


Figure 4-8 Chosen works and their repetition from 1894 to 1901⁶⁷

Looking at the works chosen for reading at the ordinary meetings, 31 works of Shakespeare and 1 work of Marlowe were chosen and some of them were taken up as topics several times. As seen in the graph above, *As You Like It* and *Henry VI* were chosen most often,

⁶⁵ Newspaper extract from Minute book of Cork Shakespearian Society 1894-1901, IE CCCA/SM675, CCCA.

⁶⁶ Newspaper extract from the Minute book of Cork Shakespearian Society 1894-1901, IE CCCA/SM657, CCCA.

⁶⁷ Made from Minute book of Cork Shakespearian Society 1894-1901, IE CCCA/SM675, CCCA.

3 times each. After them, 12 works, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Coriolanus*, *Cymbeline*, *Hamlet*, *Henry IV*, *Julius Caesar*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Othello*, *Richard III* and *Tempest* were chosen twice each. Considering that all the plays of the genre of History were taken up as topics, this could be seen as the members' preference. But there were also works not chosen – *Titus Andronicus*, *Two Gentlemen in Verona*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

Annual subscription was five shillings which would have been affordable for middle-class people. Apart from ordinary meetings, annual sessions were held composed of a mixed menu and these sessions were advertised and reported on the newspapers. At the annual sessions, the year's lecture schedule was announced.

In addition to the lectures by professionals which were the centrepieces of the activities, members were also given the opportunity to read essays based on their own interests at meetings, making them "a great aid to the debates, to which they give an added vigour and keener interest."⁶⁸ The usual ways of debating was to select a play and let two or three members read their essays on that work. For example, there was a description about the debate on *Anthony and Cleopatra* held in 1895.

Last year the play of "Julius Caesar" evoked a vast deal of discussion, and this winter its companion play "Antony and Cleopatra," was productive of more essays than any of them. [...] In Miss Evans and Miss Tuckey we found two very different exponents of the character of Cleopatra. In a paper, both daring and original, Miss Evans sought the secret of Cleopatra's fascination, whereas Miss Tuckey dealt with the historical Queen of Egypt, comparing her with Shakespeare's creation in an essay which was studded with rich gems of thought. Mr. Tivy followed with a "Defence of Cleopatra," in which he propounded some novel theories, and suggested ideas of undoubted value.⁶⁹

It is clear that some members showcased special abilities or interests, relating them to particular aspects in Shakespeare's works. For example, a member named Miss Martin

⁶⁸ Newspaper extract from Minute book of Cork Shakespearian Society 1894-1901, IE CCCA/SM675, CCCA.

⁶⁹ Report of Annual General Meeting, Extract from the Cork Constitution, 16th May, 1895, Minute book of Cork Shakespearian Society 1894-1901, IE CCCA/SM675, CCCA.

presented a paper titled “‘Plant-Lore in Hamlet,’ a subject with which her thorough knowledge of botany rendered her peculiarly able to cope.”⁷⁰

One can also find descriptions of musical performances given by the members in the minutes. For instance, one minute recorded how “the vocal part in the mad-scene of Ophelia was touchingly rendered by Miss Lundy”. In the meeting that discussed *The Tempest*, “the fairy music was vocally rendered” by a participant. The Society could be provided opportunities for the membership, especially women, to combine personal interests with a degree of academic engagement. Sometimes irregular gatherings were held for offshoot activities. At a meeting on 20th December 1899, Susanne Rouviere Day’s essay “The Music in Shakespeare’s plays” was read, being followed by eight musical performances. A special admission ticket was sold on this occasion for one shilling.

⁷⁰ Ordinary Meeting, 23rd November, 1898, Minute book of Cork Shakespearian Society 1894-1901, IE CCCA/SM675, CCCA.

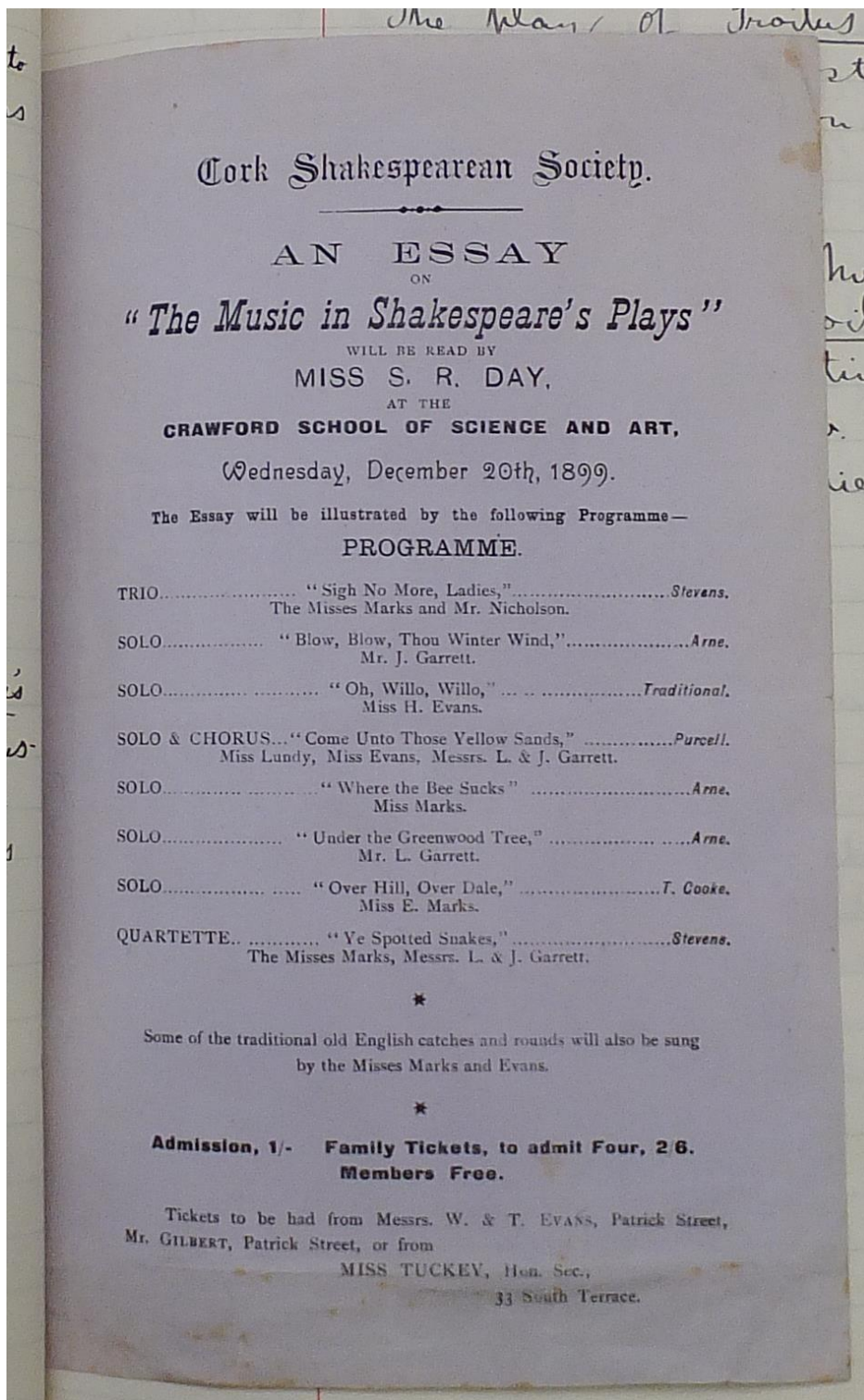


Figure 4-9 The advertisement brochure of the meeting at 20th December, 1899 (IE CCA/ SM675)

This event was reported in an unidentified newspaper that:

Miss Day gave us a most interesting paper on "The Music in Shakespeare's Plays," and this was admirably illustrated by solos and part songs by members of the society and friends who kindly assisted. Curiously enough, the ladies who took part in the music, Miss Marks, Miss E Marks, Miss Evans, Miss Lundy, and Miss Day, are all members of the Shakespearean Society, while the gentlemen, the Messrs L and J Garrett, and Mr Brisbane Nicholson, are outsiders.⁷¹

The female presence was being emphasised here. It is not clear whether the performers who appeared in this brochure had much prior musical experience. Nonetheless, it is apparent that the members were able to appeal a wider public through the society's activities.

3. The 90 club in Dublin

The third example, the 90 club was founded in Dublin in 1890. Although one member, Alfred Webb, recalled in his autobiography that the proceedings of this club were compiled in four volumes, only one notebook which is the main source of this section is available in the National Library of Ireland as of now.⁷²

There were many literary societies established in late nineteenth century Dublin and most of them had some nationalist tendency. Some were mere reading clubs, albeit of growing complexity. For example, there was the Dublin Literary Society holding their meetings in Costigan's Hotel, 38 Upper O'Connell Street.⁷³ The Society was founded in 1896 for

⁷¹ Newspaper extract from Minute book of Cork Shakespearian Society 1894-1901, IE CCCA/SM675, CCCA.

⁷² Alfred Webb, *Autobiography*, Vol. 2, Dublin Historical Library of Friends, f. 390.

⁷³ *Freeman's Journal*, 30th September, 1896. For later, adverse comment, on the DLS see Louise Ryan, "Locating the Flapper in Rural Irish Society," in *New Woman Hybridities : Fertility, Feminism and International Consumer Culture, 1880-1930*, ed. Ann Heilmann and Margaret Beetham (London: Routledge, 2004), 84. For Hannah Lynch's interactions with the Dublin Literary Society see Kathlyn Laing, "Hannah Lynch and Narratives of the Irish Literary Revival," *New Hibernia Review* 20, no. 1 (2016).

“establishing a literary society in the city worthy of the support of every section of the community irrespective of class, creed or politics.”⁷⁴ Quite a few records of the society survive, it is evident that members discussed a great variety of topics and were not limited to strictly literary ones, such as “That the present means of transit in Ireland should be nationalised.”⁷⁵

Compared to these kinds of large and well-known literary societies, the 90 Club was a totally private literary club. First of all, according to the list of members in the minute, the club originally had 36 members in the year of its foundation, but this was almost halved to just 19 members in 1916 because of resignations, death or the emigration of various members.

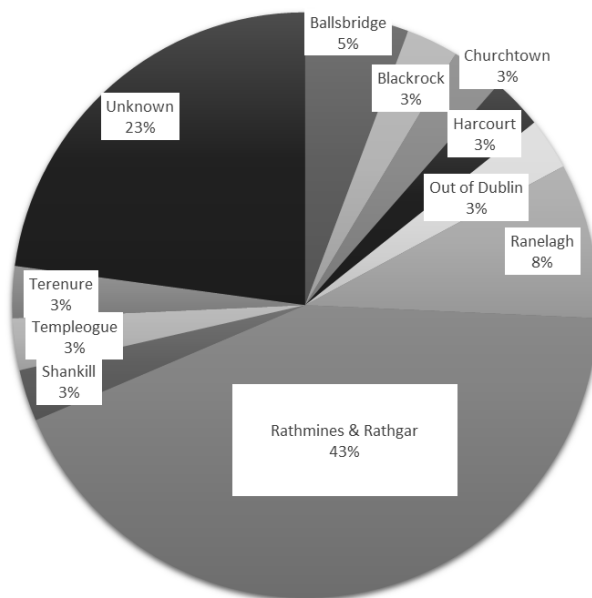


Figure 4-10 Member's areas of residence

The membership included several households, couples and siblings. The leading figures were Thomas and Anna Maria Haslam, who lived in Rathmines. Many other members were also residents of the Rathmines / Rathgar area.⁷⁶ Many cultural societies or branches of the societies were established in the Rathmines area in late nineteenth-century and played roles

⁷⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 30th September, 1896.

⁷⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 5th November, 1896.

⁷⁶ For more on this see Foster, *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland, 1890-1923*.

of self-educational institutions for the residents there. For example, in the programme of the National Concert and Literary Reunion by the pupils attending the historical classes of the Rathmines Irish Literary Association, one can find a notice that “[p]arents are requested to send their children to the Historical Classes of the above Association, which meet at 26 Rathmines upr. every Tuesday Evening, at Eight o’Clock.” Similar calls can be also found in the programme of Young Ireland Society which said “[t]he Historical Classes of the Young Ireland Society, for Boys and Girls, are held every Thursday Evening, from Eight to ten o’Clock. Parents are invited to send their Children to those Classes.” The Rathmines branch of the National League, which was situated in 27 Upper Rathmines Road also announced that their general meeting were held every Wednesday evening and added that “[t]here is also a Ladies’ Literary Association in connection with the Branch, formed for the purpose of imparting to the Children of the locality a National and Historic Education, and to foster a love for Irish Music.” As can be seen from these examples, Rathmines inhabitants were organising cultural events or classes almost every week day as a kind of voluntary education, in particular for fostering the cultural formation of their children. Furthermore, there were some cases where people held two or more memberships concurrently. Alfred Webb also belonged to the Rathmines branch of the National League, as well as the 90 club. Webb was active in the gatherings of the National League too, where he presented his papers almost every year.⁷⁷

As for the members’ denomination, the largest group was the Society of Friends (over 50%). Second largest was the Church of Ireland (around 20 %). One characteristics of the Quaker community was their closed nature. As Josephine Teakle pointed out, Irish Quakers kept their community closed through endogamous marriages.⁷⁸

Quaker historian Maurice A. Wigham notes the active reading activities of Irish Quakers,

⁷⁷ National Club Literary Society, MS 35262 (27) ACC: 4259, NLI. See also Alfred Webb and Marie-Louise Legg, *Alfred Webb : The Autobiography of a Quaker Nationalist*, Irish Narratives (Cork: Cork University Press, 1999).

⁷⁸ Josephine Teakle, "Mary Birkett Card (1774-1817): Struggling to Become the Ideal Quaker Woman," *Quaker Studies* 14, no. 2 (2010): 181.

preferring “serious and sober” books and fiction was generally avoided.⁷⁹ In addition to the Bible, their priority was history, travel and biblical studies and sometimes poetry provided that was edifying.⁸⁰ In the education of children, most chose their local meeting houses as the place of education. Beyond the elementary level, several Quakers set up boarding schools, maintaining separation from other religious groups. Wigham also maintained that Quakers had long held the principle that boys and girls should be educated equally. This could be the main reason why many members of the first wave of Irish feminism were Quakers.⁸¹

Nonetheless, this equality was essentially limited to spiritual matters. Their own meetings were concerned mainly with “semi-public” matters and were subordinate to men’s meetings, which made the major decisions. Quaker women were, after all, also required to perform their duties as wives and mothers, and Quaker girls were required to acquire the cultural accomplishments such as singing, music, needlework, drawing and French and also to display the skills publicly.⁸²

As for the Quaker memberships of the 90 club in Dublin, it is notable that the club included several famous members such as the Shackletons and Alfred Webb, and former Quakers like Thomas and Anna Maria Haslam. The leading figure of the club, was indeed Anna Maria Haslam a famous suffragist who led many social and political campaigns throughout her long life. Beginning with the establishment of the Irish Society for the Training and Employment of Educated Women in Dublin in 1861, she campaigned for the women’s issues like girls’ education, the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts and she set setting up the first suffrage society in Dublin in 1876.⁸³ She also worked with Anne Jellicoe to found the Alexandra

⁷⁹ Maurice J. Wigham, *The Irish Quakers : A Short History of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland* (Dublin: Historical Committee of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, 1992), 48.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Regan-Lefebvre, *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire : Ireland, India and the Politics of Alfred Webb*, 27.

⁸² Teakle, "Mary Birkett Card (1774-1817): Struggling to Become the Ideal Quaker Woman," 180-2.

⁸³ Luddy, Maria. "Haslam, Anna Maria (1829–1922)." *Oxford Dictionary of National*

College as a result of their previous campaign to give women proper paid work and education.⁸⁴ Although Haslam was a unionist opposed to Home Rule, she “welcomed women and men of all political persuasions and all religious denominations into her organizations.”⁸⁵ This would explain the fact that the club also contained several Home Rulers. Her husband, Thomas Haslam, also dedicated to the cause of female education and women’s rights, was influenced by Herbert Spencer’s works.⁸⁶ He was a product of the Quaker education: he was born in Mountmellick, educated in the Quaker provincial school and started teaching at the Friends’ school in Lisburn.⁸⁷ He is particularly famous for his pamphlet arguing for the importance of birth control, which is considered as the earliest printed work on family planning in Ireland and Britain.⁸⁸ The Haslams were not particularly well-educated by middle-class standard, considering that both worked as schoolteachers and shop clerks. However, they believed in self-education. They stood out in local communities later. Thomas, for example, became a member of the Dublin Friends Institute and the Rathmines Public Library Committee.⁸⁹

The Shackletons were another prominent Quaker family in the club, which contained no less than seven members of the family and five of them (Abraham, Alice Mary, John Abraham, Louis[sic] and Marion) were founder members.⁹⁰ The head of the family, Abraham Shackleton (1827-1912), was active member of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, and a supporter of the Irish Industrial Movement and women’s suffrage.⁹¹ He had been a member of the Dublin

Biography, online ed., edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: OUP, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47632> [accessed 15/9/2016].

⁸⁴ Richard S. Harrison, *A Biographical Dictionary of Irish Quakers* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 120.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Luddy, Maria. “Haslam, Anna Maria (1829–1922).”

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Regan-Lefebvre, *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire : Ireland, India and the Politics of Alfred Webb*, 27.

⁸⁹ Harrison, *A Biographical Dictionary of Irish Quakers*.

⁹⁰ Member list of the club, Minute book of the ‘90 Club, MS 19483, NLI.

⁹¹ Harrison, *A Biographical Dictionary of Irish Quakers*, 202.

Corporation since 1878 and played a leading role in founding the National Library.⁹² Politically, he was a Home Ruler,⁹³ but “was always an enthusiastic advocate of the peace movement and opposed to every term of militarism.”⁹⁴

The Webb family were also very prominent. They were originally successful printers.⁹⁵ And the most prominent figure was Alfred Webb. He was also a member of the Dublin Statistical Society which was one of most prominent reformist societies in Victorian Dublin.⁹⁶ As a member of the Society, Webb’s firm took on the printing of its publications and was involved with it for forty years. Although he was a nationalist, he spent several years in London and his experience of the multicultural metropolis shaped his cosmopolitan nationalism.⁹⁷ A Home Rule supporter, he contributed many pamphlets and newspaper articles.⁹⁸ He was, however, was dismayed by the Parnell split and the ensuing disorder and left politics in 1895.⁹⁹ His participation in the club almost coincided with the Parnell split although there is nothing of it mentioned in the minutes.

As for the female Webbs, both Edith (1854-1924) and Gertrude Webb (1853-1933) were also public-minded and worked as educationists. Gertrude was the founder of the school for Quaker children and was also active in several humanitarian organisations such as the Dublin Friends Anti-Vivisection Association and the Dublin Friends Total Abstinence Association.

⁹² *Freeman’s Journal*, 31st May, 1912, 12.

⁹³ Harrison, *A Biographical Dictionary of Irish Quakers*, 202.

⁹⁴ *Freeman’s Journal*, 31st May, 1912, 12.

⁹⁵ Regan-Lefebvre, *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire : Ireland, India and the Politics of Alfred Webb*, 27.

⁹⁶ Thomas Haslam was also a member of the Society from the 1860s. Carmel Quinlan, *Genteel Revolutionaries : Anna and Thomas Haslam and the Irish Women’s Movement* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2002).

⁹⁷ Regan-Lefebvre, *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire : Ireland, India and the Politics of Alfred Webb*, 108-11.

⁹⁸ O’Donoghue, D. J. “Webb, Alfred John (1834–1908).” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: OUP, 2004. Online ed., edited by Lawrence Goldman, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36793> [accessed 15/9/2016].

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

When World War I broke out, both of them took part in relief works.¹⁰⁰

Thus many members of the club were unusually public-minded although only a few of them were particularly well-educated. They were prominent in various public affairs and especially in education and women's suffrage were their shared concerns. However, the presence of several businessmen linked to publishing, printing and city business like Thomas Haslam and Abraham Shackleton, may have enabled the club members to have easier access to books and other reading materials.

Considering the fact that almost half of the original members were Quakers and nearly the other half were the members of the Church of Ireland, their religious and neighbourhood connections may have been a strong factor behind the foundation of the club.¹⁰¹ Leading members of the club, Thomas and Anna Haslam, were Alfred Webb's old acquaintances from the 1860's.¹⁰² Even after the club was founded, the fact that new members joined the club with their family or siblings explains why one religious group increased in numbers. Members of the Society of Friends increased to a total of seventeen from five at the time of foundation, including seven households or siblings at least.

¹⁰⁰ Harrison, *A Biographical Dictionary of Irish Quakers*, 229.

¹⁰¹ Jennifer Regan-Lefebvre pointed out that Quakers' religious community was "extremely close-knit, even exclusive." Regan-Lefebvre, *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire : Ireland, India and the Politics of Alfred Webb*, 13.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 27.

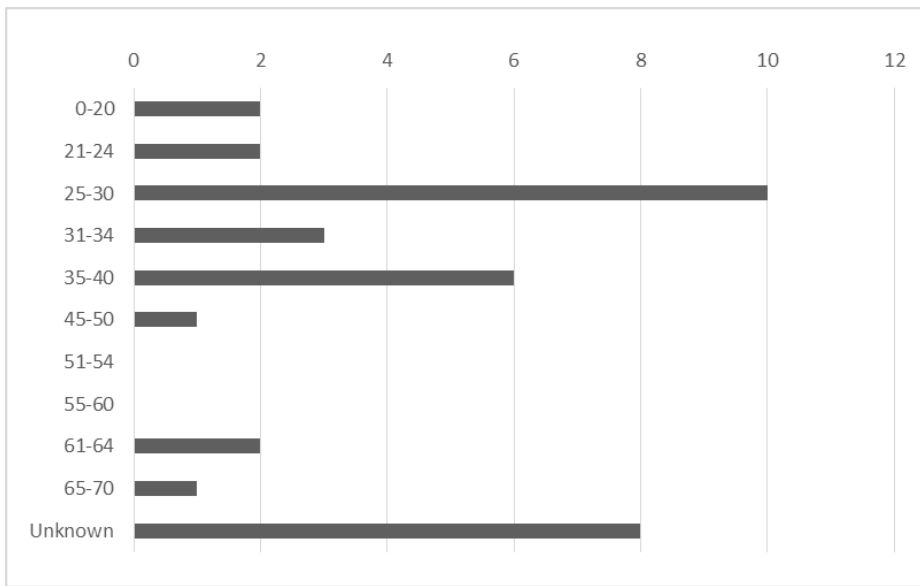


Figure 4-11 Age groups of the entrants to the club

Looking at the members' ages at their time of joining the club, the largest group was in their late twenties, followed by late thirties, and early thirties coming third. This result, however, does not necessarily mean that the club member were overwhelmingly young. In fact, there were a handful of people who joined the club in their sixties.



Figure 4-12 The places for the meetings of the 90 club¹⁰³

¹⁰³ The numbers in the red circle show frequency of the gatherings. (Courtesy of the Glucksman Map Library, TCD)

Usually about twenty – sometimes as many as thirty people – attended meetings on average. Therefore, the hosting house had to be large enough to seat all the participants as with “Our reading club” in Belfast. Almost every session included many visitors on top of the original members, which could be seen as one of the distinctive characteristics of this club. Although it is not possible to know if the membership was exclusive since there were no known membership rules,¹⁰⁴ it is likely that there was some kind of procedure required in order to become a member, considering the references to membership elections which appear throughout the minutes.

Another similarity between this club and “Our reading club” in Belfast is that the places for the meetings rotated among all members’ houses. A certain polarization can be seen in the locations – 2 Highfield Road, Rathgar, was the place where the club met most frequently, 16 times altogether, and 125 Leinster Road, Rathmines came second. As can be seen on the map, there was a geographical preference for the Rathmines and Rathgar areas rather than Dublin city centre, reflecting the fact that most members resided in Rathmines and Rathgar areas. Sometimes they travelled to neighbouring suburbs such as Rathfarnham for the club meetings.

Looking at the profile of the club’s activities, it is notable that they discussed contemporary works quite often. Sometimes one can see the influence of the Revival movement in their selection of topics: on the meeting at 20th February, 1893, for example, one of the leaders of the club, Henry W. Haslam presented a paper on W. B. Yeats’s *Countess Kathleen*[sic].¹⁰⁵ Considering the fact that *Countess Cathleen* had been first printed in 1892, it is safe to say that they took up the work expeditiously. Jane Barlow’s two works, *Irish Idylls* (1892) and *Bogland Studies* (1892) were chosen as a topic at a meeting just one month after the session that had discussed *Countess Cathleen* (1892).¹⁰⁶ There are other topics such as

¹⁰⁴ There are only two rules: 1. Each member shall in turn introduce a subject for debate. 2. Theological and Political questions and personal narratives shall be excluded. Minute book of the '90 Club, MS 19483, NLI.

¹⁰⁵ 20th February, 1893, Minute book of the '90 Club, MS 19483, NLI.

¹⁰⁶ 20th March, 1893, Minute book of the '90 Club, MS 19483, NLI.

“Sir Samuel Ferguson’s poetry” and “The Gaelic League”. As for the wider relationship between Quakers and the Revival movement, Wigham maintained that Quakers were generally not interested in the revival movement. Added to their basic “objections to fiction and drama as being untrue and to musical and theatrical performances as leading to depravity and the neglect of pure religion “, he pointed out that very few Quaker names can be seen in the attendance lists of cultural meetings at that time. Wigham suggested that the main reason for this lay in the Quakers’ aversion to physical force which was linked to the Revival movement.¹⁰⁷ However, when one considers the topics that were taken up in this reading club, Wigham’s assessment is insufficient: he was only examining explicitly pro-Revival Quakers. Attention should also be given to those who were quietly interested in the Revival movement, albeit at its margins.

The profile of topics discussed by the club does not, however, show an exclusive pro-Revival tendency: they discussed articles that appeared in magazines such as the *Nineteenth Century* and the *Westminster Review*, and it seems likely that the Revival movement was just one among a wide range of topics discussed. Indeed their topics cover a very broad range of genres. This reflects life in a big city, where there was easier access to reading materials spanning a broad range of interests. They were not simply reading and discussing over the books. Discussion always followed an essay presentation by one member at each session.

Another prominent feature of this club was the prominence of female members: at least 72 papers were presented by female members or visitors out of a recorded total of 189 papers. Topics delivered by the members were often on social or economic matters, and those presented by female members’ were no exceptions: Alice Shackleton, for example, delivered a speech on “Ruskin’s views on political economy” at the meeting of 22nd April, 1891.¹⁰⁸ And at the meeting of 20th January, 1896, she also presented a paper reviewing an article titled

¹⁰⁷ Wigham, *The Irish Quakers : A Short History of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland*, 107.

¹⁰⁸ 22nd April, 1891, Minute book of the '90 Club, MS 19483, NLI.

"The Ethical Locution of the Social Problem", that had appeared on the *Westminster Review*.¹⁰⁹ Florence Conan also delivered a talk on social conditions, referring to articles that had appeared on the *Westminster Review* and the *Manchester Guardian*.¹¹⁰ Gertrude Webb addressed the club on "The right treatment of criminal" in a paper at the meeting of 22nd February, 1908.¹¹¹ These are only a few instances among many. However, it is notable that some women utilised this occasion to publicise their particular social and political opinions. It is no surprise that the Club contained some alumni of Alexandra College, and at least one of them (Hilda Webb) was also the member of the Literary Society of Alexandra College. Considering that at least half of the members of this Club were Quaker and that one of the leading members was Anne Haslam who had supported Anne Jellicoe for founding the Alexandra College, it was entirely natural that the club would include alumni of the College. Indeed the graduates of the Alexandra may have reflected their experience of debate at the College in the Literary Society in their activities in the 90 Club.

Female members, frequently presented papers on topics related to their own interests or pastimes, similar to the practice of the Cork Shakespearian Society. Art and music were especially prominent among their topics. Efforts were expended to make presentations more accessible and entertaining to the audience. When Edith Webb presented a paper on "Grant Allen's opinion of what an American tourist should see in England from his 'European Tour'", photographs of places mentioned were used to support her talk.¹¹² It was not mentioned whether Webb herself took the photographs, but it should be noted that photography was regarded as an appropriate pastime for women at the turn of the twentieth century. Thus we find in the *Lady of the House* magazine publishing an article entitled "Summer Amusements for Women: 2. Photography" and giving instruction on taking pictures which women taking up

¹⁰⁹ 20th January, 1896, Minute book of the '90 Club, MS 19483, NLI.

¹¹⁰ 26th November, 1901, Minute book of the '90 Club, MS 19483, NLI.

¹¹¹ 22nd February, 1908, Minute book of the '90 Club, MS 19483, NLI.

¹¹² 18th April, 1907, Minute book of the '90 Club, MS 19483, NLI.

photography could easily understand.¹¹³ The magazine also hosted photographic competitions several times. As for the use of the photography and other visual media, Catherine Morris has shown how they explained that they enabled cultural nationalists to appeal to a wider range of audiences. According to Morris, Alice Milligan had learnt how to use photography and lantern slides from her early experience in the Belfast Naturalists Field Club and the Antiquarian Society from the 1880s.¹¹⁴ It would seem that the use of visual methods had already been common in local academic bodies by the turn-of-the-century Ireland.

When musical matters were discussed, recitals and performances often followed the delivery of the paper. When Alfred Webb presented a paper on Thomas Moore, this was followed, according to the minutes, by “Ethel Rhodes [who] sang two of the melodies”.¹¹⁵ Eileen L. L. Addey’s paper on some national songs was “illustrated on the piano and vocally by herself and with songs from J. P. Addey and Ethel Rhodes.”¹¹⁶ Educated in the Cork Municipal School of Music¹¹⁷ and obtaining a diploma from the Royal Academy of Music, Addey was active in her role as a performer and also a composer in Dublin.¹¹⁸ Apart from her involvements here, there are several records of Addey performing at other gatherings, including as Dublin Sketching Club from time to time.¹¹⁹

One founder member of the club, Josephine Webb (1853-1924), was an amateur painter who had graduated from the Queen’s Institute.¹²⁰ There is a record of her winning the

¹¹³ “Summer Amusements for Women: 2. Photography” *Lady of the House*, Vol. 2, No. 9, 15th July, 1892, 6.

¹¹⁴ Catherine Morris, *Alice Milligan : And the Irish Cultural Revival* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), 256.

¹¹⁵ 27th February, 1906, Minute book of the '90 Club, MS 19483, NLI.

¹¹⁶ 18th March, 1907, Minute book of the '90 Club, MS 19483, NLI.

¹¹⁷ “Cork School of Music” *Irish Examiner*, 15th July, 1898, 6; “Cork Municipal School of Music” *Irish Examiner*, 12th December, 1901, 6.

¹¹⁸ For example, there are several articles in newspapers which introduced her works. See “New Music” *Irish Independent*, 8th November, 1905, 6 and also “On a Brown-Bog’s edge” *Anglo-Celt*, 16th November, 1907, 7.

¹¹⁹ “Dublin Sketching Club – Musical Afternoon” *Freeman’s Journal*, 3rd December, 1906, 8.

¹²⁰ For example, “The Queen’s Institute” *Freeman’s Journal*, 1st August, 1871, 9.

National Competition Prize, the Queen's Prize and Free studentship in the Department of Science and Art examinations in May 1877.¹²¹ At the meeting of 30th June 1894, she presented a paper on "Rubens and Rembrandt" and two years later a paper on the "Barbison[sic] school of French painters" at the meeting of 18th May 1896, then on 6th November 1900 a paper on "Life of Hokusai", the famous Japanese artist. Constance W. Haughton presented a paper on "How the art of music developed" along with "songs rendered by Hugh P. Haughton and by Miss Goodbody accompanied by Mrs. Haughton."¹²² There is also a record of Isabella M. Webb, wife of another member William F. Webb, lecturing on bacteria "which was illustrated by diagrams" at the meeting of 25th June 1896.¹²³ Since this was apparently the only occasion when Isabella Webb gave a paper, it is impossible to know whether she was an expert on the topic. However, this kind of domestic science was circulating widely, mainly through magazines such as the *Lady of the House* by the turn of the century.¹²⁴ Referring to the relationship between the knowledge of science and periodicals, Juliana Adelman has shown how science became "another type of literary contribution" in the nineteenth century, and how it appealed to a wide range of periodical readers.¹²⁵ Bacteriology, topic here, was an emerging branch of biological study in the later nineteenth century. Rosemary Wall has shown how the knowledge of bacteriology was promptly disseminated through the press – in order to prevent the outbreak of a pandemic. According to Wall, "germ theory was the most 'fashionable' of the century" not only among the scientists but also among the citizens.¹²⁶ As has been shown in Chapter 3, the literary societies in girls' schools also held lectures on such scientific topics in their gatherings relatively often. Therefore, the literary club's interest in scientific topic can be

¹²¹ "The Queen's Institute" *Freeman's Journal*, 26th September, 1877, 4.

¹²² 26th April, 1909, Minute book of the '90 Club, MS 19483, NLI.

¹²³ 25th June, 1896, Minute book of the '90 Club, MS 19483, NLI.

¹²⁴ For example, see the article "The bacteriology of milk" *Lady of the House*, Vol. 5, No. 7, 23.

¹²⁵ Adelman, *Communities of Science in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, 147-9.

¹²⁶ Rosemary Wall, *Bacteria in Britain, 1880-1939*, Studies for the Society for the Social History of Medicine (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), 77.

seen as a standard form intellectual consumption and they were always popular among audiences. As Wall has pointed out in the case of microbiology, visual demonstration of scientific knowledge became possible with the development of microscopy in the late nineteenth century. Bacteriology, in particular, was a study that flourished thanks to the use of visual media.¹²⁷ As can be seen in the minute that records Isabelle Webb's lecturing on bacteria, illustrated diagrams, were an intrinsic part of the talk. No doubt presentations on scientific topics could be also be an entertainment option for the people in literary clubs. But through the activities of these literary clubs, the general public were acquiring deeper scientific knowledge. It is quite likely that female members made the most of these opportunities to demonstrate their own abilities as was the case in the Cork Shakespearian Society.

It is noticeable that topics relating to education (especially for girls) were frequently discussed at the club's meetings regardless of the presenter's gender. For instance, J. M. Webb presented a paper on the education of girls¹²⁸ and Gertrude Webb also introduced her paper on "Training village girls for home life," in the course of which she referred to Miss J. A. Hobson's article which appeared on the *Contemporary Review*.¹²⁹ Girls' education was evidently one of the common concerns of participants. This of course was related to discussions about women's suffrage and employment, and reflected the contemporary trends of social debate, not least for Quakers.¹³⁰

Sometimes female members also played important roles in deepening the associational links between members. For example, it was recorded that "Mrs. Haslam proposed that the club should take an excursion" at the meeting of 22nd April 1891, and "a committee of four was

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 92.

¹²⁸ 22nd February, 1911, Minute book of the '90 Club, MS 19483, NLI.

¹²⁹ 18th May, 1912, Minute book of the '90 Club, MS 19483, NLI.

¹³⁰ Regan-Lefebvre, *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire: Ireland, India and the Politics of Alfred Webb*, 42-3.

appointed to consider and arrange the necessary details".¹³¹ This excursion actually took place a month later, but they did not travel far: they gathered at Terenure at 10:30 am and took steam-tram to Tallaght:

[...]There the old church Tower was inspected, and then all walked to Montpellier [sic] – The ruin of the Marquis of Ely's house, which stands on the side of the hill, was visited, after which some went to the top, where the old hunting-lodge stands, while other proceeded along the slopes to a cottage near Kilakee – where some time after we met for tea. The return route was through Kilakee demesne, where a halt was made in a sunny, grassy place, during which Mr. Haslam read us an essay of Bishop Westcott's on the poetry of Browning. We walked down to Rathfarnham and by tram to Terenure.[...]¹³²

This can be seen as an instance of literary tourism. To connect reading and tourism was a characteristic of nineteenth century readers. Nicola J. Watson has argued that literary tourism began in the eighteenth century mainly in the form of the Grand Tour of aristocrats and then expanded "both socially and geographically".¹³³ According to Watson, people started to visit not only the places directly associated with dead authors and their writings, but also where "the writer had previously visited and written in or about; or eventually to traverse whole imaginary literary territories".¹³⁴ Furthermore, the expansion of railway and tram made it easier for readers to access to literary sites, as here with Club members using the steam-tram to visit the greater suburban area. The Dublin and Blessington Steam Tramway had opened in 1888. The fare was reasonably cheap and so it must have been affordable for every club member.¹³⁵ Although the places mentioned did not necessarily have a particular literary interest, the club members most likely regarded this excursion as an expansion of their literary experience, culminating in Thomas Haslam's reading of the essay. This was the only excursion that appeared in their minute book. However, in his autobiography, Alfred Webb recalled that

¹³¹ 22nd April, 1891, Minute book of the '90 Club, MS 19483, NLI.

¹³² 18th May, 1891, Minute book of the '90 Club, MS 19483, NLI.

¹³³ Nicola J. Watson, *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 2-3.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹³⁵ <http://dublincitypubliclibraries.com/story/dublins-trams-transcript> [accessed 15/9/2016]

they were also known as the “Moonlighters” since they held country excursions on moonlit nights.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Alfred Webb, *Autobiography*, Vol. 2, Dublin Historical Library of Friends, f. 390.

4. A male only reading club: The Caliban Club in the Trinity College Dublin

For comparison, the reading activities of a single-gender reading club will be examined here. The Caliban Club, which was taken up as a model by the Cork Shakespearian Society, was a small Shakespeare reading club established in Trinity College Dublin. There is no direct information as to who founded the club or when it was established. But the minute book of the club exists from 1884 to 1888 and gives us a picture of their activities. At a meeting at 27th November, 1885, it was noted that this was the “100th meeting since formation of Club”. Considering that the meetings were held almost fortnightly during term, it seems likely that the club was founded around 1880.

According to the member list, there were 18 members in the club in 1884. 16 ordinary members in 1885, plus 3 honorary members 12 in 1886.¹³⁷ Therefore, it was a quite modest entity.

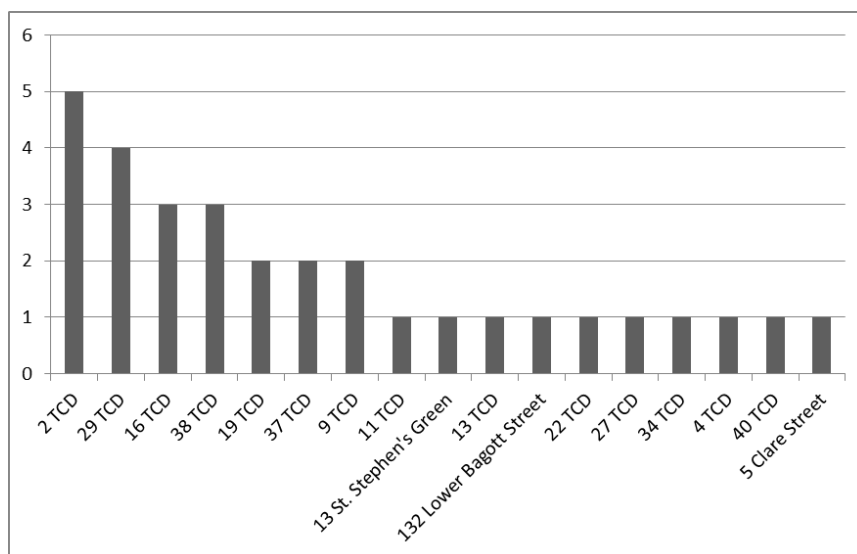


Figure 4-13 The premises of the club meetings and the frequency¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Minute Book of the Caliban Club, Trinity College Dublin, 1884-8, MS 2187, TCDA.

¹³⁸ Made from Minute book of the Caliban Club, Trinity College Dublin, 1884-8, MS 2187, TCDA.

Looking at the places where the club gathered, rooms in the Trinity College were used most frequently, changing the precise room each time. Apart from the student accommodation of Trinity College Dublin, other addresses such as 13 St. Stephen's Green, 132 Lower Bagott Street and 5 Clare Street were mentioned all situated near the city centre.

Looking at the contents of their meetings, although they were indeed reading Shakespeare's works, sometimes one can find descriptions that suggest the particular nature of this male-only club. For example, at the meeting of 20th November, 1884, "[i]t was resolved that stout and beer be supplied to the members of the Caliban Club if they should wish to drink it after the reading is over and that cigarettes and tobacco are not to be supplied."¹³⁹ This debate on recreational consumption at the meeting of 19th November, 1886 "[t]hat beer and stout be the only spirituous liquors which may be produced or consumed at any meeting of this club."¹⁴⁰ Sometimes the problematic behaviour of members were observed, "[t]hat Mr D. M. Wilson receive the censure of the Caliban Club for (1) Reading [a] Newspaper during the reading of the play, (2) Smoking during the reading of the play." Complaints of smoking during readings was a recurring theme, "[i]t was proposed by Mr. Webster and seconded by Mr. Baker 'that Smoking be allowed during the reading.'" According to the minute, "[t]his was negative by 8 to 2."¹⁴¹

Looking into their actual reading activities, one minute recorded that "[t]hat in future no plays but store of Shakespere[sic] be read by the Caliban Club, unless the Club shall agree to read a particular play other than one of the above a the meeting immediately preceeding[sic] the meeting for which such exceptional play is selected.' This was carried by 7 votes to 6",¹⁴²

¹³⁹ 20th November, 1884, Minute book of the Caliban Club, Trinity College Dublin, 1884-8, MS 2187, TCDA.

¹⁴⁰ 19th November, 1886, Minute book of the Caliban Club, Trinity College Dublin, 1884-8, MS 2187, TCDA.

¹⁴¹ 3rd December, 1886, Minute book of the Caliban Club, Trinity College Dublin, 1884-8, MS 2187, TCDA.

¹⁴² 19th November, 1886, Minute book of the Caliban Club, Trinity College Dublin, 1884-8, MS 2187, TCDA.

presumably they were also reading other (probably classical) works. However, after this resolution was passed at the meeting at 19th November, 1886, the club concentrated on the reading of Shakespearian works.

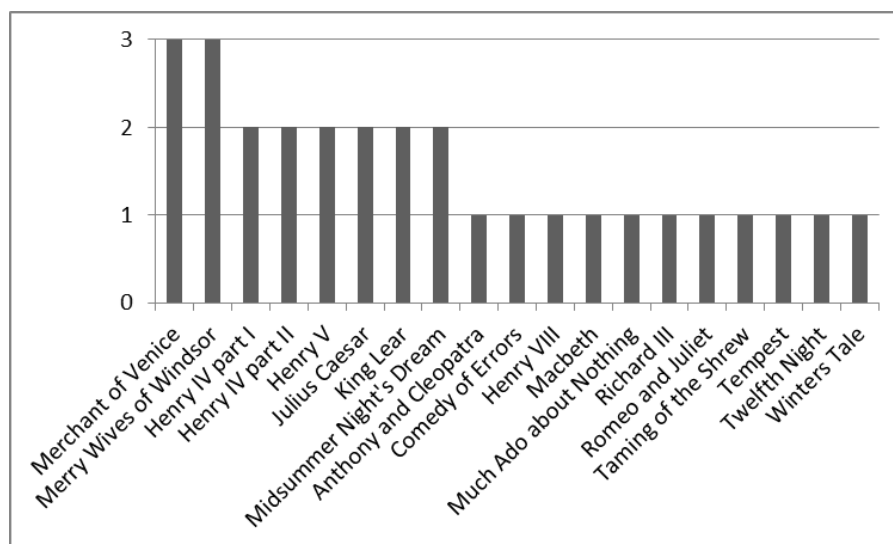


Figure 4-14 Chosen works at the reading clubs¹⁴³

As can be seen in the figure 4-14, 19 works of 38 Shakespeare's 38 works were chosen between 1884 and 1888. Among them, *Merchant of Venice* and *Merry Wives of Windsor* was chosen as a topic three times. After them, *Henry IV* (both parts), *Henry V*, *Julius Caesar*, *King Lear* and *Midsummer Night's Dream* come, were chosen twice. As for the genres, comedy tended to be chosen most often, 9 times in all, History and Tragedy came after comedy, each was chosen 5 times.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Made from Minute book of the Caliban Club, Trinity College Dublin, 1884-8. MS 2187, TCDA.

¹⁴⁴ The works which were not chosen were as the list below:

History

1. Henry VI (Part I, Part II)
2. King John
3. Richard II

Tragedy

1. Titus Andronicus
2. Hamlet
3. Troilus and Cressida

There is a possibility that the club took up other Shakespearian works before 1884 or after 1888, but on the evidence at hand it seems that the genre of History was regarded as the preferred topic for shared reading here.

Members' absence caused the cancellation of readings, twice during these years and one example of the problem caused by this was recorded in the minutes.

That the secretary be directed to convey the deep feelings of indignation of the members of the Caliban Club to Messrs Christie and Alexander, at their absence from this meeting – an absence caused by the acceptance of another engagement, such as has invariably been held of less importance than a meeting of the Caliban Club. That the members consider that the gravity of their offence is greatly increased by the extremely critical state of the Club which they naturally considered would have had a directly contrary effect especially on such an old member as Mr Christie [...].¹⁴⁵

As for the resignation of members, one (perhaps mock-serious) letter give some sense of why it happened and what it meant.

My dear Holmes,

I am sorry I cannot be at the Caliban tomorrow evening. I did not get your card until I had made and then fix time, which it will be impossible for me to break.

Will you let me take this opportunity of offering my resignation as a member of the Caliban? I do it with my much regret, as owning the Eight years of my membership, I may fairly claim to have enjoyed as much pleasure and profit as any one could do who made it a regular habit not to let anything interfere with attendance at the Clubs meetings.

But I have felt for some time that it was not fair that a man who was given

-
4. Othello
 5. Coriolanus
 6. Timon of Athens
- Comedy
1. Comedy of Errors
 2. The Two Gentlemen in Verona
 3. Love's Labour's Lost
 4. As You Like It
 5. All's Well That Ends Well
 6. Measure for Measure
 7. Pericles
 8. Cymbeline
 9. The Two Noble Kinsmen

¹⁴⁵ 27th November, 1885, Minute book of the Caliban Club, Trinity College Dublin, 1884-8, MS 2187, TCDA.

up (for nearly four years now) active connection with college, and who finds it more and more difficult to attend regularly and punctually, should continue to occupy a membership intended only for present men.

I hope I may be allowed sometimes to attend the meetings still, and let me wish you, the members of the Club, and the Club itself every possible success in the future.

Ever yours sincerely
R Godfrey [?] Webster¹⁴⁶

There was several examples of visitors who attended the club and took part in readings: for example, at the meeting of 20th November, 1884, a visitor W. B. Whelan read the role of Oswald of *King Lear*. Therefore, Godfrey Webster could reasonably have hoped to keep his association with the club even after resignation.

5. Comparison of the gatherings

Comparing the four gatherings, certain common characteristics and similarities can be noted. First of all, strict regulations about membership were in place in most cases. “Our reading club” in Belfast limited membership to original members, and the “90 club” in Dublin may have, had similar rules although there were it seems no explicit regulations, choosing instead an unspoken distinction between “members” and “guests”. These two clubs could be classified as private and basically closed reading groups. The Cork Shakespearian Society, conversely, adhered to the principle of keeping their group completely open to the public although one can see that they also had similar regulations regarding membership. They advertised their activities in the papers proactively and allowed people to attend their lectures without any restriction. The clubs in Belfast and Dublin, however, were not totally exclusive – they accepted guests to their meetings on almost every session, but it seems these guests were drawn from within clear social categories.

¹⁴⁶ 27th January, 1887, Minute book of the Caliban Club, Trinity College Dublin, 1884-8, MS 2187, TCDA.

Secondly, the leading members in these clubs were women in many cases, though they sometimes invited men with authority and conferred honorary memberships on them. In the case of Cork Shakespearian Society, male members such as Edward Dowden or Savage-Armstrong delivered keynote speeches at their annual general meetings. This may have reinforced some sense of hierarchy among the membership, but it is possible that by drawing in such figures their presence helped advertise their existence and allowed them raise income from those lectures. Female members were also assigned to some official positions, mostly as honorary secretaries. Similar to the case of the Literary Academy of St. Mary's University College discussed in the previous chapter, it may be that female members may have found that they could discuss issues more freely under the auspices of male authority.

Thirdly, the clubs included members with different political and religious views as well. The "90 club" contained both Home Rulers and Unionists. The Cork Shakespearian Society contained members who had different ideas about women's political rights.

At all three societies, greater importance was attached to the classic works of British literature rather than to contemporary Irish writings in general. The same canonical authors or works were repeatedly chosen. Although they may have trying to deepen their understandings of such works, it is possible that their purpose was not to pursue reading for itself but to create the opportunity for heightened social exchange and to avail of academic and fashionable social contact. There are several reasons why classic works of British literature, Shakespeare in particular, were preferred in the literary clubs. Canonical works allowed people to formulate various interpretations regardless of their gender, religion or political views so they were perfect for a neutral forum. Furthermore, as Marshall argued, these works were considered as providing a means for determining fundamental moral dilemmas, especially important in a mixed-gender group.¹⁴⁷ But of course classic works of British literature remained iconic and fashionable. It is possible that this timeless image of classic works made

¹⁴⁷ Marshall, *Shakespeare and Victorian Women*, 18.

female participation in club activities easier. They were considered as safe and risk-free providing topics for everyone to debate.

In the “90 club” and “Our reading club”, some Irish works were debated as well. In particular, the “90 club” took up work that reflected the tide of the Revival movement. The fact that these kind of works were chosen by the “90 club” far more frequently than in the other clubs, which could mean two things: first, it may show the exceptional influence of the Revival movement within the middle-class Dublin. Secondly, it could simply mean that they chose these kind of works because they were fashionable and they had easy access to the latest books compared to the situation in other cities. However, perhaps Belfast people had less liking for the Revival movement? It seems that Belfast stood in a singular position in relation to the Revival. In her study of Alice Milligan, Morris has made much of Milligan’s peculiarity in that she was a female revivalist from Belfast.¹⁴⁸ According to her, Milligan insisted that the cultural movement must cater for non-Irish speakers, resisting the dominant view that “those who could not speak Irish [...] be excluded from the essence of the cultural movement and the broader project of decolonisation.”¹⁴⁹ When one looks at the cultural movement in Belfast, the champions there seem isolated, the city being alienated from the centre of the Revival movement then flourishing in the capital; they had to create their own cultural landscape which was differentiated from that of Dublin. It has not been possible to trace the religions of many members of “Our reading club” in Belfast. The Duffins were Non-Subscribing Presbyterians and J. Bristow was Church of Ireland, but it highly likely that very nearly all of this club were Protestants of one denomination or another. Milligan’s attempt to widen the Revival reflected the sharpness of existing cultural and political divisions within the city.

Apart from readings, members enjoyed other activities at their meetings. In the “90

¹⁴⁸ Morris, *Alice Milligan : And the Irish Cultural Revival*, 146.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 147.

club” and the Cork Shakespearian Society, they were given opportunities to deliver papers at ordinary meetings or at the annual general meetings. They gave papers reflecting their own interests, sometimes relating to their pastimes and sometimes social issues. This can be seen especially in the cases of female members. It is also notable that topics of particular concern for women such as girls’ education were frequently taken up.

As for their meeting places, they rotated among their own homes in the case of “90 club” and “Our reading club”. One can see the frequency with which particular houses were used. Another point to note is that most meetings consisted of between ten and thirty people, so venues must have been large enough to seat all participants. There is no reference to about venue size in the minutes, but possibly the hosts or hostesses had to demonstrate their hosting skills at the meetings, so the meetings gave an opportunity to showcase homemaking skills of the hostesses. The meetings also offered a chance to expand social networks, especially in the case of business members.

When one looks at exchanges with other clubs or societies, only the Cork Shakespearian Society seems to have done this. They had particularly strong links with the Cork Literary and Scientific Society and indeed prominent members of the Shakespearian Society were also members of that society. This could indicate that single club did not provide sufficient opportunity for cultural and social exchange, leading some to join more than one broadly similar club or society.

Conclusion

Several conclusions can be drawn from the examples and analysis above. First of all, as mentioned in chapter 3, it should be borne in mind that these literary clubs were active at the time of when the University Question with all its ramifications was a huge issue. By the end of

the nineteenth century, it had become a far more complex issue especially for women.¹⁵⁰ Women may have utilised literary organisations such as reading clubs as a way to advance their claims to academic opportunity and as a surrogate for academic intercourse. For women, it was better than just waiting the final settlement of the University Question.

At the same time, the differences between female-only literary clubs and mixed-gender ones should be noted. As shown in chapter 3, the Revival movement was discussed in the female-only literary clubs quite often. When one looks at the activities of mixed-gender literary clubs, however, the emphasis was put on classic works of British literature in general. In one respect, this indicates that these works were still dominant as the literary canon at the time of the Revival movement, which also suggests a degree of cultural colonisation of Ireland at that time. At the same time, however, this could also indicate that certain works of British literature were considered to be safe and risk-free topics in gatherings where people of different political and religious views assembled. Especially for women, classic works of British literature, Shakespeare in particular, were regarded as pedagogically appropriate reading materials. It also can be considered as a reflection of gender ideology in those days: contemporary literature including the Revival works were, in general, considered as undesirable for women. Considering that this activity always involved shared reading, differing considerations may have applied to female solo or private reading which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Women also made the most of opportunities to showcase their skills and abilities at club meetings. This could have facilitated women's admission to the clubs, as all accepted that they could participate in club activities without compromising their womanliness. Considering the dominant conservative atmosphere of society, any cultural or social movement in which women could participate while safeguarding their femininity must have held great appeal for even upper middle-class women in those days. Given the fact that not all middle-class women were

¹⁵⁰ Pašeta, *Before the Revolution : Nationalism, Social Change and Ireland's Catholic Elite, 1879-1922*, 16.

degree-oriented as Mahony has argued, these kind of opportunities for adult learning could represent a “third way” for women who were not attracted to college but nevertheless sought some means of intellectual self-improvement. This point is often overlooked in studies of women’s history. As can be seen in the examples of musicians and painters at the clubs, such activities gave valuable opportunities for professional or semi-professional women when there was such limited opportunities for women to showcase their abilities. Participation in literary clubs afforded women opportunities for gaining knowledge not only of literature but also of other areas of knowledge, not least science, and it gave them social skills and a confidence to participate in the public sphere that was otherwise very hard to achieve.

Chapter 5: Private Reading

[...] I was waiting in a shop for some papers I had ordered, when it struck me. I took it up. The author was unknown to me. I opened it at haphazard, and a line caught me. I read on. I was roused by the bookseller's suave voice, —
“That is a very bad book. Madam. One of the modern realistic school, a *tendenz roman*, I would not advise Madam to read it.’
[...] I laid it down and left the shop. But the words I had read kept dancing before me [...].

George Egerton, “Now Spring Has Come” in *Keynotes* (1893), 47.

George Egerton thus describes how women’s reading activities were censored and controlled by authorities at the turn of the twentieth century: sometimes they were socially discouraged from looking inside books that were considered “very bad”. Nevertheless, forbidden books left vivid impressions on the women who read them. The protagonist above describes how “the words I had read kept dancing before me”. Books seem to take on symbolic meanings in Egerton’s works to show the operation of women’s own will-powers. In other words, women’s reading choices directly reflects their agency.

As seen in previous chapters, women were subject to various controls over their reading. Their choices were censored by authorities and they were also advised, from many sides, as to what they should or should not read. At the same time, however, women enjoyed both reading and literary activities that involved socialising. How about their private time?¹ What kind of books did women read, or wish to read, in their private lives? If there was strict guidance and censorship on their reading, how did they access proscribed books if they wanted to read more freely? The main focus of this chapter will be these two points.

Two kinds of sources will be analysed here: the first section will focus on memoirs of prominent four female Irish figures: Katharine Tynan (1859-1931), Mary Colum (1884-1957), Sophie O’Brien (1860-1960) and Mary E. L. Butler (1874-1920). Since biographical works were written with the intention to be read, an analysis of biographical works allows for an

¹ See David Vincent, *I Hope I Don't Intrude : Privacy and Its Dilemmas in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

examination not only of women's actual reading practices in their lifetime, but also how they intended to show themselves by describing their own reading activities.² In this sense, their own description of their reading activities could be considered a form of self-advertisement, and a display of the accumulation of cultural capital. The second section will be an in-depth analysis of the diaries of Mary Hayden (1862-1942), that were written from 1878 to 1903. This exceptional source enables us to follow one woman's literary activities from girlhood far into adulthood, including censorship from her father in girlhood, reading activities in the schools she attended, the transition of her reading tastes and her actual choice of reading materials in adult life.

Such sources have obvious limitations. The life experiences of the women who will be examined here are limited by their (mostly middle class) social origins and lifestyles. But three previous secondary studies are particularly relevant. The first one is Juliette Atkinson's work which focuses on the reception of French novels by readers at the London Library; she indicates that women readers of that genre shared several important attributes: firstly, a cosmopolitan background;³ secondly, they were either "members of aristocratic society, [or] women with connections to London literary and artistic society, but there were also some women with few connections with fashionable society".⁴ To enjoy such reading, in other words, it was highly desirable for women to be in a metropolitan society like that of London, to have cosmopolitan connections, and to be educated to a certain level. It is not too much to say that reading at its richest especially in another language, could be seen as an urban and sophisticated pastime. But of course the reading of standard texts in English was not limited to the well-off or well-educated woman. Atkinson also shows that, even in 1840s London,

² On Irish autobiography see Elizabeth Grubgeld, *Anglo-Irish Autobiography: Class, Gender, and the Forms of Narrative*, 1st ed., Irish Studies (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2004); Liam Harte, *Modern Irish Autobiography: Self, Nation and Society* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Claire Lynch, *Irish Autobiography: Stories of Self in the Narrative of a Nation*, Reimagining Ireland (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009).

³ Atkinson, "The London Library and the Circulation of French Fiction in the 1840s," 409.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 411-2.

women had several albeit quite different libraries to choose from. Readers of French novels chose the particular libraries in accordance with their level of literacy in French.⁵

As for the social strata of women readers in general in the mid-nineteenth-century, Elizabeth Langland points out that middle-class women made up the majority of the novel-reading public “because they had fewer opportunities for advanced education and gainful employment.”⁶ The dominant domestic ideology in Victorian England discouraged “respectable” women from working, and insofar as such women enjoyed greater income and more leisure hours they allocated time and increased spending power to books and reading.⁷

Erika Imada has defined the readership of girls’ magazines in that era as those who were the daughters of well-off families and had parents that were intent on giving them a good education. According to Imada, this culture was mainly placed in an urban setting.⁸ Thus, from this and the other English studies it would seem that female readers were supposed to be based very much in urban areas, to have had supportive home environments and to have enjoyed sophisticated connections.

1. Female reading experiences, as reflected in biographical works

This section will analyse published and unpublished biographical works of prominent female Irish figures in this era. Biographical works can be useful indicators as to how far reading was restricted for women, for the writer herself, or the female figures written about in the works. Looking at the biographical works of middle-class women, Regenia Gagnier has argued

⁵ Atkinson showed that the high-brow readers chose London library while the other readers chose Mudie’s library in 1840’s London. *Ibid.*, 403.

⁶ Elizabeth Langland, "The Receptions of Charlotte Bronte, Charles Dickens, George Eliot, and Thomas Hardy," in *A Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed. Patrick and Thesing Brantlinger, William B., Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 391.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ 今田絵里香『「少女」の社会史』, 5 頁。

that the description of convention and their opposition to it can be seen as a commonplace trope in their writings.⁹ According to Gagnier, there are mainly two symbols of convention in female autobiographies: schools and families. As for the school experiences of female writers in particular, Gagnier maintains that the recollections of schooldays can have different meaning, according to the writers' gender, since most girls' schools trained girls to be good wives and mothers while boys' schools trained boys to be independent. Therefore, Gagnier concluded that girls' schools in women's autobiographies can be read as symbolic of constraints and convention.¹⁰ Gagnier, however, was mainly examining politically-active female figures such as suffragettes, so it may be misleading to characterise all middle-class women's writings in terms of resistance.

Nevertheless, women's recollections of their private readings in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland often have an identifiable "narrative" pattern. In their childhood, recall about suffering from considerable restrictions under parental guidance or censorship. After they entered schools, they make reference to similar censorship by authority figures such as teachers or headmistresses. One of the characteristics of female writings on girlhood reading is, as Regina Gagnier states, control by authorities such as parents or teachers. Women finally acquire freedom to read in adulthood. The existing literature on women's reading practice has emphasised this subjection of women: in other word, female writings of their reading experiences could be read primarily as a story of battles fought against patriarchal control.

But as has been shown in the Introduction, existing literature has somewhat over-victimised women, being unduly influenced by feminist ideas. Did women have no freedom to choose their reading materials despite male/patriarchal supervision? Were they incessantly monitored? Our case studies provide some answers.

⁹ Regina Gagnier, *Subjectivities : A History of Self-Representation in Britain, 1832-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 209.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 196.

(1) Katharine Tynan

Such a sense of imposed restraint is a prominent theme in Irish writer Katharine Tynan's account of her early reading experiences. Like most other girls, home was the first place for her to read. Being at home, a farmhouse in Co. Dublin, she was naturally subject to her parents' guidance on reading. Tynan recollected herself as a naturally bookish girl – even at the moment when her father told her that her sister Mary was dead, Tynan did not stop reading *Picciola*, *the Prison Flower*.¹¹ Perhaps Tynan wrote this episode for showing her precocity as well, considering that this book *Picciola* is not normally considered childhood reading. The UK Reading Experience Database shows, for example, that this book was read by Harriet Granville who was 51 years old in 1836.¹²

As for parental censorship in her childhood, she described her mother as the main barrier to the development of her reading. As a devout Catholic, her mother restricted Tynan's reading strictly. Tynan recalled her mother's view on her reading practices:

My own personal knowledge of that Puritan wave was chiefly concerned with the limitation of my reading. I remember when my mother took away from me *Aurora Floyd*¹³ and locked it in a perpetually locked bookcase [...]. I was forbidden all but good-book reading that Lent, and very little of the good-book reading, since my mother, [...] cried out that the child would destroy her eyes. This argument against my reading went side by side with the other, *e.g.* that all novel-reading was a thing to be abhorred by good Catholics.

I look back on those years as a series of encounters in which I fought for reading and my mother, at times, frustrated me. She thought my prayers should be a satisfactory substitute for my reading. [...].¹⁴

The attitude of Tynan's mother could seem somewhat extreme from this description; however,

¹¹ Katharine Tynan, *Twenty-Five Years : Reminiscences* (London: Elder & Co., 1913), 37.

¹² http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record_details.php?id=26953 [accessed 15/09/2016]

For Harriet Granville (1785-186) see Harriet Granville, *Letters of Harriet, Countess Granville, 1810-1845*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green and co., 1894).

¹³ Published in 1863 and at least fifth edition had been printed in that year.

<http://copac.jisc.ac.uk/search?title=aurora%20floyd&rn=32> [accessed 15/09/2016]

¹⁴ Tynan, *Twenty-Five Years : Reminiscences*, 39.

the prohibition of books, especially novels, was not rare and also not limited to the Catholics in those days. Her father, however, was more generous about her reading. Moreover, his nationalistic reading tastes influenced his daughter's reading. As for the relationship between her and her father, Tynan noted that there was a difference of view between her parents towards her reading:

[...] It was always my mother who cried "Don't," and my father who said "Let her be. " To be sure my father was often abroad and the rule of my mother was more intimate, more compelling. It was my father who brought books into the house, miscellaneous lots picked up at auctions, of the most varied kind. He had no belief in a censorship. I cannot recall that he ever told me not to read any book, although I must have read some curious ones under his eyes. If he gave my reading any direction it was towards poetry – Irish National poetry for the most part [...]. He had belonged to a Mitchel Club in his boyhood. [...] He adored the men of '48. [...] I think poetry perhaps came easier to him than prose, for I might have read Mitchel's *Jail Journal* with advantage and I did not. I read Davis, Duffy's *Spirit of the Nation*, D'Arcy Magee and Meagher of the Sword. A good deal of it was indifferent reading from an artistic point of view.¹⁵

Tynan recalled that her father was also an admirer of Lady Wilde, who shocked him "when he first beheld her fighting her way, like any man."¹⁶ Tynan herself was not necessarily moulded by her father's taste, although she tried his favourites at least; parents could be obstructers or supporters in the development of reading tastes, especially in the case with women. It is generally assumed that female reading was heavily subject to paternal guidance, but Tynan's case may be an interesting exception, since the maternal influence was more pronounced.

As for her own youthful taste, she recalled how:

There was a long row, in dull chocolate covers, of Miss Edgeworth's books on the top shelf of the Georgian bookcase which now holds my most treasured volumes. I really believe *Castle Rackrent* was missing, and what a loss that was! My memory of Maria is of a faded fashionable eighteenth-century atmosphere. I know I read *Belinda* over and over and many others of Belinda's sort. [...] In that miscellaneous

¹⁵ Ibid., 40-41.

¹⁶ Ibid., 41. For Speranza (Lady Wilde) see Horace Wyndham, *Speranza; a Biography of Lady Wilde* (London: T. V. Boardman, 1951); Lia Mills, "'I Won't Go Back to It': Irish Women Poets and the Iconic Feminine," *Feminist Review* 50 (1995); Joy Melville, *Mother of Oscar: The Life of Jane Francesca Wilde* (London: John Murray, 1994).

reading there was Eugene Sue's *Mysteries of Paris* [...]. Horrible it always seemed to me, but I read it nevertheless. There were some early volumes of the *Cornhill*, of the *Family Friend*, and *Once a Week*. I am tolerably certain that I did not read the *Mysteries of Paris* while I was under my mother's eye. That must have come later with James Grant and Dumas and G. W. M. Reynolds [...]. I had almost forgotten the Parlour Library [...]. In that I must have read *Mansfield Park* and *Emma*: but I remember better *Sidonia the Sorceress* and some of Mrs. Gore's and Mrs. Trollope's stories. [...] Penny story-papers were even worse than novels in my mother's sight. I acquired them all the same – *The London Reader*, *The London Journal*, *The Family Herald*.¹⁷

Most of the books she mentioned were in high fashion in those days.¹⁸ It is evident that she had typical literary tastes for the daughter of fairly prosperous parent, but perhaps in her memoir she was trying to try to impress her readers that she was a girl with girlish taste.

Her reference to “the Parlour Library” for access to Jane Austen was to a pioneering series of cheaply-produced reprints of fiction, originally published in Belfast for a shilling a book that brought English classics to a much wider readership, but it was the “penny story-papers” which her mother detested even more than novels. Tynan had to seek out covert places where she could read anything she liked, free from her mother's censorship, where she could get a “sense of escape, of freedom”.

She also recalled how she became acquainted with “a pair of country sisters who kept a more delicious shop”.¹⁹ She called it as “a shop of pure romance” and described the rich assortment of goods there, including reading materials.

They were flanked by newspapers and magazines. The window was full of story-books – the lurid harmless stories in which boys rejoiced, and others. But the crowning delight to me was the circulating library which sat round about the shelves at that side of the shop. [...] Even now I can feel the ecstasy of touching

¹⁷ Tynan, *Twenty-Five Years : Reminiscences*, 41-42.

¹⁸ For more on *Mysteries of Paris* see Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, "The Mysteries of New England: Eugene Sue's American "Imitators", 1844," *Nineteenth Century Contexts* 22, no. 3 (2000). The others are all popular periodicals, such as *The Cornhill Magazine*, founded by George Murray Smith in 1859-60. *Sidonia the Sorceress* (1849), by Meinhold, is representative of a popularised neo-medievalism, probably out of date by the time of Tynan's childhood. J-A. George, "From King Arthur to Sidonia the Sorceress: The Dual Nature of Pre-Raphaelite Medievalism," in *Victorian Gothic* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 99-108. This has been translated into English for the 1849 edition by Lady Wilde.

¹⁹ Tynan, *Twenty-Five Years : Reminiscences*, 42.

those green and scarlet and blue backs of books and knowing that I might read what I would. [...]²⁰

Tynan could access to a wider selection of books, newspapers and magazines at this shop, however, what pleased her most was access to a circulating library.

In most female autobiographical writing, adult guidance tends to be described in terms of restriction. However, sometimes it was a guidance towards new possibilities or broadening their world view. The schools they attended are often described as restrictive, but also as the place where they met the friends with whom could share their reading experiences and tastes. Tynan attended the Dominican convent school of St Catherine of Siena in Drogheda, Co. Louth but for only a brief term. As for her reading experiences there, she often complained about the lack of freedom in this “bookless desert”.²¹ Students were prevented from reading newspapers or magazines.²² Furthermore, the school library possessed only what she called “guileless novels” like “Lady Georgina Fullerton, the *Heir of Redclyffe*,²³ the *Fabiola* of Cardinal Wiseman, the *Callista* of Cardinal Newman, Adelaide Proctor’s poems, and a little anthology of verse which had a great vogue in mid-Victorian days”.²⁴ Nevertheless, she also recalled that “the nuns were not illiberal, since there are two Protestant authors to four Catholic in this little list”.²⁵ This eclectic list tends to undermine the notion evident in the previous chapters, that Catholics in authority were overwhelmingly hostile to the influence of Protestant literature.

The ordinary ways for the Convent pupils to enjoy by reading was reading aloud. At night,

²⁰ Ibid., 42-43.

²¹ Ibid., 43.

²² Ibid., 49-50.

²³ Published in 1853 and at least nineteenth edition had been printed by 1871.

<http://copac.jisc.ac.uk/search?title=the%20heir%20of%20redclyffe&rn=50> [accessed 15/09/2016]

²⁴ Tynan, *Twenty-Five Years : Reminiscences*, 46. For this authorised “Catholic” novel by famous prelates see Charlotte E. Crawford, “Newman's “Callista” and the Catholic Popular Library,” *The Modern Language Review* 45, no. 2 (1950); Susan Dorman, “Hypatia and Callista: The Initial Skirmish between Kingsley and Newman,” *Nineteenth- Century Fiction* 34, no. 2 (1979); Siegfried Mews, “Sensationalism and Sentimentality: Minor Victorian Prose Writers in Germany,” *MLN* 84, no. 5 (1969).

²⁵ Tynan, *Twenty-Five Years : Reminiscences*, 40.

the nuns read aloud the works they possessed on their list and the pupils listened to it. That is how Tynan absorbed *The Heir of Redclyffe*.²⁶ The pupils also read aloud at their meals, and in that role she read the *Lives of Saints* although she recollected that she did not enjoy that much.

This “old-fashioned” convent life, however, brought with it the opportunity to meet new friends from different backgrounds, including for her other pupils who came from France:

Somehow or somewhere – perhaps from my mother, perhaps from the convent school – I had derived more than a streak of Puritanism about my reading. My new friends had a Catholic taste of reading. They were musicians, and they had languages. [...]Of the books I was introduced to by these early friends two or three stand out. Two were *Anatomy of Melancholy* and the *Religio Medici*. I envied them reading George Sand in the French as easily as I could in the English.²⁷

It is interesting that she described her attitude or tastes for reading as “Puritanism” and that of her friends as “Catholic”. She explicitly wrote that she was jealous of their skills of French which enabled them to read George Sand smoothly. This issue of French reading was important. Atkinson outlines several reasons why reading French novels was significant in early Victorian London for both upper- and middle-class readers. In her view, the only difference between the reading activities of the different classes was whether they read the French edition or cheap translations. Readers of such novels had to be enveloped in a metropolitan and cosmopolitan atmosphere in order to enjoy them, especially in the case of female readers.²⁸ In Tynan’s case, her French skills were not as advanced as those of her friends but she was able to access English editions of French novels. As for the cultural scene in the convent school that she was placed in, she recalled that she had first arrived “with the reputation of being a great reader and I was asked many questions about the books I had read”.²⁹ But the convent had of its own cosmopolitan atmosphere and she made several friends from abroad there.

²⁶ Ibid., 41. Gavin Budge, "Realism and Typology in Charlotte M. Yonge's *the Heir of Redclyffe*," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 31, no. 1 (2003).

²⁷ Tynan, *Twenty-Five Years : Reminiscences*, 78.

²⁸ Atkinson, "The London Library and the Circulation of French Fiction in the 1840s," 412-4.

²⁹ Tynan, *Twenty-Five Years : Reminiscences*, 40.

As for her reading tastes after she left the Convent School, Tynan recalled reading in the ladies' reading room of several libraries, she occasionally visiting to the one set aside in the Royal Dublin Society together with a friend from "the bookish family".

She wrote that the main reason why she frequented the Royal Dublin Society was the quiet and cozy atmosphere. Apart from the fact that there were separate reading rooms, Tynan recalled the difference of the reading tastes of men and women:

Whatever the men might do in the way of reading – a large proportion of them might have been only looking at the sporting-tips or the cricket, but I think not, since the Royal Dublin Society rooms were used by a more serious class – feminine Dublin read as little then as it does today. [...]Feminine Dublin nowadays might perhaps come in and ask for the last tenth-rate London success. No one came novel-hunting in those days.³⁰

Perhaps she was recalling the 1870s, but as we have seen, the later evidence is that book-borrowers from libraries were mostly women and they read mostly fiction, especially novels.³¹

Tynan conceded that:

Now and again there was a serious reader. There were always one or two old ladies who lived and dozed away their days there. [...]I don't think they ever read. [...]When you wanted a book you went out and touched an electric bell in the corridor. [...]That reading-room had a convent-like air of enclosure. Rarely, rarely came a librarian, [...]. Is there anywhere now such a refuge as this from the wind-swept, rain-swept winter streets? [...]How much I owe to the bookish family who led me there! In the ordinary course of things I should never have found my way there alone.³²

As can be seen in this quotation, the main attractions for the visitors were "a convent-like" quietness undisturbed by librarians, a private space of female refuge. Tynan's personal views on female reading were not clear-cut– on the one hand she picked quite deliberately the female writers that she had read, perhaps with the intention of underlining the femininity of her reading tastes, but on the other hand she was sometimes quite dismissive of other female

³⁰ Ibid., 85.

³¹ Ambrose Coleman, "Our Reading Public and the Carnegie Rural Libraries" *IER*, Vol. 35, 1925, 363.

³² Tynan, *Twenty-Five Years : Reminiscences*, 86.

“readers”. Perhaps she was trying to show herself as a uniquely diligent reader at that time, distinct from the female circle in Dublin in which she moved.

(2) Mary Colum

Mary Colum’s autobiography, *Life and the Dream*, was first published in 1958. Taura Napier reviewed this book as a self-portrait and saw it as reflecting both “her personal and public selves”. Yet this autobiography was a crafted text and in some respects is unreliable.³³ But while it does contain exaggeration, it sets down some rich memories of her personal reading materials that can help readers to reconstruct one female’s intellectual journey.

Colum noted her childhood reading in two places: home and school.

I tried with the help of a dictionary to chew through Kant’s *Critique of Pure Reason*, Burke on *The Sublime and Beautiful*, Locke on *The Human Understanding*. It may be assumed that no little girl of eleven or twelve could get anything out of these works [...]. Not only did I get something from these books but they developed some critical part of my mind to a sharpened degree, [...] so that I would listen to my elders to see if they contracted themselves, or if they knew a great deal or understood the sort of words that were in these books.³⁴

Here she recalled her generally precocious reading during her childhood. Because of such behaviour, such books were put out of her reach later.³⁵ She was placed under the instruction of family members and her reading became limited “for the most part, to works of piety.”³⁶

Similar to Tynan, she complained about the limited freedom to expand her reading during the time she spent in the convent school which she later attended:

Worst of all was the collection of books I had brought. I was supposed to bring no books at all, as the convent supplied all schoolbooks, or the use of books, for fifteen shillings a quarter. But various members of my family had presented me, as parting gifts, with enough to fill a bookshelf. My writing uncle had given me Longfellow’s translation of Dante, Maria Edgeworth’s *Castle Rackrent*, and

³³ Taura Napier, "The Mosaic "I": Mary Colum and Modern Irish Autobiography," *Irish University Review* 28, no. 1 (1998): 55.

³⁴ Mary Maguire Colum et al., *Life and the Dream* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd, 1947), 4.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*. The [other] uncle [...] gave me *East Lynne*,³⁷ *The Mystery of Hansom Cab*, *Lady Audley's Secret*,³⁸ and *St. Elmo*. [...] Still, I was unprepared for the disapproval of the wardrobe sister. "You cannot read that book without supervision," she told me. [...] The nun confiscated all my books, and, instead, gave me the *Key of Heaven*, the *Introduction to a Devout Life*, and *The Imitation of Christ*.³⁹

Her family seem to have had literary tastes and to have been generous in respect of Colum's reading. Her uncle gave her Fergus Hume's *The Mystery of Hansom Cab* and Mary Elizabeth Braddon's sensation novel, *Lady Audley's Secret*, an advanced and eclectic choice for a girl that age.

In response to the heavy restrictions on reading at the convent school, Colum recalled that "novel smuggling" was a feature of her schooldays.

For we all had numbers and were often referred to by them instead of by our names, and during meals the refectory sister would make announcements, "[...] a novel by Ouida [or other forbidden writer] was found under Fifty-six's mattress. Whoever smuggles in novels will please go and tell the mistress of schools." Sometimes the novel smuggling, like chocolate smuggling, was accomplished by the day pupils. It was not that we were forbidden to read novels, but we were allowed to read only on holidays or at recreation times, and then only what books were in the school library. This contained some rubbish and some masterpieces which we read indiscriminately and generally with equal enjoyment. The books were graded according to our ages, and I remember in my last school years reading many novels of Thomas Hardy that were not in the outside world considered suitable reading for the *jeune fille*.⁴⁰

Here Colum was emphasising the monitored and jail-like atmosphere of the convent school with the pupils having their names converted into numbers, but she did not describe it as absurdly censored, conceding that they were allowed to read novels in some certain circumstances. She also recalled that "[t]he school library was an odd mixture, composed of the classics, the lives of the saints, and some good novels of the period that had got there by

³⁷ Published in 1861 and at least fifth edition had been printed by 1862.

<http://copac.jisc.ac.uk/search?title=east%20lynne&rn=32> [accessed 15/09/2016]

³⁸ Published in 1862 and at least seventh edition had been printed in that year.

<http://copac.jisc.ac.uk/search?keyword=7th&title=lady%20audley%27s%20secret&rn=2> [accessed 15/09/2016]

³⁹ Colum et al., *Life and the Dream*, 17.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

legacy. There were the novels of Thomas Hardy and George Meredith wedged in between the books of Hall Caine and Marie Corelli, and romantic works by well-intentioned lady authors.”⁴¹ She noted that she had preferred reading “rubbish” and that “there is some real value” in reading them “to understand people’s dreams”. Even on prize day, she “was not given the high-class works of literature the other girls received as prizes”.⁴² Considering that she read Thomas Hardy’s works, which were not “considered suitable reading for the *jeune fille*”, she seems to have been almost satisfied with the environment there. Similar to Tynan’s description of her convent school, Colum’s library contained works by Protestant writers. Thus their intention was not only to criticise the limited reading freedoms of the convent, but rather, to modify the image of the Catholic convent schools for their readers, even if “novel-smuggling” described here, was one of Colum’s most cheerful convent memories.

[T]he letters I liked best were from the French wife of an uncle, written in French [...]. She had been a governess before marrying and had acquired habits of instructing the young. When a little girl, she had been at a convent school in France, and it seemed to be the very image of the one I was at, with the same habits and customs [...]. But in addition to the piety this aunt had a witty intellectuality and would write amusingly about books, begging me to be sure to read the *Jocelyn* of Lamartine, and the *Journal* of Eugénie de Guérin, and the *Centaur* of her brother Maurice. [...] She would write me warnings against ever reading Zola, though she thought that when I grew older I might read a few selections from Flaubert for his style, which she thought was the most wonderful that had ever been achieved. She made me so interested in French literature that my natural delight and interest in anything written in French grew and grew through her correspondence. I think her writing to me gave her an outlet and reminded her of the young girl at a convent school that she herself had been.⁴³

Adding to the aunt’s personal background as a governess before marriage, Colum and the aunt shared similar experience in their educational background, that is, attending convent schools. As can be seen here, the aunt was giving Colum some literary instruction, especially in French literature, and that such instruction was a welcome outlet for the French aunt. Similar to Tynan’s case, having French connections worked to Colum’s advantage, both in acquiring

⁴¹ Ibid., 28.

⁴² Ibid., 28-9.

⁴³ Ibid., 29-30.

French language skills and in being introduced to French literature.

(3) Sophie O'Brien

A similar description can also be found in Sophie O'Brien, Mrs. William O'Brien's unpublished autobiography, *Recollections of a long life* which was written in 1945.⁴⁴ In the work, she recollected the reading practices not only of herself but of three generations of her family, her Russian grandmother, her mother and herself. The point which differentiates this work from other biographical works (apart from its non-Irish origins) is that she described her family as being relatively supportive in her reading development.

To us, books were the great joy in life. Our pocketmoney [sic] did not go any more in plants, but was devoted to books. Till I was twenty my mother looked at every book I wished to buy. She gave me the dear old volume of Byron she had brought from Russia. She told me I might read everything except Don Juan. I took her words to heart and when I was old enough to read everything I never opened the forbidden pages [...]. My mother gave me a good rule about knowing what I should leave unread. If I came to a page I would not care to read aloud to her, it was a sign the book was of the wrong kind and should be laid aside.⁴⁵

As can be seen from this, the attitude of O'Brien's mother towards her daughter's readings could be seen as mixed, although it was generally open-minded and rather encouraging. O'Brien's mother was willing to buy books as much as they wanted and also gave her daughter the books. The system of censorship was recalled more in detail that:

My mother had a list of books I was not to read before I was twenty. Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* was one of those books. The result was that when I did read it I was disappointed. I much preferred the *Newcomes* I was allowed to read when I was younger. *Les Girondins* by Lamartine was also on the black list. It had made too great an impression on her. I was not disappointed, but I preferred *Madame Roland's Memoirs* to the more poetic tale. The *Memoirs* I read and re-read [...].⁴⁶

⁴⁴ <http://www.corkarchives.ie/media/PR25web.pdf> [accessed 15/9/2016], 9.

⁴⁵ Sophie O'Brien, *Recollections of a Long Life*, Sophie O'Brien Papers, IE CCCA/PR25/2, CCCA, 44. On Sophie's husband – a prominent politician – see Philip Bull, "William O'Brien, MP: The Metropolitan and International Dimensions of Irish Nationalism," *Immigrants & Minorities* 27, no. 2-3 (2009).

⁴⁶ Sophie O'Brien, *Recollections of a Long Life*, Sophie O'Brien Papers, IE CCCA/PR25/2, CCCA, 45.

As can be seen in this quotation, O'Brien's mother did not necessarily forbid the reading of certain novels but just directed her daughter to leave them unread until she reached the appropriate age. O'Brien seems to have obeyed her mother's direction without complaint. However, she still had an impression that she would have preferred to have had earlier access to some books if she had been allowed.

As for her own reading taste:

When I was fifteen or sixteen I decided I would be an old maid like Ethel of *The Daisy Chain*, a book I loved like many of Miss Yonge's books. *The Heir of Redclyffe* made me weep so bitterly that my mother was frightened and kept novels from me for a long time.⁴⁷

Adding to her own choices, O'Brien utilized her personal connections. In her case, she had several French friends and some of them "were connected with newspapers, and gave me [O'Brien] openings for articles on Ireland in *Le Soir*, *Le Siecle* and *La Republique Francaise*. [...]"⁴⁸ As can be seen here, her personal connection enabled her to peruse French newspapers which she could not access easily.

(4) Mary E. L. Butler

Mary E. L. Butler's unpublished biography touches on the relationship between girls/women and reading. Although this is not strictly an autobiography, it contains much her own recollections.

Throughout it the author tries to impress on readers that her reading choices molded her thinking. For example, the author mentioned the literary atmosphere in Ireland and how much Revivalism was yet to be accepted:

⁴⁷ Ibid, 45-46. On Charlotte Yonge see Mia Chen, "'And There Was No Helping It': Disability and Social Reproduction in Charlotte Yonge's *the Daisy Chain*," *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies* 4 (2008); Leslee Thorne-Murphy, "The Charity Bazaar and Women's Professionalization in Charlotte Mary Yonge's *the Daisy Chain*," *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 47, no. 4 (2007).

⁴⁸ Sophie O'Brien, *Recollections of a Long Life*, Sophie O'Brien Papers, IE CCCA/PR25/2, CCCA, 65.

Up to this, other ideas for Ireland beyond those advocated by the Irish Literary Revivalists were not very familiar with the Irish public in general. But it happened to Mary as it has happened to many another. The writings of Standish O'Grady, Douglas Hyde, AE, W. B. Yeats and others of the Literary and language Revival, though only dealing directly with Ireland's right to spiritual Independence, made her think of a really free Ireland.⁴⁹

Mentioning that the Revival movement had not spread to the general reading public, the author intended to describe Butler as a nationalist by nature. Regarding to this point, it should be taken into consideration that this book was probably written later than 1919, so there could be a contemporary incentive to glorify or justify a nationalist's life. Butler herself looked back her reading experiences in her girlhood in a Clare upper-class home:

I remember the first books I read about Ireland included, in addition to Mitchel, Gavan Duffy's "Young Ireland", Davis' Essays and poems, Mangan's poems, Sullivan's History of Ireland, Prendergast's Cromwellian Settlement, O'Curry's Manners and Customs of the Irish People, Joyce's "Social Ireland", Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy" Needless to say I did not assimilate the contents of all these weighty volumes in a day or a month, but I devoured them with a breathless interest which the reading of a most sensational novel has never been able to invoke in me.⁵⁰

Her intention to differentiate herself from other girls who were enjoying sensation novels is evident here. This differs from the example of Katharine Tynan's autobiography which is shown above, however, it could also be considered that reading activities were one of the devices in female biographical works which could make the protagonists different from the rest of the world. In this description, it is evident that there was an intention to represent herself as an outstanding girl who had a different reading tastes to those around her. In Tynan's case, although she had rather common reading tastes, she also described herself as a girl with strong

⁴⁹ *Life of Mary E. L. Butler* (Mrs. Nolan) by the author of the name, "Sinn Féin", MS 7321, NLI, 17. For more of Butler's writings see M. E. L. Butler and Rooney. William, "Irishwomen and the Home Language," *All Ireland Review* (1900); M. E. L. Butler, "Womanhood and Nationhood," *United Irishman* 17 (1903). On Butler see Biletz, "Women and Irish-Ireland: The Domestic Nationalism of Mary Butler."; Róna Nic Congáil, "'Fiction, Amusement, Instruction': The Irish Fireside Club and the Educational Ideology of the Gaelic League," *Éire-Ireland* 44 (2009).

⁵⁰ *Life of Mary E. L. Butler* (Mrs. Nolan) by the author of the name, "Sinn Féin", MS 7321, 19.

impulse to pursue her reading, no matter how much she was prohibited or censored her readings.

Butler's biography also provides information about where she accessed books. There is a description based on one priest's recollection that Butler used to borrow books from his library thus:

L. MacManus, [...] described the scene in the library of a priest friend, and told how she borrowed some books that were to reveal another world to her:
A young girl...gifted, brilliant, who spoke French fluently and who had read a great deal stood before a book case. ...As she looked along the shelves two books caught her glance, Mitchel's History of Ireland, and his Jail Journal ... She draw out the books and opened one. Then she stood there reading, [...] before the tall bookstand. The father found her sometimes later standing [...]. Could she take the history home? She had not known that Ireland had such a story.⁵¹

The priest who owned the library allowed her to bring the book back home, and she did so. Similar to her own recollection, her particular taste for nationalistic writings was emphasized here by the biographer. "Mary then, like many another of her class, entered with girlish pleasure into the gaieties of the social functions that were so numerous in those days in Dublin" which "lacked intellectual depth".⁵² It is not clear how far her youthful reading had been carefully controlled, but in Tynan's and Butler's experiences, personal connections could be crucial in gaining freedom to experiment in reading, especially for girls.

(5) Comparison

Some common characteristics can be found across these four cases. The recounting of childhood and adolescent reading practices by these public figures was up to a point framed in terms of resistance, and of a search for means of circumventing censorship, whether by parents or by school. At the same time, the emergence of independent reading choices was used to indicate their own agency and assertion of autonomy.

⁵¹ Ibid, 17-18.

⁵² Ibid, 10.

Table 5-1 List of the publications mentioned in the quoted autobiographical works

Katharine Tynan	Picciola, the Prison Flower
	Aurora Floyd
	Jail Journal
	Spirit of the Nation
	Castle Rackrent
	Mysteries of Paris
	Cornhill
	Family Friend
	Once a Week
	Mysteries of Paris
	Mansfield Park
	Emma
	Sidonia the Sorceress
	The London Reader
	The London Journal
	The Family Herald
	the Heir of Redclyffe
	Fabiola
	Callista
	Lives of Saints
Anatomy of Melancholy	
Religio Medici	
Mary E. L. Butler	Young Ireland
	History of Ireland
	Cromwellian Settlement
	Manners and Customs of the Irish People
	Social Ireland
	Irish Minstreley
	Jail Journal
Sophie O'Brien	Don Juan
	Vanity Fair
	Les Girondins
	Memoirs
	Le Soir
	Le Siecle
La Republique Francaise	
Mary Colum	Critique of Pure Reason
	The Sublime and Beautiful
	The Human Understanding
	Castle Rackrent
	Jane Eyre
	East Lynne
	The Mystery of Hansom Cab
	Lady Audley's Secret
	St. Elmo
	Key of Heaven
	Introduction to a Devout Life
The Imitation of Christ	

As can be seen from the list above, it is apparent that these female writers tried to present themselves by the books which they (or their biographers) chose to highlight. The works which were mentioned in their recollections can be divided roughly into four genres: established classics such as the works of Austen and Edgeworth, contemporary bestsellers including sensation novels, nationalist writings and religious material. Of the four case studies, the most clear-cut example of narrow reading is that of Mary E. L. Butler, who mentioned only nationalist writings in her biography and added that she had never been interested in sensation novels. It is obvious that there is an intention to strengthen the particular image of Butler as a natural born nationalist. Katharine Tynan's reading tastes, on the contrary, were represented as typically feminine. This is also arguably the case with Sophie O'Brien and Mary Colum, although it can be seen that Colum was showing that she had been described as precocious and intelligent in trying to read philosophical works such as Kant and Locke. Later in her autobiography, Colum recalled that this was one reason why she was sent to a boarding school. At the same time, however, Colum mentioned that she also liked contemporary bestsellers, as did Tynan. This suggests that they enjoyed these on their own terms.⁵³ In a sense, the choice of reading materials can be taken as an indicator of their personalities and also of degree of agency they enjoyed. While they were complaining about their restricted freedom in reading, they tried to show that they had some limited agency in choosing what to read, regardless of the reading materials others had approved for them.

Looking at those who directed their girlhood reading, a common feature can be seen in the case of these four women: male authorities were described as permissive while female authorities were not. In Tynan's case, while her mother censored her readings strictly, her father protected her free will and even expanded her reading tastes. Colum described her

⁵³ See David Barton, Mary Hamilton, and Roz Ivanič, *Situated Literacies : Reading and Writing in Context*, Literacies (London: Routledge, 2000); Annette Lareau and Erin McNamara Horvat, "Moments of Social Inclusion and Exclusion Race, Class, and Cultural Capital in Family-School Relationships," *Sociology of education* (1999).

uncle in generous terms helping to her to free her reading whereas the nuns of the convent school were the opposite. In the case of Butler, a priest helped her to nourish her reading tastes. O'Brien's case was a distinct since her reading practices were described as inherited through the maternal line. On the one hand O'Brien's mother encouraged her reading, albeit carefully filtered.

Although existing literature has emphasised the pressure of male authority on female reading practices, these examples point to a different tendency. Perhaps one can see a form of cultural reproduction here – mothers seeking to educate daughters as they themselves were themselves shaped and brought up.

2. Mary Hayden's reading experience

This section will analyse Mary Hayden's diaries from 1878 to 1903, using it as an example of transition and transformation in the reading practices of a woman from girlhood to professional adulthood.

Hayden was born in 1862, the only daughter of a Catholic physician and academic, Thomas Hayden in Dublin. She was educated in three schools: Mount Anville convent, Co. Dublin, run by a French order, the Society of the Sacred Heart; the Ursuline convent, at Thurles, Co. Tipperary; and Alexandra College, in Dublin. She can be seen as the small but interesting group of Catholic girls who entered Alexandra College regardless of the religious issue, for the purpose of pursuing a high-level "modern" education. She took both BA and MA degrees through Alexandra College from the RUI, and was later awarded junior fellowship from the latter. However, her application for a senior fellowship failed and this became one of the main reasons for her to launch herself into various activities such as a women's rights campaign including women's higher education. Later she became the first woman appointed to the senate of the National University of Ireland, and Hayden was appointed the first Professor of

Modern Irish History at University College Dublin, a position she held until 1938.⁵⁴ Hayden's diaries offer an exceptional key to understanding the reading practices of a middle-class female intellectual in the final decades of the nineteenth century. They have been already used by scholars interested in first wave feminism in Ireland. But to date, there has been no study which addresses her leisure activities as recorded in the diary. One can see a detailed description of what she read, what she was able to read, how she accessed books and what kind of places she utilised for reading them. Furthermore, Hayden has herself has been considered an active Revivalist as well as an activist who made great efforts to improve the status of women. Her diaries are indeed an exceptionally valuable piece of evidence with which to exploring women's reading practice at the *fin-de-siècle*.⁵⁵

Similar to other female figures discussed in the previous section, Hayden engaged in reading in principally three places: her home, at school, and in specific libraries. In addition to her private reading, she was part of a family of readers, for the Haydens enjoyed shared reading sometimes, by reading aloud: thus, she noted in February 1878 how "Papa got John to read aloud a very amusing satirical book called "Mr. Gladstone in Ireland".⁵⁶ Hayden's older brother, John J. Hayden (1858-1935) seems to have done much of reading then; thus "John read us a story called "William Wilson" by E. Poe in the evening".⁵⁷ Their shared reading was not limited to published works. For example, "John [...] also read to me part of a poem by one of the Cath. University students (Mr. Kane). It is called "Narcissus" and is rather like (though of

⁵⁴ Diarmaid Ferriter, "Hayden, Mary Teresa," in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁵⁵ For more on Mary Hayden see Padbury, "Mary Hayden and Women's Admission to the University."; "Mary Hayden (1862-1942): Feminist," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 98, no. 390 (2009); Judith Harford, "Courting Equality: Catholic Women and Agency in the Reconfiguration of University Education in Ireland," in *Women Educators, Leaders and Activists : Educational Lives and Networks 1900-1960*, ed. Tanya Fitzgerald and Elizabeth M. Smyth (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 145-58.

⁵⁶ Tuesday, 12th February, 1878, Mary Hayden and Conan Kennedy, *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*, 5 vols. (Killala: Morigan, 2005), 12.

⁵⁷ Date not clarified [some confusion can be seen], April, 1878, *ibid.*, 22.

course inferior to) Keats' *Endymion*."⁵⁸

Compared with the other cases reviewed, Thomas Hayden could be considered quite generous in his approach to his children's reading practices. John later published his work, encouraged by his father, so the Haydens can be seen as a fairly literary family. Nevertheless, there are several entries in Hayden's diary that indicate that Thomas did not allow his daughter to read particular novels: when Hayden asked Thomas to read Horace Smith's *Trillah* on 15th January 1878 and *Ratcafelto* by White Melville at 24th March 1878 Thomas refused both requests. Thomas was apparently enforcing some particular standard for adjudging whether the novels were appropriate or inappropriate for his teenage daughter, and Hayden may have taken it for granted that this was a normal oversight. Hayden herself seems to have exercised some degree of self-censorship, noting how she had "read [Byron's] "Deformed Transformed" also "M Faliero" and "Corsair" not "Juan", "Cain" "Heaven and Earth" or "Beppo"⁵⁹. As for Byron's *Don Juan*, Hayden added that "I think that Byron's *Don Juan* alone [...] has done fifty times more harm than all Shelley's works put together. Shelly's theories are too wild for any person to adopt them, he put a wild undefined entity, a kind of Spirit of nature, in the place of God, in fact he knew not what he believed."⁶⁰ Possibly the Romantic poets' sometimes atheistic or pantheistic outlook attitude made the young Catholic girl see the works as dangerous, although she appreciated that they were, in literary terms, worth reading.

As for her access to books, her diary shown how she often borrowed books through her personal relations, especially from John and her cousin's family, the Creans. As Sarah MacNamara has argued in the case of women in early nineteenth-century, "young middle-class women had greater access to a wide range of books than moralists would have liked."⁶¹

In Hayden's case, John also borrowed the books from a friend, Mr. Kane and Hayden took full

⁵⁸ Sunday, 10th February, 1878, *ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁹ Saturday, 20th July, 1878, *ibid.*, 38.

⁶⁰ Monday, 5th August, 1878, *ibid.*, 41.

⁶¹ Sarah MacNamara, "Women Readers in Limerick, 1830-40," in *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, ed. James H. Murphy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 208.

advantage of being able to borrow them from her brother. For example, on 8th June 1878, Hayden read Byron's *Child Harold* which John borrowed from Mr. Kane even before John had begun it (John had begun reading on 17th June 1878, according to Hayden's entry).⁶² Apart from that, Hayden also enjoyed Thomas Moore's *The Life of Lord Byron* on 23rd June 1878 "which John had borrowed from Mr Kane for though I have read only 4 books of the Illiad, I could not resist the temptation to commence it and indeed to read in bed till just 2am."⁶³

It was a decided advantage for Hayden to have Emma Crean (1864-1946) as a cousin; she was just about the same age as Hayden. For example, in the entry for January 17th, 1878 Hayden "met the Creans returning from school and accompanied them to their house, borrowed "Every Boys Annual for 1877" from Emma".⁶⁴ Later she "read 'What the Moon saw' by Andersen which I borrowed yesterday from the Creans".⁶⁵ The Crean girls also gave her Anna Brassey's *Sunshine and Storm in the East* (1880) as a birthday gift for Hayden in 1882.⁶⁶ The Crean's mother, Emma was also a supplier of books to Hayden, as can be seen from the description as to how she "got to day two beautiful books, one from Mrs Crean 'The Prince and the Pauper' by Mark Twain"⁶⁷ which she liked greatly as can be seen from her note that "'The Prince and the Pauper' is extremely good and very curious [...]"⁶⁸

It seems likely that Hayden also borrowed books from her friends at the school. In her younger days, she spent time at a convent school in France in her father's absence and enjoyed

⁶² Thursday, 30th May, 1878; Saturday, 2nd June, 1878; Monday, 17th June, 1878, Hayden and Kennedy, *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*, 27,30.

⁶³ Sunday, 23rd June, 1878, *ibid.*, 33.

⁶⁴ Thursday, 17th January, 1878, *ibid.*, 6-7.

⁶⁵ Monday, 4th February, 1878, *ibid.*, 10-11. This may have been the translation of Hans Christian Andersen by H. W. Dulcken. See Kirsten Malmkjaer, "Translational Stylistics: Dulcken's Translations of Hans Christian Andersen," *Language and Literature* 13, no. 1 (2004).

⁶⁶ Anna Brassey specialised in the imperial adventure genre. James R. Ryan, "'Our Home on the Ocean': Lady Brassey and the Voyages of the Sunbeam, 1874-1887," *Journal of Historical Geography* 32, no. 3 (2006).

⁶⁷ Thursday, 13th May, 1882, Hayden and Kennedy, *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*, 324.

⁶⁸ Friday, 14th May, 1882, *ibid.*, 325.

readings, borrowing books from other schoolgirls, as can be seen in the description that she “[r]ead ‘Tyburn’ which a girl lent me”.⁶⁹ Furthermore, it is likely that Hayden received books as Christmas gifts from her relatives and her father’s friends, thus “on returning home I found a jolly big book ‘Home Scenes by Great Painters’ had been sent me by Dr. and Mrs. Baxter.”⁷⁰ In 1878, she also “[r]eceived a present of Moore’s Irish Melodies, beautifully bound from Dr. Monks”.⁷¹ She herself also lent books to her relatives; for example, there is a description that “Claddie Roche paid me a visit. [...] She borrowed from me “[sic] Juliet, Lady Chesterfield and the Haunted Hotel.”⁷²

Probably reflecting these personal connections, the influence of her friends began to appear in her reading choices from about 1882. For example, she borrowed two works of Charles Kingsley, *Water Babies* (1863) and *Alton Locke* (1850) from her friend “Effie”, Euphemia McIntosh, on 15th and 16th September, 1883.⁷³ McIntosh used to send her books as gifts and it is apparent that she knew Hayden’s taste and what she wanted very well: she sent her John Pentland Mahaffy’s *Greek World Under Roman Sway* (1890) on 26th December, 1890.⁷⁴ As a present for Hayden’s birthday in 1894, she sent Stanley John Weyman’s *A Gentleman of France* (1893),⁷⁵ and in 1895 *The House of Wolf* (year of publication unknown) as a birthday gift and *the Millionaires* in 1898. Most such gifts were newly published. Another close friend Josephine McGouran was an influence on Hayden’s readings: they seem to have discussed Eliza Lynn Linton’s *The Rebel of the Family* (1880): “[...]it is a very good story on the whole, Josie says the

⁶⁹ Monday, 1st September, 1878, *ibid.*, 49.

⁷⁰ Saturday, 21st December, 1878, *ibid.*, 65.

⁷¹ Monday, 23rd December, 1878, *ibid.*

⁷² Sunday, 19th September, 1880, *ibid.*, 193.

⁷³ Saturday, 15th September and Sunday, 16th September, 1883, *ibid.*, 479. *The Water Babies* is widely considered a classic Victorian text of youth. John C. Hawley, "The Water-Babies as Catechetical Paradigm," *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1989); Naomi Wood, "A (Sea) Green Victorian: Charles Kingsley and the Water-Babies," *The Lion and the Unicorn* 19, no. 2 (1995).

⁷⁴ Friday, 26th December, 1890, Hayden and Kennedy, *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*, 1442.

⁷⁵ Saturday, 19th May, 1894, *ibid.*, 1752.

heroine is like me in one or two points and I think she is, but only in one or two."⁷⁶ There are also other examples which show that McGouran supplied Hayden books: "Josie came up stairs and brought me two books, one a present from herself 'The New Republic' by Mallock, the other from Lanks 'Social Equality' by the same. I was delighted by them of course. I like better than anything to get presents of books [...]"⁷⁷ The person mentioned here as "Lanks" is Frank Kelly, who later married McGouran.⁷⁸ Thus Hayden could access Kelly's books through her friend McGouran. In the case of *The Rebel of the Family*, it seems that Hayden borrowed it from McGouran, or else she read it because McGouran recommended it to her, although how she acquired the book was not mentioned. As can be seen, her personal friendships helped her greatly in accessing books, especially new publications.

Apart from reading activities, her personal connections also helped her to participate in other cultural activities. For example, she sometimes attended debates in Belvedere College probably through a personal connection with Thomas Finlay, who was Rector there.⁷⁹ She also attended a Medical Association *soirée* with the Creans.⁸⁰ References to such cultural activities began to appear more often from around 1885, by which time Hayden was in her early adulthood. For example, she wrote about the meetings of the Literary Society, the Alexandra College Literary Society, and the Library Society in the year 1888. She herself was a member of some of these societies; she may have joined them at the suggestion of her friends, several of whom were already members.

⁷⁶ Thursday, 10th May, 1883, *ibid.*, 431. For more on Linton see Deborah T. Meem, "Eliza Lynn Linton and the Rise of Lesbian Consciousness," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 7, no. 4 (1997); Nicola Diane Thompson, "Responding to the Woman Questions: Rereading Noncanonical Victorian Woman Novelists," *Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth Century Literature and Culture* 21 (1999).

⁷⁷ Saturday, 23rd December, 1882, *ibid.*, 378-9.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 2306.

⁷⁹ Monday, 10th May, 1886, *ibid.*, 802. For Finlay and Morrissey, Thomas J. Morrissey, *Thomas A. Finlay S.J., 1848-1940 : Educationalist, Editor, Social Reformer* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004); Declan O'Keefe, "Thomas Finlay and 20th Century Jesuit Journalism," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 103, no. 412 (2014).

⁸⁰ Tuesday, 2nd August, 1887, Hayden and Kennedy, *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*, 1034.

Adding to her use of on personal connections, Hayden made extensive use of libraries for gaining access to books. For example, she “read some poetry out of a book called the Golden Treasury which I got a loan of.”⁸¹ She also borrowed Charles Dickens’s *Dombey and Son* on 27th January 1878.⁸² Although it is not mentioned here which library she used, later that year she mentioned that she “[w]ent to Greens [sic] Library to see if ‘The Baron’ was there, it was’nt [sic].”⁸³ She used Greene’s Library not only for accessing the books but also for meeting her friends, similar to the way she used the library of the RDS.⁸⁴ It seems that she utilised different libraries according to the type of books she wanted to borrow. Furthermore, she had personal connections with some people in the libraries: she was a personal friend of Alice Lyster,⁸⁵ sister of Thomas Lyster who became Librarian of the National Library.⁸⁶ Thomas Lyster helped Hayden to find books or articles “Went to the D[ublin]. S[ociety]. where Mr. Lyster was most kind in the hunting or books and articles on old French for me” and also introduced her “to the head librarian”.⁸⁷ This head librarian showed Hayden “a lot of books about Goethe.”⁸⁸ From these descriptions, it can be seen that personal connections made access to special materials far easier.

⁸¹ Sunday, 15th September, 1878, *ibid.*, 50.

⁸² Tuesday, 27th January, 1879, *ibid.*, 74.

⁸³ Saturday, 22nd August, 1878, *ibid.*, 46.

⁸⁴ For example, Saturday, 27th January, 1883, *ibid.*, 393.

⁸⁵ Wednesday 29th November, 1882, *ibid.*, 368.

⁸⁶ Thursday 18th January, 1883, *ibid.*, 390.

⁸⁷ Monday, 12th March, 1888, *ibid.*, 1101.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

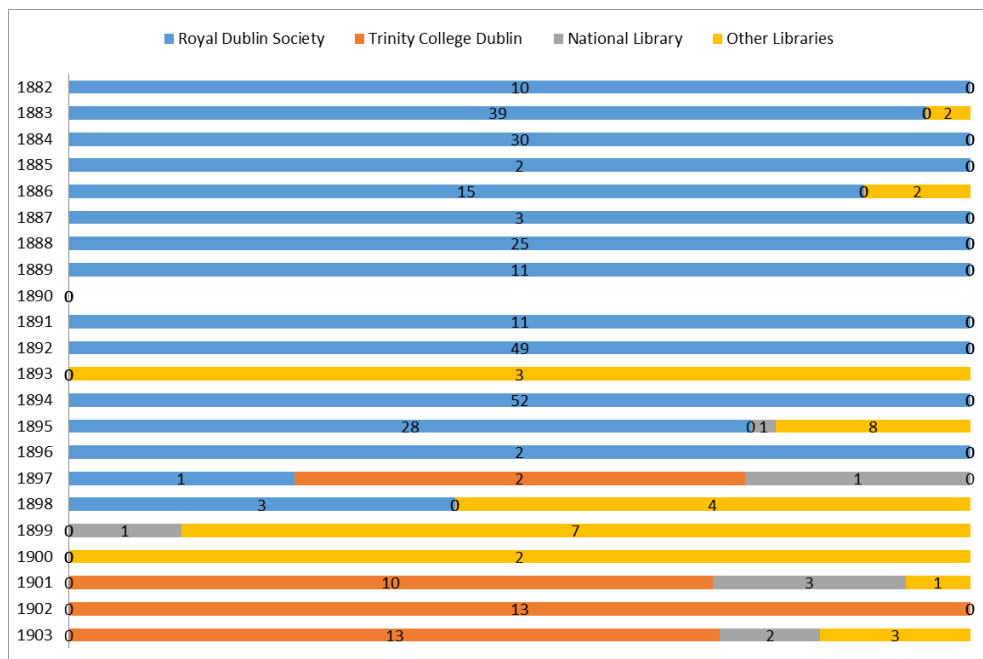


Figure 5-1 Mary Hayden’s library usages from 1882 to 1903⁸⁹

Visiting libraries was never the only way for Hayden to access books. She had other options such as borrowing from her friends or simply purchasing books. Libraries had other appealing aspects for her. She used the RDS library most frequently, as can be seen from the graph above. In some years she visited other countries for long periods, such as Greece in 1890, which is the main reason why she did not frequent libraries in such years. When she was based in Dublin almost around the year, she visited libraries between 10 times to 52 times at maximum a year. Once she noted that the Royal Dublin Society was “a charmingly conducted institution, both the bells are broken and one has to wait till the librarian happens to turn in of his own motion, in order to get any book one wants”,⁹⁰ so it is unlikely she loved the atmosphere there as much as Tynan did.

Most of her reasons for visiting the RDS were connected to research; however, sometimes she used the library just to pass the time away by perusing magazines or for light reading, exploiting the Society’s geographical location near the city centre:

⁸⁹ Made from *ibid.*

⁹⁰ Friday, 16th February, 1884, *ibid.*, 541.

[...]At 4o'clock I went on chance to the R[oyal]. U[niversity] but Peter, the porter told me that the examiners were still in consultation and the lists would be out between five and six. I went to the D[ublin]. S[ociety]. and spent an hour and a half looking over Temple Bar and Cornhill, both of which were exceptionally stupid, and Christina Rossetti's poems, which were far too mystical for my taste, at 5.45 I returned to the royal.⁹¹

She also used the library to meet, Josephine McGouran. According to her diaries, she met her there 4 times in 1882, 15 times in 1883 and once in 1884. In 1883, more than one-third of her visits there were to meet McGouran. The main reason for this was its convenient location in Kildare Street, and Hayden and McGouran often went to other places after they met there.

This location of the RDS allowed Hayden to visit it sometimes twice or three times in a day and she described her schedule in her diary in detail. For example, she made a routine on Mondays in April 1892. Her entry for the 4th noted that "To town by the 9.45. Read at the D. S. [and] gave Alice her lesson, went to College. Read again at the D. S. [...]"⁹² On 2nd May, 1892 she went "To town by 9.45. Read at D. S. Gave Alice her lesson: [...] College. D. S. again, did some shopping and such like, home."⁹³ Sometimes she even went back to the Royal Dublin Society after she visited a suburban area.

Studied a little. Met Jacobides and Lilian at the D. S. Took the 1.45 train and arrived at Sandymount to discover Miss Dickson on the verge of setting off for Bray. I stayed with her for a little while and gave her all the gossip. [...] On leaving Miss Dickson I visited the Jacobs. None of the boys are at home. Back to Dublin, and at the D. S. Home, read.⁹⁴

Although it is not mentioned here why she used the RDS on this day, it can be seen that she sometimes used it as an urban base. The great development of public transportation in Dublin and the popularisation of cycling expanded Hayden's area of activity greatly. She began to use a bicycle in 1896. Public transport not only enabled her to travel cheaper and faster, but also to read during the travels. For example, she noted that she read H. G. Wells's *The Wheel of*

⁹¹ Saturday, 17th October, 1885, *ibid.*, 788.

⁹² Monday, 4th April, 1892, *ibid.*, 1570.

⁹³ Monday, 2nd May, 1892, *ibid.*, 1577-8.

⁹⁴ Friday, 15th July, 1892, *ibid.*, 1594.

Chance (1895) on the way to Thurles on the 22nd May, 1897.⁹⁵

[...]After leaving St Mary's I called on Father Darlington who was most kind and sketched out for me a regular plan of work, it was an immense relief to ear that history would only be required in its bearing on literature/ I felt as if the ground were cleared before me. Read at the D. S. where I met Mr Alfred Webb, he insisted on my coming to dine with him at the X. L. Café – he is starting for India on Wednesday next to preside at a Congress in Madras.

Back to D. S. Went at 4 o'clock to a lecture at the college by Dr Andre on the new method of teaching French. I dont[sic] quite know what to say to it – only results could decide. Back to D. S.⁹⁶

As shown in Chapter 3, St. Mary's University College was located at 28 Merrion Square at that time. It is not clear where she called on Father Darlington; however it can be assumed that she moved around the city centre area.

In another entry she noted that "I went to D. S. [and] read some magazine articles, copied out next year's course".⁹⁷ From these descriptions, it can be seen that the RDS was the main place for her to get access to magazines. She also used that advantage there to make her adopted daughter Alice behave herself while she was working: "I took Alice with me to the D. S., gave her 4 vols of Punch to look at, told her that if she bothered me I'd take her straight home, and set to work myself in the chansons. To my surprise the young lady never once stirred nor opened her lips for [illegible] hrs."⁹⁸

She also noted that she saw other ladies there often: "At 12 o'clock I went down to the D. S. and read there. Miss Carson and Miss Oldham were there discussing the exam".⁹⁹ In other entry, she observed other girls' very different usage of the place:

After the lesson I went to the D. S. and read for two hours; the room was filled with girls searching dictionaries for words for these idiotic word competitions; they are [a] miserable waste of time, for the girls do not at all advert to the meanings of the words they find; yet there they sit some from ten o'clock in the morning till five or six

⁹⁵ "Up at 7.15 and off. Bicycled to the station. Read 'the Wheel of Chance' on the way. Reached Thurles at 12 o'clock [...]" Saturday, 22nd May, 1897, *ibid.*, 1986.

⁹⁶ Thursday, 15th November, 1894, *ibid.*, 1787.

⁹⁷ Friday, 24th October, 1884, *ibid.*, 633.

⁹⁸ Wednesday, 20th June, 1888, *ibid.*, 1133.

⁹⁹ Tuesday, 1st July, 1884, *ibid.*, 583.

in the afternoon, making themselves by their chattering and fidgeting positive nuisances.¹⁰⁰

Considering that only women appeared in these descriptions, it is possible that Hayden was using the ladies' reading room of the Dublin Society. Hayden also frequented the library for more serious purpose: she spent two or three hours each day in her study of Layamon's *Brut* from 30th September to 27th October, 1886. She also visited intensively to read Lucretius's "De Rerum Natura" while improving her Latin from 17th January to 8th February, 1889. In 1892, she did her research on Froissart from February 23rd to 28th¹⁰¹ and another research on *The Song of Dermot* from 7th to 9th April of that year.¹⁰²

She also borrowed books from the RDS sometimes. For example, she fetched "Gladstone's "Homeric Age" from the D. S."¹⁰³ and on another occasion went "across town to return the Babce's Book"[sic] to the D. S."¹⁰⁴ Regarding access to books in RDS Library, noted how in June 1888 she:

[W]ent to the D. S. The "Epopée Francaise" had arrived and as a great favour I was allowed to look over, but not to cut it, as it had to be bound - (books from the D. S. take usually from two to four months to bind). I was obliged to read it there - fore with my hand on one side peeping through the uncut pages, but I'll be satisfied if only I may read it before it goes to be bound.¹⁰⁵

"Epopée Francaise" was it seems Charles d'Héricault's *Essai sur l'origine de l'épopée française et sur son histoire au Moyen Âge*, published in 1860 so it was not particularly new at that time; however, accessibility to exotic books appealed to her.

In addition to the RDS, she had access to several other libraries in Dublin, notably, the library at Trinity College, Dublin which she began to use in 1883, "called into T. C. D. for Mary Dwyer. Saw the English papers like all Dowden's they are long and stiff but interesting and

¹⁰⁰ Saturday, 10th October, 1886, *ibid.*, 870.

¹⁰¹ From Tuesday, 23rd February to Monday, 28th February, 1892, *ibid.*, 1560-1.

¹⁰² From Thursday, 7th April to Saturday, 9th April, *ibid.*, 1570-1.

¹⁰³ Tuesday, 15th April, 1889, *ibid.*, 1237.

¹⁰⁴ Wednesday, 19th October, 1892, *ibid.*, 1618.

¹⁰⁵ Monday, 4th June, 1888, *ibid.*, 1130.

perfectly fair.” For access to the Trinity College Library, she had to have a special admission, as can be seen that she mentioned the names of “Miss Stokes” and “Lilian Green”, it could be speculated that she had to be introduced to the library by another user. According to Peter Fox, the number of readers using the Trinity College Dublin Library in that era was about 17,300 a year, increasing to 24,700 by 1914. As for the external readers such as Hayden, it is noted that “the readers were almost all current or former members of the College” and “use by external readers was minimal, with an average of only nineteen ‘strangers’ admitted each year between 1897 to 1900.”¹⁰⁶ Hayden noted that she “[w]ent to T. C. Library and saw Miss Stokes who is kindly interesting herself to get me a permit to read there,” suggesting that Hayden was one of these rare external readers.¹⁰⁷ After getting permission, she also had to renew it regularly as can be seen from the description that she “[w]ent with Lilian to get the order to read at T. C. signed – nothing could be more grumpy than the Provost’s manner; he evidently hates to admit women.”¹⁰⁸ The Provost at that time was George Salmon, who famously opposed the entrance of female students.¹⁰⁹ However from 1901, she mainly used the Trinity College Library. Although reason for this was never recorded in the diaries, it can be assumed that the atmosphere of the library was a major factor for her: she noted once how “I love the silence there”.¹¹⁰

She was also a user of the National Library, which was founded in accordance with the

¹⁰⁶ Peter Fox, *Trinity College Library Dublin : A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 253.

¹⁰⁷ Tuesday, 2nd November, 1897, Hayden and Kennedy, *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*, 2021.

¹⁰⁸ Saturday, 26th October, 1901, *ibid.*, 2183.

¹⁰⁹ See Bettie Higgs and Patrick N. Wyse Jackson, "The Role of Women in the History of Geological Studies in Ireland," *Geological Society, London, Special Publications* 281, no. 1 (2007): 137-53; Harford and Rush, *Have Women Made a Difference? : Women in Irish Universities, 1850-2010*; Parkes and Dublin University Women Graduates' Association., *A Danger to the Men? : A History of Women in Trinity College Dublin, 1904-2004*; Peter Boyle, "George Salmon, Provost 1888-1904," in *Trinity College Dublin: The Provosts 1592-1927* (Dublin: Hinds, 2015).

¹¹⁰ Friday, 1st November, 1901, Hayden and Kennedy, *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*, 2183.

Dublin Science and Art Museum Act in 1877. Hayden, however, first used it in 1895 and visited it the RDS or Trinity College Library. Although she did not specify which library she used, she was also using other Dublin libraries from 1895. She read at a place she named “the Dun” twice, which is likely to have been the Library at Sir Patrick Dun’s, the TCD teaching hospital near the university.¹¹¹ Main libraries could be different probably depends on her purposes at the time, however, she did not necessarily focus on one library – for example, she used the Royal Dublin Society 28 times, an unknown or undesignated Library 8 times and the National Library once in 1895.

Apart from the libraries in Dublin, Mary also visited the library of the British Museum when in London. This was probably both for research and for personal reading. Thus in July 1893 she recorded:

To the Museum at 10 o’c. I finished my chevalier and toiled through many and various other books meeting some very severe disappointments, the worst being the absence of Amanicu des Eseas and Thosmasin of Zerclar.¹¹²

She also visited the Museum in the following two days, noting that “I read in the Museum and on attacking the Winslekin found that my Old German was in sad case, the said Winslekin too is awfully dull” and also “At the Museum all day, as usual. I finished the Winslekin, which has’nt [sic] a single good line to redeem its dullness, and read some parts of La Croix’s “Middle Ages” taking notes.”

¹¹¹ Thursday, 16th July and Saturday, 18th July in 1903, *ibid.*, 2253.

¹¹² Monday, 10th July, 1893, *ibid.*, 1719.

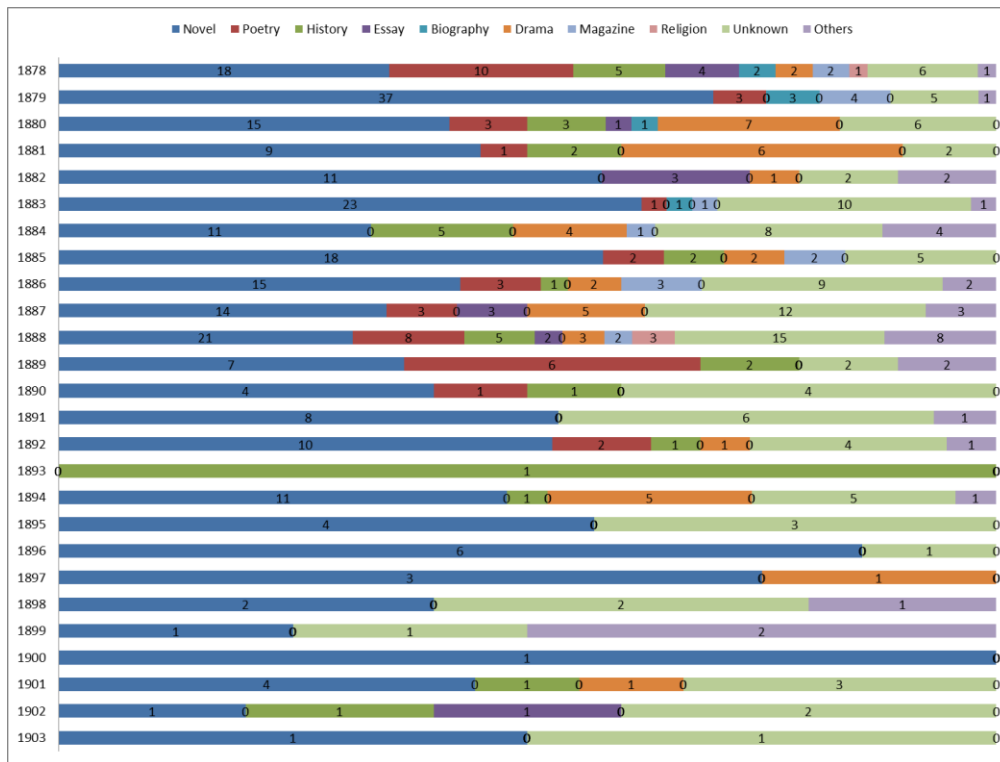


Figure 5-2 Mary Hayden’s readings classified by literary genres from 1878 to 1903¹¹³

As regards the contents of her reading materials, it is apparent that most of the books which Hayden mentioned in her diaries were fiction, especially novels, as can be seen in the figure 5-2.

¹¹³ Made from *ibid.*

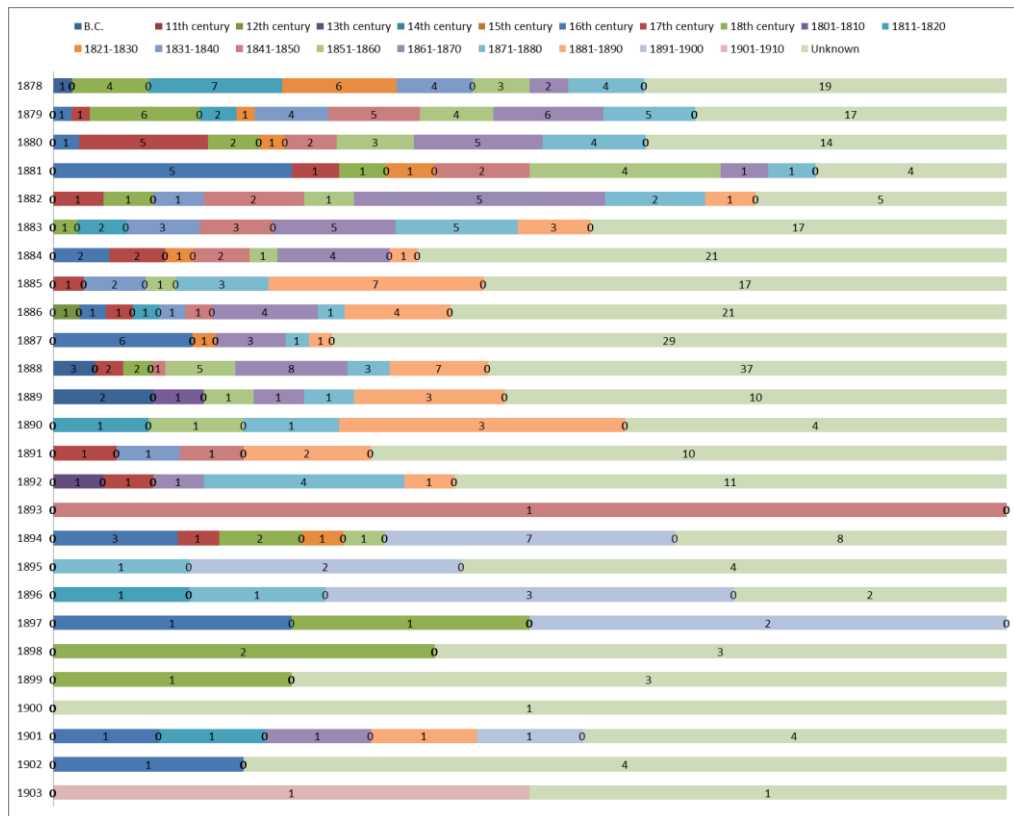


Figure 5-3 Mary Hayden's readings classified by publication periods¹¹⁴

Looking at her reading materials more closely, as shown in the figure 5-3, her readings of contemporary works can be seen to have become more pronounced from 1894: in that year she read seven works that were published relatively recently: W. B. Yeats's *Celtic Twilight* (1893), Stanley John Weyman's *A Gentleman of France* (1893), Sarah Grand's *The Heavenly Twins* (1893), George Moore's *Esther Waters* (1894), Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book* (1894), George Egerton's *Keynotes* (1893) and Kathleen Mannington Hunt Caffyn's *A Yellow Aster* (1894). As can be seen from the selection, it can be noticeable that most of them were contemporary bestsellers and had also provoked criticism as controversial New Woman texts.¹¹⁵ One or two of them had been sent to her from acquaintances: for example, *Celtic*

¹¹⁴ Made from *ibid.*

¹¹⁵ For recent work on some of these texts see Standlee, *Power to Observe: Irish Women Novelists in Britain, 1890-1916*; Tina O'Toole, *The Irish New Woman*, Palgrave Studies in Nineteenth-Century Writing and Culture (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan,

Twilight were sent to her from a “Mr. Mahony”.

The year 1880 can be regarded as a watershed moment in Hayden’s literary life because her purchase of the books also gradually increased from that year. During her girlhood years, she had rarely read contemporary books with a few exceptions: there are some descriptions of first books that she had bought such as Walter Scott’s *Old Mortality*, but the number was very few.¹¹⁶ In July, 1880, for example, she bought Wilkie Collins’s *The Haunted Hotel* published first in 1879.¹¹⁷ Can her purchasing of contemporary books be considered to be a reflection of her actual choices? *The Haunted Hotel* could be considered as diversionary or pastime reading since she wrote that it was “a regular “thrilling” story”. There is also the possibility that she bought it just because it was very popular at that time; one of her friends borrowed the book later. And in 1885 she bought “‘The Treasure Island’ at Morrows” and read it that same day, noting that “[i]t is a grand story, full of excitement from beginning to end.”¹¹⁸ She used Morrows bookshop often in those days, purchasing Joseph Henry Shorthouse’s *The Little Schoolmaster Mark* (1883) there at the very next day and judging it “a book which hardly seems worthy of its author and ends with startling abruptness”.¹¹⁹ From such descriptions, it seems that she sometimes bought books that were newly published or in fashion. Her purchase of contemporary works greatly increased from around 1882, a year after death of her father. She read three works which were published in the 1880s in 1882¹²⁰ and five in 1883¹²¹. Perhaps Mary felt able and willing to choose books more freely in her twenties.

2013); Anna Pilz and Whitney Standlee, *Irish Women's Writing, 1878-1922* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

¹¹⁶ Saturday, 21st September, 1878, Hayden and Kennedy, *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*, 51.

¹¹⁷ Tuesday, 6th July, 1880, *ibid.*, 167.

¹¹⁸ Friday, 16th October, 1885, *ibid.*, 788.

¹¹⁹ Saturday, 17th October, 1885, *ibid.*

¹²⁰ Mark Twain’s *The Prince and the Pauper* (1881), Anna Brassey’s *Sunshine and Storm in the East* (1880) and Henry Brook’s *Adams’s Democracy* (1880).

¹²¹ George Robert Sims’s *The Three Brass Balls* (c. 1880), Eliza Lynn Linton’s *The Rebel of the Family* (1880), Thomas Anstey Guthrie’s *Vice Versa* (1882), Joseph Henry Shorthouse’s *John Inglesant* (1881) and Margaret Wolfe Hungerford’s *Molly Bawn* (1882).

Table 5-2 List of contemporary (published between 1870s and 1890s) works which Mary Hayden read from 1878 to 1903¹²²

	Date	Title	Author	Genre	Publication year
1878	May 20th	Hector Servadac	Jules Verne	Novel	1877
	April 15th	Katerfelto	G. J. Whyte-Melville	Novel	1875
	July 5th	Young Mrs Jardyne	D. M. Mulock Afterwards Craik	Novel	1879
1879	August 5th	Coming Race	Edward Bulwer-Lytton	Novel	1871
	October 29th	Boscobel	William Harrison Ainsworth	Novel	1871
	October 31st	Chetwyn Calverly	William Harrison Ainsworth	Novel	1876
	April 6th	Merry England	William Harrison Ainsworth	History	1874
	July 6th	The Haunted Hotel	Wilkie Collins	Novel	1879
1880	November 20th	A Tramp Abroad	Mark Twain	Novel	1880
	December 25th	A Noble Queen	Philip Meadows Taylor	Novel	1878
1881					
	May 18th	The Prince and the Pauper	Mark Twain	Novel	1881
1882	May 18th	Sunshine and Storm in the East	Anna Brassey	Travel	1880
	September 4th	Democracy	Henry Brooks Adams	Novel	1880
	May 4th	The Three Brass Balls	George Robert Sims	Essay	c. 1880
	May 7th	The Rebel of the Family	Eliza Lynn Linton	Novel	1880
	June 3rd	Patricia Kemble	Eliza Lynn Linton	Novel	1874-1875
	July 7th	The Atonement of Leam Dundas	Eliza Lynn Linton	Novel	1876
1883	September 22nd	Donna Quixote	Justin McCarthy	Novel	1879
	October 4th	Vice Cersa[sic]	Thomas Anstey Guthrie	Novel	1882
	October 22nd	John Inglesant	Joseph Henry Shorthouse	Novel	1881
	November 9th	Molly Brown	Margaret Wolfe Hungerford	Novel	1882
	December 28th	Epic of Hadies	Lewis Morris	Novel	1877
1884	March 18th	the Book Lovers' Enchipidion[sic]	Alexander Ireland	Others	1882
	February 1st	Daniel Deronda	George Eliot	Novel	1876
	February 12th	God and the Man	Robert Williams Buchanan	Novel	1881
	February 16th	the Martyrdom of Madeline	Robert Williams Buchanan	Novel	1882
	February 22nd	Huckleberry Finn	Mark Twain	Novel	1885
1885	October 11th	Clarisse	Ernest Dauded	Novel	1879
	October 15th	The Treasure Island	Robert Louis Stevenson	Novel	1881-1882
	October 17th	The Little Schoolmaster Mark	Joseph Henry Shorthouse	Novel	1883
	October 18th	Airy Fairy Lilian	Margaret Wolfe Hamilton Hungerford	Novel	1879
	October 19th	Ishmael	Mary Elizabeth Braddon	Novel	1884
	October 25th	The Dynamiter	Robert Louis Stevenson and Fanny Vandegrift	Novel	1885
	May 23rd	Cashel Byron's Profession	George Bernard Shaw	Novel	1882
	June 30th	The Rise of Silas Lapham	William Dean Howells	Novel	1885
1886	July 1st	the Willoby Captains	Talbot Baines Reed	Novel	1883-85
	September 28th	The Seamy Side	James Rice, Walter Besant	Novel	1880
	October 24th	All in a Garden Fair	Walter Besant	Novel	1883
1887	August 28th	She	Henry Rider Haggard	Novel	1886
	December 4th	Le Crime de l'Opera	Fortun Du Boisgobey	Novel	1879
	January 12th	Sigurd the Volsung	William Morris	Poetry	1876
	March 12th	graphies of Words and the Home of the Ary	Max Muller	Linguistics	1888
	March 17th	Confessions of a Yound Man	George Moore	memoir	1888
	April 6th	the Mystery of a Hansom Cab	Fergus Hume	Novel	1886
	April 8th	Little Lord Fauntelroy	Frances Eliza Hodgson Burnett	Novel	1886
1888	April 13th	the Silverado Squatters	Robert Louis Stevenson	memoir	1880
	July 28th	Vixen	Mary Elizabeth Braddon	Novel	1879
	August 19th	Pere Amable	Guy de Maupassan	Novel	1886?
	August 19th	Mademoiselle Perle	Guy de Maupassan	Novel	1886
	August 30th	Mr Barnes of New York	Archibald Clavering Gunter	Novel	1888
	December 26th	and Thought from Alexander to the Roman	John Pentland Mahaffy	History	1887
	January 12th	Robert Elsmere	Humphry Ward		1888
	February 20th	Die Familie Buchholz	Julius Stinde		1884
1889	March 21st	A Dog with a bad Name	Talbot Baines Reed		1886-1887
	May 16th	the City of Dreadful Night	James "B.V." Thomson		1874
	March 11th	Comme dans la Vie	Albert Delpit	Unknown	1890
1890	June 1st	Quatrevingt-treize	Victor Hugo	Novel	1874
	September 30th	Paul Patoff	Francis Marion Crawford	Novel	1887
	December 26th	Greek World Under Roman Sway	John Pentland Mahaffy	History	1890
	June 20th	Notes on a Pilgrimage	Jerome K. Jerome	memoir	1891?
1891	July 17th	Vendetta	Marie Corelli	Novel	1886
	July 19th	Through One Administration	Frances Hodgson Burnett	Novel	1883
	January 26th	Roman Days	Swedish of V. Rydberg	History	1877
	February 14th	A Doubting Heart	Annie Keary	Novel	1879
1892	June 19th	Tartasin de Tarrason	Alphonse Daudet	Novel	1872
	October 16th	Un Coeur Simple	Gustave Flaubert	Novel	1877
	October 28th	the Story of an African Farm	Olive Schreiner	Novel	1883
1893					
	February 1st	Celtic Twilight	W. B. Yeats	Folklore	1893
	May 19th	A Gentleman of France	Stanley John Weyman	Novel	1893
	May 20th	the Heavenly Twins	Sarah Grand	Novel	1893
1894	June 27th	Esther Waters	George Moore	Novel	1894
	July 1st	the Jungle Book	Rudyard Kipling	Novel	1894
	August 2nd	Keynotes	George Egerton	Novel	1893
	August 26th	A Yellow Aster	Kathleen Mannington Hunt Caffyn	Novel	1894
	January 6th	Kerrigan's Qualisty	Jane Barlow	Novel	1894
1895	January 17th	Lady Grizzle	Lewis Strange Wingfield	Novel	1878
	November 3rd	Man in Black	Stanley J. Weyman	Novel	1894

¹²² Made from Hayden and Kennedy, *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*.

1896	June 6th	Tess of the 'Urbervilles	Thomas Hardy	Novel	✓	1891
	June 11th	the Sorrows of Satan	Marie Corelli	Novel	✓	1895
	August 17th	Pepita Jimenez	Juan Valera	Novel	✓	1874
	November 29th	Dr Janet of Harley St	Arabella Kenealy	Novel	✓	1893
1897	May 22nd	the Wheel of Chance	H. G. Wells	Novel	✓	1895
	May 27th	On the Face of the Waters	Flora Annie Webster Steel	Novel	✓	1896
1898	December 5th	Phia the Phoenician	Edwin Lester Linden Arnold	Novel	✓	US 1890, UK 1910
1899						
1901	January 18th	Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse	Joseph Ernest Renan	Unknown	✓	1883
	April 27th	My New Curate	Patrick Augustine Sheehan	Novel	✓	1900
1902						
1903	July 11th	The Octopus: A Story of California	Frank Norris	Novel	✓	1901

If one provisionally defines “contemporary” as the decades paralleling the reader’s life, Hayden recorded reading 85 contemporary works that were published between 1870s and 1900s, as can be seen from the table above. The list contains some novels which were regarded as inappropriate for women to read; sensation novels and New Woman novels. Especially from 1880, she started to read some novels that were considered “immoral” at that time, although the reason for her choice are not clear. For example, she read Mary Elizabeth Braddon’s two works, *Aurora Floyd* (1863) and *Lady Audley’s Secret* (1862) between 29th and 31st July, 1880.¹²³ In 1882, she enjoyed French popular novels such as Alexandre Dumas’s *Ascanio ou l’Orfèvre du roi* (1843), *Monte Cristo* (1844-1846),¹²⁴ and Victor Hugo’s *Toilers of the Sea* (1866) and *Les Miserables* (1862) in translated form.¹²⁵ In 1883, she read Wilkie Collins’s sensation novel, *Armadale* (1866) Eliza Lynn Linton’s three works, *The Rebel of the Family* (1880), *Patricia Kemble* (1874-1875) and *The Atonement of Leam Dundas* (1876) and George Sand’s *La Petite Fadette* (1849). Many of these conformed to the type of novel being denounced all around her by various moral guardians in Irish society.

Although she clearly enjoyed reading contemporary fiction, her impression of such work was critical in most cases. For example, she wrote that on the one hand *Aurora Floyd* was

¹²³ Katherine Montwieler, "Marketing Sensation: Lady Audley's Secret and Consumer Culture," in *Beyond Sensation : Mary Elizabeth Braddon in Context*, ed. Marlene Tromp, Pamela K. Gilbert, and Aeron Haynie (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000); Chiara Briganti, "Gothic Maidens and Sensation Women: Lady Audley's Journey from the Ruined Mansion to the Madhouse," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 19 (1991).

¹²⁴ Saturday, 13th May and Sunday, 14th May, Hayden and Kennedy, *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*, 323.

¹²⁵ Monday, 20th November and Tuesday, 21st November, 1882, *ibid.*, 365; Victor H. Brombert, *Victor Hugo and the Visionary Novel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).

“sensational, sentimental, and not much to my taste”.¹²⁶ On *Lady Audley’s Secret*, she wrote that “The plot is good but disappointing in the end, some of the characters are unnatural and inconsistent in their conduct; still the interest is well sustained. There are far too many coincidences [sic].”¹²⁷ One can see a tendency in her diary to give a more detailed impression and analysis when she read contemporary works. For example, she read five contemporary works which were published in 1880s, George Barnard Shaw’s *Cashel Byron’s Profession* (1882), William Dean Howells’s *The Rise of Silas Lephram* (1885), Talbot Baines Reed’s *The Willoby Captains* (serialised from 1883 to 1885), James Rice and Walter Besant’s *The Seamy Side* (1880) and Walter Besant’s *All in a Garden Fair* (1883) in 1886 and wrote four entries about the works in detail.¹²⁸ It is notable that she did not praise all of them. On *Cashel Byron’s Profession*, she wrote that it was “an absurd story of a young lady who married a prize fighter, there are a few good things in it here and there – both hero and heroine are impossible monsters.”¹²⁹ As for *The Rise of Silas Lephram*, she noted that “[it] is’nt[sic] bad, at least the characters of the hero and his wife are interesting, and seem truthfully drawn; I say seem, for I don’t think we have anything quite like them on this side of the Atlantic.”¹³⁰ On *The Seamy Side* which Mrs. Cox lent her, she wrote that “it all turns on a man acting in a manner in which no man in his senses ever *would* act, barring that it is’nt[sic] bad.”¹³¹ On *The Heavenly Twins* which was bestseller in those days, she noted that “[a]rtistically it is ill done for there are in it at least two stories

¹²⁶ Friday, 30th July, 1880, Hayden and Kennedy, *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*, 176.

¹²⁷ Monday, 2nd August, 1880, *ibid.*, 177.

¹²⁸ Besant’s publishing history is itself a curiosity. Simon Eliot, "Unequal Partnerships: Besant, Rice and Chatto, 1876-82," *Publishing History* 26 (1989); Sally Mitchell, "Careers for Girls: Writing Trash," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 25, no. 3 (1992).

¹²⁹ Sunday, 23rd May, 1886, Hayden and Kennedy, *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*, 807. This is not generally considered one of Shaw’s finest works. Elsie Adams, "Feminism and Female Stereotypes in Shaw," *The Shaw Review* (1974); Sally Peters, "Shaw's Life: A Feminist In spite of Himself," in *The Cambridge Companion to George Bernard Shaw*, ed. Christopher Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹³⁰ Wednesday, 30th June, 1886, Hayden and Kennedy, *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*, 822.

¹³¹ Wednesday, 29th September, 1886, *ibid.*, 863.

badly blended and “the [illegible word] and the Boy” episode is grossly improbable. The writing is good and there are many profound remarks. [...] The author is probably a hard headed cold woman [...].”¹³² She also recorded her impression of Hugh Conway’s novel *Dark Days* (year of publication unknown) that it was “a book full of sensation always at boiling point, it is far inferior to “Called Back”. ”¹³³ Her recorded impressions are rather like short reviews. Obviously most contemporary works including sensation novels did not fit her taste, as can be seen in her comments on Jane Austen’s *Emma* (1815) that “it is a restful book full of the little wants, the picnics and dinners sparingly scattered through quiet country life - how different from the modern *fin de siècle* novel.”¹³⁴

However, this does not mean that she was suspicious of sensation novels in general: she stated her impression on Ouida’s *Tricotrín* (1869) in detail as below:

[...] in a moral sense it is anything at all but a good novel; to be sure, it praises right and condemns wrong, but it brings vice too prominently forward and interests the reader too much in it. [...] It is written in a rather exaggerated style and its tone is too uniformly [sic] melancholy [sic]. Some of the descriptions are exceedingly fine and bitter as are many of the reflections. There is a good deal of truth in most of them; many of the scenes in it are fine pictures; but it is evident they are meant to be, which spoils them. The plot is crude in execution, slight, and of doubtful morality.¹³⁵

Considering these examples and other such descriptions in the diaries, it seem that she was constantly trying out contemporary books, regardless of whether they might fit her tastes. This could be a matter of curiosity rather than a preference for a particular genre, and was also probably to do with her pattern of socialising, where the major books of the day might be discussed.

¹³² Wednesday, 30th May, *ibid.*, 1754. Much has been written on Sarah Grand. Marilyn Bonnell, "The Legacy of Sarah Grand's *the Heavenly Twins*: A Review Essay," *English literature in transition, 1880-1920* 36, no. 4: 467-78; Ann Heilmann, *New Woman Strategies : Sarah Grand, Olive Schreiner, Mona Caird* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

¹³³ Thursday, 12th February, 1885, Hayden and Kennedy, *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*, 677.

¹³⁴ Sunday, 1st March, *ibid.*, 1878.

¹³⁵ Monday, 5th April, 1880, *ibid.*, 149.

Hayden noted her opinion about girls' reading when she read French novelettes, commenting that they were "all evidently written "with a high moral purposes[sic]" for "des jeunes fille" and one a bare faced crib from Hans Andersen."¹³⁶ Similar impression can be seen in the entry after she read George Moore's *Confessions of a Young Man* (1888): "his picture of a rich young man's life in Paris makes one long to get just a peep at it, but - "ce n'est pas pour des demoiselles".¹³⁷

While the list contained very few Irish writers, one notices that it contained many foreign works and some of them were in foreign languages. For perusal of those works, her language skills were critical. Although she read most of those works in English translated editions, she sometimes read them in the original. For example, she read George Sand's *La Petite Fadette* (1849) in French. She also read E. T. Hoffman's *Das Majorat* (1817) in an edition "translated from the German into the French".¹³⁸ Thus it seems likely that Hayden had far greater access to foreign novels than most Irish people. She was always ready to explore new genres. For example, she read the novel titled "the Legouge Case" in 1884 and stated that "it is a good detective story, but the coincidences are too striking, I looked at the end before I was half through and spoiled it."¹³⁹

When one looks at how she enjoyed reading, several characteristics are notable. She sometimes read the works of one particular author intensively. Thus she read Benjamin Disraeli's three works, *Henrietta Temple* (1837), the *Young Duke* (1831) and the *Lothair* (1870) between 13th April and 5th July 1879. She not only read the works but compared them: as for *Henrietta Temple*, she wrote that "it [*Henrietta Temple*] was so sentimental that I left it off in disgust and commenced the "Young Duke" by the same author".¹⁴⁰ This kind of comparison also be seen in other entries. For example, she reviewed Letitia Elizabeth Landon's *Ethel*

¹³⁶ Monday, 7th March, 1887, *ibid.*, 947.

¹³⁷ Saturday, 17th March, 1888, *ibid.*, 1103.

¹³⁸ Saturday, 22nd December, 1882, *ibid.*, 520.

¹³⁹ Thursday, 16th October, 1884, *ibid.*, 627.

¹⁴⁰ Sunday, 13th April, 1878, *ibid.*, 83.

Churchil saying that “it is rather too romantic for my taste”, full of women who pine for affection etc”.¹⁴¹ Regarding *Young Duke*, it can be seen that she liked it since she wrote that “I like Disraelis [sic] terse style exceedingly.”¹⁴² In addition to Disraeli’s works, she read and compared William Harrison Ainsworth’s five works, the *Constance de Bourbon* (1866), the *Boscobel* (1871), the *Constable of the Tower* (1861), *Chatwyn Calverly* (1876) and the *Spanish Match* (1865) between 27th October and 1st November in 1879, reading almost every day. As for the *Boscobel*, she wrote that “it was very interesting but I doubt that it is all, or nearly all historically true.”¹⁴³ She gave a poignant review on the *Chetwyn Calverly* that “it is improbable as to plot, unnatural in details, uninteresting and disjointed altogether.”¹⁴⁴ She preferred the *Spanish Match*, writing that “it is far better than "Chetwyn Calverly" but not so good as some others of his I have read lately.”¹⁴⁵ A few months later she read William Godwin’s two works, *Caleb Williams* (1794) and *St. Leon* (1799) and praised *Caleb Williams* highly: “the finest novel I ever read; it is quite uncommon in plot without any love in it. [...] The style is plain and direct, and we are left to draw moral inferences and make reflections on the events for ourselves.”¹⁴⁶ (*St. Leon*, however, she did not like it.)¹⁴⁷ In a similar way, she read Alexandre Dumas père’s three works: *The Black Tulip* (1850), *The page of the Duke of Savoy* (date unknown) and *The Conspirators* (1843) from 18th to 21st April, 1881.¹⁴⁸

Her bouts of intensive reading were not limited to the exploration of particular authors:

¹⁴¹ Sunday, 2nd November, 1879, *ibid.*, 117.

¹⁴² Monday, 14th April, 1879, *ibid.*, 84. For an interesting summary of Disraeli’s literary career see Michael Flavin, *Benjamin Disraeli : The Novel as Political Discourse* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005).

¹⁴³ Wednesday, 29th October, 1879, Hayden and Kennedy, *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*, 115. Ainsworth is a much ignored novelist today. See Stephen James Carver, *The Life and Works of the Lancashire Novelist William Harrison Ainsworth, 1850-1882*, vol. 75 (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003).

¹⁴⁴ Thursday, 30th October, 1879, Hayden and Kennedy, *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*, 116.

¹⁴⁵ Saturday, 1st November, 1879, *ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Wednesday, 21st April, 1880, *ibid.*, 151.

¹⁴⁷ Wednesday, 28th April, 1880, *ibid.*, 153.

¹⁴⁸ Monday, 18th April; Tuesday, 19th April; Thursday, 21st April, 1881, *ibid.*, 228.

she sometimes focused on one genre of literature for a time; for example, from 31st October to 3rd November 1880, she read six Jacobean and Elizabethan plays, Francis Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1613), Beaumont and John Fletcher's *King and No King* (1619) and *Philaster* (1620) and *David and Bethsheva* (publication date unknown), John Lyly's *Campaspe* (1584) and Nicholas Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister* (publication date unknown).¹⁴⁹ On the Beaumont and Fletcher plays, she read them on the same day and noted that she did not care for the first [*Knight of the Burning Pestle*] but liked others.¹⁵⁰ She read Shakespeare's works intensively from 14th to 18th April 1881,¹⁵¹ and read many other early modern dramas, not limited to English works but also Molière or Corneille. On the latter, she stated that:

I finished "Les Femmes Savantes" which is'nt[sic] bad, only that that the way "flames", "deux liens", "vos charmes" etc are discussed is wearisome. Read about half of "Cinna" after dinner, the conduct of Augustus is ridiculous. He talks with a trustful openness which would disgrace a school boy, of course Corneille wants to reveal his character and set forth his motives, but how differently Shakespere would have managed such a thing.¹⁵²

Considering her way of reading canonical works, it is probable that she chose them not because she liked them but for the sake of her own general education and academic literacy.

She read some works repeatedly. One example came from the 1850s. "Papa gave me ten bob and I bought the "Adventures of Verdant Green" by Cuthbert Bede.", She bought and read it firstly on 19th May, 1879,¹⁵³ but by 13th August in the same year she had read it three times.¹⁵⁴ She did not write any particular analysis of the book, but gave descriptions such as

¹⁴⁹ Sunday, 31st October and Tuesday, 3rd November, 1880, *ibid.*, 198-9. On Beaumont's work see John Doeblér, "Beaumont's the Knight of the Burning Pestle and the Prodigal Son Plays," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 5, no. 2. Also, for Udall, see A. W. Plumstead, "Satirical Parody in "Roister Doister": A Reinpretation," *Studies in Philology* 60, no. 2 (1963).

¹⁵⁰ Sunday, 31st October, 1880, Hayden and Kennedy, *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*, 198.

¹⁵¹ Thursday, 14th April; Friday, 16th April; Sunday, 17th April; Monday, 18th April, 1881, *ibid.*, 227-8.

¹⁵² Sunday, 7th December, 1884, *ibid.*, 651.

¹⁵³ Monday, 19th May, 1879, *ibid.*, 87.

¹⁵⁴ Wednesday, 13th August, 1879, *ibid.*, 102.

“[...] he [John] had pretended to matriculate a new fellow, a la Vandant Green [...]”.¹⁵⁵ It can be assumed that this work influenced her way of thinking a particular moment. She also read Samuel Richardson’s *Sir Charles Grandison* (1753) several times, and sometimes read aloud for her relatives including John. She read Nathaniel Hawthorn’s *House of the Seven Gables* (1851) repeatedly and judged the several novels in comparison with it. And when she re-read Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) in 1901, she noted that “[w]hen I read it before at about 15 I thought it stupid, now I like it greatly.”¹⁵⁶

Her impression on particular readings often reflected her own views. For example, of Disraeli’s *Lothair*, she wrote how:

[...] it is a wonderful book. I can readily conceive that it has done much harm to the Catholics. Can the secret societies, the political scheming, the undercurrents of Society, there represented be founded in fact? it [sic] would be foolish for me even to conjecture. As to the characters, *Lothair* is very much a “weathercock”. *Theadora* is grand, an ideal, (taking exception to some of her opinions) courageous, talented, and patient, quite a contrast to *Lady Corisande* who is however a very fair – lady. a [sic] stay at home individual. The descriptions are good, terse yet not too much so. *Lothair* in the Coliseum at night is perhaps the best, in one or two places the sentences seem a little “chopped”.¹⁵⁷

Although she criticised some parts of this work and wondered whether the book had harmed Catholics or not, she appreciated that his books were generally “wonderful”. Her sympathy for Catholicism helped her to read such books critically. For example, she wrote her impressions after reading John Lothrop Motley’s *The Rise of Dutch Republic* (1856) “Judging merely from his book I should say that he is just to both sides, recounting the excesses of the Protestants as minutely as those of the Catholics; however, I confess I should like to hear the other side, the opinion of a Catholic writer on the time. I wish though that Catholic writers were not so fond of advocating intolerance[sic]. I sometimes feel quite ashamed of them, so to speak.”¹⁵⁸ So she was not unduly partisan towards the Catholic side: she wrote her impression on

¹⁵⁵ Thursday, 13th November, 1879, *ibid.*, 119.

¹⁵⁶ Saturday, 6th April, 1901, *ibid.*, 2156.

¹⁵⁷ Thursday, 10th July, 1879, *ibid.*, 95.

¹⁵⁸ Thursday, 13th July, 1881, *ibid.*, 247.

Chapters of European History (publication year unknown) that “it is rather hardish here and there to understand; extremely Catholic in its views”.¹⁵⁹ It can be seen that she had already gained, or tried to gain, a “neutral” view on European history. Hayden’s reading was rather detached and this attitude is reflected in reading of nationalistic works in particular: for example, she noted her impression after reading John Mitchel’s *The Last Conquest of Ireland - perhaps* (1861) that “it is a gloomy tale of misery and injustice, for making all allowances for the writer’s bias, most of his *facts* are undeniable.”¹⁶⁰ As can be seen from this description, she noted that Mitchel had a biased view on history.

Hayden also regularly mentioned periodicals such as *London Society*,¹⁶¹ *The Illustrated London News*¹⁶² and serialized novels in magazines. She did not read a lot of magazines in her girlhood years and the opportunities may have been limited to special occasions such as special issues or Christmas issues, such as when “Papa brought me the special issues of the “Illustrated London News” on the Prince Imperial” when Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was killed in the Anglo-Zulu war.¹⁶³ It is probable that she did not subscribe to any magazines until she was an adult, but liked reading them:

[...]The Xmas numbers of the Graphic and “Illustrated London News” which Papa ordered some time ago, arrived this evening; they so to speak “demoralised” me completely, instead of studying the works of the sublime Cicero. I perused, dreadful to relate, the mostly very trashy stories contained in the aforesaid papers, the whole evening; nor was it till I had seen the last charming heroine, the gallant hero, married, that the reproachful figure of the mighty orator rose before my mental vision [...]. There is no help for it now, however the evening is gone, to be sure it is only 11 o’clock [...].¹⁶⁴

After her father’s death in 1881, she began to choose magazines by herself; for example, she

¹⁵⁹ Saturday, 21st April, 1888, *ibid.*, 1118.

¹⁶⁰ Saturday, 19th June, 1886, *ibid.*, 818.

¹⁶¹ For example, the entry of 16th January, 1878, *ibid.*, 6.

¹⁶² For example, the entries of 19th July and 10th December, 1879. *Ibid.*, 97, 123. On *Illustrated London News*, she often mentioned that she obtained them through his brother John.

¹⁶³ Saturday, July 19th, 1879, *ibid.*, 97.

¹⁶⁴ Wednesday, December 10th 1879, *ibid.*, 123.

read *The Temple Bar* at 6th March, 1883.¹⁶⁵ Apart from magazines, there are other examples indicating that Mary enjoyed light reading. For example, in 1880 she read a book entitled “A Book about Boys” and wrote that it was “an amusing sketch of boys, their nature, virtues, faults, amusements, nanners[sic] etc.”¹⁶⁶ On Margaret Wolfe Hungerford’s *Molly Bawn* (1882), she noted that it was “an exceedingly trashy novel but containing some smart dialogue and an occasional good passage of description”.¹⁶⁷ Adding to these light offerings, she also read serial novels which appeared in magazines. For example, she read Dinah Maria Mulock Craik’s *Young Mrs. Jardine* which was serialized in *Good Words*, from January to December 1879. She also read the novel “A Daughter named Mamaris” on 30th November 1883, and noted that “[the novel was] in the Girls’ Own Annual which Cissy had lent me and liked it extremely”.¹⁶⁸ Thus it seems that she enjoyed various types of reading without prejudice. Considering that references to “trashy novel[s]” frequently appeared in her diary, she seems to have used this kind of light readings just for relaxing: for example, she once wrote that she “read a trashy novel in bed and went to sleep”.¹⁶⁹

Conclusion

In this chapter, female private reading has been examined using two kinds of source: auto/biographical works and diaries. Firstly, we have seen that childhood reading was often recalled in biographical works as an indication of resistance on the part of the girls. Having their reading censored, especially by their parents, was commonplace. However, they did not only describe the constraints on their reading, but also how they acted to maximise the opportunities to read without resisting adult authority openly. The practice of reading and also

¹⁶⁵ Tuesday, 6th March, 1883, *ibid.*, 408.

¹⁶⁶ Tuesday, 21st September, 1880, *ibid.*, 193.

¹⁶⁷ Friday, 9th November, 1883, *ibid.*, 507.

¹⁶⁸ Friday, 30th November, 1883, *ibid.*, 513.

¹⁶⁹ Friday, 14th May, 1887, *ibid.*, 985.

the choice of reading materials was often represented as what differentiated these women from their peers. The account of their juvenile reading materials could be considered as a form of self-advertisement. For some women they read contemporary bestsellers, for others they were nationalistic writings.

The analysis of the Hayden diaries clarifies several points which can help us understand female private reading. Firstly, personal connections were crucial for young women in getting freer access to reading materials. And indeed women had to rely on connections, even to get access to libraries. Secondly, they had to know what the libraries and bookshops had in stock and use different locations according to their purposes. The ladies reading room of the RDS could be seen as the most popular place. Both the centrality and accessibility of the RDS may have been the main reason for that.

Certain differences can be also seen between private reading activity examined in this chapter and the collective readings examined in Chapter 3 and 4. The most outstanding difference was the degree of agency reflected in their choices – in the case of private readings, one can see that women tended to choose more contemporary novels than was the case with shared readings. Since most women had been under some form of parental censorship, mostly by their mothers during girlhood, they became more active in their adulthood in searching for reading materials. Sometimes the contemporary novels which they chose could be problematic according to the standards of the period; however, the choices themselves did not however always indicate reader taste. As can be seen in Mary Hayden's case, it is possible that women sought out problematic works simply out of curiosity.

Conclusion

'Shut the book now – now, just when the exciting part begins. No, you may not read the end of the page – no, not even a line more. If you want to be brave, if you want to be strong, sacrifice; sacrifice, mortify yourself. If you don't want to! No, you are weak, you cannot do that, not even that small thing, for God. No, not after supper! Not until to-morrow, to-morrow evening ---' The small head with the straight white parting bends over the closed book, and a sobbing sigh floats out into the room full of shadows.

She rises slowly and puts the book away, high up on a shelf on the old bookcase, and then looks fearsomely around her. [...]

George Egerton, "A psychological moment at three periods: 1. The Child"
Discords (1894), 2.

As many sources and studies have shown, women's freedom in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland was strictly regulated. This reflected both the Victorian ideals of moral virtue and the conservative ethos which dominated Irish society in those days. But was this also true of their reading? Women's reading has been understood as being subject to male control, based on the prevailing assumption that women were more vulnerable to the influence of low-quality and coarse fiction. While this view of the efficacy of restrictions on women, which was strongly influenced by feminist ideas, has some truth and has shed light on the unfair status of women in some respects, it has hidden the dynamics of female agency. Did women quietly accept these gender-biased conventions imposed upon them? Even though opportunities were limited, we have argued here that many women were able to expand their intellectual horizons through a variety of means.

The expansion of the reading public was a global phenomenon in the late-nineteenth century. However, this trend was not wholly welcomed. It was sometimes argued that the "lowbrows" might incline to cheap, low-quality publications and female readers were considered (especially by the Catholic hierarchy) to be particularly susceptible to their influence. At the same time, Catholic periodicals were paradoxically targeting women readers, believing that women could be a positive moral and educational influence in the domestic

sphere. The Catholic Truth Society of Ireland is a typical example of a society that attempted to reach women readers and capitalise on their appetite for fictional works, most of it written by prominent female writers. It could be said that women's opportunities, both as recipients and suppliers were expanded by this literary medium.

When one focuses on the experiences of female readers, it should be noticed that reading activities, whether shared or solo, enabled women to expand their world view. In the case of shared reading, the most crucial role it played was in the opportunities it provided for networking and socialising. Shared reading offered women the space for social participation and/or self-realisation, enabling members to socialise and to soak in the intellectual and sophisticated atmosphere. Joining literary societies of their alma maters, local reading groups or academic bodies was an even more desirable option for women, due to the homogeneity and exclusivity of these groups. Literary societies in girls' schools brought the alumni into contact with each other and with their former institutions. Women also used such occasions to showcase their skills whether through musical performance or in painting exhibitions. Since joining literary groups was regarded as a respectable activity even in the conservative atmosphere of Ireland during this period, women did not need to hesitate to join such groups, and once becoming a member, they could find ways to pursue their own interests.

Shared reading based on such networking offered women opportunities for engaging in lifelong learning. Even though some universities opened their doors to women, entering universities and taking degrees were far from realisable targets for most women. In this context, the opportunity to pursue informal and voluntary learning was a precious one. In literary societies at girls' schools, reading unions were sometimes organised for the sake of members who lived in isolated areas. These unions aimed to introduce more prescriptive reading and served as a substitute for education by correspondence. Similarly, in the case of private reading groups, one can see that the expectations placed on members was apparently high. The members were required to be well prepared and were encouraged to present papers.

These expectations, however, were not a serious obstacle for the members. On the contrary, one could assume that the high standard of intellectual exchange attracted people eager to acquire knowledge. In that sense, literary participation could be considered a substitute for higher level education. Shared reading also enabled women to create an environment where social or political matters – subjects usually considered inappropriate for women – could be openly discussed.

Utilising their own networks was also important in women's private reading experiences, since women generally accessed reading materials and found reading opportunities through personal connections. These strategies were different from person to person depending on which life stage they were at. Girls were subject to stricter instruction and censorship than mature women, so they had to rely more on personal connections. This need emerges as a consistent theme in the private records of women, such as diaries and memoirs. On such occasions, girls sometimes took advantage of male relations or acquaintances, acquiring reading materials via male siblings, friends of male siblings and even local priests. Moreover, many records show that female guardians such as mothers, schoolteachers, nuns in convent schools, had stricter views on what they considered were appropriate for girls to read. Female guardians were sometimes more interventionist than their male counterparts, and were more likely to censor what girls read. In this sense, the commonly accepted theory that women were subject to "paternal" instruction should be reconsidered. It could be argued that sometimes adult female readers reproduced – both consciously and unconsciously – the moral norms that they had internalised during girlhood.

During adulthood, women generally had more freedom to choose reading materials that reflected their own interests. To access such reading materials, they needed to make full use of public spaces designed for such purpose. They had to know where they could access reading materials, of course, and to that end, having a high level of cultural capital was an advantage. Libraries were particularly attractive place for Dublin women not only as a place to read, but

also as a social base in city centre. Ladies' reading rooms, which were a common feature of public libraries in the late-nineteenth century, allowed female readers to use them in comfort. Although ladies' readings rooms were generally criticised as a symbol of sexism from a feminist point of view, the freedom they afforded to pursue a "respectable" type of reading should not be ignored. Some female users undoubtedly benefitted from the relaxed atmosphere of reading rooms reserved for women. In other words, gender segregation did not always the disadvantage women.

It is true that most women did not overtly resist the social conventions that were imposed upon them, but this does not mean that they accepted them unquestioningly. Women, on the contrary, sought the best ways of maximising their opportunities within the bounds of contemporary mores. Attention to this "formidability" of women is what existing studies have lacked. A more detailed investigation into this dimension will enrich the historiography of women's history, and will assist us in moving beyond conventional view which regard women solely as powerless victims of historically male-dominated societies. Women's reading activity in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland, as examined in this thesis, provides an ideal example for exploring the hidden agency of women.

Appendix: Mary Hayden's reading of contemporary books, 1878-1903

Year	Date	Title	Author	Genre	Publication year	
1878	May 20 th	<i>Hector Servadac</i>	Jules Verne	Novel	1877	At least fifth edition had been published in 1877
1879	April 15 th	<i>Katerfelto</i>	G. J. Whyte-Melville	Novel	1875	At least fourth edition had been published in 1875
	July 5 th	<i>Young Mrs Jardyne</i>	D. M. Mulock Afterwards Craik	Novel	1879	
	August 5 th	<i>Coming Race</i>	Edward Bulwer-Lytton	Novel	1871	At least eighth edition had been published by 1873
	October 29 th	<i>Boscobel</i>	William Harrison Ainsworth	Novel	1871	
	October 31 st	<i>Chetwyn Calverly</i>	William Harrison Ainsworth	Novel	1876	
1880	April 6 th	<i>Merry England</i>	William Harrison Ainsworth	History	1874	
	July 6 th	<i>The Haunted Hotel</i>	Wilkie Collins	Novel	1879	
	November 20 th	<i>A Tramp Abroad</i>	Mark Twain	Novel	1880	At least third edition had been published in 1880.
	December 25 th	<i>A Noble Queen</i>	Philip Meadows Taylor	Novel	1878	
1881						
1882	May 18 th	<i>The Prince and the Pauper</i>	Mark Twain	Novel	1881	
	May 18 th	<i>Sunshine and Storm in the East</i>	Anna Brassey	Travel	1880	
	September 4 th	<i>Democracy</i>	Henry Brooks Adams	Novel	1880	

1883	May 4 th	<i>The Three Brass Balls</i>	George Robert Sims	Essay	c. 1880	
	May 7 th	<i>The Rebel of the Family</i>	Eliza Lynn Linton	Novel	1880	
	June 3 rd	<i>Patricia Kemble</i>	Eliza Lynn Linton	Novel	1874-1875	
	July 7 th	<i>The Atonement of Leam Dundas</i>	Eliza Lynn Linton	Novel	1876	
	September 22 nd	<i>Donna Quixote</i>	Justin McCarthy	Novel	1879	At least second edition had been published in 1879
	October 4 th	<i>Vice Cersa[sic]</i>	Thomas Anstey Guthrie	Novel	1882	
	October 22 nd	<i>John Inglesant</i>	Joseph Henry Shorthouse	Novel	1881	At least sixth edition had been published by 1887
	November 9 th	<i>Molly Brown</i>	Margaret Wolfe Hungerford	Novel	1882	
	December 28 th	<i>Epic of Hadies</i>	Lewis Morris	Novel	1877	At least twenty-first edition had been published by 1887
1884	March 18 th	<i>the Book Lovers' Enchiridion[sic]</i>	Alexander Ireland	Others	1882	
1885	February 1 st	<i>Daniel Deronda</i>	George Eliot	Novel	1876	
	February 12 th	<i>God and the Man</i>	Robert Williams Buchanan	Novel	1881	
	February 16 th	<i>the Martyrdom of Madeline</i>	Robert Williams Buchanan	Novel	1882	
	February 22 nd	<i>Huckleberry Finn</i>	Mark Twain	Novel	1885	
	October 11 th	<i>Clarisse</i>	Ernest Dauded	Novel	1879	
	October 15 th	<i>The Treasure Island</i>	Robert Louis Stevenson	Novel	1881-1882	
	October 17 th	<i>The Little Schoolmaster Mark</i>	Joseph Henry Shorthouse	Novel	1883	

			e			
	October 18 th	<i>Airy Fairy Lilian</i>	Margaret Wolfe Hamilton Hungerford	Novel	1879	
	October 19 th	<i>Ishmael</i>	Mary Elizabeth Braddon	Novel	1884	
	October 25 th	<i>The Dynamiter</i>	Robert Louis Stevenson & Fanny Vandegrift	Novel	1885	
1886	May 23 rd	<i>Cashel Byron's Profession</i>	George Bernard Shaw	Novel	1882	
	June 30 th	<i>The Rise of Silas Lapham</i>	William Dean Howells	Novel	1885	
	July 1 st	<i>the Willoby Captains</i>	Talbot Baines Reed	Novel	1883-85	
	September 28 th	<i>The Seamy Side</i>	James Rice, Walter Besant	Novel	1880	At least third edition had been published in 1880
	October 24 th	<i>All in a Garden Fair</i>	Walter Besant	Novel	1883	
1887	August 28 th	<i>She</i>	Henry Rider Haggard	Novel	1886	At least third edition had been published by 1888
	December 4 th	<i>Le Crime de l'Opera</i>	Fortun Du Boisgobey	Novel	1879	At least third edition had been published by 1880
1888	January 12 th	<i>Sigurd the Volsung</i>	William Morris	Poetry	1876	At least fourth edition had been published by 1887
	March 12 th	<i>Biographies of Words and the Home of the Aryas</i>	Max Muller	Linguistics	1888	
	March 17 th	<i>Confessions of a Young Man</i>	George Moore	memoir	1888	At least third edition had been

						published by 1889
	April 6 th	<i>the Mystery of a Hansom Cab</i>	Fergus Hume	Novel	1886	
	April 8 th	<i>Little Lord Fauntelroy</i>	Frances Eliza Hodgson Burnett	Novel	1886	
	April 13 th	<i>the Silverado Squatters</i>	Robert Louis Stevenson	memoir	1880	At least fifth edition had been published by 1895
	July 28 th	<i>Vixen</i>	Mary Elizabeth Braddon	Novel	1879	
	August 19 th	<i>Pere Amable</i>	Guy de Maupassa n	Novel	1886?	
	August 19 th	<i>Mademoiselle Perle</i>	Guy de Maupassa n	Novel	1886	
	August 30 th	<i>Mr Barnes of New York</i>	Archibald Clavering Gunter	Novel	1888	
	Decembe r 26 th	<i>Greek Life and Thought from Alexander to the Roman Conquest</i>	John Pentland Mahaffy	History	1887	
1889	January 12 th	<i>Robert Elsmere</i>	Humphry Ward		1888	At least third edition had been published in 1888
	February 20 th	<i>Die Familie Buchholz</i>	Julius Stinde		1884	At least fiftieth edition had been published by 1886
	March 21 st	<i>A Dog with a bad Name</i>	Talbot Baines Reed		1886-1887	
	May 16 th	<i>the City of Dreadful Night</i>	James "B.V." Thomson		1874	
1890	March 11 th	<i>Comme dans la Vie</i>	Albert Delpit	Unknow n	1890	At least twenty-first edition had been published in 1890
	June 1 st	<i>Quatrevingt-</i>	Victor	Novel	1874	At least third

		<i>treize</i>	Hugo			edition had been published by 1882
	September 30 th	<i>Paul Patoff</i>	Francis Marion Crawford	Novel	1887	At least second edition had been published by 1888
	December 26 th	<i>Greek World Under Roman Sway</i>	John Pentland Mahaffy	History	1890	
1891	June 20 th	<i>Notes on a Pilgrimage</i>	Jerome K. Jerome	memoir	1891?	
	July 17 th	<i>Vendetta</i>	Marie Corelli	Novel	1886	At least tenth edition had been published by 1895
	July 19 th	<i>Through One Administration</i>	Frances Hodgson Burnett	Novel	1883	At least second edition had been published by 1884
1892	January 26 th	<i>Roman Days</i>	Swedish of V. Rydberg	History	1877	
	February 14 th	<i>A Doubting Heart</i>	Annie Keary	Novel	1879	
	June 19 th	<i>Tartasin de Tarrason</i>	Alphonse Daudet	Novel	1872	
	October 16 th	<i>Un Coeur Simple</i>	Gustave Flaubert	Novel	1877	
	October 28 th	<i>the Story of an African Farm</i>	Olive Schreiner	Novel	1883	At least second edition had been published in 1883
1893						
1894	February 1 st	<i>Celtic Twilight</i>	W. B. Yeats	Folklore	1893	
	May 19 th	<i>A Gentleman of France</i>	Stanley John Weyman	Novel	1893	
	May 20 th	<i>the Heavenly Twins</i>	Sarah Grand	Novel	1893	
	June 27 th	<i>Esther Waters</i>	George Moore	Novel	1894	At least second edition had been published in

						1894
	July 1 st	<i>the Jungle Book</i>	Rudyard Kipling	Novel	1894	
	August 2 nd	<i>Keynotes</i>	George Egerton	Novel	1893	At least seventh edition had been published by 1895
	August 26 th	<i>A Yellow Aster</i>	Kathleen Mannington Hunt Caffyn	Novel	1894	At least sixth edition had been published in 1894
1895	January 6 th	<i>Kerrigan's Qualisty</i>	Jane Barlow	Novel	1894	
	January 17 th	<i>Lady Grizzle</i>	Lewis Strange Wingfield	Novel	1878	
	November 3 rd	<i>Man in Black</i>	Stanley J. Weyman	Novel	1894	
1896	June 6 th	<i>Tess of the 'Urbervilles</i>	Thomas Hardy	Novel	1891	
	June 11 th	<i>the Sorrows of Satan</i>	Marie Corelli	Novel	1895	At least forty-second edition had been published by 1900
	August 17 th	<i>Pepita Jimenez</i>	Juan Valera	Novel	1874	At least fourteenth edition had been published by 1896
	November 29 th	<i>Dr Janet of Harley St</i>	Arabella Kenealy	Novel	1893	
1897	May 22 nd	<i>the Wheel of Chance</i>	H. G. Wells	Novel	1895	
	May 27 th	<i>On the Face of the Waters</i>	Flora Annie Webster Steel	Novel	1896	At least third edition had been published by 1897
1898	December 5 th	<i>Phia the Phoenician</i>	Edwin Lester Linden Arnold	Novel	US 1890, UK 1910	
1899						
1901	January 18 th	<i>Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse</i>	Joseph Ernest Renan	Unknown	1883	At least eleventh edition had

						been published by 1884
	April 27 th	<i>My New Curate</i>	Patrick Augustine Sheehan	Novel	1900	At least tenth edition had been published in 1900
1902						
1903	July 11 th	<i>The Octopus: A Story of California</i>	Frank Norris	Novel	1901	

Bibliography

Primary sources

Archive material

Archives of the Dominican Sisters, Cabra, Dublin

OPG/E7/3 Minute book of St. Mary's Literary Academy

Cork City and County Archive, Cork

IE CCCA/PR25/2 Sophie O'Brien Papers

IE CCCA/SM675 Minute book of Cork Shakespearian Society 1894-1901

IE CCCA/U271/A/1 Liam De Roiste Papers

Dominican Convent, Muckross park, Dublin

F1/2/3 Prospectus for St. Mary's High School including Elementary Classes, Boys and Girls from the age of four years

F1/2/4/3 Prize winning essays (1893-94)

Dublin Historical Library of Friends, Dublin

P23a Alfred Webb, Autobiography

Loreto Central and Irish Province Archives, Dublin

MC/EDU 1-3 Arrangements for University Classes

National Library of Ireland, Dublin

MS 7321 *Life of Mary E. L. Butler* (Mrs. Nolan) by the author of the name "Sinn Féin"

MS 19483 Minute book of the '90 Club, Ms. 19483

MS 35262(27) ACC: 4259 National Club Literary Society

Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast

D777 Belfast Reading Club notebook

Royal Dublin Society Library, Dublin

Library Committee Minute book, June 1862 to March 1871

Library Committee Minute book, April 1871 to April 1889

Russel Library, National University of Ireland, Maynooth

Folder 3 Maynooth Union Minute book of the Council

Maynooth Union Minute book of the General Meeting

Trinity College, Dublin

MS 2187 Minute book of the Caliban Club, Trinity College Dublin, 1884-8.

Printed Primary

Alexandra College, Dublin

Edith. V. McComas, *Alexandra College Guild Report 1898 to 1913*, Dublin: Corrigan & Wilson, 1913.

Central Catholic Library, Dublin

Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, *First Fifty Years: Golden Jubilee Record, 1899-1949*, Dublin, 1952.

Dublin City Archive, Dublin

"First Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1884"
Dublin Corporation Reports etc, 1885, Vol. 2, 21-74.

"Second Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1885"
Dublin Corporation Reports etc, 1886, Vol. 3, 409-32.

"Third Report of the Public Libraries Committee, for the year ended 31st December, 1886"
Dublin Corporation Reports etc, 1887, Vol. 1, 385-400.

Minutes of the Municipal Council of the City of Dublin, 1891-1904.

National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Library Rules, 1894.

Report of The Council of Trustees for the National Library of Ireland, 1898-1911

Supplemental Catalogue: John Greene's Public Library, 16 Clare Street (Merrion Square), Dublin, 1883.

Maynooth University Library, National University of Ireland, Maynooth

Record of The Maynooth Union, 1895-1907.

Trinity College, Dublin

Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, *Annual and Record of Conference, 1903-12.*

Royal Dublin Society Library, Dublin

Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society, Vol. 132-143.

Veritas Company, Dublin

Pamphlets of Catholic Truth Society of Ireland as listed below:

- No. 2: The bishop of Canea, "The Irish College, Rome"
- No. 6: Canon Sheehan, "Rita, the Street Singer"
- No. 16: J. S. Conmee, "Old Times in the Barony"
- No. 17: Katharine Roche, "Willie's Revenge"
- No. 18: Canon Sheehan, "Our Personal and Social Responsibilities"
- No. 19: Canon Sheehan, "How the Angel Became Happy"
- No. 34: Kathleen O'Maara, "Aline"
- No. 38: Matthew Russel, "Reasons for Holding the Catholic Faith"
- No. 39: M. E. Francis, "The Little Cross-Bearer and About Poor Judy"
- No. 40: M. E. Francis, "Anne's Husband"
- No. 49: S. M. G., "The Hillside Flower: An Incident of the Penal Days in Ireland"
- No. 52: Lady Gilbert, "Mrs. Blake's Next-of-kin"
- No. 53: Lady Gilbert, "The American Money"
- No. 54: Lady Gilbert, "Among the Violets"
- No. 56: Lady Gilbert, "Avourneen"
- No. 57: Canon Schmid, "The Wooden Cross"
- No. 58: Lady Gilbert, "Marigold: A Romance in An Old Garden"
- No. 59: Lady Gilbert, "The Mystery of Ora: the Marigold Series"
- No. 60: Lady Gilbert, Mr. Hassard's Ward"
- No. 63: Lady Gilbert, "The Five Cobblers"

- No. 66: Canon Schmid, "Angelica/ The Melon/ The Crayfish"
 No. 72: Sister M. Gertrude, "A 'Queen by Right Divine"
 No. 74: D. K. Harrington, "The Bride of Glenmore"
 No. 77: Mary Maher, "The Irish Emigrant's Orphan"
 No. 78: Canon Schmid, "The Mysterious Lady"
 No. 86: Canon Schmid, "The Dumb Child"
 No. 87: Canon Schmid, "How Henry of Eichenfels came to the Knowledge of God"
 No. 89: Grace Christmas and Clara Mulholand, "Out of the Depth and Little Mother Mary"
 No. 90: Canon Schmid, "The Rose Bush"
 No. 92: Lady Gilbert and James Barker, "Tales of the Children's Hospital"
 No. 96: Canon Schmid, "The Best Inheritance"
 No. 100: S. Ceaddell?, "Blanche Leslie; or the Living Rosary, and Lucy's Pilgrimage"
 No. 106: Canon Schmid, "The Jewels"
 No. 113: Canon Schmid, "Christmas Eve"
 No. 115: J. Halpin, "Temperance and the Working Man"
 No. 200: J. E. Canon McKenna, "Lough Derg: Ireland's National Pilgrimage"

Newspapers and Journals

All Ireland Review
An Leabhlann
Anglo-Celt
Dublin Review
Freeman's Journal
Gentleman's Magazine
Irish Ecclesiastical Record
Irish Examiner
Irish Homestead
Irish Independent
Irish Monthly
Irish Rosary
Lady of the House
Lyceum
Nation
New Ireland Review
Skibbereen Eagle
The Nineteenth Century
The Tablet: The International Catholic News Weekly
United Irishman

Contemporary printed articles, books, pamphlets and reports

- Anon. "A Magazine for children" *Irish Monthly*, Vol. 10, No. 112, October 1882: 673-74.
 Anon., "An easy guard against filthy novels" *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XI, No. 2, February 1907: 554.
 Anon., "Another talk about harmless novels" *Irish Monthly*, Vol. 23, No. 164, June 1895: 332-36.
 Anon., "Catholic Fiction" *Dublin Review*, Vol. 31, No. 62, October 1878: 439-62.
 Anon., "Catholic periodicals versus filthy fictions" *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XI, No. 12, December 1907: 953-54.
 Anon., "Disappointed about the Literary Competition" *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XIV, No. 7, July 1910: 549.
 Anon., "Examine unauthorised leaflets and prayerbooks" *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, January 1909: 4.

- Anon., "Foster the taste in the young" *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XIV, No. 7, July 1910: 548.
- Anon., "Harmless Novels" *Irish Monthly*, Vol. 14, No. 154, April 1886: 206-14.
- Anon., "Non-Sectarian versus Catholic libraries" *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XI, No. 2, February 1907: 157.
- Anon., "Pan-Celtic Society, Dublin" *Nation*, 24th March, 1889: 9.
- Anon., "Summer Amusements for Women: 2. Photography" *Lady of the House*, Vol. 2, No. 9, 15th July, 1892: 6.
- Anon., "The bacteriology of milk" *Lady of the House*, Vol. 5, No. 7: 23.
- Anon., "The bad books question again" *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, February 1910: 85.
- Anon., "The Flood of Fiction" *Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1906: 246-55.
- Anon., "The Iona Series. New Books by Irish Writers" *Irish Ecclesiastical Records*, Ser. 4, Vol. 27, April 1910.
- Anon., "The Women's Parliament: Should girls be guided in their reading?" *Lady of the House*, Vol. XVIII, No. 205, 15th September, 1906.
- Anon., "To exercise real influence" *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XIV, No. 7, July 1910: 548.
- Anon., "'Veritas.' The Sion Hill Annual" *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XIV, No. 7, July 1910: 548-49.
- Anon., "Vicious books and filthy English weekly newspapers" *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XII, No. 5, May 1908: 470-71.
- Anon., "Wanted – Catholic Students and Writers" *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XI, No. 8, August, 1907: 657-64.
- Arnold, Matthew. *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism*. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1869.
- Barry, J. "Dublin Municipal Libraries" *An Leabharlann* I, No. 4.
- Blake, Robert. "The publisher in Ireland" *New Ireland Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, October 1897: 112-15.
- Britten, James. "Art. IX.-the Catholic Truth Society." *Dublin Review, 1836-1910* 17, No. 2, April 1887: 400-13.
- Brosnahan, Timothy, S. J. "Thoughts on reading" *Irish Monthly*, 1897: 95-99.
- Butler, M. E. L. "Womanhood and Nationhood." *United Irishman* 17, 1903.
- . "Irishwomen and the home language", Gaelic League Pamphlets No. 6, c. 1900.
- Butler, M. E. L. and William Rooney. "Irishwomen and the Home Language." *All Ireland Review*, 1900.
- Coleman, Ambrose. "Our Reading Public and the Carnegie Rural Libraries." *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 35: 357-72.
- Colum, Mary Maguire, Catherine Gunning, Willy Pogany, James Stephens, Iris Clare Wise, and Macmillan & Co. Ltd. *Life and the Dream*. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd, 1947.
- Condon, John. "A library in a small town" *New Ireland Review*, September 1906: 29-36.
- Costello, Mary. "A Danger to Young Irish Girls: The Growing Taste for Coarse Fiction" *Lady of the House*, Vol. XVIII, No. 200, 14th April, 1906.
- . "A Danger to Young Irish Girls: The Growing Taste for Coarse Fiction" *Lady of the House*, Vol. XVIII, No. 201. 15th May, 1906.
- . "A Danger to Young Irish Girls" *Lady of the House*, Vol. XVIII, No. 202. 15th June, 1906: 8.
- . "A Danger to the Young Irish Girl" *Lady of the House*, Vol. XVIII, No. 203. 14th July, 1906: 6, 8.
- D'Alton, John. *The Catholic Truth Society of Ireland: its Origin and Purpose*. Dublin: Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 196?.
- Daly, Lilian. "Women and the University Question" *New Ireland Review*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, April 1902: 337-57.
- Duffy, Charles Gavan. *The Revival of Irish Literature. Addresses by Sir C. G. Duffy, Dr. G. Sigerson, and Dr. D. Hyde*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894.
- Eccles, Charlotte O'Connor. "Children's Libraries – I" *New Ireland Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 2, October 1904: 65-77.

- Egerton, George. *Keynotes*. London: E. Mathews & J. Lane, 1893.
- . *Discords*. London: John Lane, 1894.
- Fénelon, François de Salignac de La Mothe. *The Education of Girls*. Boston: Ginn, 1891.
- G, "What our country folk read" *New Ireland Review* Vol. I, No. 2, March 1894: 131-32.
- Gill, Michael J. "General Aspect" *Public Libraries for Ireland*. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1903.
- Granville, Harriet. *Letters of Harriet, Countess Granville, 1810-1845*. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green and co., 1894.
- Hayden, Mary and Conan Kennedy. *The Diaries of Mary Hayden, 1878-1903*. 5 vols Killala: Morrigan, 2005.
- Hughes, William, S.J. "A word about novels" *Irish Monthly*, Vol. 16, 1888: 59-60.
- Irish C. C. "Parish Libraries" *New Ireland Review*, Vol. 1, No. 4, June 1894: 266-68.
- Jast, L. Stanley. "The Dewey Classification, and Some Recent Criticism." *The Library* 1, No. 1, 1897.
- Kelly, Richard J. "The Perils of Publicity" *Irish Rosary*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, February 1910: 111-16.
- Lyster, T. W. "Notes on Shelf-Classification by the Dewey System." *The Library* 1, No. 1, 1897.
- M. M. "The Science of Fiction" *New Ireland Review*, Vol. VII, No.4, June 1897: 238-42.
- Moran, D. P. *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland*. Dublin: James Duffy & Co., 1905.
- . "The Battle of Two Civilizations" *New Ireland Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 6, August 1900: 323-36.
- O'Brien, William. *Irish Ideas*. London: Longmans, 1893.
- O'Donovan, Jeremiah. *Village Libraries: Reprinted from the Irish Homestead*, Dublin, 1900.
- O'Farrelly, Agnes. "The Reign of Humbug", Gaelic League Pamphlets No. 10, c. 1900.
- O'Brien, William. *Irish Ideas*. London: Longmans, 1893.
- O'Riordan, Michael. *Catholicity and Progress in Ireland*. London: Kegan Paul & Co.; St. Louis, 1905.
- R. M. "Wanted an Irish Novelist" *Irish Monthly*, Vol. 19, No. 17, July 1891: 368-73.
- Oldham, Alice. "Women and the Irish University Question" *New Ireland Review*, Vol. VI, No. 5, January 1897: 257-63.
- Plunket, Horace. *Ireland in the New Century*. Murray, 1904.
- Salmon, Edward G. "What Girls Read" *Nineteenth Century*, October 1886, Vol. 20, no. 116: 515-29.
- Sheehy Hannah. "Women and the University Question" *New Ireland Review*, Vol. XVII, No. 3, May 1902: 148-51.
- Stuart, Janet Erskine. *The Education of Catholic Girls*. Westminster: Newman Press, 1912.
- . *The Education of Girls*. Boston: Ginn, 1891.
- Tynan, Katharine. *Twenty-Five Years: Reminiscences*. London: Elder & Co., 1913.
- Yeats, W. B. *Autobiographies*. London : MacMillan, 1955.
- Z, "The New Irish Library: A Unionist's View" *New Ireland Review*, Vol. V, No. 5, July 1896: 265-74.

School Journals

Alexandra College Magazine
Ladies' Collegiate School Magazine
Loreto Magazine
The Students' Own
Veritas
Victoria College Magazine

Online Resources

1911 Census(Ireland): <http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/>

Dictionary of Irish Biography: <http://dib.cambridge.org/>
Lenon Wylie 1901 Belfast/Ulster Street Directory:
<http://www.lennonwylie.co.uk/BSD1901.htm>
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>
UK Reading Experience Database: <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/>

Secondary Sources

- Adams, Elsie. "Feminism and Female Stereotypes in Shaw." *The Shaw Review* (1974): 17-22.
- Adelman, Juliana. *Communities of Science in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009.
- Akenson, Donald H. *A Mirror to Kathleen's Face: Education in Independent Ireland 1922-1960*. Montreal; London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975.
- . *The Irish Education Experiment: The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century*. Studies in Irish History, Second Series. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.
- Altick, Richard D. *The English Common Reader; a Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.
- Anderson, Benedict R. O'G, and American Council of Learned Societies. *Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London; New York: Verso, 2006.
- Atkinson, Juliette. "The London Library and the Circulation of French Fiction in the 1840s." *Information & Culture: A Journal of History* 48, no. 4 (2013): 391-418.
- Baggs, Chris. "'In the Separate Reading Room for Ladies Are Provided Those Publications Specially Interesting to Them': Ladies' Reading Rooms and British Public Libraries 1850-1914." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 38, no. 3 (10/01 2005): 280-306.
- . "Radical Reading? Working-Class Libraries in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." In *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, edited by Alistair Black and Peter Hoare. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006: 169-79.
- Baker, William. "Libraries and Librarians in the 1890s: A Survey of the Library Scene 100 Years Ago." *Library Review* 39, no. 2 (1990): 14-20.
- Barton, David, Mary Hamilton, and Roz Ivanič. *Situated Literacies: Reading and Writing in Context*. Literacies. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Bates, Robin E. *Shakespeare and the Cultural Colonization of Ireland*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Beckett, J. C. *The Anglo-Irish Tradition*. London: Faber, 1976.
- . *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923*. London: Faber, 1966.
- Beetham, Margaret. *A Magazine of Her Own? : Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Bell, Ella L. J. Edmondson, and Stella M. Nkomo. *Our Separate Ways: Black and White Women and the Struggle for Professional Identity*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 2001.
- Benevenuta, M. "St. Mary's University College." *University Review* 3, no. 4, 1964: 33-47.
- Bew, Paul. *Conflict and Conciliation in Ireland, 1890-1910: Parnellites and Radical Agrarians*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.
- Biletz, Frank A. "Women and Irish-Ireland: The Domestic Nationalism of Mary Butler." *New Hibernia Review* 6, no. 1 (04/01 2002): 59-72.
- Black, Alistair, and British Library. *The Public Library in Britain, 1914-2000*. London: British Library, 2000.
- Black, Alistair, Simon Pepper, and Kaye Bagshaw. *Books, Buildings and Social Engineering: Early Public Libraries in Britain from Past to Present*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.
- Black, Alistair. *A New History of the Public Library: Social and Intellectual Contexts, 1850-1914*. London: Leicester University Press, 1996.
- Bonnell, Marilyn. "The Legacy of Sarah Grand's *the Heavenly Twins*: A Review Essay." *English literature in transition, 1880-1920* 36, no. 4.
- Bourke, Marie. "Yeats, Henry and the Western Idyll." *History Ireland* 11, no. 2 (07/01 2003): 28-33.
- Boyce, David George, and Alan O'Day. *The Making of Modern Irish History: Revisionism and the Revisionist Controversy*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Boyce, David George, Roger Swift, and Patrick Buckland. *Problems and Perspectives in Irish*

- History since 1800: Essays in Honour of Patrick Buckland*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.
- Boyce, David George. *Nationalism in Ireland*. London: Croom Helm, 1982.
- Boyle, Peter. "George Salmon, Provost 1888-1904." In *Trinity College Dublin: The Provosts 1592-1927*, 334-70. Dublin: Hinds, 2015.
- Brandt, D., and K. Clinton. "Limits of the Local: Expanding Perspectives on Literacy as a Social Practice." *JOURNAL OF LITERACY RESEARCH* 34, no. 3 (2002): 337-56.
- Breathnach, Eibhlín. "Charting New Waters: Women's Experience in Higher Education, 1879-1908." *Girls Don't Do Honours: Irish Women in Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries* edited by Mary Cullen, Dublin: Women's Education Bureau, 1987.
- . "Women and Higher Education in Ireland (1879-1914)." *The Crane Bag* 4, no. 1 (1980): 47-54.
- Briganti, Chiara. "Gothic Maidens and Sensation Women: Lady Audley's Journey from the Ruined Mansion to the Madhouse." *Victorian Literature and Culture* 19 (1991).
- Bright, Kevin. *The Royal Dublin Society, 1815-45*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.
- Brombert, Victor H. *Victor Hugo and the Visionary Novel*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Brown, Malcolm Johnston. *Sir Samuel Ferguson*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1973.
- Brown, Malcolm. *The Politics of Irish Literature: From Thomas Davis to W.B. Yeats*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1972.
- Brown, Terence. *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History 1922-79*. London: Fontana, 1981.
- Budge, Gavin. "Realism and Typology in Charlotte M. Yonge's *the Heir of Redclyffe*." *Victorian Literature and Culture* 31, no. 1 (2003): 193-223.
- Bull, Philip. "William O'Brien, MP: The Metropolitan and International Dimensions of Irish Nationalism." *Immigrants & Minorities* 27, no. 2-3 (2009): 212-25.
- Bush, Julia. *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Butler, Patricia. *The Silent Companion: An Illustrated History of the Water Colour Society of Ireland*. Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2010.
- Cairns, David, and Shaun Richards. *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism and Culture*. Cultural Politics. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- Callanan, Frank. "James Joyce and the United Irishman, Paris 1902-3." *Dublin James Joyce Journal* 3, no. 3 (2009): 51-103.
- . *The Parnell Split, 1890-91*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1992.
- Campbell, Fergus J. M. *The Irish Establishment: 1879-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Candy, Catherine. *Priestly Fictions: Popular Irish Novelists of the Early 20th Century: Patrick A. Sheehan, Joseph Guinam, Gerald O'Donovan*. Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1995.
- Canny, Nicholas P. *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560-1800*. Johns Hopkins Studies in Atlantic History and Culture. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.
- Carver, Stephen James. *The Life and Works of the Lancashire Novelist William Harrison Ainsworth, 1850-1882*. Vol. 75: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003.
- Casteleyn, Mary. *A History of Literacy and Libraries in Ireland: The Long Traced Pedigree*. A Grafton Book. Aldershot: Gower, 1984.
- Castle, Gregory. *Modernism and the Celtic Revival*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Chartier, Roger. *Les Origines Culturelles De La Révolution Française*. L'univers Historique. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990.
- Chaudhry, Yug Mohit. *Yeats, the Irish Literary Revival, and the Politics of Print*. Cork: Cork University Press, 2001.
- Chen, Mia. "'And There Was No Helping It': Disability and Social Reproduction in Charlotte

- Yonge's *the Daisy Chain*." *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies* 4 (2008).
- Cherland, Meredith Rogers. *Private Practices: Girls Reading Fiction and Constructing Identity. Critical Perspectives on Literacy and Education*. London: Taylor & Francis, 1994.
- Clarke, Desmond. "The Library." In *RDS, the Royal Dublin Society, 1731-1981*, edited by James Meenan Royal Dublin Society, and Desmond Clarke. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1981.
- Clotfelter, Charles T. "Alumni Giving to Elite Private Colleges and Universities." *Economics of Education Review* 22, no. 2 (2003): 109-20.
- Coffey, Diarmid. *Douglas Hyde, President of Ireland*. Dublin & Cork, The Talbot press, 1938.
- Coleman, Ambrose. "Our Reading Public and the Carnegie Rural Libraries." *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 35: 357-72.
- Collins, Jenny. "'To the Very Antipodes': Nineteenth-Century Dominican Sister-Teachers in Ireland and New Zealand." *Paedagogica Historica* 49, no. 4 (2013): 494-512.
- Collins, Kevin. *Catholic Churchmen and the Celtic Revival in Ireland, 1848-1916*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002.
- Comerford, R. V. "Patriotism as Pastime: The Appeal of Fenianism in the Mid-1860s." *Irish Historical Studies* 22, no. 86 (09/01 1980): 239-50.
- . *Ireland: Inventing the Nation*. London: Arnold, 2003.
- . *The Fenians in Context: Irish Politics and Society 1848-82*. Topics in Modern Irish History. Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1985.
- Concannon, Thomas. *Daughters of Banba*. Dublin: M. H. Gill and son., 1922.
- Corish, Patrick J. *Maynooth College, 1795-1995*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1995.
- Corkery, Daniel. *The Hidden Ireland: A Study of Gaelic Munster in the Eighteenth Century*. Dublin: Gill, 1925.
- Crawford, Charlotte E. "Newman's 'Callista' and the Catholic Popular Library." *The Modern Language Review* 45, no. 2 (1950): 219-21.
- Cronin, Michael. *Translating Ireland: Translation, Languages, Cultures*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1996.
- Cronin, Seán. "Nation Building and the Irish Language Revival Movement." *Eire-Ireland* 13, no. 1 (Spring 1978 1978): 7-14.
- Crossman, Virginia. "The Shan Van Vocht: Women, Republicanism, and the Commemoration of the 1798 Rebellion." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 22, no. 3 (1998): 128-39.
- Crowley, Tony. *Wars of Words: The Politics of Language in Ireland 1537-2004*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Cullen, Clara. "'Dublin Is Also in Great Need of a Library Which Shall Be at Once Accessible to the Public and Contain a Good Supply of Modern and Foreign Books': Dublin's Nineteenth-Century 'Public' Libraries." *Library History* 23, no. 1 (2007): 49-61.
- . "Reading Spaces in Dublin." *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, edited by James H. Murphy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Cullen, L. M. "The Hidden Ireland: Re-Assessment of a Concept." *Studia Hibernica* 9 (1969): 7-47.
- . *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660*. London: Batsford, 1972.
- . *Eason & Son: A History*. Dublin: Eason & Son, 1989.
- . "The Cultural Basis of Modern Irish Nationalism." In *The Roots of Nationalism: Studies in Northern Europe*, edited by Rosalind Mitchison. Edinburgh: Donald, 1980.
- Cullen, L. M. and Rosalind Mitchison. *The Roots of Nationalism: Studies in Northern Europe*. Edinburgh: Donald, 1980.
- Cullen, Mary. *Girls Don't Do Honours: Irish Women in Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Dublin: Women's Education Bureau, 1987.
- Cunningham, Bernadette, and Máire Kennedy. *The Experience of Reading: Irish Historical Perspectives*. Dublin: Rare Books Group of the Library Association of Ireland and Economic and Social History Society of Ireland, 1999.

- Curtis, Maurice. *A Challenge to Democracy: Militant Catholicism in Modern Ireland*. Dublin: History Press, 2010.
- Darnton, Robert. *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*. New York: Basic Books, 1984.
- . *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History*. London: Faber, 1990.
- de Bellaigue, Christina. "'Only What Is Pure and Exquisite': Girls' Reading at School in France, 1800–70." *French History* 27, no. 2 (2013): 202-22.
- Deane, Seamus. *Celtic Revivals: Essays in Modern Irish Literature, 1880-1980*. London: Faber, 1985.
- Delaney, Paul. "D.P. Moran and "the Leader": Writing an Irish Ireland through Partition." *Eire-Ireland* 38, no. 3/4 (Fall/Winter2003): 189-211.
- Diaconoff, Suellen. "Reading Shakespeare at 22 University Square." *Belfast: The Emerging City, 1850-1914*, edited by Olwen Purdue, Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2013.
- . *Through the Reading Glass: Women, Books, and Sex in the French Enlightenment*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2005.
- Dick, Archie L. "'To Make the People of South Africa Proud of Their Membership of the Great British Empire": Home Reading Unions in South Africa, 1900-1914." *Libraries & Culture* 40, no. 1 (01/01 2005): 1-24.
- Dickson, David. *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Doebler, John. "Beaumont's the Knight of the Burning Pestle and the Prodigal Son Plays." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* Vol. 5, No. 2: 333-44.
- Dorman, Susan. "Hypatia and Callista: The Initial Skirmish between Kingsley and Newman." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 34, no. 2 (1979): 173-93.
- Dunleavy, Gareth W. "Hyde's Crusade for the Language and the Case of the Embarrassing Packets." *Studies: An Irish Quarterly* 73, no. 289 (1984): 12-25.
- Dunleavy, Janet Egleston, and Gareth W. Dunleavy. *Douglas Hyde: A Maker of Modern Ireland*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Dwan, David, and Keough-Naughton Institute for Irish Studies. *The Great Community: Culture and Nationalism in Ireland*. Field Day Files. Dublin: Field Day in association with the Keough-Naughton Institute for Irish Studies at the University of Notre Dame, 2008.
- Dyhouse, Carol. *Girl Trouble: Panic and Progress in the History of Young Women*. London: Zed Books, 2013.
- Eagleton, Terry. *Crazy John and the Bishop and Other Essays on Irish Culture*. Critical Conditions: Field Day Essays and Monographs. Cork: Cork University Press in association with Field Day, 1998.
- . *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture*. London: Verso, 1995.
- . *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature - Nationalism, Irony and Commitment*. Derry: Field Day, 1988.
- . *Scholars and Rebels in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999.
- Eliot, Simon. "Unequal Partnerships: Besant, Rice and Chatto, 1876-82." *Publishing History* 26 (1989): 73-109.
- Fahey, Tony. "Nuns in the Catholic Church in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century." In *Girls Don't Do Honours: Irish Women in Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, edited by Mary Cullen, Dublin: Women's Education Bureau, 1987.
- Ferriter, Diarmaid. *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth Century Ireland*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2008.
- Fine, Michelle. "'The Public' in Public Shools: The Social Construction/Constriction of Moral Communities." *Journal of Social Issues* 46, no. 1 (1990).
- Fingall, Elizabeth Mary Margaret Burke Plunkett, and Pamela Mary Tynan Hinkson. *Seventy Years Young. Memories of Elizabeth, Countess of Fingall. Told to Pamela Hinkson*. London:

- Collins, 1937.
- Fitzpatrick, David. "Review Article: Women, Gender and the Writing of Irish History." *Irish Historical Studies* 27, no. 107 (1991): 267-73.
- Flavin, Michael. *Benjamin Disraeli: The Novel as Political Discourse*. Brighton; Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2005.
- Fleischmann, Ruth. *Catholic Nationalism in the Irish Revival: A Study of Canon Sheehan, 1852-1913*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997.
- Flint, Kate. *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Foley, Tadhg, and Seán Ryder. *Ideology and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998.
- Foster, John Wilson. "Yeats and the Folklore of the Irish Revival." *Eire-Ireland* 17, no. 2 (Summer 1982): 6-18.
- . *Fictions of the Irish Literary Revival: A Changeling Art*. Irish Studies. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1987.
- . *Irish Novels, 1890-1940: New Bearings in Culture and Fiction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Foster, R. F. "Anglo-Irish Literature: Gaelic Nationalism and Irish Politics in the 1890s." In *The Political Culture of Modern Britain: Studies in Memory of Stephen Koss*, edited by J. M. W. Bean, 1987.
- . *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*. London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1988.
- . *Paddy and Mr Punch: Connections in Irish and English History*. London: A. Lane, 1993.
- . *Political Novels and Nineteenth-Century History*. Contexts and Connections. Winchester: King Alfred's College, 1981.
- . *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- . *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland, 1890-1923*. London: Allen Lane, 2014.
- Fox, Peter. *Trinity College Library Dublin: A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Franck, Karen A., and Lynn Paxson. "Women and Urban Public Space." In *Public Places and Spaces*, edited by Irwin Altman and Erwin Zube: Springer US, 1989.
- Gagnier, Regenia. *Subjectivities: A History of Self-Representation in Britain, 1832-1920*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Garvin, Tom. "Priests and Patriots: Irish Separatism and Fear of the Modern, 1890-1914." *Irish Historical Studies* 25, no. 97 (1986): 67-81.
- . *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland 1858-1928*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.
- . *The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1981.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. London: Hutchinson, 1975.
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. New Perspectives on the Past. Oxford: Blackwell, 1983.
- George, J-A. "From King Arthur to Sidonia the Sorceress: The Dual Nature of Pre-Raphaelite Medievalism." In *Victorian Gothic*, 99-108, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.
- Gerrard, Teresa, and Alexis Weedon. "Working-Class Women's Education in Huddersfield: A Case Study of the Female Educational Institute Library, 1856-1857." *Information & Culture: A Journal of History* 49, no. 2 (2014): 234-64.
- Gibson, Andrew. *Joyce's Revenge: History, Politics, and Aesthetics in Ulysses*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Gill, Jo. "'Quite the Opposite of a Feminist': Phyllis McGinley, Betty Friedan and Discourses of Gender in Mid-Century American Culture." *Women's History Review* 22, no. 3 (2013).
- Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah. *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. New York: Knopf, 1996.
- Gorham, Deborah. *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*. London: Croom Helm, 1982.
- Graff, Harvey J. *The Legacies of Literacy: Continuities and Contradictions in Western Culture*

- and Society*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.
- Gray, F. Elizabeth. *Women in Journalism at the Fin De Siècle: Making a Name for Herself*. Palgrave Studies in Nineteenth-Century Writing and Culture. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Green, Helen Hinkson. *Activities Handbook for Business Teachers. Clubs, Plays, and Projects*. pp. viii. 369. New York: Gregg Publishing Division, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1958.
- Greene, David. "The Irish Language Movement." In *Irish Anglicanism, 1869-1969: Essays on the Role of Anglicanism in Irish Life*, edited by Michael Hurley. Dublin, 1970.
- Gregory, and James Pethica. *Lady Gregory's Diaries, 1892-1902*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Griest, Guinevere Lindley. *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1970.
- Grimes, Brendan. "Carnegie Libraries in Ireland." *History Ireland* 6, no. 4 (12/01 1998): 26-30.
- Grosvenor, Ian. "'There's No Place Like Home': Education and the Making of National Identity." *History of Education* 28, no. 3 (1999) 235-50.
- Grote, Georg. *Torn between Politics and Culture: The Gaelic League, 1893- 1993*. Munster: Waxmann, 1994.
- Grubgeld, Elizabeth. *Anglo-Irish Autobiography: Class, Gender, and the Forms of Narrative*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2004.
- Hammond, Mary. *Reading, Publishing and the Formation of Literary Taste in England, 1880-1914*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
- Hansson, Heidi. "Selina Bunbury, Religion, and the Woman Writer." In *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, edited by James H. Murphy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Harford, Judith, and Claire Rush. *Have Women Made a Difference?: Women in Irish Universities, 1850-2010*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2010.
- Harford, Judith. "An Experiment in the Development of Social Networks for Women: Women's Colleges in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century." *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 3 (2007): 365-81.
- . "Courting Equality: Catholic Women and Agency in the Reconfiguration of University Education in Ireland." In *Women Educators, Leaders and Activists: Educational Lives and Networks 1900-1960*, edited by Tanya Fitzgerald and Elizabeth M. Smyth, xi, 214 pages. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- . "The Movement for the Higher Education of Women in Ireland: Gender Equality or Denominational Rivalry?" *History of Education* 34, no. 5 (09/01/ 2005): 497-516.
- . *The Opening of University Education to Women in Ireland*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2008.
- Harrison, Richard S. *A Biographical Dictionary of Irish Quakers*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008.
- Harte, Liam. *Modern Irish Autobiography: Self, Nation and Society*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Hawley, John C. "The Water-Babies as Catechetical Paradigm." *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1989): 19-21.
- Hayes, Alan, and Diane Urquhart. *The Irish Women's History Reader*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Heilmann, Ann. *New Woman Strategies: Sarah Grand, Olive Schreiner, Mona Caird*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.
- Higgins, Roisin. "The Nation Reading Rooms." In *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891 / Edited by James H. Murphy.*, edited by James H. Murphy, 262-73. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Higgs, Bettie, and Patrick N. Wyse Jackson. "The Role of Women in the History of Geological Studies in Ireland." *Geological Society, London, Special Publications* 281, no. 1 (2007).
- Hill, Jacqueline R. "The Meaning and Significance of "Protestant Ascendancy", 1787-1840." In *Ireland after the Union : Proceedings of the Second Joint Meeting of the Royal Irish*

- Academy and the British Academy, London 1986*, edited by Anon. Oxford, 1989.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. The Wiles Lectures Given at the Queen's University Belfast. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Hobsbawm, E. J., and T. O. Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. Past and Present Publications. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Hoppen, K. Theodore. *Elections, Politics and Society in Ireland 1832-1885*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1984.
- Hroch, Miroslav. *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Hutchinson, John and Alan O'Day. "The Gaelic Revival in London, 1900-22: Limits of Ethnic Identity." In *The Irish in Victorian Britain: The Local Dimension*, edited by Sheridan Gilley and Roger Swift. Dublin: Four Courts, 1999.
- Hutchinson, John. "Irish Nationalism." In *The Making of Modern Irish History: Revisionism and the Revisionist Controversy*, edited by David George Boyce and Alan O'Day. London: Routledge, 1996.
- . *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1987.
- Hutton, Clare, and Patrick Walsh. *The Irish Book in English, 1891-2000*. Oxford History of the Irish Book. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Inglis, Brian. "Moran of the 'Leader' and Ryan of the 'Irish Peasant'." In *The Shaping of Modern Ireland*, edited by C. C. O'Brien, 1960.
- Inglis, Tom. *Moral Monopoly: The Catholic Church in Modern Irish Society*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1987.
- Innes, C. L. *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society, 1880-1935*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993.
- Jackson, Alvin. "Irish Unionism." In *The Making of Modern Irish History: Revisionism and the Revisionist Controversy*, edited by David George Boyce and Alan O'Day. London: Routledge, 1996.
- . "The Failure of Unionism in Dublin, 1900." *Irish Historical Studies* 26, no. 104 (1989): 377-95.
- . *The Ulster Party: Irish Unionists in the House of Commons 1884-1911*. Oxford Historical Monographs. Oxford: Clarendon, 1989.
- Jacobs, Edward H. "Anonymous Signatures: Circulating Libraries, Conventionality, and the Production of Gothic Romances." *English Literary History* 62, no. 3 (1995): 603-29.
- Jędrzejewski, Jan. "Anthologizing Samuel Ferguson: Literature, History, Politics." *Text Matters - A Journal of Literature, Theory and Culture* (2014).
- Jessop, W. J. E. "Samuel Haughton: A Victorian Polymath." *Hermathena*, no. 116 (1973): 3-26.
- Jordan, Alison. *Margaret Byers: Pioneer of Women's Education and Founder of Victoria College, Belfast*. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast, 1987.
- Kealy, Mary M. *Dominican Education in Ireland, 1820-1930*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007.
- Kearney, Richard. *The Irish Mind: Exploring Intellectual Traditions*. Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1985.
- Kee, Robert. *The Green Flag: A History of Irish Nationalism*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972.
- Kelleher, Margaret. "Writing Irish Women's Literary History." *Irish Studies Review* 9, no. 1 (2001): 5-14.
- Kelly, Laura. "'Fascinating Scalpel-Wielders and Fair Dissectors': Women's Experience of Irish Medical Education, c. 1880s-1920s." *Medical History* 54, no. 4 (2010): 495-516.
- Kennedy, Máire. "Women and Reading in Eighteenth-Century Ireland." In *The Experience of*

- Reading: Irish Historical Perspectives*, edited by Bernadette Cunningham and Máire Kennedy. Dublin: Rare Books Group of the Library Association of Ireland and Economic and Social History Society of Ireland, 1999.
- Kerr, Julie. *Victoria College Belfast: The First 150 Years*. Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2009.
- Kiberd, Declan. *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation*. London: Vintage, 1996.
- . *Synge and the Irish Language*. London: Macmillan, 1979.
- Kollar, Rene. "James Britten, the Catholic Truth Society, and the Defense of Convent Life in Late Victorian England." *Australasian Catholic Record* 88, no. 1 (2011): 30-42.
- Laing, Kathlyn. "Hannah Lynch and Narratives of the Irish Literary Revival." *New Hibernia Review* 20, no. 1 (2016): 42-57.
- Lane, Leeann. *Rosamond Jacob: Third Person Singular*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2010.
- Langland, Elizabeth. "The Receptions of Charlotte Bronte, Charles Dickens, George Eliot, and Thomas Hardy." In *A Companion to the Victorian Novel*, edited by Patrick and Thesing Brantlinger, William B. Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture, Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.
- Lareau, Annette, and Erin McNamara Horvat. "Moments of Social Inclusion and Exclusion Race, Class, and Cultural Capital in Family-School Relationships." *Sociology of Education* (1999): 37-53.
- Larkin, Emmet. "A Reconsideration: Daniel Corkery and His Ideas on Cultural Nationalism." *Éire-Ireland* 8, no. 1 (1973): 42-50.
- . "The Beginnings of the Devotional Revolution in Ireland: The Parish Mission Movement, 1825-1846." *New Hibernia Review* 18, no. 1 (2014): 74-92.
- . "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75." *The American Historical Review* 77, no. 3 (1972): 625-52.
- Leahy, William, and Thane Whetstone. "Women's Clubs: Dispersing Shakespeare across America." *Symbiosis* 15, no. 2 (2011): 193-204.
- Leavis, Q. D. *Fiction and the Reading Public*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1932.
- Ledger, Sally. "The New Woman and Feminist Fictions." In *The Cambridge Companion to the Fin De Siècle*, edited by Gail Marshall. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- . *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin-De-Siècle*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.
- Legg, Marie-Louise. "Libraries." In *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, Vol. IV: The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, edited by James H. Murphy, 243-61 Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Leid, C. *Stephen Gwynn: Irish Constitutional Nationalism and Cultural Politics, 1864-1950*. 2011.
- Levitas, Ben. "Reading and the Irish Revival, 1891-1922." In *The Irish Book in English, 1891-2000*, edited by Clare Hutton. The Oxford History of the Irish Book, 43-69. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Littau, Karin. *Theories of Reading: Books, Bodies, and Bibliomania*. Cambridge: Polity, 2006.
- Livesey, James, and Stuart Murray. "Review Article: Post-Colonial Theory and Modern Irish Culture." *Irish Historical Studies* 30, no. 119 (1997): 452-61.
- Lloyd, David. *Anomalous States: Irish Writing and the Post-Colonial Moment*. Dublin: Lilliput, 1993.
- Logan, John. "Sufficient to Their Needs: Literacy and Elementary Schooling in the Nineteenth Century." In *The Origins of Popular Literacy in Ireland: Language Change and Educational Development 1700-1920*, edited by Mary Daly and David Dickson, 198 p. Dublin: Department of Modern History Department of Modern History, University College, 1990.
- Long, Elizabeth. *Book Clubs: Women and the Uses of Reading in Everyday Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Long, Gerard. "Institutional Libraries and Private Collections." In *The Irish Book in English*,

- 1800-1891, edited by James H. Murphy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- . "The National Library of Ireland." In *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Vol. 3: 1850-2000*, edited by Alistair Black and Peter Hoare. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- . "William Rooney's 'an Irish Rural Library'." *Dublin James Joyce Journal* 3, no. 3 (2009): 104-13.
- Longley, Edna. *Culture in Ireland: Division or Diversity?* Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 1992.
- Luddy, Maria. "Women & Politics in Nineteenth-Century Ireland." In *Women & Irish History: Essays in Honour of Margaret Maccurtain*, edited by Mary O'Dowd and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis. Dublin: Wolfhound, 1997.
- . *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Lynch, Claire. *Irish Autobiography: Stories of Self in the Narrative of a Nation*. Reimagining Ireland. Bern: Peter Lang, 2009.
- Lyons, F. S. L. *Culture and Anarchy in Ireland, 1890-1939*. Ford Lectures. Oxford: Clarendon P., 1979.
- . *Ireland since the Famine*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971.
- . *The Irish Parliamentary Party, 1890-1910*. Studies in Irish History. London: Faber, 1951.
- MacCurtain, Margaret. *Ariadne's Thread: Writing Women into Irish History*. Galway: Arlen House, 2008.
- MacDonagh, Oliver, W. F. Mandle, and Pauric Travers. *Irish Culture and Nationalism, 1750-1950*. London: Macmillan Press, 1983.
- MacDonagh, Oliver. *Ireland: The Union and Its Aftermath*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1977.
- . *Irish Culture and Nationalism, 1750-1950*. London: Macmillan Press, 1983.
- . *States of Mind: A Study of Anglo-Irish Conflict 1780-1980*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1985.
- MacLochlainn, Alf. "Corkery's Advice to a Young Writer." *Eire-Ireland* 35, no. 1/2, Spring 2000: 219-25.
- . "The National Library of Ireland 1877-1977." *Irish University Review* 7, No. 2, 1977: 156-67.
- Magray, Mary Peckham. *The Transforming Power of the Nuns: Women, Religion, and Cultural Change in Ireland, 1750-1900*. London: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Mahony, Christina Hunt. "Women's Education, Edward Dowden and the University Curriculum in English Literature: An Unlikely Progression". In *Gender Perspectives in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, edited by Margaret Kelleher and James H. Murphy, pp. 195-202. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1997.
- Malmkjaer, Kirsten. "Translational Stylistics: Dulcken's Translations of Hans Christian Andersen." *Language and Literature* 13, no. 1 (2004): 13-24.
- Marshall, Gail. *Shakespeare and Victorian Women*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- . *The Cambridge Companion to the Fin De Siècle*. Cambridge Companions to Topics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Mathews, P. J. *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Fein, the Gaelic League and the Co-Operative Movement*. Critical Conditions. Cork: Cork University Press in association with Field Day, 2003.
- Maume, Patrick, and Historical Association of Ireland. *D.P. Moran*. Life and Times. Dublin: Historical Association of Ireland, 1995.
- Maume, Patrick. *The Long Gestation: Irish Nationalist Life, 1891-1918*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1999.
- Mayer, Arno J. "The Lower Middle Class as Historical Problem." *Journal of Modern History* 43, no. 3 (1975): 409-36.
- McBride, Lawrence W. "Visualizing '98: Irish Nationalist Cartoons Commemorate the Revolution." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 22, no. 3 (1998): 103-17.

- McCain, Julia Taylor. "Women and Libraries." In *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Vol. 3: 1850-2000*, edited by Alistair Black and Peter Hoare. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- McCarthy, Andrew. "Publishing for Catholic Ireland." In *The Irish Book in English, 1891-2000* edited by Clare Hutton, 244-65. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- McCartney, Donal. "Hyde, D. P. Moran, and Irish Ireland." In *Leaders and Men of the Easter Rising*, edited by Francis Xavier Martin. London: Methuen, 1967.
- McCracken, Donal P. *The Irish Pro-Boers 1877-1902*. Johannesburg: Perskor, 1989.
- McDermid, Jane. *The Schooling of Girls in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1900*. Routledge Research in Gender and History. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- McDevitt, Patrick F. "Muscular Catholicism: Nationalism, Masculinity and Gaelic Team Sports, 1884-1916." *Gender & History* 9 (1997): 262-84.
- McDiarmid, Lucy. *The Irish Art of Controversy*. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2005.
- McDowell, R. B., and R. F. Foster. *Historical Essays: 1938-2001*. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2003.
- McElligott, T. J. *Secondary Education in Ireland, 1870-1921*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1981.
- McMahon, Séan. "Art and Life Blended: Douglas Hyde and the Literary Revival." *Eire-Ireland* 14, no. 3 (Fall 1979): 112-25.
- McMahon, T. G. *Grand Opportunity: The Gaelic Revival and Irish Society, 1893-1910*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2008.
- McNamara, Sarah. "Women Readers in Limerick, 1830-40." In *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, edited by James H. Murphy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Meaney, Gerardine, Mary O'Dowd, and Bernadette Whelan. *Reading the Irish Woman: Studies in Cultural Encounters and Exchange, 1714-1960*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013.
- Meem, Deborah T. "Eliza Lynn Linton and the Rise of Lesbian Consciousness." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 7, no. 4 (1997): 537-60.
- Melville, Joy. *Mother of Oscar: The Life of Jane Francesca Wilde*. London: John Murray, 1994.
- Mercier, Vivian. "Literature in English, 1891-1921." In *A New History of Ireland. Vol. 6: Ireland under the Union, 1870-1921*, edited by W. E. Vaughan. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Mews, Siegfried. "Sensationalism and Sentimentality: Minor Victorian Prose Writers in Germany." *MLN* 84, no. 5 (1969): 776-88.
- Miller, David W. *Church, State and Nation in Ireland, 1898-1921*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1973.
- Mills, Lia. "'I Won't Go Back to It': Irish Women Poets and the Iconic Feminine." *Feminist Review* 50 (1995): 69-88.
- Mitchell, Sally. "Careers for Girls: Writing Trash." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 25, no. 3 (1992): 109-13.
- . "Sentiment and Suffering: Women's Recreational Reading in the 1860s." *Victorian Studies*, 1977, 29-45.
- . *The Fallen Angel: Chastity, Class, and Women's Reading, 1835-1880*. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1981.
- . *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England, 1880-1915*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Montwieler, Katherine. "Marketing Sensation: Lady Audley's Secret and Consumer Culture." In *Beyond Sensation: Mary Elizabeth Braddon in Context*, edited by Marlene Tromp, Pamela K. Gilbert and Aeron Haynie, xxviii, 302 p. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000.
- Moody, T. W. *Queen's Belfast 1845-1949: The History of a University*. Vol. 2, London: Faber & Faber, 1959.
- Moody, T. W., and F. S. L. Lyons. *Ireland under the Union: Varieties of Tension: Essays in Honour of T.W. Moody*. Oxford: Clarendon P., 1980.

- Moran, Catherine, and Pearl Quinn. "The Irish Library Scene." In *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Vol. 3: 1850-2000*, edited by Alistair Black and Peter Hoare. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Morris, Catherine. "Becoming Irish? Alice Milligan and the Revival." *Irish University Review* 33, no. 1 (04/01 2003): 79-98.
- . *Alice Milligan: And the Irish Cultural Revival*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012.
- Morrissey, Thomas J. *Thomas A. Finlay S.J., 1848-1940: Educationalist, Editor, Social Reformer*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.
- Morrison, Theodore. *Chautauqua: A Center for Education, Religion, and the Arts in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Murphy, Andrew. *But the Irish Sea Betwixt Us: Ireland, Colonialism, and Renaissance Literature*. Irish Literature, History & Culture. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999.
- Murphy, Brian. "Father Peter Yorke's "Turning of the Tide" (1899): The Strictly Cultural Nationalism of the Early Gaelic League." *Eire-Ireland* 23, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 35-44.
- Murphy, Cliona. *The Women's Suffrage Movement and Irish Society in the Early Twentieth Century*. Brighton: Harvester, 1988.
- Murphy, James H. "Catholics and Fiction During the Union, 1801-1922." In *The Cambridge Companion to the Irish Novel*, edited by John Wilson Foster, 97-131. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- . "Novelists, Publishers and Readers, 1830-91." In *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, edited by James H. Murphy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- . "Rosa Mulholland, W.P. Ryan and Irish Catholic Fiction at the Time of the Anglo-Irish Revival." In *Forging in the Smithy: National Identity and Representation in Anglo-Irish Literary History*, edited by Joseph Theodoor Leerssen, A. H. Van der weel and Bart Westerweel. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995.
- . "The Irish Catholics in Science Debate: John Tyndall, Cardinal Cullen and the Uses of Science at Castleknock College in the Nineteenth Century." In *Science and Technology in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, edited by Juliana Adelman and Eadaoin Agnew. Dublin: Four Courts, 2009.
- . *Catholic Fiction and Social Reality in Ireland, 1873-1922*. Westport: Greenwood, 1997.
- . *Ireland: A Social, Cultural and Literary History, 1791-1891*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003.
- . *Irish Novelists and the Victorian Age*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Murphy, James H. (ed.) *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*. Oxford History of the Irish Book. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Murphy, John A. *The College: A History of Queen's/University College Cork, 1845-1995*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1995.
- Murphy, Sherra. "The Learned Gentlemen Are in Town: The British Association Meeting of 1857 in Dublin's Popular Press." In *Science and Technology in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, edited by Juliana Adelman, Éadaoin Agnew and Society for the Study of Nineteenth-Century Ireland., Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011.
- Murray, Damien, and National University of Ireland Maynooth. Dept. of Old and Middle Irish. *Romanticism, Nationalism and Irish Antiquarian Societies, 1840-80*. Maynooth: National University of Ireland, Department of Old and Middle Irish, 2000.
- Murray, Peter. "Irish Cultural Nationalism in the United Kingdom State: Politics and the Gaelic League 1900-18." *Irish Political Studies* 8, no. 1 (1993/01/01 1993): 55-72.
- Napier, Taura. "The Mosaic "I": Mary Colum and Modern Irish Autobiography." *Irish University Review* 28, no. 1 (1998): 37-55.
- Neylon, Maura, Monica Henchy, and University College Dublin. *Public Libraries in Ireland*. Dublin: University College Dublin, 1966.
- Ní Bhroiméil, Úna. "Women Readers and Catholic Magazines." In *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, edited by James H. Murphy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

- . *Building Irish Identity in America, 1870-1915: The Gaelic Revival*. Dublin: Four Courts, 2003.
- Nic Congáil, Riona. "'Some of You Will Curse Her': Women's Writing During the Irish-Language Revival." *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 29 (01/01 2009): 199-222.
- . "'Fiction, Amusement, Instruction': The Irish Fireside Club and the Educational Ideology of the Gaelic League." *Éire-Ireland* 44 (2009): 91-117.
- . "Young Ireland and the Nation: Nationalist Children's Culture in the Late Nineteenth Century." *Éire-Ireland* Fall/Winter (2011): 37-62.
- . *Úna Ní Fhaircheallaigh Agus an Fhís Utóipeach Ghaelach*. Galway: Arlen House, 2010.
- Novick, Ben. *Conceiving Revolution: Irish Nationalist Propaganda During the First World War*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001.
- Nowlan, Kevin B. *The Making of 1916: Studies in the History of the Rising*. Dublin: Stationery Office, 1969.
- Ó Broin, León. *Charles Gavan Duffy: Patriot and Statesman*. Dublin: Duffy, 1967.
- Ó Ciosáin, Niall. *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland, 1750-1850*. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2010.
- Ó Conchubhair, Brian. *Fin De Siècle Na Gaeilge: Darwin, an Athbheochan Agus Smaointeoireacht Na Heorpa*. Leabhair Thaighde. Indreabhán, Conamara: Cló Iar-Chonnachta; An Clóchomhar, 2009.
- Ó hÓgartaigh, Margaret. "A Quiet Revolution: Women and Second-Level Education in Ireland, 1878-1930." *New Hibernia Review* 13, no. 2 (2009): 36-51.
- O'Brien, Conor Cruise. *The Shaping of Modern Ireland*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970.
- O'Broin, Leon. "The Gaelic League and the Chair of Irish in Maynooth." *Studies: An Irish Quarterly* 52, no. 208 (1963): 348-62.
- O'Connor, Anne V., and Susan M. Parkes. *Gladly Learn and Gladly Teach: Alexandra College and School, 1866-1966*. Tallaght: Blackwater, 1984.
- O'Connor, Thomas F. "American Catholic Reading Circles, 1886-1909." *Libraries & Culture* 26, no. 2 (04/01 1991): 334-47.
- O'Driscoll, Jeremiah Finbarr. "Archbishop Walsh and St. Mary's University College, 1893-1908." *Irish Educational Studies* 5, no. 2 (1985): 283-301.
- O'Farrell, Patrick. *Ireland's English Question: Anglo-Irish Relations, 1534-1970*. London: Batsford, 1971.
- O'Keefe, Declan. "Thomas Finlay and 20th Century Jesuit Journalism." *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 103, no. 412 (2014): 516-29.
- O'Leary, Don. *Irish Catholicism and Science: From 'Godless Colleges' to the 'Celtic Tiger'*. Cork: Cork University Press, 2012.
- O'Leary, Philip. *The Prose Literature of the Gaelic Revival, 1881-1921: Ideology and Innovation*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994.
- O'Neill, Ciaran. *Catholics of Consequence: Transnational Education, Social Mobility, and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- O'Neil, Daniel J. "D. P. Moran and Gaelic Cultural Revitalization." *Eire-Ireland* 12, no. 4 (Winter 1977): 109-13.
- . "Irish Cultural Revitalization." *Plural Societies* 13, no. 1/2 (1983): 3-16.
- O'Toole, Tina. *The Irish New Woman*. Palgrave Studies in Nineteenth-Century Writing and Culture. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Padbury, Joyce. "Mary Hayden (1862-1942): Feminist." *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 98, no. 390 (2009): 145-58.
- . "Mary Hayden and Women's Admission to the University." *Dublin Historical Record* 61, no. 1 (2008): 78-86.
- Parkes, Susan M. "Higher Education, 1793-1908." In *A New History of Ireland. Vol. 6: Ireland under the Union, Pt. 2, 1870-1921*, edited by W. E. Vaughan. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

- Parkes, Susan M., and Dublin University Women Graduates' Association. *A Danger to the Men? : A History of Women in Trinity College Dublin, 1904-2004*. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2004.
- Pašeta, Senia. "Achieving Equality: Women and the Foundation of the University." In *The National University of Ireland, 1908 - 2008: Centenary Essays*, edited by Tom Dunne, Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2008.
- . *Before the Revolution: Nationalism, Social Change and Ireland's Catholic Elite, 1879-1922*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1999.
- Patten, Eve. *Samuel Ferguson and the Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.
- Peters, Sally. "Shaw's Life: A Feminist In spite of Himself." In *The Cambridge Companion to George Bernard Shaw*, edited by Christopher Innes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Pilz, Anna, and Whitney Standlee. *Irish Women's Writing, 1878-1922*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.
- Pittard, Christopher. *Purity and Contamination in Late Victorian Detective Fiction*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.
- Plumstead, A. W. "Satirical Parody in "Roister Doister": A Reinpretation." *Studies in Philology* 60, no. 2 (1963): 141-54.
- Porter, Roy, and Mikuláš Teich. *Romanticism in National Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Potts, Willard. *Joyce and the Two Irelands*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000.
- Preston, Margaret. "Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Dublin." *Historian* 58, no. 4 (Summer 1996): 763-76.
- Privilege, John. *Michael Logue and the Catholic Church in Ireland, 1879-1925*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009.
- Pugh, Martin. "Popular Conservatism in Britain: Continuity and Change, 1880-1987." *Journal of British Studies* 27, no. 3 (07/01 1988): 254-82.
- Putz, Adam. *The Celtic Revival in Shakespeare's Wake: Appropriation and Cultural Politics in Ireland, 1867-1922*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Quigley, Megan. "Ireland." In *The Cambridge Companion to European Modernism*. edited by Pericles Lewis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Quinlan, Carmel. *Genteel Revolutionaries: Anna and Thomas Haslam and the Irish Women's Movement*. Cork: Cork University Press, 2002.
- Raabe, P. "Library History and the History of Books: Two Fields of Research for Librarians." In *Books and Society in History: Papers of the Association of College and Research Libraries Rare Books and Manuscripts Preconference*, edited by K. E. Carpenter, 251-4. New York and London, 1983.
- Raftery, Deirdre, and Susan M. Parkes. *Female Education in Ireland 1700-1900: Minerva or Madonna*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007.
- Rains, Stephanie. *Commodity Culture and Social Class in Dublin 1850-1916*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010.
- Rattigan, Clíona. *'What Else Could I Do?': Single Mothers and Infanticide, Ireland 1900-1950*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2012.
- Rauchbauer, Otto. *Shane Leslie: Sublime Failure*. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2009.
- Redmond, Jennifer, Sonja Tiernan, Sandra McAvoy, Mary McAuliffe, and Maria Luddy. *Sexual Politics in Modern Ireland*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2015.
- Regan-Lefebvre, Jennifer. *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire: Ireland, India and the Politics of Alfred Webb*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Ritchie, Fiona. *Women and Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.

- Roberts, Lewis. "Trafficking in Literary Authority: Mudie's Select Library and the Commodification of the Victorian Novel." *Victorian Literature and Culture* 34, no. 1 (2006): 1-25.
- Roberts, Mary Louise. *Disruptive Acts: The New Woman in Fin-De-Siècle France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Ryan, James R. "'Our Home on the Ocean': Lady Brassey and the Voyages of the Sunbeam, 1874-1887." *Journal of Historical Geography* 32, no. 3 (2006): 579-604.
- Ryan, Louise. "Locating the Flapper in Rural Irish Society." In *New Woman Hybridities: Femininity, Feminism and International Consumer Culture, 1880-1930*, edited by Ann Heilmann and Margaret Beetham, London: Routledge, 2004.
- Said, Edward W. *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature-Yeats and Decolonization*. Derry: Field Day, 1988.
- Savage, Ernest A. "The Friendliest Library in the World." *Library Review* 13, no. 6 (1952): 360-7.
- Scheil, Katherine West. *She Hath Been Reading: Women and Shakespeare Clubs in America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012.
- Schucking, Levin L. *The Sociology of Literary Taste*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1931.
- Sedo, DeNel Rehberg (ed.), *Reading Communities from Salons to Cyberspace*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Sequiros, Paula, and Sónia Passos. "The Feminine Reading Room: A Separate Space for Women in a Portuguese Public Library." *Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Libraries* 2 2012.
- Sheehy, Jeanne, and George Mott. *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival, 1830-1930*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1980.
- Smith, Anthony D. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986.
- Smith, Michelle J. *Empire in British Girls' Literature and Culture: Imperial Girls, 1880-1915*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Smith, Nadia Clare. "'A Good Quaker and a Bad Sinn Feiner': Identity Formation in Rosamond Jacob's Diary." *Éire-Ireland*, no. 3 (2010): 124-46.
- Smitley, Megan K. *The Feminine Public Sphere: Middle-Class Women in Civic Life in Scotland, C.1870-1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009.
- Snape, Robert. "An English Chautauqua: The National Home Reading Union and the Development of Rational Holidays in Late Victorian Britain." *Journal of Tourism History* 2, no. 3 (2010): 213-34.
- . "Reading across the Empire: The National Home Reading Union Abroad," in Sedo DeNel Rehberg ed., *Reading Communities from Salons to Cyberspace*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- . "The National Home Reading Union." *Journal of Victorian Culture* (Edinburgh University Press) 7, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 86-110.
- Society for the Study of Nineteenth-Century Ireland. International Conference (10th: 2002: All Hallows College Dublin Ireland), Betsey Taylor FitzSimon, and James H. Murphy. *The Irish Revival Reappraised*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.
- Spencer, Stephanie. "The Lady Visitors at Queen's College: From the Back of the Class to a Seat on the Council." *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 36, no. 1 (2004/04/01 2004): 47-56.
- Springhall, John. "'Disseminating Impure Literature': The 'Penny Dreadful' Publishing Business since 1861." *The Economic History Review* 47, no. 3 (1994): 567-84.
- Standlee, Whitney. *Power to Observe: Irish Women Novelists in Britain, 1890-1916*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2015.
- Steele, Karen Margaret. *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2007.
- Stevenson, Louise L. "Prescription and Reality: Reading Advisers and Reading Practice, 1860-

- 1880." *Book Research Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (Winter 1990): 43-61.
- Stuart, Janet Erskine. *The Education of Catholic Girls*. Westminster: Newman Press, 1912.
- Sturgess, Kim C. *Shakespeare and the American Nation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Sutherland, Gillian. *In Search of the New Woman: Middle-Class Women and Work in Britain, 1870-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Suzanne, M. Stauffer. "A Good Social Work: Women's Clubs, Libraries, and the Construction of a Secular Society in Utah, 1890-1920." *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 46, no. 2 (2011): 135-55.
- Swift, Roger, and Sheridan Gilley. *The Irish in Victorian Britain: The Local Dimension*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999.
- Teakle, Josephine. "Mary Birkett Card (1774-1817): Struggling to Become the Ideal Quaker Woman." *Quaker Studies* 14, no. 2 (2010): 178-94.
- Thompson, Nicola Diane. "Responding to the Woman Questions: Rereading Noncanonical Victorian Woman Novelists." *Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth Century Literature and Culture* 21 (1999).
- Thorne-Murphy, Leslee. "The Charity Bazaar and Women's Professionalization in Charlotte Mary Yonge's *the Daisy Chain*." *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 47, no. 4 (2007): 881-99.
- Tierney, Michael. "What Did the Gaelic League Accomplish?: 1893-1963." *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 52, no. 208 (12/01 1963): 337-47.
- Tusan, Michelle Elizabeth. "Inventing the New Woman: Print Culture and Identity Politics During the *Fin-De-Siècle*." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 31, no. 2 (1998): 169-82.
- Van Zanten, Agnès. "The Sociology of Elite Education." In *The Routledge International Handbook of the Sociology of Education*, edited by Michael W. Apple, Stephen J. Ball and Luís Armando Gandin. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Vaughan, W. E. (ed.) *The Old Library, Trinity College Dublin, 1712-2012*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012.
- Vaughan, W. E. *A New History of Ireland. 6, Ireland under the Union II, 1870-1921*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Vincent, David. *I Hope I Don't Intrude: Privacy and Its Dilemmas in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Wall, Rosemary. *Bacteria in Britain, 1880-1939*. Studies for the Society for the Social History of Medicine. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013.
- Walsh, Oonagh. "Protestant Female Philanthropy in Dublin in the Early 20th Century." *History Ireland* 5, no. 2 (07/01 1997): 27-31.
- . *Ireland's Independence, 1880-1923*. Introductions to History. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Ward, Margaret. *In Their Own Voice: Women and Irish Nationalism*. Dublin: Attic Press, 1995.
- . *Unmanageable Revolutionaries: Women and Irish Nationalism*. Dingle: Brandon, 1983.
- Waters, M. J. "Peasants and Emigrants: Considerations of the Gaelic League as a Social Movement." In *Views of the Irish Peasantry 1800-1916*, edited by D. J. Casey and R. E. Rhodes. Hamden: Archon Books, 1977.
- Watson, George Joseph. *Irish Identity and the Literary Revival: Synge, Yeats, Joyce and O'Casey*. London: Croom Helm, 1979.
- Watson, Nicola J. *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Wheeler, Michael. *The Old Enemies: Catholic and Protestant in Nineteenth-Century English Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2006.
- Wiel, Jérôme aan de. "Monsignor O'Riordan, Bishop O'Dwyer and the Shaping of New Relations between Nationalist Ireland and the Vatican During World War One." *Archivium Hibernicum* 53 (1999): 95-106.

- Wigham, Maurice J. *The Irish Quakers: A Short History of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland*. Dublin: Historical Committee of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, 1992.
- Wilson, Ann. "Irish Catholic Fiction of the Early Twentieth Century: The Power of Imagery." *New Hibernia Review* 18-1 (2014): 30-49.
- Wood, Naomi. "A (Sea) Green Victorian: Charles Kingsley and the Water-Babies." *The Lion and the Unicorn* 19, no. 2 (1995): 233-52.
- Wright, Sheila. "'I Have No Horror of Being an Old-Maid': Single Women in the Religious Society of Friends 1780-1860." *Quaker Studies* 16, no. 1 (2011): 85-104.
- Wyndham, Horace. *Speranza; a Biography of Lady Wilde*. London, New York: T. V. Boardman, 1951.
- Zboray, Ronald J., and Mary Saracino Zboray. "The Mysteries of New England: Eugene Sue's American 'Imitators', 1844." *Nineteenth Century Contexts* 22, no. 3 (2000): 457-92.
- 今田絵里香『「少女」の社会史』勁草書房，2007年。
- 勝田俊輔「「共同体の記憶」と「修正主義の歴史学」—新しいアイルランド史像の構築に向けて—」『史学雑誌』第107編第9号，1998年，80-95頁。
- 小関隆『プリムローズ・リーグの時代—世紀転換期イギリスの保守主義—』岩波書店，2006年。
- 前田 愛『近代読者の成立』有精堂選書25，東京，有精堂，1973年。

Unpublished theses

- Emerson, Pamela. "From Club Room to Carnegie Library: Patterns of Book Borrowing and Lending in Ulster 1788-1908." (PhD thesis, University of Ulster, 2013).
- Monteiro, Emily Anne Janda. "Communal Formations: Development of Gendered Identities in Early Twentieth-Century Women's Periodicals" (PhD thesis, Texas A&M University, 2013).
- Newman, Mary V. "The Educational Work of Catholic Women's League in England 1906-1923" (PhD Thesis, Institute of Education, University of London, 2010).
- O'Driscoll, Jeremiah Finbarr. "Dominican Convents in the Diocese of Dublin and Their Contribution to the Higher Education of Women, 1882-1924" (M.Ed. thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1984).
- Rice, Breda. "'Half Women Are Not for Our Times!': A Study on the Contribution of the Loreto Order to Women's Education in Ireland, from 1822-1922" (M.Ed. thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1990).