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Irish Writers and their London Publishers,

c. 1884-1922

Jane Mahony

Ph.D.

Trinity College, Dublin

2016

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Jane Mahony

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Irish Writers and their London Publishers, c. 1884-1922

From the mid-1880s to the First World War, the Anglophone publishing industry, centred in London, experienced an unprecedented period of significant growth and change during which interlocking structural, legal, financial, and technological developments combined to transform the literary marketplace. The same period is notable for the Irish Literary Revival and the flowering of literary output allied to rising nationalism. Drawing on the perspectives of book and publishing history, this thesis examines the intersection of these events to assess their significance for the careers of contemporary Irish writers.

The research methodology employs a holistic approach by surveying the contemporary publishing industries in London and Dublin before moving to case studies based on original archival research. I place Irish literary activity within a global context of book production, distribution and reception in order to offer a fresh perspective on a pivotal time in Irish literary, political and cultural history. I draw on extensive original material including publisher and author correspondence; publishing house archives; business contracts and costings; readers' reports; and contemporary reviews.

I conclude that the London literary marketplace exerted a centripetal force on Irish writers as a consequence both of its pre-eminence and the attenuated nature of the Irish book trade. Irish authors who published in London were strategic, pragmatic and rational in their career decisions, a factor which is examined in balanced relation to the growing nationalism of the Literary Revival. I suggest that the characterisation of many, though not all, Irish writers who published in London as 'literary absentees' (in a pejorative allusion to the absentee landlords of the nineteenth century), and their frequent elision from the national canon ignores the broader systems and contexts of the London literary marketplace. This thesis argues for a relocation of Revival-era writers in the wider commercial print-culture landscape of the period in order to understand the complex profile of Irish literary output at this time.

The Introduction sets out my research questions and theoretical methodology and provides the context for the overall thesis by identifying the key changes in the London literary marketplace at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, and assessing their significance for all participants in the publishing industry, highlighting their impact on Irish writers.

Chapter One examines the specific historical factors that shaped Irish publishing and assesses conditions at the time of the Literary Revival to 1922. It reaches conclusions that provide a fresh perspective on the contemporary Irish book trade.

Chapter Two examines Irish literary networks operating in London, using the theoretical framework of social network analysis combined with case studies, to assess their benefit to Irish writers. In particular, it looks at the role and significance of networks for Irish women authors.

Chapter Three is a case study of the London-based Irish publisher Edmund Downey. Drawing on extensive original archival research, it provides the first comprehensive study of his career and his significance for the early commercial activities of the Literary Revival in its London iteration.

Chapter Four is a case study of the author Jane Barlow. It reappraises her work, hitherto seen as an exemplar of minor Revivalism, in the context of a contemporary publishing initiative which foregrounded regional literature, to provide a fresh perspective on her place in Irish literary history.

Chapter Five is a case study of the author Beatrice Grimshaw. It evaluates her career politics as she moved from early New Woman novels to bestselling Colonial thrillers at points of tension between individual feminism and societal conservatism in the context of the evolving publishing industry. It provides a reappraisal of her place in both Irish literary and commercial publishing histories.

The Conclusion summarises the findings of my research and argues that a full history of Irish authors in relation to the publishing trade and context in this period illuminates the complex

profile of Irish literary output and introduces significant new perspectives on the influence of publishing and the book trade on Ireland's contemporary cultural evolution.

Appendix A is a bibliography of the publications of Ward & Downey and Edmund Downey & Company Ltd.

Appendix B is a bibliography of the works of Edmund Downey.

Appendix C is a bibliography of the works of Jane Barlow

Appendix D is a bibliography of the works of Beatrice Grimshaw.

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Bibliography.

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This work could not have been completed without the support and patience of my sons Nicholas and James, Harry the Irish terrier, and especially my husband Peter Boylan. In the final and most difficult stages they provided love and encouragement in equal measure.

Abbreviations

CL Synge I	*The Collected Letters of John Millington Synge, Vol. 1: 1871-1907,* ed. Ann Saddlemyer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).
CL Synge II	*The Collected Letters of John Millington Synge, Vol 2: 1907-1909* ed. Ann Saddlemyer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).
CL Yeats I	*The Collected Letters of W. B. Yeats, Vol. 1: 1865-1895*, eds. John Kelly and Eric Domville (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).
CL Yeats II	*The Collected Letters of W. B. Yeats, Vol. 2: 1896-1900*, eds. Warwick Gould, John Kelly and Deirdre Toomey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
CL Yeats III	*The Collected Letters of W. B. Yeats, Vol, 3: 1901-1904*, eds. John Kelly and Ronald Schuchard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
DLB 106	*Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume 106: British Literary Publishing Houses, 1820-1880* eds. Patricia J. Anderson and Jonathan Rose (Detroit and London: Gale Research Inc., 1991).
DIB	*Dictionary of Irish Biography.*
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography.*
NLI	National Library of Ireland.
NSTC	*Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue.*
OHIB IV	*The Oxford History of the Irish Book, Volume IV: The Irish Book in English 1800-1891,* ed. James H. Murphy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
OHIB V	*The Oxford History of the Irish Book, Volume V: The Irish Book in English, 1891-2000,* eds. Clare Hutton and Patrick Walsh (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
WBY	William Butler Yeats.

Irish Writers and their London Publishers, c. 1884-1922

Introduction and Overview of the British Publishing Landscape in the Nineteenth Century

In the 1880s London was the most populous city in the world and the capital of an expanding empire. It was also the pre-eminent city of a world book trade entering an unprecedented period of significant growth and change, during which interlocking structural, legal, financial, and technological developments combined to transform the publishing landscape. By the opening decade of the twentieth century, London would have a dynamic, expanding publishing industry underpinned by increasing readership, market growth, and new professional opportunities. Technological advances were reducing costs and increasing the speed of publication and distribution, with the numbers of books, newspapers and magazines growing exponentially. While Edinburgh had a healthy but small publishing trade, and Dublin had a more attenuated one, London exerted an increasing centripetal force on the British and Irish literary marketplace, leading to a concentration of publishing houses, circulating libraries, review journals, newspapers and periodicals in the metropolis. Between 1650 and 1900 six out of ten Irish writers died abroad, with four of the six dying in England, many of those in London, to which they had migrated in furtherance of their careers.[1] Another sample of Irish authors in broadly the same period finds that 80% spent at least some part of their life residing in London.[2] For centuries, therefore, London was the literary epicentre for a cohort of Irish authors, publishers, journalists and reviewers who, writing as they did in English, had a clear advantage in the wider Anglosphere served by London publishing houses.

The Irish Literary Revival, with its flowering of literary output allied to rising nationalism, was contemporaneous with the transformation of the *fin de siècle* London publishing landscape. The Revival was a complex and multi-faceted initiative which stimulated artistic excellence and intellectual exchange to forge a distinctive new cultural nationalism. In its breadth, it encompassed literature and language, sport, industry, and politics, and it fundamentally shaped

[1] Rolf Loeber and Magda Loeber, *A Guide to Irish Fiction 1650-1900* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), *lxxxv*.
[2] ''London Calling?' Agglomeration Economies in Literature since 1700.' Sara Mitchell, unpublished paper presented at the 'Creative Networks and Cultural Output' conference, Trinity College Dublin, 20-21 June 2015: courtesy of the author, 8.

the development of Ireland at a critical juncture in history. Declan Kiberd and P. J. Mathews posit in their recent *Handbook of the Irish Revival,* that '[i]n contrast to the darker nineteenth century, the Revival stands out as an intense phase of intellectual rejuvenation that fashioned a new civic culture outside the scope of institutional religion, the colonial state and conventional politics.'[3] The Revival, therefore, found expression in a multiplicity of guises and it is important to avoid simplifying or homogenising its complexity. For the purposes of this thesis, however, I recognise certain key elements and values of the Revival as significant for my argument and thus focus on the context in which the parameters of literary taste were being set in juxtaposition to the contemporary publishing landscape.

There has been considerable critical attention to the long shadow that the Irish Literary Revival has cast over the wider output of Irish writers in the 1890s and on into the establishment of the new independent State in 1922. The dominance of Revival orthodoxy, which privileged poetry and drama as the best vehicles for the movement's literary and cultural project, has fostered neglect of the Irish novel of the Revival period and beyond. The result has been the elision from literary history of many popular novelists, with a particular and disproportionate loss of female writers who wrote the majority of novels during the Victorian and Edwardian periods. Influential commentary by Stephen Brown, Ernest Boyd and Daniel Corkery consolidated that narrow focus. The thesis aims to bring a fresh perspective to the social and cultural context of these authors and the intellectual climate of the day by means of an examination of the literary marketplace in which they operated, their publishing history and contemporary reception and reputation.

The incentives of the early Revivalists to provide Ireland with a distinctive national literature in the English language, separate from British (or English) literature, was a key element of the contemporary cultural nationalist desire to redress the perceived humiliation of the Irish people by nineteenth century writers like Charles Lever (who were judged as stereotyping the comic Irishman for an English audience), and to recreate an 'authentic' Irish literature of pre-Conquest Ireland. Poetry and drama emerged as the favoured vehicles for the Literary Revival, while the Irish novel – often characterised in loaded terms as the hybrid 'Anglo-Irish' novel – was a contended form in the national debate and, in consequence, was downgraded as a genre,

[3] Declan Kiberd and P. J. Mathews, *Handbook of the Irish Revival: An Anthology of Irish Cultural and Political Writings 1891-1922* (Dublin: Abbey Theatre Press, 2015), 24.

considered inadequate for the expression of authentic Irish feeling and opinion.[4] Few contemporary voices were raised in support of the novel. Shan Bullock was a rare advocate: in an address to the Irish Literary Society in 1912 on 'Some Irish Novelists', he advanced five novels and two collections of short stories as exemplars of Irish literary excellence. Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent,* Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry,* and Kickham's *Knocknagow* were followed by Jane Barlow's *Irish Idylls,* Somerville and Ross's *The Real Charlotte,* Emily Lawless's *Grania* and Frank Mathews *The Spanish Wine.* However, we can see in a 1920 essay by the Jesuit critic, Stephen Brown, the ongoing elision of the novel from a national canon. In his influential essay on 'Novels of the National Idea', it is clear that Revival orthodoxy had become the dominant critical standpoint in Irish literature:

> It is in view of [the] power of fiction that I have thought it might be helpful to set down here the titles of some novels of the national idea, as I have called them... I understand by this term, not novels whose spirit and outlook are thoroughly Irish – novels and "racy of the soil", but ... those which embody in some sort the national idea or some phase of it, and those which national ideas are discussed and criticised. Let the reader not be surprised, therefore, if he fail to find expected names such as those, say, of Carleton, or Seumas MacManus, or P.H. Pearse, or again Jane Barlow or Lady Gilbert or Katharine Tynan.[5]

At the precise juncture, therefore, when the London publishing market was providing greater commercial opportunities than ever for writers, and the novel dominated the book trade, Revivalist incentives exiled it to the periphery of Irish cultural activity. Similarly, as the London publishing industry consolidated its global pre-eminence, and the era of mass readership was underway, the proponents of the Irish Literary Revival were seeking a 'de-Anglicisation' of Ireland, and those of 'Irish-Ireland' and the Catholic Church were vehemently criticising contemporary British popular print culture. In October 1911, at the inaugural conference of the Irish Catholic Truth Society in Dublin, the Irish Catholic Primate, Cardinal Logue, introduced a speech on 'Some Perils of Modern Literature' by saying that the CTS had never been more essential in light of the 'flood of filth' that was being 'poured into the country'.[6] He called for Irish publishing to 'counteract it in the shape of wholesome literature', as an alternative to the offerings of British publishers. In tandem, the rejection of English commercialism led in turn to the desire by some of the main proponents of the Literary Revival

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[4] For a full discussion of the novel and the Irish Literary Revival, see John Wilson Foster's seminal *Fictions of the Irish Literary Revival: A Changeling Art* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987).
[5] *The Irish Monthly*, Vol. 48, No. 563 (May, 1920), 254-262, 254.
[6] 'The Irish Catholic Truth Society: Canon Barry and the Perils of Modern Literature', *The Tablet*, 21 October 1911, 38.

to promote a strong, native publishing industry to assist in underpinning the movement, demonstrate growing cultural self-confidence, and provide an alternative to London publishers for Irish writers at a transformative stage in literary, cultural and political history.[7]

Revivalist and nationalist incentives, therefore, created a potentially irreconcilable tension for authors who wanted and needed to publish, and for whom London publishers clearly had much to offer. In 1894 when Yeats was negotiating with the publisher Thomas Fisher Unwin, he wrote that: 'I must ask you … to draw up such an agreement as to make the book return to me *unconditionally at the end of a term of years*… because if ever a first rate publishing house arises in Ireland I must needs in part publish with them.'[8] A significant phrase in this sentence is 'in part'. Yeats recognised the dilemma inherent in the political and cultural rejection of London as the Irish literary epicentre in favour of Dublin. A decade later when Synge was negotiating publication of *The Aran Islands*, the same tension was apparent in his correspondence with the London publisher Charles Elkin Mathews: 'One or two of my plays have made me very unpopular with a section of our Irish Catholic public and I feel it will be a great advantage to me to have this book printed and published in Dublin on Irish paper – small matters that are nevertheless thought a good deal of over here.'[9] Yeats and Synge succeeded in accommodating their competing needs by publishing with the Cuala Press and Maunsel & Co. in Dublin, but more commercial Irish authors could not afford to turn their backs on London. In 1922 when Katharine Tynan recalled the Revival, she described it as 'a pure movement, in which money and success were never dreamt of.'[10] Many, though not all, Revival leaders were culturally and politically repelled by the commercialism of much non-Revival literary output while being engaged nonetheless, as we shall see throughout this thesis, with the London publishing industry.

Drawing on the perspectives of book and publishing history, this thesis examines the intersection of the changing conditions and contexts of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century publishing landscape and the Irish Literary Revival to assess its significance for the careers of contemporary Irish writers. It contrasts the historical development of publishing in

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[7] See for example Stephen Gwynn, who was a founding director of the Dublin publishing firm of Maunsel Company in 1905, and who recorded his belief in the desirability of an Irish publishing company to serve the Revival in *Irish Books and Irish People* (Dublin: Talbot Press, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1919), 25.

[8] Yeats specified a period of four years to Unwin. Letter to T. Fisher Unwin, 19 October 1894 from Dublin. *CL Yeats,* Vol. 1, 403.

[9] Synge to Elkin Mathews, 11 November 1905, *CL Synge, 1,* Vol. 1, 136.

[10] Katharine Tynan, *The Wandering Years* (London: Constable, 1922), 287.

Ireland and Britain, and examines the consolidation of London in the period as the pre-eminent centre of global publishing. It assesses through case studies how the contemporary London publishing industry was significant for Irish writers who either followed the long-standing pattern of Irish literary migration to London, or managed their successful careers while located in Ireland or colonial outposts on the far side of the world. It places Irish literary activity within a global context of book production, distribution and reception in order to offer a fresh perspective on a pivotal time in Irish literary, political and cultural history.

The thesis posits that the London literary marketplace exerted a centripetal force on Irish writers between 1884 and 1922 as a consequence both of its pre-eminence, as we shall see in detail in Chapter Two, and of the attenuated nature of the Irish book trade, which is examined in Chapter One. The case studies of Edmund Downey, Jane Barlow and Beatrice Grimshaw provide evidence that Irish authors who published in London were strategic, pragmatic and rational in their career decisions, a factor which is examined in balanced relation to the growing nationalism of the Literary Revival. The thesis argues for a relocation of Revival-era writers in the wider commercial print-culture landscape of the period in order to understand the complex profile of Irish literary output at this time. It demonstrates that by examining the publishing histories of Irish Revival-era authors, many of whom have dropped from sight, we can retrieve important information and data on their readership, the geographic reach of their work, and their networks of distribution, dissemination and influence. By focusing on commerce and productivity rather than the traditional author-text critical paradigm, the thesis aims to extend critical understanding of the literary history of the period between the mid-1880s and the foundation of the Irish State in 1922. In doing so, the thesis aims to contribute to the extension of the narrow group of texts often taken to constitute the literary history of the period, and to the opening up of further important literary contexts such as the upsurge in colonial and regional fiction and women's writing.

In order to assess the significance of the developments in the London publishing landscape at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, it is necessary to understand that much of the way the business of publishing is conducted changes relatively little over long periods of time. In the case of book production, for example, there was little advance in the technology of the wooden printing press from its invention by Gutenberg in the 1440s until Lord Stanhope succeeded in constructing a new press with an iron frame around 1800. It was another forty years until the invention of the steam-powered rotary press in 1843 before

printing became possible on an industrial scale for the first time – four hundred years after Gutenberg.[11] Similarly, the invention of the first paper-making machine in 1798 (which introduced smoother paper), the invention of some new typefaces, and the casing of more books in cloth rather than leather were relatively minor modifications to a process that was largely unchanged over the three and a half centuries since William Caxton established himself at Westminster in London in 1476. The world's first copyright statute was enacted in 1709, but it would be two centuries before the next major Copyright Act in Britain in 1911. Thus the significant changes to publishing practice identified in this thesis over a period of some thirty years, but peaking from the mid-1890s to around 1910, are indicative of what I will argue was an unprecedented and seismic shock to the system which had significant implications for all participants in the industry, in particular authors and publishers.

There is a considerable body of work on nineteenth-century British publishing. Scholars of bibliography including Ronald B. McKerrow (1927, 1929), Fredson Bowers (1949, 1964), and Philip Gaskell (1972, 1978) have made valuable contributions to the understanding of the mechanics of book production and the materiality of the book.[12] Marjorie Plant (1939), Simon Eliot (1994, 2007) and William St Clair (2004) are among scholars to have contributed major economic histories of publishing over more than six decades. Publishing historians such as Richard D. Altick (1957) and John Sutherland (1976) have produced incisive studies of the literary marketplace, which have been followed, though not supplanted, by encyclopaedic surveys such as that of Philip Waller (2006), and the multi-volume, university press national histories such as *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (1998-2014), *The Oxford History of the Irish Book* (2011-17), and the *Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland* (2007-2017). This thesis also draws on more specialist studies including Guinevere Griest's authoritative history of Mudie's circulating library (1970); James Hepburn on the coming of literary agents (1968); and Peter Keating's sociological history of the English novel (1989). Studies of the New Woman by Sally Ledger (1997) and Tina O'Toole (2013) have considerably expanded the view of the literary marketplace. Publishers and publishing companies themselves, unsurprisingly, contributed detailed commercial histories and engaging memoirs, notably those on Macmillan, Cassell, Chapman & Hall, and Longmans. As a consequence of the wealth of available material, I have not attempted another comprehensive survey of the

[11] A good source for information on printing and typesetting is Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).
[12] See the Bibliography for full details of these titles.

nineteenth- and early twentieth-century publishing industry. Instead, this section focuses on identifying the key factors that combined to transform publishing at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century to explain their significance for the careers of Irish writers and provide a context for the overall narrative of the thesis.

As we have seen, London in the 1880s was the epicentre of the Anglophone publishing industry in an age of high Victorian imperial expansion. Yet despite its pre-eminence, the author and critic Matthew Arnold was criticising contemporary British literary publishing in 1880 as 'eccentric, artificial and unsatisfactory to the highest degree.' Arnold's condemnation was of a publishing system that relied on the expensive and unwieldy three-volume novel as the dominant first-form fiction format, and on the circulating libraries for its distribution, a symbiosis which he believed was 'a machinery for the multiplication and protection of bad literature, and for keeping good books dear.' [13] Arnold's evaluation came at the beginning of a period of sustained criticism of the prevailing publishing system, led by booksellers, but increasingly joined by authors and some publishers who, while motivated by different aims and ambitions, found their commercial interests in change increasingly aligned. Nearly three decades before Arnold's comments, William Gladstone had told the House of Lords in 1852 that 90% to 95% of new publications had a sale of 500 copies or fewer, and that people simply did not buy new books as a rule but relied on circulating libraries. Contemporary commentators like the *Westminster Review* were critical of a system in which publishers found it 'easier and more profitable to sell 500 copies of a work at a guinea and a half per copy, than 5,000 at half a crown, or 50,000 at a shilling.'[14] If we look at it from another angle, ease and profit are eminently rational ambitions for publishers who provide the capital and take the bulk of the risks in the publishing process. Sales of educational material, for example, are calculable, but the reception of literary work, particularly first works, cannot be predicted with certainty.[15]

In order to appreciate the commercial context of British publishing in the 1880s, it should be noted that for much of the nineteenth century it was a deeply conservative industry, made nervous by the uncertainties of the years of the Napoleonic Wars, and haunted by the bankruptcy in 1826 of Constable and Ballantyne, an innovative firm with an early vision of a

[13] Matthew Arnold, 'Copyright', *Fortnightly Review,* n.s., 1880, 327.
[14] John Chapman, 'The Commerce of Literature', *Westminster Review,* April 1852, quoted in J. A. Sutherland, *Victorian Novelists and Publishers* (London: Athlone Press, 1976), 15.
[15] John Sutherland quotes the book trade adage that of five books issued three will lose money, one will cover costs and only one will make the profit that the business relies on. Sutherland, 17.

mass reading public, who collapsed despite owning valuable copyrights to Walter Scott's works, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and the *Edinburgh Review*. Publishers' difficulties in the 1820s had their roots in the British naval blockade of France and the retaliatory French trade embargo during the war years between 1793 and 1815, which had made the traditional importing of paper from France impossible and depressed sales to Europe. The need to pay for the war kept taxes, and thus inflation, high, even in the post-war years and the consequence for books, as John Sutherland observes, was that in 1790 the average cost of a book was 3s. but this had risen to 11s. and 6d. by 1820, so that books remained an expensive commodity outside the reach of most readers.[16] Notwithstanding the Constable failure, publishers persisted with efforts to expand their market by means of six-shilling novels in library series.[17] Richard Altick summarises their intentions: 'Between 1827 and 1832, therefore, London and Edinburgh publishers behaved as if they stood on a peak in Darien, beholding for the first time a vast sea of common readers.'[18] Such businesses, however, had miscalculated the market. The middle classes suffered reductions in income following the stock market collapse of 1825-6, and the library series were still too expensive for the clerks and artisans who could have fuelled market growth. In the absence of a mass market, literary novel publishing was increasingly secured on the mammoth that was the three-decker, three volumes and 180,000 words priced at 31s. and 6d., with a print run of 500 copies – the safe, profitable format affordable only for the wealthiest individual customers and the circulating libraries.[19] Publication in three instalments allowed the first part to generate both an audience and the profits to underwrite the publishing of the subsequent parts. In turn, the reliance on the the three-decker format for fiction publishing

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[16] Sutherland, 10. The Revolutionary Wars which broke out in 1793 after the 1789 French Revolution were followed by the Napoleonic Wars after Napoleon Bonaparte seized power in a coup in November 1799. Paper taxes were raised in 1776, 1789, 1797 and 1815. W. G. Corp, *Fifty Years: A Brief Account of the Association of Booksellers in Britain and Ireland, 1895-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946), Appendix A, 'Chronology of a Mass Reading Public 1774-1900.

[17] The library series format remained an essential element of publishers lists well into the twentieth century, with publishers reckoning that a reader, having bought one volume, might go on to buy all or several volumes in the same series. In 1829 John Murray launched the *Family Library,* Longman came out with *Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia,* Oliver and Boyd of Edinburgh brought out its *Cabinet Library* and Bentley and Colburn its *National Library*. In 1831, Bentley's took the idea further and reprinted backlist titles from five or more years previously, called them 'Standard Novels' and priced them at only 6s., but were 'almost unchallenged' for a decade before other publishers cautiously adopted the practice. Sutherland, 227, n. 12.

[18] Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1957), 274.

[19] Walter Scott's 1821 novel, *Kenilworth,* has a notable place in publishing history: it was published in three volumes of around 60,000 words each, or 180,000 words in total, and priced at 10s. 6d. per volume or 31s. 6d. (one and a half guineas) for the set. It was not apparent at the time, but this format would become the dominant form of nineteenth-century novel publishing for more than seventy years. According to Guinevere Griest, citing the *OED,* the term three-decker is derived from naval language: in this case from the eighteenth-century warships that had three gun decks. Four- or five-decker novels were published in the eighteenth century but were very unusual in the nineteenth century. Griest, 46.

created the conditions for the increased popularity of the circulating library.[20] The dominant players in the market were Charles Edward Mudie who founded Mudie's Select Library in 1842 and W. H. Smith who came into the market in 1862, as a way of diversifying his business having achieved a monopoly of the railway bookstalls. Mudie 'revolutioniz[ed] English reading for several generations.'[21] His successful model was to charge an annual fee of one guinea (substantially less than the fee charged by earlier rivals), which entitled the customer to the loan of a volume which could be exchanged as often as he wanted. As Guinevere Griest notes in her influential study of Mudie's, 'three-deckers and circulating libraries were inextricably linked in what the late Victorians delighted in terming the palmy days of booming fiction.' The hegemony of the circulating library fixed the dominance of the three-decker: '[A] work written in more than three volumes drew protests from the publishers, primarily because of expense; a work published in fewer than three risked loss of prestige at the counters of the circulating library, and it was at these counters that the contemporary fate of novels was ultimately decided.'[22] Fanny Kemble expressed the view of many customers: 'Of all the devices of our complex and complete civilization, I think this huge circulating library system one of the most convenient and agreeable; to be able... to have ... volumes of excellent literature for one's exclusive use, seems to me a real privilege, and a capital return for one's money.'[23]

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[20] While the three-volume novel remained dominant, the only way for publishers and authors to reach a wider market was through serialisations. Chapman & Hall's innovative publication of Charles Dickens' *Pickwick Papers* in 1836 augmented a 25-year period of massive sales for that format. The innovation in the case of *Pickwick* was that whereas previous publishers had taken a novel already published in volumes and broken it down into 1s. parts, Chapman & Hall had, as John Sutherland notes, Dickens' work 'designed from the first as 1s. parts with a view to subsequent consolidation in volumes.' Sutherland observes that while the 'process by which this mode of serialisation was arrived at seems to have been largely accidental', it soon became the pre-eminent form of mid-nineteenth century literary publishing for well-established authors who could command large followings, such as Charles Dickens, William Thackeray, Charles Lever, Anthony Trollope and George Eliot. This select group of authors received very large advances for their original novels and subsequent magazine serialisation and reissue in cheaper paperback editions, sales of which grew enormously after the coming of the railways and the establishment by W. H. Smith of a national network of railway bookstalls from 1848. Sutherland, 21. Per Gedin notes that Walter Scott received an advance of £18,000 for a biography of Napoleon; George Eliot could command an advance of £10,000; while Anthony Trollope estimated his earnings at £70,000; and Charles Dickens left an estate of £93,000. Per Gedin, *£iterature (sic) in the market place* (London, Faber: 1977: transl.), 30-1.

[21] Guinevere Griest, *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel* (Indiana: Indiana University Press), 17.

[22] Griest, 17, 4.

While most publishers and the circulating libraries were content with the status quo for much of the nineteenth century, increasingly booksellers, and in their turn, authors, were not, so that Matthew Arnold's criticism came at a time when pressure was mounting on the prevailing publishing system.[24] Booksellers were the first to chafe against the three-decker format as they faced competition not only from the libraries but also from general retailers who discounted popular new books to entice customers into their establishments. The columns of the trade magazine, *The Bookseller,* record regular pleas from booksellers for some remedy for 'underselling'. In April 1885 under a headline 'The Last Straw', a bookseller from Wigan drew attention to the increasingly aggressive tactics of one particular London bookseller who was offering a discount of 4d. in the shilling (or 33%) to every library in the country, thereby undercutting all provincial booksellers.[25] By the late 1880s the debate had gathered momentum. A correspondent in February 1887 lamented 'many an old and venerable bookseller "done to death" by the terrible pressings of competition – mad, ruining competition – which could be obviated, or better, regulated by cooperation.'[26] The writer predicted the abandonment of the trade of bookselling because its participants would be unable to make a living. Correspondence, frequently heated, continued, leading the editor of *The Bookseller* to insist that 'communications on matters relating to underselling and cognate affairs in which the conduct of the specified houses is impeached cannot appear in these columns unless the name of the writer is appended for publication.'[27] Around 1850, London booksellers had formed an association which bound its members not to sell books at less than their published prices, while publishers in turn agreed only to supply members of the association. This arrangement, however, ran counter to the principle of free trade which was the economic orthodoxy of the age. The Corn Laws had been repealed in 1846 and two years later John Stuart Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* was published. It was the most widely-read textbook on economics of its day in which Mill argued in favour of free markets and against trade tariffs. As a consequence of a legal challenge to the booksellers on fixed pricing, Lord Chief Justice Campbell ruled in

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[24] Publishers bear the majority of the financial risk with a new title. We forget, perhaps, how much more bankruptcy was a feature of Victorian business life than today, so given the haunting memory of the Constable collapse, the capital requirements of the industry and the nervousness of banks about lending to publishers their conservatism was rational. Bankruptcy features in several nineteenth-century novels including *Dombey and Son*, *Middlemarch,* and *The Mayor of Casterbridge.*

[25] The writer was F. J. Thomas of Wigan, *Golden Bookseller: Centenary Edition of The Bookseller* (London: Whittaker & Sons, 1958), 1556.

[26] *The Bookseller,* February 1887, *Golden Bookseller,* 1558. The editor noted in December that the extensive correspondence that ensued 'would require us to give an extra Christmas Supplement to print the whole of them, but the theme is hardly calculated to inspire much seasonable festivity.' Ibid, 1559.

[27] *The Bookseller,* n.d. 1889, *Golden Bookseller,* 1560.

1852 that 'regulations [for price maintenance] seem *prima facie* to be indefensible, and contrary to the freedom which ought to prevail in commercial transactions.'[28] After the Campbell judgment, the Association of Booksellers was dissolved and discounts of 3d. in the 1s. (or 25%) on new books became standard so that 'it became more and more difficult for booksellers to make a living, and only those who dealt in old books, or who were willing to add the sale of stationery and fancy goods to their activities, could make both ends meet.'

George Moore entered the lists on the authors' side in 1884 and 1885, inveighing against the circulating library system for the censorship it exerted on the grounds of taste.[29] Mudie's had withdrawn Moore's earlier novel, *A Modern Lover* (1883), from circulation after receiving complaints from two readers about a description in the text of an artist's model, so that it was commercially unsuccessful despite receiving good reviews. They had previously taken only fifty sets of the book (and W. H. Smith twenty-five) for supply solely on direct request by readers.[30] Moore tried unsuccessfully to persuade his publisher William Tinsley to break the stranglehold of the circulating libraries by issuing the book immediately in cheap form; moreover, Tinsley reminded his author of the second element of the libraries' dominance: 'I could not have sold your novel at six shillings,' he told Moore bluntly, 'nor at three-and-sixpence, nor at any other price, for Smith owns all the bookstalls, and what he will not circulate, will not sell.'[31] In a furious article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in December 1884, entitled 'A New Censorship of Literature', Moore railed against the monopoly position of the circulating libraries which 'forced the publishers to issue their books in three volumes, thereby getting rid of all purchasers and securing to itself an absolute dictatorship in library matters. What it disapproves of comes into the world, as it were, stillborn; for no book is reissued in cheap form that has not in the first instance been a success in the libraries.'[32] Moore took his next work, *A Mummer's Wife,* to the publisher Henry Vizetelly, who published it in 1885 at 6s.

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[28] For a discussion of the Campbell Arbitration, see R. J. L. Kingsford, *The Publishers' Association, 1896-1946* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 1-4.

[29] The censorship exerted on the grounds of 'taste' had caused publisher's readers such as the influential Geraldine Jewsbury of Hurst & Blackett and Bentley's in the 1850s and 1860s, also a novelist and regular reviewer for the *Athenaeum*, to 'keep the figure of Mudie constantly in mind' as she read manuscripts. Griest, 120.

[30] Griest, 83.

[31] Quoted without reference in Adrian Frazier, *George Moore, 1852-1933* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 93.

[32] George Moore, 'A New Censorship of Literature', *Pall Mall Gazette,* No. 6163, Vol. XL (10 December 1884), 1-2.

in Vizetelly's One Volume Novel Series, and Mudie's duly refused to take it.[33] The book ran to six editions within the year, and in 1886 Vizetelly brought out the seventh revised edition with a new preface in which Moore triumphantly declared that '[t]he artist was attacked by the Philistine, the Philistine was defeated and all I see, or care to see, in my seventh edition, is conclusive proof of the enemy's rout.'[34]

Concurrently, from the mid-1880's younger authors, frustrated by the creative strait-jacket of the three-decker, started to experiment with single volume novels. Robert Louis Stevenson was one of the authors who led the way with *Treasure Island* (1883), *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886), *Kidnapped* (1886), and other popular adventure stories published originally in the one-volume format. Rider Haggard published *King Solomon's Mines* in 1885 and *She* in 1887 also as original one-volume novels.[35] J. M. Barrie made ' A Plea for Smaller Books' in 1893, lamenting the padding of the three-decker and urging publishers to take risks for the sake of literature.[36] The pressure on the system became irresistible, and in 1894 Mudie's and W. H. Smith announced simultaneously that they would no longer carry the three-volume novel, noting that they had been forced into the decision '[o]wing to the constantly increasing number of novels and high-priced books, and of the rapid issue of the cheaper editions.'[37] Arthur Mudie was characteristically trenchant some months later, defending the decision to the publisher, Richard Bentley, declaring that: 'the Three Volume novel does not suit us *at any price* so well as the One Vol, and upon the old terms it is *no longer possible.*'[38] The impact of this volte-face was immediate and far-reaching. In the year of the announcement, 184 three-volume novels were published. In 1895, the number dropped to 52 and halved again to 25 in 1896, with only four issued in 1897.[39] The publishing market place was thrown into confusion by the circulating libraries' 'revolutionary edict'.[40] The assumptions and certainties of the previous seven decades disappeared almost overnight and publishers had to rethink fundamentally their

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[33] *A Mummer's Wife* was subsequently published in France as *La Femme du Cabotin* (Paris: Charpentier, 1888) and in America as *An Actor's Wife: A Realistic Novel,* (Chicago: Laird & Lee, 1889).
[34] George Moore, *A Mummer's Wife* (London: Vizetelly, 7th ed. 1885), *ix.*
[35] There was a precedent of a successful adventure story issued nearly two decades earlier in single volume format. John Sutherland has described publishers' attitudes as 'blindness to economic fact' as evidenced by Sampson Low's experience with *Lorna Doone,* which when published as a three-decker in 1869 was a commercial failure. When they put out a cheap, one-volume edition 'against their commercial instincts… the book took off to become one of the very best-sellers of the century. Could not someone read the signs – that the country was ready for the cheap first-form publication of fiction?' Sutherland, 72.
[36] J. M. Barrie, 'A Plea for Smaller Books' in *Two of Them* (New York: Lovell, Coryell & Co., 1893).
[37] Griest, 171.
[38] Arthur O. Mudie to Richard Bentley, 21 December 1894, quoted in Griest, 174.
[39] Griest, 208.
[40] Guinevere Griest's phrase. Griest, 176.

business and distribution models, including the negotiation of new terms with authors in respect of advances and copyrights. Print runs, prices and trade discounts in the mid-1890s had no precedents, and for the traditional firms it led to what R. A. Gettmann describes in his history of Bentley's, one of the leading nineteenth-century publishing houses, as 'bewilderment and paralysis.'[41] The standard price of the first edition of a novel was fixed at six shillings, which although making the books available to the individual consumer was, as Ford Madox Ford noted, catastrophic for some authors. 'In the 'three-decker' period of the last century, a novelist who regularly sold from three to six thousand copies of his books, at a guinea and a half, could enjoy a life of dignity and comfort on the proceeds,' he explained. 'When novels came down to six shillings and sales continued at the old level, the results for esteemed but non-commercial authors were cataclysmic.'[42]

While younger authors adapted more easily to the new dispensation, some older authors found it difficult to adjust and consequently found themselves in straitened economic circumstances later in life. The Irish author Charlotte Riddell (1832-1906) had a very successful career from 1860 as a 'novelist of the City', drawing on her husband's business experience to write fiction set in the London financial district. Later in life, widowed, and having sold her copyrights outright, she found herself in financial difficulties with few commissions for her by now unfashionable high-Victorian short stories. She commented to her Waterford-born publisher Edmund Downey in 1896 that she 'was growing wholly despondent about the future of novels',[43] and later hoped that 'something ~~will~~ may turn up which will enable me to rise over the present trouble – if only I could get an order for a few short stories or articles I should be all right – at present I am doing some correcting work [which I am] thankful for just now as it brings in a little money. When it arrived I was absolutely stranded.'[44] Some months before, she was 'down to [her] last shilling' and had appealed to Downey: 'Can you – I do not say "will you" for there is no doubt on that front – spare me a couple of pounds or even one for a very short time?'[45] In response to Mrs Riddell's difficulties, her friend, the prolific author, travel-writer and historian, Mrs Alec-Tweedie (nee Ethel Brilliana Harley, 1862-1940) appealed

[41] R. A. Gettman, *A Victorian Publisher: A Study of the Bentley Papers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 263.
[42] Ford Madox Ford quoted in Waller, *Writers and Readers,* 34. The consequences were serious for Mudie's too as the firm declined from its previous heights over the next fifteen years. See Griest, 222-4.
[43] Charlotte Riddell to Edmund Downey, 25 September 1896, in National Library of Ireland, Edmund Downey Papers, MSS 10,000-10,069, MS 10,048.
[44] Charlotte Riddell to Edmund Downey, 21 November 1897.
[45] Charlotte Riddell to Edmund Downey, 15 April 1897.

directly to Prime Minister Balfour for a sum of money towards purchasing an annuity for her. £300 was granted from the Civil List. J. M. Barrie secured another £200 from the Royal Literary Fund, and Mrs Alec-Tweedie collected another couple of hundred pounds from friends including the authors Mrs Humphrey Ward, Justin Huntley McCarthy and E. W. Hornung. On realising that it was not enough to support Mrs Riddell, Mrs Alec-Tweedie suggested to the Society of Authors that they pay her an annual pension in return for the £300 Civil List Grant being paid to them directly, a proposal which was accepted, thereby making Mrs Riddell, one of the earliest members of the Society of Authors, its first pensioner.[46] Similarly, while Hannah Lynch (1859-1904) seems to have been liberated creatively by the end of the three-decker, with 1896 opening a productive period for her *fin de siècle* feminist satires, her output, as Ford Madox Ford suggested, was not financially rewarding and she was obliged to appeal to the Royal Literary Fund in 1895 and 1903 for support.[47]

Despite – or perhaps because of – the confusion in the marketplace, the demise of the three-decker provided fertile ground for the arrival of new, more entrepreneurial, entrants to the trade. Liberated from the circulating library system, and benefiting from an expanded market as a consequence of a growing literate population, as well as cheaper and faster production, the London publishing industry embarked on one of its greatest periods of expansion and creativity. Thus, the late 1880s, and particularly the 1890s, saw the establishment of new firms such as T. Fisher Unwin, William Heinemann, Elkin Mathews, John Lane, J. M. Dent, Edward Arnold, Methuen, Gerald Duckworth and Hutchinson. As their names suggest, many were established by individual publishers who had trained at the larger publishing houses, but saw an opportunity in the new dispensation to set up their own eponymous firms. Cheaper production costs and faster production times due to technological advances were critical in facilitating the new entrants to the trade. Printing presses had steadily improved throughout the nineteenth century as the two great inventions of the Industrial Revolution that transformed the world – iron and steam – enabled the invention of faster, stronger, more efficient printing

[46] Mrs Alec-Tweedie, *Thirteen Years in a Busy Woman's Life* (London: John Lane The Bodley Head, 1912), 78-9. Mrs Alec-Tweedie used the balance of the money collected to pay Mrs Riddell's ongoing costs such as servants' wages, rent, and doctor's fees which mounted as her cancer spread.

[47] Lynch published *Dr Vermont's Fantasy* (J. M. Dent, 1896), *Jinny Blake* (J. M. Dent, 1897), *An Odd Experiment* (Methuen, 1897). Her most noted work, *Autobiography of A Child,* was serialised in *Blackwood's Magazine* during 1898-9 before being issued as a single volume by Blackwoods. *Clare Monro: A Story of Mother and Daughter* (J. Milne) followed in 1900. See Faith Binckes, 'Hannah Lynch' in *Cambridge / RIA Dictionary of Irish Biography,* (online edition accessed 27 June 2012).

presses.[48] Even more significantly for book publishing, while there had been many attempts to improve the typesetting process (some 200 experimental machines were patented in Europe and America between 1820 and 1880 but few succeeded), advances came after the mid-1880s from America, where an explosion of creativity and technological activity followed the years of Civil War.[49] The Monotype machine invented in 1887 (though not successfully commercially produced until the late 1890s), allowed individual types to be handled and printed in the same way as hand-set type but resulted in a six-fold increase in the speed of typesetting, which accounted for one-third of the productions costs of a book at the time.[50] The larger more established firms who survived the 1890s expanded into America and the colonies, benefiting from the growth of the world market: Cassell & Co., for example, opened offices in Melbourne in 1884, followed by Sydney in 1895. An American office had been established in New York in 1860, a Canadian office in Toronto in 1907, and a New Zealand office near Wellington followed in 1920.[51] In an initiative undertaken by several contemporary firms, Macmillan & Co. started a 'Colonial Library' of reprints which ran to 90 titles by 1889.[52] The works of authors published by London publishing houses had a global geographic reach in consequence.

Publishers were serving a hugely expanded market. The Education Acts of 1870 and 1880 had created for the first time a mass reading public which from 1890 to about 1920, in the era before competition from other media, provided an ever-increasing demand for book, newspaper and magazine publishing. New papers with circulations in the hundreds of thousands like *Tit-Bits* founded in 1881 and the *Daily Mail,* established in 1896, marketed their publications by extracts and serialisations, providing lucrative opportunities for writers to contribute short form

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[48] For a comprehensive and authoritative study of new technology see Philip Gaskell's *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

[49] French printers produced the first stereotype plates made from flong – or plaster – moulds in 1829 and the electrotype process began to be developed from the later 1830s. The 1840 Pianotype which worked with two operators working a type keyboard was a considerable step forward but when the manufacturers released advertisements depicting women working the machines the male-dominated printing industry rejected the perceived threat and progress was delayed for several more decades.

[50] Philip Gaskell's *A New Introduction to Bibliography* brings Ronald B. McKerrow's classic manual *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* up-to-date for the nineteenth-century machine age. Gaskell describes a largely unchanged typesetting process noting that 'it was usual until the introduction of composing machines in the last quarter of the [nineteenth] century for individual metal types, just like Gutenberg's, to be set by hand and imposed in the traditional patterns…'. Gaskell, 34.

[51] Simon Nowell-Smith, *The House of Cassell* (London: Cassell & Company, Ltd, 1958), 261-6. Educational publishers in particular had huge new opportunities.

[52] Simon Eliot, 'To You in Your Vast Business': Some features of the quantitative history of Macmillan 1843-91, in Elizabeth James (ed.), *Macmillan: A Publishing Tradition* (Houndmills: Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2002), 30-1.

fiction.[53] The greater complexity of authorial copyrights and extensive new opportunities for publication in multiple format led in turn to the arrival of literary agents as well as the foundation of the Society of Authors in 1884.[54] The agents who entered the literary marketplace towards the close of the nineteenth century facilitated the increasingly complex, but rewarding, arrangements of authors across different copyright jurisdictions after the new arrangements legislated for in the Berne Convention on Copyright in 1885, The International Copyright Act (Chace Act) in the United States in 1891, and the UK Copyright Act of 1911.[55] James Hepburn noted that A. P. Watt (who started in a small way in 1875, first advertising his business in 1881) and other early agents:

> [C]ame into being at a time when agreements between publishers and authors were frequently blurred handwritten letters which had been drowned in the water of the copying press. He found authors selling their copyright for lump sums. The whole law of copyright was in chaos; prices were low; authors did not know where to take their wares.[56]

Watt would act for both George Moore and W. B. Yeats, and he dominated the scene in the early days until the arrival of James Brand Pinker in the 1890s, arguably the most talented of

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[53] For comprehensive information on the contemporary press see Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (Ghent and London: Academia Press and the British Library, 2009).

[54] In an indication of the difficult relations that frequently prevailed between publishers and authors in the period, the Society was first called 'The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Authors' when it was founded in June 1884.

[55] The *Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works* was implemented in 1886. It was the first international treaty on copyright law, which established reciprocal copyright protection in signatory nations, where the author is connected to, or the work first published in, a signatory nation. It was greatly to the benefit of established successful authors who could now earn royalties on their foreign sales and translations. America and Russia did not sign Berne and for the next few years the piracy by American publishers of the works of British and Irish authors remained a sore issue. British publishers were at fault as well, but the size of the American market and the activities of American publishers ensured the problem was always greater in the United States. *The International Copyright Act of 1891* (the Chace Act) in America followed Berne. For the first time foreign authors from selected countries were permitted to sell the rights in their works in the United States, subject to the 'manufacturing' condition of having at least part of the production process completed in America. In practical terms this allowed British publishers to sell sheets (or stereotype plates) of a British edition to an American publisher who could then arrange for the volumes to be bound in the United States, reducing the opportunities for publishing pirates and allowing British and Irish authors to protect their copyright and earn something from the American market. The Chace Act was another factor in the demise of the three-decker: the bloated format was not suited to the American market. The 1911 Copyright Act made the reissuing of popular texts in new formats easier.

[56] James Hepburn, *The Author's Empty Purse & the Rise of the Literary Agent* (London (sic): Oxford University Press: 1968), 55. *The Bookseller* recorded Watt's arrival in January 1881 noting that he had 'arranged an agency [at 34 Paternoster Row] for the negotiation on behalf of authors of the sale of copyrights to publishers and magazine and newspaper editors. Both vendors and purchasers will find Mr Watt's agency of considerable successor. 'An Agency Arranged', *The Bookseller,* January 1881 in the *Golden Bookseller,* 1552.

the early generation of agents.[57] Hepburn's *The Author's Empty Purse* remains an excellent study of the coming of the agents, and captures nicely the hostility felt by publishers towards them which persisted for decades. Hepburn notes that while on Watt's death in 1914, most publishers wrote letters of condolence to his family, in the previous year when the young James Stephens had indicated to Sir Frederick Macmillan that he was planning to dispense with his agent's services, Macmillan saw an opportunity to outflank the agent, instructing, '[w]e must see that we treat him [Stephens] liberally so that he may realize he is losing nothing by dealing with us direct.'[58] By offering to increase Stephens's royalty from 10% to 25%, the firm hoped the author would encourage his friends Yeats and AE to move to Macmillan without using an agent; although when Yeats eventually moved to Macmillan in 1916, Watt's successor negotiated the arrangement and Macmillan had no choice but to accept the situation.[59]

As the three-decker novel had stabilised the literary marketplace after the difficulties of the early nineteenth century, the *fin de siècle* book trade was stabilised after the tumultuous 1890s by the introduction of the so-called Net Book Agreement, a system of fixed book pricing in 1900. The Net Book Agreement was proposed by the publisher Frederick Macmillan in a letter to *The Bookseller* in 1890. Macmillan proposed a scheme whereby publishers would refuse to supply books to retailers who sold designated titles at less than the advertised 'net' price, fixed by the publisher. The proposal to fix book prices would be a voluntary arrangement and it took ten years and the organization of booksellers and publishers into the Booksellers Association in 1895 and the Publishers Association in 1896 to get industry-wide consensus. Macmillan put his system into operation by issuing Alfred Marshall's *Principles of Economics* (1890) at a net price, correctly calculating that booksellers could not afford to boycott the most important economic textbook of the day. Over the next few years, Macmillan & Co. followed with other titles so that publication of 16 net titles by the firm in 1891 increased to 68 in 1892, 107 in 1894 and 136 in 1897.[60] In order to gain the acceptance of the booksellers and the public,

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[57] Unlike Watt and other agents, Brand was unusual for his time in his efforts to foster unknown writers and would later offer (at H. G. Wells's suggestion) to act – thanklessly – for James Joyce at the height of Joyce's problems with getting *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* into print in 1915.

[58] F. W. Mumby, *Publishing and Bookselling* (London: Cape, 1954), 274.

[59] Warwick Gould, 'W. B. Yeats on the Road to St. Martin's Street, 1900-17' in Elizabeth James (ed.), *Macmillan: A Publishing Tradition* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 192-217, 205.

[60] 'A Remedy for Underselling', *The Bookseller,* 6 March 1890, in *Golden Bookseller,* 1563-4. The editor of the *Golden Bookseller* described it as 'the most celebrated letter ever to appear in "The Bookseller."' Ibid, 1562. For further information, see Sir Frederick Macmillan, *The Net Book Agreement and the Book War, 1906-1908* (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1924). The book war referred to in Macmillan's title relates to the unsuccessful attempt by *The Times* to set up a low-price borrowing club. Publishers, however, held firm and refused to supply the scheme, leading to its collapse.

discounts to the former were increased, and the prices of books were reduced to placate the book buyers who had become accustomed to discounts. At a stroke the scheme ended the practice of 'underselling' of the most popular titles, and protected the business of stock-holding booksellers. Crucially, in an unforeseen benefit, it firmly established the royalty structure as the preferred payment system, allowing mid-list authors – those who wrote primarily to entertain – to earn a living from their work. Their predecessors, unless of the first rank, had usually sold their copyrights outright to their publishers, often because of immediate financial necessity, thereby cutting off future income from backlist sales; or they had accepted the detested joint profits system, which many authors suspected publishers of manipulating for their own benefit. The Net Book Agreement bought clarity and certainty to the financial position of every book published: in calculating the economics of a title, publishers could do their accounts knowing at the outset what the price to the trade was, subtract their production costs and overheads, and with this greater certainty commit to a royalty to the author of ten, fifteen or even twenty per cent depending on the author and the likely sales. Another significant benefit of the new system to authors, of course, was that novel length after the demise of the three-decker was fixed at about 60,000 words, meaning that authors could effectively write three novels in the time previously taken to write one. In a demonstration of the innate conservatism of the book trade, just as the three-decker model had stayed in place for more than seven decades, the Net Book Agreement survived until 1995 before collapsing – ironically – under pressure from two large bookselling chains who inaugurated a new cycle of discounting.[61]

In his survey of the transformed English literary marketplace at the end of the nineteenth century, Paul Delaney notes the arrival of new writers and readers – women, newly-educated lower classes – who supplanted the 'man of letters of the high Victorian period and his relatively narrow readership.' In this respect, Delaney suggests, the opening of the literary marketplace to the energies of popular literature and consumerism undermined nineteenth-century concepts of 'literary authority.' [62] Huge opportunities opened for authors: publishers, needed authors in order to maintain the opportunities for expansion, and authors could in turn

[61] Waterstones and Dillons were the book chains who 'broke' the Net Book Agreement in the 1990s, starting in 1991. By 1994 the UK Office of Fair Trading decided the Restrictive Practices Court should review the NBA and it was declared illegal in 1997. Both chains went out of business: Waterstones was sold to HMV in 1998 and Dillons in 1999. Dillons no longer exists.

[62] Paul Delaney, 'The New Literary Marketplace, 1870-1914', in *Literature, Money, and the Market: From Trollope to Amis* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 103.

secure better deals from the publishers. The term 'publishing industry' is used frequently in book history, and it scarcely seems appropriate to use it before the beginning of the twentieth century. Indeed, publishers and booksellers themselves talked more comfortably up to the end of the twentieth century of 'the book trade'. However, by 1910, British publishing was at the peak of a period of great prosperity, in a golden age before the First World War and the Great Depression of the 1920s, when competition from other media such as cinema and the radio was in its infancy, and when stability had been regained after the turmoil caused by the demise of the three-decker novel. London-based publishing companies were operating from an imperial capital, serving a market that included one-quarter of the world's population in a vigorous and vibrant marketplace that accommodated a diverse and numerous population of authors, publishers, and journalists in close proximity to some of the most successful newspapers, magazines and periodicals in history.

As we will see in detail in Chapter Two, Irish writers were embedded in the dynamic London literary marketplace. Matthew Campbell observes in 'Victorian Ireland?', his essay review of Roy Foster and Fintan Cullen's *Conquering England* (2005), that 'Ireland and the Irish were at the centre of British politics and culture through Victoria's reign, much as the Scottish had been in the century before.'[63] J. C. Beckett suggests that 'London was the centre of their literary world, the place where the literary aspirant had, or thought he had, the best chance of succeeding.'[64] This reality of the experience of Irish literary figures in the capital city of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has been ignored or sidelined in favour of an approach, as Campbell argues, which treats 'four distinct nations, with four distinct cultural histories', understandable perhaps given the propensity of 'literary Victorianists [to construct] the Victorian political narrative … around Reform and Empire rather than Catholic emancipation and Home Rule.' Thus, a combination of the Revivalist incentive to provide Ireland with a distinctive national literature in the English language – to 'de-Anglicise Ireland' – and, as Campbell suggests, the 'wariness of an intellectual recolonisation' on the part of critics today obscures our understanding not just of the overlap and interconnections of the *fin de siècle* literature of Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales, but also of the virtuous circle of the centrality of the Irish litterateur in late nineteenth-century London and the benefits that accrued to Irish writers from their presence in the city. As Campbell notes, Roy Foster makes

[63] Matthew Campbell, 'Victorian Ireland?', in *Journal of Victorian Culture* (November 2005), 297-303, 302.
[64] J. C. Beckett, 'The Irish Writer and His Public in the Nineteenth Century' in *Yearbook of English Studies* Vol. 11, 'Literature and Its Audience, II', Special Number (1981), 102-116, 103.

an even stronger argument for the pre-eminence of the Irish in London in the troubled political decades of the 1890s and 1900s, quoting Foster's thesis that 'in the period of great upheaval around Home Rule, and the fall of Parnell (and Gladstone), to be Irish in London was to be at the very centre of things, in terms of political excitement and literary endeavour.'[65]

We need, therefore, to see the bearing of this wider context on one of the key issues of the Literary Revival – that of canon formation. As a consequence of both the pre-eminence of the Revival and the political incentives of nation-building after 1922, many, though not all, Irish writers, as well as works set outside Ireland or treating non-Irish subjects, have been elided from the Irish canon, edged out by an intense project of nationalist contestation. The same writers have been contentiously characterised as 'literary absentees' (in a pejorative allusion to the absentee landlords of the nineteenth century). A further consequence has been the obscuring of what Irish people were actually reading in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and what has been retained in a project of politically-driven canon formation, a process complicated, as Eve Patten suggests, by 'the inconvenience that reading presents for a narrative of Irish cultural nationalism grounded securely not in reception but in literary *production*...'[66] While it is possible to oversimplify this process, in addressing the problematic issue of canonicity this thesis draws on the valuable resource of the *Irish Book Lover* magazine founded in London in 1909. Nicholas Allen suggests that its 'relentless collection' of Irish bibliographical material gives fresh insights into a period 'we think we know very well' and notes that many authors would be 'lost but for its insight.'[67] In particular, editorials and articles in 1909 and 1910 illuminate the evolution of early Literary Revival canon formation by influential contemporary critics. The foreword to the first issue in August 1909 declared the magazine's manifesto of forming 'a connecting link between all lovers of Irish books and books relating to Ireland, *wherever published*', as well as the promise of noting 'all new works [which are] *the products of the pens of Irish men and women*' (my emphases).[68] The following month, the magazine reprinted a speech by Henry Bradshaw, the (Irish) Librarian of Cambridge University (delivered in 1884, but recuperated for its contemporary project), in which he appealed for assistance in compiling a national bibliography comprising three categories of

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[65] Quoted in Campbell, 'Victorian Ireland?', 300.
[66] Eve Patten, 'Modernity and Nineteenth-Century Ireland: The Making of a National Reader', in Mihaela Irimia and Andreea Paris (eds.), *Literature and the Long Modernity* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2014), 309-22, 310.
[67] Nicholas Allen, 'The Irish Book Lover: An Introductory Lecture', in Bruce Stewart (ed.), *The Irish Book Lover: An Irish Studies Reader,* Princess Grace Irish Library: 14 (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe Ltd., 2004), 7.
[68] *Irish Book Lover,* Vol. 1, No. 1 (August 1909) 1.

titles he thought essential: 'books of Irish affairs, books produced by Irish writers, and books produced by Irish presses.'[69] Yet in February 1910 the magazine lauded Stephen Brown's 'Readers' Guide to Irish Fiction' – the forerunner of the influential *Ireland in Fiction* (1916) – in which the magazine's close associate and long-term contributor positioned his text as 'the first part of a work in which it is hoped to furnish notes of books of all kinds dealing with Irish subjects.'[70] Significantly, in defining the scope of his work Brown described what it was not: '[i]t is not a catalogue of books by *Irish writers*', rather it was intended to be 'useful to the general reader who wishes to study Ireland.' (My emphasis). Brown thought that it might be useful for 'various national propagandist organisations, political and literary.'[71] Thus, in the space of just a few months, the *Irish Book Lover* shifted from an editorial policy of noting any and all books by Irish writers, wherever published, to an acceptance of Stephen Brown's 'critical squint', in John Wilson Foster's phrase, which considered the study of Irish literature, as Foster has suggested in another but related context, '*primarily* not of Irish writers, but of Irish culture.'[72]

Brown's definition of an Irish book was widely accepted and is a key moment in the process of canon formation and, therefore, canonical elision. Brown's canon was not limited, however, to the poetry and drama of the Revival. Writing in 1920, he demonstrated that he clearly understood the significance of popular fiction in the formation of cultural and political thought, suggesting that it is 'pretty generally recognised today that one of the most effective, if not quite the most effective, vehicles for conveying ideas to the general public is the novel. Few... will deny that it may be a most powerful means of propaganda.'[73] Brown observed that the circulation of the average book on 'any serious subject is very limited,' but claimed that 'the circulation of a popular novel may run up to a quarter of a million copies, and every circulating library still further multiplies the number of its readers. It may be said', he concluded, 'that the single form of literature, apart from the daily paper, which the masses habitually read is prose fiction.'[74] Brown's estimate of the circulation of a popular novel stands in stark contrast to a perception of the Irish public as non-reading and non-book-buying, returning us to the problem

[69] *Irish Book Lover*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (September 1909) 34.
[70] Fr Stephen J. Brown, SJ, 'A Guide to Books on Ireland' in the *Irish Book Lover,* Vol. 1, No. 7 (February 1910), 81.
[71] Brown, 'A Guide to Books on Ireland', 81.
[72] Foster, *Fictions of the Irish Literary Revival,* 10.
[73] Fr Stephen J. Brown, SJ, 'Novels of the National Idea' in *The Irish Book Monthly,* Vol. 48, No. 53 (May, 1920), 254-62, 256.
[74] Brown, 'Novels of the National Idea', 256.

flagged above: the divergence between what people were actually reading and what has been retained in a politically-driven project of canon formation.

John Wilson Foster, Eve Patten and Matthew Campbell have been joined by other critics including Margaret Kelleher, Tina O'Toole, James H. Murphy, Lisbet Kickham, Heidi Hansson and Jacqueline Belanger in recent projects to establish a wider corpus of Irish writing in order to gain a clearer picture of both Revival-era reading culture and popular literary output. Much of this attention has necessarily devolved upon the novel as a corrective to the Revivalist privileging of poetry and drama. Margaret Kelleher suggests that 'studies of the nineteenth-century Irish novel have long been conditioned by the search for an Irish *Middlemarch* and by the attempt to explain why there is not one.'[75] Joe Cleary notes the appearance of new feminist and queer histories as 'supplements or alternatives to older nationalist canons', as well as the new theoretical questions about 'transactions between metropolitan and colonial cultures', and the 'circuits of cultural exchange between literary "cores" and "peripheries".'[76] James H. Murphy observes that 'in recent years there has been a strong reaction against accepting the judgment of the 1890s and a desire to look afresh at Ireland's nineteenth-century heritage in fiction.'[77] With the same incentives, John Wilson Foster in *Irish Novels 1890-1940: New Bearings in Culture and Fiction* samples Irish popular and minor fiction of the Revival period and suggests that the picture both of Ireland and Irish fiction that emerges is 'in many of its details, and certainly in its panorama, a strikingly unfamiliar one… This portrait of Ireland in fiction certainly departs from the story we have told ourselves under the auspices of the Irish Literary Revival.'[78]

Foster posits that as the Revival 'regarded itself as an inauguration, one that returned to the past to achieve a beginning, […] so its exponents paid little attention to the Irish Victorian novel which continued through the 1890s and into the Edwardian decade and beyond', an inattention, he suggests, that literary historians in our own day continue to maintain.[79] Eve Patten points to the consequence of Yeats and his circle, in particular, 'masterminding… a

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[75] Margaret Kelleher, '"Wanted: An Irish Novelist': The Critical Decline of the Nineteenth-Century Irish Novel in Jacqueline Belanger (ed.), in *The Irish Novel in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), 195.
[76] Joe Cleary, 'The Nineteenth-Century Irish novel: Notes and Speculations on Literary Historiography,' in Belanger, 208.
[77] James H. Murphy, *Irish Novelists and the Victorian Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 13.
[78] John Wilson Foster, *The Irish Novel 1890-1940: New Bearings in Culture and Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 1.
[79] Ibid, 2.

comprehensive national culture' as the engineering of 'a profound break from the concepts of the "Victorian" (an ethos much denigrated by Yeats himself), in the interests of "renaissance" rather than continuity, engendering a fresh cultural energy, autonomous and independent of contexts or traditions which preceded it.'[80] Thus, for Patten, Yeats's 'damnation of the nineteenth century and its driving materialism cast a deliberate shadow over the Irish Victorians', so that reading nineteenth-century Ireland through the lens of the Revival, and through Yeats in particular, 'gives a skewed picture.'[81] As Patten notes: '[i]n foregrounding a particular canon, the Revival effectively blurred our view of popular reading practices in Ireland which remained – as Joyce's *Ulysses* attests – closely attuned to the tastes of imperial and metropolitan culture.'[82] In addressing the issues of canonicity and reading culture, as well as contributing to a retrieval of the literary output of the Revival's elided contemporaries, this thesis aims to assist a revision of modern conceptions of both contemporary influence and reading culture.

Finally, in another useful perspective for book history, William St Clair has influentially called for greater attention to the 'mentalities' argument, positing in his seminal work *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (2004) that reading impacts upon 'the knowledge, the beliefs, the understanding, the opinions, the sense of identity, the loyalties, the moral values, the sensibility, the memories, the dreams, and therefore, ultimately, the actions, of men, women and children.' Reading, he argues, helps to 'shape mentalities and to determine the fate of the nations.' For St Clair, it is crucial that 'any study of the consequences of reading of the past ought to consider the print which was actually read, not some modern selection, whether that selection is derived from judgements of canon or from other modern criteria.'[83] The importance of retrieving and understanding reading culture, especially at significant historical junctures, has led St Clair to criticise – vigorously and trenchantly – the absence of a quantitative analysis of publishing from book history studies, and his characterisation of the discipline as 'heavily reliant on a few commonly repeated traditional narratives and favourite anecdotes, but weak on the spadework of basic empirical research, quantification, consolidation, and scrutiny of

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[80] Patten, 'Modernity and Nineteenth-Century Ireland', 313.
[81] Eve Patten, 'Ireland's "Two Cultures" Debate: Victorian Science and the Literary Revival, *Irish University Review,* Vol. 33, No. 1, Special Issue: New Perspectives on the Irish Literary Revival (Spring-Summer, 2003), 1-13, 2.
[82] Patten, 'Modernity and Modern Ireland', 312.
[83] St Clair defined mentalities, a word adopted from the French 'mentalités', as the 'beliefs, feelings, values, and dispositions to act in certain ways that are prevalent in a society at a particular historical and cultural conjuncture.' William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1, 9-10.

primary information, upon which both narrative history and theory ought to rest' has at times been contentious. However, it echoes John O. Jordan and Robert L. Patten who, citing David Simpson's call for a 'Return to History' in the practice of literary criticism and engagement with 'the small and intransigent details that are least susceptible to hermeneutic instability', advocate scholarly attention to such seemingly arcane matters as 'costs and formats, size of imprints, and relations among authors, editors, and printers' (to which we must add sales figures).[84]

A considerable problem facing scholars adopting this methodological approach – and one which I have experienced in the preparation of this thesis – is the absence or incompleteness of hard economic data for the publishing industry. The records of many Irish publishers were destroyed in the week after the Easter Rising of April 1916 as a result of the concentration of printers and publishers in Abbey Street, lying directly between the river Liffey and the G. P. O., in the firing line of the gunship Helga. Similarly, the records of many London publishers located in the publishing centres around the Strand and Covent Garden as well as Paternoster Row near St. Paul's Cathedral were atomised in the aerial blitzes of London during the Second World War. As a consequence of such extensive lacunae, it can be difficult to address some of the key questions for historians of the book: to reconstruct, with exact figures, how books were distributed, sold and read, and in what numbers and by which constituencies of readers. Thus, when a good archive survives, such as that of the correspondence of the Waterford-born, London-based publisher, Edmund Downey, examined in the case study in Chapter Three, it can yield both new information and much rich detail.

To achieve the objectives of the thesis, the research methodology employs a holistic approach by surveying the contemporary publishing landscape in London and Dublin before moving to case studies of three significant, but hitherto overlooked, literary figures whose individual histories support and illustrate the broader narrative of the thesis. The case studies reveal, in particular, how the business of publishing was influenced by the personalities of its chief actors, who shaped events to a significant extent, independent of broader historical and economic contexts. This perspective offers a clearer view of the complex interactions between authors

[84] John O. Jordan and Robert. L Patten, 'Introduction: publishing history as hypertext' in Jordan and Patten (eds.), *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing and Reading Practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1. The reference is to David Simpson, 'Literary Criticism and the Return to "History",' *Critical Inquiry* Vol. 14, No. 4 (Summer 1988), 721-47, 742.

and publishers which influenced the development of book and literary history. In order to illuminate this trajectory, the thesis draws on extensive original material including publisher and author correspondence; publishing house archives; business contracts and costings; readers' reports; and contemporary trade and literary journals, articles and reviews.

Chapter One draws on the correspondence of George Roberts, held by the National Library of Ireland, for an examination of the history of the Dublin publishing company Maunsel & Co., and an evaluation of the relationship between Roberts and the Literary Revival triumvirate of W. B. Yeats, J. M. Synge and Lady Gregory. The archive contains copies of readers' reports, author contracts, detailed schedules of company equipment and vital financial information. The bulk of Maunsel's business files was destroyed in two fires: firstly, in 1913, and secondly, during the Easter Rising on account of the firm's location in Middle Abbey Street. I have also drawn on the records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd. in the Archive of British Publishing and Printing at the University of Reading, with whom Maunsel had a co-publishing and distribution arrangement from 1915. Another useful source is the 1969 University of Dublin M. Litt. Dissertation by Frances-Jane French, a relation of one of the firm's founders, Joseph Maunsell Hone. French records information from personal conversations with Hone and another Maunsel director, Edward MacLysaght.

The extensive correspondence of the London-based Waterford publisher Edmund Downey, held by the National Library of Ireland, is a very valuable resource for Chapters One and Two on publishing history and London-Irish literary networks as well as for the comprehensive and original case study of his publishing career in Chapter Three. Downey managed two eponymous publishing companies in London between 1884 and 1902, and his extensive correspondence comprises 70 folders containing 2,114 letters and 72 documents. His practice of making and retaining detailed notes for contracts and book costings is invaluable for constructing the history of his publishing activities, thereby facilitating a fresh understanding of the significance of his role in several notable projects including the Irish Literary Society's Library of Ireland in the 1890s, and the republishing of nineteenth-century Irish novels. Downey's memoir, *Twenty Years Ago* (1905), is one of several contemporary publishing accounts that offer illustrative insights into this field.

Chapter Four draws on the extensive personal correspondence of Jane Barlow to the artist Sarah Purser in the National Library of Ireland. Barlow wrote to Purser in great detail about her

publishing arrangements and relationships with her publishers. Her sharp observations provide rich detail of the contemporary literary marketplace in Dublin and London. Other archival material includes Barlow's correspondence in the Manuscript and Archives Department at Trinity College, Dublin, the archives of her publisher Elkin Mathews at the University of Reading, and contemporary reviews and newspaper articles.

Chapter Five draws on the archives of the publishing firm of Mills & Boon at the University of Reading for the case study of the Ulster-born novelist and travel writer Beatrice Grimshaw. Given her contemporary celebrity and global profile, the chapter makes use of extensive newspaper articles which chronicled her life and writing, especially the digitised collections of 'Trove' at the National Library of Australia and 'Chronicling America' at the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C.

Finally, information for Appendices A, B, C, and D (A Bibliography of the Publications of Ward & Downey and Edmund Downey Ltd.; A Bibliography of the Works of Edmund Downey; A Bibliography of the Works of Jane Barlow; and A Bibliography of the Works of Beatrice Grimshaw) is drawn from the catalogues of the National Library of Ireland, the British Library, the National Library of Australia, and the Library of Congress as well as company catalogues, contemporary advertising and reviews.

Information on publication dates, print runs, formats, pricing, series, advertising, reviews and author biographies is drawn from the preliminary and paratextual material of numerous books in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; the National Library of Ireland; the British Library; the National Library of Australia (digitised material); the State Library of Tasmania, and the Library of Congress (digitised material).

This introductory overview has outlined the potential for an examination of the intersection of the changing conditions and contexts of the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century London publishing landscape and the Irish Literary Revival to offer a fresh perspective on the literary history of the period. I have established the many and interlocking factors which underpinned the transformation of the publishing industry during the period covered by this thesis, which in turn provided a myriad of new opportunities – and threats – for Irish writers. As in this Introduction, I will, at times, go into considerable (and sometimes technical) publishing detail in the body of the thesis, as it is only with this framework that we can understand the

implications of the very complex relations between publishers, authors and the literary marketplace for the careers of Irish writers.

On this basis, the thesis will progress by elaborating on the nature of the Irish book trade in juxtaposition to the opportunities offered by London. It will survey the career of Edmund Downey to demonstrate his importance for contemporary Irish writers and the publication of Irish work, in particular Irish novels, suggesting that he is one of a number of figures from the period whose significance for the Irish Literary Revival has not yet been fully accounted. It will then move to a study of two writers, Jane Barlow and Beatrice Grimshaw, to provide a reappraisal of their place in both Irish literary and commercial publishing histories, as exemplars of Revival-era writers who have been subject to peripheralisation in the case of Barlow and elision in the case of Grimshaw. This thesis will conclude by arguing for a relocation of Revival-era writers in the wider commercial print-culture landscape of the period in order to understand the complex profile of Irish literary output at this time.

Chapter 1: Overview and Context of Publishing in Ireland, 1551-1922

Introduction

The growth and development of publishing in Ireland has almost always been shaped by the country's historically asymmetric relationship with Britain. The Irish book trade was systemically weak, dominated by its British counterpart, lacking the conditions necessary for the growth of a successful, stand-alone trade. The publishing industry suffered from endemic undercapitalisation and an absence of the essential prerequisites of a sizeable, educated population with discretionary income for expenditure on books.[1] The population of Ireland was relatively small and generally poor, with the majority being Irish-speaking and illiterate before the mid-nineteenth century, although English was well established among the Catholic commercial and political elites. Catholic printing only emerged in any quantity towards the end of the eighteenth century due to a combination of the penal laws, linguistic differences and poverty, although the prohibition on importing devotional material remained on the statute books until after 1800.[2]

By the time of the period under survey in this thesis, the book publishing market in Ireland had segmented into two main strata: official, legal and educational material formed the bulk of English language output, while the stunted trade (i.e. non-educational) output consisted largely of devotional and homiletic material with chapbooks and ephemeral material (e.g. song sheets), with some novel publishing of the few authors like William Carleton who chose not to publish with London or Edinburgh houses.[3] Absent was the literary publishing which in a more prosperous and less divided – religiously, linguistically, and culturally – society underpins a healthy book trade. By contrast, Britain, and London in particular had become the pre-eminent centre of publishing in the world. The impact on Irish literary authors was of the greatest significance, creating irresistible push and pull factors which ensured that, as we have seen, six out of ten Irish authors died outside Ireland between 1650 and 1900, largely because their

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[1] For a discussion of the lack of capital in Irish commerce in general see Louis Cullen, *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800* (Manchester: A. M. Kelley, 1968), 92-101. Most Irish booksellers operated on a commission basis. Ibid, 98.

[2] M. Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books 1550-1800,* Lyell Lectures, 1986-1987 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 16.

[3] William Carleton claimed in 1842 that such was his commitment to Irish literature that he had contributed to native periodicals 'whether he received remuneration or not'. William Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe Ltd, 1900), Vol. 1, *viii*, quoted in Ian D. Sheehy, unpublished D. Phil. Thesis 2003, 'Irish Journalists and Litterateurs in Late Victorian London, c. 1870-1910', 7, n. 22.

careers were outside Ireland, while at the same time, as English-speaking Irish authors from a small country, they had access to a readership far beyond Ireland's shores.[4]

In order to provide both context and support for the overall thesis, this chapter begins by surveying the Irish publishing industry from 1551 (the year when the first book was printed in Ireland) to the post-Famine period.[5] In the discussion of the Irish book trade during the years covered by this thesis, 1884-1922, the chapter looks afresh at the history of two companies in particular, one relatively unknown and unexamined, and one very well-known, to situate their histories more widely in the contemporary national and international book trades, and to bring their legacies into sharper focus. The first company is Sealy, Bryers and Walker and the second is Maunsel & Company, later Maunsel & Roberts. The section on Maunsel examines three significant episodes in the company's history in order identify its strengths and weaknesses as a literary publisher. The chapter concludes by assessing the significance of Maunsel and its legacy in the context the contemporary Irish book trade and the political upheaval of the years from 1916-1922.

Publishing in Ireland I: 1551-c.1850

Printing came late to Ireland.[6] Almost a century after the printing of the Gutenberg Bible in 1455, the first book in the world to be printed using moveable type, and seventy-eight years after Caxton printed the first book in English, Chaucer's *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* in 1473, the first printed book in Ireland, the 1551 *Boke of the Common Praier and Administracion of the Sacramentes,* was issued by Humphrey Powell.[7] The Royal Licence to print in Ireland had been granted to Powell after the Crown embarked on limited printing in

[4] Rolf Loeber and Magda Loeber, *A Guide to Irish Fiction, 1650-1900* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), *lxxxv.*
[5] The most comprehensive and authoritative sources for the period 1551-1850 are Mary Pollard and Charles Benson. This chapter draws on Pollard's *Dublin's Trade in Books 1550-1800* and Charles Benson's Ph.D. Thesis *Dublin's Book Trade, 1800-1850.* Other useful sources are Vincent Kinane, *A Brief History of Printing and Publishing in Ireland* (Dublin: National Print Museum, 2002) and 'The Origins of Printing in Ireland', in F. R. Higgins (ed.) *Progress in Irish Printing* (Dublin: Alex Thom, 1936).
[6] Vincent Kinane opens with this point. Kinane, 1. The *Book of Common Prayer* was first published in England in 1549 and was largely the work of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer. See 'Printing of Ireland's first book to be commemorated', Rev. Patrick Comerford in the *Irish Times,* 17 April 2001, 12.
[7] Mary Pollard identifies earlier members of the Irish book trade as Simon Walsh, a book binder in 1485, and James Dardas who imported school and religious service books from England in 1544-5. Pollard, 34.

Ireland for administrative and propaganda purposes.[8] Powell is one of only two known printers operating in Ireland in the sixteenth century, the other being Richard Kearney, who published an Irish translation of the New Testament from his printing press located in Trinity College around 1595, soon after the establishment of the College.[9] Nearly a century after the *Book of Common Prayer*, printing in Ireland still lagged behind England so that in 1640, no more than one press had been in operation in the country at any one time,[10] and Irish print output was estimated at one book printed for every 190,000 people compared with one book for every 8,800 people in England, or 22 times fewer books per capita.[11]

In England and Wales printing rights remained vested in the Crown which retained prerogative rights, though delegating them to the Stationers' Company in London after 1557. In this period all books had to be registered at Stationer's Hall in London, and licences were restricted to members of the Established Church.[12] A different system operated in Ireland where the King's Printer patent gave a monopoly to the holder over all printing (and therefore publishing as the functions were effectively interchangeable until the end of the eighteenth-century), as well as bookbinding and bookselling. However, between 1618 and 1639 the King's Patent was granted to the Stationers' Company in London and so while it set up a printing house in Dublin, bookselling in Ireland was operated from its premises in London The King's Patent remained in force until 1732, with an interval in the years of war and rebellion in the 1640s and 1650s.[13] Mary Pollard makes the key point that the most important factor inhibiting the growth of the Dublin book trade in comparison with its London counterpart was this very different legal framework. The Irish system gave a monopoly of the entire trade to one man instead of to a company of many individuals competing against each other which 'proved an effectual curb

[8] Powell's warrant was granted to him by the Acts of the Privy Council of England of 18 July 1550. See Gerard Carr, 'The Origins of Printing in Ireland', in Higgins, *Progress in Irish Printing,* 29. It is thought that two complete copies survive: one in Trinity College Dublin and the other in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Ibid, 30.

[9] An apparent dispute between Kearney and the College authorities led to Kearney removing his press around March 1596. Pollard, 35.

[10] Kinane, 7.

[11] Niall Ó Ciosáin and Clare Hutton, 'Ireland' in Michael F. Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen (eds.), *The Book: A Global History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 194-8, 194.

[12] Margaret J. M. Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 51. The abolition of the Star Chamber in 1641 effectively overturned its 1637 decree which had imposed strict censorship on the book trade, although the window of opportunity for printers and booksellers was short, with the draconian measures of the Licence Order of 1643 reimposing some censorship.

[13] Kinane, 7-8.

on the development of any trade worth speaking of [in Ireland], while the English recipe ensured a lively growth.'[14]

In the seventeenth century, the Civil War and political fragmentation of the 1640s led to an expansion of print culture to serve the propaganda needs of the 'warring factions of King, Parliament and Confederate Catholics', with presses established for the first time outside Dublin in Waterford in 1643, followed by Kilkenny in 1645 and Cork in 1648, although the presses in Waterford and Kilkenny were closed by the Commonwealth government in the 1650s.[15] The only other printing press established in this century in Ireland was in Belfast in 1694.[16] In Ireland the printing monopoly was restored in 1660, and granted to John Crooke who permitted other printers to operate under his licence.[17] Ten years later the few printers at work in Dublin joined with the somewhat unlikely trades of the cutlers and painter-stainers to establish the Guild of St. Luke the Evangelists, but membership was restricted to members of the Established Church, the Anglican Church of Ireland. Catholics were permitted only a type of sub-membership – the system of 'quarter brothers' – under which they had to pay heavy fees four times a year, but could neither vote nor hold office.[18] The organisation of the printers into a working guild facilitated the first significant growth in the book trade from about 1680, and Mary Pollard notes that 'from 1700 it expanded with great speed.'[19] At the beginning of the eighteenth century imported books dominated the market, with only 20% of books bought in Ireland printed in the country, while 75% were imported from England and 5% from the continent, with the cost of importation adding about 25% to the price.[20] There was little printing in Irish and a rare example was *Aibidil Gaoidheilge agus Caiticiosma* in 1571, issued by an unidentified printer after Queen Elizabeth decided to print books in Irish for the propagation of the Protestant faith in Ireland.[21] However, there was almost no type-founding in Ireland so

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[14] Pollard, 1.
[15] Kinane, 10.
[16] Pollard, 166-7.
[17] Ibid, 5. In England, the 1662 Licensing Act re-established Royal Prerogative and imposed strict censorship, the so-called 'reign of terror' for printers under Roger L'Estrange, the new Surveyor of the Imprimerie and Printing Presses. Ezell, 53. L'Estrange's 'reign of terror' was shortlived as the Great Plague of 1665 and the Great Fire of London of 1666 destroyed much of the printing trade established at St Paul's Churchyard.
[18] Kinane, 10.
[19] Pollard, *v.*
[20] Kinane, 11.
[21] John O'Kearney, *Aibidil Gaoidheilge agus Caiticiosma* (Am Baile Athacliath, 1571). See Colm O'Lochlainn, 'Gaelic Script and Modern Type', in Higgins, 74. It is notable for using the first type specially cut for the printing of Irish although the font 'preserved the normal form of the Roman [font] … and the type was not a very wonderful achievement; but it had one beneficial effect for it stirred up the exiled Irish Franciscans in Louvain to design and cut the first really Irish type. Only nine letters were specially cut for most of the capitals the ordinary Roman forms were used.' Ibid.

Gaelic fonts remained rare before the invention of an upright font in 1863.[22] The print culture in Ireland in consequence of these combined legal, political and structural factors was therefore overwhelmingly Anglophone and Protestant, and excluded the Irish-speaking majority of the population.[23]

The relative peace of the eighteenth century brought political stability and economic growth to the country which, together with the *de facto* if not *de jure* ending of the monopoly patent system, encouraged the establishment of new printing presses in sixteen provincial towns by the 1760s, and in thirty-four towns in all by the end of the century. Most printers produced newspapers and ephemeral jobbing printing, but some books were printed in Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and Newry. Dublin saw the greatest growth in printing and bookselling with twenty-five printer/booksellers recorded as trading in 1700 increasing to sixty-five by the end of the century.[24] Wealthier country customers often maintained an account with Dublin booksellers, while poorer customers were served by itinerant pedlars, known as chapmen, or the limited range of the country town shop. The 1831 census records 7,500 'pedlars and hawkers' or one for every 1,750 persons; however, as the network of railway bookstalls was established and there was modest growth in provincial retailing, their numbers dropped to 4,147 in 1851 and 1,862 by 1871.[25]

One other key legal factor had a determining effect on Irish publishing in the eighteenth century. The Copyright Act of 1709, which came into force in 1710, was one of the first of the major pieces of legislation to be passed by the British parliament following the Act of Union between England and Scotland in 1707, but it was not extended to Ireland. The Act had its origins in the refusal of Parliament in London to enact legislation renewing the licence of the Stationer's Company after 1694. John Locke was particularly prominent in arguing against the original Licensing Act in the 1690s complaining that it was 'ridiculous' that the works of dead authors were held in perpetual copyright by their publishers, and that the existing system

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[22] Higgins, 83.
[23] Ó Ciosáin and Hutton's essay in Suarez and Woodhuysen states that publishing was entirely 'Anglican' but Professor Crawford Gribben of Queen's University, Belfast, has suggested to the author that the material published by dissenting Protestants was extensive in spite of the official restriction of the licence to members of the Established Church, so that 'Protestant' is a more accurate term. Conversation, 12 March 2012.
[24] Ó Ciosáin and Hutton, 194.
[25] Niall Ó Ciosáin, 'Pedlars and Book Distribution', Chapter 15 in *OHIB IV*, 192-197, 195, 197.

restricted the free exchange of ideas and education as a result of an unfair monopoly.[26] The so-called Statute of Anne was the world's first copyright statute, recognising the legal rights of authors for the first time, thereby ending the *de facto* perpetual copyright of publishers and establishing a public domain in literature. The stated intention of the Act was the 'Encouragement of Learning by Vesting the Copies of Printed Books in the Authors or Purchasers of such copies, during the times therein mentioned.'[27] Publishers were now granted fourteen years legal protection for books issued after 1710 (and twenty-one years for books already in print), after which, if the author was still alive, copyright was re-vested in the author for a further fourteen years.[28] The radical consequence of the Statute of Anne was that copyright became the personal possession of the author for the first time giving the potential to authors to earn money from sales of books rather than having to rely on the patronage model. Hitherto, the only rights an author had held were in relation to the physical manuscript.

Two significant consequences flowed from the exclusion of Ireland from the 1709 Copyright Act. Firstly, in the first four decades of the eighteenth century the production of illegal editions and a vigorous trade in adaptations and abridgements became established. Irish printers could import or copy sheets of new books published in Britain and quickly produce a pirated reprint edition for sale in Ireland, and for resale legally back to Britain and the colonies until 1739, at a cheaper price which undercut British booksellers. After 1739 the provisions of the Importation Act restricted that trade to clandestine book-smuggling or the issuing of titles under fictitious London imprints. The Act prohibited the importing of any book 'first composed or written, and printed and published' in Britain, but reprinted abroad unless the book had not been reprinted in Britain for twenty years. Sanctions were stiff: the offending importer was subject to a fine of £5 and double the value of every book imported, and all copies were destroyed.[29] Labour costs in Dublin were lower, and the Irish reprints were generally smaller,

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[26] Isabella Alexander, *Copyright Law and the Public Interest in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2010), 19; Mark Rose, 'Nine-tenths of the Law: The English Copyright Debates and the Rhetoric of the Public Domain', in *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 66 (Spring 2003), 17.

[27] Provision was made for the legal deposit of nine copies of every book printed at the Royal Library (later the British Library) and those of the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, the four ancient universities of Scotland (St. Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen and Edinburgh), the library of Sion College, London and that of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh to promote public access to books. As the Act did not extend to Ireland, the library of Trinity College, Dublin, was not a beneficiary until after the Act of Union in 1801.

[28] The legislative intention of benefitting authors was however undermined by practice: contracts still tended to assign copyright outright to publishers 'in perpetuity'.

[29] Mary Pollard has suggested that the 'financial suffering caused to the London trade by this intrusion on their home market to have been relatively small.' Pollard, *vi*. For a full discussion of the likely impact of illegal imports of Irish books into England, see Pollard 74-87. Pollard, 71.

printed on inferior paper with poor bindings. W. B. Yeats would later suggest that 'no educated man ever bought an Irish book; in Dublin, Professor Dowden, the one man of letters with an international influence, was accustomed to say that he knew an Irish book by its smell, because he had once seen some books whose bindings had been fastened together by rotten glue.'[30] In a more positive characterisation of the Dublin book trade, Mary Pollard suggests that 'in its reprint publishing [the Dublin book trade] chose the most readable and popular material from London publications and offered it to a wider readership than the expensive London book trade could command.'[31]

The second significant consequence of the exclusion of Ireland from the Statute of Anne was that Irish writers could only secure their copyright by publishing in Britain. Once their publications were entered into the register at Stationer's Hall, the provisions of the Act extended to their work. Even before the Copyright Act authors preferred to publish in London where London publishers offered greater professionalism and experience, better terms, and wider distribution to the larger British market. After the Act came into force, there was the added attraction of payment for copy. In the eighteenth century playwrights such as Oliver Goldsmith and Richard Brinsley Sheridan moved to London to advance their careers and published with London publishers.[32] Jonathan Swift was a notable exception to this practice, but he was motivated by fear of prosecution for sedition, and preferred where possible to deliver his manuscript directly to his printer, often under cover of darkness.[33] He published in England for many years, but after his permanent return to Dublin in 1727, he published thereafter with George Faulkner in Dublin. Later in the eighteenth century, Catholic devotional and homiletic works were issued under the Dublin imprints of Ignatius Kelly, Patrick Lord, Patrick Wogan and Richard Cross, while the printing of chapbooks – mainly for the rural population – was dominated by Catholic printers.[34]

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[30] W. B. Yeats, 'Ireland After Parnell' in *Autobiographies* (London: Macmillan, 1955), 200. It is likely that Yeats conveniently extended this characterisation of the quality of Irish book production into the early twentieth century, the better to claim that no good printing existed in Ireland before the establishment of his sisters' Dun Emer (later Cuala) Press and Maunsel, whereas the nineteenth century saw increasingly high production standards, especially in the second half.

[31] Pollard, *v.*

[32] Goldsmith and Sheridan were both published by the Booksellers W. Griffin at Catharine Street and John Wilkie at 71 Bible, St Paul's Churchyard. Goldsmith's other Booksellers/Publishers were the innovative publisher of children's books, John Newbery, and later his son, Francis, also in St Paul's Churchyard, as well as Thomas Cadell in the Strand.

[33] The Irish parliament eagerly prosecuted on the grounds of sedition at the time. Equally enthusiastic was the prosecution for breach of privilege: in 1721 no less than three printers were summoned by the House of Lords to explain why they had printed the Lord Lieutenant's speech to parliament without authority. Pollard, 19-20.

[34] Kinane, 17.

The fourth quarter of the eighteenth century brought further problems for Irish printers and publishers. In Britain the landmark *Donaldson v Becket* case of 1774 struck down perpetual copyright, opening up competition between publishers and allowing the issue of cheap editions of out-of-copyright editions, factors which facilitated growth in the British book trade, whose members enthusiastically played the Irish trade at its own game by exporting in large quantities to Ireland. However, by the mid-1780s Dublin could support fifty-three printing houses largely due to the establishment of full free trade after 1783 which opened the way for an increase in the export of books to America, as well as expansion in the number of newspapers. In contrast, book publishing remained relatively weak, with books often printed for a collective of booksellers rather than under a single imprint.[35] The expansion of printing was short-lived, however, with various factors combining in the 1790s to disrupt the supply of paper, and therefore to increase costs.[36] As was the case for British publishers, as noted above, the wartime naval blockade of France from 1793 cut off a main supply of paper until the defeat of Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. In 1795, a long strike by Irish journeyman papermakers reduced the supply of paper still further while the increased duty imposed on Irish exports in the same year removed the price advantage over British editions.[37]

The greatest blow to the Irish book trade, however, came on 1 January, 1801, when the Act of Union came into force. Dublin was effectively stripped of almost all of its commercial advantages as a capital city with the abolition of the Irish parliament, and British copyright law was extended to Ireland in the July of that year. Charles Benson notes that the 1801 Copyright Act was '[o]stensibly intended to put the publication of books in Ireland and Britain on an equal footing so far as the law was concerned, it had the effect of entirely undermining the basis on which the Irish trade had developed in the preceding century.[38] Vincent Kinane highlights the reaction of the Dublin bookseller, William Wakeman, who, speaking in 1821, said that the consequent loss of trade to the level of that of a provincial city 'almost annihilated' the Dublin printing trade.[39] Kinane observes that '[o]ne commentator in 1805 recorded that scarcely a dozen new titles were produced per year. The publication of books plummeted 80

[35] Kinane, 20.
[36] Mary Pollard has identified that the number of members of the book trade in Dublin fell from 115 in 1796 to 92 in 1799. As well as the industrial and paper difficulties, she hypothesises a decline in the American trade. Ibid, 210.
[37] Kinane, 20.
[38] Benson, vol. 1, 15-16.
[39] Kinane, 20.

per cent in the first half of the century, according to another source.'[40] Some publishers, printers and booksellers survived by becoming agents for London and Edinburgh publishers – imports of British books rose from a value of £7,000 in 1800 to £21,000 in 1813[41] – which as Charles Benson notes, 'had considerable implications for their requirements for capital.'[42] Not only were English books more expensive than Dublin imprints, but 'even after the Union the two exchequers had a separate existence until 1824. A system of countervailing duties and drawbacks was in place until then.'[43] As a result, the cost of importation swallowed up any of the profits that might have accrued from the publishers' discounts of between 25% and 33%.[44] Many more members of the book trade emigrated, mainly to New York or Philadelphia, where the firm of the Dublin-born printer and publisher Mathew Carey (1760-1839) was the largest in America by 1850.[45] The printers who survived best in Ireland, as Kinane observes, were those who had government contracts or were official printers to various societies, such as the Kildare Place Society which published huge quantities of chapbooks from 1817 onwards.[46] What was left of the book trade also benefited from another contributing factor to the expansion of popular print culture in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, with the Protestant evangelical societies operating throughout the country printing huge quantities of religious and moral material during the 'Second Reformation'. This was matched by the Catholic counter-offensive in the years before and after Emancipation in 1829, and the subsequent increased demand for Catholic educational material.[47] Heidi Hansson notes that '[o]f the Irish-published

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[40] Kinane, 20.

[41] Benson, Vol. 1, 55. The figures are from the Customs ledgers and show the value of unbound books where the customs value is judged by weight, so in 1813 unbound books amounted to 2021 cwt valued at £20,210 while bound books were reached £711. By 1817 the number had declined to 1354 cwt valued at at £13,540, and bound books valued at £377. 8s. 2d. in response to the economic slowdown in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars. Ó Ciosáin and Hutton give different figures and a different date range: 'an average of £650 in 1780 to about £6,500 in 1810.' Ó Ciosáin and Hutton, 195.

[42] Benson, Vol. 1, 48.

[43] Ibid.

[44] For a full discussion of the difficulties facing publishers see Benson, 64-8. Periodicals were a particular problem as the requirement for rapid delivery meant that the costs of importing them from London by coach and then mail packet left little or any profit. Ibid, 67.

[45] See the entry for Mathew Carey in the *Cambridge Dictionary of Irish Biography* by Johanna Archbold and Sylvie Kleinman, electronic version. http://dib.cambridge.org.elib.tcd.ie/mathewcarey (accessed 18 October 2015).

[46] Kinane, 23. The Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland was founded in 1811. It was known as the Kildare Place Society, because of the location of its headquarters and model schools in Kildare Place in the centre of Dublin. The Society gave grants to help build schools and pay teachers across Ireland. It produced textbooks and teaching manuals for its training college and schools, and employed inspectors who regularly investigated teaching conditions in its schools.

[47] The Association for Discountenancing Vice and Promoting the Knowledge and Practice of Christian Religion distributed at very reduced prices between 1792 and 1816 nearly 50,000 Bibles, 200,000 Testaments and prayer books, and one million of other religious and moral tracts at a cost to the Association of £25,000. The firm of W. J. Battersby, established in 1823, became agent to the Catholic Society for the Diffusion of Useful

material kept in the British Library, close to half of the works produced between 1800 and 1850 can be categorized as religious literature.'[48] The establishment of the Irish National School System in 1831 had a substantial impact on the trade, thanks to the publication of educational material under the aegis of the Commissioners of National Education. Indeed, so successful was the publishing of school books that the old practice of exporting books to Britain recommenced, so that in 1850 Irish school books had 25% of the English national school book market, rising to 50% by 1859.[49]

Publishing in Ireland after 1850

Assisted by the success of the schoolbook business, confidence was beginning to return to the printing and publishing trade in the 1840s until the catastrophe of the Great Famine of 1845-9. Several of the leading Dublin publishing firms went bankrupt as a consequence of the disruption to business, including those of William Curry who published Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, Isaac Butt and Charles Lever, and the legal and official publisher Milliken.[50] The economic and social devastation of the Famine and mass emigration from rural areas precipitated a vertiginous decline in Ireland's population from a peak of around 8.5 million in 1846 to 6.5 million in 1851.[51] Emigration continued for the rest of the century, so that by 1881 the population had fallen further to 5.2 million, and it declined again to 4.5 million by 1901.[52] Rural depopulation combined with contemporaneous technological advances such as steam printing and a growing railway network which facilitated distribution, contributed to a decline in provincial printing activity from the mid-nineteenth century as the printing industry was increasingly concentrated in Dublin where larger firms could afford the capital investment necessary for the new plant and equipment, and specialist labour was available.[53] Although literacy levels rose in the second half of the nineteenth century from around 53% in 1851 to 86% by 1901, and almost all the population could speak English by the end of the century, the

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Knowledge after its founding in 1827 and within a year had distributed over 100,000 copies of Catholic texts. See Charles Benson, 'The Dublin Book Trade', chapter 3 in James H. Murphy (ed.), *OHIB IV,* 27-46, 34-5.

[48] Heidi Hansson, 'Varieties of Religious Publishing', Chapter 24 in *OHIB IV*, 305-321, 306.

[49] Kinane, 27.

[50] Ibid. See NLI holdings also.

[51] Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland: A New Economic History 1780-1939* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 4.

[52] Website of a Vision of Ireland Through Time (1821-2001), http://www.visionofireland.org/census/ (accessed 14 January 2014).

[53] Ó Ciosáin and Hutton, 196. For a discussion on publishing and printing outside Dublin in the nineteenth century, see Maura Cronin, 'Provincial Publishing', *OHIB IV*, 47-72.

market for books, unlike that in Britain, saw only modest growth.[54] There was little discretionary income available to spend on books and throughout the nineteenth century per capita income in Ireland was around 50-60% of that of average income in Britain.[55] There was, moreover, an absence of a leisured middle-class on whom the publishing industry depends for readership and sales.[56] Furthermore, the sales and distribution infrastructure was uneven with few bookshops in rural areas.

In an exception to the general picture, one very successful publishing venture was the publication of the Young Ireland movement's inexpensive nationalist *Library of Ireland* series, issued between 1845 and 1847, of twenty-two monthly shilling volumes of Irish history and literature, including William Carleton's *Rody, the Rover, Or, The Ribbonman* (1845); Thomas Davis's *National and Historical Ballads, Songs and Poems* (1846); John Mitchel's *The Life and Times of Hugh O'Neill* (1848), and histories of the Ulster Plantation and the 1798 Insurrection.[57] Crucially, the series had a well-developed distribution channel through the reading rooms of the Repeal Association, and its success demonstrates a considerable latent interest in nationalist reading material. Paul Townend describes the reading rooms that were established in Ireland in the second half of the nineteenth century in particular as 'both the most appropriate forum for the development of national consciousness, and also as the most promising quasi-public institution for the development and promotion of civil society.' [58] After the suppression of the 1848 rebellion and transportation of the leaders, however, much of the cultural energy of the movement was lost, though as we will see, there were attempts to

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[54] Ó Ciosáin and Hutton, 196.
[55] Ó Gráda, 242.
[56] Per Gedin has analysed how the publishing industries of Britain, France, Germany and the Scandinavian countries in Europe successively depended on the growth of a leisured middle-class. Per Gedin, *Literature in the Market-place* (London: Faber, 1975), chapters 1 & 2.
[57] The *Library of Ireland* titles in order of publication were: Thomas MacNevin *The History of the Volunteers of 1782*; Charles Gavan Duffy (ed.), *The Ballad Poetry of Ireland*; William Carleton, *Rody the Rover*; John Mitchel, *The Life of Aodh O'Neill*; William Carleton, *Parra Sastha*; M. J. Barry, *The Songs of Ireland*; Thomas Davis, *Literary and Historical Essays*; Thomas D'Arcy McGee, *The Irish Writers of the Seventeenth Century*; Thornton MacMahon (ed.), *The Casket of Irish Pearls*; D. F. McCarthy (ed.), *The Poets and Dramatists of Ireland*; Thomas Davis, *Poems*; Thomas MacNevin, *The Confiscation of Ulster*; Michael Doheny, *The History of the American Revolution*; C. P. Meehan, *The Confederation of Kilkenny*; Thomas Davis, *The Life of J. P. Curran*; D. F. McCarthy, *The Book of Irish Ballads*; Nicholas French, *The Historical Works of the Rev. Nicholas French, D.D., Bishop of Ferns*; S. H. Bindon, *Narrative of Historical Events of the Seventeenth Century*; William Carleton, *Art Maguire*; C. P. Meehan, *O' Daly's History of the Geraldines*; Edward Hay, *History of the Insurrection of '98*; T. D. McGee, *The Life of Art MacMorrogh, King of Leinster*. See P. S. O'Hegarty, 'The Library of Ireland', in M. J. McManus (ed.), *Thomas Davis and Young Ireland* (Dublin: The Stationery Office, 1945), 109-13.
[58] Paul A. Townend, '"Academies of Nationality": The Reading Room and Irish National Movements', in L. W. McBride (ed.) *Reading Irish History: Texts, Contexts and Memory in Modern Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 29.

reanimate the series during the Literary Revival in the 1890s. In 1854 John Sproule, in his catalogue of the Irish Industrial Exhibition of the previous year, summarised the relative importance of London to the Scottish and Irish capitals: 'In the publishing trade London is the head-quarters, as well as the great mart where the bulk of the trade is carried on. In Edinburgh and Dublin new works are produced not in any way inferior to those got out in the metropolis; but the number so published is inconsiderable, and even of these the great trade is done in London.'[59]

If the Irish reader eschewed books, magazines and newspapers were a different matter. Louis Cullen has noted that the number of newspapers in circulation in Ireland increased throughout the second half of the nineteenth century with the Dublin branch of W. H. Smith recording annual growth in newspaper sales in every year between 1861 and 1877, assisted by growing literacy and a period of atypical prosperity in the 1860s and early 1870s and, in particular, by the growth of the rail network from only 65 miles of track in 1845 to nearly 2,000 miles of track by 1866, and a further 461 miles by 1880. Charles Eason established a network of railway bookstalls for W. H. Smith in the 1870s and 1880s before he bought out the Irish business in 1886. A year later, there were 42 bookstalls in total, selling books, magazines and the Dublin newspapers.[60] The number of provincial weekly newspapers grew from 68 titles in 1850 to 144 in 1892.[61] [62] At the same time, the number of British newspapers coming into Ireland grew enormously. Forty years later during the Economic War in the 1930s, thirty newspapers per household per year were being imported annually (almost all from Britain) compared with less than one book per household per year, or 700,000 in total.[63] It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the relatively low level of book sales was not a function of lack of literacy, but rather of a stunted book-buying habit. Louis Cullen notes that Eason's record of book sales figures in 1872, the first year for which sales figures for the wholesale book department survive, show that expansion was such that 'the department had that year by far the largest turnover in the Dublin house – however that turnover was not to be exceeded for the rest of the century.'

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[59] John Sproule (ed.), 'The Publishing Trade', in *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: A Detailed Catalogue of its Contents* (Dublin: James McGlashan; London: William S. Orr & Co., 1854), 325-31, 326.
[60] Louis M. Cullen, *Eason and Son: A History* (Dublin: Eason and Son, 1989), 4, 39. Charles Eason (1823-1899) bought out the Irish business of W. H. Smith in February 1886.
[61] Marie-Louise Legg, *Newspapers and Nationalism: The Irish Provincial Press, 1850-1892* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 271.
[62] Cullen, 89.
[63] Tony Farmar, '"An Eye to Business": Financial and Market Factors, 1895-1995', in Clare Hutton and Patrick Walsh (eds.), *OHIB V,* 209-243, 213, citing Michael Adams, *Censorship: The Irish Experience* (Dublin: Sceptre, 1968), 163.

The network of country booksellers was limited, and in Dublin itself, 'the comparatively low sales reflect the precarious state of bookselling in Dublin, because of the ease with which the Dublin reader could order books directly from London,' with books delivered in around forty-eight hours after an order was received. Cullen observes that when a booksellers' trade association was formed in the late 1890s in Dublin, 'one of the striking features was the comparatively small numbers of booksellers in relation to the size and wealth of the city.'[64] J. C. Beckett concludes that 'the Irish reading public was not large enough or wealthy enough to support any considerable body of writers.'[65] Contemporaneously, in 1892, the writer and journalist John Augustus O'Shea asked if the Irish were really a reading people: '[h]ow many Irish publishers are there?... [Literature] is admired, but in Ireland it does not pay the rent.'[66] In the same year Yeats commented that '[the] people of Ireland respect letters and read nothing... They are proud of being a more imaginative people than the English... yet compel their own imaginative writers to seek an audience across the sea.'[67] Despite Yeats's best efforts, as we shall see, in 1913 Stephen Gwynn still lamented that:

> Irish people are very odd about books. They are, and every Irish writer knows it to his cost, the least book-buying of publics... Mr Yeats has done more than any man living, perhaps than any man living or dead, to raise the fame of Ireland in the craft of letters; but heaven help Mr Yeats – heaven help any of us – if existence depended on the sale of books to the Irish public.[68]

Gwynn had some experience of the matter: an author himself, he was also a literary advisor to Macmillan and a founder and director of Maunsel & Co. His comments of course refer to literary works, not the devotional and homiletic titles that did sell in relatively large quantities. Irish publishers also served the academic and schools market well, with some notable fine projects such as Hodges Figgis's and the Royal Irish Academy's extraordinary sixty-eight volume *Clare Island Survey,* which included volumes on subjects including history and archaeology, geology, biology, as well as specialist volumes on Lepidoptera, mammalia, mollusca, reptilia and amphibia, and whose volume editors included Robert Lloyd Praeger, Eoin MacNeill, and Jane Stephens.[69] Ben Levitas observes that the Catholic Church facilitated

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[64] Cullen, *Eason & Son,* 83, 84.
[65] J. C. Beckett, 'The Irish Writer and His Public in the Nineteenth Century', *The Yearbook of English Studies,* Vol. 11, Literature and Its Audience, Special Number (1981), 102-116, 104-5.
[66] *United Ireland,* 9 April 1892.
[67] *CL Yeats I*, 296.
[68] Stephen Gwynn, 'Irish Book Lovers', *Irish Book Lover,* Vol. 4., No. 8, March 1913, 132.
[69] Information from NLI Catalogue.

significant channels of dissemination and distribution of approved reading, either formally through Catholic Truth Society publications or informally as in the practice of the clergy directing the reading habits of their parishioners.[70] Also, where there was a formal nationalist imprimatur such as in the publications of the Irish Literary Society's *New Library of Ireland* or those of the Gaelic League, sales could be very high, as seen with the success of Fr Eugene O'Growney's first volume of *Simple Lessons in Irish* whose print run had reached 433,000 by 1912.[71] Indeed, Sir Horace Plunkett commented in 1904 that:

> The statement that our people do not read books is generally accepted as true, yet the sale of the League publications during one year reached nearly a quarter of a million copies... The movement can truly claim to have effected the conversion of a large amount of intellectual apathy into genuine intellectual activity.[72]

Thus, while the educational market functioned normally, that of literary publishing remained enfeebled and was only of limited domestic significance. Where novels were concerned, the majority of books sold in Ireland in the 1890s and 1900s was imported popular fiction by authors such as George Du Maurier, Kipling, Robert Louis Stevenson, J. M. Barrie, Rider Haggard, H. G. Wells and Anthony Hope, who outsold the most popular Irish writers such as Jane Barlow and Canon Sheehan.[73]

The comparatively weak state of the Irish library system (in comparison with Britain or France for example) further inhibited a widespread reading culture. As Tony Farmar shows:

> Although the Public Libraries (Ireland) Act of 1851 had enabled local authorities to establish local libraries, by 1880 only Sligo and Dundalk had taken advantage of its terms. Four public libraries were established in Dublin between 1884 and 1905, but the stock was small and the borrowers few; when the system was temporarily closed for

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[70] Ben Levitas, 'Reading the Irish Revival,' *OHIB V*, 51.

[71] NLI Holdings show that print runs of the other volumes in the series in 1912 had reached 175,000 for Vol. 2, 90,000 for Vol. 3, 39,000 for Vol. 4, and 30,000 for the later Vol. 5.

[72] Sir Horace Plunkett, *Ireland in the New Century* (London: John Murray, 1904), 151, cited in Levitas, 54.

[73] Troy J. Bassett and Christina M. Walter, 'Booksellers and Bestsellers: British Book Sales as Documented by *The Bookman,* 1891-1906', in *Book History*, Vol. 4 (2001), 205-236. 'Sales of Books of the Month' ran in every issue up to 1 April 1901. Each monthly issue recorded lists of bestselling books submitted by between three and twenty-one booksellers (an average of twelve), from thirty-seven locations over ten years, identified only by city or area of city, for example four from London (East Central, West Central, West End and Central) Dublin (two bookshops, area not defined), Manchester, Burnley, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow (one bookshop each). A total of 1,408 lists appeared in the ten years. See Chapter 4 on Jane Barlow for more information on the most popular titles in Dublin between 1891-1901.

> lack of funds in 1908 there were a mere 6,000 books on loan to a population of 375,000.[74]

Andrew Carnegie's endowment of $600,000 for libraries in Ireland provided for the building of sixty-six handsome library buildings around the country in the 1900s, but the terms of the endowment specified capital projects only with no funds allocated to the purchase of books, so that when the new Carnegie library in Great Brunswick Street was completed in 1909 it was empty of magazines for two years, and books for four. Furthermore, the Countess of Aberdeen's campaign against tuberculosis, initiated in 1907 – coinciding with a campaign against tuberculosis in France which emphasised the danger of the transmission of the disease through the handling of books by infected readers – created a fear among middle-class readers in particular of infection from books and clothes, contributing to the shunning of libraries.[75]

In the context, therefore, of an attenuated native book trade in the shadow of a vastly more powerful industry in London, a very small number of publishing houses came to dominate the Irish trade. An important characteristic of publishing history is that until the nineteenth century the functions that bring a manuscript from author to reader were performed under one roof. As Tony Farmar has noted, George Faulkner in Dublin was 'simultaneously Swift's publisher, printer and retail bookseller', and thus the terms publishing and printing were not just performed, but also used, interchangeably.[76] In the nineteenth century growing professionalisation, especially in London, established a division of labour and the roles of publishing, printing and bookselling became separate, but as Farmar suggests, this process came much later to Dublin publishers:

> The last to emerge as a stand-alone specialty was that of publisher, when in the early nineteenth century it began to be realised that the market was active enough to enable a business to survive and even prosper with the security of bookselling or printing arms. In less vigorous publishing centres such as Dublin the old joint functions were maintained, and indeed it was not until well after the Second World War that M. H. Gill

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[74] Farmar, 214.
[75] Ibid, 215. Ishbel Marjoribanks (1857-1939), Countess and later Marchioness of Aberdeen, was the wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Aberdeens were in Ireland for six months in 1886, and again in 1906-1915. Lady Aberdeen was a prominent member of the Women's National Health Association of Ireland which worked to treat and prevent tuberculosis, especially in children. In 1911 she became the first President of the Housing and Town Planning Association of Ireland.
[76] Farmar, 209.

abandoned its print factory and its bookshop in O'Connell Street. Mercier Press in Cork only sold its shop in the 21st century.[77]

The most successful Irish publisher in the 1840s to 1860s was James Duffy (c.1808-1871), who was born in Co. Cavan and educated at a hedge school. He started in business by buying up Protestant bibles distributed to Catholics in Ireland by evangelical missionaries, exchanging them in Liverpool for more popular books to sell back at home.[78] He established his first company in Dublin in the 1830s at 25 Anglesea Street, where he concentrated on the lower end of the market, issuing huge numbers of 2d. chapbooks which were sold around the country to the peasantry by travelling salesmen. He also established a Sixpenny Popular Library of 'devotional and national' material as well as Duffy's Cottage Library, 'a series of delightful Catholic tales by the most eminent American writers', priced at 8d.[79] He had enormous success with cheap prayer books issuing *The Key to Heaven: or, A Manual of Prayer* at 2s. 8d. in 1840 which sold nearly 400,000 copies in five years.[80] James Duffy's reputation was made by the Young Irelanders' *Library of Ireland,* the success of which, as we have seen, despite the catastrophe of the Famine in the years the series was published, consolidated Duffy's position as the largest Catholic publisher in Ireland.

Duffy's business survived the Famine, and although he published novels by William Carleton and Gerald Griffin in the 1850s and 1860s, the bulk of the firm's output was Catholic devotional material such as missals, hymnals, sermons, meditations and lives of saints. He also published episcopal addresses and pastoral letters.[81] Duffy died in 1871 and although his sons and daughters continued in the business and the printing arm remained strong, the loss of the vigour of its founder told in its declining publishing output. The holdings of the National Library of Ireland include 94 Duffy titles issued in the 1840s, 87 issued in the 1850s, 89 issued

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[77] Farmar, 209.

[78] Information from Benson, II, 467. There is some disagreement as to whether Duffy was born in Cavan or Monaghan. Benson records the marriage of his parents at Kingscourt, Co. Cavan. Rolf Loeber and Magda Stouthammer-Loeber suggest Monaghan in 'James Duffy and Catholic Nationalism', Chapter 9 in *OHIB IV*, 115-128, 115. Other information from C. J. Woods entry on James Duffy in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Irish Biography,* electronic version. http://dib.cambridge.org.elib.tcd.ie/jamesduffy (accessed 9 September 2014).

[79] Ibid, *DIB* and Benson, 467.

[80] The American James Grant noted in 1845 that Duffy had already sold 360,000 copies of the book, and was going to press with a new edition of 30,000. James Grant, *Impressions of Ireland and the Irish* (London: Cunningham, 1845), 153-4, quoted in Loeber and Stouthammer-Loeber, ibid, 117.

[81] Information from the holdings of the National Library of Ireland using a key word search on James Duffy in the category of Publisher.

in the 1860s but only 45 in the 1870s in the decade after his death.[82] The NLI holdings are of more substantive literary works and do not include the full range of the firm's educational and ephemeral publishing output, but the consequences of Duffy's death are clear. The NLI holdings of Duffy titles fall to 34 books in the 1880s, and halve again to 17 in the 1890s. However, like other Irish publishers, as we shall see, the firm appears to have been energised by the Literary Revival in the first decade of the twentieth century, and NLI holdings rise to 49, before falling again to only 18 titles between 1910-22.

Few Irish publishing houses in the nineteenth century had a significant literary output. Table 1 below lists the biggest of the firms that published literature, all based in Dublin, in the years covered by this thesis, and the first decade of the Irish Free State.[83]

Table 1: Titles in NLI collection published by selected Irish publishers 1880-1932

	1880-9	**1890-9**	**1900-9**	**1910-22**	**1923-32**
James Duffy	34	17	49	18	15
M. H. Gill	189	114	253	200	108
Alex. Thom	67	75	93	50	61
Hodges Figgis	249	102	148	185	52
Sealy, Bryers & Walker	57	86	181	52	5
Browne & Nolan	54	77	139	110	173
Eason	4	24	16	23	30
Maunsel/ Maunsel & Roberts	-	-	54	123	19
Talbot Press	-	-	-	246	229

Key: Publishers organised according to date of establishment. Sealy, Bryers & Walker's first publication was 1882. Maunsel & Roberts ceased trading in 1926. The numbers of books are of books held in the NLI collection, not the numbers definitively printed by each publisher, but they provide an indication of output individually and comparatively.

[82] The NLI holdings of any particular publisher cannot be taken as reflecting the full output of any publisher. However, patterns of publishing output can be discerned from a search of holdings for a particular publisher in a particular year or over a period of time.

[83] The Belfast book trade is omitted from this account in favour of a comparison between Dublin and London as both cities were the capitals and main centres of publishing in Ireland and Britain respectively.

The publishing output of Thom's and Hodges Figgis was mainly academic, official, legal, and religious, and Browne and Nolan was principally a schools' educational publisher. M. H. Gill & Son also had a significant output of non-trade books, but they published some poetry and books of Irish interest especially after the Literary Revival became established. The firm had begun as McGlashan and Gill in 1856 when Michael Henry Gill (1794-1879), the printer to the University of Dublin, bought out James McGlashan's bookselling and publishing firm, operating from 50 Upper Sackville (later O'Connell) Street.[84] Under Gill's management, the Dublin University Press published the academic texts commissioned by the Fellows of Trinity College. He was also printer to the Royal Irish Academy publishing, among other work, treatises on physics, mathematics and astronomy by Sir William Rowan Hamilton (1805-65). From 1856 Gill established his own imprint of mainly educational and religious texts, and it is notable that as the Duffy output declined in the 1870s, that of M. H. Gill nearly doubled from the previous decade. After 1876 the firm became M. H. Gill & Son when Gill's son Henry Joseph Gill (1836-1903) entered the business. The younger Gill had been educated at the leading Irish Catholic School, Clongowes Wood, and the output of the firm became markedly more Catholic and nationalist after his arrival.[85]

Sealy, Bryers & Walker: Dublin Publishers

It was a feature of the Dublin book trade that, as with other businesses, there was a sectarian divide between Catholic and Protestant firms. While James Duffy and M. H. Gill were the most successful Catholic publishers catering for the majority Catholic population nationally, the Protestant firm of Sealy, Bryers & Walker had a respectable publishing output in the years between its establishment in 1882 and 1922. The holdings of the National Library of Ireland include 384 titles by the firm of which 49 titles were published in the 1880s, 79 in the 1890s, 211 in the 1900s, declining to 45 between 1910 and 1922 during which time, as we shall see,

[84] Vincent Kinane and Michael Gill, 'McGlashan and Gill', Patricia J. Anderson and Simon Rose (eds.), *Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume 106: British Literary Publishing Houses 1820-1880* (Detroit, Gale Research Inc., 1991), 203-205, 203. (*DLB 106*). Gill senior had begun his career in 1813 as an apprentice to the firm of Graisberry and Campbell, the printers to the University of Dublin between 1807 and 1842. Gill purchased a half-share in the business from Ruth Graisberry in 1827, paying her £219 in respect of the firm's printing equipment and £138 for his share of the value of the stock. Ten years later he bought Graisberry out in full, paying her £362 in respect of equipment, and agreeing a further goodwill payment of £100 per annum, although Graisberry's name continued to appear as printer to the University until her death in 1842, after which Gill was appointed to the position which he held until 1874. Ibid.

[85] Kinane and Gill, *DLB 106*, 204-5.

they faced competition from new literary publishers in Dublin.[86] Sealy, Bryers & Walker have been largely overlooked in recent scholarship on the book trade in late nineteenth-century Ireland and the Irish publishing of the Literary Revival, in large part due to scant available information. This section on the firm's output in the late 1880s and 1890s establishes that the firm was an important participant in an early Dublin-based literary revivalist initiative, which included the Irish language.[87] This reappraisal of their role provides evidence of a stronger than appreciated Dublin Revival cradle, and disrupts the narrative that Maunsel & Company, founded in 1905, was established intentionally to publish for the Revival in Dublin in the absence of any previous native interest.

Sealy, Bryers & Walker emerged in 1882 as a publishing imprint attached to the Dublin Steam Printing Company, which the three partners, John Sealy, George Bryers and James Walker owned. The printing company was substantial, employing around 200 workers.[88] Walker, who had moved from Edinburgh to Wexford as a young man to work in the family grocery shop, and Sealy went into business together when they purchased a large parcel of land at Jones's Road in Drumcondra in Dublin to establish a paper mill. The venture failed 'as paper manufacturing could not be made to pay in Dublin', but Sealy and Walker sold the land very profitably to a consortium of seven businessmen who established the Dublin Whiskey Distillery Company (DWD) on the site in 1873.[89] Sealy and Walker then set up a smaller mill

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[86] Information from a corrected key word search 'Sealy, Bryers and Walker' and 'publisher' in the National Library of Ireland online catalogue. This total includes periodicals. The records of the *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue, 1801-1919 (NSTC)* which records 178 titles, are evidently incomplete. It is unlikely to be a complete count of titles published, but does provide a comparison with the output for other Irish publishers in the period, e.g. James Duffy: 165 titles in NLI catalogue / 59 in NSTC; Gill: 703 in NLI catalogue (including school books) / 292 NSTC; Maunsel 433 NLI catalogue / 160 NSTC.

[87] Sources include obituaries of George Bryers and James Walker in the *Irish Times*; National Library of Ireland online catalogue; Alexander Thom & Co. catalogues; Sealy, Bryers and Walker catalogues and paratextual material in their publications.

[88] There is account of the firm's annual outing to the Powerscourt Waterfall which records a workforce of some 200. 'Irish News' in *Weekly Irish Times*, 1 September 1883, 2.

[89] Obituary: Mr James Walker, *Irish Times,* 25 September 2015, 6. The first paper-making company in Ireland was set up under warrant by the Huguenot Nicholas Dupin in 1690. Dupin brought in skilled paper makers from Holland and his wood came from Wicklow. For most of the eighteenth century Irish paper was coarse and inferior to the white paper imported from Holland, France and England. Most paper mills were in or near Dublin, though there were a handful of mills in Limerick, Ballymena, Cork, and later Galway. Paper mill owners frequently petitioned the government for financial support in the eighteenth century and complained about foreign competition. The imposition of penal excise duties after 1798, however, forced two thirds of mills out of business within just two years. Of the 36 paper mills operating in Ireland at the start of the nineteenth century, only six were still working in 1911. Fifteen closed in 1861 alone. H. Ewen, 'Paper Making in Ireland', 51-64, in Higgins, ibid. Also web source: http://www.irelandwhiskeytrail.com/ (accessed 1 February 2016). Irish pot still whiskey dominated world markets at the time. John Sproule noted in his catalogue of the Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853 the limited variety of papers made in Ireland with the consequence that the printing trade relied heavily on papers imported from England and Scotland in the mid-nineteenth century. Most writing paper and legal foolscap for example was imported. Sproule, 315.

producing 'grocery papers' at Clonliffe Road which operated until 1893.[90] James Walker also established the first colour-printing firm in Ireland, printing for the first time in Dublin high-quality illustrated almanacs, and was awarded a Royal Warrant.[91] The firm acquired George Bryers' Dublin Steam Printing Company and in 1882, Walker and Bryers amalgamated with the firm of Alexander Thom, establishing a printing, publishing and stationery firm, Sealy, Bryers and Walker at 94, 95 and 96 Middle Abbey Street, close to Thom's offices at Number 86, in the heart of the Dublin printing and publishing trade.[92] Thom's had been established by the Scottish publisher Alexander Thom (1801-1879) who came to Ireland in 1821 to work with his father on the government paper, the *Dublin Journal.* In 1825 he set up his own printing and publishing firm and in 1833, with the assistance of Sir Robert Peel, he was awarded the contract for all post printing in Ireland. In 1838 his business expanded further after he won the printing contract for the railway commission and all future royal commissions in Ireland. In 1844 he started his celebrated Thom's *Irish Almanac and Official Directory.* He was appointed the Queen's Printer in 1876.[93] Sealy, Bryers & Walker's and Alexander Thom's previous strengths in almanac publishing are evident in its first titles, *Ellis's Irish Education Directory and Scholastic Guide* (1882) and George Henry Bassett's county guide to most of the country's thirty-two counties, which was subtitled 'A manual and directory for manufacturers, merchants, traders, professional men, land-owners, farmers, tourists, anglers and sportsmen generally.' Their high production values were evident in the lavishly illustrated (some in colour) *Ireland Illustrated: An Irish Pictorial* which they advertised as 'the best illustrated paper in the Empire.'[94]

The firm's interest in the Land Question and Home Rule is evident in publications such as *Irish Landlordism* by C. Raleigh Chichester (1887), a pamphlet entitled *The Best Solution of the Land Problem* (1887), and Robert Matteson Johnson's *Parnell and the Parnells* (1888). They issued several volumes of John Redmond's speeches and the proceedings of the Protestant

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[90] Ewen, in Higgins, 64.
[91] Obituary: Mr James Walker, *Irish Times,* 25 September 2015, 6. The obituary notes that Walker's firm paid 'sums in some cases running into three figures for the rights of reproducing copies of celebrated pictures.' *Thom's Directory* of 1882 shows Walker in business as James Walker & Co. printers, lithographers and paper merchants at 15 Crow Street off Dame Street. *Thoms*, Vol. 2, 1767.
[92] Alexander Thom & Co. acquired Sealy, Bryers and Walker fully in July 1890. *Irish Times,* 'Money & Commerce', 9 July 1908, 7. The Sealy name seems to have been retained as a tribute to Walker's original partner, on whose death Walker noted that 'their business relationship had lasted over fifty years, and during all that time there had never been the smallest misunderstanding between them. *Irish Times,* Ibid.
[93] See Georgina Clinton and Sinéad Sturgeon, *Cambridge Dictionary of Irish Biography,* http://dib.cambridge.org.elib.tcd.ie/quicksearch.do, (accessed 15 February 2016).
[94] 'Publications', *Irish Times,* 15 June 1903, 12.

Home Rule Association. From 1885 the firm published the *Dublin University Review,* founded by Walker's friend Charles Hubert Oldham with T. W. Rolleston in February 1885 'in deliberate emulation of Isaac Butt's *Dublin University Magazine* of the 1830s.'[95] Bryers, Walker, Rolleston and Oldham were closely connected to each other and early Dublin Revivalists socially, as well as in their publishing endeavours.[96] In 1885 Oldham established the Contemporary Club with Douglas Hyde and others. The club first met on 21 November 1885 above Ponsonby's Bookshop at 116 Grafton Street, and continued for about thirty years. Its members were both Catholic and Protestant who met to debate 'the social, political and literary questions of the day.'[97] George Bryers and Oldham established the Saturday Club the following year (which subsequently became the Protestant Home Rule Association), of which Walker, a close friend of Parnell, was a member.[98] In the summer of 1885, Oldham introduced Katharine Tynan to W. B. Yeats.[99] A year later in June 1886, Yeats's *Mosada* was published in the *Dublin University Review,* and John Butler Yeats had 100 copies reprinted as a twelve-

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[95] The *Dublin University Magazine* was established by Butt, Samuel Ferguson and other 'Tory nationalists' in the 1830s. It published until 1877. See Wayne K. Hall, *Dialogues in the Margin: A Study of the Dublin University Magazine* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2000), *ix.*

[96] T. W. Rolleston (1857-1920) is a recurring figure throughout this thesis. Like Edmund Downey, who I will examine in Chapter Three, he was a central figure of the Irish Literary Revival (in particular the wider commercial Revival initiative) whose role and importance has not yet been fully accounted. He was a co-founder with Douglas Hyde and Eleanor Hull of the Gaelic League in 1893; a co-founder the same year with Lady Aberdeen and first managing director of the Irish Industries Association; co-founder with Horace Plunkett of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society in 1894; active in the Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society; and instrumental in the establishment in 1899 of the Department of Agricultural and Technical Instruction. In London he was the first Hon. Sec. of the Irish Literary Society; a co-founder of the Rhymers' Club, principal founder of the India Society of London and Hon. Sec. and treasurer of the first executive council. (The India Society was notable for promoting the works of Rabindrath Tagore, an enterprise in which, as we shall see in Chapter Two, Yeats was closely involved). Rolleston organised the Irish Historic Loan Collection to the St. Louis Exhibition of 1904-6. He was Editor of the German section of the *Times Literary Supplement* from 1909. During the First World War, he was a censor in the War Office in the Obscure Languages Department. He was later involved with John Buchan in the formation of the Department of Information where he was librarian. He was a leader writer for the Dublin *Daily Express* and Irish correspondent of the London *Daily Chronicle.* He was a regular contributor to *Nineteenth Century, The Times, Westminster Gazette, Daily Telegraph* and the *Observer.* Information from a biography by his son, C. H. Rolleston, *Portrait of an Irishman: A Biographical Sketch of T. W. Rolleston* (London: Methuen, 1939); *DNB; DIB;* Boylan (ed.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography,* ibid, 312-13; *Irish Times,* Edmund Downey Papers, NLI MS 10,008 and 10,009.

[97] R. F. Foster, *W. B. Yeats: A Life Vol. 1 The Apprentice Mage, 1865-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 39, 41.

[98] 'Obituary of James Walker', *Irish Times,* ibid. Bryers disliked the Association's name believing in 'keeping both business and politics separate from religion… [H]e constantly preached Edmund Burke's celebrated dictum that to destroy the pernicious effects of religious intolerance, every Protestant should establish a Catholic friendship and every Catholic should return the favour.' *Irish Times,* 'The Late Mr George Bryers', 12 December 1908, 1. Bryers subsequently established the Century Club, 'a delightful social institution, where men of conflicting views [met] in the closest harmony.' He also established the Companions of St Patrick 'a movement to facilitate the promotion of social intercourse and benevolence between Irishmen of all classes and creeds at home and abroad.' 'Companions of St Patrick: New Irish Society', *Irish Times*, 20 December 1906, 9. At the times of Bryers' death in December 1908 it had 1600 members.

[99] Foster, *Apprentice Mage*, 53. Katharine Tynan, *Memories* (London: Eveleigh Nash & Grayson Ltd, 1924), 276.

page pamphlet by Sealy, Bryers and Walker and issued as a subscription. As A. Norman Jeffares observes '[t]his was Willie's first book, and his father drew a portrait of him for the frontispiece. He was very proud of the work of his son...'[100] The firm issued a posthumous edition of the Fenian poet Ellen O'Leary's *Lays of Country, Home and Verse,* a year after her death in 1890. C. H. Oldham and Maud Gonne worked on the selection, and Yeats had a role in editing the poems.[101] The volume was dedicated to Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, and T. W. Rolleston wrote the introduction. We can see in action, therefore, a circle of early Revivalists in Dublin: Yeats, Tynan, Hyde, Rolleston, O'Leary and Gavan Duffy linked with Oldham to Sealy, Bryers and Walker in the year or two that Yeats was still living in Dublin before the family's relocation to London in the winter of 1886 and early months of 1887.

A further Revivalist impulse is seen in the publication from 1887 of cheap editions of Sir Samuel Ferguson's *Hibernian Nights' Entertainment*, in response to the poet's death in August 1886, a project, as Eve Patten suggests, 'co-opted to the cultural machinery which laid the groundwork for Yeats and the Irish Literary Revival.'[102] Yeats responded to Ferguson's death with an essay in *Irish Fireside*, and a longer version in the *Dublin University Review* in October and November entitled 'The Poetry of Samuel Ferguson', which Roy Foster observes charted his 'awakening interest in Irish legend cycles (which Ferguson plumbed for inspiration and made accessible) as repositories of national tradition and spiritual truth.' This early Yeats's essay in which he 'called for a distinctively Irish passion and imagination against the imposition of bloodless (and self-interested) English rationalism' is an indicator of the direction in which the poet was travelling.[103] With a similar impulse, Sealy, Bryers followed Ferguson's works with the republishing of traditional poetry, songs and ballads, often in simultaneous translations. Interest in the nascent Revival is also evident in publications that looked back to the days before conquest in such titles as Lady (Mary Catherine Guinness) Ferguson's *The*

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[100] A. Norman Jeffares, *W. B. Yeats: Man and Poet* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995), 25.

[101] 'If you brought the poems with you tomorrow or sent them I could correct and return them at once.' WBY to John O'Leary, ?19 October 1889, *CL Yeats*, Vol. 1, 192. '[John O'Leary] gave me Miss O'Leary's proof sheets saying that she had wished me to correct them.' WBY to Katharine Tynan, 23 October 1889, ibid. Ellen O'Leary had died on 15 October in Cork.

[102] 'The Death of the Children of Usnach' and 'Lays of the Western Gael' appeared first in 1888. See Eve Patten, 'Samuel Ferguson's *Hibernian Nights' Entertainments'*, in *OHIB IV*, 442-447, 442. Sealy, Bryers & Walker inserted a notice in the front material of the Ferguson reprints: 'The publishers of this cheap edition of Sir Samuel Ferguson's works beg to announce that they have take steps to ensure the copyright in America and elsewhere, and that any infringement will be punishable by law.' This was a hollow threat as there was no copyright protection for non-American authors in 1887. The Chace Act of 1891 four years later would extend limited protection if the books were 'manufactured' in America.

[103] Foster, *Apprentice Mage,* 53.

Story of Ireland before the Conquest: From the Mythical Period to the Invasion under Strongbow (1890) and Douglas Hyde's *The Story of Early Gaelic Literature* (1895). They published in Irish-English texts an annotated edition of O'Clery's 1609 *Beatha Aodh Ruaidh Ui Dhomhnall / The Life of Hugh Roe O'Neill* for the Royal Irish Academy (1893), the poems of Donnchadh Ruadh MacConmara (1897), and a series of reprints of *Clann Lir, Clann Toireann* and *Clann Uisnig* (1901-2), modern retellings of the legends of the Children of Lir, Toireann and Uisnig.

Significantly, they were the Irish co-publishers of the Irish Literary Society's New Irish Library with Fisher Unwin between 1893 and 1897. In the summer of 1892 when Sir Charles Gavan Duffy and T. W. Rolleston came to Dublin and were embroiled in the controversy surrounding the plans for the Irish Literary Society's intended series, George Bryers met them to state explicitly his desire 'to prove his interest in the experiment of reviving Irish literature by publishing at once at his own cost any of the books of the proposed series.'[104] As we shall see in detail in Chapter Three, while Gavan Duffy wanted to accept Bryer's offer, Rolleston was opposed to it, having previously agreed with the London-based Irish publisher Edmund Downey, who was advising Gavan Duffy and Rolleston on the project, that a London publisher was needed if the series was to have a wide circulation and succeed. At the end of a heated dispute between Revivalists in London and Dublin, a much altered series of twelve volumes was issued, co-published by Fisher Unwin in London and Sealy, Bryers & Walker in Dublin.[105] Further evidence of the firm's interest in seminal Revival work is seen in their publication of not only Standish O'Grady's *The Bog of Stars* in the New Irish Library, but also his *The Flight of the Eagle* (1897, and subsequent editions), *All Ireland* (1898), the play *The Masque of Finn* (1907). In 1908 they published *Ulick the Ready, In the Gates of the North* and *The Flight of the Eagle* in their Sixpenny Irish Library. Some fifty years after the height of the Revival,

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[104] Letter from T. W. Rolleston to Edmund Downey, undated but from context early August 1892. NLI MS 10,008. The events of the summer of 1892 are detailed in Chapter 3, 'Edmund Downey: An Irish Publisher in London.'

[105] P. J. Kennedy of New York published the first six volumes. The twelve titles in the New Irish Library were (in order of publication): Thomas Davis, *The Patriot Parliament of 1689*, edited and with an introduction by Charles Gavan Duffy (1893); Standish James O'Grady, *The Bog of Stars and Other Stories and Sketches of Elizabethan Ireland* (1893); Martin MacDermott (ed.), *The New Spirit of the Nation* (1894); E. M. Lynch, *A Parish Providence: A Country Tale*, with an introduction by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy (1894); Alfred Perceval Graves (ed.), *The Irish Song Book* (1894); Douglas Hyde, *The Story of Early Gaelic Literature* (1895); John Todhunter, *Life of Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan* (1895); J. F. Taylor, *Owen Roe O'Neill* (1896); R. A. King, *Swift in Ireland* (1895); Charles Gavan Duffy, *A Short Life of Thomas Davis* (1896); Michael MacDonagh, *Bishop Doyle: A Biographical and Historical Study* (1896); Sir Samuel Ferguson, *Lays of the Red Branch*, with an introduction by Lady (Mary Catherine Guinness) Ferguson (1897). Each book was published in either cloth or paper or cloth covers, priced 2s and 1s respectively.

George Sampson posited that '[t]he awakening of Ireland to a creative sense of its epic past came from Standish [James] O'Grady, the Herodotus and prose Homer of his country', suggesting that before O'Grady wrote his *History of Ireland: the Heroic Period* in 1878 and the *History of Ireland: Cuculain and his Contemporaries* in 1880, Ireland's contribution to world literature had been inaccessible. For Sampson, O'Grady's later novels and short stories ensured that he was 'the inspirer of a literary revival and a generous friend to all who shared in it...'[106] Similarly, Lucia Pereira suggests that:

> Samuel Ferguson and Standish James O'Grady could be seen as the Fathers of the Irish Literary Revival, as they brought back ancient Gaelic mythology to a generation of young writers, including Yeats, Lady Gregory, AE (George Russell), Synge and James Stephens. They were not the first translators or adapters of the Deirdre legend, but they distinguished themselves from their predecessors in that they first strove to define cultural nationalism as not being intrinsically linked to nationalist and Catholic convictions. They explored new aesthetic forms of transmission of the myth, thus marking the 'dawn' of the Irish Literary Revival.[107]

Seen in this context, Sealy, Bryers & Walker certainly published some of the formative early texts of the Literary Revival, and George Bryers and his company were clearly interested in the movement. The firm's Sixpenny Library also included works by John Denvir, Katharine Tynan, Henry Hinkson and Clara Mulholland. The *Irish Times* thought the series a 'praiseworthy attempt to bring interesting and well-written novels with a public appeal within reach of the Irish people' and commented that Sealy, Bryers & Walker were 'the only firm in Ireland competing with the foreign publisher in this particular department of literature.'[108] Bryers appears to have been the partner in the firm with the greatest literary interest, and in April 1897 this was recognised with his election to membership of the Royal Irish Academy – on the grounds that he was '[c]onversant with Polite Literature. Actively interested in the works of Irish archaeologists and historians.'[109] Perhaps if Yeats had stayed in Dublin after April 1887 his relations with the firm might have prospered further. However, after the centre of gravity

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[106] George Sampson, *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 894-5.

[107] Lucie Pereira, 'The Victorian Fathers of the Irish Literary Revival: The Treatment of the Deirdre Myth by Samuel Ferguson and Standish James O'Grady' in *Irish Studies Review,* Vol. 14, No. 1 (February 2006), 69-89, 84.

[108] 'Literary Notes', *Weekly Irish Times*, 6 June 1908, 14.

[109] Bryer's application form was completed on 27 January 1897, read to the Academy on 8 February and he was elected on 12 April. His – notably ecumenical – proposers were led by SBW authors and contributors, Edwin Hamilton, Canon John O'Hanlon and John Healy, the Catholic Bishop of Clonfert (later Tuam), and also numbered P. W. Joyce, Charles R. Browne, George Dames Burtchaell, W. J. Doherty and John Freeman Knott. RIA Certificate of Membership MRIAC/944.

of the Literary Revival shifted to London, Sealy, Bryers & Walker's role became that of the Dublin co-publisher of selected Revivalist texts, in particular many of those that were issued by Thomas Fisher Unwin, the principal publisher of Yeats and the Revival in London in the 1890s.

In 1894 Yeats tried unsuccessfully to persuade Edmund Downey in London to collaborate with George Bryers to issue an 'Irish magazine which is intended to be the organ of our literary movement', hoping to persuade Downey that 'now was the fit moment if he wished to do anything for Irish publishing.'[110] Downey, however, although as we shall see an ardent advocate of Irish publishing, was not interested in a speculative magazine venture. Sealy, Bryers & Walker did, however, work with Thomas Fisher Unwin as the Dublin publishers of the occasional magazine of the Irish Theatre movement, *Bealtaine,* later *Samhain.* This was edited by Yeats, between 1901 and 1905, after which Maunsel took over as publishers.[111] Their magazine, *The Celt: A magazine devoted to Irish Interests* carried several articles in Irish and was perhaps more avant-garde than it might first appear. The first volume of the magazine in November 1903 was thought by the *Irish Times* to appeal to 'the cultured side of the Gaelic movement, not merely as regards the language side in particular, but all that is Gaelic or Celtic… It also contains some good poetry, some of which, according to the fashion of the day, is too transcendental for human understanding.'[112] They published the four volumes of *An Macaomh (The Youth)* during 1909-1913, an Irish-language magazine miscellany edited by Padraic Pearse with contributions by the masters and pupils of his school, St Enda's. They were Thomas MacDonagh's first publishers, issuing his first volume of poetry, *Through the Ivory Gate* in 1902 and *April and May* in 1903 which the *Irish Times* praised as a credit to the firm 'for its most exquisite printing.'[113]

After George Moore's return to Dublin in 1901, Sealy, Bryers and Walker brought out an Irish translation of his *The Untilled Field* in 1903 under the title *An T-ur-Gort Sgéalta* (to his pleasure Moore's name appeared on the title page as Seorsa O'Mordha). Moore asked T. W.

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[110] WBY to Frederick Langbridge, 21 January 1894, *CL Yeats I,* 375, quoted in Hutton, 'Publishing the Irish Cultural Revival, 1891-1922, 39.
[111] Jeffares, 118.
[112] *Irish Times,* 'The Celt', 21 November 1893, 23
[113] 'Literature' in *Weekly Irish Times,* 7 February 1903, 14. I am using the spelling 'Padraic' for Pearse's first name as that was the name used on his publications with Maunsel & Co., as we shall see below. There are differing opinions as to whether it is correct to use an Irish first name with an English second name. He himself used P. H. Pearse in English and Padraic MacPiarais in Irish.

Rolleston to translate 'The Wedding Gown' and a couple of other stories back into English and found them 'much improved by their bath in Irish.'[114] The English edition was published by Fisher Unwin, but was printed in Dublin by Sealy, Bryers & Walker. Moore wrote soon after to the *Irish Times* that it had occurred to him that while his books had been printed in London, Newcastle and Edinburgh, none had previously been printed in Ireland. His publishers, he said, had ascertained that Dublin prices were no higher than those in Britain, and in Moore's opinion while he had 'no knowledge of Messrs. Gill nor of Messrs. Brown and Nolan, Sealy, Bryers printing... is as good as any that has been done for me in London and Edinburgh.' He called for Irish authors to demonstrate their cultural commitment to Ireland by insisting to their British publishers that their books be printed in Ireland.[115] In 1854, as we saw in Chapter 1, John Sproule in his comprehensive catalogue of the Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853 had commented that in Edinburgh and Dublin 'new works are produced not in any way inferior to those got out in the metropolis.' Indeed he had suggested that the catalogue itself was a tribute to the book-making skills of the Dublin trade, and praised the 'high character of the work executed by Mr Gill at the university press.'[116] Yeats's famous characterisation of the defects of Irish books whose bindings had been fastened together by 'rotten glue' is not borne out by the evidence of much of the output of Dublin publishers, especially in the years of greater prosperity after 1860.[117]

Sealy, Bryers & Walker's interest in the Irish language revival is also seen in their publication of Irish-English dictionaries and phrase books by Peter O'Leary, Edmund Ignatius Hogan and Rev. Eugene O'Growney, in particular several volumes of the latter's phenomenally successful *Simple Lessons in Irish,* which the firm published in collaboration with the Gaelic League, M. H. Gill & Son and Browne & Nolan. The first volume of O'Growney's five volume series sold 433,000 copies by 1912. Sales of the other volumes while not so extensive – volume 2 sold 175,000 by the same date and volume 4, 391,000 – were very substantial. The interest in learning Irish was nationwide, and it became fashionable in literary and artistic circles in Dublin as the Revival grew in popularity and after the founding of the Gaelic League in 1893, for Protestant non-Irish speakers to learn the language. In 1901 the author Jane Barlow and the

[114] According to Hone, Moore had Rolleston's translation by him as he prepared the English text for publication with Thomas Fisher Unwin in 1903. Joseph Maunsell Hone, *Life of George Moore* (London: Gollancz, 1936), 243-4.
[115] George Moore, 'An Irish Industry', *Irish Times* 4 October 1902, 6.
[116] Sproule, 326, *viii.*
[117] W. B. Yeats, 'Ireland After Parnell' in *Autobiographies* (London: Macmillan, 1955), 200.

artist Sarah Purser had a friendly competition on the progress of their Irish lessons using O'Growney's books.[118] The firm had a reputation for excellence in their book production. The *Irish Times* commented in 1904 that their speciality was 'fine book work and in this department they are probably unexcelled.'[119] When they established a printing branch in Maynooth in 1905, the *Irish Times* noted that 'the prosperity of this firm, employing so many Irish hands is a matter of great interest for the city and country, when we consider the sum distributed annually in wages, enabling many of the industrious to live at home, and helping to add to the general welfare of Ireland.'[120] In 1911 the paper commented that '[d]uring the past 25 years they have put on the market many important works bearing on Ireland's story. Their publications range in price from two pence to two guineas and embrace all classes of literature.'[121] George Bryers died in 1908, and the firm's publishing output declined over the next few years, especially after 1912, which may have provided some impetus for The Educational Company to set up the Talbot Press in 1913. Its premises were destroyed in the Easter Rising and although the printing continued, there was virtually no more original publishing. Sealy, Bryers & Walker made a significant contribution to publishing and printing in Ireland between 1882 and 1912 and their commendable literary titles in those years were most likely encouraged by George Bryers whose own role, as well as that of his company, has hitherto been overlooked in both accounts of Irish publishing history and the Literary Revival.

The Impact of the Literary Revival on the Dublin Book Trade, 1892-1922

Sealy, Bryers & Walker's output in the 1890s and 1900s is indicative of the measurable effect the Literary Revival, population growth and increased literacy, and the availability of cheaper books were having on Irish readership in the first years of the twentieth century, as book sales, and especially newspapers and magazine sales, increased. Railway bookstalls had a period of sustained growth in the six or so years after 1899, during which Easons recorded an increase in cash receipts for the entire system from £31,287 in 1899 to £50,460 in 1905, with more modest growth in the following years before wholesaling to independent newsagents across the country became the principle method of distribution. The bookstall network grew to ninety-

[118] Jane Barlow to Sarah Purser, 3 August 1901, NLI MS 8187 (5).
[119] The *Irish Times,* 13 May, 1904, 9.
[120] The *Irish Times,* 22 December 1905, 7.
[121] The *Irish Times,* 11 December 1911, 5.

five across the country, with fifty-nine under the management of the Dublin office and thirty-six under the Belfast office.[122] As Table 1 shows, the output of all the major Irish publishing houses expanded in the 1900s, underpinned by growing interest in Irish material. Ben Levitas notes that '[b]y November 1893 the *Bookman's* list of best-selling titles in Dublin, was for the first time, comprehensively of Irish interest', and the six top titles in that month were Douglas Hyde's *Love Songs of Connacht,* Frank Mathews' *At the Rising of the Moon;* WBY's edition of *Irish Fairy and Folk Tales;* Cardinal Newman's *Meditations;* and P. W. Joyce's *Short History of Ireland* and *Concise History of Ireland.*[123] Levitas suggests that '[t]he list is instructive, since it represents different facets of Irish book buying during the 1890s. If Hyde and Yeats stand for the language and literary revivals and Frank Mathew for established nationalist narrative, P. W. Joyce's two works represent non-fictional interest in national formation... while Newman – an honorary inclusion – accounts for a homiletic literature popular with Catholic readers.'[124] From the point of view of Irish publishing, it is also instructive that only one of the titles, Joyce's *Concise History of Ireland* was available from an Irish publishing house, M. H. Gill & Son, and even that had previously been published by Longmans. All the other titles were issued by London publishing houses.

After a decade of Revival activity in Dublin, the opening in August 1900 of the twin institutions of the National Library of Ireland and the National Museum on Kildare Street further encouraged the ambition of Dublin to be the Irish cultural epicentre, and added momentum to the impetus to establish a new publishing company to provide Irish writers with an opportunity to publish in Dublin. In 1892 just before the founding of National Literary Society, Jane Barlow had wondered in her characteristically elliptical fashion if there was any prospect for Dublin to be the centre of Revivalist activity:

> The bird's eye view has revealed no brilliant prospect, and it is difficult, the causes of its dimness considered, to point out any quarter of the horizon as a probable source of rising light. Some sanguine spirits, it is true, do confidently aver that when the Irish parliament sits – but... we hasten to conclude with the uncontentious remark that should a literary revival ever take place in Dublin, no mechanical deficiencies will be found to impede its progress. Dublin printers and bookbinders can turn out work, which from a technical point of view leaves nothing to be desired. But what boots it if the name of a Dublin publisher upon a title page is a consignment to the Laureate's trunks and curl-

[122] Cullen, *Eason & Son,* 186-7.
[123] *The Bookman* 27, 5 Dec 1893, 101. Levitas 'Reading and the Irish Revival, 1893-1922', *OHIB V,* 47-8.
[124] Levitas, 48.

> papers, if not to Herrick's pastry and mackerel, or Martial's tunny-fry and cock-roaches?[125]

In other words, Barlow, citing contemporary comestibles, was calling for fresher and more local produce to feed a native Irish publishing industry.

Yeats also had an eye to the possibility of the development of literary publishing in Dublin, writing, as noted in the Introduction, to Thomas Fisher Unwin in 1894 that he wanted to limit his contract to five years so that he could keep open the option of publishing in Dublin.[126] Lily and Lolly Yeats's specialist Dun Emer (later Cuala) Press, established in 1902, was born from that desire for a native book trade to underpin the Revival and signal cultural commitment to Ireland.[127] Another initiative came the same year from the London-based Waterford publisher Edmund Downey, who was contemplating a move back to Ireland after nearly twenty-five years in London. One of his sons was working for the firm of James Duffy in Dublin, and his mentor, the Duffy director T. D. O'Carroll, shared Downey's interest in setting up a literary publishing house in Dublin. O'Carroll had sympathised with Downey when the latter's publishing firm had problems in 1902: trade in Dublin was experiencing problems too in the early years of the twentieth century, and O'Carroll complained to Downey that his 'brother Directors [are] no more fit to run a publishing house than run the British Empire. I often think there is no good in publishing at best, but when you are hampered by shortages of capital and quixotic assistants it is awful.'[128] As we shall see in detail in Chapter 3, Downey and O'Carroll saw an opportunity for establishing in Dublin a Catholic and nationalist publishing firm that would be able to undertake literary projects, and they proposed to buy out the Duffy family interest in the publishing side of the business to form the nucleus of a new company. 'The thing we want is money,' wrote O'Carroll to Downey, 'money to buy out the present company, and then the money to float a new one… I am determined that any change made will secure one thing – a company that will be worthy of the title Catholic publisher. There is room for such in Dublin, and I am prepared to invest £1,000 in such an enterprise.'[129]

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[125] Jane Barlow, 'Literary Dublin' in *The Bookman,* Vol. 9, No. 2, June 1892, 80-1.
[126] Letter to T. Fisher Unwin, 19 October 1894. As we saw in the Introduction, Yeats qualified his desire to publish in Dublin, carefully saying that it would be 'in part.' *CL Yeats I,* 403.
[127] It should be noted that the Cuala Press was a private press, The NLI catalogue shows that it had a very limited output, averaging only 1 or 2 titles each year.
[128] T. D. O'Carroll to Edmund Downey, 22 December 1902. NLI MS 10,060 (5).
[129] T. D. O'Carroll to Edmund Downey, 2 May 1904. NLI MS 10,060 (5).

The Irish author Mrs Cashel Hoey, a close friend of Downey's, was appealed to for advice and wondered if Downey knew 'anything about the Gills's business? I used to know him and his wife was very fond of me in the old times. Would an amalgamation of the two Catholic businesses be feasible?' She thought there was room for a new Catholic firm, acknowledging, however, that it would need to be underpinned by the staple of the Irish publishing trade, suggesting that 'if an Octopus publishing house, with the prayer book for its heart, or let us say its centre, and general literature, with the Gaels for its feelers, could be set up in Dublin, it would be grand.'[130] Although Downey found an investor, the deal was ultimately not acceptable to O'Carroll and their plan, as we shall see in detail in Chapter 3, foundered in the summer of 1904.[131]

Maunsel & Company Publishers

Downey and O'Carroll were not alone in aspiring to establish a new publishing company in Dublin in the early 1900s. At precisely the same time, a new publishing company emerged which managed to negotiate a non-sectarian path in the segregated Dublin book trade, and secure much acclaim as the most important Irish publisher of the Literary Revival. Maunsel & Company has attracted increased academic interest especially in the past decade, as the firm's role in publishing key Revivalist and nationalist texts has been recognised. Clare Hutton has constructed a detailed narrative history of the firm, which locates it in the context of the Revival and the post-1916 upheaval, and has also compiled a comprehensive checklist of its publications.[132] This section aims to situate Maunsel more widely in the contemporary book trade and to identify its strengths and weaknesses as a literary publisher. It looks at the founding of the company and revisits three key events in the firm's history to achieve this objective: the publication in 1910 of the four-volume edition of the *Works of John M. Synge*; the negotiations and ultimate failure to publish James Joyce's *Dubliners*; and the consequences of the Easter Rising of 1916.

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[130] Frances Cashel Hoey to Edmund Downey, n.d. but written from Stanley Cottage, Malvern Wells where she was resident in July and August 1904. NLI MS 10,028.

[131] Duffy's remained in business until the 1980s, but the printing side of the business was more successful than the publishing arm. See Chapter 4 for the details of O'Carroll's and Downey's negotiations.

[132] See Clare Hutton, 'The Extraordinary History of the House of Maunsel' in *OHIB V,* 548-61. Also 'A Checklist of the Publications of Maunsel & Co., Irish Publishers, 1905-1925', in *Publishing History,* Issue 51 (2002), 83-114.

Maunsel & Company arose from the growing theatre movement in Dublin in the early years of the twentieth century. Conditions in the Irish book trade were poor in 1905 and the *Irish Printer* recorded that the year was 'probably one of the worst years that printers can remember.'[133] Vincent Kinane notes an atmosphere in literary of circles of 'hope that the revival of national spirit then underway in such movements as the Gaelic League, the Irish National theatre and the Irish National Literary Society would give rise to a vibrant literary publishing industry.'[134] In January 1905 George Roberts (1873-1953), who was the secretary of the Irish National Theatre Society, and the poet James Sullivan Starkey (Seamus O'Sullivan 1879-1958) started to publish under the lapsed imprint of 'Whaley and Company' on Dawson Street. Roberts was born in Belfast and came to Dublin in the late 1890s at the instigation of his fellow Belfast man, the playwright and Abbey actor James Cousins (1873-1956). Starkey was a poet and later founder and publisher of *The Dublin Magazine.* Whaley had been established ten years earlier by Charles Weekes, a contemporary of Yeats at the High School, to publish AE's *Homeward Songs by the Way,* and two theosophical works, Charles Johnston's *From the Upanishad,* and John Eglinton's (William Kirkpatrick Magee) *Two Essays on the Remnant.* The venture was unprofitable and Weekes moved to London to take up publishing there. Roberts and Starkey wanted to establish an operation to publish the plays of the Abbey Theatre which had opened as the permanent home of the Irish National Theatre Society in December 1904, and they adopted the Whaley name, though without asking Weekes's permission. They published four volumes over the next nine months: *The Mask of Apollo* by AE; O'Sullivan's own *The Twilight* People; a reissue of A. H. Bullen's edition of Standish O'Grady's *The Flight of the Eagle;* and a book of verse in Irish and English, *Blatha Fraoich (Heather Blossom)* by Niall MacGiolla Bhrigde.[135]

At the same time Yeats's publisher A. H. Bullen (to whom he recently transferred from Fisher Unwin), who had experienced on a visit to Dublin in early 1901 the hostility of the city's book trade towards Yeats, was considering establishing his own Irish business to promote his author.[136] Bullen, however, having recently broken from his partner Harold Lawrence and

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[133] Kinane, 35.
[134] Ibid, 35.
[135] Frances-Jane French, Unpublished M. Litt. Thesis, 'A History of the House of Maunsel and a Bibliography of Certain of Its Publications' (University of Dublin, 1969), 9-12.
[136] Bullen had been in partnership with Harold Lawrence until the end of 1890. After his visit to Dublin he reported his experiences to Yeats who recounted to Lady Gregory that the Catholic publisher Gill disapproved of his mysticism viewing Yeats as 'hetredox' [sic]. Bullen 'found the Protestant booksellers little better & asked me if TCD disliked me.' WBY to Augusta Gregory, 21 May 1901, *CL Yeats III,* 71.

established his Shakespeare Head Press at Stratford-Upon-Avon, had insufficient capital to invest in a further venture. Instead, a co-publishing arrangement with Roberts and Starkey, enthusiastically supported by Yeats, was arranged. Bullen would take one hundred copies of *The Twilight People* as well as unbound sheets of Standish O'Grady's *The Flight of The Eagle,* and would co-publish the first play in the Abbey Theatre Series, Synge's *The Well of the Saints.* Whaley would publish three of Yeats's titles, *The Celtic Twilight, The Secret Rose* and *Ideas of Good and Evil* at remainder prices.[137] Meanwhile, Weekes learned of this activity and, not having abandoned all ideas of publishing himself, insisted that Roberts and Starkey establish their own venture.[138]

This seems to have been the catalyst for them to look for capital to establish a new publishing company. They approached the twenty-three year old Wellington and Cambridge-educated Joseph Maunsell Hone (1882-1959), who came from a well-known Anglo-Irish artistic and literary family, who invested £2,000 and after whom the new company was named.[139] Hone was Chairman and Yeats persuaded Stephen Gwynn (1864-1950), the author, journalist and later MP to join the firm as a director and literary advisor, in a scheme to exclude from the new firm both Starkey and, in particular, George Russell who Yeats was convinced would publish 'all the bad poets in Dublin', i.e. the Celtic Twilight poets from Russell's collection, *New Songs.*[140] Gwynn told Clement Shorter some months after the establishment of Maunsel that '[o]ur reason for existence is the absence of any publisher pure & simple here & the need for such a creature in view of the … literary talent.'[141] George Roberts, who invested no capital, was to be the managing director.

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[137] The selling of *The Celtic Twilight* at only 3.s – half the London price – infuriated Yeats and dented his enthusiasm for George Roberts and the new company early on. French, 10.

[138] French, 11.

[139] Ibid, 11, from verbal information received from Vera Hone, the widow of Joseph Hone. Hone's middle name was Maunsell with two 'l's, but the firm was named Maunsel. According to French, a relative of Hone, the name is pronounced to rhyme with 'cancel'.

[140] WBY to A. H. Bullen, 15 May 1905, *CL Yeats IV,* 3. *New Songs* included poems by Padraic Colum, Eva Gore-Booth, Thomas Keohler, Alice Milligan, Susan Mitchell, Seumas O'Sullivan, George Roberts and Ella Young. Gwynn came to London in 1895 and wrote for the *Spectator*, *Cornhill Magazine* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* where he contributed a weekly column 'Literary Notes'. He published a number of biographies and books on Irish travel, literature and society, as well as a volume of *Collected Poems* (1923) and an autobiography, *Experiences of a Literary Man* (London: T. Butterworth Ltd., 1926). George Macmillan brought him in as a reader to Macmillan & Co. to sign up Irish writers. Warwick Gould, 'W. B. Yeats on the Road to St Martin's Street, 1900-17', in Elizabeth James (ed.), *Macmillan: A Publishing Tradition* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 192.

[141] Stephen Gywnn to Clement Shorter, 8 November 1905. Leeds University, Clement Shorter Papers. Quoted in Sheehy, 6.

Gwynn was a grandson of the Young Irelander MP, William Smith O'Brien. After an education at St. Columba's College in Dublin and Brasenose College, Oxford, he became a schoolmaster, then a journalist in London, and MP for Galway City from 1906 to 1918.[142] Like T. W. Rolleston he recognised Yeats's genius early, and his importance to the Literary Revival, commenting in 1921 that 'some of us were recognised as counting for something and likely to count for more. But every one of us was convinced that Yeats was going to be a better poet than we had yet seen in Ireland; and the significant fact is that this was not out of personal liking.'[143] For Gwynn, the Literary Revival found its 'most concrete expression in the Irish theatre and its most potent inspiration in the personality of Mr Yeats', and he was an initial enthusiastic supporter of the new company.[144]

Maunsel made a promising start. It had energetic well-connected directors, initial working capital, a publishing strategy reflecting the *zeitgeist*, a co-publishing partner in England, and the support of Yeats and the other two members of the Abbey triumvirate, Lady Gregory and J. M. Synge, the latter essential for any firm with ambitions to be a publisher of the Revival. It had an immediate series in the Abbey Theatre plays, with Synge's *The Well of the Saints,* Padraic Colum's *The Land* and Lady Gregory's *Kincora,* as well as the three Yeats and four original Whaley titles. Other early books were Katharine Tynan's *Innocencies* and the firm's first original title, *Dan the Dollar,* a novel by Shan F. Bullock. In 1906 Maunsel moved to No. 96 Middle Abbey Street, the centre of the Dublin printing and publishing industry.[145] A catalogue from that year advertises their titles for sale by six London publishers and booksellers, including Elkin Mathews.[146] In November, the first volume of the quintessential Revival magazine, *The Shanachie,* was published. It was edited by Hone and contributors included Synge, George Bernard Shaw, Lady Gregory, Yeats, Lord Dunsany and both George

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[142] Henry Boylan (ed.), *A Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1978), 46.
[143] Stephen Gwynn, *Irish Books and Irish People* (Dublin and London: Talbot Press, 1921), 3.
[144] Ibid. Although an early member of the Gaelic League, he had left it because of it's insistence on compulsion, and became instead an advocate for Irish literature in English. Gwynn wrote in 1921 that 'Yeats and Synge have showed how completely it is possible to be Irish while using the English language. They have accepted the fact that Ireland today thinks in English, but they have endeavoured to give to Ireland a distinctively Irish thought, coloured by the whole racial tradition and temperament... But the whole group of writers [Yeats, Synge, AE, Somerville & Ross, as well as the political writers Pearse, Griffiths]... it may be said that their writings are almost as unmistakably Irish as the work of Burns is Scotch, have followed Mr Yeats and Synge in this, that in writing they assume an Irish public, not an English one: they make no explanations, they speak as to those who share their own inheritance.' Ibid.
[145] French 13-14.
[146] Maunsel Catalogue, 'New and Forthcoming Books published by Maunsel & Co., Ltd, Dublin, 1906.

Roberts and Hone himself. Both John and Jack Yeats contributed illustrations, as did the leading artists Walter Osborne and William Orpen.[147]

Between 1905 and 1910 Maunsel publications were mainly literary, with the firm specialising in poetry and drama before broadening the list to include novels and essays. Maunsel provided an opportunity for some writers who had hitherto been unsuccessful at getting into print such as Joseph Campbell (Seosamh MacCathmhaoil), Thomas Keohler, Charles Weekes, and Frederick Ryan. Between 1907 and 1909 Maunsel published three volumes of the Countess of Aberdeen's lectures entitled *Ireland's Crusade Against Tuberculosis*. Lady Aberdeen, the wife of the Lord Lieutenant, led an energetic campaign against TB which bore fruit in the 1908 Tuberculosis Prevention (Ireland) Act. She edited *Slainte,* the journal of the Woman's National Health Association of Ireland, which Maunsel published from 1909 to 1916 at a price of 1d., and which with its large circulation was very profitable.[148] *Economics for Irishmen* by 'Pat' sold 12,000 copies in two years. The firm co-published Yeats's *Poems, 1899-1905* and *Deirdre* with Bullen, and took 50 sets with a tipped-in Maunsel title page of Bullen's 1908 *Collected Edition* of Yeats.[149] Maunsel also published Yeats's and AE's retellings of *Deirdre* in the same year, and with the publication of Lady Gregory's plays *Spreading the News* and *The Rising of the Moon* the previous year, the Abbey triumvirate were now brought together as Maunsel authors. Maunsel also published Stephen Gwynn, Padraic Colum, Shan Bullock, Eva Gore-Booth, Thomas Kettle, Thomas MacDonagh, Alice Milligan, Susan Mitchell and Seumas O'Sullivan during 1907 and 1908, consolidating the firm's position as a publisher committed to promoting the literature of the Revival.[150] In 1910 *The Sphere* commented that '[t]here has been a remarkable revival in Dublin during the last decade and I count the firm of Maunsel as at the very head of it. A long series of books, both expensive and cheap, have been issued by them.'[151]

Maunsel, however, had a serious problem that was not outwardly apparent. Almost from the beginning relations between Hone and Gwynn on the one hand, and Roberts on the other had

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[147] French, 14.
[148] Ibid, 16.
[149] A tipped-in page is one which is printed separate to the main text and added after the book has been bound. It is usually glued to the next bound page along the inner side. In this case, Maunsel printed a separate title sheet with their own imprint and inserted it into the Bullen edition.
[150] Clare Hutton, 'A Checklist of the Publications of Maunsel & Co., Dublin Publishers 1905-1925', *Publishing History,* No. 51 (Spring 2002), 83-114, 91-4.
[151] Article by 'C. K. S.' in *The Sphere,* quoted in the Maunsel catalogue 'Books by Irish Writers and Books about Ireland', 1910, 2.

been poor. Hone found Roberts impossible to work with, and increasingly withdrew from the day-to-day business, ceding editorial and management control to Roberts, who appears to have worked almost alone. There is no reference in his extensive correspondence to any members of staff apart from occasional allusions to assistance from Roberts' wife, the Abbey actress Maire Garvey, whom Roberts married in 1910.[152] Indeed correspondence between husband and wife reveals a distrusting and often hostile attitude towards authors and the other Maunsel directors. Roberts had no publishing experience, although he proved to be a highly proficient designer and printer, and he was disorganised with an inclination to procrastination and prevarication. He depended almost entirely for advice from his London lawyer Charles Weekes, the original Whaley & Co. publisher, but almost always consulted him when problems were already advanced.[153] The dysfunctional internal relations which date from before the company even began to publish are revealed in an undated letter (but from context probably the spring of 1905 when Hone and Roberts were in negotiations) from Weekes in London to Roberts in Dublin headed 'Strictly confidential – burn when read':

> Hone turned up this afternoon. Quite a nice boy. Wanted to show me and get my opinion on your rigorous 'terms'. Declined; as I was employed by you to advise you in other matters. Made a case as to the hard way you treated him over the Marx book. Wondered who was advising you "in Dublin." (Suspected me, I think). Told him plainly that what he suffered from was [illegible]; that he could not complain until you had thrown down a dozen books of his; finally made him happy by saying – "come to me and you & I will go into the real proposal and see if there is really anything in it before bothering Maunsel."
>
> … You must treat him civilly as he has a hold on you. Be firm but very polite. We both "agreed" that you were the devil of a domineering person, so he went away quite happy & I am to be bothered first with his suggestions, he – as I did not fail to point out to him – taking all the profits if any. This merely to keep you in touch. Destroy the letter at once.[154]

Clearly, then, Roberts and Weekes were from the beginning, working together behind Hone's back. When Stephen Gwynn was elected MP for Galway just a year later, he resigned as a Maunsel director and his involvement in Maunsel was thereafter peripheral, and a sense of his

[152] George Roberts correspondence, NLI MS 13,272 (1-17), 13,273-13,278, 8320 (1-22).
[153] There is an extensive correspondence between Roberts and Weekes which becomes a flood of letters and telegrams, on some occasions several each day, when Roberts was having problems.
[154] George Roberts to Charles Weekes, n.d. but from context summer of 1905 just after the establishment of Maunsel & Co. NLI MS 13,272 (1).

relief at that situation flavours his later comments about the firm. Joseph Hone, too, felt impotent in the face of Robert's malice and stubbornness. Although Hone remained a director nominally until 1920, he wrote that he had effectively resigned his direct interest in Maunsel by 1909.[155]

Roberts did not confine his quarrels to his fellow directors: he also had difficulties with many of his authors, including Yeats, James Joyce, Lady Gregory, James Stephens, Alice Milligan, St John Greer Ervine and Sean O'Casey. Richard Ellmann observes that 'a remark Roberts later made of Liam O'Flaherty, "I don't know why O'Flaherty cuts me; after all, I never published him,"' seems to summarize his publishing history.'[156] Yeats and Roberts had a poor relationship which was much tried by Yeats's machinations during 1905 when he effectively consolidated power in the Abbey Theatre to himself, Lady Gregory and Synge, removing control from the actors who wanted the Abbey run as a cooperative nationalist society. In January 1906 there was a walkout of several key members of the company, including George Roberts and his future wife, Maire Garvey.[157] As early as June 1906, Yeats was complaining to Stephen Gwynn that the management of *The Shanachie* was 'a mess owing to Robert's vagueness of mind...I think it scrappy... I don't find in the editing of this magazine any one selective mind or any one principle of selection... I suggest that you and Roberts and Hone have all done this thing and because you are all in it and have felt no individual responsibility.' Hone, he told Gwynn, had admitted 'something of the kind' to him.[158] Significantly for Maunsel, Bullen appears also to have given up on Roberts after the early enthusiastic co-publication of Yeats's *Poems 1899-1905* in 1906 and *Plays for an Irish Theatre* in August 1907. In 1908 there was a very limited arrangement for the *Collected Works*, after which there was no further co-publishing.[159]

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[155] Joseph Hone, 'A Recollection of James Joyce', in *Envoy: An Irish review of literature and art,* Vol. 5, No. 17, (April 1951), 44-5, 44.

[156] Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, rev. ed. 1982), 329. Ellmann is not always entirely reliable as a source, but in the case of his narration of the events surrounding the abortive publication of *Dubliners* he draws on letters and sources that can be depended on. He also interviewed George Roberts in person in 1953.

[157] Foster, *Apprentice Mage,* 324-4.

[158] French, 15.

[159] Frances-Jane French records that Allen Wade told her that P. S. O'Hegarty estimated that Maunsel only took 20 of the Bullen sets of the collected Yeats edition. French, 17, n. 37.

The Publication of the Synge Edition

Despite these internal difficulties, Maunsel attracted much favourable comment from its inception not only for the titles published, but also for the quality of book production, design and typography. Clare Hutton and Nicola Gordon Bowe have written in the *Oxford History of the Irish Book* respectively about Maunsel's issuing of 'beautifully produced and designed iconic books in arts and crafts style, with bold typography on high-quality paper, bound in neutral-coloured boards or wrappers' and noted how 'a number of Maunsel publications featured strong graphic work by artists who were contemporaries of the writers featured.'[160] Gordon Bowe has noted in particular the 1907 edition of *The Aran Islands* with Jack B. Yeats's illustrations, and Yeats's own 'incontrovertibly iconic' eight colour prints and 32 line-drawings in 'Life in the West of Ireland', published in 1912.[161] Maunsel's last major project in 1924, *Ireland's Memorial Record,* advertised as 'Eight Imperial Quarto volumes of 400 pages each, with sixteen decorative borders' by the artist Harry Clarke, won the Silver Medal (the highest award) at the Tailteann Games of the same year, and stands as a lasting legacy of the firm's output.[162]

The firm's most significant contribution to Irish literary publishing came in November 1910, when Maunsel published the critically and aesthetically acclaimed four-volume posthumous collected edition of *The Works of John M. Synge*, eighteen months after the playwright's early death.[163] Synge was Maunsel's most important author, and the edition was at once the high point of Maunsel's Literary Revival publishing, but also the cause of an irrevocable break with Yeats which resulted in the poet, and later Lady Gregory, withdrawing support from the company.[164] It succeeded, however, in establishing a world-wide reputation for Maunsel and the edition was universally lauded, although a close reading of the publication history of the edition reveals all the factors that ultimately combined to cause the firm's failure.

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[160] Clare Hutton, 'The Extraordinary History of the House of Maunsel', in *OHIB V,* 548-561, 551, and Nicola Gordon Bowe, 'The Iconic Book in Ireland, 1891-1930', *OHIB V*, 390-412, 401.

[161] Gordon-Bowe, 401.

[162] While the printing quality of Irish books was better than often acknowledged, typography was subject to criticism. In 1926 George Russell complained that 'the real trouble about most Irish books published in Ireland is that they are utterly without taste', and F. R. Higgins around the same time described the typography of Irish books as 'the imprint of the cloven hoof.' Kinane, 35. Colm O'Lochlainn's Three Candles Press did much to raise standards as did the launch of the Young Masters Printers' Association in the late 1930s.

[163] The American usage of Synge's first names reflects the intention to co-publish with an American press.

[164] George Roberts reported to Charles Weekes on 28 October 1910 that Lady Gregory had written to Joseph Hone 'stating she did not want to publish any further books through us.' NLI MS 13,272 (1).

By the time Synge died in March 1909, Maunsel was his principal publisher. Synge, like Joyce around the same time, had experienced difficulties in finding a publisher for his first book, *The Aran Islands,* which he had written in the course of four visits to the islands over three years from 1898 to 1901. He sent the manuscript to Grant Richards, one of the new, entrepreneurial publishers of the 1890s, who had published George Bernard Shaw's *Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant* in 1898 in his second year of business, but whose list had little of Irish interest.[165] Richards rejected *The Aran Islands* on the grounds that it 'would not secure the sale of seven or eight hundred copies.'[166] Thomas Fisher Unwin and Alfred Nutt then rejected it in 1902, with Nutt describing the text as 'too shapeless, too without beginning or end, too much hung in the air.'[167] Yeats and Lady Gregory came to Synge's assistance in the search for a publisher with Yeats' giving the MS to Bullen in the autumn of 1903. When Lady Gregory went to see Bullen after three weeks 'he had done nothing with it and did not seem enthusiastic.' She then sent it to John Masefield who suggested to Elkin Mathews that he could publish *The Aran Islands* together with *Riders to the Sea* and *The Shadow of the Glen.*[168] Mathews eventually published the two plays in his Vigo Cabinet Series in 1905 but omitted *The Aran Islands,* although he had signed a contract with Synge for its publication.[169] W. J. McCormack suggests that 'publishers found [*The Aran Islands*] puzzling' despite Yeats's support and the interest in primitive societies generated by writings such as J. G. Frazer's influential *The Golden Bough,* the second edition of which had been published in 1900.[170] Probably as a result of Yeats's advocacy, Synge agreed with George Roberts in November 1905 that Maunsel would publish *The Aran Islands.* Synge was recovering from illness at the time, and still weak he asked Roberts to write 'as nicely as you can' to Elkin Mathews to let him know that he wanted to move to Maunsel. [171] Four days later he wrote to Mathews himself explaining why he was anxious to have an Irish publisher: 'It has been suggested that the new publishing house in

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[165] Grant (Franklin Thomas) Richards (1872-1948) established his eponymous publishing firm at 9 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, in 1897 with the financial support of his uncle, the novelist Grant Allen and his father. His reputation rests on two of his earliest publications Shaw's *Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant* and A. E. Housman's *A Shropshire Lad,* both in 1898. He published the early works of Shaw, Housman, G. K. Chesterton, John Masefield and Hector Monro (Saki), but they moved to more prominent publishers when they were more established. As we shall see, he also had a role in the publishing history of Joyce's *Dubliners* in 1914-16. See William S. Brockman, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* electronic edition, accessed 21 January 2016.

[166] Grant Richards to Synge, 30 December 1901, *CL Synge I,* 52n. Richards's reasoning is somewhat surprising as sales of that order for a first book would be respectable, but he was at that point beginning to overstretch himself financially and shortly about to move to bigger premises in Leicester Square, a step that would lead to his first bankruptcy in 1905.

[167] David Nutt to WBY, *CL Synge I,* 53-4.

[168] David H. Greene and Edward M. Stephens, *J. M. Synge, 1871-1909* (New York: Macmillan, 1959), 154.

[169] Information from British Library Online Catalogue.

[170] W. J. McCormack, *Fool of the Family: A Life of J. M. Synge* (London: Weidenfeld, 2000), 217.

[171] Synge to George Roberts, 7 November 1905, *CL Synge I,* 135.

Dublin – Maunsel & Co. – should bring [*The Aran Islands*] out, and I have thought it best to agree for several reasons.' He continued, as noted in the Introduction, that some of his plays had made him 'very unpopular with a section of our Irish Catholic public', and he thought it would be a diplomatic move to 'have this book printed and published in Dublin on Irish paper – small matters that are nevertheless thought a good deal of over here.'[172]

However, Synge's plays had sold 5,000 copies and Mathews was reluctant to let go of a successful author and cede his rights to Maunsel.[173] A compromise was achieved and in April 1907, *The Aran Islands* was published jointly by Mathews and Maunsel in an attractive edition with illustrations by Jack B. Yeats. However, it was not 'printed… in Dublin on Irish paper', rather the printers were the Edinburgh publishers T. and A. Constable who had been Yeats's preferred printers for his 1895 edition of *Poems.*[174] The *Irish Times* reviewer thought '[t]he simple fact is that in "The Aran Islands" we have exceedingly fine writing, finer prose than any which the Irish literary revival has produced yet, with one or two exceptions. Mr Synge owes nothing to any English literary tradition… Essentially the book is Irish and Irish of the new literary movement.'[175] This acclaim, together with the controversy engendered by the riots that accompanied the staging of the *The Playboy of the Western World* at the end of January 1907 and the publishing by Maunsel of *Playboy* at the same time, followed later in the year by *The Tinker's Wedding* and *The Well of the Saints,* secured the legacy of both author and publisher in the history of the Irish Literary Revival. The success of Lady Gregory's titles, *Seven Short Plays* and *The Kiltartan History Book* in 1909 and *The Kiltartan Moliere* and *The Kiltartan Wonder Book* in 1910, further consolidated Maunsel's position.

The years 1907-1909 saw the zenith of the Maunsel, Yeats, Gregory and Synge collaboration. However, the deterioration of Yeats's relation with Roberts had the consequence that when Roberts planned an edition of Synge's poems in 1908, Yeats persuaded Synge to publish *Poems*

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[172] Synge to Elkin Mathews, 11 November 1905, *CL Synge I,* 136. Synge also told Mathews that Maunsel were offering better terms. Synge wrote three drafts of the letter to Mathews in one of which he said that 'we are all anxious to make this house [Maunsel] a success.' As this was just a few weeks after Synge, Yeats and Lady Gregory had won the battle at the Irish National Theatre Company for the three of them to constitute the board of directors, it is reasonable to suggest that the three of them were the 'we' in this case. Ibid., 136, n. 1.

[173] Sales figures from J. G. Nelson, *Elkin Mathews: Publisher to Yeats, Joyce and Pound* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 60.

[174] Ann Saddlemyer notes that 'there is some bibliographic confusion about the date of first printing of *The Aran Islands*, since a few copies bear the date 1906; these were probably advance copies sent to Elkin Mathews, since the earliest signed presentation copies are dated by JMS 28 Apr 1907.' *CL Synge I,* 334, n. 1.

[175] 'The Aran Islands', *The Irish Times,* 7 June 1907, 9.

and Translations with his sister Lolly's Cuala Press instead. George Roberts maintained after Synge's death that when Synge had sent the manuscript intended for Maunsel to Yeats simply for an opinion, Yeats had held on to it and Cuala had then published a limited 'small press' edition of the work, thereby frustrating Maunsel's plans.[176] Synge died in March 1909 and left his literary estate to two nephews, Edward Hutchinson Synge and Francis Edmund Stephens who were eighteen and twenty years of age respectively. Maunsel had at this stage been planning an edition of the plays and George Roberts had travelled to New York in June 1908 to arrange an American edition with Dutton & Co 'with a possible introduction by W. B. Yeats.'[177] In October Synge signed a contract with Maunsel for the publication of a trade edition of his poems. Synge's will provided for the nephews to 'continue the contract which are at present in force… and to make new contracts with the present publisher or others.' No reference was made to Yeats as someone who might advise or select, nor was there mention of the unpublished work or correspondence. In March 1910 Roberts signed a contract with the nephews for the publication of a Collected Works, with the bizarrely unrealisable objective of publication no later than the end of June.[178] The contract allowed for the inclusion of works already published by Maunsel, together with *The Aran Islands* and the articles on the Congested Districts and Wicklow and Kerry 'as well as any other such unpublished works as the Executors and Publishers may mutually agree to include', i.e. any other journalism or miscellaneous writings.[179]

However, quite separately, Yeats wrote a memorandum to the estate detailing what material he believed should and should not be included, and proposing that he would write the introduction.[180] For Yeats, the collected Synge edition was to be a central pillar of the Revival movement and he was determined to control the contents to ensure his vision was achieved. Roberts, Yeats and the nephews proved equally determined to have their way over the contents of the edition and an explosive three-way row ensued. Synge had intended his nephews to be testamentary legatees rather than literary executors, but they became enmeshed in correspondence relating to unpublished material and US copyright with an equally stubborn and ill-informed Roberts.[181]

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[176] George Roberts to WBY, 18 October 1910. NLI MS 13,272 (1).
[177] McCormack, 5, 355. See also John Quinn to Synge in *CL Synge II,* 160, n. 4.
[178] McCormack, 398, 395.
[179] George Roberts Papers, March-October 1910, NLI MS 13,272 (1).
[180] McCormack, 396.
[181] George Roberts Papers, March-October 1910, NLI MS 13,272 (1).

Meanwhile, several US publishers were interested in taking rights: Dutton of New York; John Luce of Boston; and Yale University Press whose editor was the Irish American Edmond Byrne Hackett.[182] A co-publishing arrangement was essential for the financial viability of the project, but Roberts proved incapable of making a decision as to which publisher to work with. He and the nephews were out of their depth on international copyright law, and confused by the legislation relating to dramatic works in the US copyright Act of 1891, the Chace Act. Edward Synge, in particular, was afraid that publishing the plays in America would rule out future Abbey tours in the United States. For his part, Yeats had threatened to 'raise Cain' if Synge's Manchester Guardian articles from 1905 on the Congested Districts and Wicklow and Kerry were included, the realism of the articles being antithetical to his vision of the Revival's purpose.[183] Yeats had considered himself to have been Synge's principal literary advisor since he had advised him to 'give up, Paris, you will never create anything by reading Racine… Go to the Arran Islands. Live there as if you were one of the people themselves; express a life that has never found expression.'[184] As Nicholas Grene suggests, Yeats wanted Synge to be seen as an ideal writer who rejected the 'literary cosmopolitanism of Paris for the lived authenticity of Ireland.'[185] Yeats also feared that Edward Synge would destroy some of the unpublished manuscripts on account of his disapproval of his uncle's work, telling George Russell that '[h]e threatens to go all over Synge's plays and to expurgate passages which he thinks are objectionable. He cannot injure what is already published, but the unpublished manuscripts he may be able to ruin.'[186] W. J. McCormack comments on the irony of Yeats on the one hand 'complain[ing] to George Russell about Synge's brother [sic] purging the works of objectionable material – no evidence of this has come to light – [while on the other hand] seeking to exclude published work from the definitive edition, and bullying all and sundry with threats to withhold his Introduction.'[187]

As these arguments continued, Roberts, misjudging Yeats's determination, had – most prematurely – already printed 1,250 sets of sheets, intending to print the Yeats introduction separately, paginated in roman numerals, and then to bind the edition ready for the Christmas

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[182] George Roberts Papers, March-October 1910, NLI MS 13,272 (1).
[183] McCormack, 401, 399.
[184] WBY, Preface to J. M. Synge, *The Well of Saints* (Stratford and London: A. H. Bullen, 1905), *v.*
[185] Nicholas Grene, 'Yeats and the Remaking of Synge', in Terence Brown and Nicholas Grene (eds.) *Tradition and Influence in Anglo-Irish Poetry* (London: Macmillan, 1989), 48, 49.
[186] George Russell to John Quinn, 27 April 1909, in Alan Denson (ed.), *Letters from AE* (London, New York and Toronto: Abelard-Schuman, 1961), 66.
[187] McCormack, 399.

market.[188] Roberts then initially agreed to Yeats's editorial revisions and was prepared to reprint (at the executors' cost), but they refused to incur the reprint bill of £30 for which they were liable.[189] Roberts then unavailingly proposed that Maunsel would meet the loss if the Executors would consent to the firm selling sheets or bound copies to an American publisher.[190] Maunsel, however, had had no recapitalisation or investment since Hone's original stake five years earlier and had cashflow difficulties. Roberts was only too aware that the cost of reprinting 96 pages was unaffordable without the sale of an American edition.[191] Acting in a characteristically impetuous fashion, he went ahead with the publication of the *The Works of John M. Synge* on 22 November 1910, no doubt hoping to secure the American deal after the event. It was a substantial achievement for Maunsel: 'the first collective (sic) edition of an Irish author to be printed and published in Ireland since the eighteenth century.'[192] The press notices were very favourable, both of Synge's abilities and the high production values of the edition and the first printing sold out by July 1911. James Douglas of *The Star* was certainly impressed, writing that:

> Here is a true book nobly garbed. There was a time when Irish Publishers hardly counted. When Messrs. Maunsel commenced to publish Irish literature they had to overcome technical difficulties, and some of their early books were not comely. But this edition of Synge is as comely as any lordly English edition of any august English author. It is a thing for Ireland to be proud of. It places Dublin not only on a level with London and Paris and Berlin, but above them.[193]

W. J. McCormack comments in his biography of Synge that the edition was:

> [V]irtually unique in the annals of the Irish Literary Revival, promptly establishing a canon of the late author's work and, by the same token, excluding items deemed non-canonical or ephemeral. Simultaneously, it struck a blow for a native-based publishing industry committed to serving the exuberant literature then being produced by Irish men and women. Canonicity and cultural nationalism were mutually defining in the case of Synge's reputation, and the influence of the Maunsel edition can be traced through to

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[188] George Roberts to Charles Weekes, 18 October 1910, NLI MS 13,272 (1).
[189] George Roberts to Charles Weekes, 28 October 1910, NLI MS 13,272 (1). Roberts expressed his frustration over the nephews to Weekes in February 1911 writing that '[t]hey are the most stubborn people to deal with and simply won't see points they don't wish to.' Roberts to Charles Weekes, 2 February 1911, NLI MS 13,272 (4).
[190] George Roberts to Charles Weekes, 28 October 1910, NLI MS 13,272 (1).
[191] George Roberts to Charles Weekes, 18 October 1910, NLI MS 13,272 (1).
[192] McCormack, 402. The last collected edition of an Irish author to be printed and published in Ireland was George Faulkner's edition of Jonathan Swift in 1725.
[193] Maunsel & Company catalogue of forthcoming and previously published books, December 1916.

> the scholarly four volumes of *Collected Works,* edited by Ann Saddlemyer and Robin Skelton and appearing between 1962 and 1968.[194]

However, Roberts was now in difficulties with both Yeats at home who had withdrawn not only his introduction but his editorial imprimatur, and with the American publishers who were growing increasingly impatient at the delays and lack of communication. Edmond Byrne Hackett at Yale University Press, frustrated by Robert's indecision leaked his hopes to the *Chicago Evening Post* – where his brother Francis was editor of the literary review – on 24 February 1911. It was reported that:

> It is understood that the Yale University Press has arranged with Maunsel & Co. of Dublin to publish in America the complete works of J. M. Synge. Meanwhile John W. Luce & Co. of Boston will get into the market next month with four reprints, "The Aran Islands", "Kerry and Wicklow", "The Tinker's Wedding" and "Riders to the Sea". These are but scraps of Synge's writings, however, and have not the advantage of perspective and context which will be given them by appearing in the authoritative edition.[195]

Provoked by this, Luce in Boston advanced his plans and issued a four-volume Synge edition of his own, effectively a pirated edition, from which neither Maunsel nor Synge's executors would benefit financially. At home, the break with Yeats was irretrievable and Lady Gregory wrote to Hone 'stating she did not intend to publish any further books through us', and she later withdrew published titles from the firm as soon as the rights expired.[196] With the loss of Yeats's

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[194] McCormack, 8-9.

[195] *Chicago Evening Post,* 24 February 1911, recorded in Durrant's Press Cuttings, received by Maunsel on 20 March 1911, in George Roberts Papers, NLI MS 13,272 (1). Edmond Byrne Hackett had hoped to publish Synge's plays since at least 1907 when he was head of the publishing department at Baker & Taylor. He had emigrated from Ireland to American in 1899, first working with Doubleday, Page & Co. He left Baker & Taylor to become the first director at Yale University Press. See *CL Synge II*, 48, n.3. Francis Hackett, journalist and novelist, (1883-1962), a school friend of Thomas MacDonagh, joined his brother in America in 1901 where he became a journalist on the *Chicago Evening Post.* See James Patrick Byrne, Philip Coleman and Jason Francis King (eds.), *Ireland and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History: A Multidisciplinary Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2008), 391.

[196] George Roberts to Charles Weekes, 28 October 1910, NLI MS 13,272 (1). Lady Gregory's books remained contracted with Maunsel for several years, although Roberts told Weekes in 1915 that 'Lady Gregory's real reason for not renewing the agreement' for *Seven Short Plays* was 'my refusal to act on Yeats and her advice by excluding Synge's Manchester Guardian Articles in his Collected Edition.' George Roberts to Charles Weekes, 9 June 1915, NLI MS 13,272 (10). Notwithstanding Lady Gregory's wishes, there was a painful episode later in the year when Roberts invoked his contract with Lady Gregory to reprint and sell 1,500 copies of *Seven Short Plays* to John Luce in Boston after she had transferred the rights to G. P. Putnam and Sons. John Quinn told Ernest Boyd that the 'little brute Roberts… treated Lady Gregory shamefully.' John Quinn to Ernest Boyd, 28 October 1915, Stanford. The Society of Authors acting for Lady Gregory successfully instructed solicitors to recover royalties for Lady Gregory in the amount of £36 3s. 6d. Copy of correspondence sent by Roberts to Charles Weekes, 21 February 1916, NLI MS, 13,272 (15).

advocacy, Maunsel's position as the pre-eminent publishers of the Irish Literary Revival was fatally damaged.

The Works of John M. Synge was an ambitious project for a young publishing firm which lacked senior advisers and had little experience of international copyright and distribution. Roberts went to press prematurely and it was not until after the edition was printed that he consulted Weekes about the difficulties in America, a pattern of behaviour that was repeated as Roberts consistently failed to think through his actions and attempted remedial action too late in the day. There is an astonishing volume of correspondence between Roberts and Weekes in January, February and March, 1911 as Roberts tried abortively to retrieve an American edition.[197] Letters and telegrams between the two crossed the Irish Sea almost daily. This pattern of working by Roberts and Weekes continued, as we shall see, with the next major episode of Maunsel's publishing history.

Maunsel and *Dubliners*

As Roberts struggled with the Synge edition early in 1911, he was – almost accidentally – to involve Maunsel in a fiasco which, were it not for his incompetence, stubbornness and vindictiveness, might otherwise have secured the company an even greater publishing legacy. Buried in a postscript at the end of a long letter on the American difficulties with the Synge editions from Roberts to Weekes on 31 January, 1911 is an almost casual question: Might I trespass on your time about another Book, "Dubliners" by James Joyce. One story the "Ivy Day in the Committee Rooms" the Author agreed to alter a few phrases in this, but we think did not alter the referance (sic) to the late King sufficiently. Is this sort of thing actionable?'[198]

At this point, Maunsel's history intersects with the extraordinary saga of James Joyce's publishing history, and once again highlights some of the fundamental weaknesses of the firm. On 2 February Weekes replied to Roberts with a legal opinion that nothing in Joyce's work

[197] There are 49 letters and 8 telegrams between Roberts and Weekes in January to March 1911 as the problems in America with the Synge edition worsened. It is interesting from today's perspective to note from the dates and times of the correspondence that a letter sent on one afternoon would, almost without fail, arrive in Dublin or London the following morning. When very urgent issues arose, telegrams could be sent and received within a couple of hours. Weekes was being paid a retainer by Roberts at this point: '[We will] experiment for one year with paying you the retaining fee.' 19 September 1910, NLI MS 8320 (2).

[198] George Roberts to Charles Weekes, 31 January, 1911. NLI MS 13,272 (3)

could be make the subject of a successful prosecution by the Crown. The King was dead, advised Weekes, and a dead man cannot be libelled. However, in a covering letter – again almost entirely devoted to the Synge edition – he replied:

> Your forthcoming book: I send you herewith my Opinion from which you will see that you are perfectly safe. You do not ask me for my literary opinion, but I will give it to you: The references to the late King add nothing whatever to the value of the sketch, and are in very bad taste. It follows that they are likely to alienate your readers.[199]

The next day, still absorbed with the issue of the vitiation of America copyright in regard to the Synge Edition, Roberts briefly replied, 'Many thanks for your opinion re Joyce. I will endeavour to get the whole passage deleted.'[200]

George Roberts was by no means the first publisher to be concerned about passages from *Dubliners.* Joyce had originally sent his manuscript to the London publisher Grant Richards in 1905, who had turned down the collection of poems, *Chamber Music,* a year earlier unless Joyce could help pay for the printing (which he could not), as subsequently had John Lane, Heinemann and Constable. Joyce had no work in print and both for his reputation and income, he needed to publish. Richards was more confident of short stories, liked what he read, and agreed to publish, but Joyce later added a story, 'Two Gallants', which Richards sent to the printer without reading, an oversight which in Richard Ellmann's words 'was destined to precipitate disaster.'[201] The printer, who under the law was as liable to prosecution as the publisher for objectionable material, not only took issue with the manuscript but also marked offending passages in other stories, in particular 'Counterparts'.[202] Richards, who had just emerged from bankruptcy, was not prepared to put his new business at risk and insisted on multiple changes to which Joyce vehemently objected. As Richard Ellmann observes, Joyce 'was beside himself with outraged logic', claiming that '[i]n no other civilised country in Europe is a printer allowed to open his mouth.'[203] For Joyce, the changes were not, as Richards suggested mere 'details', but 'the points which rivet my book together'; effacing them would

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[199] Charles Weekes to George Roberts, 2 February 1911. NLI MS 13,272 (3).
[200] George Roberts to Charles Weekes, 3 February 1911, NLI MS 13,272 (3).
[201] Ellmann, 219. Elkin Mathews published *Chamber Music* in 1907.
[202] Joyce to Stanislaus Joyce, 6 September 1906, *Joyce Letters II,* 156. The three marked passages in 'Counterparts' 'referred to '1) "a man with two establishments to keep up, 2) "having" a girl, and 3) a woman changing the position of her legs often, and brushing against a man's chair.' Ellmann, 220.
[203] Ellmann, 221, quoting Joyce to Stanislaus Joyce, 18-20 September 1906, *Joyce Letters II,* 162.

leave *Dubliners* 'like an egg without salt'.[204] No agreement could be reached and Richards withdrew from publication in October 1906.

At least five more publishers rejected *Dubliners* including Elkin Mathews, John Long, Hutchinson, Alston Rivers and Edward Arnold.[205] Early in 1908, Mathews had mentioned the manuscript to Joseph Hone at Maunsel because he thought the book 'could be handled better by a Dublin firm', and Hone in return asked to see it, 'as it might suit us.[206] Joyce, however, instructed Mathews not to send the manuscript to Hone, possibly believing that an English publisher would secure him a wider, less provincial audience, and only sending the MS (now including 'The Dead') to Maunsel a year later after the series of rejections in 1908.[207] On reading it, however, Hone had doubts about 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room.' In a later account, Hone recalled that 'the firm's hesitation so far as this particular story was concerned, may have been due to a desire not prejudice itself with Lady Aberdeen, the then Lord Lieutenant's wife, by whom it had been commissioned to publish tracts relative to her anti-tuberculosis campaign.'[208] Clare Hutton notes, however, that in an interview with Richard Ellmann in 1953, Roberts 'denied any connection between Lady Aberdeen's cultural sensitivities and Maunsel's hesitation as regards "Ivy Day".'[209] Whatever the truth of the matter, Hone certainly delayed making a decision for several months, consulting with his friend Victor Le Fanu, before finally passing the manuscript with his approval to Roberts.[210] Maunsel issued a contract to Joyce in August 1909, with a plan to publish the book no later than September 1910, though Joyce told his brother, Stanislaus, in a letter that he thought it might appear in March 1910.[211]

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[204] Joyce to Stanislaus Joyce, ibid.

[205] Hutton, 'Chapters of Moral History: Failing to Publish Dubliners', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America,* Vol. 97, No. 4 (December 2003), 495-519, 499, 521.

[206] Elkin Mathews to James Joyce, 6 February 1908, quoted by Nelson, *Elkin Mathews,* 122.

[207] Hutton, 'Chapters of Moral History', 505. Padraic Colum wrote afterwards that the MS sent to Maunsel was more complete that sent to Mathews, and now included 'The Dead', Colum, 90-1.

[208] Joseph Hone, 'A Recollection of James Joyce', 44. *Envoy* (1949-51) was first published in December 1949 by the writer and artist John Ryan (1925-92) and the poet and diplomat, Valentine Iremonger (1918-91). The April 1951 was a special issue commemorating the tenth anniversary of the death of Joyce.

[209] Clare Hutton, "Chapters of Moral History', 507.

[210] Le Fanu, the nephew of Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu was a former international rugby player who had become the Earl of Meath's land agent. In Hone's view, his friend 'was a good classical scholar, and in the middle of his country pursuits, he found time to read a good deal. Kipling, Meredith and Stevenson were his favourite novelists, and I did not expect that he would take very kindly to *Dubliners.* Nor did he; the life described was off his beat. But he read the stories carefully, and recognizing their remarkable quality, took more interest in them than in the usual Maunsel publications.' Hone, 'A Recollection of James Joyce', 44. Hone later recorded that he had wanted 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room' omitted from the collection. Ibid, 45.

[211] Royalty Agreement between James Joyce and Maunsel & Company, 19 August 1909 (Joyce Collection, Cornell), quoted in Hutton, ibid. Joyce to Stanislaus Joyce, 21 August 1909, *Joyce Letters II,* 238.

There are no archival records in the George Roberts papers of what happened in the next year, but we can infer from Joyce's correspondence with Stanislaus that although Roberts promised Joyce proofs by December 1909, it was not until May 1910 that Joyce received the first set.[212] He returned them to Maunsel with such light corrections that Roberts returned the proofs for 'Ivy Day' on 7 June, requesting that Joyce make the alterations he required 'with as little delay as possible, so that we may get ahead with the publication.'[213] Joyce appears to have returned the chapter proofs soon afterwards, considering the text now ready for publication, but Roberts, despite promising publication dates of 24 November 1910 and 20 January 1911, neither sent any more sets of proofs nor went ahead with publication.[214] After receiving Weekes's opinion on 'Ivy Day', he wrote to Joyce on 9 February 1911 insisting that Joyce delete the references to the King.[215] Joyce continued to refuse to make the alterations, while Roberts in turn did nothing further about publication. On 10 July still having received no reply from Roberts, Joyce wrote angrily to threaten that if 'no reply is sent me to this letter I shall consider that you have no intention of publishing the book and shall communicate the whole matter of the dispute in a circular letter to the Irish press and at the same time take legal action against you through my solicitor for breach of contract.'[216] On 18 August 1911 Joyce wrote an open letter to the press, setting out his version of events, which he claimed would 'throw[s] some light on the present conditions of authorship in England and Ireland.'[217] He criticised Grant Richards and Maunsel for signing contracts but not publishing, and argued that he could see no reason for Maunsel to object to material about the King pointing out that 'Mr Grant Richards, of London, had raised no objection to the passage when Edward VII was alive, and I could not see why an Irish publisher should raise an objection to it when Edward VII had passed into history.[218] Joyce indicated his salient point of criticism: that he had written the book seven years earlier and had two contracts for its publication, but it was still unpublished. He challenged Maunsel to tell their side of the story and then gave them public 'permission to publish this story with what changes or deletions they may please to make… Their attitude as an Irish publishing firm may

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[212] Joyce to Stanislaus Joyce, 2 December 1909, *Joyce Letters II*, 269. Also Roberts to Joyce, 30 April 1910 (Cornell), quoted by Hutton, 'Chapters of Moral History', 508.
[213] Roberts to Joyce, 7 June 1910, quoted in Hutton, 'Chapters of Moral History', 509.
[214] Hutton, 'Chapters of Moral History', 513.
[215] George Roberts to James Joyce, 9 February 1911. NLI MS 13,272 (4).
[216] Joyce to Maunsel & Co., 10 July 1911 [misdated 1910 by Joyce], *Joyce Letters II,* 289.
[217] Joyce, open letter to the press, 18 August 1911, quoted in Herbert S. Gorman, *James Joyce: His First Forty Years* (Folcroft, PA: Folcroft Library Editions, 1971) 34-6, 34.
[218] Gorman, 35.

be judged by Irish public opinion. I, as a writer, protest against the systems (legal, social, and ceremonious) which have brought me to this pass.'[219] Not even this calculated challenge provoked a reaction from Roberts, and separately Hone confirmed to Joyce that he had no power to influence Roberts. In the summer of 1912 Joyce even sent Nora, who was visiting her family in Dublin and Galway, to see Roberts, to no avail, following himself ten days later when he and Roberts had a furious row. The legal dispute between the two men escalated with Roberts first demanding two sureties of £500 each – a sum of money far beyond Joyce's means – to indemnify Maunsel in the case of prosecution.[220] Joyce then agreed to the changes demanded, and Roberts appeared to promise on 22 August to publish, before performing a *volte face* the very next day, declaring flatly to Joyce that 'publication of the book by Maunsel & Co. is out of the question.'[221] Joyce recorded that he '[felt] the whole future of my life slipping out of my grasp.'[222]

On 5 September 1912, Roberts proposed for the second time that Joyce take over the printed sheets for *Dubliners* for £30 and publish it himself, clearly having concluded that despite any costs incurred, the legal dangers inherent in publishing *Dubliners* were too great. Whether or not Joyce might have adopted this course of action was made moot by the printer, John Falconer, deciding to destroy the sheets and distribute the type of *Dubliners* two years after printing. Falconer would have been just as liable for prosecution if Joyce had proceeded to publish the book independently, or with another publisher. Frances-Jane French suggested that '[w]hether their imprint appeared on the sheets or not is immaterial, as it was common knowledge that they were the printers. So they decided quite rightly for their own safety, to cease being involved in the destiny of the book.'[223] On 11 September 1912, the sheets were destroyed, apparently burned, which provoked Joyce's broadside 'Gas from a Burner', though Roberts told Richard Ellmann not long before he died that in fact the sheets had been guillotined and used as packing material.[224] Joyce left Dublin with Nora and the children the same night and never returned to Ireland. He later wrote of his experience 'I find it difficult to

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[219] Gorman, 36-7. As far as Joyce was aware the letter was published in Irish two newspapers: *Sinn Fein* in Dublin, and the *Northern Whig* in Belfast.
[220] Ellmann, 314, 331.
[221] Roberts to Joyce, 23 August 1912, *Joyce Letters II,* 281.
[222] Joyce to Nora Barnacle, 23 August 1912, *Joyce Letters II,* 311.
[223] French, 29-30.
[224] Ellmann, 335, 775 n. 64. There can be little doubt that this is the true version. Printers do not burn paper and there is no evidence of a furnace on the premises at Falconers. Guillotining, or shredding, paper is the common practice.

come to any other conclusion but this – that the intention was to weary me out and if possible strangle me once and for all. But in this they did not succeed.'[225]

Several accounts have been written about the tortuous negotiations between Roberts and Joyce over *Dubliners.* However, one key element of the story remains a source of disagreement: the extraordinary possibility that at some point – maybe as early as July 1910 after Joyce had returned the first set of proofs to Maunsel – Roberts had 1,000 sets of *Dubliners* printed (but not bound) at the firm of John Falconer in Dublin, ready for publication in the autumn of 1910.[226] Entertaining the historical counterfactual is poor scholarship, but it is tempting to wonder whether, first, had Roberts not been in such difficulty with the Synge edition in the autumn of 1910 and spring of 1911, and secondly, had Charles Weekes confined himself, on 2 February 1911, to a legal opinion rather than adding an unrequested literary one, Roberts might have gone ahead and bound and published the 1,000 sets of Dubliners, thereby securing Maunsel a place in the vanguard of modernist publishing. 1,000 sets, incidentally, would seem a very high print run for the first novel of an unknown author.

Hans Walter Gabler and Clare Hutton do not believe that sheets were printed, agreeing, as Gabler suggests, that 'the order to print one thousand copies would have been tantamount to a decision to go ahead with publication, a decision that Roberts had constantly evaded.'[227] Certainly page proofs were produced, and the binding had been discussed by Roberts and Joyce, but Hutton suggests that Roberts 'probably lied about the thousand copies in order to raise questions of cost and liability.'[228] Roberts did, however, show Joyce some sort of invoice or estimate from Falconer, presumably amounting to £30, which is why this was the sum of money he was looking for from Joyce to take over the sheets.[229] French and Ellmann *do* believe in the existence of sheets: French because she heard directly from her relation, Joseph Hone, that sheets had been printed; and Roberts would appear to have confirmed this in his interview with Ellmann in 1953, although in Ellmann's account there is no record of when Roberts might have commissioned the sheets and mention of their existence appears for the first time on page

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[225] Letter to Grant Richards, 4 March 1914, *Joyce Letters I,* 75.
[226] French, 25
[227] Hans Walter Gabler, 'Introduction', in Margot Norris (ed.), *Dubliners: Authoritative text, contexts, criticism* text edited by Hans Walter Gabler with Walter Hettche, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006), 13. Hutton 517.
[228] Hutton, 517, quoting Joyce to Nora Barnacle, 22 August 1911 *Joyce Letters II,* 310.
[229] Hutton, 517.

335 of the (revised) biography in the context of events in August 1912.[230] The point is, however, that a close examination of all available correspondence on the subject reveals that Roberts was still pressing for changes all the way to 23 August 1912, but yet the balance of the evidence suggests that sheets were indeed destroyed on 11 September. It is not credible that Roberts would have gone ahead with publication in that narrow three-week window when tempers were running so high. Most significantly of all, and a factor which seems to have been hitherto overlooked, Joyce was only given one set of page proofs to mark up – in May 1910, and chapter proofs only in July (possibly the same ones) – and despite Roberts' promises of second proofs, none were ever forthcoming. In January 1911, for example, Joyce wrote perplexedly to Roberts that '[y]ou write that you have sent me proofs of 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room'. None reached me. Why do you send it? I made corrections on the proof already sent.'[231] Thus, on the basis of the available evidence, I believe that Falconer printed, but did not bind, 1,000 sets of sheets, and the balance of probabilities suggests that Roberts gave the order to print in the summer of 1910. Furthermore, given that Joseph Hone had acted as reader for the firm for the manuscript in 1908, I believe that Roberts did not read the manuscript very closely before going to press, and that his query to Weekes in 1911 was made in the hope that no changes were required. It is even possible that Roberts had himself made amendments to the text. Even after Weekes's opinion was received, it would have been easy, since the sheets were printed but not bound, to have corrected and then reprinted 'Ivy Day' – without changing the pagination – at a small cost, and this, I believe, is what Roberts was attempting to do between February 1911 and September 1912.

If Roberts had not read the manuscript himself, then Weekes's opinion would have given him pause for the first time in February 1911. Joyce's work, as Weekes inferred, was very different to the Revivalist literature of Synge, Lady Gregory, Padraic Colum or Shan Bullock that formed the basis of the Maunsel list. Moreoever, Ben Levitas has shown how Roberts' vacillations over Dubliners 'played out against the backdrop of stiffening Catholic taste' as well as his legal and censorship fears.[232] At the inaugural conference of the Catholic Truth Society in Dublin in October 1911, the influential Jesuit cleric Robert Kane had railed against the threat to Christianity by the 'modern infidel world' which had left Ireland as the 'one true

[230] Ellmann, 335.
[231] Joyce to Roberts, 3 January 1911, *Joyce Letters II,* 288.
[232] Levitas, 'Reading and the Irish Revival, 1891-1922', in *OHIB V*, 43-69, 64. Ellmann suggests that another factor may relate to gossip was doing the rounds of Dublin at the time suggesting that Roberts had promised his fiancée Maire Walker that he would not publish *Dubliners* on account of her moral objections. Ellmann, 335.

Catholic nation' in the world. 'As the war is intellectual,' declared Kane, in an address that was later published:

> [T]he chief weapon of the modern infidel is his literature... Our chief weapon must therefore be our Catholic literature. But first we must hurl back from our shore the inroads of atheistic and immoral books. We should take all lawful means to resist the invitation of these satellites of Satan. Should such literature come into your hands shrink not but fearlessly and ruthlessly destroy it. A literature that is foul or devilish has no right to live. It is our right, it is our duty to tear it to tatters or fling it to the fire.[233]

Another speaker, the Very Rev. Canon Barry D. D., delivered an address on 'Some Perils of Modern Literature', in the introduction to which the Primate of Ireland, Cardinal Logue, condemned 'the flood of filth' pouring into the country.[234] *Dubliners* did not conform to the incentives of either the Literary Revival or the increasingly powerful Catholic Church.

While the episode precipitated Joyce's permanent exile from Ireland, Clare Hutton suggests it might also have been:

> [A] moment of liberation: Joyce's disastrous experience of trying to negotiate with the literary revival's principal publisher helped to seal his sense of alienation from the other writers of 'this generation,' and served him with a rich seam of material for *Ulysses*, particularly the 'Library' episode, which actually mentioned Roberts in an *exposé* of the parochial and self-congratulatory nature of revivalist literary culture and publishing practice.[235]

Although the confusion over the sheets of *Dubliners* cannot be conclusively resolved in the absence of records from either Maunsel or John Falconer – destroyed in the Easter Rising of 1916 – this narrative has resulted from a close scrutiny of available sources, as well as a study of George Roberts's personality and working habits over the twenty years of Maunsel's existence. The episode highlights the key weaknesses of Maunsel: the division among the directors, the lack of expert literary advice and Roberts's chaotic working methods and his bullying personality, even if his fears of prosecution were real and unexaggerated.

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[233] *Catholic Truth Society of Ireland Annual and Record of Conference* (Dublin: Catholic Truth Society, 1912).
[234] 'The Irish Catholic Truth Society: Canon Barry and the Perils of Modern Literature', *The Tablet*, 21 October 1911, 38.
[235] Hutton, 'Chapters of Moral History', 518. See also Hutton 'Joyce and the Institutions of Revivalism,' *Irish University Review* 33 (2003), 117-32 for the library episode.

Meanwhile, Maunsel and Roberts were feeling the reverberations from the row with Yeats over the Synge edition. In the years from 1910 to 1916, having lost the support of both Yeats and Lady Gregory and finding that most of their prominent authors, such as Alfred Graves, Katharine Tynan and AE were reverting to London publishers, Maunsel's list was heavily dependent on the Synge edition. After the first collected edition, it was reissued as a fine Library Edition in 1911, and a very popular Pocket Edition followed in 1911-12, which broke down the collected edition into smaller, cheaper volumes priced at 2s. 6d, and which, far from being printed in Ireland and on Irish paper, was printed in Edinburgh by T. and A. Constable. Publishing emphasis shifted to more nationalist titles on Home Rule and the Irish Question by writers such as Patrick Pearse, Thomas Kettle, James Connolly, Terence MacSwiney, Joseph Mary Plunkett, Darrell Figgis, Thomas MacDonagh and later Eamon de Valera. The firm established an office in London in 1912 at Oakley House on Bloomsbury Street near the British Museum, and entered a co-publishing and distribution arrangement with George Allen & Unwin from 1915, moving to their office at 40 Museum Street nearby.

However, Maunsel only published 132 books between 1910 and 1916, far too few to maintain a successful publishing company. Perhaps thinking of diversification, Roberts acquired expensive typesetting and printing plant around the end of 1910, though almost immediately found himself in financial difficulties and 'sold', though without transferring title, plant including no less than two Monotype keyboards and casters and three Wharfedale printing machines to his mother for £304.[236] If adding printing to the business was a strategy aimed at strengthening the financial situation of Maunsel, Roberts proved singularly ineffective in its execution. Expensive machinery with huge capacity was employed to print only Maunsel's own titles and there is no evidence of the firm undertaking any printing for the next decade for customers in order to defray the capital and running costs. The other Dublin publishing houses, as we have seen, had strong printing arms. Few British publishers at this point maintained printing divisions, with the rare exceptions of Collins who had a substantial dictionary business; Eyre & Spottiswode, the Bible publishers; and Cassell & Company, who had contracts for the printing of the *Stock Exchange Gazette* and numerous other periodicals.[237]

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[236] French, 36.
[237] Nowell-Smith, Simon, *The House of Cassell, 1848-1958* (London: Cassell & Company, 1958), 211.

By late 1915 and early 1916, wartime paper shortages, falling sales and high inflation had made the firm's financial situation desperate and, despite an investment by Sidney Lysaght on 21 February 1916, Maunsel was £3,000 in debt and liquidation seemed inevitable.[238] Roberts wrote to Allen & Unwin in London in early March that 'having had our affairs investigated by the Auditors we find that liquidation is imminent.'[239] Deliverance came from the most unlikely quarter. On Monday, 24 April 1916, the Easter Rising brought insurrection and violence to the streets of Dublin. Maunsel's Middle Abbey Street office was in the heart of the action and everything was destroyed by shelling and fire, apart from the printing plant that was housed at Jervis Lane.[240] Ever resilient, Roberts submitted one of the earliest claims to the Property Losses (Ireland) Committee, 1916 in July for £1,470 8s. 6d., of which a sum of £1,442 2s. 10d. was allowed and paid in three instalments between October 1916 and January 1917.[241] Edward Lysaght had joined the firm as a director in January 1916, and made available the premises of his bookshop at No. 50, Lower Baggot Street in the week after the Rising, allowing the firm to continue to publish virtually without interruption.[242] Reinvigorated with new capital, Maunsel proved agile at publishing titles relating to the Rising and its aftermath, and the firm's list became dominantly political rather than cultural or literary. Just months after Easter 1916, the firm published James Stephens, *The Insurrection in Dublin,* Louis G. Redmond-Howard's *Six Days of the Irish Republic* and *A History of the Irish Rebellion of 1916* by Joseph Hone, writing under his pseudonym Nathaniel Marlowe, with Warre Bradley Wells. 1917 and 1918 saw the

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[238] Lysaght invested £300. His son, Edward Lysaght (1887-1986, MacLysaght from 1917) joined Maunsel in January 1916 as a director after his father's investment. Edward was born in England to a half-Irish father and English mother. Educated at Rugby College and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, he developed a love of Ireland and a keen interest in the Literary Revival after spending some months convalescing as a teenager in Co. Clare. He became an enthusiastic member of the Gaelic League and established a Gaeltacht at Raheen Co. Clare in 1915.

[239] George Roberts to Allen & Unwin, 11 March 1916. NLI MS 13,272 (16).

[240] As well as Maunsel's premises, those of Eason and Thom were also badly damaged. All the plates for Thom's Dublin Directory were destroyed and it was feared it would never appear again: 'Every scrap of the Directory's type, including the contents of formes left standing for years, was reduced to molten lead. Not a copy of the publication was left, but that did not daunt the editor [Samuel Carse] in his immediate and colossal task of rebuilding the directory from the bed rock. Copies of previous issues of the Directory were purchased or presented by friends to the firm. In May 1916, at 28 Westmoreland Street, Dublin, the Editor began his work of reassembling, collating, and correcting each of the 2,300 pages for the 1917 Directory. The entire volume was then reset from cover to cover in the firm's temporary premises at Crow Street; and with the publication of the Directory, in March 1917, an amazing record in speedy editing and printing was accomplished by Alex. Thom & Co. Ltd.' Higgins, 120.

[241] French, 43, 47 and 48. The claim comprised £1,002 13s. 6d. for stock-in-trade (of which over £100 was for unsold copies of the Synge pocket edition); £250 19s. 1d. for moulds, plates, blocks, etc., £29 10s. for original drawings; £82 2s. 10d. for stock held at the premises of Alex. Thom & Co,' and £85. 3s. for furniture and fittings. Ibid., 43-4. Hone, Jack Yeats and Harry Clarke also submitted claims for property destroyed at Maunsel's premises which Frances-Jane French suggests may have been somewhat opportunistic. Ibid., 45-6.

[242] French, 41. *Cambridge Dictionary of Irish Biography,* http://dib.cambridge.org.elib.tcd.ie/, (accessed 13 May 2014).

firm publish 30 and 39 new books respectively (their highest annual output), with several political titles on the post-Rising landscape including a reprint of James Connolly's *Labour in Ireland,* Eamon DeValera's *Ireland's Case Against Conscription,* Darrell Figgis's *The Gaelic State in the Past and the Future,* Sean Milroy's *Memories of Mountjoy,* William O'Brien's *Sinn Fein and their Enemies,* and Warre Bradley Wells's *An Irish Apologia: Some Thoughts on Anglo-Irish Relations and the War.*[243] Maunsel's extensive engagement with the Press Censor's Office between 1916 and 1919 demonstrates that the authorities were suspicious of the firm's publishing – their premises were raided and searched on several occasions with those present taken away for further questioning.[244] As both publishers and printers of their work, Maunsel would have faced a double sanction for the publication of any work considered seditious or inflammatory, but Roberts navigated his way through the post-Rising difficulties successfully. In 1917 new literary talent emerged with the publication of Austin Clarke's first work, *The Vengeance of Fionn,* and in 1918 Brinsley MacNamara's (John Weldon) *The Valley of the Squinting Windows* was the first of several of that author's titles to be published by Maunsel.

Roberts, however, made increasingly imprudent business decisions, printing excessive copies of too few titles on the strength of the compensation money, burdening the firm with unsold stock and branching out unsuccessfully into office supplies, and even more bizarrely into 'fancy goods'. He had registered a separate printing company under his name in 1917 at the Baggot Street offices and in 1920 he successfully secured a guarantee of up to £20,000 in capital from Lawrence Casey, the Managing Director of the newly-formed Irish National Assurance Company. Roberts seems to have used a review in the *Freeman's Journal* which

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[243] Hutton Checklist, 105-7. Maunsel's publication output averaged 17 titles a year, with 12 in 1905, including 6 Yeats's books previously published, 5 plays from the Abbey Theatre Series and Katharine Tynan's *Innocencies*, previously published by A. H. Bullen; 16 in 1906, with new work by Padraic Colum, Thomas Keohler, Frederick Ryan and Ella Young; 27 in 1907; 19 in 1908; 17 in 1909; 13 in 1910; 21 in 1911 (including 9 posthumous editions of Synge); 22 in 1912; 20 in 1913; 17 in 1914; 22 in 1915; 18 in 1916; 30 in 1917 (the year the firm received the compensation money for the destruction of its premises and stock in the Easter Rising); 42 in 1918; 28 in 1919; 8 in 1920; 16 in 1921 (when the firm was trading as Maunsel & Roberts, with Roberts having bought out Hone); 9 in 1922; and only 2 titles in 1923-25 including *Ireland's War Record.*

[244] French, 65. Verbal information received from Edward Lysaght. The Press Censor's Office was established on 1 June 1916 under the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA), but passed to civilian administration on 20 November 1916. It operated until 30 April 1919. At the time French wrote the chapter on the Press Censor, the files were not open to public inspection under regulations for 'Closed Period Records', although she was granted access subject to review of her work by the Keeper of State Papers. She therefore wrote the chapter without identifying individual titles or authors as some of the latter were still alive when her M.Litt thesis was published. The total submissions of books and pamphlets submitted to the Censor by publishers other than Maunsel in the period was around 20. It is difficult to ascertain how many were submitted by Maunsel but French records that there are 75 entries extant on the Press Censor's Files relating to Maunsel alone, as well as an additional 91 letters related to the company.

described Maunsel as a 'National Institution' to persuade Casey that his company's investment would be an act of patriotism in that significant year. Hone and MacLysaght were initially reluctant to let Roberts effectively buy out the company, but were persuaded by Roberts that his proposal to pay off the (substantial) company overdraft, compensate shareholders and make adequate capital available was in the best interests of the company, and on 12 November 1920, the firm became Maunsel & Roberts Limited.[245]

The Articles of Association vested almost complete power in Roberts at the expense of Hone, Lysaght and Thomas Bodkin, and the three directors seem to have been reluctant, or more likely unable, to fight Roberts on the issue.[246] On 3 December 1920, underwritten by Casey's company, Maunsel & Roberts issued a prospectus for investment to cover the buy-out of Roberts' printing equipment, stock and debt by the new company. The prospectus listed thirty-three of the firm's prominent authors together with a laudatory description of past activities.[247] The first author on the list was Eamon de Valera, but there was no mention of Hone, St John Ervine, Sean O'Casey or W. B. Yeats. The liabilities and assets of the existing company were detailed together with the plans for 'wholesale dealing in books, stationery, fancy goods, paper and other goods.'[248] Despite the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Irish Independent* respectively opining that 'Messrs. Maunsel won the right to rank as a National Institution and Messrs. Maunsel & Roberts are destined, we trust, not only to maintain, but to improve on their record', and that 'the amalgamation of the two firms should make an ideal combination…', the subscription was an abject failure, raising only £350 and catastrophically leaving Lawrence Casey liable for £14,465 cash to make up the almost complete lack of uptake of shares. Casey was ruined by the transaction after the Irish National Assurance Company took legal action against him to recover the monies which had not been sanctioned by his co-directors.[249] Hone and Bodkin severed their links with the firm by the summer of 1921. Unfortunately for the company, Roberts then proceeded to spend the firm's entire capital of £20,000 on stationery and fancy goods (including £9,000 at a trade fair in Zurich) within eighteen months.

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[245] French, 69-70.
[246] Thomas Bodkin (1887-1961) was an art historian and board member and later Director of the National Gallery of Ireland from 1917-1935. He was a great friend and support of the artist Harry Clarke who illustrated *Ireland's Memorial Records, 1914-18* for Maunsel (1924).
[247] French, 81.
[248] Battersby & Co., Sales Catalogue. Early Printed Books Reading Room, Trinity College, Dublin.
[249] French, 82, 84-5. Casey had to sell his estate in 1924 to repay the INAC.

The last work to appear under the Maunsel and Roberts imprint in 1924 was the magnificent *Ireland's Memorial Records, 1914-1918,* described by the secretary to the Committee of the Irish National War Memorial as 'the finest piece of printing produced in Ireland in modern times.'[250] Rumours, however, were circulating about Roberts's finances and the trustees of the Synge estate, St John Ervine and other authors withdrew their books from the company, many transferring them to George Allen & Unwin in London. Roberts' next move was to raise three mortgages totalling £9,533 between 17 April and 26 June 1924, a desperate measure which prolonged the firm's life for just eighteen months while Roberts continued to spend money unchecked by any of the firm's directors, who by now included his wife – co-opted to the board by its deeply concerned members in the futile hope that she could control her husband. On 23 November 1925, a High Court Order was obtained by Maunsel & Roberts' mortgage holders to put the company into Receivership.[251] On 22 April 1926 the firm of Battersby & Co. auctioned the firm's plant and machinery, books, sheets, plates and moulds and general stock. The extent of Roberts' profligacy is apparent in the auction catalogue: 283 individual lots were itemised, including printing plant, typesetting and binding equipment, as well as individual items of stationary, such as notebooks, lavatory paper, umbrella rings, and pencils and pens, ran to over 300. There are some extraordinary quantities: including 122,270 pen holders, more than 77,000 assorted pens and pencils, 65,000 envelopes, 44,640 boxes of crayons and over 128,448 boxes of chalk.[252] Given the presence of the Educational Company, Folen's and Eason's in the school and college supplies business, it is impossible to understand how or where Roberts thought he could sell this stock. Five years before the Receivership, Joseph Hone wrote to Thomas Bodkin that the 'depreciation of Maunsel can be traced to [Roberts'] pre-occupation with the printing.'[253] This factor is clear in the Battersby catalogue which lists extensive printing plant including a Crown Folio Victoria Platen printing press (for large volumes), a double Crown Wharfedale Letter Press and a Royal Albion Handpress, a planing machine that had never been erected, perforating machines, wire stitching machines and about 7 tons of standing type and unprinted work in progress. The total book stock – both bound books and sheets – amounted to nearly 70,000 volumes, including 2,305 copies of Sean O'Casey's *Story of the Citizen Army,* priced at 1s., 2,564 copies of Violet Russell's *Heroes of the Dawn,* at 3s. 6d., and 993 copies of Padraic Pearse's *The Singer and other plays,* priced at 3s. W. G. Lyon

[250] Maunsel & Roberts leaflet, 'Appreciation of the Printing and Publishing of Maunsel & Roberts, Ltd', (1923), 1, quotation from a letter by Mr Serjeant Hanna to Roberts, n.d., quoted in French, 86.
[251] French, 85-8.
[252] Battersby & Co. Sale Catalogue.
[253] Bodkin papers, letter from Hone 6 October 1920, quoted in French, 71.

of the Talbot Press, which had been established in 1913 as the literary imprint of the Educational Company, itself formed in 1910, bought some of the stock of bound books and unbound sheets, as well as the plates and moulds of Pearse's collected works.[254] Unwinding the company took more than five years as the Official Receiver examined the complicated files and ledgers left behind by Roberts. Liabilities included unpaid royalties to over 250 authors for more than 800 books (this includes multiple editions of the same titles).[255]

The contemporary verdict of *The Bookman* on Maunsel emphasised the quality of many of the firm's publications and the significance of Ireland having at least one native publishing firm of international significance:

> Messrs. Maunsel have done the one thing which those acquainted with social conditions in the Irish capital would have said could not be done. They are Irish publishers who count with the greater world of London, and they have given a chance to the Irish or Anglo-Irish literature… It is to be placed to the credit of this young firm of publishers that it has published nothing unworthy, nothing without its real value and significance, while it has achieved some remarkable triumphs.[256]

Around the same time the *Glasgow Evening News* noted that the 'Irish literary movement, measured by its success in book production is becoming quite a formidable affair' but suggested that it was difficult to appreciate the extent of Irish output because by far the majority of books by Irish authors were issued from London. 'At the present moment, there is really only one firm – that of Maunsel & Co. – who set themselves out to keep the publishing tradition alive.'[257]

Maunsel is an important institution in the history of both the Irish Revival and the political upheavals that led to Independence. In its early years, it published many minor Revival writers who might otherwise not have found an outlet for their work. In its middle years, it published nationalist works that almost certainly would not have found publishers in Britain, especially in wartime, and after 1916 it was quick to publish works about the Easter Rising that

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[254] French, 90. As a consequence of this, some editions of Pearse's works appear with a Talbot Press binding but Maunsel & Company on the title page. The National Library of Ireland holds 13 books of Irish legends, stories and plays by published by the Talbot Press between 1894 and 1912, including titles by Standish James O'Grady, Lady Gregory, P. W. Joyce and James Clarence Mangan.
[255] French, 91.
[256] *The Bookman,* n.d., in Maunsel & Company catalogue of December 1916.
[257] *Glasgow Evening News*, n.d, in Maunsel & Company catalogue of December 1916.

contributed to the shaping of the political narrative in the years of war and nation-forming that followed. Maunsel published plays in the Abbey Theatre Series and works by James Stephens (before his move to Macmillan in London); Lennox Robinson, St John Ervine, Lynn Doyle, Brinsley MacNamara, Sean O'Casey and the young Austin Clarke, giving them and other young and unknown Irish writers an opportunity to be published – in Ireland – by a firm with an international reputation. George Robertson travelled to America and made connections with firms such as Dutton in New York and John Luce in Boston, and the firm uniquely for an Irish publisher had an office in London from 1912 at the premises of George Allen & Unwin with whom they entered a British co-publishing and distribution agreement in 1915.[258] However, in pursuing an almost wholly literary publishing strategy in support of the Literary Revival, the directors failed to understand the need for far more titles, including popular and cheaper titles, to cross-subsidise the list and maintain cash flow, and they also fell into the trap of commissioning titles according to their personal interests. Furthermore, the avowed uniqueness of their role in Irish publishing was to work against them. As Clare Hutton posits:

> Quality literature was not in continuous supply nor, when it could be obtained, was it routinely profitable. The authors of quality literature who published with Maunsel could choose, or may have already chosen, to publish with a larger and more established publishing firm in Britain, on more favourable terms. In these cases, publication with Maunsel was not necessary but was guided by a desire to contribute to the cultural revival by publishing works in Ireland for Irish readers. This privilege of choice led the authors to have high expectations of the company; they did not wish to see the reputation of the Irish Literary Revival being tarnished through the publication of mediocre works by minor writers.[259]

Maunsel was ultimately undone by the recklessness of its manager who could not be contained by the firm's directors. Arguably, its greatest legacy lies in its success in winning national and international recognition as a publishing house of quality and merit, whose list reflected the twin initiatives of Literary Revival and advanced nationalism that were the prime cultural and political movements in Ireland in the years of its operation between 1905 and 1925.

Conclusion:

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[258] French, 37.
[259] Hutton Checklist, 105.

A survey of Irish publishing in the second half of the nineteenth century reveals a dichotomy between trade and non-trade publishing. Trade publishing encompasses a range of output from literature to popular fiction, while non-trade publishing includes the educational, official and devotional material which comprised the majority of Irish publications. The centripetal force of the London publishing industry created insurmountable barriers to the development of a healthy trade publishing business in Dublin, as literary authors very rationally chose to publish in London. However, the native non-trade business was healthy, of good quality and its leading firms won civic and commercial respect. Ambitious projects like the *Clare Island Survey* demonstrate the expertise that existed in the Dublin publishing and printing firms. The success of Irish educational publishers and printers in selling into the larger market in Britain has been a largely unremarked instance of Irish publishing success.

The establishment in Dublin of the small private press Dun Emer, later Cuala Press and Maunsel & Company was an aspect of Revivalism which sought to shift the contemporary Irish literary epicentre from London to Dublin. However, the publishing output of these firms over more than twenty-five years demonstrates how the early commercial impulses of Revivalists like T. W. Rolleston, Charles Gavan Duffy and Edmund Downey gave way to the romantic, uncommercial Yeatsian vision by the early 1900s. Neither Cuala nor Maunsel were run as successful commercial publishing firms. It should be noted, of course, that there was never such an intention with Cuala: it was a private press in the tradition of contemporary British private presses such as Kelmscott and Doves, and the American Roycroft Press which published no more than one or two books a year.[260] It illuminates, nonetheless, together with the Maunsel story, the distinct trajectory of Irish publishing in direct relation to the evolution of the Literary Revival. Yeats's characterisation of an Irish book trade of inferior quality books before the arrival of Cuala and Maunsel has certainly hindered the study of the Irish book trade in a longer historical view.[261] This chapter has attempted to complete that narrative, in order

[260] The Kelmscott Press was established by William Morris at Hammersmith in 1890; The Roycroft Press was established in upstate New York near Buffalo in 1895; the Doves Press was established also at Hammersmith by T. J. Cobden-Sanderson in 1900.

[261] The scope of this chapter does not cover the post-1922 period, but a key characteristic of the Irish book trade for several decades was the continuing inhibition of the development of a healthy publishing trade under conditions of economic stagnation and moral censorship. After 1922 conditions remained difficult for the Irish book trade with the Civil War of 1922-3 having a depressing effect on trade. The Censorship of Publications Act (1929) tempered any adventurousness that publishers may have had for several decades. Duffy and Gill returned to their former dominance of the publishing landscape together with the Catholic Talbot Press. Their output was a conservative, unexciting mix of 'schoolbooks, light literature and Catholic piety.' Kinane, 33. The editorial policy of the Talbot Press was to 'publish books about Ireland and books written by Irish authors', and their first venture was the *Every Irishman's Library* series modelled on Dent's *Everyman's Library*. The supervisory editors

to show the juxtaposition of small Irish firms such as Maunsel, which promoted cultural self-reliance, with both the larger bulk of the Irish book trade and the continuing pull of London on Irish authors. It is to the latter concern – the role of the metropolitan publishing industry in Irish literary life – that my next chapter will turn.

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included Alfred P. Graves, Padraic Colum, George A. Birmingham, The Earl of Dunraven, Tom Kettle and Douglas Hyde. John J. Dunne, 'The Educational Company of Ireland and the Talbot Press, 1910-1990', in *Long Room,* No. 42, 1997, 34-41, 35, 36. The Dundalgan Press in Dundalk was one of the few provincial houses doing any significant publishing, and Colm O'Lochlainn's Three Candles Press, established in 1926, aspired to high-quality literary publishing, but was limited in output. O'Lochlainn started The Candle Press in 1916 before establishing the firm of Martin Lester with Bulwer Hobson. Martin Lester evolved into the Three Candles Press. Irish language publishing was encouraged by the new State with An Gúm, the government imprint, founded in 1926. However, a report on the 1930 conference of the Associated Booksellers of Great Britain and Ireland observed that '[a]lmost 97 per cent of the books available through the book trade in Ireland is the product of English publishing houses, and is printed in England and Scotland. Even that rare bird – the successful Irish author – is for the most part printed and published abroad.' Stewart, *The Irish Book Lover,* 11. From the 1970s the easing of censorship, economic and population growth, and, crucially, changes in printing technology which facilitated the economic production of the small editions that suit the Irish market, combined to produce the conditions for a small but healthy modern publishing business in Ireland. Today, the publishing firm of Gill is still in business, but the biggest firms operating in Ireland are the Irish arms of the London and international firms of Penguin, Transworld and Hachette. The key difference is that in 2015, 65% of all books sold in the Republic of Ireland were issued by Irish-based publishers. On the other hand, much Irish academic publishing is now issued from British university presses and academic publishers.

Chapter 2: 'Coming to London': The Attraction of London for Irish Writers as a Centre of Literary and Publishing Life, 1884-1922

> 'At my father's wedding to my stepmother I met her magnificent brother, Stephen Gwynn – talk with him confirmed me in my idea: generally, authors lived in London.'[1]
>
> Elizabeth Bowen

This chapter examines the importance of London for Irish litterateurs in the period from c. 1884 to 1922, and establishes why and how London was the literary epicentre for an overlapping and intertwined cohort of Irish authors, publishers, journalists and reviewers who resided for at least some of their lives in the city. It draws on the theoretical framework of network theory supported by econometric data to identify the value of residence in London for the careers of Irish writers, and then discusses the opportunities provided by location in the foremost centre of world publishing. We have seen in the Introduction and Chapter One that London, the biggest city in the world at the time, had a dynamic, expanding publishing industry in the nineteenth century with increased readership and market growth driven by growing literacy, economic prosperity and imperial expansion. Irish authors, writing as they did in English, had access to a huge Anglophone market across the British Empire and in the United States. Irish men and women were active in the London literary marketplace in the period covered by this analysis, both in formal positions on the staff of publishing houses, periodicals and newspapers and literary societies, and in informal roles as mediators and gatekeepers, introducing and encouraging young and new writers. These 'pull' factors combined with the 'push' factor of a weak, undercapitalised native publishing trade provided a powerful incentive for Irish writers to migrate to London.

The centripetal magnetism of London for Irish people of all social classes, professions and occupations has been a matter of record for centuries. Migration from Ireland to Britain became common from the early seventeenth century as proximity to the neighbouring island facilitated seasonal labour during difficult economic circumstances at home. In the eighteenth century,

[1] John Lehmann (ed.), *Coming to London* (London: Phoenix House, 1957). Elizabeth Bowen, Chapter 6, 74-81, 77.

waves of specialised labour migration responded to skills shortages in Britain and, as the Industrial Revolution got underway, reflected the pattern of industrialisation. A substantial proportion of Irish immigrants came to London, but the majority were dispersed around Britain, with large Irish populations in cities and towns such as Liverpool, Glasgow, Manchester, Cardiff, Dundee, Bradford, Dumbarton, and Middlesborough. The Act of Union of 1801 precipitated economic and social decline in Dublin with the end of the Irish parliament, after which Dublin, 'the deposed capital' in Mary Daly's phrase, became increasingly stagnant and provincial as the nineteenth century progressed.[2] The arrival of the first steam packet service across the Irish Sea in 1818, between Belfast and Glasgow, further facilitated movement between the islands, with services from Dublin and Cork following soon after, while the coming of the railways after 1830 fostered migration on a greater scale than ever before.[3] During the nineteenth century, the Irish were the largest group of immigrants in Britain, with the Irish-born numbering over 600,000 by 1851.[4] London, however, was the chief destination for the elite, predominantly Protestant, lawyers, doctors, authors and playwrights, clergymen and army officers over centuries.

In recovering a more expansive history of the London Irish of the eighteenth century, David O'Shaughnessy points to recent work, including his own and that of John Bergin, Toby Barnard, Thomas M. Truxes and Craig Bailey, which opens up a new perspective which 'move[s] away from a victim diaspora and the negative, occasionally self-pitying, connotations that this conceptual framework evokes', towards 'a more positive conception of diaspora, one that emphasizes the distinctive and enriching life produced from the interaction of the Irish with natives of their host country.' O'Shaughnessy hopes that 'identifying and examining formal and informal networks operating across the decades of the eighteenth century will lead to recognition that the Irish diaspora, its various manifestations, is an integral part of the story of London itself and not to be read as a side-show provider of eclectic anecdotes somehow outside of the "real" history of the city.'[5]

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[2] Mary Daly, *Dublin: The Deposed Capital* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1984).
[3] Before the Famine Britain was the favoured destination for Irish emigrants. Transatlantic migration dominated between 1850 and 1880, before a pattern of mixed migration to Britain and America was established which waxed and waned according to the economic circumstances of each country.
[4] Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley, *Irish Identities in Victorian Britain* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 7.
[5] David O'Shaughnessy, '"Tolerably Numerous": Recovering the London Irish of the Eighteenth Century' in *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (January 2015), 1-13, 5, 6.

We can expand that paradigm to the the nineteenth century when the two great inventions of the Industrial Revolution – steam and iron – were harnessed to transform printing technology, which, together with population growth and increasing literacy, created the conditions for a huge expansion of newspapers and periodicals providing opportunities for Irish journalists, writers and critics, many from the rising educated, English-speaking, Catholic middle-class. Literary emigration to London after the Union and Catholic Emancipation in 1829 was no longer solely the eighteenth-century model of the Anglo-Irish Protestant writer: Catholic novelists such as Thomas Moore (1779-1852), John Banim (1798-1842) and Gerald Griffin (1803-1840) made their way to London by the 1820s. F. A. Fahy and D. J. O'Donoghue in their 1889 survey *Ireland in London* observe the huge number of Irish journalists in the capital. They note that *Blackwood's Magazine,* established in 1817, attracted Irish writers after William Maginn (1794-1842) became a contributor.[6] When Maginn left to co-found and edit *Fraser's Magazine* in 1830, Irish authors such as Samuel Lover (1797-1868), Thomas Crofton Croker (1798-1854), and later Frances Power Cobbe (1822-1904) and William Allingham (1824-89) also contributed to the magazine.[7] Maginn's fellow Cork writer Francis Sylvester Mahony (1804-66) later edited the magazine. The arrival of *Punch* in 1841 gave further opportunities to Irish writers. As well as writing and reviewing, the Irish in London were editing journals and daily papers from the 1830s: Nicholas Byrne (?-1835) edited and owned *The Morning Post* (which had a sizeable cohort of Irish critics and editors on its staff throughout the nineteenth century),[8] Pierce Egan (1772-1849) *The London Journal,* Francis Sylvester Mahony edited the *Globe*, William Russell (1812-1880) and Richard Dowling (1846-1898) *Tinsley's Magazine,* Justin McCarthy (1830-1912) preceded John Morley as editor of *The Morning Star*, T. P. O'Connor (1848-1929) edited *The Star*, and Oscar Wilde (1854-1900) *Woman's World.*[9]

The political orientation of a newspaper inevitably had an impact not only its view of Irish politics, but on the opportunities it provided for Irish writers. Thus, although *The Times* was

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[6] F. A. Fahy and D. J. O'Donoghue, *Ireland in London* (Evening Telegraph Reprints: VII, Dublin, 1889), 152. Open examinations for the Indian Civil Service were introduced in 1855. John Banim first wrote plays. His *Damon and Pythagoras* played to much acclaim at Covent Garden in 1821. In 1825 in collaboration with his brother Michael, he published the first of a series of popular Irish novels, *Tales by the O'Hara Family.*

[7] Fahy & O'Donoghue, 2.

[8] Little biographical material is extant for Nicholas Byrne. He was the editor and proprietor of the Morning Post which took a controversial stance on the politics of the day, being strongly pro-Tory. In 1833 he was apparently attacked late at night in his office and sustained a blow to his head. He remained in a coma for two years before dying. His son William Pitt Byrne (named after the Prime Minister) succeeded him. 'Drinking Fountain, Bryanston Square. Erected in memory of the late William Pitt Byrne, M.A., *The Builder,* 12 September 1863, 654.

[9] Fahy and O'Donoghue, 15.

nicknamed for its celebrated Waterford editor, Edward Sterling (1773-1847), known as 'The Thunderer', few Irishmen or women wrote for the paper which Fahy and O'Donoghue considered had 'an Irish record which is unrivalled for everything that is venomous, vile, and unscrupulous. Though its opinions on most other subjects have changed more than once, it has preserved its consistency so far as Irish affairs are concerned, as its opinions on Ireland and Irishmen have every been of the deadly hostile character.' The *Daily Telegraph* similarly had few Irish on the staff although Oscar Wilde's elder brother, Willie, was a leader writer on the paper as well as being a drama critic for *Punch* and *Vanity Fair. The Saturday Review [of Politics, Literature, Science and Art]*, a Peelite, small-l, liberal Conservative paper, considered by Fahy and O'Donoghue to be 'bitterly anti-Irish in politics' was 'generally impartial in literary matters', with contributors such as Oscar Wilde, Standish Hayes O'Grady, George Sydney Smythe (7th Earl of Strangford), the Celtic scholar Whitley Stokes, John Ormsby, George Bernard Shaw and the antiquarian, W. J. Loftie.[10] Its editor for much of the 1890s was the Irish-born journalist Frank Harris.

The need to employ journalists who could explain Irish politics to a British audience during the years of the Famine, the Land Wars and the Home Rule debates created significant opportunities for the Irish in the second half of the nineteenth century, especially on Liberal papers which were politically more sympathetic to Ireland. Thus, the 'advanced Liberal' *Daily News,* founded in 1846 by Charles Dickens as a rival to Conservative papers such as *The Times* and the *Morning Chronicle,* had many Irish contributors including its early editor Eyre Evans Crowe, and most well-known, Justin McCarthy, who was on the staff of the paper for twenty-three years, and was a parliamentary leader writer. Other notable Irish journalists on the *Daily News* included Percy Hetherington Fitzgerald, Frances Power Cobbe, and earlier Dionysus Lardner and Francis Sylvester Mahony. Although originally a Conservative journal, the *Pall Mall Gazette* became distinctly liberal between 1883-90 when the campaigning journalist W. T. Stead was editor. Stead fostered Irish writers, especially women, and notable Irish contributors in the 1880s included George Bernard Shaw, who was literary editor from 1885-8, George Moore, Lady Colin Campbell (nee Gertrude Elizabeth Blood), Flora Shaw (Lady Lugard) and T. P. O'Connor. Daniel Crilly and Katharine Tynan were later contributors. The

[10] Fahy and O'Donoghue, 152.

many wars in the second half of the nineteenth-century provided further opportunity for war correspondents, a large number of whom were Irish.[11]

We can see, therefore, the presence of a significant cohort of Irish men and women earning a living by their pen in London throughout the nineteenth century. Many journalists were also the authors of novels, biographies and histories, and were well served by the expanding publishing industry. The index to Rolf Loeber and Magda Loeber's *A Guide to Irish Fiction, 1650-1900* demonstrates the scale of publishing in London in comparison to Ireland. It lists 640 publishers of Irish writers of fiction operating in London over the period of their study, with around 17 of those dominating the list.[12] By contrast, 152 publishers are listed in Dublin, though the majority of those have only one or two entries, suggesting that their business was chiefly the printing of material other than books.[13] Only five publishers have entries of any substance, though far fewer than the London publishers: in descending order James Duffy, M. H. Gill, William Curry, Sealy, Bryers & Walker and the Talbot Press.[14] The major publishers of drama and poetry, which are not included in the Loeber and Loeber list, were also predominantly based in London. John Dicks published much of Dion Boucicault and Lord Byron's drama, and Edward Moxon, a poet himself, was a notable publisher of poetry. Significantly, in a statistic which underlines the importance of London, Loeber and Loeber find that while 656 works of fiction by Irish writers were published in London in the 1890s, only 28 (or less than 3%) were published in Dublin.[15]

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[11] The *Daily News* employed many Irishmen and women, often as war correspondents: William Howard Russell writing for *The Times* on the Crimean War (1853-56), Edwin Laurence Godkin for the *Daily News* (Crimean War, and American Civil War, 1861-65), James Carlile McCoan (Crimean), Emily Crawford and Henry Bruce Armstrong (Franco-German 1870-71), and Henry Bruce Armstrong (Franco-German, 1870-71)), John Augustus O'Shea for the *Standard* (Franco-Prussian War, Indian Famine of 1877-8), Edmund O'Donovan for the *Daily News* (Second Anglo-Afghan War, 1878-1880, and Sudan, Mahdist Wars, 1881-99), Frank Le Poer Power (Sudan), the prominent Fenians James Joseph O'Kelly (Sudan), John Philip Nolan (Abyssinian Mission of 1868). Frank Power and Edmund O'Donovan were both killed in Sudan within a few months of each other at the end of 1883 and the beginning of 1884

[12] Rolf Loeber and Magda Loeber, *A Guide to Irish Fiction, 1650-1900* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), 1471-6. The publishing houses with the most index citations are Richard Bentley, Cassell & Co., Chapman & Hall, Chatto & Windus, Henry Colburn, Downey & Co (including Ward & Downey), Thomas Fisher Unwin, William Heinemann, Hurst & Blackett, Hutchinson, Methuen, Routledge, Smith Elder, Tinsley Brothers, Ward, Lock (no connection with Ward & Downey), and F. V. White.

[13] As the Dictionary covers fiction publishing, it does not reflect the output of academic and official publishers such as E. Ponsonby, Hodges Figgis, Easons, Browne & Nolan, and Alex. Thom.

[14] Loeber and Loeber, 1470-1. Talbot Press was established in 1913 (although between 1894 and 1912 some 13 titles were issued under the imprint, most likely by Blackie & Co., who published from the premises that the Talbot Press and its sister company, The Educational Company (est. 1910), later occupied at 89 Talbot Street. There are 32 publishers listed in Belfast, but their fiction output was extremely limited. Ibid, 1469.

[15] Loeber and Loeber, *xci*.

In her essay in 'Coming to London', a collection of reminiscences published in 1957 by authors including J. B. Priestley, Rose Macaulay, Christopher Isherwood and Leonard Woolf on the role London played in their literary lives, Elizabeth Bowen 'suppose[d] that literary London [then] was, as it is now, multi-cellular', a description which the volume's editor, John Lehmann, emphasised in his introduction.[16] For Bowen and most of the contributors to the volume – all of whom had previously written for *The London Magazine* – London and its interconnected literary circles, the 'cells', provided a 'stimulating focus of talk and creative activity' essential 'if ideas are to circulate and invention to be refreshed.'[17] J. B. Priestley lamented the disappearance with the Second World War of the long-standing tradition of 'large evening parties' which 'enabled young writers, to meet on easy convivial terms, their distinguished elders', suggesting a key benefit was that they 'helped banish those peculiar and morbid notions that young writers cherish in loneliness.'[18]

Early in the development of book history as a discrete academic field, Robert Darnton grappled with the problem of 'interdisciplinarity run riot' as the 'convergence of several disciplines on a common set of problems' across countries with varying indigenous traditions of scholarship led researchers in different directions, thereby inhibiting a holistic view of the field.[19] Thirty years later, interdisciplinarity in the internet age has allowed data-mining on a previously inconceivable scale to provide empirical evidence for Bowen and Priestley's intuitive understanding of the importance of London as a driver of literary talent and output. Recent work on social network analysis and agglomeration economics, in particular, has examined the gains associated with the geographical clustering of interrelated networks on creative output. In another discipline, sociologists have examined the concept of 'homophily' to explain how 'similarity breeds connection', and how and why, therefore, networks of like-minded people tend to form in one place, as with authors and publishers in London.[20] In 1994 Wasserman and

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[16] Lehmann, *Coming to London,* 79-80. 'Then' was the post-First World War period when Bowen lived at Earls' Court while working at the LCC School of Art in Bloomsbury. The reminiscences, edited by John Lehmann, are by William Plomer, V. S. Pritchett, J. B. Priestley, Geoffrey Grigson, Christopher Isherwood, William Sansom, Rose Macaulay, Leonard Woolf, George Barker, Elizabeth Bowen, John Middleton Murry, Allan Pryce-Jones, Jocelyn Brooke, and Edith Sitwell.

[17] Ibid, 9.

[18] Ibid, 66. Jocelyn Brooke, however, wondered if whether 'for some writers the urban ambience may provide just the kind of stimulation they need; for others – and I suspect they are in a majority – in London tends progressively to inhibit the creative faculty. Ibid, 153-4. I will argue against this point later in the chapter.

[19] Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?' in *Daedalus,* Vol. 111, No. 3 'Representation and Realities', (Summer, 1982), 65-83, 66-7.

[20] M. McPherson, L Smith-Lovin and James Cook, '"Birds of a Feather": Homophily in Social Networks', *Annual Review of Sociology*, No. 27 (September 2001).

Faust seminally examined methods for the analysis of social networks with a focus on applications of these methods to many substantive examples, which facilitated the use of the theory across a wide body of disciplines, including the humanities.[21] Nancy Katz et al have examined how scholars of network theory are drawn from a broad range of disciplines including sociology, economics, mathematics, psychology, political science, anthropology, communication and epidemiology. Katz et al synthesise the output of social network theory over the past two decades to examine the value of social capital in advancing the interests of individual within larger networks, the benefits of social exchange and dependency, mutual or collective interest, flows of knowledge within a group, and homophily.[22] The expanding adaptation of network theory from economics and social sciences across to the humanities is in an early phase, but these works in particular are providing new tools of scholarship for our field.[23] Thus, when the conceptual framework of social network analysis is applied to what is known about the interaction of Irish writers with each other, as well as their London publishers, agents and editors, the benefits of 'coming to London' are amplified and become quantifiable.

This chapter, therefore, posits that Irish writers in London benefited significantly from the concentration of a strong publishing industry in the city, and well as from networks that were social (i.e. networks of friendship and acquaintance); informal (spontaneous, inter-organisational, non-hierarchical); formal (e.g. contractual relationships between authors and their publishers, agents, library suppliers, booksellers, printers); and affiliative (membership of organisations such as the Irish Literary Society, the Rhymers' Club, the Society of Authors, The Booksellers Association, and The Publishers' Association).

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[21] Stanley Wasserman and Katherine Faust, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[22] Nancy Katz et al, 'Network Theory and Small Groups', *Small Group Research,* Vol. 35, No. 3 (June 2004), 307-22, 315.

[23] Pierre Bourdieu influentially extended the economic concept of 'capital' – generally held to mean financial resources available for use – to encompass 'social' and 'cultural' capital, and further to 'symbolic' capital, arguing that it is 'impossible to account for the structure and funding of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory. 'The Forms of Capital', (trans. Richard Nice), in J. Richardson (ed.), *Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 46-58, 46. With Loic Wacquant, Bourdieu posited that self-interested individuals value 'social capital' as 'the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition', similarly providing another theoretical framework in which to analyse London-Irish literary networks. P. Bourdieu and L. J. D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 27.

Network Theory and the Significance of Geographic Clustering

The process of the development of a substantial publishing industry in London, supported by allied trades, was one common to other industries. Economists examining the impact of geographical clustering reference Alfred Marshall's seminal *Principles of Economics* (1890) in which he posited that:

> When an industry has chosen a location for itself, it is likely to stay there long: so great are the advantages which people following the same skilled trade get from near neighbourhood to each other. The mysteries of the trade become no mysteries; but are as it were *in the air*... Good work is rightly appreciated, inventions and improvements in machinery, in processes and the general organization of the business have their merits promptly discussed; if one man starts a new idea, it is taken up by others and combined with suggestions of their own; and thus it becomes the source of further new ideas. And presently, subsidiary trades grow up in the neighbourhood, supplying it with implements and materials, organizing its traffic, and in many ways conducing to the economy of its material.[24]

Since Marshall's textbook, there has emerged a considerable body of economic work on the development and benefits of clustering, from the industrial centres of Victorian Britain to the City of London, Silicon Valley and other financial and technological hubs today. Little attention was given until the past few years on the association between clustering (or agglomeration) and creative output. Much of the recent work in this field has been initiated by John O'Hagan and his research students in the Department of Economics at Trinity College, Dublin, who looked first at music, then art and have more recently turned their attention to literature.[25] O'Hagan and Karol Borowiecki have assessed the significance of migration and clustering for composers.[26] Borowiecki surveyed the impact of 'geographic clustering on the productivity of classical composers [and found] heterogeneity of [beneficial] returns across

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[24] Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics* (London: Macmillan, 1890), 225. By coincidence, this is the text chosen by Sir Frederick Macmillan to advance the Net Book Agreement the same year. Author's emphasis to highlight Marshall's influential phrase.

[25] K. J. Borowiecki, 'Geographic Clustering and productivity: An Instrumental variable approach for classical composers', *Journal of Urban Economics,* Vol. 73, No. 1 (2013), 94-110. C. Hellmanzik, 'Location Matters: Estimating cluster premiums for prominent modern artists.' *European Economic Review,* Vol. 54, No. 2 (2010), 199-218. Both Borowiecki and Hellmanzik completed their PhD theses at Trinity College Dublin under the supervision of John O'Hagan.

[26] John O'Hagan and Karol Borowiecki, 'Birth Location, Migration, and Clustering of Important Composers: Historical Patterns', *Historical Methods: Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*), Vol. 43, No. 2 (April-June 2010), 81-90.

clusters and composer quality.'[27] Christiane Hellmanzik similarly has analysed the gains from the clustering of prominent visual artists and found that their artwork in later years 'is valued higher [in the auction market] when produced in a creative cluster.'[28] O'Hagan's research student, Sara Mitchell, meanwhile, has over the past three years created a unique purpose-build dataset of writers born in Great Britain and Ireland between 1700 and 1925 to analyse the 'productivity gains [for authors] associated with the geographic clustering of literary activity' in London.[29]

This thesis seeks, in addition to examining the materiality of the book and the mechanics of book production, distribution and reception, to amplify the importance of books and reading for the 'mentalities' of society. In *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period,* William St Clair, as noted in the Introduction, argues influentially that reading shapes historical progress and the development of nations, and that knowing what people are reading helps our understanding of the society in which we live. Mitchell's work on the gains associated with the geographical clustering of authors in London references the same argument and quotes St Clair, who in seeking to expand the scope of book history studies in *Reading Nation* a decade ago, implores scholars: 'Can we find explanations which apply to the print era as a whole? Can we begin to model the links between texts, books, reading, changing mentalities, and wider historical effects?'[30] A recurring problem for the economic modelling of the literary market place has been the absence of reliable data sets over a sufficiently long period of time to produce empirical and usable conclusions. This situation is steadily being alleviated by advances in digital humanities and greater collaboration between scholars across a range of disciplines in both humanities and sciences.

Mitchell's work, presented at the Creative Networks and Cultural Output conference at Trinity College, Dublin in June 2015, makes an important contribution to the understanding of the gains associated with author 'clustering' in London. She developed her dataset by compiling biographical information on every 'literary artist' associated with 'British and Celtic literature

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[27] K. J. Borowiecki, 'Geographic Clustering and Productivity: An instrumental variable approach for classical composers.' *Journal of Urban Economics,* Vol. 73, No. 1, 5-19, 5.
[28] Hellmanzik, 'Location Matters', 200.
[29] '"London Calling?" Agglomeration Economies in Literature since 1700'. Sara Mitchell, unpublished paper presented at the 'Creative Networks and Cultural Output' conference, Trinity College, Dublin, 20-21 June 2015, Courtesy of the author.
[30] William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1.

born between 1700-1925 with an entry in *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*.'[31] Mitchell's definition of 'literary artist' encompasses writers who had made 'at least one unique contribution to poetry or prose', eliminating with this methodology individuals whose contributions were limited to translations, textbooks, song-writing, literary criticism (including reviewing), or publishing. She collates data on a sample of 370 British and Irish authors in respect of their 'age, lifespan, age at first publication, number of publications per annum, career duration, gender, and location for every year of the author's life.'[32] As we will see, her key findings provide new and original econometric support for the assertion that London was the centre of Anglophone publishing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and that the factors that attracted authors to London were many and interlocking.

Mitchell finds, firstly, that just over 21% of authors in her sample were born in London, a percentage far in excess of other cities in Britain and Ireland – Dublin, Edinburgh, Oxford and Cambridge – where some clustering, although far less than London was observed. Secondly, in any given year until the end of the nineteenth century, at least 30% of all authors were residing in London, with 50% or more in certain years. She notes these peaks at c. 1777-80, 1850, and then fairly consistently in the years 1880-1900, after which there was a sharp and sustained reduction to 25% or less for most of the twentieth century. Thirdly, Mitchell finds that of the sample of 370 authors, seventy-one never lived in London and only four authors never left London, indicating that approximately 80% of all British and Irish authors sampled in the period spent at least some time in their careers residing in London, allowing her to conclude that 'the clustering intensity of London is not driven by the fact that London is a key birth location and is instead due to migration in and out of London.' Fourthly, Mitchell finds empirical evidence that residence in London both increased authorial output and earnings. London-based authors until the end of the nineteenth century 'consistently produce at least as many publications as all authors in other locations combined.'[33] Once again, peaks occur in the mid-eighteenth century and most strikingly of all – and in support of this thesis – from 1880-1900, after which there is a steady downward trend in authorial production in London. These authors, however, did not relocate to other cities in the British Isles, although there are small peaks noted in Dublin and Oxford before the First World War, and relatively steady but small

[31] Individual-level data was then collected from three further online resources: *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (2014), *The Literary Encyclopaedia* (2014), and *Literature Online* (2014).
[32] Mitchell, 7.
[33] Ibid, 7-9. Figure 1: Share of Authors in Major Cities, 1750-1975.

figures thereafter. Further research into where authors went and for what reasons will be instructive in this regard, but it suggests a contradiction of the 'Irish-Ireland' narrative of a significant migration of Irish authors back to Dublin in the first decade of the twentieth century to a re-energised Dublin of the Abbey Theatre and Maunsel & Co publishers.[34]

Mitchell's data also finds that residence in London gives authors a near-25% increase in the probability of publishing in a given year, and a productivity gain of over 10%, and that these statistically very significant gains persist over time, after a one-year time lag suggesting that 'authors undergo an initial learning process and receive lasting gains from learning.' Significantly, Mitchell finds that these returns are not heterogeneous, and that 'higher-quality' authors – using both contemporary critical attention and frequency of subsequent citation as criteria for the identification of such authors – receive the highest gains from their residence in London. More talented individuals, therefore, have the skills to develop stronger local networks and better knowledge to maximise the resources available to them in London across the wider publishing landscape. Mitchell concludes by proposing that:

> [P]roductivity gains from agglomeration effects as both a by-product and driver of geographic clustering of cultural production, as the geographic concentration of creative works is certain to have played an important role in the transfer and diffusion of knowledge, as well as the generation of new knowledge and ideas… [A]uthors in London likely have access to stronger and more advantageous social networks, in terms of increased connections with their peers (other authors), individuals with influence within the publishing industry (agents, publishers, critics), and those [who are] a part of the intellectual and cultural elite (artists, musicians, wealthy patrons). Authors in London also likely took advantage of the related economic infrastructure and gained from the resulting economies of scale, allowing for a more efficient transformation of ideas into physical book-form.[35]

Finally, she suggests that further research is needed to fully understand the 'channels through which authors receive these gains.'[36]

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[34] Research for this thesis points to the growth of London and the increasing expense of living there from the beginning of the twentieth century as the cause of relocation of authors out of London to provincial towns and the countryside. An increasing number of obituaries note the place of death as outside London.
[35] Mitchell, 21, 19.
[36] Ibid, 21.

In another example of interdisciplinarity with an analytic methodology that can be applied to Irish literary history, the cultural historian Joep Leerssen examines cultural nationalism in Europe in the nineteenth century and argues that it 'followed a separate dynamic and chronology from political nationalism. Cultural nationalism involved an intense cross-border traffic of ideas and intellectual initiatives by highly mobile individuals, and its participating actors often operated extraterritorially and in multi-national intellectual networks.' Leerssen suggests that to optimise the study of cultural nationalism, a theoretical framework based on a 'supranational comparative approach, rather than that of country-by-country, would facilitate necessary concentration' on the 'exchange and transfer of ideas and activities' between individuals.[37] Leerssen cites the work of the project *Philologists and National Learning* which has compiled a matrix of cultural activities that looks at multiple actors – writers, intellectuals, artists, reviewers, and curators – to locate them and their output in the context of European cultural and political history, in order to chart how and to what extent these 'men of letters' formed communication networks, exchanging information and inspiration, while working on the interstices between various cultural fields such as 'linguistics, literary history, cultural history, folklore study, the preparation of text and source editions … and the writing of literary texts like historical novels or national epics.'[38] Leerssen argues that complex as these processes are, they can nonetheless be 'mapped as a specific array of concerns, allowing us to address the agenda of cultural nationalism in analytical rather than merely descriptive terms.'[39] Thus, far from confusing the subject, Darnton's implied fear for book history studies of 'interdisciplinarity run riot' finds the field dynamic and healthy in the second decade of the twenty-first century, with the work of multiple disciplines greatly increasing our view of literary history by adding, in Leerssen's words, analysis to description.

Having established the theoretical framework for examining London-Irish literary networks, we can examine how the theory was borne out in practice. We know that the publishing landscape in London by the 1880s, in respect of both books and newspapers and periodicals, was vibrant and exerted a metropolitan magnetism for Irish writers. Sara Mitchell's findings that migration of authors to London peaked between 1880 and 1900 provide empirical evidence for the narrative of the flowering of literary talent in the metropolis at the *fin de siècle* although

[37] Joep Leerssen, 'Nationalism and the cultivation of culture' in *Nations and Nationalism,* Vol. 12, No. 4 (2006), 559-78, 559, 568.
[38] See http://www.spinnet.eu/culturalnationalism. Now renamed SPIN (Study Platform on Interlocking Nationalism).
[39] Leerssen, 568.

it is only part of the story. Contemporaneously, as noted above, the Irish litterateurs F. A. Fahy and D. J. O'Donoghue's 1889 survey of *Ireland in London* pointed to the 'thousands' of Irishmen in the British Civil Service after open entrance examinations were introduced in 1870 who 'seem to be more successful in this profession than in any other, judging by their numbers and their relatively high position in it.'[40] They recorded the large numbers of Irish doctors and barristers with thriving practices, and they particularly noted the association of Irishmen with Fleet Street and the publishing industry, commenting that '[i]ndirectly, every publishing house has had its Irish associations…'[41] George Bernard Shaw famously wrote that '[e]very Irishman who felt that his business in life was on the higher planes of the cultural professions felt that he must have a metropolitan domicile and an international culture; that is, he felt it his first business to get out of Ireland. For London, as London, or England as England, I cared nothing […] But as the English language was my weapon, there was nothing for it but to go to London.'[42]

In the following sections I will look the specific examples of how a number of Irish authors benefited from being in London; how the clustering effect of publishers, magazines, reviewers and literary societies provided professional and social opportunities; and how in their interactions with each other and with their publishers, we see in action networks of authors that are social, informal, formal and affiliative. Firstly, I will explore the experiences of Irish women writers in London. Secondly, I will discuss the important of literary societies for Irish authors taking as examples, firstly, the Rhymers' Club, arguing that it originated in a Dublin-based network whose crucible was Trinity College, and showing that the relocation of its founding members to London facilitated a successful second iteration of that earlier network; and secondly, the Irish Literary Society formed in London in 1892. I will then move to examine the relationship between Irish writers and the staff at their publishing companies (e.g. editors and readers), taking as an example the relationship that existed between W. B. Yeats and the publisher Thomas Fisher Unwin and Unwin's influential reader, Edward Garnett. Finally, I will show that the wider political context in the turbulent years of the period covered in this thesis impacted the careers of Irish authors in London.

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[40] Fahy and O'Donoghue, 11. The authors commented that 'the Irish medical men of London are another important body, large in numbers, and perhaps superior in status to their English rivals.' Ibid.

[41] Edmund Downey, *Twenty Years Ago: A Book of Anecdotes Illustrating Literary Life in London* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1905), 15.

[42] George Bernard Shaw, *Prefaces* (London: Constable 1934), 642; quoted in Gearóid O'Flaherty, 'George Bernard Shaw and the Irish Literary Revival', in P. J. Mathews (ed.), *New Voices in Irish Criticism* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 33-42, 33.

Irish Women Writers in London

Ireland in London lists the men of letters who were editors on the staff of newspapers and periodicals in London in the second half of the nineteenth century, but is silent on the prodigious output of Irish women in the city, who contributed short stories, reviews, essays and verse to numerous journals and newspapers. Fahy and O'Donoghue make scant reference to the Irish women authors in London, confining themselves to a brief mention of some in a section on 'notable litterateurs' at the end of their article.[43] In fact, there was a significant cohort of Irish women authors who enjoyed considerable success in London from around 1850 to 1910 when literature was a profession open to them long before those of medicine, the law or business.[44] (Such was the number of Irish women writers in London at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, that an analysis of their activities risks becoming encyclopaedic. As far as possible, I will attempt to cite examples of writers who can represent a wider group or cohort).

The Victorian generation that included Mrs S. C. Hall (Anna Maria Fielding, 1800-81), Mrs Cashel Hoey (Frances Sarah Johnston, 1830-1908) Mrs Riddell (Charlotte Eliza Lawson Cowan, 1832-1906), Rosa Mulholland (Lady Gilbert, 1841-1921), L. T. Meade (Elizabeth (Lillie) Thomasina Toulin, 1844-1914), and Mrs B. M. Croker (Bithia Mary Sheppard, c.1850-1920),[45] was followed by women who came to prominence in the 1890s as part of the New Woman phenomenon, and who included Sarah Grand (Frances Elizabeth Bellenden Clarke, Mrs McFall, 1854-1943), Iota (Katharine Hunt, later Mrs Mannington Caffyn, c.1853-1926), George Egerton (Mary Chavelita Dunne, later Mrs Egerton Clairmonte and then Mrs Golding Bright, 1859-1945),[46] as well as E. L. Voynich (Ethel Lilian Boole, 1864-1960), probably the best-selling Irish woman writer in history, whose *Risorgimento*-inspired novel *The Gadfly*

[43] The Paris-based journalist, Emily Crawford, is referenced, as are the astronomer Agnes Clerke (1842-1907) and her sister Ellen Mary Clerke, an author, journalist and poet. The Clerke sisters were born in Skibereen, Co. Cork and later moved to Dublin and then to London.

[44] Loeber and Loeber note rising numbers of female 'new Irish authors writing fiction' between 1860-1900, especially in the 1860s and 1880s. Ibid, *lv*.

[45] Other women of this generation include Elizabeth Owens Blackburne Casey (E. Owens Blackburne, 1848-1894), May Crommelin (Maria Henrietta de la Cherois, c. 1850-1930), Erminda Rentoul Esler (c. 1852-1924) and Lady Colin Campbell (Gertrude Elizabeth Blood, c. 1857-1911).

[46] Mary Chavelita Dunne was born in Melbourne and later lived in New Zealand, Germany, New York, Norway and Ireland. Her reputation was made by her collection of short stories, *Keynotes* (1893), which she wrote while living for a few years in London during her first marriage. In 1901 she married Reginald Golding Bright, the London-based literary agent for George Bernard Shaw and Somerset Maugham *inter alia*. She died in Sussex in 1945.

(1897) sold an estimated 5-10 million copies, mostly in Russian translation.[47] Women of the Irish Literary Revival included Charlotte O'Conor Eccles (1863-1911) and Katharine Tynan (Mrs H. A. Hinkson, 1859-1931).[48] In turn, at the beginning of the twentieth century these women were succeeded by authors such as Ella MacMahon (1867-1956) and Katherine Cecil Thurston (nee Madden, 1875-1911).

Many of these women – and those who remained in Ireland – have slipped from sight, subsumed into British literary history in studies of early Modernism, Decadence, Ibsenism or the New Woman movement, or judged to have written against the Revival or having been insufficiently 'Irish' or 'nationalist' by the early canon formers of the new Irish state such as Stephen Brown, Daniel Corkery and Ernest Boyd. In *The Irish New Woman* Tina O'Toole observes that 'the Irish aspect of the New Woman question has been occluded in mainstream history over the intervening century', and her work is one body that relocates them to Irish literary and political culture. O'Toole argues that the 'specific context of [the] foundational group of New Woman writers at that particular point in Irish history facilitated their breach with the dominant culture, giving them an impetus and the tools to construct alternative social realities in their fiction.'[49] Thus, when we look more closely at Irish women in London, we see that the metropolis provided women with the intellectual freedom and commercial and social opportunities that were not available to them in Ireland.

We can also see that the women came to London for different reasons. Mrs Hall, E. L. Voynich (Lily Boole) and Charlotte O'Conor Eccles came to live in London (respectively in 1815, 1865 and in the 1880s) after their mothers were widowed and left in reduced financial circumstances.[50] Mrs Cashel Hoey, Mrs Riddell, George Egerton, and Sarah Grand came to

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[47] E. L. Voynich was the Cork-born daughter of the Queen's (later University) College, Cork mathematician George Boole. After spending some time in Berlin and Paris she became interested in Russian politics, and on coming to London c. 1885 she met the Russian emigre Stepniak (Sergey Kravchinsky) whose *Underground Russia* (1883) had inspired her. Stepniak taught her enough Russian to facilitate research during her travels around Russian in 1887-9. On her return to London she became closely involved with Stepniak's journal, *Free Russia.* In 1897 she published the Risorgimento-inspired novel, *The Gadfly,* which proved popular with socialists. It was translated into Russian in 1898 and a further seventeen languages of the USSR after 1917, and became an iconic text of Communism in the years before the Second World War. It was made into a film with music by Shostakovich. Information from Patrick Waddington, 'Voynich, Ethel Lilian (1864-1960)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford University Press, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38488, (accessed 25 Oct 2012). See Chapter Three for information on Stepniak's connection with the Irish publisher Edmund Downey.

[48] O'Conor-Eccles used the pseudonym Hal Godfrey.

[49] Tina O'Toole, *The Irish New Woman* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 2.

[50] Loeber and Loeber, 534, 399.

London after being widowed themselves.[51] Rosa Mulholland's motivation to move to London was to study art; L. T. Meade to study in the reading room at the British Museum after the death of her mother and remarriage of her father; and Kathleen Hunt (Iota) to train as a nurse.[52] Erminda Rentoul Esler came to London from Donegal to marry her doctor husband in 1883, and Katharine Tynan came a decade later in 1893 after her marriage to the Irish author and barrister, Henry Hinkson, having declared in 1884 that her 'earthly ambition' was to 'get into a London literary circle.'[53] Katherine Cecil Thurston came to London early in 1901 to marry her husband, the English author Ernest Temple Thurston. Once in London, Hall, Hoey, Riddell, Mulholland, Meade, Voynich, Egerton and Caffyn met and married their husbands.[54] Caffyn then spent years in Australia with her surgeon husband, returning to London in 1892, after which her first novel, *A Yellow Aster* was published in 1894 by Hutchinson. Croker began writing while living in India with her army husband as a distraction from the heat, but after she and her husband returned to live in London following his retirement (on half-pay) in 1885, her output increased substantially as she wrote to supplement their income. Writing became a necessity for Mrs Riddell from 1875 after her husband's business enterprises failed, and her situation worsened again in 1880 following his death. Katharine Tynan supplemented the family income by her writing, especially after 1911, when the family left London to live in Dublin and later Mayo on account of financial difficulties. She continued to support herself and her children for fourteen years after her husband's death in 1919, returning to live in London in order to pursue her busy writing career.[55]

The earlier women who wrote before the establishment of the royalty system were particularly prodigious in their output. Mrs Hall's husband estimated her novels alone at more than 150 after her death. Katharine Tynan produced 132 novels and huge amounts of verse and short stories. Mrs Riddell and Mrs Croker wrote around 50 novels each, and Mrs Riddell also penned

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[51] May Crommelin also came as a widow. Sarah Grand came to London in the late 1880s shortly before or at the time of the death of her abusive first husband. O'Toole, 816. Elizabeth Owens Blackburne came to pursue a career in journalism and authorship, writing from London for Irish newspapers. Lady Colin Campell came to London after her scandalous divorce in 1883 from the second son of the Duke of Argyll in order to support herself as writer, journalist and reviewer. Ibid.

[52] Loeber and Loeber, 954, 1202, and 225.

[53] Information on Erminda Rentoul Esler from Ricorso. Katharine Tynan is quoted in Whitney Standlee, '"A World of Difference": London and Ireland in the works of Katharine Tynan', in Tom Herron (ed), *Irish Writing London, Volume 1: Revival to the Second World War* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 70-83, 73.

[54] Loeber and Loeber, 534, 608, 1115, 954, 225, 394, 225, 1316. Information on Thurston from Caroline Copeland, unpublished PhD thesis, 'The Sensational Katherine Cecil Thurston: An investigation into the life and publishing history of a 'New Woman', Napier University, 2007.

[55] Loeber and Loeber, 313, 1115-6, 1316.

multiple volumes of supernatural short stories. May Crommelin and Rosa Mulholland produced between 40 and 50 novels each. Several women were also editors and journalists. The oldest of the group selected again led the way for her Irish successors: Mrs Hall's husband was the editor of the London *New Monthly Magazine* in the 1830s and 1840s, to which she contributed. Unusually for an Irish woman living in London, she placed articles in those years in Dublin periodicals including the *Dublin University Magazine,* the *Dublin Literary Gazette,* and the *Irish Penny Magazine.* She was editor of the *Juvenile Forget-Me-Not* Christmas Annual between 1829-37, *Sharpe's Magazine* in 1852-3, and founder and editor of *St. James's Magazine* from 1861 to 1868, where Mrs Riddell joined her in 1867 as part-proprietor and editor.[56]

L. T. Meade was editor from 1887 to 1898 of the consciously intellectual and sophisticated girl's magazine *Atalanta*, which aimed to encourage its young readers towards education and employment. Charlotte O'Conor Eccles had a staff position on the *New York Herald* and wrote for several women's magazines. In 1893 she contributed 'The Experience of a Woman Journalist' to *Blackwood's Magazine*. Catherine Drew (1832-1910) was another notable Irish journalist. In its obituary after her death in London on 26 August 1910, the *Irish Book Lover* recorded that '[t]he credit of being the pioneering woman journalist has been given to many ladies, but it probably belonged by right to Miss Drew. For a great number of years she wrote the first widely circulated woman's letter – a column which went to many provincial papers, and she was a correspondent of the 'Belfast News Letter' (sic) for more than forty years.'[57] Drew came to London in 1871 at the suggestion of the proprietor of the *Belfast Newsletter*, James Alexander Henderson, to be the paper's London correspondent.[58] Her 'Ladies Letter' and column of 'Metropolitan Gossip' were among the earliest regular columns written specifically for woman readers.[59]

As we saw in the Introduction, many authors who sold their copyrights outright to their publishers before the advent of the royalty system and the entry of agents into the literary

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[56] Loeber and Loeber, 534, 535.
[57] *The Irish Book Lover,* Vol. II, No. 3 (October 1910), 40-1.
[58] *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge University Press / Royal Irish Academy). Article by Frances Clarke and Linde Lunney, http:/dib.cambridge.org.elib.tcd.ie, (accessed 12 January 2016).
[59] Drew also contributed to the *British Architect, London Society,* and the *Literary World.* Drew was a founder member of the Ladies' Press Association and campaigned for the rights of woman journalists. She was also a prominent member of the National Association of Journalists, founded in 1884, representing it a several international congresses. At the time of her death, she was the Institute's Vice-President. *Irish Book Lover.* Clarke and Lunney, *DIB*.

marketplace, were reduced to poverty in later life. This was certainly the case for May Crommelin, Charlotte O'Conor Eccles and Hannah Lynch who received grants from the private charity, the Royal Literary Fund, while, as we saw, Mrs Riddell was the first pensioner of the Society of Authors. Elizabeth Owens Blackburne received assistance from the Royal Bounty Fund, but died in near-destitution.[60] Mrs Cashel Hoey was a generous contributor to charity and to her husband's indigent relatives after his death, leaving her in financial difficulties later in life. She was awarded a Civil List pension in 1892. Well into her seventies she was negotiating with several publishers for the purchase of the rights, and even the plates, of her old titles, writing to her friend and publisher Edmund Downey at the age of seventy-four that she 'was never so badly off as I am at present.'[61]

A striking defining characteristic of this constituency of women writers is that they all moved from publisher to publisher, in pursuit of higher payments at the beginning of their careers, and on to higher-status publishing houses as they became better known, and in particular from the 1880s and 1890s to publishers who had co-publishing links with American publishers or offices of their own in the USA, Canada and the colonies. Most of the Irish women in London published with a relatively small number of publishers, suggesting a strong degree of interconnectedness facilitated by themselves and their publishers: Mrs Riddell, Mrs Cashel Hoey, Mrs Croker and Elizabeth Owens Blackburne were published by Tinsley Brothers during the firm's heyday in the 1860s; Erminda Rentoul Esler was mainly published by Sampson Low, with whom Mrs Croker and Mrs Cashel Hoey also published; Chatto & Windus were Mrs Croker's main publisher, although she and Mrs Cashel Hoey also published with Hurst and Blackett. All three published with the Irish publisher Edmund Downey and with Harper Brothers in New York and Tauchnitz in Leipzig. In her long career Mrs Croker also went on to publish with Hutchinson and, later in life, with Cassell, the publishing house which had great global reach after establishing offices in New York from 1860, Melbourne (1884), Sydney (1885), Toronto (1907), and Wellington (1920).[62] Egerton, who famously published *Keynotes* with John Lane, later published with Hutchinson as did Sarah Grand and Iota. All were also

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[60] Mrs Alec-Tweedie, *Thirteen Years,* 25 .

[61] Mrs Cashel Hoey to Edmund Downey, 8 August 1904, NLI MS 10,028. She negotiated an overdraft with her bank in 1904 to secure the copyrights of three of her novels from Sampson, Low, Marston & Co in an attempt to reissue them to earn some money. Fortunately for her, Robert Marston was sympathetic and agreed to the disposal of the typesetting moulds of *Out of Court* (1874) for £5; the stereo-plates of *A Golden Sorrow* (1872) for £10; and the moulds, 84 bound copies and 29 quires of *A Stern Chase* (1876) also for £10.

[62] Simon Nowell-Smith, *The House of Cassell* (London: Cassell & Company, 1958), 261, 265-6. There is a longer discussion on Cassell's in Chapter 5 on Beatrice Grimshaw.

published by Tauchnitz in Leipzig. Iota and Grand were published in New York by Appletons. L. T. Meade was particularly strategic in publishing with firms that had an extended global reach. By 1886, Cassells were issuing her novels in London, Paris, New York and Melbourne, and she published in London and Bombay with Longmans who had a long history in India.[63]

From the 1890s Irish writers benefited from the sale of their rights by their London publishers to American firms. There was a growing literate Irish diaspora in America, particularly in the industrial cities of the East Coast and Midwest, who had a huge appetite for Irish material, especially popular novels. When (limited) copyright was extended to non-American writers after the 1891 Copyright Act (the Chace Act), America became an increasingly lucrative market for writers whose London publishers had good business connections with their American counterparts, further assisted by widespread syndication of stories in often Catholic newspapers. Thus, the Catholic writers Mulholland and Tynan, and even the Huguenot Mrs Hall, with her Irish tales, had a huge readership among the Irish diaspora facilitated by an extensive American publishing network. Mulholland was published in New York by Harper Brothers and Scribners; in Cincinatti and Chicago by Benziger Brothers; in Chicago by Donaghue; in Baltimore by P. J. Kennedy; in Boston by Osgoods; and by Kilners in Philadelphia. Tynan was published in New York by Dodd, Mead & Co., Macmillan, Cassell's, Duffield, Hodder & Stoughton (also Toronto) and Appletons. She was published in Cincinnati and Chicago by Benziger Brothers; in Chicago by A. M'Clurg and A. C. McClure; by Lippincotts in Philadelphia, and by Bobbs-Merrill in Indianapolis. Her main British publishers William Collins, Ward Lock and Blackie ensured her novels were also issued in London, Glasgow, Toronto, Bombay, Melbourne, Sydney and Auckland.[64]

We can see in David Finkelstein's study of the 'Blackwood Female Literary Network, 1880-1910' how a London-based network of women writers became important for William Blackwood III, who took over the Edinburgh-based family publishing business in 1879, and had to respond over the thirty-three years of his tenure to 1912 to the significant developments

[63] See Asa Briggs, *A History of Longmans and Their Books, 1724-1990: Longevity in Publishing* (London: British Library, 2008).

[64] We can see a similar pattern with Mrs Hall's American publishers in the course of her long career. In New York she was published by Harper Brothers and C. S. Francis; in Boston by Cottons & Barnard and J. H. Francis; and in Philadelphia by E. Ferrett & Co., E. L. Carey and Hart, Carey, Leach and Blanchard, and Lippincotts.

in the publishing landscape which have been highlighted in the period.[65] When their star author, George Eliot, died in 1880, list building became a priority, and by 1896 Blackwood could no longer resist the magnetism of London, and established an office on Pall Mall to harness the literary talent available in the capital. Blackwood appointed David Storr Meldrum as his literary advisor. Finkelstein notes that while Blackwood's cultivation of key male writers has been well-documented in histories of the firm, their quiet cultivation of a circle of London and regionally-based popular women novelists, many of whom were graduates of the University of London was overlooked or disregarded for a long time. Three Irish women were at the core of Blackwood's business in the 1890s and 1900s: Katherine Cecil Thurston, Edith Oenone Somerville (1858-1949) and Violet Martin (1862-1915). Finkelstein's analysis of Blackwood's bestselling titles over the three decades from c. 1880-1910 demonstrates that these women, as well as Mrs Oliphant (1828-1897), Mrs Harry Coghill (Annie Louise Walker, 1836-1907, Mrs Oliphant's second cousin); the suffragist Beatrice Harraden (1864-1936); Dr Margaret Todd (1859-1918) and Maud Diver (1867-1945), based (except for Somerville and Martin) in London for at least part of their lives, became increasingly important to Blackwood's finances leading a 'firm shift toward bestselling titles generated by women [between 1890 and 1900], with a doubling in number over the previous decade.'[66] Although the reissuing of George Eliot's writings in collected editions accounted for some of this, the continued consolidation of women writers as Blackwood's bestselling authors between 1900 and 1910 – 15 of 18 of the firms' bestsellers were produced by women – is accounted for by the increasing growth in their literary output and sales.[67] In the 1880s titles published by Blackwood's female bestselling writers yielded £28,870.15/- of Blackwood's total profits of £78,601.07/-, with male writers accounting for £16,496.18/- (general trade books written mainly, though not exclusively, by men made up the balance of £33,233.14/-); in the 1890s, the contribution of the women writers had grown to £38,026.17/- of the total profits of £62,897.17/-, with men accounting for

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[65] David Finkelstein, 'The Blackwood Female Literary Network, 1880-1910', in William Baker (ed.) *Studies in Victorian and Modern Literature: A Tribute to John Sutherland* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 17. Meldrum's literary judgment encouraged Blackwood to publish Stephen Crane, John Buchan and Jack London. David Finkelstein suggests that Meldrum's arrival 'brought a renewed revival to the company's lists and to Blackwood's Magazine.' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: William Blackwood, 1836-1912, http://www.oxforddnb.com.elib.tcd.ie/view/article/38928, (accessed 15 November 2015).

[66] Finkelstein, 'The Blackwood Female Literary Network', 18. Somerville and Martin may not have lived in London, but they were introduced to Blackwood by the author and literary gatekeeper, Stephen Gwynn, and had access to London and its interconnected literary circles as we can see from the account of an evening in 1904 when Violet Martin was guest of honour at a reading of her work at a London Ladies' Club attended by Beatrice Harraden. Margaret Todd was to have been there until illness intervened and Erminda Rentoul Esler introduced Martin to the company. Ibid, 31.

[67] Ibid, 19.

£15,560.13/-; and although the women's contribution fell in the 1900s as turnover and profits fell overall, they still yielded profits of £21,669.16/- out of the decade's total profits of £36,600.13/-.[68] These figures provide striking evidence of the importance of the woman novelist for the contemporary publishing industry, and in the next chapter on the Irish publisher, Edmund Downey, we will see how he also cultivated a circle of women writers, many of whom were Irish, and who were key to the growth of his list.

The problematic question of how 'Irish' these London-based women were – rarely an issue with their male contemporaries – has informed their legacy and afterlife in Irish literary history quite as much as the perceived quality of their work. Many of them had mixed feelings about Ireland in return. Katharine Tynan confessed to Edmund Downey in 1894 that she was 'sorry… for having asserted so much unfriendliness to Irish people the evening you were here.' It arose, she said, 'from the unkindness of a few people at at time when I was not strong.' She had spent some time in Ireland in November 1894 after a traumatic miscarriage and found people 'very good to us over there in our trouble.'[69] By 1899 Tynan was spending several months of the year at Dalkey outside Dublin when she was editing the *Cabinet of Irish Literature.* Mrs Cashel Hoey was scathing about the Revival in the summer of 1894 in correspondence with her publisher Edmund Downey: 'There's no such thing! – I hate the sight of the Irish newspapers now – I, who began my own literary life as a writer in the Freeman and the Nation.' She complained that she was 'ignored as an Irish writer, I don't know why.'[70] She had not heard the details of the problems surrounding Sir Charles Gavan Duffy's *New Irish Library,* but 'supposed that Sir SGD had a quarrel with somebody; it is always the way with every Irish enterprise.' Yet in 1900, following reports of atrocities by British officers in Peking (and in the midst of the Second Anglo-Boer War), she wondered '[w]as ever so ill a record earned by any country in any years as by England in 1900?'[71] Mrs Croker wrote to Downey in 1919 that '[i]t is strange to me that I never receive any acknowledgement from my native land as an Irish novelist… Irish papers rarely notice me save 'The Freeman's Journal', whose abuse is most amusing.'[72] Another Irish woman who has almost completely slipped from view in Irish literary history, despite her contemporary fame, is Katherine Cecil Thurston, the bestselling novelist from Cork, who wrote six novels and numerous short stories between 1901 and her death in

[68] Finkelstein, 'The Blackwood Female Literary Network', 29.
[69] Katharine Tynan to Edmund Downey, 12 December 1894, NLI MS 10,027.
[70] Mrs Cashel Hoey to Edmund Downey, 7 July 1894, NLI MS, 10,028.
[71] Mrs Cashel Hoey to Edmund Downey, 4 January 1901, NLI MS 10,028.
[72] Mrs B. M. Croker to Edmund Downey, 27 March 1919, NLI MS 10,060 (2).

1911. After the worldwide success of *John Chilcote, MP* in 1904 – which sold more than 200,000 in America that year alone – she bought a house at Ardmore Co. Waterford where she could write without distraction and her connection to Ireland remained very strong for the rest of her life.[73] In a letter to her publisher, William Blackwood in 1907, Thurston's secretary wrote that 'Mrs Thurston directs me to write to say that she is waiting until she gets to Ireland to complete the last two chapters of 'The Fly on the Wheel'. She thinks she could best complete the story in the atmosphere in which the scene is laid.'[74] After her early death in 1911 the *Irish Book Lover* noted her both her attachment to Ardmore and her 'loyalty to Ireland.'[75]

Having left Ireland and pursued successful writing careers, few of the women returned to Ireland. Only two of the women surveyed here – Croker and Mulholland – died in Ireland after returning there in later life. All the others died in England, with the exception of Caffyn who died following surgery in Turin and Voynich who died in New York aged ninety-six. The women's position in London was not, however, without difficulties. As the flow of women continued and they merged more into the public sphere, the influx caused one late Victorian commentator to describe London, with alarm, as a city 'besieged by a "monstrous regiment of women"', stealing men's jobs in the professions and other occupations.[76] Sally Ledger observes how, in the 1890s, New Woman and decadent writers were repeatedly linked in the contemporary press as overtly challenging 'the dominant sexual codes of the Victorian era… [the] association with homosexuality and perceived hostility to marriage probably underlies what was the source of panic about the New Woman.'[77] However, despite the frequently-expressed fears around the New Woman, London provided infinitely more than Dublin could in the way of literary, financial and social opportunities. While the gentlemen's club scene was important for male social interaction and networking, women were excluded until the 1890s and 1900s when, particularly in London, upper-middle and middle-class social activists began to establish women-only or mixed clubs, many with a literary focus. The exclusive Alexandra and Victoria Clubs 'for Ladies of Position only', were joined by the Pioneer Club in Bruton Street, founded by Mrs Massingberd in 1878, whose key objective was the promotion of democracy and the abolition of class distinction – 'so that [member number] "99" might be a

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[73] Obiturary of Katherine Cecil Thurston, *The Irish Book Lover,* Vol. III, No. 3 (October 1911), 42-3.
[74] Acc. 11378, Box 2, 16 March 1907 in Caroline Copeland, unpublished PhD thesis, ibid, 91.
[75] *Irish Book Lover,* Vol. III, No. 5 (December 1911), 73, 84.
[76] Janet E. Hogarth, 'The Monstrous regiment of Women, *Fortnightly Review* 68 (1897), 926-36, 926. Quoted in Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and feminism at the* Fin de Siècle, Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 1997, 152.
[77] Ledger, *New Woman*, 1.

duchess or a post-office clerk'; the Women Writers' Club, on Norfolk Street off the Strand; the Women Journalists Club on Henrietta Street in Covent Garden; and the more general Sandringham Club at 13 Old Bond Street, the latter three founded in the 1890s. The Ladies' Athenaeum Club was later established 'for the association of ladies who are connected with or interested in art, literature, music or politics.' The Irish Literary Society from the beginning admitted both men and women who had access to their club rooms after the move to Adelphi Terrace. The Sesame Club established in 1895 in Westminster was 'especially interested in educational questions...[and was] distinctly liberal with, perhaps, a touch of radicalism', admitted both men and women.[78] The New Vagabonds Club, founded by the authors Douglas Sladen and G. B. Burgin in 1894 also admitted men and women equally as members as did the Ramblers Club, the Lyceum and the New Century Club founded in 1899. In contrast, few organisations of this kind existed in Dublin. Certainly, the meetings and events of the National Literary Society founded in 1892 were open to women, but other opportunities for women were limited: Maria Edgeworth may have been the first honorary woman member of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin in 1842, but it would take more than one hundred years for the first four women members to be elected in their own right in 1949.[79]

Katharine Tynan recalled in 1912 her own introduction to literary life in London, recording that:

> In the eighties I began writing – an Irish country girl, absolutely without literary associations of any kind. For some ten years or so I wrote nothing but poetry... I published three little volumes of poems. Well, what was the result? These small achievements brought me in touch with literary London. Literary London was then warm and kind. At that time, when writing really counted, the writers ran to meet each other. I know you... you are one of us; enter into our friendship they said; and the unknown Irish girl found herself in touch with the whole movement and its makers. Those early volumes of verse were respectfully handled by the literary journals. I seemed to come into touch with everybody worth considering through them. Within the decade I was contributing to the "National Observer," the "Speaker, the "Anti-Jacobin" and the "Pall Mall Gazette.[80]

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[78] Mary H. Krout, *A Looker-On in London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1899), 79-93.

[79] Clare O'Halloran, '"Better without the Ladies": The Royal Irish Academy and the admission of women members', *History Ireland,* Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Social Perspectives, issue 6, vol. 19, November-December 2011, http://www.historyireland.com/18th-19th-century-history/better-without-the-ladies-the-royal-irish-academy-and-the-admission-of-women-members/, (accessed 21 January 2016).

[80] Katharine Tynan, 'Writings and Writers: The Literary Outlook – Is Poetry Unwanted?', published in several newspapers including *The Register (Adelaide),* 9 November 1912, 4.

Tynan, therefore, found not only publishers in London but a supportive literary community and influential networks such as the Irish Literary Society. J. W. Foster has suggested that the unlikely friendship between the Catholic Tynan and Sarah Grand, when they were both living in Tunbridge Wells after 1910, flourished because Tynan in England – away from Ireland – had the liberty to become the 'mild suffragist' she was, '[f]or back in Ireland, the political dimension of women's rights was enthusiastically embraced chiefly by Protestant women.'[81] Tynan herself described the importance of her friendship with Grand, who she described as 'a green oasis in the arid waste of Tunbridge Wells.'[82]

London gave Irish women not just the opportunity and liberty to be writers, but the freedom to explore themes of interest to them beyond Irish subjects. It is striking to note how many Revival-era Irish women writers rejected the trope of the mythical west of Ireland, and instead located their stories in London and wrote on a far more expansive range of themes. A notable exemplar is the prolific Antrim-born writer Charlotte Eliza Lawson Cowan (later Mrs J. H. Riddell) who moved with her mother to London in 1856 after the death of her father the previous year left them in straitened financial circumstances.[83] Riddell's ambition, later fictionalised in her *Künstlerroman A Struggle for Fame* (1883), was to earn her living as an author in London.[84] She was not immediately successful and she moved between different publishers, using three pseudonyms, with her first four novels. Her first novel, *Zuriel's Grandchild,* written as R. V. Sparling in 1856, was published by T. C. Newby. She adopted the pseudonym F. G. Trafford for her second novel, *The Moors and the Fens* (1857), published by Smith Elder, but she was by no means settled as a writer. She moved to different publishers (Richard Bentley and Charles Skeet respectively) for her next two novels, written under the pen name Rainey Hawthorne. After 1857, her marriage to an engineer, Joseph Hadley Riddell, provided her with material based on his technical and financial knowledge for the plots of her fictional output. By the early 1860s, she had moved to Tinsley Brothers (one of the major contemporary publishers, as we shall see in the next chapter, of the three-decker novel) with whom she published thirteen novels between 1864 and 1878. After the success of her first three

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[81] John Wilson Foster, *Irish Novels 1890-1940: New Bearings in Culture and Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 287.
[82] Katharine Tynan, *The Middle Years* (London: Constable, 1916), 380, quoted in Foster, *Irish Novels*, 287.
[83] See Margaret Kelleher, 'Charlotte Riddell's "A Struggle for Fame": The Field of Women's Literary Production, *Colby Quarterly,* Vol. 36, No. 2 (June 2000), 116-31, 117.
[84] The principal character of the novel, Bernard Kelly, was certainly based in part on the Waterford publisher, Edmund Downey, who forms the subject of the next chapter. The publishers Felton and Laplash were inspired by William and Edward Tinsley.

novels with Tinsley's – writing as F. G. Trafford – she published her tale of the City, *The Race For Wealth,* in 1866, and all her subsequent books under her married name of Mrs J. H. Riddell. Most of her novels are situated in the business milieux of London, and as Margaret Kelleher observes, she was 'heralded as "the Novelist of the City", and praised for her introduction of material from the contemporary world of London business and trade into the domain of fiction.'[85]

Later Irish writers including Hannah Lynch, Katherine Cecil Thurston, George Egerton and Ella MacMahon set some of their novels in London which gave them the freedom to operate outside an Irish context, thereby facilitating the exploration of themes of greater sexual and marital liberty. Ciaran O'Neill and Mai Yamani suggest that the 'instrumental use of the city as a site for either corporal or intellectual freedom during the 'Irish-Ireland' or 'Revival' period offers us an opportunity to shift the focus away from male Irish writers and their portrayal of the west of Ireland as a refuge from the horrors of rapidly advancing capitalism and materialism.'[86] Considering the work of women writers who wrote against the 'myth of the west', O'Neill and Yamani observe that '[t]he effect of their denigrating the rural, primitive west, was to privilege what was progressive, scientific, and urban', suggesting another valuable critical framework for the recuperation of late nineteenth-century Irish women's fiction.[87]

As we saw in the Introduction, a number of significant recent studies by scholars including John Wilson Foster, Margaret Kelleher, Tina O'Toole, Eve Patten, Joe Cleary, Heidi Hansson and Lisbet Kickham have examined the nineteenth-century Irish novel and retrieved a corpus of Irish writing, much of it by the women discussed in this chapter, which has not only altered our notion of Irish prose but has given us a more accurate understanding of the intellectual, political and social climate of a period hitherto so dominated by the Literary Revival. This chapter aims to add to work on the Irish novel by examining both the publishing histories and the effective networks developed by the women writers surveyed, in order to demonstrate that in their lived experiences and in their writing they were fully engaged with themes including suffragism, feminism, and the marriage question which have traditionally been regarded in Irish literary history as external movements, outside the dominant nationalist paradigm. Many

[85] Kelleher, 'Charlotte Riddell', 119.
[86] Ciaran O'Neill and Mai Yamani, 'Women, Ambition and the City c. 1890-1910', in *Irish Women's Writing, 1884-1910: Advancing the Cause of Liberty* (Forthcoming: Manchester University Press, 2016), MS so no page number available. Courtesy of the authors.
[87] O'Neill and Yamani, 'Women, Ambition and the City'.

of these women have been elided from the Irish canon, with their writing forgotten or marginalised in consequence. However, when we look at the extent of their work, the themes they explored, their readership and the startling geographic reach of their work through the global distribution channels of their publishers, a far more expansive Irish literary history emerges, opening up not only further important literary and critical contexts, but also extending the Irish historical conversation. The intellectual freedom from which the women benefited by 'coming to London' was powerfully underpinned by the commercial mobility they could exploit by moving from publisher to publisher to advance their careers. The networks they established – whether formal, informal, social or affililiative – facilitated intellectual, professional and financial liberty at a time when few such options were available to women.

The Rhymers' Club

A striking feature of the influential Rhymers' Club is the large proportion of Irish men in the founding group. What has not, I think, been appreciated hitherto is that this group of Irish poets were, before they moved to London, closely associated in a Dublin-based network that had its crucible in Trinity College, Dublin. When the Anglo-French poet and leading Rhymer, Victor Plarr, spoke to the Poets' Club in 1910 about the founding of the Rhymers' Club two decades earlier in 1891, he drew attention to its Dublin antecedents. He observed, however, that he had been given 'two conflicting accounts of its origins' by George Arthur Greene (1853-1921): firstly, that the Rhymers' Club 'originated in Trinity College, Dublin, and the original members were presumably Mr W. B. Yeats, Mr Rolleston, Dr Greene and Dr Todhunter.'[88] In 1910, however, as Plarr was preparing his lecture, Greene wrote to him playing down the Trinity connection, and giving a second account of the genesis of the Rhymers' Club, locating it instead in London, and recalling that John Butler Yeats:

> [W]hom I had known before, called on me and said that his son and some friends were in the habit of meeting & reading or discussing poetry, mainly on their own, and would I like to come? I said "Yes" and went. I remember, besides Yeats, Radford, John Davidson, Lionel Johnson, & there were others… I take it that Yeats and Rhys were

[88] George Mills Harper and Karl Beckson, 'Plarr's Rhymers' Club', *English Literature in Transition,* Vol. 45, No. 2 (2002,) 379-385, 385.

> the chief founders. We were then the *Rhymesters'* Club, and did not assume the lordlier designation till we thought of publishing a volume.[89]

'Here, then,' said Plarr to his audience, 'are two accounts, and as the card-players say, "I leave it to you!"' In an annotated reprint of Plarr's lecture, George Mills Harper and Karl Beckson suggested that '[b]ecause a number of Irish poets had known each other at Trinity College before the Rhymers' Club was founded in London, literary historians have theorized (without evidence) that the Club (or its equivalence) had existed in Dublin.'[90]

However, even though the club did not exist *per se* in Dublin, research for this thesis has established evidence of a strong interconnection between the Irish founders of the Rhymers' Club. The Dublin connection between these five men is so strong that while the Rhymers certainly established themselves in London, the Club can clearly be seen to have grown out of a network of Irish academics and friends who studied at Trinity College, who worked together at the Dublin girls' school, Alexandra College, and who were friends over more than three decades from the 1860s. The circle largely grouped around Edward Dowden (1843-1913) who with John Butler Yeats (1839-1922) and John Todhunter (1839-1916) formed 'a coterie dedicated to conversation and literary and metaphysical speculation' at Trinity in the early 1860s.[91] W. B. Yeats, of course, never attended Trinity, but his father did, and it is John Butler Yeats who links the Dublin coterie with five of the thirteen core members of the Rhymers' Club who published in both of the group's volumes of poetry in 1892 and 1894.

After his undergraduate years at Trinity, Edward Dowden taught English at Alexandra College from 1866, the year the school was founded, until he was appointed the first Professor of English Literature at Trinity in 1867 at the age of twenty-four, a position he occupied for half a century. Todhunter studied medicine at Trinity during the 1860s, at the same time winning the Vice-Chancellor's Prize for English Verse in 1864, 1865 and 1866. He was awarded his Doctorate in Medicine in 1870, and practised at the Cork Street Hospital, while also lecturing in the department of English at Alexandra College from 1871.[92] When Todhunter resigned from that position to travel around Europe and Egypt in 1875 before settling in London in 1880

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[89] Harper and Beckson, 380.
[90] Ibid, 379, 385, n. 3.
[91] Terence Brown, *The Life of W. B. Yeats: A Critical Biography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 10.
[92] Henry Boylan, *A Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 1978), 351, and *Cambridge Dictionary of Irish Biography*, (accessed 9 March 2012).

to devote himself to literature, the Trinity graduate George Arthur Greene (1853-1921) succeeded him at Alexandra.[93] Todhunter and Dowden contributed to the Trinity student magazine *Kottabos* between 1869-71, together with Alfred Perceval Graves and Standish O'Grady, who, with Todhunter, would later be founders or early members of the Irish Literary Society in London.[94]

After the Yeats family returned to Ireland in 1881, Dowden and John Butler Yeats resumed their friendship, and a custom grew up whereby WBY, who was attending the Erasmus Smith High School on Harcourt Street, came to his father's studio on St Stephen's Green daily for breakfast and lunch where they were regularly joined by Dowden.[95] The young Yeats also went regularly with his father to Dowden's house at Temple Road in Rathgar, as did a fourth future member of the Rhymer's Club and student of Dowden's and Trinity contemporary of G. A. Greene, T. W. Rolleston (1857-1920). From 1885, as editor of the *Dublin University Review,* Rolleston published WBY's first poems. Stephen Gwynn, writing an introduction to a life of Rolleston in 1939, recalled that 'Dowden … was of great value to the younger men. He was himself opposed to Irish nationalism, but he had a genial interest in all literary activities and his house in Temple Road was a great meeting-place on Sunday afternoons.'[96] Dowden was the son of a Cork tradesman, and was obliged to earn his living having insufficient private means. Two years after his Trinity appointment he wrote to JBY in 1869 that he wished he 'could live in the deepest solitude with a few friends and no acquaintances! But if I were to give up my Professorship I should be obliged to work for my bread, and go to London and become a hack for the magazines, which consummation I fully intend to avert.'[97] Dowden, therefore, remained in Dublin but most of his circle who became writers did go to London, including the fifth future member of the Rhymers' Club, Arthur Cecil Hillier (1857-1914), who was also Dowden's student and Rolleston's contemporary at Trinity, and who graduated in 1878 afterwards becoming a journalist in London. Hillier lived with Victor Plarr in lodgings in

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[93] Edith Somerville was a pupil of Alexandra College in the 1870s during Todhunter and Greene's tenure.

[94] Six numbers of *Kottabos: A College Miscellany* were published by Trinity Students between 1869 and 1871. The editor was Robert Yelverton Tyrrell. John Todhunter contributed to all six, and Alfred Perceval Graves to the first five. *Kottabos* carried poems in English, Latin and Greek as well as essays and miscellaneous pieces in English. The magazine was published in Dublin by William McGee and numbers two to six were also published by Bell & Daldy in London. https://archive.org/stream/kottaboscollegem00trin, (accessed 6 January 2016).

[95] Brown, *Life of WBY,* 26. Dowden had offered John Butler Yeats rooms at Trinity for a period when he first returned to help him get established. Ibid, 12.

[96] Stephen Gwynn, 'Introduction', in C. W. Rolleston, *Portrait of an Irishman: A Biographical Sketch of T. W. Rolleston* (London: Methuen, 1939), *viii.*

[97] John Eglinton (ed.), *Letters of Edward Dowden and his Correspondents* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1914), 45. Quoted in Brown, *Life of WBY,* 10.

1891, and it was Hillier who encouraged Plarr to the 'meetings of a little poetical society, of which he gave an enthusiastic description', thus bringing the founders together.[98]

By 1891, Yeats, Todhunter, Rolleston, Greene and Hillier were all living in London. At the time of the founding of the Rhymers' Club, Yeats who had previously 'seem[ed] to have hero-worshipped Dowden' had fallen out with his father's friend, regarding him, as Terence Brown suggests, as 'a traitor to his poetic nature, one who had forsaken the cause of art for security', that is the security of academic tenure at Trinity and his handsome house on Temple Road. Yeats would later accuse Dowden of being 'the chief representative of an intellectual Unionism which in Victorian Dublin [had] betrayed Irish possibility.'[99] Yeats's hostility extended to Trinity College of which he was critical for the institution's indifference to Irish nationalism. Barbara Suess notes Yeats's belief that the College stifled creativity and that in 'its pedantic adherence to strict pedagogical and scholarly methodology [Trinity] was less a cultivator of young bright minds that it was an impediment to their growth.'[100] Yeats certainly had no interest in acknowledging the Trinity antecedents of the Rhymers' Club, indeed his hostility to Dowden and Trinity was such that it may be another factor in his later exclusion of Jane Barlow from the Revival canon (which is discussed in Chapter Four). Barlow was part of the Trinity inner circle and a close friend and correspondent of Dowden.[101] Terence Brown suggests that Dowden 'as an eminent Victorian professor of English whose literary hero was Goethe, was fearful of contamination by what he thought was the provincialism of the Irish literary revival Yeats wished to sponsor.'[102] Yeats, in turn, accused Dowden of examining 'the Irish literary

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[98] Harper and Beckson, 380.
[99] Brown, *Life of WBY*, 26.
[100] Barbara Suess, *Progress and Identity in the Plays of W. B. Yeats, 1892-1907* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 133.
[101] Letters from Barlow to Dowden held at the Manuscripts & Archive Library at TCD indicate the close relationship between the two. A humorous letter from Barlow reads "Mon Cher Mounseer (sic), Permettez-moi en reciproquant votre confiance de vous assurer qu'en tout ce qu'appartient à MacMahon – nom ennuyant et detestable – Barlow fille n'est que Barlow pere, autrement que'lle reste votre servante ni sarcastique ni impertinante." Manuscripts & Archives Library, TCD, 3147-54X/1194. Yeats's decision to omit Barlow from his best Irish books list occurred precisely as he was engaged in public ideological warfare with Dowden in February 1895. On the day that Yeats's list was published, Dowden was in the chair at the College Historical Society at Trinity when the motion that 'the movement for the revival of Irish literature deserves our support' was carried with a large majority. Dowden reportedly expressed his pleasure at the carrying of the motion on the night, but an account of the debate published in the *Daily Express* the next day reported that 'he deprecated the spirit of exclusiveness which seemed to be a characteristic of the new movement, and expressed the view that the best Irish books were not necessarily those which treated of Irish literature. *CL Yeats I,* 447, n.4.
[102] Brown, *Life of WBY,* 90.

tradition insufficiently', therefore missing its successes and 'failing in his duty to reckon with the new literature in sympathetic criticism.'[103]

The Trinity circle and Plarr were joined by the English poets Richard Le Gallienne, Lionel Johnson, Ernest Dowson, Ernest Radford and Edwin J. Ellis, the Welsh poets Arthur Symons and Ernest Rhys, and the Scottish poet, John Davidson, as the core members of the Rhymers' Club.[104] It is interesting to see how the Trinity coterie succeeded not only in sustaining itself when the members came to London, but flourished in the company of the English, Welsh and Scottish poets who brought a new energy to the group.[105] The Rhymers' Club flourished during the 1890s, meeting twice a month in an upstairs room of the Cheshire Cheese tavern on Fleet Street, an establishment long associated with literary and Bohemian London, and two collaborative volumes of poetry were issued. According to Plarr, the group 'always remained a distinct and independent group, unidentified with any particular cult or movement, though comprising the exponents of more than one.'[106] When the Irish Literary Society was founded in January 1892, it counted as its first members Yeats, Todhunter, Rolleston, Greene and Hillier, together with Lionel Johnson and Alfred Perceval Graves, another former Trinity student. The history of the establishment of the Rhymers' Club and its literary after-life thus provide rich insights into the interconnected networks of Irish literary London and the dynamism of new organisations and clubs in the city in the early years of the 1890s.

The Irish Literary Society: A Network in Action

The various societies that were formed as initiatives of the Irish Literary Revival themselves functioned as successful networks for Irish litterateurs in London. Early societies with Revivalist impulses were the Southwark Irish Junior Club and its sister Irish Literary Club founded in 1883. The Southwark clubs were rooted in the lower middle class diasporic communities of south-east London and were established with the aim of educating the London-born children of Irish emigrants. They were subsumed at the beginning of 1892 into the Irish

[103] Brown suggests that in the ideological row over the Literary Revival between the two men, Yeats went 'for the jugular'... and 'cut his man up without compunction.' Brown, *Life of WBY,* 90.
[104] This group, with the exception of Davidson, published in both volumes of poetry issued by the Rhymers' Club (in 1892 and 1894). Other leading members included Frank Harris and Lord Alfred Douglas.
[105] See Matthew Campbell, *Irish Poetry Under the Union, 1801-1924* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) for a discussion of a four-nation synthesis of nineteenth-century poetry.
[106] Harper and Beckson, 382.

Literary Society (ILS), creating a successful, highly visible and influential affiliative network that has never been surpassed in uniting Irish men and women in London associated in literary and cultural activities. The ILS brought together members of groups such as the Rhymers' Club and the Southwark Societies as well as London-Irish authors, politicians, lawyers, doctors, and journalists and gave a focus for the Revival activities of the Irish in London in the 1890s and 1900s. By 1894 the ILS had 350 members and, in need of more 'commercial and central premises', moved from Clapham to rooms in 8 Adelphi Terrace overlooking the Embankment Gardens near the Strand in central London, close to the centres of publishing in Covent Garden, Fleet Street and St Paul's Churchyard.[107] Four years later the membership had reached nearly 500, and the ILS offered its members multiple opportunities for social and informal networking. It had a library in which members could consult almost 700 books and numerous periodicals. Members had a choice of newspapers provided gratis including the *Freeman's Journal,* the *Independent,* the *Evening Herald, The Weekly Sun,* the *Irish Times* (daily and weekly), the *Irish News, The Cork Examiner, The Cork Daily Herald, The Nation, New Ireland* as well as *The Cornhill Magazine, The Northern Whig* and the Irish-American *The Citizen.*[108]

The Society started its own magazine, the *Irish Literary Society Gazette,* in November 1898, whose opening editorial declared the ILS to be 'strictly non-political and non-sectarian... founded in 1892 to promote Irish literature, art and music, and to provide a centre of literary and social intercourse for ladies and gentlemen of Irish nationality residing either permanently or occasionally in London.' There were many opportunities for ILS members to meet as the social programme was extensive and included lectures, dances at Westminster Town Hall, 'House Dinners', 'At Homes', and 'Original Nights' when new work was presented by members or guests. Gaelic League classes were held at Adelphi Terrace on Thursday nights and on Mondays at the Athenaeum Hall on the Tottenham Court Road.[109] The minutes of the Society and newspaper announcements record a strong female attendance at lectures, many unmarried women, for whom the ILS provided both social and educational opportunities.

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[107] A. P. Graves to Edmund Downey, 3 August 1894, NLI, MS 10,019. The Society accepted both men and women as full members.
[108] *Irish Literary Society Gazette,* No. 1, Vol. 1 (November 1898), 1. The *Gazette* records that a rather meagre £1 17s 6d was spent on books in the previous year.
[109] *ILS Gazette 1,* 1.

An Irish history class was started at Adelphi Terrace in January 1899, with the first paper presented by G. A. Greene on 'Irish Ethnology'.[110] The ILS established the Irish Texts Society in April 1898 with 400 members enrolled at its inaugural meeting. It was an ambitious endeavour to publish in Irish and English 'a portion of the as yet unpublished mass of Irish manuscripts lying on the shelves of our public and private libraries.' The co-founders were the Oxford historian and folklorist Frederick York Powell (1850-1904) and Eleanor Hull (1869-1935), the writer, journalist and scholar of Old Irish (and former pupil of Alexandra College).[111] Douglas Hyde was President of the Society. The publishing was undertaken by the firm of David Nutt, the folklore specialists and also the publishers of Frank Hugh O'Donnell, Winifred Faraday, W. P. Ryan and John Drinkwater, who continued the series for several years after the Irish Texts Society moved outside the jurisdiction of the ILS.

The ILS attracted prominent figures to its meetings: lectures in 1898, for example, included those by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle on 'The Irish Brigade' with the historian and MP Richard Barry O'Brien in the chair; 'Sheridan' given by Richard Ashe-King with the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava in the chair; and W. B. Yeats on 'The Celtic Movement' with the publisher and folklorist, Alfred Nutt, in the chair. Charlotte O'Conor Eccles gave the inaugural lecture of the 1898/9 season on 'Old Dublin and Its People', 'illustrated by a series of lime-light views.' The journalist W. M. Crook, editor of *The Echo*, and vice-Chairman of the ILS Committee took the chair on that occasion. The notice of overseas members in 'remote parts of the world' indicates the engagement of ILS members with the empire: Mr J. D. La Touche was noted to be in Allahabad, India; Dr John Dodd in Durban, Natal; Captain W. B. Davidson Houston in Cumassi, Ashanti; Mr J. F. Cunningham in Zomba, British Central Africa and Mr Caulfield James in Bangkok, Siam.[112] The ILS also had members who were influential in wider London society, including the Countess of Aberdeen and Lord Chief Justice and Lady Russell of Killowen. The Earl of Aberdeen, the author E. W. Hornung, and Harold Frederic, the London correspondent of the *New York Times,* were associate members.

In December 1899 Lord and Lady Russell hosted a reception at their house in South Kensington for members and friends of the ILS where '400 guests [were] received [who were] leading

[110] *ILS Gazette 1,* 1.
[111] York Powell was elected as Chair of the Society and Eleanor Hull was jointly Hon. Secretary with the artist and Gaelic League member, Norma Borthwick. *Irish Literary Society Gazette,* Vol. 1., No. 3 (March 1899), 10.
[112] *ILS Gazette 1,* 1.

representatives of literature, the law, medicine and music in London.[113] The Society's minutes for the 1899-1900 session record that the ILS's President Sir Charles Gavan Duffy and treasurer Daniel Mescal retired in June 1899 and were succeeded by Rev. Stopford Brooke and the Lord Chief Justice's son, the Hon. Charles Russell. Alfred Perceval Graves was the Honorary Secretary and the Committee was chaired by R. Barry O'Brien with W. M. Crook as the vice-Chairman with the members F. A. Fahy, T. J. Flannery, Eleanor Hull, Lionel Johnson, Michael MacDonagh, Charlotte O'Conor-Eccles, D. J. O'Donoghue, J. G. O'Keefe, Edward O'Shaughnessy, Dr Mark Ryan, Dr John Todhunter and W. B. Yeats. The ILS was a club-like institution, moving later to premises at Hanover Square in the heart of London's West End and adding tea rooms to its library and reading rooms. Life membership could be purchased in 1913 for ten guineas, and annual membership for 'town members' was 21s. while 'country members' subscription was 12/6. The ILS organised an annual summer visit to Ireland where civic receptions and tours in the cities or towns being visited formed the entertainment. The *Irish Book Lover* recorded in July 1913 that the ILS had 'paid its annual visit to Ireland during the Whitsun holidays, Limerick and its vicinity being its chosen locality. The party arrived on Friday night and were met by the Mayor and the High Sheriff.'[114] Membership of the Irish Literary Society had multiple benefits. It was a well-organised society that provided numerous opportunities for members to further their acquaintance with writers, journalists, publishers, members of the higher professions and aristocracy. The elite nature of the ILS was, however, a very long way from its educative and didactic origins among the lower middle and working class Irish emigrants of Southwark. It remained a very London-centric society that made little ground with the Irish diaspora of British urban centres.

Irish Writers and the new London publishers of the 1890s: T. Fisher Unwin, Edward Garnett and W. B Yeats:

As we saw in the Introduction, the transformation of the publishing landscape in the 1890s and 1900s created the conditions for the entry into the literary market place of a new generation of more entrepreneurial publishers, eager to build their lists and actively seeking new talent to sell in the expanding markets in Britain, the Empire and America. The increased

[113] *ILS Gazette 3,* 4.
[114] *Irish Book Lover*, Vol. IV, No. 12 (July 1913), 203-4.

professionalisation of the industry with a concomitant growth in discrete functions, seen from the early nineteenth-century, accelerated. Where publishers had once combined their role with that of printer and bookseller, functions were now separated and editors, readers, designers, and salesmen joined the staff of publishing firms, and printing and bookselling, with rare exceptions, became separate businesses. Meanwhile, as discussed in Chapter One, the attenuated Dublin book trade had nothing to offer on the scale of London. In this section, I will look at the intersection of the careers of the publisher, Thomas Fisher Unwin, and the publishers' reader Edward Garnett, with that of the young W. B. Yeats as he established himself in London and developed his aesthetic vision for the publication of his work. The account illustrates how the changing London literary market place impacted the careers of emerging Irish writers of the Literary Revival and those who followed them in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Thomas Fisher Unwin (1848-1935) came from a family of printers and publishers. His politics were Liberal and Internationalist: he was supportive of the Boers in the Anglo-Boer wars in the 1880s and 1890s and, like other Liberals, he believed in the case for Irish Home Rule. In 1892 he married Jane Cobden, the daughter of the Radical politician, Richard Cobden, who shared his interest in Ireland. Ten years earlier, after training with Hodder & Stoughton, Unwin founded his eponymous publishing firm in Holborn with a focus on new and often experimental writers, including Ibsen, Conrad and Nietzsche. It was a profitable business and grew slowly in the 1880s, and more rapidly between 1890 and 1910.[115] Unwin published H. G. Wells, Joseph Conrad, John Galsworthy, Somerset Maugham, and Ford Madox Ford early in their careers. He had an extensive list of Irish writers from the 1880s to the 1920s, publishing a range of works from Victorian novels by Mrs Hungerford, Mrs Alexander and Mrs B. M. Croker, Irish history and politics to Literary Revival texts and later books which considered the new Irish Free State. He published William Jeans, *England and Ireland: an examination of the demands for Home Rule* and J. Arthur Partridge's *The Making of the Irish Nation* in 1886. He published the MP T. P. O'Connor's *The Parnell Movement* in 1889 and republished several editions of his biography of Disraeli, *Lord Beaconsfield.* In the 1890s he published histories by Justin McCarthy and Richard Barry O'Brien.

[115] Julie F. Codell, 'Thomas Fisher Unwin', *Dictionary of National Biography,* online resource accessed 2 February 2012.

In 1890 Edward Garnett (1868-1937) joined Fisher Unwin as editor and reader. In his near-fifty year career with Unwin and subsequently with Gerald Duckworth and Jonathan Cape, Garnett was an important and sympathetic literary mediator for Irish writers including W. B. Yeats, Douglas Hyde, James Joyce, Sean O'Faolain and Liam O'Flaherty whose work he supported and encouraged.[116] The role of the publisher's reader became increasingly important in the 1890s and 1900s as publishing output expanded in the era of mass readership. Garnett's mother was Olivia Narney Singleton from Co. Clare which was probably a significant factor in his interest in Irish politics and literature. His first and unsuccessful novel, *The Paradox Club* (1888) explored the themes of Irish Home Rule through the lens of what he perceived as colonial oppression, as well as socialism and feminism. A second novel, *Light and Shadow* (1889), met with no success and he abandoned writing and went instead to work for Unwin. Garnett's biographer George Jefferson summarises both Garnett's significance and influence:

> His contribution to literature was vicarious by nature. It was made by personal association with successive generations of aspiring authors and by a literary acumen deployed as publishers' reader in the twilight world that lies between literature as a creative art and literature as an article of commerce. It was made by the reviews he wrote which attempted to single out the work of the then unrecognised, but now accepted, authors of worth from the ruck of the popular and now forgotten. It was made by the advocacy of foreign exemplars such as Turgenev and Dostoevsky at a time when insular attitudes tended to stifle literary development.[117]

Garnett had a particularly close relationship with Yeats who was a regular visitor to the Garnett home in Whitechapel in the East End of London – Garnett's wife Constance Black (1861-1946) was the librarian at the People's Palace in the Mile End Road, and a notable translator of Russian literature.[118] When the Garnetts moved to a cottage in Surrey, Yeats was happy to spend time in the countryside with them away from the city where he felt his 'imagination

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[116] Garnett famously, however, rejected Samuel Beckett's *Dream of Fair to Middling Woman* saying he 'wouldn't touch it with a barge pole.' Michael Howard, *Jonathan Cape, Publisher* (London: Cape, 1971), 137. He is probably best known for his literary relationship with Joseph Conrad whose first novel, *Almayer's Folly,* he accepted in 1894.

[117] George Jefferson, *Edward Garnett: A Life in Literature* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1982), 9, 18, 2. When George Moore was revising *Evelyn Innes* and *Sister Teresa* for Fisher Unwin in 1908, he wrote to Garnett praising his introduction to a recent edition of Turgenev short stories (which Constance Garnett had translated from the Russian) and wondering if Garnett might have seen the proofs of *Evelyn Innes* as 'it would interest me to hear your opinion of the writing.' Letter from George Moore to Edward Garnett, 17 October 1908, quoted in Hans Gerber, *George Moore on Parnassus, Letters (1900-1933) to Secretaries, Publishers, Printers, Agents, Literati, Friends, and Acquaintances* (Wilmington: University of Delaware Press, 1978), 152. Garnett later wrote *Turgenev: A Study* (London and Glasgow: William Collins, 1917).

[118] Jefferson, 18.

rather overpowered by the central London din.'[119] Yeats reciprocated the hospitality by making Garnett a permanent guest of the Rhymers' Club. Sean O'Faolain recalled Garnett telling him that '[w]hen he was very young, and they were both poor, in the days when W. B. used to have to black up his heels so as to cover the holes in his stockings, they'd walk from his digs to Edward's digs and back again, all night long, forgetting, absolutely forgetting everything in the most natural way.'[120]

The collaboration between Fisher Unwin, Garnett and Yeats ensured that Fisher Unwin's firm was the leading publisher of the early Irish Literary Revival. One of Garnett's most successful initiatives was the promulgation of series including the very successful Pseudonym Library, the Cameo Series, the Adventure Series, the First Novel Library, the Children's Library, and the Overseas Library. At Garnett's instigation Yeats's *John Sherman and Dhoya* was issued in 1891 in the Pseudonym Library – Yeats was 'Ganconagh' – with *The Countess Cathleen, Irish Fairy Tales* and *The Wanderings of Oisin* following in 1892, *The Land of Heart's Desire* in 1894 and in 1895 the first collection of Yeats's *Poems.* Katharine Tynan's first work *The Land I Loved Best* came out in 1890 with *Irish Love Songs* in 1892 and a volume of short stories, *The Land of Mist and Mountain* in 1895. Fisher Unwin particularly promoted the work of Standish James O'Grady: *Finn and his Companions* with illustrations by Jack Butler Yeats was brought out in the Unwin Children's Library in 1892, and the following year the firm issued *The Bog of Stars and Other Stories* and *Sketches of Elizabethan Ireland.* Fisher Unwin published *The Chain of Gold* in 1895 and *Ulrick the Ready: The Chieftain's Last Stand* in 1896. The firm published Douglas Hyde's *Love Songs of Connacht* (in a simultaneous Irish translation with M. H. Gill & Sons in Dublin entitled *Abhrain gradh chuige Connacht*) in 1895, *Ballads of St Columcille, The Story of Early Gaelic Literature* (1895) and *A Literary History of Ireland* (1899). John Eglinton published *Literary Ideals in Ireland* in 1891. Jane Barlow's *Bogland Studies* was published in 1892 and *By Beach and Bogland* in 1905. The Revd A Stopford Brooke's *The Need and Use of getting Irish Literature into the English Tongue* was published in 1893 and *The Revival of Irish literature: Addresses by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, KCMG, Dr George Sigerson and Dr Douglas Hyde* in 1894.

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[119] W. B. Yeats to Katharine Tynan, n.d. June 1891 in R. McHugh (ed.), *Letters to Katharine Tynan* (London: Burns & Oates, 1953), 125. Quoted in Jefferson, 18.
[120] A. Norman Jeffares and K. G. W. Cross (eds.), *In Excited Reverie: A Centenary Tribute to William Butler Yeats 1865-1939* (London: Macmillan, 1965), 1.

Fisher Unwin managed the no doubt difficult task of publishing Yeats at the same time as he published the twelve volumes of the Irish Literary Society and Sir Charles Gavan Duffy's New Irish Library between 1892 and 1894 which, as we will see in more detail in the next chapter, caused a near-violent row between the young Revivalists in Dublin led by Yeats on the one side and Gavan Duffy and the grandees of the ILS in London on the other. Garnett used his friendship with Yeats to try to make peace between Yeats and Duffy: 'Now my dear fellow,' he wrote unavailingly to Yeats, 'I'm not going to preach at all but I do ask you to examine what the differences are between your view and the rival and see whether it is for the good of the idea *you* are working on for that you and your party should be irreconcilable… Why not drop personal feeling, quieten the hornet's nest in your side, come over here first and see whether you cannot make agreement?'[121] As the New Irish Library was being issued, Fisher Unwin also published Gavan Duffy's *A Short Life of Thomas Davis: 1840-1846* in 1895 and *Young Ireland: A Fragment of History, 1840 to 1845* in 1896. Richard Ashe King's *Swift in Ireland* was published in 1895. Sir Samuel Ferguson's *Lays of the Red Branch* was reissued in 1897. The connection with Yeats may have been responsible for the publication in 1893 of *Reflections and Refractions* by the Theosophist Charles Weekes, an old school friend of Yeats from The High School who, as described in Chapter One, was a close advisor of George Roberts at Maunsel & Co. from 1905.

Yeats's relationship with Fisher Unwin was critical for the poet in the 1890s. Unwin and Garnett's professional support for Yeats allowed the poet to develop his literary and aesthetic vision for his work. In Yeats's letters to Fisher Unwin in the mid-1890s in preparation of his pivotal 1895 collection *Poems*, the poet's preoccupations, firstly, with the design and form of his books (he was, after all, the son and brother of artists, and had studied art himself), and secondly, the beginnings of his ambition for a collected edition of his poems as his realisation grew that poetry, not prose, would be his metier, emerge distinctly. Although Elkin Mathews (his neighbour in Bedford Park) had offered to publish his poems, Yeats wrote to Unwin in October 1894:

> I want to get out early next spring a new and corrected edition of the poems which have already appeared of mine. I got a good offer for them on Monday but as our relations have always been friendly and pleasant I would just as soon go on with you if we can come to terms. I am very anxious to get out the volume in such a way that I can make

[121] Garnett to WBY, n.d. in Joseph Hone, *W. B. Yeats 1865-1939* (London: Macmillan, 1942), 98.

> all my future books of verse resemble it in size and printing... If you care to take the volume, I would therefore ask first that it be of a certain height and breadth, second that it be printed by either Clark or Constable, third that I be consulted about an artist to do the title page.[122]

While waiting for Fisher Unwin's reply he wrote to his friend, the American publisher, F. H. Day from Sligo, where he had gone to revise his poems, that he expected the publisher to agree all his terms: 'if he refuses Mathews will take them. In any case all my future books will be published in a uniform shape [...].'[123] By January 1895, terms having been agreed, Yeats was instructing Fisher Unwin from Sligo in detail about the design of the book:

> I think that the designer of the cover should be consulted about the cloth – as a design usually requires a particular texture and colour to look its best. I would suggest that the designer be asked to make the book as much a work of art as he can, and (after you have put whatever be a needful limit of expense and I have given a firm command that it be not green and have no shamrocks...) he be left very free. If he prefers simply to furnish a design and leave colour and texture to us I shall ask for a smooth texture and a dark colour. 2) I should like to see specimens of paper. 3) Yes, Constable [printer] by all means. 4) I shall send you a sheet of paper folded to the size of page in a couple of days. I like no headlines, the number of the page to be at the bottom, and single commas for quotation marks, and fairly large type but must leave type and the like to you and the printer as I have no books here [Sligo] to consult and compare. 5) I want a title page and cover decoration – not a frontispiece. 6) Will send list of contents in a few days. The book had better be called 'Poems by W. B. Yeats' as 'Collected Poems' is a title which would soon, I hope be made obsolete by my new book of verse. 7) The book will contain about as much matter as 240 pages of a Cameo volume but will not count to so many as the pages will be larger.[124]

Poems was issued in crown octavo format with light brown cloth and gold lettering and designs on both the front and back cover and the spine. There were no shamrocks, but an angel and dragon instead. Constable was indeed the printer and the title page and page design were as Yeats requested. However, the collaborative relationship between publisher and author did not prosper long beyond the issue of *Poems*. Fisher Unwin was known to seldom increase payments to his authors as they became more successful. In consequence, he published many of his authors earlier works and they moved on to other publishers as they became more

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[122] *CL Yeats I,* 408. As the editors note, Fisher Unwin met all these conditions, although the volume was not published until October 1895. Yeats chose the artist Herbert Granville-Fell to design the title page.
[123] Ibid, 409.
[124] Letter from W. B. Yeats to T. Fisher Unwin, 27 January 1895, *CL Yeats I,* 411.

established. This was Yeats's experience, but unfortunately for the realisation of his vision of a *Collected Works* Unwin held tenaciously to his rights to *Poems* until as late as 1927, preventing an earlier issue in the British market. After parting with Fisher Unwin, Yeats moved from publisher to publisher in the 1890s chasing advances, and by 1900 his publishers included Kegan Paul & Trench, Fisher Unwin, and Lawrence & Bullen.

Unwin was a talented and agile publisher who built his business steadily during the 1890s and 1900s, so that by 1912 his annual profits were around £6,000 per annum.[125] From 1900 (perhaps in response to rising nationalism), Unwin's Irish publications became more political in texture, and he also published George Moore. *Evelyn Innes* was issued in 1898 and *Sister Teresa* in 1901, with revised editions of 1908. Fisher Unwin felt confident enough about George Moore's sales potential to print 10,000 copies in the first run of *Evelyn Innes.*[126] Moore stayed with Fisher Unwin for *The Untilled Field* in 1903 before moving on to T. Werner Laurie for *Confessions of a Young Man* in 1905 and Heinemann with *The Lake* in 1905. Fisher Unwin's interest in Ireland outlived Garnett's departure to the firm of Duckworth in 1901 to become that firm's chief reader. He co-published with Gill, Sealy, Bryers & Walker, Maunsel and the Talbot Press in Dublin into the 1920s. Yeats's theatrical magazine *Samhain* was co-published with Sealy, Bryers & Walker in Dublin between 1901 and 1908. Francis Sheehy-Skeffington's *Michael Davitt* was issued in 1909, the *Diary of Sir Horace Plunkett* in 1914. He returned to the Home Rule question in 1914 with J. A. Murray MacDonald's *The Federal Solution of Irish Home Rule.* After 1916, he co-published with Talbot Press in Dublin and these Irish titles reflect the radical changes underway in Ireland. Thomas MacDonagh's *Poetical Works* was published after the execution of the Rising Leader in 1916. T. W. Rolleston wrote a comparative history of *Ireland and Poland* in 1917, and took a gloomy line on the future in *Ireland's Vanishing Opportunity* in 1919. W. P. Ryan's *The Irish Labour Movement* appeared the same year as did a collection of *Eight Short Stories* by Lennox Robinson. *In Times of Peril: Leaves from the Diary of Nurse Linda Kearns from Easter Week 1916 to Mountjoy 1921* was issued in 1921. Other co-publications with the Talbot Press included *An Economic Programme for the Irish Free State* by the P. H. Pearse Study Group; Darrell Figgis's *Planning for the Future: An Address before the Architectural Association of Ireland, Tuesday March 28, 1922;* and Michael Collins's collection of his speeches and writings, *A Path to Freedom*, all in 1922.

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[125] Codell, 'Thomas Fisher Unwin', *DNB*.
[126] Loeber and Loeber, 925.

He published Ernest Boyd's *Appreciation and Depreciation: Irish Literary Studies* and Daniel Corkery's *A Munster Twilight* both in 1917.

Thomas Fisher Unwin and Edward Garnett's working relationship greatly facilitated the publishing of the Irish Literary Revival and works of considerable importance for the cause of Irish nationalism. Ford Madox Ford, a family friend of the Garnetts, later recorded his verdict on Fisher Unwin's and Yeats's collaboration, describing it as a 'heaven-sent opportunity for publisher and young writer', assisted by a 'chief reader of determined tastes and a salesman of second sight – Edward Garnett and David Rice.'[127]

The Changing Climate for Irish Writers in London 1900-1916

In addition to the changing publishing landscape, the wider British political context had an impact on Irish writers. Joyce's well-documented problems with London publishers may had more to do with their fear of prosecution for obscenity or defamation, but he was not alone among Irish writers in finding the publishing climate in London unsettled in the first couple of decades of the twentieth century. While, as we have seen, the conditions of publishing improved considerably when the royalty system became more established after the introduction of the Net Book Agreement in 1900, the mood in respect of Ireland and Irish writers had shifted considerably from the enthusiasm of the early years of the Literary Revival. Throughout the nineteenth century Irish novels and poetry had enjoyed considerable success among the English reading public, a major exemplar of which was Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent*, published in Dublin and London in 1801, the year the Act of Union came into effect. With the abolition of the Dublin parliament, however, the political centre of gravity shifted inevitably to London where Irish MPs now sat. Irish matters stayed high on the British political agenda during the nineteenth century as Emancipation was followed by the Famine, then the Land Wars and the campaign for Home Rule which reached a peak in 1886-92. The London press, as we have seen, needed writers (usually Irish) to explain Ireland to the British reader and, as J. C. Beckett observes, [t]he politically conscious public, which corresponded fairly closely with the reading public, could not afford to forget Ireland for long.' In turn, Irish writers needed the British audience and as Beckett suggests:

[127] Ford Madox Ford, 'Travel Notes: I return to Olivet', *Saturday Review of Literature,* 1939, 13-14.

> This dependence was not absolute, and its extent could vary; but all the evidence suggests that the readiness of the English public to read about Ireland was of decisive importance. Though there was an Irish public as well, it was so small that it could rarely serve as more than a kind of springboard.[128]

By the late 1890s fault lines had appeared in Revival movement about its future direction. While Irish writers had easily assimilated into English society in the previous centuries, the emerging Irish-Ireland generation, many of whom were Catholics from the middle or lower middle classes, or a peasant background in the case of W. P. Ryan, who came to London from the late 1880s were hostile to what they regarded as their predecessors' cultural compromise. Ian Sheehy suggests that to these later arrivals 'Irishmen like [T. P.] O'Connor, [Richard Barry] O'Brien and [Justin] McCarthy – with their liberal links and identities, their attachment to Bright and Gladstone, their newspaper interests and their demonstrable social success – had embraced the English way of life rather than promoting the Irish alternative.'[129] The founding of the National Literary Society in Dublin in 1892 was part of a conscious mobilisation against the magnetism of London that was largely unsuccessful for most of the 1890s as the publishing of Irish authors in London reached a zenith. Sheehy argues that for the young generation of Revivalists in London:

> The key to Ireland's national identity was cultural rather than political. The process of 'Anglicisation' had to be halted and the cultural union that seemed to have accompanied the political one reversed. In time this would mean the development of a new national literature, the spread of Gaelic customs, the revival of the Irish language and the fostering of Irish industry. The Revival generation looked to galvanise their fellow countrymen, not the larger British audience.[130]

By 1900 D. P. Moran was lamenting that London was 'the capital of Ireland', eight years after the provocative comments of the *Daily Telegraph* in March 1892 which had editorialised that it was 'eminently fitting that, if an Irish Literary Society is to be formed, its seat should be in London and not Dublin' as 'so long as English is the language of Ireland, the literary and oratorical and characteristic genius of the country must of necessity gravitate towards the

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[128] J. C. Beckett, 'The Irish Writer and his Public in the Nineteenth Century', *Yearbook of English Studies,* Vol. 11, Literature and Its Audience, Special Number (1981), 115-16.
[129] Ian D. Sheehy, 'Irish Journalists and Litterateurs in Late Victorian Britain, c. 1870-1910' (Unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Hertford College, Oxford, 2003), 202.
[130] Ibid, 201-2.

fountain-head and centre of intellectual life in England.'[131] Moran and Ryan returned to Dublin in the early 1900s in what Ian Sheehy describes as 'the strongest illustration [of] the Revival faith of Ryan and Moran... reversing the trend of a century and breaking that London magnetism which the Home Rule writers typified.'[132] This analysis, however, perpetuates the narrative of the revival as the dominant – the only – force inspiring Irish writers in London. Sheehy suggests that from 1900 the momentum swung towards Dublin as the centre of Irish cultural activity with the founding of the Irish Literary Theatre, followed by the Abbey in 1904 and the establishment of Maunsel & Co in 1905. Some prominent Irish emigrants to London did indeed return to Dublin including Stephen Gwynn, George Moore, D. P. Moran, and D. J. O'Donoghue. Even Yeats came back 'in a sense after three years' absence', but Yeats continued to publish in London. However, as we saw earlier, Sara Mitchell's sample of Irish writers operating in London between 1700 and 1925, did not find a large-scale reverse migration to Dublin.

We can, in fact, see that just as Ryan and Moran were fleeing the decadence of England, writers such as Ella MacMahon were continuing to come the other way, frustrated by what they saw as the increasing provincialism and the literary poverty of the Revival. Ella MacMahon in particular was sceptical of the Revival trope of an authentic pre-Conquest literature. She wrote to the *Irish Times* in September 1904 in response to reported comments at a Gaelic League Feis Ceoil by Cardinal Logue, the Catholic Primate of Ireland, that the national spirit was being nourished by the revival of the Irish language and the study of Irish history and, he claimed, 'especially [by the] placing within the reach of the people the literature of Ireland... buried for many centuries under a mass of English.'[133] 'May I,' she wrote acerbically to the *Irish Times* in response:

> [A]s an humble lover of all great and good literature, inquire ... [W]hat the literature consists of which has been thus interred? Who and what has prevented its disinterment? All my life I have been hearing of the "treasures" of Irish literature. I never can find anyone to tell me where they are and what they are. So far I have been perforce left to satisfy any cravings for literature with such debased fare as that of Shakespeare, for example...'.[134]

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[131] *CL Yeats 1,* 297, n. 2, quoting the *Daily Telegraph* editorial of 7 March 1892.
[132] Sheehy, 203.
[133] Cardinal Michael Logue (1840-1924), Chair of Theology at the Irish College in Paris (1866-1874), Professor of Dogmatic Theology and Irish, Maynooth College, 1876-9), Bishop of Raphoe (1879-87), Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland (1887-1924). Created Cardinal in 1893 by Pope Leo XIII.
[134] Ella MacMahon, 'The "Burial of Irish Literature"', *Irish Times*, 12 September 1904, 14.

She concluded with the uncomfortable truth 'that even the English publishers would compete eagerly for a great new – or old – literature, if only they knew where they could possibly get it. And whatever else we disdain that England has to offer us, not the most acutely Gaelic among us, ever refuse publication.'[135] Two weeks later MacMahon wrote again to the *Irish Times* in response to the heated correspondence that arose to 'thank your correspondents for the trouble they have taken', observing that her question had still not been answered: 'I asked for literature, they offer me a long catalogue of ancient folklore. I think your correspondents will find that most literary authorities are agreed that folklore is not literature.'[136] By 1904 MacMahon was the author of ten novels published – all by London publishers – in the previous fifteen years. Her first novel, *Heathcote* was issued in 1889 by Ward & Downey and the nine that succeeded it were issued by Hutchinson, Macmillan and Chapman & Hall. Chapman & Hall remained her major publisher after she moved permanently to London (living later in Sussex) shortly after her correspondence with the *Irish Times*, after which she wrote ten more novels, many magazine articles and plays for BBC radio.[137]

At the same time in the early 1900s, public opinion in Britain was cool in relation to Ireland. The Diamond Jubilee riots in Dublin in July 1897, largely fomented by an inflammatory anti-British speech by Maude Gonne, created further difficulties for Yeats and Irish writers among the British reviewers and reading public. Jane Barlow heard the following year from Shan Bullock of 'a conspiracy against me and some other Irish authors, among a set of London critics. No doubt people often imagine such things, but I do think there has been a certain animus in many of the reviews of late.'[138] As the nineteenth century closed, there was considerable hostility among the British public to the Irish nationalists and Revivalists' support for the Boers in the war in South Africa, while the defeat of the Home Rule-supporting Liberal Party and the return of the Conservatives to power (for the next twelve years) in the 'Khaki' election of 1900 chilled the atmosphere still further in relation to Irish affairs. Yeats was to find that his support for Maude Gonne's nationalist activities cost him dearly in his ambition to find a publisher for a *Collected Works.*

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[135] Ella MacMahon, 'The "Burial of Irish Literature"', 14.
[136] Ella MacMahon to the *Irish Times,* 20 September 1904, 6.
[137] The entry for the *Cambridge Dictionary of Irish Biography* is incorrect in stating that MacMahon's 1894 novel, *A New Note,* published anonymously by Hutchinson, was her first, *Heathcote* was published five years earlier by the London-based Irish publisher Edmund Downey. The title of *A New Note*, given the publication date in 1894 at the height of New Woman writing, is suggestive.
[138] Jane Barlow to Sarah Purser, 28 November 1898, NLI MS 8186 (10).

Macmillan rejected an approach from Yeats in 1900 to publish with them. Stephen Gwynn, who had been brought in as a reader by George Macmillan, had recommended the signing of Yeats around the time his prose publishers Lawrence & Bullen were breaking up. Macmillan's two most senior literary advisors, Mowbray Morris and John Morley, were asked to report. Warwick Gould concluded that '[t]heir responses betrayed an intense hostility to the author's Republican and anti-Boer activities, disguised as a failure of taste.'[139] Gould notes that as Thomas Mark, the author of the history of Macmillan, conceded in 1943, neither Morris nor Morley had been capable of allowing Yeats's 'quality to penetrate their disliking.'[140] Mark considered that they had reported 'with the dangerous vehemence of men who feel that their citadel is being undermined.' Mowbray Morris's opinions could be 'written with a violence that men do not use except subconsciously in defence of a closed mind', comments which exactly describe both Morris's and Morley's rejection of Yeats.[141] Gould suggests that the 'chillingly impersonal' Morley's motive was 'a little warm-blooded, if oblique, personal revenge.'[142] The former Chief Secretary for Ireland (1892-95) had lost his safe parliamentary seat in Newcastle-on-Tyne in the election [of July 1895] after Maude Gonne had organised the local Irish vote for a socialist candidate, because Morley had reneged on promises of amnesty for Irish treason-felony prisoners.[143]

After the Macmillan rejection, Yeats retained the agent A. P. Watt who placed his next book, *The Shadowy Waters* with Hodder & Stoughton, but the relationship did not prosper. The book was only moderately successful, and Warwick Gould has suggested in the light of Yeats's deep interest in mysticism that the Non-Conformist Protestant ethos of Hodder's was 'never going to be the right environment for Yeats.'[144] In 1901 Yeats gave Watt full responsibility for placing all his work, with the exception of *Poems* which, as we saw, remained with Fisher Unwin. Watt advised Yeats to stay with A. H. Bullen but got to work on his American publishing arrangements. Ten years after the Chace Copyright Act, Yeats was not yet successful enough to attract offers from American publishers, and his London publishers were

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[139] Warwick Gould, 'W. B. Yeats on the Road to St Martin's Street, 1900-17,' in Elizabeth James (ed.), *Macmillan: A Publishing Tradition* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave 2002), 192-217, 192, 193.
[140] Charles Morgan, *The House of Macmillan, 1843-1943* (London: Macmillan, 1943), 222, quoted in Gould, Ibid. Gould has shown that Thomas Mark in fact wrote much of the book. Gould, ibid, 210, n. 3.
[141] Morgan, *Macmillan,* 222.
[142] Gould, 210, n. 5, citing John Gross's judgment of Morley in *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters: Aspects of English Literary Life since 1800* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969), 112.
[143] Gould, 193.
[144] Ibid.

still selling sheets of his English editions to the Americans leaving Yeats open to publishing piracy. When Yeats lectured across America in 1903-4 the publicity attracted the attention of Thomas Mosher, the so-called 'pirate of Portland', who issued a (pirated) edition of *The Land of Heart's Desire* to coincide with the poet's arrival in the United States. Warwick Gould suggests that George P. Brett, who was running Macmillan's American Company (established as a separate company rather than a branch office, so outside the disapproving influence of Morris and Morley), 'was induced to see that Yeats's emerging difficulty with Mosher was Macmillan's opportunity'.[145] He began to print (and so to protect) Yeats in America, by publishing *Where There is Nothing: Being Volume 1 of Plays for an Irish Theatre* in May 1903; *In the Seven Woods: Being Poems Chiefly of the Irish Heroic Age* in August 1903; and *The Hour Glass and Other Plays: Being Volume 2 of Plays for an Irish Theatre* in 1904. Yeats then granted the Macmillan Company of New York the rights to published collected editions of his works in the American market for the duration of his copyrights. They issued *The Poetical Works of William B. Yeats* (sic) in two volumes in 1905-6.

Meanwhile in England, Bullen printed a run of over 1,000 eight-volume sets of the *Collected Works in Verse and Prose* at his Shakespeare Head Press in 1908. The edition was lavish but Bullen could not persuade any other publishers to co-publish with him to defray costs. Warwick Gould describes how 'Fisher Unwin, Bullen's mortal enemy in the matter of Yeats, strung Bullen along until he was irrevocably committed to his print-run, and then refused to take copies.' Gould's judgment is that Unwin's strategy was 'probably a calculated attempt to bankrupt Bullen, as Unwin reissued a fifth edition of *Poems* simultaneously to take advantage of the publicity for the *Collected Works*. Bullen struggled to sell the edition. The Macmillan Company in New York refused to import copies into America defending their stance in court under the Chace Act closing the American market. In Britain, although Chapman & Hall had taken 250 copies they sold relatively few of them, and Bullen was still buying unsold stock from them in 1912.[146] That autumn and in the early months of 1913 when Yeats revisited the issue of a *Collected Works,* Bullen still had 21 bound sets and 460 sets in quires (unbound sheets). A technical argument ensued about how to deal with Yeats's new work of the past four years. Bullen favoured the cheaper option of adding an extra volume, but Yeats wanted to substitute pages so that he could achieve a 'collection precisely [of] those things I wish to be

[145] Gould, 193.
[146] Ibid, 195, 196.

my permanent self, into a collection of odds and ends, including some that should not have been published.'[147] But although Bullen eventually agreed to Yeats's rearrangements of the text, he was not financially in a position to publish and Yeats realised the only way forward to a *Collected Works* was with another publisher.

Several factors combined to achieve the once unthinkable contract with Macmillan in London. Yeats himself contributed to the détente in their relationship with his assistance to the Indian poet Rabindrath Tagore in 1912. Shortly after Tagore's arrival in London in June 1912 Yeats began to work with him on a collection of his poems. The Indian Society published *Gitanjali (Song Offerings)* to considerable critical acclaim later that year with an introduction by Yeats. Macmillan published a very successful trade edition in March 1913 which went to ten printings in the months to November when Tagore was awarded the Nobel Prize.

Meanwhile, Ireland was back prominently on the British political agenda during the debate and enactment of the Third Home Rule Bill in 1912-14. The *Irish Book Lover* was not alone in observing an 'increased interest in reading about Ireland', with the consequence of a growing output of books, and wondered who were the readers of all the books on Ireland 'as Ireland herself is notoriously not a very good book-buying country.'[148] However by 1913, even *The Times* was taking a new view on Ireland, issuing a 32-page supplement entitled 'The Irish Number' on St Patrick's Day, to the surprised gratification of the *Irish Book Lover* which commented that '[w]hen one remembers the former attitude of "The Times" towards O'Connell, Parnell and every other popular Irish leader, during a whole century, one may be pardoned for thinking that this St Patrick's Day issue is a step forward that can never be retraced, marking a change in relationship of the two countries, the herald of a new dawn that will usher in brighter days for both.'[149]

Sir Frederick Macmillan was particularly active in signing Irish writers. James Stephens came to Macmillan in 1912 with his first novel *A Charwoman's Daughter* and remained with the

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[147] Allen Wade (ed.) *The Letters of W. B. Yeats* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1954), 576. Quoted in Gould, ibid, 211.

[148] *Irish Book Lover,* Vol. IV, No. 7 (February 1913), 'Our Scrap Book', 126. The *IBL* reported 'No', said an Irish bookseller to whom this [question] was once put, 'but we make up by supplying you people in the larger island with reading material for books.' Ibid.

[149] *Irish Book Lover,* Vol. IV, No. 9 (April 1913), 151.

firm for four more books. Macmillan's generous treatment of James Stephens in 1913 illustrates both his admiration for Irish writers and his dislike of literary agents:

> When the young Irish poet and novelist James Stephens intimated to Frederick Macmillan in 1913 that he was planning to abandon Pinker (James Brand Pinker, his literary agent), Macmillan instructed: "We must see that we treat him liberally so that he may realize he is losing nothing by dealing with us direct." The offer was made to increase his royalty from 10 to 25 per cent; and the firm was prepared to do the same for AE (George Russell) and W. B. Yeats, assuming that Stephens would confide these rates to his friends.[150]

By now Charles Whibley, the journalist, author and friend of Sir Frederick, had replaced Morley and Mowbray as the firm's chief reader so that when A. P. Watt approached Macmillan on Yeats's behalf again early in 1916, the firm was now receptive.[151] In the spring and early summer of 1916 a series of contracts was signed between Yeats and Macmillan transferring copyrights, stock and plates from Bullen and, crucially, agreeing the publication of a *Collected Works.* Of great significance, too, was that Macmillan could work with their American company, sending marked proofs to New York so that Yeats's work would now be both more under his control and would meet the manufacturing condition of the Chace Act, thereby securing his copyright. The transfer of stock from Bullen was agreed during the Easter Rising in Dublin, and Yeats had an anxious few days wondering if political events would interfere again.[152] The *Irish Book Lover* welcomed the news that he had 'finally transferred all his copyrights to the great firm of Macmillan', although, as noted, Fisher Unwin was the one publisher who held out and retained his copyright to 1927. Macmillan, however, were able to begin to issue a uniform edition of the plays and poems from 1922.

AE came to Macmillan at around the same time and the firm published all his poetry for the next two decades. Later, Sean O'Casey brought two plays to Macmillan in 1925, 'Juno and the Paycock' and 'The Shadow of a Gunman', and the firm went on to publish all his plays thereafter. Other Irish writers who came to Macmillan in the 1920s and 1930s following

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[150] Simon Nowell-Smith, *Letters to Macmillan* (London: Macmillan, St. Martin's Press, 1967), 302.
[151] Gould, 207.
[152] On Sunday 30 April 1916, the day after the Rising leaders surrendered, he wrote anxiously to Watt that he had 'been hoping to hear that the books have been transferred. Is Sir Frederick Macmillan back?' Gould, ibid, 208.

Charles Whibley's encouragement of Irish literature included Padraic Colum, Alice Stopford Green, Eimar O'Duffy and F. R. Higgins.

Conclusion:

The publication of Irish writers by London publishers reached a zenith in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In retrospect, Katharine Tynan wrote of her distaste for those years, lamenting the:

> [T]alk of books as I knew it in literary circles in London. It used to be in a special way, shop-talk. The 'nineties had give me a surfeit of it; prices per thousand and biggest circulations, and all the crowded rooms shrieking like the parrot-houses at the Zoo, and the gist of it the making of books and the prices to be obtained for them. Flesh and blood was only matter for books, and the veins of these literary men and women ran ink instead of blood. I am not saying, of course, that there not people who loved literature for its own sake: I am only talking of the literary coteries of the 'nineties, and the queer unpleasant things that came out of them.[153]

She contrasted the commercialism of the literary market place with the purity of the Literary Revival, although characterising it as a relatively minor affair and ignoring the significance of London: 'Far other was the little and memorable movement in Dublin into which came W. B. Yeats and A. E. and Douglas Hyde, and others who were, beyond their own actual achievements, the precursors. That was a pure movement, in which money and worldly success were never dreamed of.'[154] Yet a year after Yeats's move to Macmillan, the *Glasgow Evening News* noted in 1917, while acknowledging Maunsel's contribution to publishing in Ireland, that '[t]he Irish literary movement, measured by its success in book production, is becoming a formidable affair. Unfortunately, we do not fully appreciate its extent, because the majority of volumes, running to many hundreds yearly, from the pens of Irishmen, are introduced with a London imprint on the title page.'[155]

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[153] Katharine Tynan, *The Wandering Years* (London: Constable, 1922), 287.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Maunsel & Co Complete Catalogue, December 1916, inside front cover. National Library of Ireland, LO 1043.

There has been a critical tendency to over-emphasise the importance of the Dublin publishers Maunsel and the Talbot Press, even the Dun Emer and Cuala Presses, as the principal publishers of the Literary Revival, playing down the far greater contribution of London publishing houses like Thomas Fisher Unwin, Ward & Downey and Edmund Downey, A. H. Bullen, Elkin Mathews, Smith Elder and Methuen. Maunsel did not start publishing until 1905 and the Talbot Press only in 1913. Much of the reason for this 'critical squint', in John Wilson Foster's phrase, is related to the self-evidently commercial nature of the London publishing industry, with its publication of what was increasingly characterised, as we have seen, as 'the flood of filth' in contrast to the perceived purity of the Revival publishing initiatives in Dublin. The early Revival had two geographic centres, in Dublin and in London, and we see Yeats moving between the two in an attempt to reconcile cultural nationalism with commercial necessity. I have suggested that, after the battle over the New Irish library the publishing centre of the Revival moved to London, while the Revival in its Dublin incarnation proceeded along a different track that emphasised nationalism and the Irish language, and later the Irish theatre movement.

This critical bias has had particular consequences for the reputations of many of the Irish women writers of the period. We can see clearly from the women sampled in this chapter that, for a variety of reasons related to their economic status or that of their family, they were more driven by the commercial necessity of earning their living. We have lost sight especially of the women of mid- and late-Victorian period who were constrained within the format of the three-decker novel. The Revivalist privileging of drama and poetry over fiction had the consequence of obscuring the Irish novel of the Revival period and beyond. In consequence, many popular novelists, particularly women writers who wrote the majority of novels during the Victorian and Edwardian periods, have been elided from Irish literary history. This survey of their place in the contemporary literary marketplace suggests that their recuperation can contribute to extending the narrow group of texts often taken to constitute the literary history of the period. To illustrate the point further, the next chapter looks closely at the history of the Waterford publisher Edmund Downey in the years 1879-1906 when he was active in London.

Chapter 3: Edmund Downey: An Irish Publisher in London

Introduction

The Waterford publisher, editor and author Edmund Downey is an exemplar of voluntary and successful emigration from Ireland to London in the last third of the nineteenth century. He integrated and assimilated into the London publishing world with ease, while remaining a prominent figure in London Irish literary, social and political circles. Downey was active in London between 1879 and 1906, and was a key participant in a literary market place that encompassed Britain, Ireland and the United States in a twenty-five year period of unprecedented, rapid and far-reaching transformation which both accelerated and was consolidated in the years between 1884 and 1914.[1] Downey's career began in the relative stability of a conservative Victorian publishing environment where he learned his trade in one of the most successful fiction publishers of the period, but his move to establish two eponymous independent firms after 1884 ensured him a significant role in the momentous changes of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century publishing industry.

References to Edmund Downey in contemporary and modern sources are reasonably frequent but are limited in their understanding of his central and influential position in the interlocking worlds of London Irish publishing, authorship, journalism, reviewing, and the Irish Literary Revival. His publishing endeavours ranged from the Victorian sensation fiction of authors such as M. E. Braddon to the modernism of George Moore and Emile Zola. He was a co-founder with the Irish MP T. P. O'Connor of *T. P.'s Weekly*, one of the most popular newspapers of the early twentieth century. In his own name, and under his pseudonym F. M. Allen, he was a successful author of fiction, biography, humorous tales, short stories and essays.[2] He is notable not just for the range of his activities, but significantly for the extent of his social and

[1] Research for this chapter has established for the first time, I believe, the accurate timeline of Downey's career, especially his years in London, correcting the inaccuracies or lacunae in existing reference works including the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* the *Cambridge Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Loeber and Loeber's *Guide to Irish Fiction, 1650-1900*, *Ricorso* and other sources.

[2] Downey was the author of 23 works of fiction from 1886 in a range of genres including nautical tales, Irish tales, humour, fantasy, invasion scare, fairy tales, crime and children's literature. From 1905 he published a number of non-fiction titles commencing with his memoir, *Twenty Years Ago*, in 1905, a life of Charles Lever in 1906 and after his return to Ireland in 1906, several histories of the city and county of Waterford. A 2012 essay by R. M. Lee has made a start in recovering his work and assessing his literary reputation. R. M. Lee, '"A Storehouse of Strange Legendary Lore": Recovering the work of Edmund Downey' in *Litteraria Pragensia,* Vol. 22, Issue 44 (2012), 26-37. A bibliography of Downey's work is included in Appendix A.

professional contacts. His office in Covent Garden was a meeting place for Irish litterateurs and his residences in south-west London were described as 'the centre of Irish literary and political life [in London].'[3] His most important – and overlooked – legacy to Irish literary history is his significant contribution to the publishing of nineteenth-century Irish authors, living and dead, literary and popular. Downey was an important gatekeeper for a significant cohort of Irish writers, some of whom were published in London for the first time under his aegis, including George Moore, Katharine Tynan, and John Augustus O'Shea. Such was his commitment to the cause of Irish literary achievement that he is known to have published some projects at a personal financial loss. He was a determined and influential supporter of Irish writers in London in key periods of both the Literary Revival and Home Rule politics, when the literary and political climates shifted between the benign and the inimical. His voluminous correspondence with Irish authors, including Frances Cashel Hoey, Charlotte Riddell, Margaret Wolfe Hungerford, Bithia Mary Croker, and Henry Hinkson, illuminates the careers of a cohort of late nineteenth-century individuals – himself included – who, while being contemporaries of the Revival, were not Revivalist writers. Downey's professional colleagues, authors and friends crossed class and national boundaries, and we find him throughout his time in London active at the intersection of Home Rule politics, the Literary Revival, Irish-Ireland nationalism, and the dynamic publishing scene. This chapter traces the evolution of his publishing career to reveal his significance in Irish literary history.[4]

Downey was a Catholic from a middle-class, provincial mercantile background. He does not conform to the traditional archetype of the upper-class Irish Protestant literary mediator, exemplars of which include Stephen Gwynn and T. W. Rolleston. Although he appears closer

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[3] 'Obituary of Edmund Downey', *Irish Times*, 12 February 1937, 5. Downey called his residences Suir House (Lessar Road, Clapham Common) and Munster House (Lucien Road, Tooting Common). There were many Irish residents in these districts of south London.

[4] Source material for this chapter is drawn from the extensive archive of correspondence, mainly to Downey, which his widow Josephine donated to the National Library of Ireland. The Edmund Downey Papers (MSS 10,000-10,069) comprise 70 folders of 2,114 letters; 72 documents ranging from proposals for the publishing of the New Library of Ireland, menus of literary dinners and a prospectus for a copper mine; and miscellaneous verses, draft correspondence and commercial documents. The letters range from 1836 to 1925, but the letters which predate 1879 are those of Charles Lever and his wife to which Downey was given access for his 1906 *Life and Letters of Charles Lever.* The bulk of his letters range from 1886-1906, the latter year that of his return to Waterford. I have also drawn on Downey's memoir, *Twenty Years Ago* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1905), which focuses on his time at Tinsley Brothers and although it is mainly anecdotal, it contributes to an understanding of the contemporary publishing scene. William Tinsley's biography, *Random Recollections of an Old Publisher* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1900, 2 vols.), which for reasons discussed later makes scant reference to Downey, is a useful source for confirming Downey's narrative of his years at Tinsley's, and provides, along with other publishers' autobiographies and biographies, a vivid picture of the Victorian publishing landscape.

to the Irish-Ireland tradition of T. P. O'Connor and D. P. Moran, his devotion to Parnell, his closeness to Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, and his ease in London literary and social circles, demonstrate a more assimilated and fluid engagement with contemporary Britain than traditional binary narratives suggest. His political evolution was strikingly singular: he was a passionate Parnellite and supporter of the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) who became a leading member of Sinn Fein in the aftermath of the 1916 Rising and subsequent years of insurrection, before becoming a member of Fianna Fáil and a friend of Eamon de Valera.

From Waterford to London:

Edmund Downey was born in Waterford in 1856.[5] He was the eldest of five children and was educated at the Catholic University School and St John's College in Waterford where he was by all accounts an excellent student.[6] In 1879 he moved to London to join his cousin, the novelist and journalist Richard Dowling, and maternal aunt Margaret Dowling.[7] Despite the ten year age gap the cousins were close, and Dowling had worked for some years at the family shipping business in Waterford when Downey was a schoolboy. At the time of Edmund's arrival in London Dowling was a journalist on the staff of *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, and contributing to a number of other magazines and newspapers including *Tinsley's Magazine*, the house magazine of Tinsley Brothers, one of the leading publishers of

[5] His father, William, owned a small shipping firm and his mother Elizabeth (nee Hayes) came from Clonmel, Co. Tipperary. Biographical information on Edmund Downey and his siblings is available on www.Geni.com and is maintained by a member of the Downey family. I have also confirmed biographical information with his grandson, Frank Downey. Downey had four siblings, two of whom survived into adulthood: Mary (later Whitty), born 1858; Richard, born 1860, died in Sydney in 1898; Kate, born 1862, died 1880; and Frances, born 1863, died 1864.

[5] John Rouse, 'Edmund Downey', *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge University Press/Royal Irish Academy, 2010), accessed 10 February 2013. St John's College was a Catholic seminary and school founded in 1807. Before 1873, when it became exclusively a seminary, it educated lay as well as clerical students. See William L. Smith, *Irish Priests in the United States: A Vanishing Subculture* (Lanham, MD and Oxford: University Press of America, 2004), 33. According to Downey's grandson, Frank Downey, Edmund was never a seminarian. In a conversation with the author on 9 June 2015, Frank Downey suggested that while his grandfather had a strong Catholic faith, he was not a supporter of the institutional Catholic Church.

[7] Biographical information in Rolf Loeber and Magda Loeber, *A Guide to Irish Fiction 1650-1900* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006) and *Ricorso* give the year of Downey's arrival in London as 1878. The *Dictionary of Irish Biography (DIB)* is silent on the date. However, in *Twenty Years Ago*, Downey states that his first St. Patrick's Day in London was 17 March 1880 (139). In his memoir and extensive correspondence Downey is notably scrupulous about dates. Richard Dowling was the son of Downey's maternal aunt, Margaret Hayes, born 1808, and her husband, Jeremiah Dowling (a schoolmaster) who died when Richard was nine or ten. See Helen Andrews' entry for Richard Dowling in the *DIB*. According to the illustrator, Harry Furniss, Richard and Margaret moved to London around 1874. Harry Furniss, *My Bohemian Days* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1919), 40. Margaret died in 1880.

the three-volume novel. Dowling secured freelance work for his cousin on the satirical paper, *The Hornet,* and the humorous paper *Funny Folks*. In the autumn of 1879, Dowling engineered a meeting for his cousin with William Tinsley. The timing of the introduction was fortuitous as Tinsley's long-time colleague, William Croft, had just left the company, vacating the editorship of *Tinsley's Magazine*. Downey recalled being in Covent Garden one Saturday about midday when his cousin asked him to wait ten minutes while he went to talk to Tinsley. Downey, entertaining himself by looking in shop windows, recalled seeing a 'loose-moving man' in a black frock-coat 'of a somewhat unfashionable pattern and wearing an Americanish [sic] "goatee" (beard)':

> He lounged down the street and put some letters into the post-pillar. I turned around to gaze again at the window of the jeweller's shop. The stranger tapped me on the shoulder. Then he surveyed me critically from head to foot. 'I beg your pardon', said he, 'but might I ask if you are Dick Dowling's cousin?' I was somewhat confused about being accosted in this fashion by an utter stranger. I answered that I was Mr Dowling's cousin. 'My name is Tinsley', said my interrogator. 'What the devil do you mean by standing at this corner. Come along with me.' He then conducted me to No. 8, Catherine Street.[8]

A week later Downey started as Tinsley's assistant and remained at the firm for five 'unbroken and unclouded' years until the autumn of 1884.[9] The firm had been established by William and his brother Edward in 1854. The sons of a gamekeeper, they had started as middlemen booksellers selling job lots of books discarded by the large London libraries to smaller and regional libraries.[10] They published quietly during the 1850s, and were part of a Bohemian set of authors, journalists and publishers who socialised in the taverns and restaurants along Fleet Street and the Strand. The brother's first commercial success was *Seven Sons of Mammon* (1862) by their Bohemian friend, the journalist George Sala.

However, it was the publication the same year of M. E. Braddon's sensation novel, *Lady Audley's Secret*, which propelled the company to fame and financial success. The Tinsleys

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[8] Downey, *Twenty Years Ago,* 1-2. The anecdote gives an economical but vivid picture of the speech, dress and appearance of the Bohemian publisher. Tinsley Brothers' office at 8 Catherine Street, off the Strand, was a popular meeting place for authors. The *Irish Times* review of Downey's memoir was disapproving of the blasphemous language. 'The language attributed to many of these characters will certainly offend many readers. A man may be Bohemian and still use the language of a gentleman…' *Weekly Irish Times,* 'Twenty Years Ago, 1 April 1905, 21.

[9] Downey, *Twenty Years Ago,* 2.

[10] John Sutherland, 'Tinsley Brothers, London: 1852-1892', in *DLB: 106.* 299-303, 299.

purchased the copyright from the Irish publisher John Maxwell for £250.[11] Maxwell, who had come to London from Limerick in 1839 to publish the novels of Gerald Griffin was a prodigious, if precarious, magazine publisher in a very competitive marketplace. Braddon had started *Lady Audley's Secret* as a serial story in an attempt to rescue Maxwell's latest and struggling venture, *Robin Goodfellow.* The plan was unsuccessful and the magazine folded during serialisation, but the story was recommenced in Maxwell's next venture, *Sixpenny Magazine*, which also folded before the novel was complete. There was, however, trade interest in Braddon's story and William Tinsley heard of it on one of his regular visits to the London libraries, where he was assiduous in keeping up with the contacts he had made in his early years. Edward Tinsley negotiated the purchase of the rights and Tinsley Brothers issued the novel as a three-decker in October 1862.[12] *Lady Audley's Secret* was an immediate 'bestseller' for the Tinsleys and continued to sell for the next four decades, with sales reaching an estimated one million copies in the author's lifetime.[13] George Moore opened *Confessions of a Young Man* with a description of his parents discussing the 'novel the world is reading', and recounted how he himself as an eleven year old 'read it eagerly, passionately vehemently. I read its successor and its successor.'[14] Tinsley's annual profits for the next few years, largely underwritten by Braddon, were estimated at between £4,000 and £5,000.[15]

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[11] For information on Maxwell see Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism in Britain and Ireland* (Ghent, Academia Press, 2009), 403.

[12] Tinsley, *Random Recollections*, 57.

[13] Philip Waller, *Writers, Readers, and Reputations: Literary Life in Britain 1870-1918* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006), 664. Waller discusses the popularity of M. E. Braddon, 553-69. The term 'bestseller' is thought to have been introduced in America in 1889. Peter Keating notes in *The Haunted Study* that the Oxford English Dictionary Supplement 'attributes the earliest use of the term to a Kansas newspaper in that: "Kansas City's literary tone is improving. The six best sellers here last week were..."' Keating, 439. The New York magazine *The Bookman* began publication in 1895, and from the beginning carried lists of 'Books in Demand' which from 1897 were collected in annual surveys of 'Best Selling Books'. Keating argues that the term is 'virtually meaningless' and between 1875 and 1914 'it was rarely used with any precision, though the concept was well understood.' Ibid, 440. However, Robert Escarpit argues for a definition, examining Diderot's observation in 1767 that of ten books published, one is a success, four make a profit over their life, and five can be accounted for as loss-making over time. Escarpit suggests that there are 'several forms of success. "Fast-sellers" very rapidly achieve high sales, pay for themselves within a few weeks and then gradually drift into oblivion without their being any need to tie up fresh capital for reprints. "Steady-sellers" start slowly but evenly and their sales are subject only to seasonal variations occasioned by holidays, the beginning of the school year, literary prizes, gift seasons etc. These books pay for themselves over a period of months or even years, but their enduring popularity enables the publisher to reinvest his capital several times over without any danger. Finally, best-sellers represent the most spectacular type of success, since they combine both sorts of sales – beginning as fast-sellers, they end up as steady-sellers.' Robert Escarpit, *The Book Revolution,* (London, Toronto, Wellington, Sydney: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd, and Paris, UNESCO, 1966), 116.

[14] George Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1904), 3. Forty years later Moore observed that '[t]he star of Mrs Braddon has finally set in the obscure regions of servantalism [sic].' Ibid, 229.

[15] Downey, *Twenty Years Ago,* 3. Edward Tinsley built a handsome villa at Barnes in south-west London on the profits which he called Audley Lodge.

The themes of bigamy in *Lady Audley's Secret* – scandalously reflecting Braddon and Maxwell's own domestic arrangements – and that of the failed attempt to murder the returning first husband who threatened Lady Audley's second marriage were perhaps sensational enough to explain the success of the novel over the author's lifetime.[16] However, the novel enjoyed particularly high sales immediately on publication, which is unusual for the first novel of an unknown author. Why was *Lady Audley's Secret* so much more successful in the autumn of 1862 than, for example, the two novels published earlier the same year by another famous sensation novelist, Mrs Henry Wood – *Mrs Halliburton's Troubles* and T*he Channings* – (published by the established firm of Simpkin, Marshall) just a year after the worldwide success of *East Lynne*?[17] Arguably, there is nothing intrinsically better about *Lady Audley's Secret* and the unconventional details of Braddon and Maxwell's personal life were unknown to the public when the novel was first issued. I suggest, therefore, that a key factor was the serendipitous timing which saw Tinsley Brothers issue the book at the precise conjuncture of a major and attritional circulating war between Mudie's, the dominant circulating library, and the recently established Library Company Limited of Pall Mall.

By the early 1860s, Mudie's – established in 1842 – was by the far the largest subscription library in England with an annual income of £40,000. Not surprisingly, investors saw an opportunity in replicating the successful model. A syndicate was assembled to form the Library Company, which raised capital of £100,000 in £1 shares, much of it from private individuals.[18] The Library Company attempted to undercut Mudie's price of one guinea by half with an unsustainable subscription fee of 10s 6d. In the months after the publication of *Lady Audley's Secret,* the two companies competed with each other to buy increasing quantities of the book in an attempt to win new customers and dominate market share. In their hubristic desire to undercut Mudie's, the directors failed to anticipate the enterprising subscribers who took the opportunity to acquire – and not return – multiple volumes of expensive new fiction at a third

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[16] Braddon (1835-1915) lived with the publisher, John Maxwell (1824-95) from 1861. Maxwell's wife was confined to a Dublin lunatic asylum. Her earnings supported the couple, his five children and the five surviving children they had together. They married in 1874 after the death of his first wife.

[17] With Braddon and Mrs Henry Wood, Wilkie Collins is considered the third of a triumvirate of authors who popularised the sensation novel. James Joyce has Molly Bloom mention works by all three of them in her soliloquy in *Ulysses.* See Waller, 666.

[18] Guinevere L. Griest, *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1970), 23. William Tinsley estimated the share capital at £250,000 and suggested that many of the shareholders were drawn from the clergy. He recalled the sales of *Lady Audley's Secret* as a race. 'In fact, for the space of some months, it was for a good race between Mr Mudie and the Library Company Limited as to which should purchase the larger number of copies.' Tinsley, *Random Recollections,* 59.

of the price of purchase. The shareholders too, were an unwitting liability on the company as the terms of their share purchase entitled them to free borrowing. Smaller lending libraries, especially in London, collapsed under the weight of competition, as did the Library Company itself in 1864, wiping out the investments of the shareholders.[19] In the aftermath, Mudie formed his library into a limited liability company with £100,000 of share capital, and bought out several of the failed smaller libraries, thereby consolidating his firm's dominance of the circulating library – along with W. H. Smith – for the next thirty years.[20]

With the profits generated by *Lady Audley's Secret*, Tinsley Brothers became one of the most successful publishers of the three-decker novel. In their heyday they published most of the 'kings and queens' of the circulating library, including Braddon, Mrs Henry Wood, Wilkie Collins, Edmund Yates, Mrs Cashel Hoey, Mrs Oliphant, Rhoda Broughton, Mrs Riddell, Ouida, Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, George Sala, Florence Marryat, and Justin McCarthy.[21] Some more literary novelists also got their start with Tinsley's, notably George Moore, George Meredith and Thomas Hardy.[22] In the years 1863-87 Tinsley's were the third largest publisher of the three-volume novel, accounting for more than ten per cent of 3,552 published in the period – 391 – after Hurst & Blackett with 675, and Richard Bentley with 428.[23]

Edward Tinsley died in 1866 just as he was about to sign a contract to dissolve his partnership with his brother and join a rival firm which had the added attraction of American offices. Both partners were extravagant and Edward considered that the current business could not support both of them. He also believed – some years ahead of his time – that the future of publishing 'lay in the line of books appealing directly to the million, rather than in the publication of books intended mainly for the Circulating Libraries.' After his brother's death, William discovered

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[19] Griest, 64-70.
[20] See Griest, 24-7 for a comprehensive account of the impact of the competition between the circulating libraries and the consequences for Mudie's.
[21] Sutherland, *DLB 106,* 300.
[22] Moore's *A Modern Lover* was published in 1883. Meredith's *Rhoda Fleming* was published in 1865. Tinsley's published Hardy's first three novels: *Desperate Remedies* in 1871 and *Under the Greenwood Tree* and *A Pair of Blue Eyes* in 1873.
[23] Troy Bassett, 'Three-volume novels in Britain, 1863-1897', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, Vol. 22, No. 1, (2008), 61-75. 1863 is chosen by Bassett as the start of the highpoint of the three-decker because it corresponds with Simon Eliot's analysis of 'The Three-Decker Novel and Its First Cheap Reprint, 1862-94', *Library,* Vol. 6, (March 1985), 61. Bassett's data, however, does not cover two-volume novels priced at one guinea (21s.) which became increasingly popular as a publishing format in the 1880s. In 1883, the peak year of production for the three-decker when 155 were published, Tinsley's issued 22, second only to Hurst & Blackett with 26, and just ahead of the new fiction publisher F. V. White with 21. Bassett, 71.

the firm had significant cash flow difficulties and was '£4,000 to the bad'.[24] Partly to mitigate the financial problems, he established *Tinsley's Magazine*, a monthly shilling magazine. All of William's energy went into commissioning new titles. For years the firm had no editorial department and it was not uncommon for novelists to send their manuscripts directly to the printer.[25] In *Confessions of a Young Man,* George Moore claimed that '[s]trange were the ways of this office: Shakespeare might have sent in prose and poetry but he would have gone into the wastepaper basket' had he not been 'in the know' about Tinsley's eccentric way of doing business.[26] Most of the work, according to Moore, was done by an Irishman behind the long wooden trade counter 'who for three pounds a week edited the magazine, read the manuscripts, looked after the printer and binder, kept the accounts and entertained the visitors.'[27] That Irishman was Edmund Downey, who recalled in *Twenty Years Ago*, that as well as working all day, he spent his free hours writing and reviewing.[28] Fortunately for Tinsley, even if he did not read the manuscripts himself, he had talented literary advisors including John Morley, Gustave Strauss and Byron Webber. Moore was famously critical of Tinsley's 'witlessness and 'h-lessness' but it was Tinsley's close friend Byron Webber who persuaded him to publish Moore's first novel, *A Modern Lover,* in 1883, even if Moore had to guarantee to underwrite any losses up to £40.[29]

When Downey joined Tinsley's in 1879, the firm was past the peak of its success but Catherine Street was still a popular meeting place for the authors, editors and writers who 'haunted' the offices, especially on Saturday afternoons. The group called themselves the 'Old Bohemians' and were known as the 'Tinsley Brotherhood'. Catherine Street was dubbed 'Bohemia-in-the-Strand.'[30] The twenty-three year-old Downey, therefore, had immediate access to an established and well-connected literary network that included George Henty, Gustave Strauss, Byron Webber, Professor Henry van Laun and William Westall, the last becoming a close friend and important literary collaborator. The Irish connection in Tinsley's was especially

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[24] 'Edward died suddenly at Catherine Street. In his hand was the pen and in front of him were the deeds which were to sever him from Tinsley Brothers and to make him a partner of the firm of Virtue & Co.' Downey, *Twenty Years Ago,* 7, 5.
[25] Sutherland, *DLB 106*, 300.
[26] George Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man 1886: Edited and Annotated by George Moore* (London, T. Werner Laurie, 1904), 286.
[27] Moore, *Confessions,* 279-80
[28] Downey, *Twenty Years Ago,* 273.
[29] Ibid, 10, cited by Adrian Frazier, *George Moore, 1852-1933* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 88. Moore, *Confessions,* 285. The comment about Tinsley's 'h-lessness' refers to his dropping his aitches in speech.
[30] Downey, *Twenty Years Ago*, 89, *viii.*

strong, and Downey and the trade counter of Tinsley's soon became the hub of an Irish network of writers and journalists, from widely different backgrounds, that included John Augustus O'Shea (1839-1905), Richard Dowling (1846-1898), George Moore (1852-1933), John Fitzgerald Molloy (1858-1908), Percy Hetherington Fitzgerald (1835-1925), Edmund O'Donovan (1844-1883), Victor O'Donovan Power (date of birth unknown, died 1918), John Hill (Patrick C. Fahy) and William Bernard Guinee (d. 1901).[31] Tinsley noted in his memoirs that 'several clever young men found their way directly from Ireland to my office.'[32]

When he came to Catherine Street, Downey recorded that '[a]t the time literary Bohemianism was still decadent. The pulse still throbbed, but one could feel that the beat was failing.' Downey found 'Bohemia-in-the-Strand a fascinating country', but acknowledged the harm that its excesses and tenuous nature could have on the careers of men who did not succeed: 'There was no lack of tragedy – the memory of many of the tragedies often damps and depresses me…' Downey recorded that he resisted the world of 'Tavern Bohemia' only occasionally accompanying Tinsley to the Gaiety Restaurant beside the office.[33] His cousin, Richard Dowling, was less successful in resisting the lure of Bohemia, and his considerable literary promise, after his first critically successful novel *The Mystery of Killard* (1879), was never quite fulfilled. The illustrator Harry Furniss, who collaborated with Dowling on several comic papers and predicted 'world-wide fame' for him, later recalled that Dowling 'drifted into the quicksand of Bohemianism and never got off. He sank a wreck, with a rich cargo of genius that was never delivered to the world.'[34] He died at the age of fifty-two in 1898, leaving his wife and children in impoverished circumstances. The Downey letters at the National Library of Ireland reveal how Downey and friends, including George and Augustus Moore and Mrs Cashel Hoey, established a relief fund for Dowling's family.[35] When the *Irish Times* reviewed *Twenty Years Ago* in 1905, the reviewer was critical of the colourful account of Bohemia-in-the-Strand:

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[31] Downey, *Twenty Years Ago*, 99-101. O'Shea's pen name was 'The Irish Bohemian'. Guinee was almost certainly the most prolific Irish journalist in London in the nineteenth century, who among an output estimated by Downey at two million words annually – or 40,000 words per week – wrote the weekly London Letter for the *Irish Times*. Much of his journalism was written anonymously or pseudonymously. I have been unable to establish dates for John Hill.

[32] Tinsley, *Random Recollections,* 325.

[33] Downey, *Twenty Years Ago*, *vii, viii,* 8-9.

[34] Helen Andrews, 'Dowling, Richard', *DIB* (electronic resource, accessed 10 February 2013), quoting Harry Furniss, *My Bohemian Days*, London, Hurst & Blackett, 1919, 40.

[35] Edmund Downey Papers, NLI MS 10,068 'Richard Dowling Relief Fund'.

> Bohemia, as it existed in London a score of years since, is graphically described, and sketches are given of the Gaiety Bar, Simpson's Restaurant, the Cheshire Cheese and other haunts of literary aspirants, some of whom attained to some fame, but the majority of whom seem to have eked out a hand-to-mouth existence (hand not going to mouth with particular regularity). Many of this strange community were Irishmen – John Augustus O'Shea, Ghazzi Power, Richard Dowling and Edmund O'Donovan for instance.[36]

Downey was, however, at home in the London publishing world and he felt the glamour of the association with great writers. He collaborated with Charles Dickens Junior at the magazine *All the Year Round* and described the 'electric throb which thrilled me' when Dickens showed him a 'dingy, dusty, musty-looking room … exactly how my father left it. I haven't dared even tamper with the curtains.'[37]

In 1880 William Tinsley appointed Downey editor of *Tinsley's Magazine,* which had previously enjoyed considerable success and popularity under the editorship and part-ownership of Edmund Yates between 1867 and 1869. Tinsley considered Yates extravagant, and when he departed Tinsley 'became suddenly timorous and economical' about the magazine. He dispensed with illustrations and cut contributors' fees until it lost not only its major literary contributors, but also the advertising revenue that supported it as its circulation fell steadily. It was edited 'anyhow' under William Croft until Downey took over. He oversaw some improvement in its circulation but admitted he was unable to restore its circulation to the old level, diagnosing the need for an editor with 'a free hand', ideally a well-known literary figure and 'some of the courage and enterprise which had distinguished the early days of the House of Tinsley.'[38] Downey later recalled that when he took on the editorship:

> [A] task which owing to multifarious other duties had to be performed by me in a perfunctory manner… the principal warning given to me was to avoid as far as possible the introduction of anything Irish. Not that Mr Tinsley had any antipathy to Ireland or Irishmen, but as a London publisher of books and magazines, he could detect no 'business' in the distressful country. The leading serial for the year 1880 was written by an Irishman, for whom William Tinsley had the highest regard – Richard Dowling – but 'Under St Paul's' was manifestly not an Irish tale, and had no Irish characters in

[36] *Irish Times,* 'New Books', 6 May 1905, 21. 'Ghazzi' was a nickname based on a play on words for Victor O'Donovan Power. 'Ghazzi' is the Arabic for power.
[37] Downey, *Twenty Years Ago*, 48.
[38] Ibid, 247-8.

it. Looking through Tinsley's for the year 1880, I find that notwithstanding the warning about Irish contributions, some 'Irish material' crept into the magazine.[39]

There was more than a little Irish material in *Tinsley's.* Although he was only twenty-four and less than a year in London, Downey used his editorial position to good effect on behalf of Irish writers, particularly those new to London who, without private means, needed to place as many articles, reviews or essays as they could. Between 1880 and 1884 he commissioned Irish contributors for every issue of the magazine, except one.[40] Particularly notable is the February 1882 issue in which Downey published two young Irish writers for the first time in London: George Moore with a short story, 'Under the Fan' (a year before the publication of *A Modern Lover*), and Katharine Tynan with her poem 'The Lark's Awakening'.[41] Downey also carried poems and short stories by his cousin Richard Dowling in every issue from January to September 1880, and the lead serial for 1880 – appearing in each month's issue – was Dowling's 'Strawberry Leaves'.[42] He published some of his own short stories as well as several contributions by John Augustus O'Shea, W. B. Guinee, and a poem by his brother Richard, who was living in Sydney. In 1881 there were contributions of travel writing and horror stories from O'Shea; the first installment of John Fitzgerald Molloy's first novel, *Merely Players,* as well as his biographical sketches of Balzac and George Sand; a song by Thomas Caulfield Irwin, who had worked with Richard Dowling on *The Nation*; short stories by Guinee and his

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[39] Edmund Downey, 'An Editor's Reminiscences' in *Irish Book Lover*, Vol. VII, Nos. 7 and 8 (February and March 1917), 73. Downey records in *Twenty Years Ago* that Tinsley criticised him for wearing shamrock on St Patrick's Day one year, but relented as the day went on eventually inviting Downey to join him on his evening walk to King's Cross station, and pinning half of Downey's shamrock on his coat. To Tinsley's disgust, however, they were surrounded by a group of drunken Irish fish wives in Clare Market who flung themselves on Tinsley, admiring the hated shamrock. Ibid, 42-3.

[40] For a full list of material by Irish authors published in *Tinsley's Magazine* between 1880 and 1884 see Edmund Downey, 'An Editor's Reminiscences' in *Irish Book Lover,* Vol. VII, (February and March 1917), 73, and 'An Editor's Reminiscences, *Irish Book Lover,* Vol. VII, Nos. 9 and 10, (April and May 1917), 76.

[41] Adrian Frazier has suggested that Moore was tactical in his approach to Tinsley Brothers, strategically joining the group of authors who gathered at Catherine Street: 'GM realised in this office quality did not matter; if one wanted to be published, one had to go through the ritual of straddling the counter, petting the cat, idling the days away.' Frazier, 84-5. Moore would therefore have met the Tinsley warehouseman and factotum Fred Coule, clearly something of a character in the trade. Downey brought Coule with him to Ward & Downey in 1884 and Downey & Co. in 1894. Downey published *Mike Fletcher* in 1889, when Moore's publisher Vizetelly was being prosecuted for obscenity. However, in April 1895 a clearly incensed Moore left a note at Downey's office informing him that: 'I called yesterday to speak to you about a book which I should like to publish with you. But when I asked if you were in, your porter Coule grossly insulted me. It will be impossible for me to call on you again.' He added a postscript: 'Your reason for keeping such a savage on your premises passes my understanding.' I could find no record of what passed between Coule and Moore. George Moore to Downey, NLI MS 10,060.

[42] Published as *The Duke's Sweetheart* in three volumes by Tinsley Brothers in 1881 and Ward & Downey in 1885.

Irish Times colleague, Robert Wogan McDonnell. Tighe Hopkins had his first publication in London with a humorous tale.

In 1882 the serial was W. B. Guinee's 'Talbot's Folly'. In addition to the Moore and Tynan pieces, and the reappearance of O'Shea, Molloy and Guinee, Downey commissioned new material from Lady Wilde, the explorer J. F. Keane, the young novelist John Hill, Percy Hetherington Fitzgerald, Miss Attie O'Brien and Charles J. Dunphie. An account of Parnell's first public meeting was contributed anonymously, though Downey later confirmed that it was written by his old Waterford friend James O'Donoghue.[43] Adrian Frazier observes that after 'Under the Fan' Downey published no more of Moore's stories in the magazine, instead he 'transferred his admiration to John Hill, a tall Irish graduate of Oxford and Heidelberg who looked like Henry Irving and wrote in a humorous, capable style.'[44] Moore was jealous of Downey's championing of Hill, complaining that 'in the office I had marked down for my own I saw [Hill] installed as a genius.'[45] The early connection between Moore and Downey, however, would prove significant in 1889, as we shall see later.

In 1883 the magazine ran two serial stories, both by Irish writers. *Audrey Ferris* by Geraldine Fitzgerald – a sister of Percy H. Fitzgerald – under her pseudonym, Frances Gerard, and *Waters of Marah* by John Hill. Other Irish material included short stories by Downey himself, Tighe Hopkins, O'Shea, Frances Gerard and Edwin Hamilton. There were travel tales from O'Shea and Edmund O'Donovan – who had just returned from an expedition to Montenegro – poems by Katharine Tynan and T. C. Irwin. Mrs M. E. Smith included an account of Irish amateur theatricals.

In the last six months of Downey's editorship, from January to June 1884, he ran the first installments of O'Shea's *Leaves from the Life of A Special Correspondent*; another of Percy Fitzgerald's series of 'Sentimental Journeys in London'; a short story by E. F. Le Fanu (a grand-daughter of Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu); verse by Edwin Hamilton; and 'A Bayswater Barnum', a short story by Julian Moore, a brother of George. The contributors to *Tinsley's Magazine* were not exclusively Irish of course, and Downey also recalled 'the privilege' of

[43] Downey, 'An Editor's Reminiscences', *Irish Book Lover* (April-May 1917), 76.
[44] Frazier, 85.
[45] Moore, *Confessions,* 288.

editing Hall Caine, James Payn, Annie Thomas, Benjamin Farjeon and George Henty.[46] In later life William Tinsley would say that the magazine never made a profit. Downey rejected this assertion, noting that in the five years he spent in Catherine Street, while the magazine may have made a loss on the monthly issues, the Christmas and Summer bumper annual more than made up for that. Moreover, recalled Downey, Tinsley had said to him: 'What cheaper advertisement can I have for twenty-five pounds a month? It advertises my name and publications and it keeps my authors together.'[47]

As well as his many roles at Tinsley's, the energetic Downey contributed stories and reviews to several contemporary journals including *The Pen,* a literary and critical journal edited by Wilfred Meynell; *The Society Times*, edited by Captain L'Estrange; *Time*, launched by Edmund Yates in 1880; and the illustrated weeklies *The Roundabout* and *Walter Pelham's Journal.*[48] He was dismayed to find that reviewing was very badly paid for young and unknown writers. As a novice reviewer in 1881 he read – or perhaps skimmed – eighty books for one London daily paper. It was only when he requested his payment that he realised he was being paid by the column – about 1800 words – and the standard pay scale was only 10s. 6d. per column. He later commented that 'I have never sought for any reviewing since – I have done very little – without making a preliminary inquiry about "scales".'[49]

From the early 1880s the traditional serial magazines faced increasing competition from cheaper, more agile new publications like the wildly successful *Tit Bits,* established in 1881, which ran short fiction extracts alongside sensation news stories, cost only a penny and used new printing technology to include illustrations. *Tinsley's Magazine* – unillustrated – at a shilling was expensive and old-fashioned in comparison. With considerable difficulty Downey persuaded Tinsley to issue it at 6d. and although Tinsley finally agreed when the venerable *Cornhill* magazine relaunched itself as a sixpenny illustrated paper, he refused to add illustrations on the grounds of cost, and so effectively the same journal was launched at half the price. After six months it reverted to a shilling. But the old shilling journals were involved in a losing battle with the new papers, and throughout the 1880s they folded one by one. As

[46] Downey, *Twenty Years Ago*, 271-2.
[47] Richard Dowling wrote most of the Christmas Bumper Issue. Downey recalled Tinsley asking him to make himself agreeable at the Gaiety Restaurant to a customer who was the largest buyer of the Christmas issue, only for the customer to tell him that he was a waste-paper merchant. Downey ruefully acknowledged the ephemeral nature of the magazine. Ibid, 246-7.
[48] These journals are listed in a handwritten note in the folder NLI MS 10,060 (7).
[49] Downey, *Twenty Years Ago,* 266.

the advertising revenue and circulation of *Tinsley's Magazine* continued to decline, publication was suspended several times and it disappeared as a stand-alone title in 1892. As Downey commented on the new magazines: 'The grey rat exterminated the black rat.'[50]

Downey was unsuccessful in another attempt to modernise *Tinsley's Magazine*. Emile Zola's *Le Bonheur des Dames* was offered to Downey as a serial under the title *The Ladies' Paradise.* At the time Zola's *L'Assommoir* and *Nana* had been published by the notorious London publisher Henry Vizetelly – who would later be jailed for obscenity. William Tinsley was indifferent as to whether Zola's new work was 'good or bad, decorous or indecorous' but was concerned as to whether it was appropriate to publish Zola in a magazine intended for families. He agreed to the serial if Downey could reassure him that it would contain nothing that would cause offence. A contract was signed with Zola, and Downey read and revised the proofs according to Tinsley's instructions, satisfying himself that 'no one who was not hopelessly prudish could object to it.' However, on the weekend before the book was subscribed to the trade, Tinsley took a copy home to read over a weekend and was scandalised by several passages. Downey argued in vain that the offending passages were no more offensive than the texts of *David Copperfield* or *Adam Bede.* Despite further 'purification' the circulating libraries refused it anyway, and the much watered-down version that eventually appeared was not profitable either for Zola or Tinsleys.[51] Downey's liberal attitude suggests that he had come a long way from his provincial Irish Catholic roots.

Downey learned from Tinsley's relations with Thomas Hardy how, as discussed in the Introduction, the three-decker format could be a safe and profitable exercise for publishers and the circulating libraries, though it could be less advantageous for new or young authors until they became public favourites. Tinsley charged Hardy £75 to publish his first novel *Desperate Remedies* (anonymously) in three volumes in 1871 on a joint-profits basis, repaying him £60 a year later.[52] Hardy told Tinsley that he had given up on architecture because of some eye trouble and wanted to write.[53] He had been previously unsuccessful with his submissions to publishers; indeed Downey would later record that the manager of W. H. Smith's library department, William Faux, read the manuscript of *Desperate Remedies* 'almost as a joke, but

[50] Downey, *Twenty Years Ago*, 281.
[51] Ibid, 269.
[52] Griest, 60.
[53] Downey, *Twenty Years Ago,*19.

returned a glowing report of it.'[54] Guinevere L. Griest has suggested that 'it is difficult to understand how Tinsley could legitimately have charged Hardy £15' for the novel, based on sales of 370 copies from a print run of 500 at 14s. 6d., and using Anthony Trollope's contemporaneous calculation of the production and advertising costs for such a run at £200.[55] However, barely three months after its publication, Hardy had the unpleasant experience of so many authors in seeing his book discounted – in this case by 12s. to 2s. 6d. in W. H. Smith's surplus catalogue at Exeter railway station – so it seems clear that Tinsley Brothers did not achieve the full price for the novel, and paid Hardy accordingly.[56] Despite this reverse, Tinsley offered, and Hardy accepted, £25 a year later for *Under the Greenwood Tree* (also published anonymously as a two-volume novel) in 1872, which although it had little commercial success was, Tinsley recalled later, 'one of the best press-noticed books I ever published.'[57]

Downey records that Hardy told Tinsley that he was 'a bit disappointed, but he meant to keep on – that he had been studying the folk down in his country, and made notes enough about their queer sayings and doings to fill many volumes.' On the strength of the good reviews, Tinsley increased his advance to Hardy to £100 for his third novel, *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (the first to be published under his own name), and serialised it first in *Tinsley's Magazine* between September 1872 and July 1873 before publishing it as a three-volume novel. 'There was no great money in it', he told Downey later, 'but I could see Hardy was going to get a grip some day.'[58] While it was being serialised, Hardy called on Tinsley and told him that a rival magazine – *Cornhill* – had offered him £300 to serialise his fourth novel. Tinsley later told Downey:

> I thanked him very much and said 'Take the offer my boy. I couldn't spring so much.' I seem to be very unlucky, Downey, about fourth novels, for the one I declined of course was 'Far from the Madding Crowd.' Of course I hadn't seen it – but even if I had it wouldn't have made any difference. Whether a novel is good, bad or indifferent, a publisher has only got to think of one thing: is there money in it for him? … It's all a

[54] Griest, 61. In January 1871, Hardy paid £75 to Tinsley in Bank of England notes. Griest notes the 'ironical sidelight' that reveals 'the pervasiveness of library influence' when some 24 years later W. H. Smith had a role in ending Hardy's career as a novelist after they withdrew *Jude the Obscure* from circulation after the Bishop of Wakefield announced that he had burned his copy of the novel in disgust.
[55] Ibid, 59. Trollope's calculation was based on the production costs of his own novel, *The Three Clerks.*
[56] Griest, 60.
[57] In *Twenty Years Ago,* Downey records that Tinsley paid Hardy £25 for *Under the Greenwood Tree,* ibid, 19. Tinsley has the same figures in *Random Recollections*, 127. Griest suggests £30, though there is no citation for this figure. Griest, 61.
[58] Downey, *Twenty Years Ago,* 19.

> toss-up. Sometimes the public take to an author in the start. Sometimes they don't take to him for years.[59]

Tinsley had financial problems in the early 1890s when he joined a syndicate which lost heavily in a series of investments that turned out to be fraudulent. Mrs Cashel Hoey's verdict was '[p]oor old Tinsley! I am so sorry for him... How badly he was treated by that clever, unprincipled set, and still worse, I am afraid, by himself.'[60] Downey's later verdict on Tinsley was that '[he] did not take account that in the publishing world the financial part is of quite as much importance as the publishing (or literary or quasi-literary) part. He started at a time when there was field for a Bohemian publisher, but this field did not remain open to the end of his career.'[61]

Ward and Downey: 1884-1891

The June issue of *Tinsley's Magazine* in 1884 was the last edited by Downey, and he left the firm shortly after. Almost immediately he established the firm of Ward & Downey in partnership with Osbert Ward at 12 York Street, Covent Garden. Downey devotes much of *Twenty Years Ago* to an affectionate portrait of Tinsley (who died in 1902) and his five years at Catherine Street, but says no more about his departure than that his 'connection with William Tinsley terminated abruptly.'[62] By contrast, the brevity of Tinsley's reference to the man who was his assistant for five years – only two paragraphs, one direct and one indirect, in the first volume of an expansive two-volume memoir of nearly 700 pages published in 1900 – suggests a painful sundering of their previously warm relationship, perhaps because Tinsley felt that Downey's attention was not entirely focused on the business of Tinsley's:

> After Mr Croft left, I engaged young Edmund Downey, the now clever author and publisher in York Street, to do much the same work that Mr Croft had done for me with

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[59] Downey, *Twenty Years Ago*, 21. On the other hand, Tinsley offered W. H. Russell £1,300 for *Doctor Brady* 'expecting I was going to get another "Charles O'Malley" but it didn't come off.' Ibid, 12.
[60] Mrs Cashel Hoey to Downey, NLI MS 10,028 (1), 30 October 1891, also quoted anonymously in *Twenty Years Ago,* 46.
[61] Downey, *Twenty Years Ago,* 9.
[62] Ibid, 113. In the second part of 'An Editor's Reminiscences' in the *Irish Book Lover* (April 1917), Downey wrote: 'Shortly after this [the June 1884 issue of *Tinsley's Magazine*] my connection with Tinsley Brothers' Publishing House was severed, and Osbert Ward and I started the publishing business known as Ward & Downey.' 'Reminiscences', II, 76.

> my magazine, but I soon found he was bent on becoming an author, and so perhaps I gave him his first insight into literary London life…[63]

Without making a direct reference to Downey, Tinsley recalled in the same passage of his memoir attending Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* at the Globe Theatre, around the time of Downey's departure, in which appeared 'a father of a venturesome ne'er-do-well son who had always a capital idea in his head to make a fortune when he wanted to draw money from his father.' In a repetition of the allusion to paternity, Tinsley commented on an early and unsuccessful venture of Downey's into the shilling magazine market [at Ward & Downey]: 'the "father"… knew there were too many about.' If there was any residual doubt that Downey and Tinsley parted in difficult circumstances, Tinsley's quotation of Romeo's complaint about Mercutio, which he claimed was spoken by the actor directly to him, makes it clear that the something went badly wrong in the men's relationship: 'He jests at scars that never felt a wound.'[64]

The expansion of the publishing industry at the end of the nineteenth century up to its contraction during the First World War, and the subsequent consolidation of the trade in the 1920s, provided much opportunity for younger publishers like Downey to strike out on their own, or with more congenial or equal partners.[65] Other examples in the period include Thomas Fisher Unwin who worked at Hodder & Stoughton before setting up his eponymous firm in 1882; George Hutchinson who was a traveller for Hodder & Stoughton before setting up on his own in Paternoster Row in 1887; William Heinemann who worked for Nicholas Truebner before founding his own firm in 1890; Grant Richards (who later published George Bernard Shaw and James Joyce) worked for (what became) Simpkin, Marshall before also establishing his firm in 1890; and both Gerald Mills and Charles Boon who worked for Methuen & Co., itself one of the new publishers of the 1890s, before setting up successfully together in 1908.[66] Downey's venture with Ward thus followed an established pattern in the contemporary publishing world.

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[63] Tinsley, *Random Recollections,* 327. There are only two further brief mentions of Downey in the second volume of Tinsley's memoirs where records that Downey took up a subscription for John Augustus O'Shea when he left a staff position on *The Standard* to try his luck in America (ibid, 286) and his comment, as we have seen, that 'several clever young men found their way directly from Ireland to my office.' Ibid, 325.

[64] Tinsley, *Random Recollections*, 327-8.

[65] For a fuller discussion of publishing conditions in the First World War and 1920s, see Chapter 5 on Beatrice Grimshaw.

[66] There is a longer discussion of Mills & Boon in Chapter 5.

Little biographical information is extant for Osbert Ward and the fourteen letters to Downey which survive in the NLI archive were written between 1902 and 1906, years after Ward had dissolved his share of the partnership.[67] It is a virtual certainty that he provided the capital for the new business as Downey had come to London five years earlier with no capital and had earned a modest salary during the Tinsley years, supplemented by his earnings from reviewing, short stories and humorous tales. The Ward letters suggest a fractious relationship between the two and Ward appears a less energetic and worldly character than Downey, somewhat querulous and tactless in contrast with Downey's evenness of temperament, appetite for work and talent for networking.

Ward & Downey's first full year of publishing was 1885. Their list consisted of the standard publishing genres of the 1880s: novels (35 of the 49 titles of 1885), memoirs, travel writing, translations (mainly from French and Russian). They had an early success with *Russia under the Tzars* by the Russian anarchist Stepniak (Sergei Kravchinski), which was issued in April. The signing of Stepniak was a coup for the young publishing company, achieved by a near-accidental meeting between Downey and himself at Catherine Street. The Russian was infamous internationally for the assassination of Tsar Alexander II's head of secret police in St Petersburg in 1878, which he had carried out in the belief that individual terrorist acts would force political reform.[68] After going into exile in Switzerland in 1880, he arrived in London in 1884 at the invitation of Downey's friend from the Tinsley Brotherhood, W. B. Westall, his translator for *Russia Under the Tzars*.[69] Three years before Stepniak's arrival in London, Smith, Elder had published *Underground Russia* in 1882, which had been widely reviewed and discussed and went through several editions. On the morning of Stepniak's arrival at Charing Cross, Westall found himself unable to meet the Russian on account of another commitment. He had told Stepniak that if he was not at the station the Russian should make his way to Catherine Street, which he did by the simple expedient of 'asking a policeman.' When Westall arrived later he found Stepniak and Downey 'at ease' and conversing in French. Stepniak said that Downey's hand 'was the first he had grasped on English soil.' When Downey left Tinsley's

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[67] Edmund Downey Papers, NLI MS 10,058.

[68] Stepniak's work *Underground Russia: Revolutionary Politics and Sketches from Life* (London: Smith, Elder, 1883) was influential for Joseph Conrad who drew on his own copy of the book when he was writing *Under Western Eyes*. Conrad's character Sophia Antonovna recalls Sophia Lvovna Perovskaia in Stepniak's work. Roger Osborne and Paul Eggert (eds.) *Joseph Conrad: Under Western Eyes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), *xxxix*.

[69] William Bury Westall (1834-1903), a Lancashire-born journalist and writer, who published with both Tinsley Brothers and Edmund Downey.

a couple of weeks later, Stepniak and Westall followed him to the new publishing house. Stepniak's presence in London generated considerable newspaper and magazine publicity for himself, the forthcoming book and the new publishing house. *Russia under the Tzars* announced the new publishing venture's ambition to the literary marketplace (including in the United States, where Scribner's bought the rights), and Downey later referred to Stepniak's work as '[o]ne of my first bargains.'[70]

Tinsley novelists who were tired of William Tinsley's chaotic business methods, such as Mabel Collins, Mrs B. M. Croker, Benjamin Farjeon, Mrs Riddell, Mrs Cashel Hoey, George Manville Fenn, F. C. Phillips, W. B. Westall, and of course Richard Dowling, followed Downey to the new firm. The Irish 'Old Bohemians' O'Shea, Molloy, and Fitzgerald did so too with respectively journalistic memoirs, histories of the Restoration and early Georgian London, and a biography of Gladstone. T. P. O'Connor contributed *Gladstone's House of Commons.* Translations included the letters of George Sand and Victor Hugo's *The Outlaw of Iceland. Philosophy in the Kitchen; General Hints on Food and Drink,* by Dr G. M. Strauss, one of the leading 'Old Bohemians' and reader for Tinsley, was issued as the first of a series of household titles aimed at the aspirational readers from the expanding middle classes living in the burgeoning dormitory suburbs of London and other British cities. Titles of household tips became a staple of the list over the next few years, many written by Mrs (Jane) Panton, including *From Kitchen to Garret: Hints for Young Householders* (1887) and its companion volume, *Nooks and Corners* (1889). *Common Sense in the Nursery* by Marian Harland appeared in 1887 and Mrs (Agatha) Hodgson contributed *Love in a Cottage: or Making the Most of a Small Income* in 1891.

The range of formats offered by Ward and Downey is striking and innovative for its time. Fiction titles included a mixture of original titles in both three and two-volume format, priced at 31s. 6d. and 21s. respectively for the circulating library market, single volume reissues of

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[70] Downey, *Twenty Years Ago,* 111-13. Downey recalled that 'Messrs Scribner, of New York, arranged with us to issue the work in the United States, and they asked that a special preface, suitable to the reading public of America, should be supplied by Stepniak. I wrote to Stepniak, asking him for this, and the next morning when he arrived at my office, I found the Russian in my room. I had not seen him since the day of his arrival in England, and I was surprised and relieved to find that he could speak a little English. After some discussion about the nature of the preface required for the American edition, Stepniak sat down at my desk and began to write. I fully expected that he would write in French, but when he handed me his manuscript sheets I found he had written in English. 'I will get this into shape,' I said, 'It will not be necessary to alter it,' said Stepniak, smiling. 'It can go to the press as it stands.' I found there was no occasion to alter a comma in Stepniak's MS. And six weeks previously he knew not a word of the English language!' Ibid, 113-14.

three-deckers originally published by Tinsley Brothers and other firms including Chapman & Hall and Richard Bentley, as well as novels priced variously at 6s., 5s., 3s. 6d., 2s. 6d., 2s. and 1s. for individual readers. There was also a mixture of original and republished non-fiction. From 1886 those numbers would have been augmented by cheaper reissues of original titles given that Ward & Downey published at several price points.

This practice of moving down the demand curve to reach one tranche of the market after another had been pioneered by the successive copyright owners of Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley* novels who benefited from an extension of copyright in the novels into the 1880s after the 1842 Copyright Act. As William St Clair has demonstrated, before 1850 over seven million copies of weekly numbers issued in magazines had been sold, but after 1852 – with secured copyright and exploiting the benefits of investment in new printing and typesetting technologies – the Waverley novels were issued at 2s. and sold over 250,000 over the next few years. Another wave of reprints priced at 1s. was issued in the early 1860s, achieving a further one million sales. When an even cheaper edition was issued at 6d. per novel in 1866, sales reached two million in the next two years.[71] St Clair observes that while sales figures are not extant after 1868, it is notable that when the Waverley novels came out of copyright in the 1880s, despite the millions of copies in circulation, multiple publishers found it worthwhile to issue them again in very cheap editions, priced at 3d. with 1d. abridgements. While the move down the 'demand curve' from 31s. 6d. to 1s. editions of Scott's novels was relatively slow in the first half of the nineteenth century (over thirty years), it is striking that by 1885 Ward & Downey (and other publishers) could publish a three-decker novel in one year, issue a 6s. edition only two or three years later, moving within one or two years to 2s. then 1s. editions: a clear indication that market conditions were changing, and changing at an accelerated pace.

An example of this from Ward & Downey's 1885 list is B. L. Farjeon's three-decker novel *The Sacred Nugget* (31s. 6d.), issued as a one-volume novel in 1889 at 6s., reissued at 2s. 6d. in 1890, with 2s. and 1s. editions following in the next couple of years.[72] F. C. Phillips's *Through a Glass Darkly* was also published in 1885 in the less common two-volume format, priced at 21s., before being issued in one volume at 2s. 6d. in 1889, and at 2s. in picture boards in 1891.

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[71] For a discussion of 'tranching down the demand curve' by the publishers of Walter Scott's *Waverley* Novels, see William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). 418-20.

[72] See 'Bibliography of the Publications of Ward & Downey and Edmund Downey Ltd, 1884-1897' in Appendix B.

Ward & Downey reissued even more rapidly three-deckers published by other firms who sold on the one-volume rights: G. M. Fenn's *Double Cunning* was published in three volumes by Chapman & Hall at the beginning of 1886, and Ward & Downey reissued it as a 2s. novel in picture boards later the same year. Mrs (Katharine Sarah) Macquoid's *Louisa* was published as a three-decker by Bentley's in 1885 and reissued by Ward & Downey the following year as a 2s. one-volume novel.[73]

Ward & Downey published 119 three-deckers between 1884 and 1894, making them the ninth largest publisher of the format in the peak years of 1863 to 1897, despite their being in business for only a third of the period. Hurst & Blackett – in business for the whole period – were by far the dominant publishers of the three-decker with 675. Bentley's followed with 428, then Tinsley Brothers with 391, Chapman & Hall with 263, F. V. White with 194, Chatto & Windus with 189, Sampson Low with 179 and Samuel Tinsley with 147.[74] Smith, Elder came just after Ward & Downey with 116. By contrast, the more general publishers Macmillan and Blackwood's issued 82 and 80 respectively over those years. In addition to new fiction Ward & Downey resurrected numerous out-of-print texts, a good number of them originally published by Tinsley's. In addition, when Tinsley got into financial difficulties around 1890 he was obliged to sell on many of his copyrights to Downey and other publishers, causing considerable difficulty for many of the authors who found that Tinsley's record keeping was typical of much nineteenth-century practice, and contracts were frequently lost or non-existent. One such author was Mrs Cashel Hoey. In early 1890 she wrote despairingly to Downey that she had asked Tinsley to sell the rights of her 1870 novel *Falsely True* to Downey 'to have it rescued from oblivion', but that she was still in dispute with Tinsley over *A House of Cards* (1868). 'He says he sold *a House of Cards* for the Chapman & Hall series, but does not remember having done so, and says there is no trace of the transaction in his books – but there is the book in their list!'[75] Evidently Downey was successful in his negotiations with the irascible old publisher as Ward & Downey reissued a revised edition of *Falsely True* later in the year in the 'Six Shilling Novel' series. As well as fiction Ward & Downey followed contemporary publishing fashion by bringing out translations from the French including the letters of George Sand and Victor Hugo's *The Outlaw of Iceland.*

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[73] 'Bibliography of the Publications of Ward & Downey', Appendix A.
[74] Bassett, 71.
[75] Mrs Cashel Hoey to Downey, 2 January 1890. NLI MS 10,028 (1)

As joint owner of the firm, Downey had a freer hand to pursue the publishing of Irish authors: ten of Ward & Downey's first forty-one authors in 1884 and 1885 were Irish. *A Maiden all Forlorn,* the first of several three-decker novels by the Cork writer, Margaret Wolfe Hungerford, writing as Mrs Argles, was published, before being reissued at several different price points. Works by Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, Mrs B. M. Croker and Richard Dowling were reissued, and the lesser-known Edward Fitzgibbon and Elinor Grace O'Reilly were also published in 1885.

In the broader publishing context of 1884-5, Ward & Downey began business at a time when three fundamental issues were of concern to all participants in the literary marketplace. In Britain authors were perturbed about their conditions, leading to the founding of the Society of Authors by Sir Walter Besant in 1884, and booksellers, authors and publishers were increasingly worried during 1885 about the heavy discounting of new books by certain booksellers. Internationally, the Berne Convention on Copyright was convened in 1885. Downey and Ward, therefore, established their new company precisely at the beginning of a period that would bring momentous change to the publishing industry. They would need to be flexible and – for the times – fast-moving in order to keep up with the many developments that were now beginning to gather pace.

The firm grew in 1886, issuing 61 new titles of which 11 were three-deckers (and a further three published as original two-volume novels). Fiction dominated the list and the first one-shilling novels that became a staple of the company's output were published. We see, too, the publication of Downey's first novel, *In One Town,* under his pseudonym F. M. Allen. The town is Waterford and in it Downey drew on his knowledge of the stories and speech of the nautical community of the city of Waterford itself and coastal towns and villages such as Dungarvan and Dunmore East. A new Richard Dowling novel was issued as well as John Augustus O'Shea's stirring account of the siege of Paris in 1870, *An Iron-Bound City; or Five Months of Peril and Privation.* Another title of Irish interest was William J. O'Neill Daunt's *Eighty-five years of Irish History, 1800-85.*

Around June 1887 Ward and Downey's partnership broke up when Osbert Ward left the business.[76] Ward's ill-health following a fall was a contributing factor, but Benjamin Farjeon commented that the different personalities of the two men had been problematic. Farjeon had though they might bring complementary skills to their business if they could succeed in getting along, suggesting that: '[h]ad their been complete accord between you and Ward there is no reason in the world why the two of you should not have built up a fine and great publishing business.'[77] Downey, lacking capital, brought a new financial partner, J. L. Otter, into the business – though retaining the Ward & Downey name – about whom little biographical material is extant. As in 1884, authors stayed loyal to Downey. Mary Hardy was one, writing to Downey that 'in the event of your splitting… I would rather go with you, as you were the mainspring of my going to York Street.'[78]

Ward & Downey's list also reflected the contemporary taste for books on travel and exploration. As noted in Chapter 2, the expanding imperial adventures as well as the Franco-Prussian War in conjunction with the growth of newspaper publishing had provided new opportunities in journalism and travel, and many of the Irish 'Old Bohemians' were active in these areas. John Augustus O'Shea's *Leaves from the Life of A Special Correspondent*, which Downey had serialised in Tinsley's Magazine in 1884 was published in two volumes in 1885, *An Iron-Bound City* as noted, in 1886, and *Romantic Spain, a record of Personal Experiences* in 1887. The unique adventures of John Fryer Keane, the son of an Irish minister, were leading titles in the list, including *Six Months in the Hejaz: an Account of the Mohammedan Pilgrimages to Meccah and Medinah,* Keane's extraordinary account of attending the Haj in disguise in 1877 at the age of twenty-three, one of the first Europeans to have done so.[79]

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[76] In a letter to Downey from Tenerife on 31 August 1902, Ward wrote: '[i]t is 16 years since we dissolved our partnership and no doubt much has happened to both of us since then. I know you have gone on publishing…' Ward's illness was nearly fatal, and an imprudent business deal wiped out much of his capital, leading him to move to Tenerife for the rest of his life. This letter appears to have been the first contact between the men since 1887. The early departure of Ward from the business has not been noted in reference material. NLI MS 10,058.

[77] B. L. Farjeon to Downey, 20 June 1887. NLI MS 10,060 (2). Farjeon remained a Ward & Downey author and friend of Downey: 'Into your strictly private concerns of business I have no right to inquire, but if you wish to communicate with me in a friendly way I shall be happy to see you hear at any time and to give you the best advice in my power. There is no question as to you and I being en rapport. I have felt that from the first.' Ibid.

[78] Mary Hardy to Downey, n.d. NLI MS 10,060 (3).

[79] John Fryer Thomas (Jack) Keane (1854-1937) was born in Scarborough in Yorkshire, the son of the Irishman Rev. Wiliam Keane. An adventurous youth saw him living in Madras in India by the age of 14. He travelled to America, the Arctic, the Antarctic, China, India, Indo-China, and the South Seas, before settling in Australia in 1890. He joined the party of an Indian Emir on a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1887. Although a Muslim convert, he was denounced as a Christian and stabbed, but survived. Ward & Downey published three of his travel accounts in 1887.

The list expanded to 80 new titles in 1887 and authors such as Margaret Wolfe Hungerford, Mabel Collins, G. M. Fenn, Percy Fendall, F. C. Phillips, Blanche Roosevelt and W. B. Westall recur. Novels remained a staple, together with memoirs, popular history, travel and household tips. Downey's latest work as F. M. Allen was the very popular *Through Green Glasses* in 1887, published in the United States by Appleton in New York. W. P. Ryan noted that it had received 'an almost embarrassing amount of critical benediction, Mr Gladstone leading off the chorus.'[80] It was Downey's friend and author, Mrs Cashel Hoey, who promised him that she would 'take the book to Mrs Gladstone myself and ask her to make him read it.'[81] Irish writers in London were evidently well-connected. Eighteen of 1887's 80 titles were by Irish authors, including Richard Dowling, Richard Ashe King, T. P. O'Connor, James Francis Hogan and Charlotte Riddell. An early Revivalist impulse is evident in the publication of Lady Wilde's *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms and Superstitions of Ireland* (1887) and *Ancient Cures, Charms and Usages of Ireland: contributions to Irish Lore* (1890), J. Glynn's *The Fox and the Goose: A Tale of the Curragh of Kildare* (1887); Standish James O'Grady's *Red Hugh's Captivity: a picture of Ireland social and political in the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1889), as well as Downey's *Through Green Glasses* (1887) and *From the Green Bag* (1890).

In addition to the relatively high proportion of Irish writers, two other striking features of Ward & Downey's list in its early years are firstly, as we have seen, the variety of formats issued at a wide range of price points; and secondly, the firm's enthusiasm for the two-volume novel priced at 21s. (one guinea) – a format that has been generally overlooked in standard publishing histories. The two-volume novel was also aimed at the circulating markets, and while its previously unremarked existence does not alter our understanding of the dominance of the library suppliers, it does perhaps disrupt the narrative of the complete inflexibility of the 180,000 words per novel, three-decker format. The firm issued books at twelve different price points. From the beginning, while the three-decker novel was important, fiction was issued at a total of eight price points: 31s. 6d., 21s., 6s., 5s, 3s. 6d., 2s. 6d., 2s. and 1s. Secondly, there was a notable trend towards the publication of the fiction at 6s. and lower from 1888, peaking in 1890 before the company's output was disrupted by internal difficulties. It is also notable

[80] W. P. Ryan, *The Irish Literary Revival: Its History, Pioneers and Possibilities* (London: The Author, 1894 and London: Ward & Downey, 1894), 28. *The Bookseller's* obituary of Downey records that '*Through Green Glasses* shared, with *John Inglesant* and *The Red Badge of Courage*, the distinction of being commended by Mr Gladstone in a postcard to the author. 'The Obituary of Edmund Downey', *The Bookseller,* 17 February 1937, reprinted in *The Irish Booklover*, Vol. XXV, No. 2 (March-April 1937), 39.

[81] Mrs Cashel Hoey to Downey, 28 March 1887. NLI MS 10,028 (1).

that Ward & Downey were enthusiastic publishers of one-shilling novels, commonly known as 'shilling-shockers' or yellow-backs because of the colour of their covers.

As a consequence, no doubt, of the reorganisation of the business, the number of titles published in 1888 fell slightly, but recovered by 1891, the year which was the high point of Ward & Downey's activity when 85 new titles were published. The investment in original fiction issued in three- and two-volume form increased with 19 three-deckers published in both 1888 and 1889 and respectively five and six two-volume novels. However, in 1890 there was a significant change in the model of fiction publishing. The number of three-deckers fell from 19 to 10, but the number of two-volume novels rose to 9 (from an average of three per year). Strikingly, the number of original novels issued at 6s. continued a rising trend from three per year in 1885-7, to six in 1888, 11 in 1889, peaking at 14 in 1890. Thus, by 1890, Ward and Downey was moving towards a model of *shorter* new fiction titles – 22 in one- or two-volume format versus 10 in three-volume format; and also to *cheaper* prices – 14 new titles at six shillings versus 10 at 31s. 6d. Thus, several years before Mudie's and W. H. Smith declared the demise of the three-decker, the Ward & Downey list already reflected a new model of publishing, providing further evidence for the contention that the circulating libraries' simultaneous announcements in June 1894 followed the market and did not lead it. Indeed, Downey's correspondence with Arthur Mudie reveals that Charles Mudie's son, who had been head of the firm since 1884, was unconvinced by the model and considered that it was the publishers who were more wedded to the three-decker model, self-interestedly persuading authors that it was Mudie's intransigence that was preventing change. 'I am glad to hear from my cousin Pawling that you are well & enjoying your holiday,' he wrote cheerfully to Downey in September 1889. 'Sorry to hear you are cursing me… damn the British public! I couldn't if I would, and I wouldn't if I could make them read any [cheaper books]… I wish they did! It would suit me far better than the 3 volume novels which every author tells me every publisher insists that *we* insist on having!'[82]

Downey's correspondence with B. L. Farjeon highlights the pressure on the three-decker that was coming from the libraries by the late 1880s, but resisted by the older, established

[82] Arthur O. Mudie to Downey, 6 September 1889. NLI MS 10,060 (5). It was Downey's custom to return to Ireland for a summer holiday in August or September each year. Charles Mudie's eldest son, Charles Edward, had been intended to take over the business having started at Mudie's in 1871 when he was 21, but he died in 1879. His grieving father lost interest in the business which drifted for several years before Arthur took over in 1884, the year that Downey left Tinsley's to establish Ward & Downey. See Griest, 26.

generation of authors. Ward & Downey published *A Secret Inheritance,* Farjeon's thirteenth three-decker at the end of October 1887, but W. H. Smith were not disposed to take their usual quantity of five or six hundred copies at the standard discount and Farjeon complained to Downey:

> With regard to 'S. I', if Smith's library will not do what might be fairly expected, we must grin and bear it I suppose. I am by no means inclined to accept Mr Faux's estimate of my work; it would be too seriously discounting to my future work. You must bear in mind that yielding to terms which are little short of ruinous something like an injurious precedent would be set... [A]lso the prejudicial effect it would have should it become known to other buyers that such a sacrifice was made with the second largest lending library in the country.[83]

Downey may well have been strategic in sharing Faux's assessment directly with the author, since Farjeon, in consequence, offered to supplement Ward & Downey's advertising spend on *A Secret Inheritance* by preparing at his own cost three advertisements for the *Daily Telegraph* for insertion in the week of publication.[84]

Downey's championing of contemporary Irish authors continued with the publication of Standish James O'Grady, Tighe Hopkins, the Fenians John O'Leary and Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, Victor O'Donovan Power, Hester Sigerson and George Moore. In 1889, the earlier relationship forged at the Tinsley trade counter between Downey and Moore proved fruitful for Moore. Ward & Downey published Moore's novel *Mike Fletcher* after a difficult period for the author during which his publisher Henry Vizetelly was tried for obscenity for publishing Zola. The editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, W. T. Stead, and the National Vigilance Agency (NVA), made a complaint to the Bow Street magistrate about Vizetelly and he was committed to trial at the end of October 1888 'at the height of national hysteria about the French novelist.'[85] Vizetelly was fined and bound over not to publish Zola's novels 'in their present form.' He had published the first two novels in what Moore called his Don Juan trilogy on male sexuality, *A Mere Accident* in 1887 and *Spring Days* in 1888, but publication of *Mike Fletcher* was now stalled as Vizetelly faced a second trial for obscenity in May 1889 for publishing what were considered even more obscene titles: Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* and Maupassant's *Bel Ami.* At his second trial the seventy year-old ill and bankrupt publisher was jailed for three

[83] B. L. Farjeon to Downey, 20 October 1887. NLI MS 10,060 (2).
[84] Ibid.
[85] Frazier, 184.

months.[86] Moore's freedom to publish was now threatened not only by the circulating libraries he had railed against in *Literature at Nurse* in 1884, but now by the new climate of censorship under the NVA. *Mike Fletcher* was not in Ward & Downey's line, but Downey and Moore's connection went back to the first publication of Moore in London in 1882, and once again Downey took the opportunity to support an Irish author.

By 1891, the high point of Ward & Downey's output, Edmund Downey, then aged thirty-five, was a respected and much-liked publisher and central figure in the London publishing scene. He was well connected with authors, publishers like Andrew Chatto of Chatto & Windus, and the circulating libraries, being particularly friendly, as we have seen, with Arthur Mudie and the influential William Faux, head of W H Smith's library department.[87] He entertained successfully with his wife at his residences at Clapham and then Tooting in south west London. Correspondence reveals warm business and personal relationships in the trade, including members living outside London who corresponded with him about his many contributions to trade debates in the press.[88] The archives reveal especially close relations with Benjamin Farjeon, Frances Cashel Hoey, Henry Hinkson, John Augustus O'Shea and Charlotte Riddell. However, the expansion of the business evidently moved too fast for its financial resources, resulting in a cashflow crisis from the middle of 1890. Otter brought the firm's accountant in to perform a full audit and relations between the partners became strained. There are eight letters in the Downey archive from Otter to Downey, written between 1894 and 1897, and little mention of him in other correspondence before 1890, when he appears to have become active in editorial decisions in light of the financial position. John Augustus O'Shea's correspondence with Downey in July 1890 illuminates the increasingly difficult position in which Downey found himself:

> Believe me I am not such a silly as to be offended because an adverse opinion is formed of my work by Mr Otter. Chacun a son gout… What I was guarding against was that Mr Otter might have put his spoke in at the end and said 'this will not catch on…' Don't be an ass and imagine that I would ever allow author's pique to influence personal friendship.[89]

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[86] Frazier, 175.
[87] When Faux retired from W. H. Smith in 1899, Downey was one of the organising committee for his retirement dinner along with other publishers including Andrew Chatto and William Heinemann. NLI MS 10,012 and MS 10,060 (5).
[88] An example is John Raven, a retired bookseller living in reduced circumstances on a Stationer's Company pension in Norfolk. 4 May 1905 (following the publication of *Twenty Years Ago*). NLI MS 10,060 (6).
[89] John Augustus O'Shea to Downey, 23 July 1890. NLI MS 10,045.

The relationship between the partners continued to deteriorate in 1891 as Ward & Downey's business retrenched and less cash was available. An undated handwritten note by Downey in the Otter folder entitled 'Notes on matters of facts submitted to Sol[icitor] in other case' in the Downey collection – probably compiled in 1897 – reads: 'At that time [of the audit], Mr Otter and Mr Otter's accountant agreed with me that we were perfectly solvent and that he should ask only about half a dozen of the creditors formally for an extension of credit.' As part of the audit exercise, the business was evidently valued and Downey, who had no capital invested, claimed £1,500 on the balance sheet, 'that being the sum agreed on in articles of partnership as being to the value of my share of the goodwill & such sum was entered to my credit by Mr Otter and the firm's Accountants on the books of the firm on Dec 31, 1890.' Part of the value of the 'goodwill' lay in the firm's name and Downey subsequently recorded that 'he never sold the exclusive or any rights to the title of Ward & Downey to Mr Otter. What he [Otter] did <u>say</u> was that he <u>desired</u> to pay him for his share of the goodwill on Dec 31, 90 but could not satisfy himself as to what would be a reasonable amount.'[90]

Although Downey wrote to his friends and authors about his worries over Christmas 1890, he did not, as recorded in several biographical sources, retire from Ward & Downey at the end of 1890 (nor, as some state, return to Waterford at that time). He remained at York Street for the first half of 1891, although he fell ill in the summer, no doubt as a result of the strain of business, authorship and the demands of a growing family – his sixth child in nine years was born in 1891.[91] Downey departed the business without any payment for his share in building Ward and Downey over the previous seven years.[92] However, the break was not final and, as we shall see, he returned to York Street in 1893. In the interim, he spent most of 1892 at the heart of a major project of the Irish Literary Revival in London.

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[90] Eight letters from J. L. Otter to Downey, 1894-97. NLI MS 10,046. The file also contains this loose sheet in Downey's handwriting.

[91] Downey had eight children, of whom seven were born to his first wife Frances Margaret Allen, and one to his second wife Josephine Quinlan: Francis Nathaniel, b. 1882; William Edmund, b. 1883; Marguerite Frances, b. 1885; Edmund Alan, b. 1887; Nathaniel Boyd, b. 1888; Charles Stewart, b. 1890; Elizabeth Josephine, b. 1895; Maurice, b. 1930. The *DIB* states incorrectly that he had six children.

[92] I have adduced the date of Downey's illness and departure from the business in 1891 from the correspondence, e.g. Mrs Cashel Hoey to Downey, 19 September 1891, when she apologized for not writing sooner 'especially after I heard of your leaving the business and being so ill… I am so glad to hear you are in better health. I had learned, with great regret, from Mr Doubleday, of your illness, and how it influenced you in the matter of your retirement from the business.'

From the Southwark Literary Society to the Irish Literary Society

In addition to his publishing activities Downey was also a central and active figure in the Irish literary scene in London. He was an early member of, and regular speaker at, the Southwark Literary Club established in 1883. In 1890 he joined the Clapham Branch of the Parnellite Irish National League, and was elected branch vice-President a month before the General Election of 1892.[93] He was a great admirer of Parnell, and his fifth son, born in 1890, was named Charles Stewart after his political hero.

In 1890 Downey and his cousin Richard Dowling were the publisher and editor, respectively, of a project that was arguably a foundational text of the Irish Literary Revival, certainly in its London incarnation. In time for Christmas 1890, Ward & Downey published an edition of the poems of the Limerick poet, John Francis O'Donnell (1837-74). The book was an initiative of the Southwark Literary Society and predated the founding of the Irish Literary Society (ILS) in London by twelve months, but its preparation brought together and inspired the key movers of the ILS and sowed the seeds of the idea to republish neglected nineteenth-century Irish writers in the minds of the Irish in London. The *Dublin Evening Telegraph* had run a series of articles by Michael MacDonagh in 1888 on 'Irish Graves in London' which prompted a group of friends and admirers to come together to tend O'Donnell's grave at Kensal Green cemetery in north London, and later form a memorial committee to oversee the publication of a collection of his poems.[94] O'Donnell had come to London in 1861 as assistant to his former editor at the *Tipperary Examiner,* A. W. Harnett, who was then editing the Catholic *Universal News,* succeeding him in 1862.[95] He was peripatetic in the 1860s, moving back to Dublin to a staff position on *The Nation* for a few months in 1862, before being appointed editor of *Duffy's Hibernian Journal.* He returned to London in 1864 and was sub-editor on *The Tablet* from 1865-8. His work was admired by Charles Dickens who encouraged him to become an author and published some of his poems in *All the Year Round* in 1861 and 1862.[96] However, O'Donnell was obliged to earn his living as a journalist, in which field his output was prodigious, which gave him little time for writing, perhaps to the detriment of the quality of

[93] Ryan, *Irish Literary Revival*, 79.
[94] Published as *Irish Graves in London: A Series of Articles by Michael MacDonagh,* Evening Telegraph Reprints No. 6 (Dublin: Evening Telegraph Office, 1888).
[95] Introduction to *The Poems of J. F. O'Donnell,* by Richard Dowling (ed.), London, Ward & Downey, 1891, *xv.* The title page of the first edition records 1891 as the year of publication, but it is clear from contemporary reviews that the volume was issued to subscribers in time for Christmas 1890.
[96] Dowling, *O'Donnell Poems*, *xviii.*

his poetry.[97] His friendship with Richard Dowling dated to their joint involvement with the Dublin magazine *Zozimus,* of which Dowling was editor for the two years of its run from 1870 before he left for London.[98]

John T. Kelly of the Irish Literary Society of Southwark first proposed a memorial to O'Donnell and John Augustus O'Shea 'drew up an impassioned appeal for aid.'[99] J. G. O'Keeffe, F. A. Fahy, J. M. Reynolds, and MacDonagh himself, of the Southwark Literary Society recruited the support of four MPs: John Barry, Daniel Crilly, John Finucane and T. D. Sullivan; the Rev. Matthew Russell, editor of *The Irish Monthly*; and the Mayor of Limerick. The Ward & Downey edition of O'Donnell's poems prompted Charles Gavan Duffy to write to W. P. Ryan from Nice that he had 'often thought of forming a small Limited Liability Company for [publishing the verse and prose of men and women who have helped the national cause].'[100] Twelve months after the publication of the O'Donnell edition, W. B. Yeats, T. W. Rolleston, D. J. O'Donoghue and John Todhunter met with J. G. O'Keefe and W. P. Ryan of the Southwark Literary Society at Yeats's house in Bedford Park on 28 December 1891 to discuss a new amalgamated, London-Irish literary society.[101] O'Keefe wrote to Downey on 10 January 1892 to invite him to join the committee meeting, suggesting that '[a] serious effort is at last been made to establish a good Irish literary society in London. W. B. Yeats, John Todhunter, T. W. Rolleston, Stopford Brook & many other literary members have taken the matter in hand; & I believe Sir Charles Gavan Duffy will be our president.' The first committee meeting took place on 13th January, 1892 at the Clapham Reform Club (where the Gaelic League also met) and a formal decision to establish the society was taken.[102] Downey would later host ILS committee meetings at his house. Charles Gavan Duffy was invited by Yeats and the first ILS committee to be President of the new society, and T. W. Rolleston its Secretary. The ILS was formally incorporated in May and Gavan Duffy's inaugural speech as President was fixed for the evening of Saturday, 23 July at the Hampstead home of ILS supporters. The 'consolidation' of the Southwark Literary Society into the ILS was Yeats's initiative, the

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[97] In a letter to Richard Dowling dated (Friday) 19 July 1872, O'Donnell recorded his journalistic output for several journals since the previous Sunday as: '2 cols. notes; 2 cols. London gossip; and a leader 1 col; and a col. of verse for The Nation. For Catholic Opinion, two pages of notes. For Illus. Mag. 3 poems & a five col. story.' Ibid, *xix.*

[98] *Zozimus* was founded in Dublin in May 1870 by A. M. Sullivan and ran until August 1872. See B. P. Bowen, 'Dublin Humorous Periodicals of the 19th Century', *Dublin Historical Record,* Vol. 13, No. 1 (1952), 2-11.

[99] *The Poems of John Francis O'Donnell* (London: Ward & Downey, 1891 [1890]), *vii.*

[100] Ryan, *Irish Literary Revival,* 31.

[101] Ibid, 33.

[102] J. G. O'Keefe to Edmund Downey, 10 January 1892, NLI MS 10,008.

extension of a project he had been working on in Ireland for the previous three months. In an article in *United Ireland* on 3 October – three days before the death of Parnell – Yeats had outlined the aims of the newly formed 'Young Ireland League', a recent amalgamation of diverse literary societies whose key objective was the establishment of reading rooms around Ireland, stocked with the 'best Irish books.'[103] This was a reference to the 1886 *Freeman's Journal* Hundred Best Irish Books debate, but Yeats's vision rejected Richard Barry O'Brien's emphasis on history in favour of 'books that feed the imagination, for [i]magination not learning is the centre of life.'[104] In December 1891, just a week before the establishment of the ILS, Yeats discussed his plan for his own 'Library of Ireland' with Katharine Tynan.[105] He wrote to John O'Leary about their objective of getting '500 subscribers for books at 2/-' to be published evry [sic] two months or so, through the Young Ireland League & its branches - of which the Irish Literary Club London will be one.' With 500 sales secured, Yeats believed that Unwin 'would take up such a library giving me a free hand and letting us couple an Irish publisher with him. He would trust to English sales to make it pay.' If they managed 800 subscribers they 'could do without Unwin at all…' which would ensure that the reading rooms were the principal method of dissemination of the books. For Yeats, editorial control was critical: 'I should myself be editor & should have no Barry O'Brien or anyone else except the directors associated with me to hamper my action (I am told if Unwin took the series he would make this a condition for he knows me & not the others).' He thought the ILS could guarantee a sale of 200 copies – '10 or 20 members or more can easily subscribe that amount ammongst [sic] them…' and the branch network of the Young Irish League could manage 800 or 900 which would make the project viable. Rolleston had promised to contribute the first volume, 'a history of Fenianism of a popular nature [filled] with sound national doctrine', to which John O'Leary subsequently objected on the grounds that Rolleston did not have the required historical knowledge. Subsequent books should also meet the requirement to 'feed the imagination'. Yeats would contribute 'a ballad chronicle of Ireland' and a 'manual of Irish literature in the present century.' Other contributions promised included 'Ossianic Stories', and a volume on 'Education in Ireland' by Lionel Johnson.[106]

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[103] W. B. Yeats, 'Young Ireland League', *United Ireland,* 3 October 1891, 24.
[104] WBY to John O'Leary, c. 15 January 1892, *CL Yeats I,* 280.
[105] 'I am busy setting up a London Irish Literary Society - to be a branch ultimately of the Young Ireland League - we are asking Gavan Duffy to be President & are hoping to get Stopford Brook for one of the vice presidents & Rolleston promises to be another.' WBY to Katharine Tynan, c. 31 December 1891 *CL Yeats I,* 278. Stopford Brook did become a vice president and as noted, Rolleston became Secretary.
[106] WBY to John O'Leary, n.d. but after 17 February 1892. *CL Yeats I,* 286.

As Yeats was making his plans, a controversy – as with so many contemporary literary controversies, largely fanned by Yeats himself – was running in *United Ireland* as to whether Dublin or London was the true intellectual capital of Ireland. After the establishment of the ILS, the *Daily Telegraph* had provocatively editorialised on 7 March 1892 that it was 'eminently fitting that, if an Irish Literary Society is to be formed, its seat should be in London and not Dublin', as 'so long as English is the language of Ireland, the literary and oratorical and characteristic genius of the country must of necessity gravitate towards the fountain-head and centre of intellectual life in England.'[107] Yeats was leading a Dublin-based initiative in response to to shift the emphasis of the Literary Revival back to that city. Yeats began to campaign publicly for his Library of Ireland writing to *United Ireland* on 14 May of his plans for 'the publication in popular form of approved works on Irish subjects' to arrest the 'denationalisation' of Ireland.[108] On 2 June, he wrote to the editor of the Dublin *Daily Express* of plans to 'circulate a new "Library of Ireland"' through the existing literary societies and announced a public meeting at the Rotunda in Dublin on 9th June to form 'a strong "National Literary Society"' in the Irish capital.[109] An inaugural meeting was planned for the second week of August, and just before the Hampstead meeting Yeats invited Gavan Duffy to take the chair, writing that '[t]he young men here greatly wish you would.'[110] Yeats himself would not be present at the Hampstead meeting, having excused himself two months earlier as he would be 'going to Dublin to do my best to found a society of like purpose and nature & shall have left London before the meeting.' In a letter of 10 May, evidently intended to be read at Hampstead he added that '[w]e cannot carry out our programme with full success – at least in the matter of Irish books – unless we persuade Ireland to take part with us.'[111] He suggested to Duffy that he and John O'Leary now thought the first three volumes of the 'New Irish Library' should be agreed. O'Leary's objection to Rolleston's proposed volume on Fenianism had obviously succeeded because Yeats now suggested that Rolleston contribute a life of Wolfe Tone. The second and third volumes would be Yeats's 'ballad chronicle' and Lady Wilde's study of Sarsfield.[112]

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[107] Daily Telegraph, 7 March 1892, 9.
[108] WBY to the Editor of *United Ireland*, 14 May 1892 *CL Yeats I,* 297.
[109] WBY to the Editor of the *Daily Express* (Dublin), 2 June 1892, *CL Yeats I,* 300.
[110] WBY to Charles Gavan Duffy, week ending 23 July 1892, *CL Yeats I,* 308.
[111] WBY to T. W. Rolleston, 10 May 1892, *CL Yeats I,* 296.
[112] WBY to John O'Leary, 26 June 1892, *CL Yeats I,* 304-5.

At Hampstead, however, Gavan Duffy's speech, prepared with the assistance of both Rolleston and Downey, struck out in an entirely different direction to that of Yeats. Duffy's speech, which was titled 'What Irishmen may do for Irish Literature', set out a much more commercial vision of a Library of Ireland, differing from that of Yeats's in firstly calling for a commercial distribution of the Library via booksellers in Ireland, Britain, America and the colonies, and secondly, specifically calling for the Library to contain histories and biographies in order to 'carry the reader to the "regions of romance"', as an antidote to what he had been assured constituted the reading matter of the young in Ireland: 'Detective or other sensational stories from England and America, and vile translations from the French of vile originals.' 'The discipline of education,' declared Duffy, 'is not for ornament merely but for practical use. Without it men and nations miss their path in life, and let slip opportunities of progress and prosperity.' He called for 'picturesque biographies' of representative Irishmen, agreeing with Yeats on Sarsfield, and also including Roger O'More and Luke Wadding. Gavan Duffy was certain that a new Library of Ireland could mine Irish stories 'scattered' and 'forgotten' of 'surpassing interest, fit to win and fascinate young Irish readers which would not degrade and debase them but make them better men and Irishmen.' Gavin Duffy's vision was largely a reworking of the original Library of Ireland which had been a central project of the Young Ireland movement of the 1840s. Proposed then by Gavan Duffy himself it had consisted of shilling volumes of history, biography, literature with the aim of educating the Irish public in the history and traditions of their country so they might better understand and the support the cause of Repeal. Half a century later, speaking to an elite London Irish audience, he too hoped to build on the 'One Hundred Best Irish books' debate as the basis for the creation a national literature that was affordable to a general reader, not just in Ireland but to readers of 'Irish birth' and 'Irish feeling' from 'Liverpool to Edinburgh,' New York, Boston, Sydney and Melbourne. '[H]alf of the hundred ['best Irish books] are out of print, or locked up … in costly editions', beyond the reach of the ordinary Irish reader.' 'But it would not be impossible to produce a library containing these books … for fifty shillings over three years…' Distribution would be via established booksellers in Ireland and 'the two new worlds' as well as England. Where there was no network of bookshops in rural Ireland,a quasi bookseller might be created. If the popular journals in Dublin encourage their agents to act on behalf of the Company, a solid body of retailers would be at once available.'[113]

[113] 'What Irishmen might do for Irish Literature' in Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, Dr George Sigerson, Dr Douglas Hyde (eds.) *The Revival of Irish Literature: Addresses by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, Dr George Sigerson and Dr*

In Gavan Duffy's speech we see Downey's influence on the plans for the ILS and the new Library of Ireland series. Downey had a key role in the preparation of Gavan Duffy's speech. He had been working closely with Rolleston on the project since June, after Gavan Duffy had recruited him to draw up a comprehensive and fully-costed publishing proposal for the new series. The three men had met three days before the Hampstead speech after Gavan Duffy's arrival from Nice, so that Duffy 'could have the benefit of [Downey's] practical experience in deciding certain questions about the price, form, etc of the projected series of Irish books.'[114] Gavan Duffy, as a result, was able to inform his audience that '[t]he necessary capital, experienced men assure me, will not exceed £5,000…' to be raised by the issuing of £1 shares, and a new Library of Ireland might even yield a dividend if 'managed with intelligence' by 'two strict men of business, and two skilled men of letters, with a chairman to be umpire between them.' Clearly, Gavan Duffy was the putative umpire, but the other four roles were likely to be highly-contested, though Downey was Gavan Duffy's favourite for the role of publisher. T. W. Rolleston concluded the meeting by expressing on behalf of the Society 'its hearty cooperation' in the scheme, and suggested that 'acting in concert with other societies in Ireland, America and elsewhere it might be able to give much assistance in procuring a circulation for the books issued by the proposed company.'[115]

Back in Dublin Yeats read the reports of Duffy's speech with deep alarm, fearing for his control of the project. The *United Irishman* published his reaction on 30 July:

> Mr Rolleston, unless indeed it be a slip of the reporters, stated at the inaugural meeting of the Irish Literary Society, London, last Saturday that his society hoped to have branches in "England, Ireland, America and the Colonies." I find that this statement has caused a certain amount of dissatisfaction among the members of the National Literary Society, as they wish it to be kept perfectly plain that their society is wholly distinct from the London one. I am sure that Mr Rolleston, under the circumstances, will forgive my saying that the centre of Irish literary activity can only be had in Ireland, and that whatever body may undertake the starting of "branches" in Ireland, the London Society is, of necessity, incapacitated from doing so.[116]

Douglas Hyde (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894), 9-33, 9-10, 12, 17.. One might imagine a wry smile from Downey in the Hampstead audience as Gavan Duffy closely described the Ward & Downey list.

[114] T. W. Rolleston to Downey, 20 June 1892 and 14 July 1892. NLI MS 10,008.

[115] 'What Irishmen might do for Irish Literature', 21, 33.

[116] WBY to the Editor of *United Ireland,* 30 July 1892, *CL Yeats 1,* 306-7.

The author of the leading article in the same issue was even more trenchant, opining that '[t]o make London the headquarters of the new literary endeavour would be to abandon the first essential principle of such a movement [and] we have had quite enough London centralisation…'[117]

Much of the detail of the extraordinary row which followed in the summer of 1892, which pitted Revivalists in London and Dublin against each other, and exposed fault lines in the aims of the older and younger generation has been known since the publication of the first volume of the *Collected Letters of W. B. Yeats* in 1986. However, this chapter uses previously unpublished archival material, including letters, draft documents and costings, to examine in greater detail Edmund Downey's role in events, and the impact of what became a bitter and vitriolic row among the early Revivalists both on his own subsequent career and the direction of the Revival movement. The centrality of Downey's position in the commercial activities of the early Revival comes into focus, and the episode provides a context for his own later development as an important publisher of nineteenth-century Irish fiction, one who made a considerable contribution, overlooked for more than a century, to Irish literary history.

Despite the detail in the first volume of the *Collected Letters*, there is, apart from a comment to Edward Garnett in a letter of early August, a complete lacuna in Yeats's correspondence on the subsequent row until he re-entered the lists with a letter to the *Freeman's Journal* on 6 September 1892. Duffy and Downey's correspondence, however, in the National Library of Ireland archive fills the gap in August, and illuminates the titanic struggle between Yeats and Duffy – the young Pretender and the venerable Statesman. Downey provided Duffy with a long and detailed proposal for a new publishing company on 26 July, which Duffy took with him to Dublin a couple of days later, on a visit to give an address to the National Literary Society and to raise Irish funding for the 'Irish National Publishing Company Ltd'. Downey proposed the publication of one book a month with print runs between 5,000 and 10,000. In contradistinction to the position of Yeats and United Ireland, the company would operate from London. 'With regard to having the imprint of an Irish publisher on the title page, I am confident that it will seriously damage the sale of any books in Great Britain to have an Irish publisher's imprint', Downey insisted, although he suggested that some copies of each edition should be printed in Ireland by and issued there by an Irish publisher. Furthermore, Duffy and

[117] WBY to the Editor of *United Ireland,* 30 July 1892, *CL Yeats 1,* 307, n. 2.

Rolleston should negotiate an arrangement with a reliable and sympathetic American publisher. As Downey argued:

> Ordinarily any book worth printing is pirated. But your series will present a different aspect to Irishmen in the States… One of the chief publishers in the States told me that the way they worked their cheap English novels, published by arrangement with the authors [ie not pirated], was to start a man in New York (or Philadelphia) with an advance copy the same day another man started in San Francisco and those two men [subscribed] the book until they met about half-way across. The publisher said he calculated to do 30,000 at 20 (or 25 cents) on the average book on such journeys. He was done for if the book had any special value as it was instantly got out at a cheaper price by some other American publisher. Anyhow he had filled every nook and cranny with his 20 or 25 cent book and 30,000 copies satisfied him.[118]

Downey had identified the potential market among the growing literate Irish-American diaspora in the United States. He had direct experience of that market, both as a publisher selling rights to such New York and Boston publishing houses as Scribner's, Doubleday and P. J. Kennedy, and also as a successful author whose shorter works were widely syndicated in the Catholic press.

The Downey archives in the National Library of Ireland contain several drafts of a proposal for Gavan Duffy, and it is not possible to determine which was the actual version sent. However, in one memorandum, he set out the general principles for what he thought might be called 'The College Green Publishing Company.'[119] Although lengthy, it is worth quoting in full because in its detail it confirms the commercial intent of this early Revival initiative:

* 'This company is formed for the purpose of carrying out the business of a general publishing Co. but specially publishing good and popular books by Irish authors and books and other publications dealing with subjects of special interest to Irish readers at home & abroad.'
* 'While dealing with such publications it is intended that the majority of the books issued by the Co. shall be of general interest.'

[118] Draft or copy letter from Downey to Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, 26 July 1892. NLI MS 10,009.
[119] Handwritten memo by Edmund Downey, NLI MS, 10,009.

* 'Amongst the first and the chief publications of the Co, will be a series to be issued under the title of the College Green Library or some similar title. This series has been long contemplated by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy who will select and edit the series.'
* 'The Company (in addition to the ordinary means at the disposal of a publishing house for the sale of books in GB) will have special and exceptional facilities for the distribution of their publications in Ireland, America and the Australian Colonies.'
* 'The Head Office of the Company in London as London – inserted at present – [ ] the best centre for the publication and distribution of books.'
* 'The Company will have an office in Dublin [.... Insert] interests of Irish readers in Ireland.'
* 'Sir Charles Gavan Duffy has consented to accept the position of Chairman to the Company... [illegible].'
* 'It is proposed to call up only one third of the capital for the first twelvemonths the Directors feeling confident that one third of the proposed capital will be amply sufficient for establishing the business of the company on a sound commercial basis and for the proper working of the Company for the first year of its inception.'
* 'A large proportion of the money required for successfully establishing the IPC has already been either furnished or promised to Sir C.G.D.'
* 'It is obviously impossible for the Directors to forecast the volume of business which with the exceptional facilities the Co. possess for the selecting and obtaining of good and popular books and with the exceptional facilities at the disposal of the Co. for the distribution of their publications the Directors have no doubt that the Irish PC will prove a sound and profitable investment returning substantial dividends.'
* 'The expenses of management will be confirmed within the lowest possible limits consistent with the capable and energetic working of the business of the Company.'

Before Duffy could respond formally to Downey's proposal, it became clear that he and Rolleston had walked into a political storm in Dublin. Duffy wrote distractedly to Downey from the Shelbourne Hotel on 31st July that:

> [W]e are in such a whirl of confusion here, that it is totally impossible to give your proposal the careful study it needs. We are applying ourselves to the preliminary question, whether Ireland will furnish £1,000 out of the £3,000 which the project will

> require… It is enough perhaps at present to say that I have seen nobody whose assistance I half so much desire…[120]

Nine days later he wrote to Downey again:

> Rolleston, who is going over tomorrow, will be able to tell you the difficulties we met here. The soil is still hot with the political lava overflowing for the last twelve months; too hot to build upon comfortably. But we will get our £1000, The jealousy against any place but Dublin being the centre of the scheme is intense, and young gentlemen who have barely escaped from their teens consider that it would be more safely controlled by them than by me.[121]

He added the postscript: 'The youngsters here look at our project through very green spectacles.'

In Dublin as we have seen, George Bryers of Sealy, Bryers & Walker had visited Duffy 'to prove his interest in the experiment of reviving Irish literature by publishing at once at his own cost any of the books of the proposed series.'[122] Rolleston was opposed to Bryers's offer, believing it would forestall the series – agreeing with Downey that a London imprint was critical. At this point Gavan Duffy was in support of an Irish operation and offered Rolleston (who refused) the position of 'quasi-manager' of the publishing scheme with a Secretary based in Dublin doing the work. A subcommittee of the NLS was established. Opposition to the scheme for a London-based publishing project by 'the youngsters', led by Yeats, forced the abandonment of the scheme when the capital required could not be raised in Dublin. Duffy's hot 'political lava' stood in opposition to Yeats's 'sudden certainty that Ireland was to be like soft wax for years to come.'[123] Yeats wanted to publish work by contemporary writers which would serve his project of cultural nationalism filling what he viewed as a political vacuum created by the death of Parnell. In contrast, Duffy's objective was a return to the politics of Young Ireland and the 1848 generation, and he was keen to see the republication of old (and rather tired) works by the friends of his youth, and indeed his own. Fisher Unwin's reader, Edward Garnett, tried to make peace between the two factions, suggesting to Yeats that he 'examine what the differences are between your view and the rival schemes and see whether it

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[120] Sir Charles Gavan Duffy to Downey, 31 July 1892. NLI MS 10,009.
[121] Sir Charles Gavan Duffy to Downey, 9 August 1892. NLI MS 10,009
[122] T. W. Rolleston to Downey, undated but from context August 1892. NLI MS 10,008.
[123] WBY, 'Ireland after Parnell' in *Autobiographies* (London: Macmillan, 1955), 234.

is for the good of the idea *you* are working for that you and your party should be irreconcilable.' He proposed that Yeats accept Gavan Duffy as a figurehead, noting that 'the whole issue of the split lies between you and Rolleston – If you and he would join hands (you representing the Parnellite party, and Rolleston the London Irish Literary Society) you would find that you and he are practically of the same mind about the books and that your own ideas would be carried through.' He concluded by urging Yeats to 'drop personal feeling, quiet the hornet's nest in your side, come over here first and see whether you cannot make a practical agreement?'[124] Garnett's advice went unheeded. As Terence Brown so aptly puts it – almost with understatement – 'after a hectic period of politicking, plotting and lobbying, Yeats lost control of the venture. There were some terrible rows.'[125]

Meanwhile Duffy had had time to consider Downey's proposal in greater depth. Downey had calculated on the basis of issuing one 1s. book per month, twelve each year, with a print run of 5,000. Downey considered that capital of £1,000, with quarterly or half-yearly settlements from the publisher, would provide sufficient working capital and maintain cashflow. Downey would be paid a 'minimum commission' for arranging the publication of the books, but would not undertake any work himself on the production. Duffy would select and edit the titles. However, Duffy was alarmed at Downey's suggestion that the majority of books would be of general interest and was reluctant to dilute or pollute his new Library of Ireland with popular titles. When he and Rolleston failed to secure the £1,000 investment they had sought in Ireland, Duffy abandoned his first plan and effectively rejected Downey's proposal in Dublin, announcing that he would now be establishing the Irish National Publishing Company. The first Downey heard of it was in the press.[126] In the early days of September the controversy played out in the letters page of the *Freeman's Journal*.

Back in London, however, Duffy returned to Downey for a new proposal. This time Downey, 'with the energetic aid' of T. W. Rolleston suggested the establishment of a 'National Publishing Company' with a capital of £10,000 in £1 shares. Downey would have greater involvement and be appointed Managing Director on a salary of at least £300 per annum,

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[124] Edward Garnett to W. B. Yeats, quoted without reference in Joseph Hone, *W. B. Yeats, 1865-1939* (London: Macmillan, 1942), 98.
[125] Terence Brown, *The Life of W. B. Yeats* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2001), 86.
[126] Draft or copy of letter from Downey to Dr Ambrose and Mr P. J. Foley, 3 October 1892, NLI MS 10,009. Ambrose and Foley were two of the financial backers of Duffy's project. Foley was an official of the Pearl Insurance Company, London Bridge.

investing himself £1,000 in the company – binding himself to retain at least 500 of those shares as long as he was Managing Director. Gavan Duffy – who would invest £100 – would be Chairman, with Dr Ambrose and P. J. Foley, prominent London-Irish businessmen appointed directors. What Downey was proposing, enthusiastically supported by Rolleston, but now less so by Duffy, was that while the Library of Ireland would be the jewel in the crown of the new company, it had to be underpinned by a wide-ranging, general list of a commercial nature to subsidise the more idealistic and didactic texts. Duffy, however, remained reluctant to dilute his Library of Ireland with popular titles. By October, Downey judged that the scheme had been fatally compromised by Duffy's intransigence and tactfully, but firmly, withdrew writing to Ambrose and Foley that he:

> [D]id not anticipate any considerable profit could be expected to arise from the publication alone of the 12 monthly volumes. It must also be borne in mind that I never had before me a list of these 12 books and of the authors who would write or sub-edit them. I had only statements indicating the nature and scope of the books and the probable authors and sub-editors – and therefore it was quite impossible for me to forecast the sales and results of the proposed series. But I did think, and I do think, that a series of 1/- volumes selected and edited by Sir C. G. Duffy might … be fairly calculated to have an average sale of 5000 copies of each volume.[127]

Downey reported that he was 'as certain, as anyone can be' that Gavan Duffy's National Publishing Company would have proved 'a successful commercial undertaking and would in addition have afforded a unique means of distributing among Irish people at home and abroad books of a sound national character, thus accomplishing the aims and carrying out the intention of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy.' Noting that it was now proposed to 'abandon the general publishing Co., and to issue six 1/- books in the course of a twelvemonth', he wrote that having given the proposal due consideration, he felt bound 'to report that I do not consider any such amended scheme could possibly pay, especially if the intention is to lumber this new company or syndicate with the expenses of an office or place of publication or with the expenses of separate management.' He was of the opinion that 'an existing London Publishing House can do all that is required, and probably do it better than a small separate establishment. For the purposes of producing these six 1/- books in the course of a year a sum of £1000 would, in my opinion, be ample, if arrangements are made with a respectable London publishing firm. For a stand-alone publishing company to succeed, he wrote:

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[127] Downey to Ambrose and Foley, 3 October 1892. NLI MS 10,009.

> [W]e should be obliged to seek for profit out of books which though they not be objectionable to Irish readers, would be of a less patriotic or ennobling character than the books which Sir Charles indicated in his address to the Irish Literary Society at Hampstead... I am willing to give any help to the new and narrowed scheme of publication but I am honestly of the opinion with the views I hold ... that any help I could give would not be worth the having".[128]

Downey understood only too well that a successful publishing company needs a range of titles to cross-subsidise the list. Publishing only what the proprietors like or feel valuable is the surest and fastest way to bankruptcy.

Duffy then turned to Fisher Unwin who agreed to publish the series as the New Irish Library. Duffy selected Thomas Davis's *The Patriot Parliament of 1689* as the first title, and ten thousand copies were subscribed in advance.[129] While it had been an inspirational title for the 1848 generation, it was not suitable for a popular library and Yeats duly savaged it in a review:

> Their first volume, *The Patriot Parliament* was an historical tract which, if modified a little, had done well among the transactions of a learned society, but it bored beyond measure the unfortunate persons who bought some thousands of copies in a few days, persuaded by the energies of the two societies, and deluded by the names of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy and Thomas Davis upon the cover. Pages upon pages of Acts of Parliament may be popular literature on the planet Neptune, or chillier Uranus, but our quick-blooded globe has altogether different needs.[130]

Downey later wrote to an American author of his disappointment in the Library. M. J. Murphy in Michigan, who was 'writing up our Irish authors and introducing them to the American public', concurred with Downey's criticism: 'The Bog of Stars' (Standish O'Grady) has no place in [the New Irish Library], nor has 'A [sic] Parish Providence' (E. M. Lynch). The first has made enemies for the series.'[131] In his review in *The Bookman*, Yeats was kinder to O'Grady's work (which was in line with his Revivalist vision), describing it as 'admirable and

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[128] Downey to Ambrose and Foley, 3 October 1892. NLI MS 10,009.
[129] Thomas Davis, *The Patriot Parliament of 1689: With its Statutes, Votes and Proceedings.* First published in the Dublin Magazine in 1843. P. J. Kennedy of New York published the American edition in 1892. The Patriot Parliament is the name given by Davis to the session of the Irish Parliament called by King James II during the War of the Two Kings in 1689. It was inspirational to Young Irelanders because of its declaration of Irish autonomy..
[130] W. B. Yeats, *The Bookman*, August 1894.
[131] M. J. Murphy to Downey, 10 June 1895. NLI MS10,060 (5).

picturesque' which did well 'despite the vehement refusal of number of the peasantry to take anything from a series which had beguiled them outrageously.' However his verdict on Lynch's book (which was set in the Tyrol, not Ireland) was that not even 'the most skilful advertising, the most eloquent appeals to patriotism, the most energetic canvassing will make the Irish people read... 'The Parish Providence.'[132] D. J. O'Donoghue wrote to Downey in 1896 telling him that Fisher Unwin was by now supplying his brother, the Dublin bookseller T. Griffin O'Donoghue, with the New Irish Library titles at half-price recording that while his brother 'formerly used to sell thousands [of the titles]... the sale has now finally gone off, and [he] hardly sells a dozen of the latest issues.'[133]

The consequences of the events of summer and autumn 1892 were long-lasting and significant. Yeats may have lost the battle, but he ultimately won the war in terms of the direction of the Irish Literary Revival, even if the episode remained a bruising memory for many years. In 'Ireland after Parnell' he recorded that he became 'absurdly sensitive' about 'imagined enemies; and even now, after twenty or thirty years, I feel at times that I have not recovered my natural manner.'[134] Yeats and Rolleston remained in the same London-Irish orbit but never worked together after 1892, and Gavan Duffy lost much of his potency and interest in the Literary Revival in the decade before his death in 1903, although he and Downey remained on very good terms.[135] Downey and Rolleston's vision for an Irish Library founded on both

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[132] WBY, *The Bookman*. The twelve titles in the New Irish Library were (in order of publication): Thomas Davis, *The Patriot Parliament of 1689*, edited and with an introduction by Charles Gavan Duffy (1893); Standish James O'Grady, *The Bog of Stars and Other Stories* and *Sketches of Elizabethan Ireland* (1893); Martin MacDermott (ed.), *The New Spirit of the Nation* (1894); E. M. Lynch, *A Parish Providence: A Country Tale*, with an introduction by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy (1894); Alfred Perceval Graves (ed.), *The Irish Song Book* (1894); Douglas Hyde, *The Story of Early Gaelic Literature* (1895); John Todhunter, *Life of Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan* (1895); J. F. Taylor, *Owen Roe O'Neill* (1896); R. A. King, *Swift in Ireland* (1895); Charles Gavan Duffy, *A Short Life of Thomas Davis* (1896); Michael MacDonagh, *Bishop Doyle: A Biographical and Historical Study* (1896); Sir Samuel Ferguson, *Lays of the Red Branch*, with an introduction by Lady (Mary Catherine Guinness) Ferguson (1897). Each book was published in either cloth or paper or cloth covers, priced 2s and 1s respectively. Lynch's *A Parish Providence* 'is set in the Tyrol rather than in Ireland, and describes the successful economy by which the rural poor maintain their decent existence with the help of clerical and medical benefactors, in turn supporting orphans. Hardy, the central character, whose observations are recorded, is an ex-serviceman of the Napoleonic Army; the philanthropic country doctor of the narrative is explicitly compared with Horace Plunkett in Duffy's introduction.' Ricorso online resource accessed 30 August 2015. http://www.ricorso.net/rx/az-data/authors/l/Lynch_EM/life.htm.

[133] D. J. O'Donoghue to Downey, 24 October 1896. NLI MS 10,041.

[134] WBY, 'Ireland after Parnell' in *Autobiographies* (London: Macmillan, 1955), 234.

[135] When Duffy died, his daughter Susan wrote to Downey that '[A]s my dear father has left a large family, the younger members of which are still at school, and as there is only a small pension for us, it is necessary that such of us as can, should endeavour to add to our income... [Writing] would be the easiest and most congenial manner of work for me... You will wonder perhaps why I address myself to you, but living abroad as I do I am quite unacquainted with the best method of getting the work I seek, and your name is familiar to me from your correspondence with my father. Letter from Susan Gavan Duffy to Downey, 24 March 1903. NLI MS 10,009

nationalist and commercial principles had fallen victim on the one hand to Yeats's determination and on the other to Gavan Duffy's nostalgia.[136] It was a significant watershed in the trajectory of the Revival which tipped the balance away from the commercial impulses of the early Revivalist movement in London. Downey refused Yeats's suggestion for a joint project in 1894, but was left with the conviction that there was a market for popular Irish fiction, a conviction which, as we shall see, he worked hard to make reality in the following years.

Edmund Downey Ltd, 1894-1902: Changing Times

During Downey's absence from mid-1891, Ward & Downey had a difficult eighteen months. Relations between Otter and the authors were strained and those who were not bound by contracts moved to other publishers, notably Chatto & Windus. Otter appears to have invited Downey back to the business and restructured the company so that Downey would again be a director. It is clear from a close reading of the Downey correspondence that he was back at York Street in early 1893. However the rapprochement lasted less than eighteen months before Downey's final parting from the company and formal dissolution of his partnership with Otter on 25 June 1894.[137] 1893 and 1894 were productive years for Ward & Downey and saw the publication of Downey's own title *The Land Smeller and Other Yarns* (as F. M. Allen), new three-deckers by Mabel Collins, Victor O'Donovan Power, and Florence Warden. The strong showing of Irish authors on the list again, including Power, Richard Dowling, W. P. Ryan, Richard Ashe King, Lady Wilde, Louis Killeen, William O'Connor Morris, Frances Gerard, and Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, signals that Downey was back at the helm. In his final days of his association with Ward & Downey, he again showed his commitment to Irish authors – and secured a small but permanent place in publishing history – as the publisher of Edith Somerville and Martin Ross's *The Real Charlotte* in June 1894, which was the last three-decker novel published just days before Mudie's and W. H. Smiths simultaneous seismic declaration of their extraordinary change of policy on new fiction.[138]

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[136] Rolleston remained committed to the Literary Revival and his contributions over the next thirty years were significant but have been largely overlooked. A year after the ILS row, his commercial impulses found expression in the founding (with the Countess of Aberdeen) of the Irish Industries Association and in 1894 (with Sir Horace Plunkett) of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society.

[137] J. L. Otter to Downey, 28 June 1894. NLI MS 10,046.

[138] *The Real Charlotte* is regarded now as that rarity, a realistic and good Irish 19th-Century novel, thought it was dismissed by Yeats on publication as depicting with 'unparalleled grimness' Irish middle-class life. John Cronin has described it as the greatest Irish novel of the nineteenth century in his introduction to E. Somerville and Martin Ross, *The Real Charlotte* (Dublin: A & A Farmar, 1999), *ix*.

Just one day after the circulating libraries' extraordinary *volte-face,* Downey and Otter's partnership terminated.[139] Downey carried on at York Street paying Otter a rent of £80 per annum, while the latter paid off the final taxes and rates on Ward & Downey's occupancy to that date. After a short break Downey established his own firm Downey & Co., and was back in business again by October. Otter, however, retained ownership of Ward & Downey and all its stock, plates, and rights to earlier editions. Downey, therefore, found himself in the position of having to buy out his own books from Otter as well as those titles, such as his cousin Richard Dowling's *The Mystery of Killard,* that he wanted to reissue at his new company. Otter clearly hoped the sale could be accomplished without delay, but his terms were ungenerous and his attitude unyielding, so the former partners were still negotiating four months later. Otter offered Downey the entire stock of his books at a 20% discount off the listed price, but with the caveat that no copies with the Ward & Downey imprint 'be sold except to Messrs W. H. Smith.'[140] On 22 October 1894, Downey offered to buy some but not all of the stock, but Otter refused, although agreed a further discount.

Difficulties then arose over agreeing what stock of both books and stereo plates was actually held. Otter claimed to be working off ledgers that Downey himself had compiled. Downey, on the other hand, checked the stock and counted it himself. Downey would not agree to Otter's terms for the purchase of the rights and stock of three of his most popular works, *From the Green Bag, The Tower of Babel* and *The Voyage of the Ark.* He was also anxious to acquire the rights of Stepniak's *Russia Under the Tzars* which had been such a success a decade earlier. Otter thought the price offered for Stepniak's work 'a reasonable one', but refused to negotiate until they had settled terms for Downey's books. 'As you have begun publishing it seems very desirable that you should publish them from your point of view and that of the Company. If you would let me know what you would give for the three books excepted by you we will try to meet you.'[141] However, the negotiations remained difficult and Otter, in possession of all the stock and plates, continued to drive a hard bargain. Eventually in the second half of November, Otter offered a price of 6d per copy on the remaining stock of all three titles,

[139] J. L. Otter to Downey, 26 June 1894. NLI MS 10,046.
[140] J. L. Otter to Downey, 21 October 1894. NLI MS 10,046.
[141] J. L. Otter to Downey, 17 November 1894. NLI MS 10,046.

representing a discount of 66% on *Green Bag* and *Voyage of the Ark,* which had been issued at 1s. 6d. and 50% on *Tower of Babel* most recently issued at 1s. The terms were six months.[142]

With the rights to his works and previous Ward & Downey titles now secured, the ever-energetic Downey, now a father of six young children with another one to follow in 1895, began to build Downey & Co. As before, he was not fully independent and the need for finance meant that he had to take on financial backers who became directors of the firm during a reorganisation in 1897.[143] He had, however, certainly for the first two or three years more editorial freedom than at Ward & Downey. A novelist himself, trained at Tinsley's, and with a conviction since his experience two years earlier with Charles Gavan Duffy and T. W. Rolleston that there was a market for a library of popular Irish fiction, he now embarked on a significant republishing programme of Irish novels from fine new editions priced at 10s. 6d. (the price of one volume of a three-decker) to cheap paperbacks priced at 6d. He reissued novels by Maria Edgeworth, Lady Morgan, William Carleton, Gerald Griffin, Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, and Samuel Lover. The most substantial project, however, was the 'Copyright Edition' of the novels of Charles Lever in thirty-seven volumes published between 1897 and 1899. Downey spent £8,000 on the production of the edition, an extraordinary sum of money which, it appears from correspondence, was underwritten privately by him.[144] It was a profitable venture.[145] Downey next commenced a project to reprint Irish woman writers. Mrs Cashel Hoey, to whom he dedicated *Twenty Years Ago*, became one of his closest literary advisers and readers on this and other works. 'If you can stand *Ormond* so can I; but I fancy *Belinda* would be more bearable,' she suggested in relation to Edgeworth. 'We must not leave out Mrs Hall', she advised, and Hall's 1844 novel, *The Whiteboy* was issued.[146] Several novels by Lady Morgan and the Bronte sisters followed. Mrs Cashel Hoey cast her net wide, hoping

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[142] J. L. Otter to Downey, 17 November 1894. NLI MS 10,046. Downey's former partner Ward commented later that: 'You have indeed had a hard struggle. It seems that whenever by your personal efforts you have built up a business so that your share of it was worth a good deal of money, this advantage was taken away by your partner's doing you out of it. You must have done an awful lot of hard work to have been able to write all those books in the meantime, and successfully too. I hope they continue to yield you a revenue…I know that you had trouble with the partner you took in when I went out. Well it appears that it wants a lot of hard work to build up a business in publishing unless one has a lot of capital at the back. The cause of its laying up of money in stock and copyrights which are of unreachable value and no good for carrying on the business unless the works are constantly selling, standard work. That is what keeps the big firms going.' Osbert Ward to Downey, 29 September 1902. NLI MS 10,058.

[143] UK Companies House record no. 3462/1, 1897.

[144] NLI MS 10,061 contains 89 letters and 49 documents on the Lever edition and Downey's 1906 book, *Charles Lever: His Life in Letters* (Edinburgh: W. H. Blackwood, 1906).

[145] NLI MS 10,061 contains 89 letters and 49 documents on the Lever edition and Downey's 1906 book, *Charles Lever: His Life in Letters* (Edinburgh: W. H. Blackwood, 1906).

[146] Mrs Cashel Hoey to Downey, 14 January (no year given), NLI MS 10,028 (2).

unsuccessfully to find an Irish connection for Elizabeth Inchbald and Ann Marsh Caldwell. Contemporary Irish women published by Downey & Co included Frances Gerard, Ella MacMahon, Margaret Wolfe Hungerford, Lady Greville, Violet Magee and Lady Poore – a sister of Alfred Perceval Graves. Other Downey & Co. authors at the time included the Fenian John O'Leary, Henry Hinkson (Katharine Tynan's husband), Standish O'Grady, Alfred Perceval Graves, Percy Fitzgerald, Seamus MacManus, and John Fitzgerald Molloy.

Conditions in publishing were still difficult in 1897 as the consequences of the demise of the three-decker novel were recalibrating the marketplace, and in the climate of censorship following the Wilde trial.[147] Gavan Duffy wrote from Nice to sympathise with Downey and to lay the blame for the problems on the discounting booksellers:

> I saw the catastrophe in America in the publishing world, but in relation to your confraternity in both hemispheres, I am very much of the mind of Thomas Carlyle who when Napoleon was as unpopular in England, as Paul Kruger is now, proposed his health at a literary dinner, and when an explanation was demanded said. "God bless him, he had the benevolence to shoot a bookseller.[148]

He maintained, however, that London, not Ireland, was the best place for Downey, lamenting that '[t]here is unhappily no place in Ireland for a man of energy and resources. I would have lived in it if the climate permitted me, because by a happy accident I want nothing from them, but if I went there to make a livelihood, the result would not be agreeable.'[149] Downey's new company was, therefore, operating at a time when the price models and discount structures in place for much of the nineteenth century were breaking down rapidly. One of the most striking aspects of his Lever edition was that the volumes were published at 10s. 6d. *net*. Although, as we saw in the Introduction, the publisher Frederick Macmillan had mooted the idea of net – or fixed – book pricing in 1890, it did not come into effect (as a voluntary practice) until 1 January,

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[147] See Chapter 5 on Beatrice Grimshaw for the impact of the Wilde trial on contemporary publishers.

[148] Charles Gavan Duffy to Downey, 26 March [1897: no year is given but adduced from context]. NLI MS 10,009. There was no one single catastrophic event that occurred in America in late 1896 or early 1897. However, the 1890s were turbulent years for American book publishing as magazine growth contributed to a decline in book sales. As in Britain, nervous booksellers were competing on price with other contributing to instability in a market that was still grappling with the ramifications of the Chace Act of 1891. See Richard Ohmann, 'Divergent Paths: Books and Magazines in the Transition to Corporate Capitalism', in Carl F Kaestle and Janice A Radway (eds.) *A History of the Book in America, Volume 4: Print in Motion: The Expansion of Publishing and Reading in the United States, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 102-115.

[149] Sir Charles Gavan Duffy to Downey, 26 March [1897]. NLI MS 10,009. The use of the word 'them' in respect of the Irish suggests a difference of self-identification on Duffy's part.

1900, and Downey was, therefore, an early adopter of the practice.[150] At the other end of the price scale, his Sixpenny Novel series – 'marvels of cheapness' – were being challenged by the sixpenny magazines, the more popular of which had the funds to provide huge reader prizes for short stories.[151] In the six years from 1894 to 1900, Downey's company had – to use one his own nautical metaphors – to navigate the very choppy waters in a disrupted marketplace following the demise of the three-decker before the market was stabilised again by the Net Book Agreement.

The wider political context in which Downey was operating in the second half of the 1890s was also increasingly problematic. The Irish market, as we have seen, could not support a publishing industry of any great size, and although the Chace Act of 1891 was beginning to open America to London-based publishers, the British public (including the Irish in Britain) were the backbone of sales.[152] The early years of the Literary Revival had stimulated interest in Irish literature among that British public, but in the late 1890s the environment began to change. There was hostility to Irish support for the Boers in the war in South Africa and the defeat of the Home Rule-supporting Liberal Party and the return of the Conservatives to power (for the next twelve years) in the 'Khaki' election of 1900 chilled the atmosphere still further in relation to Irish affairs.[153] Jane Barlow thought she saw the effect on reviews of her titles and those of other Irish writers towards the end of 1898: 'The other day I heard from Mr Shan Bullock, who says there is a conspiracy against me and some other Irish authors, among a set of London critics. No doubt people often imagine such things, but I do think there has been a certain animus apparent in many of the reviews lately.'[154]

Certainly by the latter years of the 1890s, Downey was finding business difficult and the perennial problems of lack of working capital and difficult co-directors were in evidence again. Mrs Riddell, finding herself 'absolutely stranded' in 1899 and in need of an advance on publication for one of her novels found Downey, who had loaned her some money six months

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[150] See the Introduction for more information on the Net Book Agreement.
[151] Downey & Co. was a significant publisher of cheap, 'yellow back' editions. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy wrote from Nice to commend Downey's series of Sixpenny reprints: 'I have been reading several of [them], which are marvels of cheapness. If there be no copyright difficulty, you certainly ought to add all Miss Bronte's novels to Jane Eyre… It must be a widely different public who buy your sixpenny reprints from that which buys your sets.' Sir Charles Gavan Duffy to Downey, 26 March [1897]. NLI MS 10,009.
[152] See the Introduction for more information on the US Copyright (Chace) Act of 1891.
[153] See Chapter 2 for the reaction of the influential John Morley to Yeats in reaction to Yeats's involvement with Maud Gonne and the Jubilee Riots of 1897 and the cause of Irish nationalism generally.
[154] Jane Barlow to Sarah Purser, 28 November 1898. NLI MS 8186 (10).

earlier, now in difficulties himself. 'I am sure,' she reassured him, 'that you have done all you could for me… I shall never forget your goodness. Do not however run the risk of any disagreement with your fellow directors over that book, something ~~will~~ must turn up…'[155] Mrs Cashel Hoey wrote to him in 1900 to complain that she:

> [W]as never paid (but that I don't mind because that was between you and me) for any of the Irish novels. You know well that I would never cease to be interested in anything that concerns you, but Downey & Co I am done with. Pray do not worry over this – you have an unfortunate "lot" to deal with… It will never make a difference between you and me… [B]ut neither as an adviser or in any other capacity will I act for your "Co."[156]

Irish fiction, in particular, was now an uncertain business in the British literary marketplace. A couple of years later Downey and Henry Hinkson reflected on the problems of the previous few years, with Hinkson commenting that '[w]hat you say about Irish fiction is only too true as everyone who has written it knows. Chatto told me some time ago that Irish fiction is a drug in the market and that Mrs Croker's English books sold far better than her Irish.' Raising another problem, Hinkson continued:

> The Irishman's notion of reviewing his compatriot is to pick as many holes in the books as possible… An Irish writer gets perhaps half a dozen lines in an Irish paper which devotes a column to Corelli or Hall Caine… both my wife and I are always afraid of an Irish reviewer getting our books for English papers. Of course there are exceptions. I remember Mrs Cashel Hoey treating my first venture in the handsomest manner but the exceptions are rare. I am firmly convinced that anyone who tries to make a living of Irish fiction will speedily starve. There is of course the hostility of the English middle class – the principal novel reading class – to everything Irish to consider… If our own people are the first to damn us, we can't very well complain the English don't take us to their hearts.[157]

T. P.'s Weekly: 1902-4

By the time Hinkson summed up the difficulties of publishing Irish material, Downey had broken once again with his financial partners.[158] He had been looking for other opportunities

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[155] Charlotte Riddell to Downey, 21 November 1900. NLI MS, 10,048.
[156] Mrs Cashel Hoey to Downey, 10 February 1901. NLI MS 10,028.
[157] Henry Hinkson to Downey, 6 July 1903. NLI MS 10,027.
[158] In February 1902, Mrs Riddell wrote sympathetically that 'the news that you had "shaken the dust" of Park Street off your feet surprised me this morning: & I write to express my regret and to say that I trust most

from early 1901. He first hoped to act as London agent for American publishers who wanted to establish themselves in the city. The time was propitious, as in the decade since the Chace Act on copyright of 1891 transatlantic relationships between publishers were becoming more cooperative and professional rather than piratical. He wrote to his friend Temple Scott, who was then running John Lane's office in New York, who promised 'not to forget to bear you in mind' if he heard of an American publisher who wanted to establish a London branch.[159] 'You are young yet,' Scott wrote encouragingly in March 1901 (Downey was forty-four), 'younger than men half your age. All you want is a fair chance.' He sympathised with Downey's difficulty in raising capital, observing that the owner of capital 'wants the earth for his money.'[160]

When these plans came to nothing, Downey struck out in 1902 in a new direction with his former author, the Irish Home Rule MP, Thomas Power O'Connor and O'Connor's financial partner, J. T. Sugrue of Tralee.[161] The three men established a new popular weekly paper, *T. P.'s Weekly*, which was first issued on 14 November 1902.[162] O'Connor provided the capital and was editor, while Downey had charge of the production and publishing.[163] O'Connor – who was known to friends and enemies alike as T. P. (pronounced 'Tay Pay') – had been very successful in the 1890s as editor of the evening paper, *The Star,* and his vision for his new venture was a paper with extensive literary content aimed both at the aspirational readers from the expanding clerical lower-middle class living in the burgeoning dormitory suburbs of

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earnestly that the misunderstanding means no pecuniary anxiety for you.' Charlotte Riddell to Downey, 11 February 1902. NLI MS 10,048. In May she was still concerned about his continuing difficulties but hoped he would 'soon be rid of the anxieties "partnership" seems often to cause and be able to begin on your own account in the autumn…' Charlotte Riddell to Downey, 4 May 1902. Ibid. Mrs Riddell hoped that he would be able to 'strike out some plan for the future that is likely to bring success and money! Of later years, I fancy publishing has been too speculative a business both on the part of publishers and authors.' Charlotte Riddell to Downey, 23 July 1902.

[159] Temple Scott for his part wanted the reverse business of establishing American agencies for London publishers but was fully occupied by Lane's stringent demands. Temple Scott to Downey, 4 February 190, NLI MS 10,052. Scott (1864-1939) was an author and editor who worked with the Bronte sisters.

[160] Temple Scott to Downey, 1 March 1901. NLI, MS 10,052.

[161] John Timothy Sugrue of Tralee. According to the *Irish Times* 'London Letter', 20 October 1943, Sugrue was a co-founder of *The Star* with O'Connor and 'a leading mover with Edmund Downey' in *T. P.'s Weekly.*'

[162] Downey is rarely identified as a co-founder of *T. P.'s Weekly.* His obituary in the *Irish Times* noted that '[w]ith T. P. O'Connor [he] founded 'T. P.'s Weekly'. 'Obituary: Edmund Downey', *Irish Times,* 12 February 1937, 5. *T. P.'s Weekly* ran until 1916, when it was renamed *To-day* and O'Connor's association with it ended. For more on *T. P.'s Weekly*, see M. MacDonagh, 'O'Connor, Thomas Power, 1848-1929), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, rev. Marie Louise Legg, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35286, (accessed 28 July 2015). See also Waller, *Writers and Readers,* 82-107.

[163] Osbert Ward wrote to Downey on 1 February 1903 that 'Sparrow (the printer of a book on Tenerife that Ward asked Downey to produce for him) tells me you have full control of the publishing part of "T. P.'s Weekly". I hope it will turn out a good post for you.' NLI MS 10,058.

London and other British cities, and the emerging cohort of working women. Although a principal aim of the paper was didactic (in encouraging auto-didacticism), its tone was light and lacking Victorian condescension. Philip Waller has suggested that *T. P.'s Weekly* 'wanted to dispel the gloom from the lower-middle classes' that books like *New Grub Street* had cast around them. Gissing's novel, like several contemporary works, represented the new suburbs and their inhabitants as willingly homogenous and intellectually and materially impoverished. The literary content of *T. P.'s Weekly* was extensive from the start. Two pages were devoted to a review of the 'Book of the Week'; popular fiction was reviewed in 'Novel Notes', and 'T. P.'s Bookshelf' carried further notices of mainly literary biographies, memoirs and anthologies.[164] Downey commissioned Richard Ashe King to write one of the most popular columns, 'T. P.'s Anecdotage', although O'Connor took the credit for it. Other features were literary gossip and literary 'musings.' The paper directed popular literary taste, suggesting what books its readers might usefully and enjoyably read, even advising readers on how to set up their own book clubs. Reader participation was strongly encouraged, not just in letters to the editor but in a section called 'Notes, Questions and Answers', where readers could correspond with each other and even ask the editorial staff for opinions of their own work (for a fee) in the 'Literary Help' column. Occasional prizes of one guinea for contributors' writing were offered.

The paper appealed – by design – to both men and women, and absent from its pages was any suggestion of the Victorian *paterfamilias* reading aloud to his wife, children and servants, thereby directing the taste of his household. Women were acknowledged, indeed encouraged, as independent readers. As Philip Waller observes, O'Connor ran one of the pioneer New Woman novels, *The Story of a Modern Woman* by Ella Hepworth Dixon, on the front page, and comments that '*T. P.'s Weekly* was generally pitched at that class of woman who possessed some education and ambition of professional employment and independence' including women working in domestic service, factories and shops. The paper was an enormous success from its first number, selling an extraordinary 200,000 copies on the first day, with the circulation settling at about 250,000 weekly – or one million each month – within six weeks. From the beginning it ran to 36 or 40 pages each week.[165]

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[164] Waller, *Writers and Readers*, 89, 95-6. See George Gissing, *New Grub Street* (London, Smith Elder, 1891).
[165] Waller, *Writers and Readers,* 98, 88.

Downey and O'Connor had known each other from Downey's early years in London and their mutual involvement with Parnell and the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP). O'Connor was the only Irish-born member of the IPP to hold a British seat [Liverpool Scotland], which he held for over forty years from 1882 to his death in 1929.[166] O'Connor was born in Athlone, and took his university degree at Queen's College, Galway. He failed the entrance to the (British) Civil Service in 1867, but the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War and his knowledge of French and German secured him a post as sub-editor on the *Daily Telegraph.* His political views were Radical but Parnell persuaded him to join the cause of Home Rule in the IPP. O'Connor's writing career began as the anonymous but unsparing biographer of Disraeli in 1878. His *Gladstone's House of Commons* was one of Downey's first publications at Ward & Downey in 1885. O'Connor's great talent was observing and chronicling political life and with John Morley's encouragement he was appointed parliamentary sketch writer of the *Pall Mall Gazette* in the early 1880s. By 1888, he was editor of *The Star*, the halfpenny London evening paper, backed by syndicate of Liberal MPs and industrial magnates, on a salary of £1,200 a year. He left two years later after a disagreement with the directors with compensation of £15,000 which – after agreeing not to establish another London evening paper for three years – he invested in founding *The Sun* in 1893 and the hugely popular gossip papers *M.A.P.* (*Mostly About People)* and *P.T.O. (Please Turn Over).* With his ambitious American wife, Elizabeth Paschal, O'Connor became an influential figure in London society. By 1902, O'Connor had capital to invest and was looking for another venture. Downey needed an income that was no longer available to him from his publishing activities. Two months after the first number of *T. P's Weekly*, Temple Scott wrote to Downey:

> I felt when I last saw you that you were not over-enthusiastic with the future chances of a new venture on your part, and I am therefore very pleased to learn that you are doing so well with the Weekly… It is to be hoped our friend T. P. will keep the game up. He has a habit, and a very bad habit for others, of losing interest in the various journalistic ventures he inaugurates. If you can keep his interest alive, or if the profits from this new venture are enough to satisfy his voracious appetite, the new success might prove to be of permanent value to himself and those who are connected to him.[167]

[166] Liverpool Scotland was a parliamentary constituency in Liverpool, situated on the Scotland Road near the city's docks. The seat was created in 1886 and merged with another constituency in 1974.
[167] Temple Scott to Downey, 27 January 1903. NLI MS 10,052.

Percy Fitzgerald hoped that it would be beneficial for Downey to work for T. P. as 'everything he touches seems to succeed.'[168] In the months of preparation for the launch, Downey had turned to his contacts for contributions. Many agreed, although Katharine Tynan was reluctant to contribute any short stories as T. P. set a word limit that did not suit her: 'I have not yet offered anything to T. P.'s Weekly,' she wrote to Downey, '... it pays me better to let [a story] run to 4 or 5,000 words as it would naturally. I am sorry for their sake as well as my own that your counsel does not prevail with them.'[169] For the same reason she was reluctant to review for the *Weekly*: 'It is very good of you to think of me, and I am grateful. Unfortunately I don't know anything about Father Sheehan's work: have never even come across "My New Curate", which is so much praised. So I would have the whole business of getting him up and it wouldn't pay me.'[170] On the other hand, Joseph Conrad was happy to submit to the paper's word limit no doubt in return for a lucrative fee, writing to his agent that 'the conditions of publishing (short installments and so on) [seem] to me wise generally and of advantage even to myself. There's nothing I desire less than to appear as a portentous bore before so many readers.'[171] Conrad wasn't alone in being attracted to the paper's huge circulation – regular contributors including Arnold Bennett, George Meredith, G.K. Chesterton, Thomas Hardy and H. G. Wells testify to its attraction for writers.

All accounts of *T. P.'s Weekly* note the three editors, Wilfred Whitten, J. A. T. Lloyd and Holbrook Jackson, appointed between 1904 and 1916, but are silent on Downey's involvement in the two years from 1902 to 1904, despite the expertise and connections he brought to the paper. Downey found T. P. and Whitten difficult to work with. There was a rationalisation of the paper in the spring of 1904 – after T. P. fell seriously ill in Liverpool in January that year – when the writing was brought in-house, and Whitten was appointed acting editor. Downey had the unpleasant task of dismissing Richard Ashe King from the Anecdotage column. An undated note from Whitten to Downey around this time illuminates the tensions in the office.

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[168] Percy Hetherington Fitzgerald to Downey, n.d. NLI MS 10,013.
[169] Katharine Tynan to Downey, 1 April 1903. NLI MS 10,027.
[170] Katharine Tynan to Downey, 27 November 1902. Mrs Cashel Hoey, however, who like Tynan was a Catholic (but a convert) was effusive in her delight with *My New Curate*, 'A joy forever! I have bought it for Fr Sweeney (a priest in Bath who was a good friend) who is in raptures with it... The wit of it, the humour, the pathos, the purity, the exquisite truth, the lovely comprehension of the faith... at last, a real genius... And it is such a comfort that there is such a counterblast to the sickening nonsense of the so-called "Irish" writers. There is not one real, either of heart or speech after yourself, except Jane Barlow.' Frances Cashel Hoey to Downey, n.d. Ibid.
[171] James Pinker in a letter from Conrad copied verbatim to T. P. O'Connor, 14 December 1903. NLI MS 10,062.

> Dear Downey, I am very sorry that I lost my temper yesterday. If you will forget the matter I will be very glad. With regard to the poster, I shall of course and at all times welcome any suggestions but would like them before seeing the printer. Of if you would like to do the poster yourself, I shall be very pleased: I do not claim it as belonging to my department, though such has been the practice hitherto.[172]

Katharine Tynan later relented and submitted material, partly on Downey's account, but mainly 'on the chance of smiting T. P.'[173] Mrs Cashel Hoey, however, never forgave O'Connor's ignoring her when she wrote to him in the summer of 1902 asking him to give her 'a niche' in the new paper. She considered it 'a grave discourtesy to me, as a Lady, as a writer not wholly without position in the world of letters, and as Cashel Hoey's widow… My fortunes have fallen and very low indeed, and his have risen;… I cannot put myself forward again, you will have to do it.' Despite Downey's efforts, O'Connor – almost certainly seeing her as a writer from an earlier age unsuited to the modern newspaper business – found no position for her. What annoyed her most was O'Connor's refusal to repay the debt of gratitude she felt owed to her husband who, she said, gave T. P. 'his first start in London… This is strictly between you and me,' she wrote to Downey, 'he was not the only man who Cashel kept on his feet when our own struggle was hard enough…'[174]

Temple Scott's analysis that T. P. considered those around him expendable proved correct in Downey's case. There seems to have been a bitter row between the two men, or certainly on T. P.'s side, which ended their working partnership in July 1904. The sympathetic Mrs Cashel Hoey was highly critical of O'Connor and his wife, in response to the news from Downey: 'I rarely hear T. P.'s name mentioned, and never with any respect or credit… I fear there is nothing left now but selfishness and unscrupulous self-seeking. In your case, his action is as foolish as it is base; you had the experience that he must go on wanting.'[175] When Osbert Ward wrote the following year to congratulate Downey on the publication of *Twenty Years Ago*, he was sympathetic: 'Sorry T. P. treated you so badly after all the share you had in the success of

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[172] W. Whitten to Dowey, n.d., NLI MS 10,060 (7).
[173] Henry Hinkson to Downey, 6 July 1903. Ibid.
[174] Mrs Cashel Hoey to Downey, n.d. (but adduced from context c. July 1902).
[175] Mrs Cashel Hoey to Downey, 3 August 1904. NLI MS 10,028. On 8 March 1905, she wrote to Downey: 'Fitzgerald Molloy told me a little of T. P.'s behaviour. I felt suffocated with indignation and disgust. Of course it would be absurd of me to say that I expected him to behave well to you, but I did think his own interests were so deeply concerned that he might do so for the sake of those. Low as I know him to be I did not think him capable of such a speech as you quote – God must have given you great grace at that moment.

his periodical.'[176] Downey, however, was characteristically discreet and generous to O'Connor in his memoir:

> I think I am correct in saying that it was Mr T. P. O'Connor who was the first to make "a feature" in a daily or weekly newspaper [of notices of current literature]; he remains *facile princeps* in this walk of journalism. I am fairly confident that it was owing to his successful treatment of "reviewing" that the daily newspaper of today found its best interests are served by devoting considerable space to current literature. For this he deserves the thanks of authors, journalists, publishers and readers alike.[177]

The Return to Ireland

In the summer of 1904, therefore, twenty-five years after his arrival in London, Downey found his professional options in London narrowing. He needed a new direction, and like several other Revivalists and nationalists of the time he looked to Ireland for his next venture. Temple Scott had written to him enthusiastically from Dublin in August 1902: 'You could do nothing better than lie up in Dublin. I'm in love with the town but more especially with the people. Everybody I've met are devoted and kind.'[178] He thought 'Dublin [was] full of fine people.'[179] Downey thought there were opportunities in Dublin for a publishing company 'dealing with works of the best class and avoiding all sectarian and political ventures... I do not see any reason why [Dublin] should not become as Edinburgh... the difficulties of distribution (though real) of books which once prevailed... no longer exist.'[180] Such a company would need investment, and he drafted a letter of appeal intended most likely for Lord Waterford which he sent to Thomas Sexton, the chairman of the board of the *Freeman's Journal*, for review:

> My last considerable venture was an edition of Lever's novels which cost about £8,000 and which proved to be a [successful] commercial transaction. Practically the whole of this money, the cost of producing the edition, went to Edinburgh as the paper was made there & the printing and binding executed there. I mention this merely as an instance of Dublin has lost by having no publishing house to deal with such a transaction. The only difficulty I see in the way is that of adequate capital and my object in writing this is to

[176] Osbert Ward to Downey, 8 June 1905. NLI MS 10,058.
[177] Downey, *Twenty Years Ago,* 205.
[178] Temple Scott to Downey, 15 August 1902. NLI MS 10,052.
[179] Temple Scott to Downey, 16 August 1902. NLI MS 10,052
[180] Draft letter from Downey to Thomas Sexton, n.d. NLI MS 10,053.

> confirm if your lordship would feel inclined to support & encourage a scheme by taking up shares in a company…'[181]

The appeal for Irish investment was in recognition, as he commented to Sexton, that 'English people look askance at any Irish venture.'[182]

One of Downey's sons was working for the firm of James Duffy, which as we saw combined publishing, bookselling, printing and binding at their premises on Wellington Quay in 1903 and 1904, and regularly dined *en famille* with Thomas O'Carroll, one of the Duffy directors. O'Carroll had sympathised with Downey when Downey & Co had its problems in 1902: while the printing side of the business at Duffy's was good, O'Carroll considered that. his 'brother Directors [are] no more fit to run a publishing house than run the British Empire. I often think there is no good in publishing at best, but when you are hampered by shortages of capital and quixotic assistants it is awful.'[183] Downey had evidently suspected that his time at *T. P.'s Weekly* was coming to and end and he had from the end of 1903 began to discuss a possible partnership in Dublin with O'Carroll. Both felt there was room in Dublin for a Catholic publishing firm that would be able to take on literary projects like the Lever edition as well as general material, and they proposed to buy out the Duffy family interest in the publishing side of the business to form the nucleus of a new company. The competition was the (Protestant) firm of Sealy, Bryers & Walker. 'The thing we want is money,' wrote O'Carroll:

> [M]oney to buy out the present company, and then the money to float a new one. I can get my £1,000 [capital] or more out of Duffy's any day by liquidating the [share-holding]. I am determined that any change made will secure one thing – a company that will be worthy of the title Catholic publisher. There is room for such in Dublin, and I am prepared to invest £1,000 in such an enterprise.[184]

Downey turned to his friend J. T. Sugrue from *T. P.'s Weekly* for investment, and they submitted a formal proposal to O'Carroll in April 1904. Carroll advised them that he thought the Duffy family might accept £3,000 for their share of the business. Sugrue wanted to offer

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[181] George Moore was thinking the same way at the same time as we saw in Chapter One. He wrote to the *Irish Times* on 4 October 1902 calling for Irish authors to support the Irish printing industry by insisting to their British publishers that their books be printed in Ireland. His publishers had 'ascertained that Dublin prices were not higher than those in Britain', and while he had 'no knowledge of Messrs Gill nor of Messrs Brown and Nolan, Sealy, Bryers printing… is as good as any that has been done for me in London and Edinburgh.'
[182] George Moore to the *Irish Times,* 4 October 1902.
[183] T. D. O'Carroll to Downey, 22 December 1902. NLI MS 10,060 (5).
[184] T. D. O'Carroll to Downey, 2 May 1904. NLI MS 10,060 (5).

the family preference shares in a new company, but Carroll was adamant they would only accept a cash offer for the publishing part of the business, although Duffy's daughter and her two children who controlled the printing side of the business would accept preference stock. However, Downey and Sugrue's proposal failed to satisfy O'Carroll in two major and irreconcilable respects: firstly, O'Carroll was reluctant to convert his £1,000 capital in the existing Duffy company into £5,000 ordinary shares in the new company, with no dividend on offer. He was also unhappy that Downey would receive the same number of shares without investing any capital, though he could agree to the two men being on equal footing as directors. The second obstacle was more serious: Downey and Sugrue's proposal did not, in O'Carroll's opinion, provide for sufficient working capital to successfully establish the new venture. He argued for £14,000, which was about two-thirds of the then capital value of Duffy, or at the very least £12,000 to be raised from public and private shareholders, of which £3,000 would buy out the Duffy family, £1,600 would be used to clear outstanding liabilities to printers, and £1,000 would be retained as his capital. This would leave the new company with £6,400 of working capital. O'Carroll wrote tersely to Downey on 2nd May 1904 that his 'services here at any figure would be useless without having capital at our back to make any schemes possible. We have as much business as we can cope with, but are hampered by lack of money. Your London friends seem to have nothing more to offer than paper constitutions to remedy a want of cash.'[185] There is no further correspondence between Downey and O'Carroll in the archives.

Downey appealed to Mrs Cashel Hoey for advice. She confessed that she had been:

> [T]hinking and thinking over the Duffy affair, but I don't see any practical way of helping. I don't think anybody whom I know would put money into anything Irish! They think it fine and fashionable, because the King has been civil, to talk platitudes about the country and the 'charm' but they half fear and half hate it all the same… Do you know anything about the Gills's business [M. H. Gill]? I used to know him and his wife was very fond of me in the old times. Would an amalgamation of the two Catholic business be feasible?[186]

She too thought there was room for a new Catholic publisher in Dublin, although she wondered why the Duffy family would accept what she thought was the low value of £3,000 for their

[185] T. D. O'Carroll to Downey, 2 May 1904. NLI MS 10,060 (5).
[186] Mrs Cashel Hoey to Downey, n.d. but written from Stanley Cottage, Malvern Wells where she was resident in July and August 1904. NLI MS 10,028.

interest if there really was life in the business. She also wondered if Downey could connect with the Gaelic Revival movement:

> Have you thought of the Gaelic people at all? This may be an idiotic question, but I actually know nothing at all about them except that [John] Murray published Lady Gregory's two wonderful books, and they may have a little Leyden University of their own for all I know; but if an Octopus publishing house, with the prayer book for its heart, or let us say its centre, and general literature, with the Gaels for its feelers, could be set up in Dublin, it would be grand.[187]

Conclusion:

Downey did not succeed in finding a route back to Dublin. His proposal for a new publishing venture in Dublin came to nothing, and he spent the rest of 1904 and early 1905 writing his memoir *Twenty Years Ago.* The founding of Maunsel & Company in 1905 was motivated by the same incentive to establish a successful literary publishing company in the Irish capital and filled the gap identified by T. D. O'Carroll and Downey, although it was not a Catholic firm. In 1906 at the age of fifty, however, Downey found what would be a successful and satisfying new career back in his home city of Waterford. He bought out the *Waterford News* from his old school friend Banquo Redmond, which he edited until his death in 1937.[188] He embarked with his customary energy on an entirely new career in which he was a newspaper editor and proprietor, a hotel-keeper, a chronicler of Waterford and its environs, a leading member and treasurer of Sinn Fein in the war of Independence, a founding member of the Fianna Fail party, and a husband and father again in his seventies.

Downey's anecdotes from the 1880s in *Twenty Years Ago* seem very distant from the early twentieth-century London publishing landscape. Downey was active in London between 1879 and 1905, precisely the period when the business of publishing was transformed by the series of interlocking structural, legal, technological, demographic and economic developments identified and discussed in the Introduction. His London career began at one of the most successful of the mid-Victorian three-decker novel publishing houses before he launched two eponymous, independent publishing companies that enjoyed some success and much

[187] Mrs Cashel Hoey to Downey, n.d. but written from Stanley Cottage, Malvern Wells where she was resident in July and August 1904. NLI MS 10,028.
[188] Rouse, 'Edmund Downey', *DIB.*

contemporary praise. His final London venture was a new weekly newspaper that was one of the most innovative and successful of the early twentieth century. Downey amassed considerable knowledge of his business and the literary milieu of his day, and he developed unparalleled networks among both members of the publishing trade and the London-Irish. The reconstruction of his career, from his extensive correspondence as well as retrieval of the books he published, contributes rich detail to the narrative of the late nineteenth-century publishing landscape.

Downey was also a pivotal figure in the London iteration of the Irish Literary Revival. He was a founder member of both the Southwark Literary Society in 1883, and its successor, the Irish Literary Society, in 1892. He moved fluidly between the Home Rule generation, the Literary Revivalists and their Irish-Ireland successors. In the course of his London career he published authors from all three groups, and engaged with the modernism of George Moore and Emile Zola. The range of Irish titles he published is clear evidence of the wide range of Irish literary output in the 1880s and 1890s, much of which has since been obscured by the dominance of the Literary Revival. In particular, we see the demand for works on Home Rule coinciding with the Gladstone's unsuccessful Home Rule Acts in 1886 and 1893 which reminds us of the dominant contemporary debate before the later trajectory of rebellion and independence between 1916 and 1922.

Edmund Downey is an exemplar of a category of figures, that includes T. W. Rolleston and Stephen Gwynn, whose significance as literary actors driving much late nineteenth-century Revival activity has not yet been fully accounted. The history of his involvement in the ideological battle between W. B. Yeats and Charles Gavan Duffy over what was eventually published as the *New Irish Library* illuminates the tension between the commercial and non-commercial impulses of the early Literary Revival in its London incarnation. His later success with the collected edition of the works of Charles Lever reveals the potential that existed for a broader output of popular Irish work which, given the strength of contemporary Irish societies such as the Gaelic League, could have had an immense circulation in Ireland, Britain and the United States. Downey and other publishers including Sealy, Bryers & Walker were impeded and frustrated by the hegemony of the Yeatsian narrative which succeeded in advancing the project of the Irish Literary Revival in a non-commercial direction. In continuation of this theme, the next chapter examines the impact of this dominant narrative on the literary after-life of the Dublin writer Jane Barlow.

Chapter 4: 'The Literary Sensation of the Year': Jane Barlow and the Publishing Context and Success of *Irish Idylls*.

Introduction

The Dublin writer Jane Barlow's *Irish Idylls* was a critically acclaimed bestselling collection of literary sketches first published in 1892 in Britain, America and Germany. Contemporary reviewers praised the 'literary sensation of the year',[1] 'a volume which describes Irish peasant life with a fidelity that has never been surpassed', 'a book of great and unmistakable merit', and predicted that it would be 'an Irish classic'.[2] Another reviewer suggested that 'to read Miss Barlow's *Irish Idylls* is to get an epitome of Irish character, and in that sense, of Irish history.'[3] Her publisher recorded that it sold more than any other collection of Irish stories in her lifetime.[4] Barlow was frequently described in reviews as an artist in a reference to both her vivid descriptions of the Connemara countryside and her use of language.[5] A second series of idylls, *Strangers at Lisconnel*, followed in 1895 and was also a critical and commercial success. Barlow published twelve collections of stories, five collections of poems, five novels, translations of classical poems from Greek, as well as numerous articles in literary magazines and periodicals. In 1904 she was the first woman to be granted an honorary degree at Trinity College, Dublin.[6] The oration declared her to be 'an accomplished poetess, an eminent writer, a lover of country…And so, not only this Ireland of ours, but the greater Ireland that is scattered around the world, will readily acknowledge that no woman's brow is more worthy than hers to be the first to be wreathed with our laurel.'[7]

Barlow died at the age of sixty-one on 17 April 1917. Her obituary in the *Irish Book Lover* noted that '[her] fame rests on her short stories of Irish peasant life, written with notable literary

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[1] *Glasgow Herald*, 12 January 1893. The reviewer considered that 'we have not had anything so good in the same line for a long time.'
[2] Respectively, *The Illustrated London News*, the *Manchester Guardian* and *The Bookman*. Quoted on the back cover of Jane Barlow, *Strangers at Lisconnel* (London: Sphere Books, 1984).
[3] *The Daily News,* 29 December 1892, issue no. 14584.
[4] Sir William Robertson Nicoll in *Irish Book Lover*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 11-12 (June & July 1917), 142.
[5] *Irish Book Lover*, Vol. I, No. 7 (February 1910), 92; W. B. Yeats referring to Barlow as well as to Katharine Tynan, Emily Lawless and Standish O'Grady in a letter to *United Ireland*, 17 December 1892, *CL Yeats I*, 339.
[6] The degree conferred was an honorary D. Litt. On the same day the educationalists Sophie Bryant, Headmistress of the North London College, and Isabella Mulvany, Headmistress of Alexandra College Dublin, were respectively conferred with a D. Litt. and an LLD. 'Honorary Degrees for Women' *Weekly Irish Times,* 9 July 1904, 18.
[7] The oration was delivered by Dr Claude Louis Purser, a lecturer in Classics at TCD and a brother of the artist Sarah Purser.

grace and power, depicting with perfect fidelity the pathetic, lovable and generous nature of her countrymen.'[8] The *Irish Times* obituary recorded her death 'with much regret', mourning the loss of her 'distinguished writing', and noting that 'every anthology of recent Irish literature includes examples of [her] prose or verse.'[9] In London, the *Times* obituary noted her death with regret on behalf of all her readers in the United Kingdom, observing that her 'work was known in all English-speaking countries ... [and was] very well received by the public in England and America and her name and literary work became known to a very large body of readers.'[10]

Jane Barlow's indisputable status as a critically acclaimed and popular author at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth is not reflected in modern critical or reference material, and her obscurity today is startling in view of her contemporary literary reputation. The process of Irish literary canon formation is inextricably linked with political history, and while Barlow has not entirely been elided, her reputation and literary after-life have been distorted by both Revivalists and influential nationalist canon formers such as Stephen Brown. This chapter suggests that an examination of Barlow's work and publishing history, together with an analysis of interventions by key literary critics at several points, can reposition Barlow in Irish literary history and illuminate the political and literary agendas at play in the years when Ireland moved towards, and subsequently achieved, political independence from Britain. In addition to discussing the significance of her publication context, in particular in relation to a successful initiative that allied her to the regional novel and its subset of Scottish Kailyard fiction, the chapter also surveys recent criticism and suggests fresh critical frameworks for a reappraisal of Barlow's work.

The entry for Barlow in Rolf Loeber and Magda Loeber's extensive *Guide to Irish Fiction, 1650-1900* states that she was a great friend of W. B. Yeats and that he included *Irish Idylls* in his list of the hundred 'Best Irish Books', his 1895 project that contributed to establishing the literary underpinnings of the Literary Revival.[11] The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* has her merely knowing Yeats, but also notes that he included *Irish Idylls* in his famous list. Cambridge University Press's *Dictionary of Irish Biography* makes no mention of the 'Best

[8] *Irish Book Lover,* Vol. VIII, Nos. 11-12 (June-July 1917), 141.
[9] 'Obituary, Miss Jane Barlow, The *Irish Times*, 18 April 1917, 5.
[10] Obituary of Jane Barlow, 'An Irish Storywriter', *The Times*, 21 April 1917, 7.
[11] Rolf Loeber and Magda Loeber, *A Guide to Irish Fiction, 1650-1900* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006) 117.

Irish Books' list and states that Yeats was critical of her for 'only writing of women and hens.'[12] The true situation of Yeats at first praising Barlow before marginalising her is revealing however. While Yeats compared Barlow and Emily Lawless favourably with William Carleton, Samuel Lever, and Thomas Crofton Croker 'for having more lyrical feeling and belong[ing] therefore to a higher type', he felt they did not have 'the central fire of the old people', and were the 'bottom boys of a head class,' while Carleton, Lover, Croker and Charles Lever were the 'head boys of a lower class.'[13] Yet when Yeats narrowed his list to a final thirty books, he included Lawless's *With Essex in Ireland,* three titles by William Carleton of which two were out of print at the time, one title by Charles Lever, and a short story by Samuel Lover, but he 'regretfully excluded Miss Barlow's "Irish Idylls" because despite her genius for recording the externals of Irish peasant life, I do not feel she has got deep into the heart of things.' Yeats's thesis was that both Barlow and Lawless – respectively from Anglo-Irish gentry and aristocratic stock – 'differ as yet from the greater Irish novelists in being only able to observe Irish character from without and not to create it from within', suggesting that '[t]hey have, perhaps, bowed to the fallacy of our time, which says that the fountain of art is observation, whereas it is almost wholly experience.'[14] Yeats's list was controversial, but influential, and generated considerable debate in the pages of the *Daily Express* in subsequent months and left a lasting legacy. The *DIB* suggests that in Barlow's first collection of narrative verse, *Bogland Studies*, published early in 1892, she 'attempted to capture the specific qualities of the English language as spoken in the west of Ireland', but the *DNB* is dismissive of the poems which '[make] abundant use of the supposed dialect of the peasantry, including words such as "begorrah", "musha", and "bedad",' suggesting that it was her stories that gained her popularity. Barlow's writing is not included in the 1991 *Field Day Anthology of Irish Literature*, nor (astonishingly) in the two supplementary volumes of women's writing. The scant references to her in Augustine Martin's essay suggest she is irrelevant, and dismiss her as an exemplar of a dying nineteenth-century Irish literary fashion for rural tales that sought to

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[12] Frances Clarke, 'Jane Barlow' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2009), online edition, accessed 5 November, 2013.

[13] WBY to Katharine Tynan Hinkson, 15 January 1895, from Thornhill, Sligo. *CL Yeats I*, 424-5. Barlow herself was unenthusiastic about Lawless's work writing to Sarah Purser in May 1893 that: 'If there are horrors in Miss Lawless's story [presumably *Grania* (1892)], it will not have the honour of being read by me, as such things make me ill really, which is one of the many limitations belonging to my peculiar taste in literature.' Letter to Sarah Purser, 23 May 1893. NLI MS 8186 (1).

[14] WBY to the Editor of the *Daily Express* (Dublin), 27 February 1895 in *CL Yeats I*, 442. The Carleton titles were *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* and the out of print *Fardarougha the Miser* and *The Black Prophet.* The Lever title was *Charles O'Malley* and the Lover short story was 'Barney O'Reirdan' (sic) from *Legends and Stories of the Irish Peasantry.*

explain local conditions to a distant audience, and whose idylls were excluded from George Birmingham's 1932 volume of Irish short stories because their form was difficult to categorise.[15]

It would be reasonable to conclude, based on the reference material, that Barlow, though celebrated in her lifetime, and who may or may not have been a friend of Yeats, is now seen (if considered at all) as a largely-forgotten minor Revival writer of dialect stories and poems of uncertain literary merit, consisting largely of domestic scenes and overwrought brogue. However, the identification of Barlow purely in terms of the Revival (either by exclusion or inclusion) is to miss the significance of two issues: first, that she was not a writer in the tradition of Yeats and Lady Gregory, involved in the construction of a mythical Celtic past whose aim was a reconciling consensus of often competing literary and political interests; and secondly, that her work can be seen as part of a wider tradition of British and American literature in the last decade or so of the nineteenth century when literary attention turned to an examination of the world that was being lost to the advent of modernisation. *Fin de siècle* anxiety about increased urbanisation, industrialisation and alienation found expression in the growth of regional literature often, but not exclusively, set in rural locations with community and traditional values as themes. Specifically, we can read the genre in terms of the contemporary fashion for 'idylls', a literary form whose name derived from the Greek for 'little picture', and is used for a descriptive piece of prose or poetry, usually set in a pastoral or rural scene.[16] It is with this critical framework that a close examination of Barlow's publishing history reveals her involvement in a publishing phenomenon of the 1890s related to the regional genre, establishes her as belonging to a literary tradition outside that of the Irish Literary Revival, and in consequence alters the literary context in which she has hitherto been considered.

As discussed in the Introduction, the publishing industry experienced exponential growth in the 1890s and 1900s, fuelled by interlocking factors such as mass literacy, new technology, emerging imperial markets and significant changes in publishing practices. New more entrepreneurial firms were set up, fragmenting the nineteenth-century hegemony of the long-

[15] Augustine Martin, 'Prose Fiction 1880-1945', in Seamus Deane (Gen. Ed.), *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Literature* (Derry: Field Day Publications, 1991), 1021-1223, 1021, 1023.
[16] Ian Ousby, (ed.), *The Cambridge Guide to Literature in English* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and London: The Hamlyn Publishing Group Limited, 1988), 492.

established publishing houses.[17] One of the major publishing figures of the period, Sir William Robertson Nicoll, the prolific editor, writer and publisher who was to be so important for Jane Barlow's career, commented in 1910 in a review of the new publishing environment that '[t]he great difference between publishing in 1886 and publishing in 1910 is that in the former year the author was still seeking the publisher, whereas in the latter the publisher is seeking the author.'[18] That change started to happen closer to the earlier date than the latter, and Nicoll, one of the most prescient publishers of his generation, successfully identified both popular sentiment and the demands for new material in the expanding literary marketplace. He was an early adopter of new publishing practices, and by the late 1880s he was actively commissioning authors for his multiple publishing projects. Barlow was one of those authors, although, as we shall see, she would later try to break away from Nicoll on account of the overtly religious nature of his firm's list.

Jane Barlow was born at Dollymount, Dublin, on 17 October 1856, the third child and eldest daughter of The Revd James William Barlow and his wife and cousin, Mary Louisa Barlow.[19] The family was of English origin, from Cheshire, and their ancestor William Barlow had settled in Ireland in the early 1600s.[20] James Barlow was appointed Erasmus Smith's Professor of Modern History at Trinity College, Dublin in 1861, and would later be appointed College Bursar and Vice-Provost. The family had a strong ecclesiastical tradition in the Church of Ireland: James Barlow's grandfather was The Revd Brabazon Disney, appointed Professor of Divinity at Trinity in 1759; his uncle, The Revd Brabazon W. Disney was Dean of Armagh in the mid-nineteenth century, and his father was also a minister in the Church of Ireland.[21]

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[18] John Sutherland identifies seven publishers who dominated the fiction market during and after the 1840s as Chapman & Hall, Bradbury & Evans, Macmillan's, Longman's, Smith, Elder, Bentley's and Blackwood's. J. A. Sutherland, *Victorian Novelists and Publishers* (London: Athlone Press, 1976), 10.

[19] T. H. Darlow, *William Robertson Nicoll: Life and Letters* (1925) quoted in Philip Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations: Literary Life in Britain, 1870-1918* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 668.

[19] Mary T. Duane, 'The Life and Letters of Jane Barlow', (Unpublished MA Thesis, University College Dublin, 1955), is a useful source of biographical information for Barlow. Duane located Barlow's baptismal record and other key records. Loeber and Loeber incorrectly state that James Barlow married his niece. Ibid, 117.

[20] A family member, Alex Barlow, has recently contributed a page on the Barlow family history to RootsWeb on Ancestry.com. The first part of the pedigree is attributed to the records of Sir Clement Anderson Montague-Barlow (1858-1951), Conservative MP for Salford (who succeeded Hilaire Belloc), who held the post of Minister of Labour from 1922-24 in the Bonar Law Cabinet. He dated the Cheshire branch of the family to Alexander Barlow who held the Manor of Barlow near Congleton from 1434-1466. Jane Barlow and her cousin Disney Charles Barlow compiled the second half of the pedigree and gave it to Alex Barlow's great-aunt (date unknown). They record that William Barlow (1582-1652), sixth son of Henry Barlow, appears to have settled at Ballinafarragh, Co. Westmeath (exact date unknown but probably the early 1600s as his children were born in Ireland). The family is recorded as living in Chesterfield in the Domesday Book. http://www.ancestry.com/Barlow, (accessed 6 November 2013).

[21] Duane, 3.

However, in the 1860s, James Barlow was one of the clerics who denied Baptismal Regeneration, a deeply problematic issue for the Anglican Church, regarded as a major heresy since the Gorham controversy of 1850.[22] In 1865 James Barlow's book, *Eternal Death and Eternal Punishment,* had expressed these unorthodox views, causing Archbishop Whately of Dublin to revoke his licence to preach.[23] The ecclesiastical ban had a deep impact on the Barlow family, and they became somewhat withdrawn from society, their world increasingly limited to Trinity College and their house at Raheny, five miles from the centre of Dublin.[24] None of the Barlow children married, and all lived at home for most or all their lives. As we shall see, her father's difficulties with the Church of Ireland were later to influence Jane Barlow in her dislike both of organised religion in particular, and orthodoxies in general.[25]

Barlow was educated at home by her father and a governess and was proficient in French, German and Ancient Greek, and in her twenties visited France, Italy, and Greece. The family was not uniformly scholarly: only one brother John, a civil servant in the Local Government Board, shared her intellectual interests, while the remaining three surviving siblings were, according to Barlow, in the Anglo-Irish tradition, more interested in horses and dogs than books.[26] Much of Barlow's early work was published anonymously or pseudonymously. Her first published poem, 'Walled Out', appeared in 1885 in the *Dublin University Review,* then

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[22] George Cornelius Gorham (1787-1857) was a clergyman in the Church of England. His evangelical views on the efficacy of infant baptism – that it was conditional on the child's subsequent profession of faith after the age of understanding – put him in conflict with high-churchmen who claimed that the baptised infant was unconditionally regenerate. In 1811, the bishop of Ely had tried to impose a doctrinal test on him to prevent his ordination to Deacon, but Gorham had successfully resisted it. However, in 1847, the archbishop of Exeter opposed, and after examination, refused his appointment to a Devon parish in the gift of the Lord Chancellor on the grounds of Gorham holding unsound doctrine. Gorham challenged the decision (most unusually) in the secular courts, in a case that rapidly became one of the most celebrated legal actions of the nineteenth century. In an escalating series of legal actions, Gorham eventually appealed to the judicial committee of the Privy Council which, in the historic 'Gorham judgment' of 8 March 1850, found in his favour, insofar as it allowed that his doctrinal position could be held alongside others within the Church of England. The outcome secured the position of the evangelicals in the Church of England but alarmed high-churchmen who feared that ecclesiastical law would henceforth be dictated by the judiciary and not the Church. The affair influenced some notable secessions to the Catholic Church, including those by Henry Manning and Robert Wilberforce. John Wolffe, 'George Cornelius Gorham', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), (accessed 5 November 2013).

[23] The Revd James Barlow, *Eternal Death and Eternal Punishment: An Essay* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, Green, 1865).

[24] Katharine Tynan, *Memories* (Edinburgh: The Edinburgh Press, 1924), 291. 'The Cottage' at Raheny was in fact quite substantial with sizeable grounds and a coach house.

[25] The former Franciscan monk, Joseph McCabe, who left the priesthood in 1896 at the age of twenty-eight, included Barlow in his *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Rationalists* (London: Watts & Co., 1920). This is an extensive biographical dictionary with entries for *inter alia* H. G. Wells, Mary Wollstonecraft, William James, Emile Zola, Richard Wagner, Soeren Kierkegaard, Walt Whitman, Richard Wagner, Horace Walpole, Immanuel Kant, Grant Allen and President John Adams.

[26] Duane, 5.

edited by T. W. Rolleston who liked her work and encouraged her to write more.[27] In her 1955 MA Thesis on 'The Life and Letters of Jane Barlow', Mary T. Duane identifies some earlier published journalism as that of Barlow, attributing to her a series of articles (in *Hibernia* in 1882) on a journey to Naples which appeared under the pseudonym 'Vagabundus'.[28] *Hibernia* was founded and edited by Count Plunkett and had a limited circulation mainly in Trinity College.[29] Duane notes that the pseudonym was used for a series of articles in the same magazine describing Glendalough and Glenmalure in County Wicklow, and in the *Dublin University Review* in 1886 for a series on mountaineering in Kerry.[30] Barlow also had early articles in the *Saturday Review* and *Dublin University Magazine.*[31]

Many of Barlow's letters record her boredom with domestic affairs and frustration with finding time for her writing. She worked mainly at night when the household was in bed and she could be undisturbed. Barlow corresponded with the artist Sarah Purser from 1893 to 1916, and the two became close friends.[32] Several hundred letters from Barlow to Purser are held by the National Library of Ireland, and are a very valuable source for insight into Barlow's dealings with her publishers and her motivation for her writing. She and Purser confided their doubts about their work to each other and recorded, in very self-deprecating terms, their considerable successes. It is clear from the correspondence that Barlow wrote to occupy her mind at time when there were few outlets other than writing for women of her class.[33] In a letter to Purser in March 1896, Barlow reflected that she was:

> [A]lways dreadfully slow about making a start, and I find it so hard to get any time… I can do nothing unless I have a good long spell uninterrupted, and I find it almost impossible to work with anyone else in the room, but I seldom get one quite to myself.

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[27] *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), (accessed 5 November 2013).
[28] Duane, 6. 'From the North Wall to Naples', *Hibernia,* March, April, May, June 1882.
[29] Tynan, *Memories,* 292. Tynan, then at the start of her prolific career, was writing for the magazine at the same time, though Barlow and Tynan only met several years later.
[30] Duane, 6, 'A Tramp at Home', *Hibernia,* November, 1882 and 'Scrambles in the Kerry Highlands', *Dublin University Review,* June, July, August, September, 1886. Barlow was a keen hill walker all her life.
[31] Duane, 7.
[32] Sarah Purser (1848-1943) was a well-known portrait painter. She first exhibited at the Royal Hibernian Academy in 1880. Through the Gore-Booth family she obtained commissions for portraits in London. Later in life she estimated that she earned more than £30,000 from her painting, and shrewd investments in Guinness when it became a public company in 1886, and on the Stock Exchange made her a wealthy woman. In 1903 she founded a stained-glass workshop, An Túr Gloine, (The Tower of Glass) at 24 Upper Pembroke Street, Dublin. Her brothers John and Louis (Claude) were respectively Professors of Medicine and Classics at Trinity College, Dublin. Purser's monthly salons were a feature of intellectual and literary life in Dublin for many years after 1911. See Henry Boylan (ed.), *A Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1978), 304.
[33] It is clear from her correspondence with Purser that Barlow served for several years as an examiner for the Intermediate Certificate in Dublin in the late 1890s and 1900s.

> I don't greatly regret not getting the work done – it doesn't seem to matter much – but it is a sort of misery to spend so much time without being able to occupy one's mind. Sometimes I think it is quite a serious misfortune for a woman to have any mind: sometimes I almost – never quite – wish I had none myself.[34]

Although she earned several thousand pounds from her published work, leaving an estate of over £8,000, she was not motivated by financial gain, and on several occasions she turned down offers from London publishers, usually, as she wrote to Purser, on the grounds of 'vulgarity': 'Mr Harmsworth has offered me princely terms for some stories for the Daily Mirror, but I have haughtily declined to be gilt by the touch of a millionaire. Do you think I am right? I suppose it doesn't really much matter what one's things appear in, but sometimes it seems so vulgar, and I particularly hate papers for gentlewomen.'[35] Her sister Kitty was the family housekeeper after the death of their mother in December 1894, and a letter to Purser is typical of Barlow's reaction to having to assume Kitty's domestic duties while her sister was ill:

> Kitty is getting on quite well but is still a prisoner, and I am involved in the horrors of housekeeping. Indeed life seems to have become a succession of hideous meals, and I often feel as if I might as well be some sort of mechanical rig. Seriously, it is a real aggravation of misery, for it fritters away all my time, and prevents me from occupying my mind, which is the only way of fending off desperation.[36]

For Barlow 'one's foes, with no hostile intent, are they of one's own household' who prevented her from working during the day.[37] At the age of forty-five, Barlow wrote to Purser that 'you and I have had better of it than our mothers. Pictures and books, my dear, are the best sort of offspring. They involve no responsibilities and if they are failures what matter at all. But the possibilities of children are fearful.'[38]

Most biographical accounts of Barlow have been strongly informed by Katharine Tynan's memoirs. The Barlow family lived for many years at 'The Cottage' at Raheny which according to Tynan was like 'a cottage in *Cranford*', where Barlow led a 'gentle, sequestered, twilit

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[34] Letter to Sarah Purser, 17 April 1896. NLI MS 8186 (5).
[35] Letter to Sarah Purser, 31 October 1899. NLI MS 8187 (2).
[36] Letter to Sarah Purser, 17 May 1895. NLI MS 8186 (4).
[37] Ibid.
[38] Letter to Sarah Purser, n.d. February 1901. NLI MS 8186 (10).

life.'[39] Tynan describes a close-knit loving family living in seclusion in a spacious and beautiful house filled with books, picture and flowers, surrounded by an old-fashioned garden. Tynan thought Barlow 'a fragrant, a shy, a sorrowful memory,' a woman who largely withdrew from the world after the death of her beloved mother in 1894, and who gave up the will to live after the death of her father in 1913.[40] In a biographical introduction for Alfred Miles's edition of *Women Poets of the Nineteenth Century* (1907), Tynan suggested that '[a] couple of visits to Connemara and the South, and an occasional flying visit to relatives in England constitute pretty well all her travels', whereas it is clear from Barlow's correspondence with Purser and essays and articles in journals that she identified an unusual grass she had seen growing among the marble blocks of the Acropolis in Athens and had visited Naples.[41] Tynan's account of the shy, shrinking, physically frail Barlow has survived in modern reference material, but Barlow's correspondence with Purser reveals a cerebral woman, an educated, sophisticated, caustic observer of people who had a keen knowledge of the contemporary literary scene in both Dublin and London; who read all (and contributed to many) of the main periodicals and newspapers of the day; who had the cuttings agency Durrants send all her reviews in the British press; and who exercised increasing agency in her dealings with her publishers. Her letters make clear that while many Dublin social occasions bored her, she regularly attended symphony and orchestral concerts and was an accomplished pianist.[42] She joined the National Literary Society in 1893, and attended many of its meetings, becoming vice-President in 1897. She was visited by the writers Florence Henniker, Pearl Craigie (John Oliver Hobbes), and Lady Ferguson, Sir Samuel Ferguson's widow, as well as the composer Michele Esposito with whom she collaborated on the libretto for an opera. She lunched regularly with Katharine Tynan, and on one occasion, at least, met Fr Matthew Russell, the Jesuit priest and editor of the influential literary magazine *The Irish Monthly*, as well as Richard Ashe King and other literary figures.[43] She was interviewed several times by journalists, including Americans (one of whom asked her for directions to Lisconnel). Her many correspondents included Katharine

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[39] Katharine Tynan, 'Jane Barlow – an Irish Idyllist' in *Memories,* 291-305, 291, 295. It should be noted that while Tynan's work generally is evocative of the people and times she describes, factual accuracy can be absent from her accounts of her contemporaries. She often visited Barlow at Raheny, however, so her description of the house and gardens are doubtless accurate. Douglas Hyde called Barlow 'the great "incognita."' Dominic Daly, *The Young Douglas Hyde* (Dublin, Irish University Press, 1974), 160.

[40] Tynan, *Memories*, 291, 292-3, 294.

[41] 'Jane Barlow: Critical and Biographical Essay' by Katharine Tynan Hinkson in Alfred Miles, *Women Poets of the Nineteenth Century* (London: George Routledge & Sons, New York: E. P. Dutton & Co, 1907), 43. The letter about Barlow's visit to Athens is undated in NLI MS 8186 (3).

[42] Duane, 4.

[43] Katharine Tynan, 'Fr Matthew Russell, S.J.: Dearest of Friends', *The Irish Monthly,* Vol. 40, No. 472 (October 1912), 551-558, 556.

Tynan, Stephen Gwynn, W. B. Yeats, T. W. Rolleston, Frank Mathews, John O'Leary, and Shan Bullock as well as numerous academics whom she consulted on issues ranging from agricultural economics to psychical research, a topic in which (like many of her contemporaries) she took an increasing interest during the 1890s.

Jane Barlow's first book, *Bogland Studies,* a collection of poetry first published in Rolleston's *Dublin University Review,* was published by Thomas Fisher Unwin early in 1892.[44] Fisher Unwin, as we have seen, had a particular interest in Irish literary and political writing. Barlow clearly wanted to be published, writing later to Sarah Purser that she had delayed publication of *Bogland Studies* for two years until after she had saved enough money, firstly, to buy a tricycle and secondly, to pay for advertising the book herself.[45] She realised that as a first-time author her publisher would do little to promote her book other than to include it in his catalogue, and perhaps in general lists of forthcoming titles in some periodicals. Her research for her books was undertaken on visits to the west of Ireland.[46] Barlow accompanied her father for many years on holidays to Connemara, Co. Clare and Co. Kerry, gathering details of customs and lore from local people she met and visited, and from 1900 she spent several weeks every summer at Glencolumbkille in Co. Donegal, often with Sarah Purser.

Bogland Studies was well received, with Katharine Tynan reviewing it 'enthusiastically' in *United Ireland.* Another favourable review appeared in *The Athenaeum* in June 1892.[47] Later, Barlow credited much of its success to a positive review in the *Illustrated London News* whose 'immense circulation' gave the book 'a good start.'[48] Reviews of later editions were published in *The Bookman* and *The Critic* in New York in 1894. More significantly, however, in London

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[44] My evidence suggests that a work credited to her father, *History of a World of Immortals Without Gods* (Dublin: William McGee, 1891, London: Smith Elder, 1909), translated from a previously unpublished manuscript, and written using the pseudonym Antares Skorpios, was co-written by Barlow. Earlier uses of the pseudonym were by Jane Barlow, and her father later credited her with being the finest Greek scholar in Ireland.

[45] Letter to Sarah Purser, 27 October 1898. NLI MS 8186 (10). In a reference to a recently published book by Eva Gore-Booth, Barlow wrote that 'I am afraid that the chances are against Miss Gore-Booth's book making its way without <u>any</u> advertising. Perhaps Mr A. [Andrew] Lang might help it on a bit… Still it does seem a pity that she did not wait until she had accumulated the means of advertising a little. I suppose it would only have been a question of a few months' delay. Now <u>I</u> postponed my first appearance for <u>two years</u> to get a tricycle…'

[46] Letter to Sarah Purser, 23 May, 1893. NLI MS 8186 (1). 'I do hope to get away south or west some time: in fact I look upon it as a necessity from a business point of view.'

[47] Tynan Hinkson in *Women Poets,* ibid. The review in *The Athenaeum* is referenced in Duane, 73.

[48] Letter to Sarah Purser, 27 October 1898. NLI MS 8186 (10). The reviewer was James Payn. After his death in 1898 Barlow wrote of her regret to Purser: 'He was almost my first patron, and an amiable and worthy man.' Letter to Sarah Purser 15 April 1898. NLI MS 8186 (11).

the publisher William Robertson Nicoll, then a senior editorial advisor at Hodder & Stoughton, came across the volume and was 'delighted to find that the book showed deep feeling and great literary accomplishment, and also a sense, rare in literature, of the pathos of mere poverty. It occurred to me at once that whoever wrote *Bogland Studies* might write a book of Irish idylls.' Discovering that:

> J. Barlow was Miss Jane Barlow, [I] wrote to her at once, suggesting that she might try to do for Ireland what … [Barrie] had done for Scotland. I also suggested that the book should be 'Irish Idylls'. She answered in a very friendly spirit and the first idyll 'One Too Many', appeared in the 'British Weekly', and was followed by other remarkable contributions. John Morley, as he then was, expressed warm admiration for Miss Barlow's work when it appeared in book form, and ultimately it had a larger sale than any Irish collection of stories within recent years.[49]

An assessment of the success of *Irish Idylls,* as well as an understanding of its reception in the early 1890s, must be seen in the context of a contemporary publishing phenomenon that was largely Nicoll's creation. As Andrew Nash notes, Nicoll was memorably described by Clement Shorter, the literary critic (and husband of Dora Sigerson), as 'the most successful Christian in history.'[50] Nicoll built virtually an industry of religious periodical and book publishing to meet the demands of the increasingly literate population of dissenting Protestants in Britain over nearly four decades from the mid-1880s to the early 1920s. Shorter also said of Nicoll that he possessed 'perhaps the keenest scent for a book that will sell of any man in the book business.'[51] Nicoll had been a Minister of the Free Church in Kelso, Aberdeenshire, for seven years when he met Thomas Stoughton of the publishing firm Hodder & Stoughton in 1884 and began the immensely successful professional collaboration which lasted until Nicoll's death in 1923.[52] Stoughton was the grandson of the dissenting Minister John Stoughton, and son of Thomas Wilberforce Stoughton who founded the publishing firm in June 1868 with the Nonconformist Matthew Henry Hodder.[53] The first five titles published by the new firm were religious and

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[49] Sir William Robertson Nicoll, reported in the 'Obituary of Jane Barlow in the *Irish Book Lover*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 11 and 12 (June-July 1917), 141-2. John Morley (1838-1923) was an influential advisor to the publishers Macmillan & Co. He was Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1886 and again in 1895-1898.

[50] Andrew Nash, 'William Robertson Nicoll, The Kailyard Novel and the Question of Popular Culture', *Scottish Studies Review,* Vol. 5. No. 1, (Spring, 2004), 57-73, 58.

[51] Waller, *Writers and Readers,* 112.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Dorothy W. Collins, 'Hodder & Stoughton' in Patricia J. Anderson and Jonathan Rose, *Dictionary of Literary Biography: Vol. 106 British Literary Publishing Houses, 1820-1880* (Detroit and London: Gale Research Inc., 1991), 142.

they also published educational and children's titles. Although the firm's interests widened, religious publishing of both books and journals with a Nonconformist inclination remained central to the list. From the beginning the firm recognised the importance of the American market, and Hodder first visited the United States and Canada a year after the establishment of the business, meeting leading figures in the industry there including Charles Scribner and George Putnam. He established strong business connections with bookshops and publishers in the major eastern cities of America and Canada, as well as St. Louis and Nashville in the Midwest and South. The firm also had a travelling team of salesmen in Britain who had an entrée into every major bookshop with the successful titles Hodder had brought with him from his previous venture, Jackson, Walford & Hodder: *Bell's Standard Elocutionist* sold more than 250,000 copies and Ann Taylor's *Hymns for Infant Minds* had already reached its 47th edition when Hodder & Stoughton acquired it. In 1881 the murder of the American President, James A. Garfield, resulted in huge sales for the firm's fortuitous recent purchase of William Thayer's biography of Garfield. *From a Log Cabin to White House* sold 79,000 copies in its first year, and reached a 40th edition by 1893, thereby providing the firm with significant working capital for expansion.[54]

When Stoughton and Nicoll met, the publishers were looking for a new editor for their popular religious journal *The Expositor,* following a theological rift with the incumbent. Nicoll was appointed and in 1886, a year after his retirement from active ministry following an attack of typhus, he moved permanently to London where he was soon the dominant editorial figure in the company.[55] One of the first of Nicoll's many successes was a dynamic new penny newspaper, *The British Weekly,* first published in November 1886. Andrew Nash suggests that the Nonconformist paper '[s]ubtitled 'A Journal of Christian and Social Progress' ... had a clear religious impulse but was also driven by an overt political aim – to reunite the Liberal

[54] 'Hodder & Stoughton', *DLB 106,* 142-5.

[55] While convalescing Nicoll had written to Hodder & Stoughton to propose that they launch a new religious journal to be edited by him and published at a penny a week. He offered to work for nothing until the paper began to make a profit. The publishers were hesitant: Nicoll was unknown and in poor health, and had only freelance journalistic experience in such papers as *The Scotsman* and the *Aberdeen Journal.* At that time, many religious journals were being launched, but few were surviving in a competitive marketplace. However, Nicoll had carefully studied the interests and biases of newspapers and journal and became adept at providing copy exactly suited to the editorial line of each. In this way he was able to earn enough money to substantially augment his student bursary. See A. Whigham Price, 'W. Robertson Nicoll and the Genesis of the Kailyard School', *Durham University Journal,* Vol. 86, No. 1 (1994), 83-93. 74. 'But Mr Hodder and Mr Stoughton argued that an Aberdonian does not offer to work for nothing unless he considers he is sure of success. Accordingly, they decided to risk it.' Ibid, 75.

Party which had become divided over the Home Rule question.'[56] Nicoll often wrote the entire issue himself, reputedly dictating 35,000 words one week, which appeared under his many pseudonyms.[57] *The British Weekly* was profitable within just a few weeks and went on to reach a circulation of 100,000 within ten years. It had an influential literary section, which provided Hodder & Stoughton with a route into the publication of fiction for the first time, just at the moment, as noted in the Introduction, of increased literary segmentation into new genres of literature.[58] Articles by Robert Louis Stevenson and Walter Besant on 'Books which have influenced me' were part of an initiative commenced in 1887 to publish 'celebrity' authors, but which was quickly abandoned when circulation fell.[59] Nicoll adjusted his editorial policy to a more popular market appeal, notably a decade ahead of the founding of the *Daily Mail* in 1896 .

One of the new genres that developed with literary segmentation was the regional novel and tale, another area of publishing in which Nicoll had a considerable impact. In 1887, in a highly significant move for both parties, Nicoll commissioned a series of sketches by James Barrie, which had been written some years earlier. In 1884 Frederick Greenwood, the editor of the *St. James Gazette*, had published a sketch by the then young and unknown journalist called 'An Auld Licht community'.[60] Barrie set the sketch in his hometown of Kirriemuir in Forfarshire, basing it on stories his mother had told him about her childhood. He later sent Greenwood a number of other articles on different themes, and although most were returned Greenwood scribbled on one story that he 'liked that Scotch thing. Any more of those?'[61] The *St. James*

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[56] Nash, 58, citing Roisin Higgins, 'William Robertson Nicoll and the Liberal Nonconformist Press', 1886-1923, (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrew's, 1995), 60.
[57] Whigham-Price, 75.
[58] Andrew Nash notes the importance of the literary section of *The British Weekly*: 'The paper had a strong literary emphasis from the outset, and was a major forum for reviews and articles on literary topics. This is an important point to note because it is often assumed, wrongly, that the Kailyard stories were first circulated in a context where religious writing, rather than literature, was the principal, or only, focus.' Nash, 58-9.
[59] Waller, *Writers and Readers,* 112. Whigham-Price, 80.
[60] Auld Licht is a term for a member of one of those parties in the Scottish Secession churches, both Burgher and Antiburgher, that continued to hold to the principle of the connection between church and state in opposition to the voluntarism of the New Lichts. Merriam-Webster Dictionary, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Auld%20Licht (accessed 2 February, 2016).
[61] Andrew Nash, 'The Compilation of J. M. Barrie's *Auld Licht idylls'*, *Bibliotheck,* No. 23, 1998, 85-98, 85, citing Barrie in *The Greenwood Hat,* (London: Peter Davies, 1937). Nash comments that 'thus the commercial viability of what has become to be classed as Kailyard sketches was thus first recognised by Frederick Greenwood... not, as is often stated, William Robertson Nicoll.' While this possibly overstates the case, as Greenwood did not commission any more of Barrie's *Idylls*, and it was Nicoll who saw their potential as a collection, when the sketches were collected in the hugely successful *Auld Licht Idylls,* in 1888, Barrie dedicated it to Greenwood. See Whigham-Price, 76-7.

Gazette published a further thirty or so articles by Barrie over the next two years, but all were anonymous.[62] However, encouraged by his ability to place articles Barrie moved to London in March 1885 to try his luck as a freelance journalist. It was his meeting with Nicoll that would launch the career that saw him become arguably the most successful literary figure in London, and certainly one of the richest.

Nicoll was in Edinburgh in May 1887, at the meeting of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, when he happened to read an amusing sketch of proceedings in a local newspaper. He recruited Barrie to write in an entertaining way about the Scottish kirks for *The British Weekly*, with the first piece appearing on 1 July, 1887, under the pseudonym of Gavin Ogilvy. Over the next six months Barrie's first novel, *When a Man's Single,* appeared in serial form in *The British Weekly*. Part of it was set in the fictional village of Thrums, and it marks the start of what became a publishing phenomenon. Hodder & Stoughton published *Auld Licht Idylls* in the spring of 1888 and it was an instant critical success, with the *Spectator* calling it 'the most successful, the most truly literate, and the most realistic attempt that has been made for years – if not generations – to portray humble Scottish life.' Barrie was described as 'The Dickens of Scotland' in the firm's advertising material. To coincide with publication, *The British Weekly* published a free 16-page supplement devoted entirely to Barrie. A. Whigham Price notes that Nicoll compiled it personally and 'decorated it with photographs of Thrums scenes, together with a portrait of Barrie, hand-to-forehead *au Carlyle.* This was one of the earliest deliberate attempts by a publisher to sell an author's personality, and it was wildly successful. Once more, Nicoll had correctly gauged his public.'[63] A second series of idylls, *A Widow in Thrums,* was published the next year, though with a notable change in tone as Barrie introduced pathos to balance the humour. He was clearly sympathetic to his characters, recognising the increasing erosion of their traditional way of life, and evoking nostalgia for an earlier simplicity.

In 1891 Barrie followed the Thrums idylls with a novel treatment of the same theme in *The Little Minister*. W. E. Henley, the poet, editor of the *National Observer,* and author of the

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[62] Philip Waller quotes Barrie as saying of Greenwood at the latter's retirement dinner in 1907 'He invented me. I owe almost everything to him.' Barrie also said, however, 'Nicoll also set me to the writing of books, and got them published, and for the rest of his life was the wisest and kindliest of counsellors.' Waller, *Writers and Readers,* 112, n. 179. From *The Greenwood Hat,* 270, 284.
[63] Whigham-Price, 76-7.

influential *Views and Reviews* (1890) described it as a 'book of genius'.[64] Barrie's *Little Minister* was the last triple-decker he published. It came out in September, was reprinted in November, and 1,000 copies were sold by December, mostly to the circulating libraries. Significantly, Hodder & Stoughton issued the one-volume edition priced at 7s. 6d. in February 1892, considerably sooner than usual after the first form publication of a three-decker novel, a matter of months later rather than several years. They reprinted later that month and again in March, April, June, July, August and September, selling 10,000 copies by December. The 6s. edition issued in October 1892, sold 6,000 by that same December. An illustrated edition followed in July 1893 and by the end of 1893 combined sales of the one-volume editions were over 35,000.[65] Barrie's Scottish idylls were published at a significant juncture in publishing history when, as discussed in the Introduction, the cumbersome literary form of the three-volume novel became obsolete.[66] As we saw, this ended the hegemony of the circulating libraries which had persisted for much of the nineteenth century and introduced a market for single volume purchases, for which short form fiction like idylls were well suited.

Given the success of Barrie's book, Nicoll naturally wanted to reproduce the model. Two more Scottish writers emerged who wrote in the same vein: Samuel Rutherford Crockett and The Revd John Watson. Crockett published *The Stickit Minister* with Hodder in 1893 to laudatory reviews, including one by *The Saturday Review* which praised its 'masterly command of dialect and national characteristics, powerful, at times almost too powerful for their tiny dimensions – for in a tale of only a few pages it is impossible to do full justice to the tremendous passions which actuate some of Mr Crockett's characters.'[67] *The Stickit Minister* was republished twenty-four times between 1894 and 1918, with a new impression almost every year in that period.[68] Nicoll persuaded The Revd John Watson, a popular and influential Nonconformist minister in Liverpool, to write about the tales of his mother's childhood in Perthshire which he had recounted to Nicoll. In November 1893 *The British Weekly* started to serialise a series of sketches based in the fictional village of Drumtochty which was published the following year as *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* under the pseudonym of Ian Maclaren.[69] The book was an

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[64] Whigham-Price, 77.
[65] R. A. Gettmann, *A Victorian Publisher: A Study of the Bentley Papers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 263.
[66] As we saw in the Introduction, Barrie's 'A Plea for Smaller Books' was published at around the same time. He called for and end to the bloated format of the three-decker and urged publishers to take risks for the sake of literature. J. M. Barrie, 'A Plea for Smaller Books' in *Two of Them* (New York: Lovell, Coryell & Co., 1893).
[67] Quoted in Whigham-Price, 78. *The Saturday Review,* 7 October 1893, 5.
[68] Whigham-Price, 78.
[69] Maclaren was the maiden name of Watson's mother.

enormous success, widely reviewed and reportedly read by Prime Minister Gladstone and Queen Victoria.[70] Nicoll later recorded that by 1908 265,000 copies had been sold in Britain and 485,000 in America. Maclaren subsequently published *The Days of Auld Lang Syne* in 1895, as well as *A Doctor of the Old School* and *Kate Carnegie* in 1896. He made several tours to America where his work was immensely popular: in one tour in December 1896 he fulfilled ninety-six engagements in fifteen days.[71] Collectively, the genre became known as the 'Kailyard', which is the Scottish term for a small cabbage patch or kitchen garden beside a cottage.[72]

Thus, it was in response to the enormous public appetite for the Barrie books that Nicoll commissioned Jane Barlow to write a similar volume based in Ireland. *Irish Idylls* is a collection of nine sketches set in the isolated fictional hamlet of Lisconnel with its ten or so cabins, which is seven miles from the slightly larger (fictional) village of Duffclane, from where it is a few more miles 'down beyond' to the unnamed 'Town'. The bogland countryside in the shadow of the range of mountains identified as the Twelve Pins is clearly Connemara, complete with its mainly straight road built by 'Scotch Nimmo.'[73] Barlow opened the volume with a Greek quotation which was translated to:

> O Land our Lady, all bounteous, whose wealth-giving gladdeth man's heart,
> To some, in sooth, of thy children thou yieldest how rich a part,
> Yet to other some, in thine anger, how barren and rugged thou art.[74]

Barlow sets the scene in a first story that describes the abject poverty of Lisconnel where the inhabitants scratch a subsistence living from 'the covering of poor light soil in which potatoes can be set.'[75] Fuel for the fire and the occasional luxury of tea is provided by turf from the bog. Livestock is restricted to half a dozen goats, the same number of pigs and a few chickens. The

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[70] Waller, 287.
[71] Whigham-Price, 79.
[72] The title of Ian Maclaren's *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* alludes to the Jacobite song 'There grows a bonnie brier (sic) bush in our Kailyard.'
[73] Alexander Nimmo (1783-1832) was a Scottish engineer and architect who trained under Thomas Telford after university at St. Andrews and Edinburgh before moving to Ireland in 1810. Some of his more notable projects include the building of many piers around the Galway coastline, the founding of the village of Roundstone and the development of the carriage road from Oughterard to Clifden. Much of the work was motivated by his desire to improve the prosperity of Connemara and its people and open up the area to transport and communications. Source: The Institution of Engineers in Ireland. Online source http://www.realizedvision.com/an.php, (accessed 6 November 2013).

[74] No source found.
[75] *Irish Idylls,* 3.

cabins are thatched, but not with straw which is 'too scarce for such a use... Rushes serve instead, not quite satisfactorily, being neither so warm nor so durable, nor even so picturesque, for their pale grey-green looks crude and cold, and the weather only bleaches it into more colourless drab, when straw would be mellowly gold and russet.' The description of colour is a recurring feature of Barlow's story, no doubt a factor in her frequent critical representation as an artist. While the bog landscape is dull-brown and uniform in its darkness, vivid colour pierces the monochrome at times:

> A white gleam comes from a tract where the breeze is deftly uncurling the silky bog-cotton tufts on a thousand elfin distaffs; or a rich glow, crimson and dusky purple dashed with gold, betokens the profuse mingling of furze and heather blooms; or a sunbeam glinting across some little grassy *esker*, strikes out a strangely jewel-like flash of transparent green, such as may be seen in young moss.[76]

Lisconnel, Barlow made clear, survives with difficulty from year to year, and there is only the most occasional means of supplementing the meagre resources. Barlow economically but clearly created living nuanced characters with ambitions and disappointments, jealousies and rivalries, who display courage and pathos, and have the Irish peasant's keen awareness of hierarchy and social position, yet deal with each other with notable delicacy and tact as fortunes and circumstances wax and wane. Lisconnel society is matriarchal, dominated by the Widow M'Gurk, Mrs O'Driscoll (or 'Herself'), Mrs Kilfoyle, Mrs Quigley, Mrs Rafferty, Big Anne and Judy Ryan, the women who manage their household's small economies and direct the affairs of the village and those of their more passive husbands as well as the often happily ignorant children. Barlow's account of the isolated hamlets of the west and their inhabitants is bleakly realistic. Unlike other writers of the Literary Revival she does not conjure a mythic world, and she makes it clear in the closing words of her first story that while Lisconnel may have been prosperous and fertile in the distant pre-Famine days, as recounted in 'hardly credible' stories by one of its original inhabitants, a very old woman recently dead, the poverty of the present is very different:

> But now that she is gone, these traditions will share the fate of all such legendary lore, growing stranger and wilder and more obviously unhistorical with the lapse of time, until they add just a tinge of wistfulness to conjectures about the receded past. 'Four cows, bedad, and a bit of a cart drivin' in to the market – well tubbe sure, but it's the

[76] *Irish Idylls*, 5

> quare old romancin' she had out of her.' Whereas Lisconnel stands here in the light of common day, a hard fact with no fantastic myths to embellish or disprove it.[77]

The inhabitants of Lisconnel are those who, having often been evicted from richer land further east, remain in Ireland while their neighbours, with more initiative perhaps, leave for Britain or America, and the atavistic desire to stay in the west no matter how meagre the existence is a recurring theme. While there is gentle comedy combined with pathos in most of the stories, some are simply poignant. The story of the tragic Larry, who can find no work and leaves the land he loves to look for work in America so as not to be a burden on his family but finds death instead, is memorably moving. The descent into poverty and death of the proud handsome Mrs O'Driscoll is powerfully written. She does her best to eke a living from her few poor acres so that her sons can stay in Lisconnel, but when her husband says simply and wearily that 'the lads do be tired of starvin', she is brought to the realisation that her sons must emigrate and with them goes her own scant financial security.[78] After her husband dies she falls into arrears with the rent she has no means of paying, and is evicted and her cabin demolished. Big Judy takes her in but she slowly loses her grip on reality.

It is clear from Barlow's correspondence with Sarah Purser that she was engaged in political events and that she discussed the issues of the day with academics at Trinity College, Dublin. She undertook considerable research into the Congested Districts Board which informed her stories.[79] However, her focus on the women of the village and the minutiae of the daily round as a vehicle for illustrating the struggle for survival would lead Yeats to dismiss her engagement with the conditions of poverty in the west of Ireland and characterise her writing as concerned only with 'old women and hens', a judgment which, as we shall see, was to be as influential as his exclusion of her from the list of the 'Thirty Best Irish Books'.[80] A review in the *Daily News*, however, recognised both the comedy and pathos of Barlow's idylls, suggesting that her work 'gives us a clue to the sorrows and the difficulties of dealing with a people who have fallen out of the march of civilisation and who, to surface impressionability, unite a passionate clinging to old modes of thoughts and feeling.' The reviewer considered that *Irish Idylls* gave an 'epitome of Irish character, and in that sense of Irish history.'[81]

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[77] *Irish Idylls*, 48.
[78] Ibid, 141.
[79] She told Sarah Purser in correspondence that she was following newspaper reports on the subject.
[80] WBY, 'The Thirty Best Irish Books', *Daily Express,* 27 February 1892, *CL Yeats I,* 340.
[81] 'New Books', *Daily News,* 29 December 1892, 5.

Nicoll 'boomed' *Irish Idylls* under his various anonymous and pseudonymous reviewing personalities and Hodder & Stoughton marketed it strongly.[82] The reviews were almost uniform in their praise. In addition to the laudatory reviews cited in the introduction from *The Illustrated London News,* the *Manchester Guardian,* and *The Bookman,* the *Freeman's Journal* in its end of year review of the books of 1892 found that in 'a poor year of potboiling and ephemeral books', *Irish Idylls* was only one of three titles to 'deserve a permanent fame or display promise of a considerable kind.'[83] For the *Glasgow Herald,* as we have seen, it was no less than 'the literary sensation of the year', and the reviewer considered that 'we have not had anything so good in the same line for a long time' though noting that 'if it has a fault it is almost too clever… learned references to the "Aeschylean Hercules" and the "Oedipean chorus" sound out of place among the Irish bogs.'[84] The book was widely reviewed in regional newspapers including *The Belfast Newsletter, The Leeds Mercury,* the *Aberdeen Weekly Journal,* the *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post,* the *Birmingham Daily Post*, the *Derby Mercury,* the *Newcastle Weekly Courant,* and the *North Wales Chronicle.*

Despite the critical praise and relatively strong early sales, Nicoll felt that *Irish Idylls* was not the immediate success that *Auld Licht Idylls* had been, recording later that, despite Barrie's success, Thomas Hodder had been initially doubtful about commissioning Barlow but that '[w]hen he read the book his mind changed. There is no harm in saying now (1911) that at first the reception was discouraging in the extreme. In spite of this, Mr Hodder went on advertising it in what seemed a quite extravagant manner. In the course of time we got the testimonies of Lord Morley and other judges, and the book achieved a success much longer delayed than that of Scotch Idylls, and not so complete – but a success notwithstanding.'[85] John Morley's literary influence was enormous and his enthusiasm for *Irish Idylls* was significant for its reception.

Exact sales of *Irish Idylls* cannot be retrieved, but we can see from bibliographical records that new impressions were issued in 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896 and 1898. Heinemann & Balestier published it in Leipzig in 1893. The New York publishing firm Dodd, Mead issued illustrated

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[82] Nicoll's pseudonymous personalities included Claudius Clear, 'A Man of Kent' and O.O. He frequently placed favourable reviews for his authors simultaneously using all his reviewing pseudonyms.
[83] *Freeman's Journal,* 28 December 1892, 4. The other two were Gilbert Parker's *Pierre and His People* and Mrs W. K. Clifford's *Aunt Anne.*
[84] *Glasgow Herald,* 12 January 1893, 5.
[85] Sir William Robertson Nicoll, 'Our Scrap Book', *Irish Book Lover,* Vol. III, No. 5 (December 1911), 81.

American editions in 1893 and 1897 for which Barlow wrote a preface especially for the American market, demonstrating her commercial awareness of the potential of her book to sell to the Irish-American diaspora which, as we saw in Chapter Three, was becoming a significant market for Irish authors in the 1890s:

> In Lisconnel, and other such places, we have a saying that there are plenty of things besides turf to be found in a bog. This little book attempts to record some of these things, including, I hope, a proportion of that 'human nature' which a certain humourist has declared to exist in considerable quantities among our species. I hope, too, that the phases of it pictured here may have some special interest for American readers, to whose shores the wild boglands of Connaught send so many a forlorn voyager 'over oceans of say (sic).' They will perhaps care to glance at his old home, and learn the reasons why he leaves it, which seem to lie very obviously on the surface, and the reasons, less immediately apparent, why his neighbours bide behind. It is indeed the fact of those emigrants that chiefly encourages me to believe there may be room and a welcome across the Atlantic for this one emigrant more.[86]

The columns of Nicoll's other successful journal, *The Bookman,* are also a valuable source for 'bestselling books' in the years from 1891 to 1901 and are a useful resource for analysing Barlow's contemporary reception. Nicoll launched *The Bookman* in London in October 1891, four years ahead of its American counterpart, in another example of his talent for innovation. The first issue of Nicoll's journal carried an item entitled 'Sales of Books During the Month' which 'proposed to give from month to month statements by representative and leading booksellers of the volumes they have found the most popular during the [previous] month (15th to 15th).'[87] A review of these lists compiled by Troy Bassett and Christina Walter gives a sense

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[86] Author's preface to Barlow, Jane, *Irish Idylls* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1893), from the digitised version held at the Boston Public Library. (Accessed online 13 January 2014). The Dodd, Mead edition has 29 illustrations.

[87] Troy J. Bassett and Christina M. Walter, 'Booksellers and Bestsellers: British Book Sales as Documented by *The Bookman,* 1891-1906', in *Book History*, Vol. 4 (2001), 205-236. 'Sales of Books of the Month' ran in every issue up to 1 April 1901. Each monthly issue recorded lists of bestselling books submitted by between three and twenty-one booksellers (an average of twelve), from thirty-seven locations over ten years, identified only by city or area of city, for example four from London (East Central, West Central, West End and Central) Dublin (two bookshops, area not defined), Manchester, Burnley, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow (one bookshop each). A total of 1,408 lists appeared in the ten years, and Bassett and Walter have analysed which books appeared on the most lists and may therefore be considered the most popular. They rightly identify some problematic issues in respect of the reliability of the lists, including an acknowledgement that it is impossible to establish how the lists were compiled; whether they were the result of careful record keeping or subjective impression – or even attempts to boost poor sales as booksellers attempted to attract buyers for titles they had perhaps over-bought. The lack of comparative weighting between London and, say, Burnley or even Glasgow, is not referenced in the article, but clearly is a key factor to consider, particularly for a work that may only have had a local sale. It is also impossible to determine relative popularity – one title may have sold 10,000 and another 1,000, but both would appear on the same list. Notwithstanding these caveats, Bassett and Walter make a significant contribution to our knowledge of contemporary readership. Unfortunately, they do not address the

of the most popular books in Britain and Ireland in the decade, although no actual sales figures are extant. They identify sixteen authors on *The Bookman's* lists out of around one thousand five hundred published in the period as accounting for twenty per cent of all titles on the bestselling lists in Britain and Ireland. Samuel Rutherford Crockett appeared on the most lists (192), followed by Marie Corelli (176), Rudyard Kipling (162), Ian Maclaren (151), Robert Louis Stevenson (104), Arthur Conan Doyle (100), J. M. Barrie (97), Mrs Humphry Ward (97), Anthony Hope (94), Hall Caine (76), Emile Zola (71), and Walter Scott (66). Barlow's books appeared on 12 lists submitted by the two Dublin booksellers during 1892-1897, with *Irish Idylls* accounting for four of those. Other Irish writers of the time with comparable appearances include Rosa Mulholland (Lady Gilbert) (9 lists during 1892-1900) and Standish James O'Grady (8 lists during 1892-1898). Using these figures, we see that Canon Sheehan's *My New Curate* was the bestselling Irish book in the period of *The Bookman's* feature, in light of its appearance on 14 lists in 1900-1901. Given that non-fiction outsold fiction by 60% to 40% in the period, and that according to one of the Dublin booksellers, while 'Irish language and Literary Societies are awakening renewed interest in their subjects; ... as usual cheap novels and religious works are the most read', the sales of Barlow's *Irish Idylls* demonstrate her popularity among the contemporary Irish reading public.[88] By way of comparison, Marie Corelli appears on 17 of the Irish lists during 1895-1900, Kipling on 17 during 1892-1900, Conan Doyle on 16 during 1892-1901, Stevenson on 14 between 1892-99 and Hall Caine on 11 lists during 1894-99. In addition, her bestselling status led to commercial success: Barlow observed in January 1898 that her 'dealings with Dr Nicoll [...] placed me in the possession of affluence.'[89] She had a small personal income of £200 per year before she was published, but as noted above, when she died she left an estate of £8,000.

This case study of Jane Barlow, and the thesis more widely, examines the publishing context beyond the orthodox Revival narrative of elided or obscured Irish writers. As well as repositioning them in Irish literary history, the focus on the importance of cultural commerce with Britain, the British Empire and America aims to open up a greater appreciation of their connections with international literary contexts. Within this critical framework Barlow's idylls, like those of Barrie and Maclaren, emerge as part of a wider tradition of regional literature in

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demise of the three-decker novel and the shift of sales from circulating libraries to bookshops which was a key event in the decade.

[88] Bassett and Walter, 215. *The Bookman,* December 1893.

[89] Letter to Sarah Purser, 17 January 1898. NLI MS 8186 (10).

Britain and Ireland that includes the Wessex novels of Thomas Hardy, Arnold Bennett's novels of the Potteries, Quiller-Couch's novels of Cornwall, R.D. Blackmore's Exmoor romances, and indeed extends to encompass American authors of the genre such as Sarah Orne Jewett. Therefore, if Barlow's place in the canon of the Irish Literary Revival is problematic, we can perhaps reclaim her as part of the late nineteenth-century regional novel tradition, and in a further subdivision, as part of a genre which Sandra Zagarell calls 'the narrative of community', which is identifiable in Britain and Ireland and the United States, and whose exponents were predominantly women.[90]

This raises further questions, of course, about the status of Kailyard fiction *per se.* From the perspective of 1924, Katharine Tynan, as we saw, had identified Barlow in her *Memoirs* as part of the 'Kailyard' school which was fostered by Nicoll and whose tales were 'idylls and idealising.' Tynan questioned Barlow's incentives: 'The Anglo-Irish in those days nearly always idealised the peasants. It was an amiable but a distorted medium... They had the colonists' jealousy of the mother-country: and so they swelled the national vanity which only the subjects of it did not share.'[91] The early reputation of the Kailyard genre was damaged by Crockett's *The Lilac Sunbonnet* (1895), which was generally regarded as overly-sentimental and of poor quality. Literary critics since have not differentiated the Kailyard works, viewing them as indistinguishable and 'related to the much larger field of popular culture which has come to encompass cinema, television, even cartoon strips.'[92] Kailyard texts have been particularly criticised for their sentimental depiction of a fictional Scotland far from the reality of late nineteenth-century industrialisation and urban poverty. In this undifferentiated analysis, William Robertson Nicoll, can be accused of having launched a series of kitschy Scottish fiction of no literary merit, for commercial reasons alone.

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[90] The critical perspective of the 'narrative of community' provides another methodology to look at Barlow in particular, and women's writing in general. Sandra Zagarell persuasively argues for the identification of this new literary genre which she defines as books which take as their theme the everyday concerns of a community and 'portray the minute and quite ordinary processes through which a community maintains itself as an entity.' Sandra Zagarell, 'Narrative of Community: The Identification of a Genre', in VeVe A. Clark et al (eds.), *Revising the Word and the World: Essays in Feminist Literary Criticism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 249-271, 254. Within this context, and that of post-feminism in terms of what Deborah Rosenfelt has described as an 'instinctive revision' of previous feminist narratives with their emphasis on linearity in favour of 'a multiplicity of plots that dramatise the diversity of women's experiences', Barlow's seemingly old-fashioned idylls can be recuperated with other women's writing of the period. Deborah J. Rosenfelt, 'Feminism, Postfeminism' and Contemporary Women's Fiction,' in Florence Howe (ed.) *Tradition and the Talents of Women* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 270.

[91] Tynan, *Memories*, 295.

[92] Nash, 57.

I suggest, however, that Kailyard fiction can be read as a subset of the regional novel to allow a reappraisal of the genre. Barrie's writing in particular, obscured by his association with Crockett, has been re-examined by critics such as Andrew Nash and A. Whigham-Price. Change is a frequent theme of Barrie's stories which focus on the movement from local cottage industries to large scale industrialised cities with the concomitant loss of the values and way of life of the people. Moreover, Barrie's descriptions of life in Thrums are acutely observed and his detailed descriptions of the conditions in which the rural poor lived offsets some of the more idealised and romantic characterisations and plots. The Thrums tales do not ignore the problems of alcoholism, crime and social breakdown in lives characterised by boredom, monotony and poverty. Many of his stories were drawn from his mother's recollections and his own memories of Kirriemuir and, like Barlow, Barrie was unusually faithful to the dialect patterns of his native community at a time when the commercial demand for easily digestible and 'polite' English prose was particularly strong. Andrew Nash has noted that while critics who are dismissive of all Kailyard writing invariably point to *The Little Minster* being made into a Hollywood film three times, they ignore the critical reception of the novel in the year it first appeared as one of the 'two great literary events of the year, the other being *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*.'[93]

The reading of idylls as a subset of the regional novel is supported by the analysis of critics such as Keith Snell who, in an authoritative collection of essays on the regional novel in Britain in Ireland, takes Thomas Hardy's own definition of his Wessex novels as novels of 'character and environment' further by suggesting that, while many novels fall into borderline categories, the regional novel is:

> [F]iction that is set in a recognisable region, and which describes features distinguishing the life, social relations, customs, language, dialect or other aspects of that area and its people. Fiction with a strong sense of local geography, topography, or landscape is also covered by this definition. In such writing a particular place or regional culture may perhaps be used to illustrate an aspect of life in general, or the effects of a particular environment upon the people living in it. And one usually expects to find certain characteristics in a regional novel: detailed descriptions of a place, setting or region, whether urban or rural, which bears an

[93] Nash, 58.

> approximation to a real place; characters usually of working- or middle-class origins [...]; dialogue represented with some striving for realism; and attempted verisimilitude.[94]

For Snell, a regional novel can have a nationalist purpose and, with other critics such as Walter Allen, he identifies Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* published in 1800, the year the Act of Union was passed, and written in the years 1797-9 during the United Ireland rebellion, as the first regional novel. Walter Allen wrote in 1954 that Edgeworth occupied new territory of the novel: 'Before her, except when London was the scene, the locale of our fiction had been generalised, conventionalised. Outside London and Bath, the eighteenth-century novelist rarely had a sense of place... Maria Edgeworth gave fiction a local habitation and a local name.'[95] Allen argued that Edgeworth 'perceived the relation between the local habitation and the people who dwell in it. She invented in other words, the regional novel, in which the very nature of the novelist's character is conditioned, receives its biases and expression, from the fact that they live in a countryside differentiated by a traditional way of live from other countrysides.'[96] Snell identifies in Edgeworth's work 'details of dialect, local agricultural terms, popular superstitions and folklore, and funerary practices [which] situate the novel in the Irish midlands, specifically in her home county of Longford.'[97]

Similarly, a comparison of Barlow's *Irish Idylls* and Sarah Orne Jewett's *The Country of the Pointed Firs* has much to offer as a framework for a reassessment of Barlow. We know that Jewett (1849-1909) was familiar with Barlow's work as the copy of *Irish Idylls* in Harvard University's Widener library is hers. Both women were relegated by powerful contemporary male literary figures to the category of minor literature: Barlow as we have seen by Yeats for her supposed focus on the doings of old women and hens in *Irish Idylls*; and Jewett by Henry James who termed *The Country of the Pointed Firs* as her 'beautiful little quantum of achievement.'[98] Like Barlow, Jewett's work is more a series of sketches than a novel, and the loose structure of her fiction, like that of Barlow, as Marjorie Pryse suggests, 'does not fit traditional literary categories: she was unable to sustain plot in the traditional sense, and her

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[94] Thomas Hardy in the preface to *The Novels and Poems of Thomas Hardy: Wessex Edition,* Vol. 1, (1912), quoted in K. D. M Snell, (ed.), *The Regional Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1998), 1.

[95] Walter Allen, *The English Novel: A Short Critical History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1954) 103, quoted in Snell, 6.

[96] Allen, 6.

[97] Snell, 7. Sandra Zagarell cites *Castle Rackrent* as 'introducing into fiction the use of the vernacular as a metonomy for a folk culture.' Zagarell, 251.

[98] Zagarell, 252, n. 6; 255.

attempts at novels have been considered less significant and less successful than her other work.' Pryse notes that Jewett's characters, like Barlow's most successful characters, are rural, female, sometimes unmarried or widowed, and poor, and 'live well outside the centers of power and urban social hierarchies common in fiction by her realist contemporaries.'[99] Barlow deployed linguistic strategies to demonstrate empathy with her characters, a strategy also used by Mary Russell Mitford for her narrator in *Our Village,* her sketches of English village life, and which, termed 'sympathy', was identified by Willa Cather as 'the source' of Sarah Orne Jewett's 'greatness.'[100] In another parallel with Barlow, Marcia McClintock Folsom has written of the 'empathetic style' of Jewett's portrayal of her fictional community in *Pointed Firs* as 'mythic in its stability, integration and consequent warmth. However, the book does not seem sentimental because of Jewett's unflinching presentation of decay, loss and imminent death.'[101]

It is of course problematic to view the countries of Ireland and Scotland as regions in this analysis, they are clearly not equivalent to Hardy's Wessex or Blackmore's Exmoor, or Arnold Bennett's Potteries, but Liz Bellamy suggests that:

> The fact that the form of what we know as the regional novel was developed by writers exploring national rather than purely local or provincial cultures has important implications for the political status of the genre, and for the construction of literary histories of Ireland and Scotland. Scott wrote in his General Preface to his 1829 edition of *Waverley* that one of reasons for writing the novel was that he 'felt that something might be attempted for [his] own country, of the same kind with that which Miss Edgeworth so fortunately achieved for Ireland', that is 'something which might introduce her natives to those of the sister kingdom, in a more favourable light than they have been placed hitherto, and tend to procure sympathy for their virtues and indulgences for their foibles.'[102]

Sixty years later, Nicoll's action in persuading Jane Barlow to 'try to do for Ireland what he [Barrie] had done for Scotland' with *Irish Idylls* mirrored Scott's intention. Stephen Gwynn suggested in 1919 that Barlow and Emily Lawless had introduced a new era in Irish literature, drawing a distinction between the generic Irish background and characters of Charles Lever

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[99] Marjorie Pryse, 'Sex, Class and 'Category Crisis': Reading Jewett's Transivity' in *American Literature,* Vol. 70, No. 3 (September 1998), 517-549, 517.
[100] Cather Willa, 'Preface' (1925) to Sarah Orne Jewett, *The Country the Pointer Firs and other stories* (New York: Doubleday, Anchor reprint, 1956), 7.
[101] Marcia McClintock Folsom, '"Tact is a Kind of Mind-Reading": Empathetic Style in Sarah Orne Jewett's *the Country of Pointed Firs'* in Colby Library Quarterly, Vol. 18, no. 1 (March 1982), 66-78, 66.
[102] Bellamy, Liz, 'Regionalism and Nationalism: Maria Edgeworth, Walter Scott and the definition of Britishness' in Snell, 54.

and the more nuanced specific locations and melancholic characters of both women.[103] Barlow's execution in *Irish Idylls, Strangers at Lisconnel* and others of her work suggest that she while she was not nostalgic for the passing of a better time, she was seeking to illuminate the lives of the Irish peasantry for a wide audience, thus confirming her as an exponent of the regional novel.

After *Irish Idylls,* Barlow turned to novel writing and her first effort, *Kerrigan's Quality,* was published by Hodder & Stoughton in 1894. The novel's central theme is the effects of the Famine and evictions on rural Ireland.[104] Reviewers identified what would be a recurring weakness in Barlow's writing: that she perhaps lacked the imaginative force to create plausible plots in the longer novel form, and of course *Kerrigan's Quality* was published in the bloated form of the three-decker in the very year the model collapsed. The *Leeds Mercury* considered that:

> Miss Jane Barlow writes with dramatic force, with exact knowledge, and with unfailing sympathy. She knows the people, and it is plain that she loves them, but she is at the same time by no means blind to their faults, and by many little inimitable touches of description she helps us to a vivid appreciation both of their strengths and their weaknesses... Yet Miss Barlow is not at her best in this book; indeed, this more ambitious novel makes it plain that her power lies in the short story, and in sketches of the village communities, drawn on a small canvas and finished with almost pre-Raphaelite minuteness.[105]

The *Freeman's Journal* concurred with this analysis, praising her 'unique qualities as a painter of Irish peasant life', but suggesting that 'if Miss Barlow's imaginative power was equal to her capacity of close and humorous observation, she would produce an Irish novel equal to the best that has gone before.' The reviewer however, in a harbinger of later Catholic nationalist critical opinion, found Barlow's Protestantism problematic. While admiring her description of the fictional village of Glenore and the description of the vicissitudes confronting its impoverished inhabitants, the reviewer notes that '[t]heir religion is not understood, or rather is misunderstood, by her; and she accordingly misses some of the compensating elements that tend to redress the balance of the misery she depicts with so thrilling a touch.'[106] For the

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[103] Stephen Gwynn, *Irish Books and Irish People* (Dublin and London: The Talbot Press, 1919), 21.
[104] Loeber and Loeber, 117.
[105] 'Recent Fiction', *The Leeds Mercury,* 9 January 1895, issue no. 17710, 5.
[106] *Freeman's Journal,* 2 November 1894, 5.

Freeman's Journal, when the widow of a drowned fisherman finds no comfort from her Catholic religion for the loss of her husband, the sole family breadwinner, the character becomes implausible and it is Barlow's viewpoint, not that of the unfortunate Biddy Gallagher which is reflected to the reader.[107] The *Freeman's Journal* missed a no doubt deliberate omission on Barlow's part which Katharine Tynan's husband, Henry Hinkson, later identified in correspondence with Edmund Downey: 'And when all is said and done, an Irish book without a priest is like Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. The priest holds the secret of Irish life, and I for one always miss the Soggarth [sic] from Miss Barlow's books.'[108] The manse and its minister were the fulcrum of the tales of Barrie, Maclaren and Crockett, but Barlow subverted the genre by creating fictional villages that had no churches, of any denomination. Her villagers were entirely alone in their struggles. Given her acerbic views on religious orthodoxies she would no doubt have considered the comfort of religion a poor substitute for the miseries of poverty and hunger.

1894 also saw the publication by Macmillan of Barlow's collection of poems, *The End of Elfintown*, which were illustrated by Laurence Housman, and were more in the spirit of the Literary Revival, with a theme of a fairy kingdom ruled by Oberon and Titania who leave the fairy realm and try unsuccessfully to live in Ireland, abandoning their village of Elfintown when the fates prove unpropitious. The same year saw the publication of Barlow's translation of Homer's comedic epic *The Battle of the Frogs and Mice,* published by Methuen. She was by now a major literary figure, and her association with the works of Barrie, Crockett and Maclaren made her very attractive to publishers. Her next major commission came from J. M. Dent, another of the new generation of publishers who established his eponymous firm in 1888. In the early years he specialised in fine editions of authors such as Chaucer, Goldsmith, Austen, and Tennyson. He commenced the very successful *Temple Shakespeare* in 1894 and his most famous series, *Everyman's Library,* in 1906. On November 12, 1894 the *Daily News* reported that Dent planned an innovative series whose 'purpose [...] is to present the short story in its most perfect form; brevity and finish and the qualities which Mr Dent's geniuses are expected to aim at. The first of the short stories is to be by Mr Walter Raymond, an author of fine gift... Mr Raymond's booklet will be followed by one from Jane Barlow.' The short story was an

[107] The *Freeman's Journal*, perhaps hinting at her Anglo-Irish heritage, also deplored her 'mordant pessimism that is quite alien to the Irishman's nature even when most "down on his back".' Ibid.
[108] Henry Hinkson to Edmund Downey, 25 November 1903, NLI MS 10,027. 'Sagart' is the Irish word for priest.

increasingly popular form in the 1890s, and Dent was prepared to make an investment: 'The series is to be illustrated, and there is as much pains expended upon the illustrations as upon composition. All the drawings are to be immediate and direct illustrations of the scenery etc. described in the stories. They are to be executed on the spot and Mr Dent has made arrangements for sending artists to localities at home and abroad.[109]

It is indicative of Barlow's standing with her publisher that just over a week later Dent sent the artist Bertha Newcombe to Dublin to work on illustrations for the book that would become *Maureen's Fairing,* and which was published, as it turned out, as the first volume in the new series in 1895. Newcombe, a well-known London artist, who had painted her close friend George Bernard Shaw in 1892, took rooms a few miles from Barlow's house at the keeper's lodge at Howth Castle and immediately started work on the illustrations. After a week, Barlow went out to Howth to have a look at the drawings and wrote to Sarah Purser that they 'appeared to me … to be very well done. I liked the blind girl, and the cottage interior particularly; but confidentially, I am not sure that they are very distinctively Irish.'[110] Another collection of short stories in the same Dent series, *Mrs Martin's Company*, was published the following year in 1896. Both titles were issued more or less simultaneously by Macmillan in New York.

Strangers at Lisconnel, a second series of idylls, followed in 1895, also published by Hodder & Stoughton in England and Dodd, Mead & Co. in New York. As she was finishing the stories in September 1895, Barlow wrote to Sarah Purser that 'sometimes I think rather better of them than I did at first, and sometimes worse.' She supposed that 'there will be a sort of excitement about bringing it out, and seeing reviews etc. and I daresay that is really the reason why I am doing it, though I seem to myself not to care about it. To the best of my belief it will not be so bad as some parts of Kerrigan's Quality.'[111] This is very typical of Barlow's letters to Purser. She was consistently self-deprecating about her work, but she also gave it enormous attention and care. She sometimes feigned indifference to the reception of her writing, but it clear from her correspondence that she retained the cuttings agency Durrants to send her a copy of every

[109] *The Daily News,* 12 November 1894, issue no. 15169, 4.
[110] Letters to Sarah Purser, 23 November 1894 and an undated one a few days later. NLI MS 8186 (2).
[111] Letter to Sarah Purser, dated 26 September. No year is given on the letter. NLI MS 8186 (1), 1888-1893. The content of the letter indicates that it was in fact written in September 1895 and so is included in the wrong file. This is the case for many of the letters, which in the absence of dates are in the wrong chronological order.

review in the British newspapers and journals.[112] When *Strangers* was published Barlow wrote of her concerns to Purser:

> I have seen no notices nor advertisements of those dreary 'Strangers'. One rather curious feature in the affair is that Dr Nicoll never mentioned the book to me – has never written since I sent the MS to Hodder & Stoughton. I suppose he thinks it is horribly bad, but it would be much more satisfactory if he would say so. In fact if he had done so in time, it need never have been published at all.[113]

A few days later she recorded to Purser that she had seen one more review of *Strangers* in the *Glasgow Herald* that was 'very favourable', adding that 'I forgot to tell you that the other day I had a letter from Mr John Morley, in which he said that there was no warmer admirer of my works than he.'[114] Towards the end of December 1895, Barlow wrote to Purser with evident relief that '[t]here is a long review of the 'Strangers' by Dr Nicoll in the British Weekly. He seems to consider it as good as the Idylls, and thinks the story of Theresa "perhaps the finest thing I have yet done." So I was mistaken in thinking he thought badly of the book.'[115]

By the spring of 1896 it is clear from Barlow's correspondence with Sarah Purser that she had grown in confidence in her working relationships with her publishers. The earlier passivity had been replaced by a desire to take control of her work and exercise increasing agency in her dealings with her publishers. Barlow began to negotiate with Ethel Arnold of Nelson's publishers who were clearly prepared to give her latitude about content if she would agree to publish with them. The negotiations with Arnold were undertaken because she was determined to break with Hodder & Stoughton. She told Purser in March 1896 that '[i]f ever I did write another book, I would rather publish it with some less egregiously religious people than Hodder & Stoughton, for their lists full of "little Books on Religion" and "Devotional Recreations"... are rather detestable.'[116] A few days later, she recorded telling Ethel Arnold she 'could supply nothing in the least religious or improving. I have an impression that Nelson's children's books

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[112] One example is in a letter to Sarah Purser written from the Imperial Hotel is Youghal, Co. Cork. 'The other day in a 'Durrant' [I saw] that there is in the July Bibliotheque Universelle a study of Irish Idylls by Aug. Sardou. I have the impression that I ought to know who he is, but I don't in the least.' 1 September 1896. NLI MS 8186 (6).
[113] Letter to Sarah Purser, 9 December 1895. NLI MS 8186 (4).
[114] Letter to Sarah Purser, 15 December 1895. NLI MS 8186 (4).
[115] Letter to Sarah Purser, 21 December 1895. NLI MS 8186 (4).
[116] Letter to Sarah Purser, 17 March, 1896. NLI MS 8186 (5).

used generally be of a goody-goody tendency. It would be irrational to flee from the theology of Hodder & Stoughton, and select another publisher infested with the same thing.'[117]

Sometime in 1895 it appears that Barlow began to work with the literary agent A. P. Watt.[118] Watt was the first agent to enter the business, having established his eponymous firm in 1875. The coming of agents into the literary marketplace was one of the key factors in improving the conditions of authors as they assisted writers in securing their copyright and negotiated improved terms, in particular the royalty payments (consolidated as a highly significant if unintended consequence of the Net Book Agreement of 1900) which were so much more beneficial to authors than the previous practices of outright copyright purchase or the joint profits arrangement.[119] Watt negotiated on Barlow's behalf with the publisher Methuen for the publication of three collections of short stories and a novel: *A Creel of Irish Stories* (1897), *From East Unto West* (1898), *From the Land of the Shamrock* (1900) and *The Founding of Fortunes* (1902). Her terms for *A Creel of Irish Stories* were £50 advance on royalties at publication with royalties on a sliding scale from 12½% to 20%. Watt's percentage was the standard 10% of earnings.[120] Although Barlow wrote to Purser that 'money is really quite subordinate in this matter ... I should prefer the same, or even worse terms with any worse publishers, who were not pious', she noted that 'Methuen's terms are nearer good than indifferent.'[121] In a typical letter she described her manuscript as 'my vile little story' and later lamented that 'my volume is to be called "A Creel of Irish Stories", to my regret, but Methuen's rootedly objected to "The Keys of the Chest." I am a little reconciled by having found an enigmatical Greek motto – if they will let me use it. But you have no idea what a clod one is in the hands of one's publishers.'[122]

Methuen, founded by Sir Algernon Methuen in June 1889, was another of the new and entrepreneurial eponymous firms of the 1890s. Methuen was an early publisher of cheap fiction, launching several series of sixpenny novels in the 1890s and 1900s. He was notable for publishing the book considered the first 'bestseller' in Britain, Marie Corelli's second novel

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[117] Letter to Sarah Purser, 23 March 1896 NLI MS 8186 (5).
[118] The first mention of Watt is in a letter to Purser in April 1895. It is not recorded who made the first contact but Watt would have been aware of Barlow's growing reputation, and Barlow was clearly determined to move from Hodder & Stoughton.
[119] James Hepburn, *The Author's Empty Purse and the Rise of the Literary Agent* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968) remains an authoritative study on the role of literary agents.
[120] Letters to Sarah Purser, 10 April 1895, 19 May 1895, 10 June 1895, and 11 June 1895. NLI MS 8186 (5).
[121] Letters to Sarah Purser, 10 April 1895 and 11 June 1895. NLI MS 8186 (5).
[122] Letters to Sarah Purser, 19 May 1897 and 14 August 1897. NLI MS 8186 (7).

The Sorrows of Satan in 1895.[123] At a time when a sale of 1,000 copies was considered very good, Corelli's books sold 20,000 copies despite what Methuen called 'savage and merciless' treatment by reviewers.[124] In early 1898, when still trying to remove her books from Hodder & Stoughton, Barlow described her difficulties:

> I seem to myself have been doing a great deal lately – all to no purpose. Among other things I have been carrying on Negotiations (with a capital N) for the transfer of my books from Hodder & Stoughton. (This is in the strictest confidence, as least said soonest mended). In the course of them I have written several truly Machiavellian letters – I especially prided myself on one in which I darkly hinted that my forthcoming works might be of a nature that would make my name a serious embarrassment on the catalogue of a religious publishing firm. But ochone they persist in wishing to keep the books, and Dr Nicoll, from whom I had not heard for ages, has written such moving letters that I feel rather like an out-sized monster of ingratitude, though I don't think I am one. I am disgusted as I really wanted very much to get away from them, and I knew that the Methuens were very willing to take all the books if they were to be had.[125]

Nicoll did not only rely on persuasive letters to retain Hodder & Stoughton's interest in the three books she published with the firm; he also pointed out to her that the terms of her contract were such that she could not take the books away, causing Barlow to write to Purser that 'I wish I could take your advice and insist upon leaving Hodder & Stoughton, but unluckily that is impossible, for as long as they pay the Royalties, they are entitled to keep the books – so I understand. I never can make up my mind whether to believe in Dr Nicoll or not. It is so hard to tell from letters.'[126] A year later it was evident that Barlow's attempt to leave Hodder & Stoughton had drawn his ire, and he used his multiple reviewing personalities to criticise her, causing her to complain to Purser that 'as O.O. in the Sketch pronounced my last immortal work to be a miserable potboiler, only excusable on the assumption that the author was suffering from the pangs of hunger; and as Claudius Clear in the British Weekly threatened me with an old age of penury and neglect and as Dr R. Nicoll has being doing his best to bring about the fulfillment of this scripture, my honest opinion may not be strictly unbiased, but at any rate it is to the effect that he is a thoroughly dishonest critic. My failure last year to get my books away from Hodder & Stoughton has been ruination to me.'[127]

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[123] For a discussion on the origin and early usage of the word 'bestseller', see Chapter 3, note 13.
[124] Joseph McAleer, *Passion's Fortune: The Story of Mills and Boon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 14.
[125] Letter to Sarah Purser, 10 February 1898. NLI MS 8186 (8).
[126] Letter to Sarah Purser, 11 February 1898. NLI MS 8186 (8).
[127] Letter to Sarah Purser 10 June 1899. NLI MS 8187 (1).

Barlow published seventeen more titles in the next twenty-two years. Dent published *Mrs Martin's Company and other stories* in 1896, which was issued by Macmillan in New York the same year. Methuen published *A Creel of Irish Stories* in 1897, *From the East unto the West* in 1898, *At the Back of Beyond* in 1900 (published in New York by Dodd, Mead & Co., as *From the Land of the Shamrock),* and *The Founding of Fortunes* in 1902. Smith Elder published *Ghost Bereft, With Other Stories and Studies in Verse* in 1901, and Barlow returned to Thomas Fisher Unwin with *By Beach and Bogland* in 1905. She moved to Hutchinson for several titles: *Irish Neighbours* in 1907; *A Strange Land* in 1908; *Flaws: A Novel* and *Mac's Adventures* in 1911; *Doings and Dealings* in 1913 and the posthumously published novel *In Mio's Youth* in 1917. George Allen & Sons, the forerunners of Maunsel & Company's London partners, published *The Mockers and Other Verses* in 1908 and *Irish Ways* in 1909, and B. H. Blackwell of Oxford published her last collection of verse, *Between Doubting and Daring* in 1916.[128] Barlow used this last collection to condemn Sinn Fein and the participants in the Easter Rising who she believed had shamed Ireland by their actions at the height of the First World War.[129] She was highly critical of what she considered the undignified behaviour of Maud Gonne and Countess Markiewicz during the Rising. She had been revolted by the jingoism that greeted the British victory in the Boer War, but a letter she had written in 1915 to the MP and writer, Stephen Gwynn, a friend and later biographer of the Home Rule leader John Redmond, makes it clear that she saw the First World War differently:

> To say that this war is not a matter of life and death to Ireland, would be to say that she is not part of the civilised world. She should for the time being deflect none of her strength to any side issues... If the war ends favourably for the Allies, it is inconceivable that anything like the former Unionist party will ever again enter into power in the British Isles. If it goes against them, there will be in power permanently something boundlessly worse. In short my view is that Home Rule will be safe, except in the case of a dire catastrophe which would make it neither here nor there.[130]

Barlow died a year after the 1916 Rising, a supporter of Redmondite constitutional nationalism, but deeply opposed to the violent tactics of Sinn Fein. Her open denunciation of the Easter

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[128] A full bibliography of Barlow's work is in Appendix C. 'Loughnaglee' (Dublin: James Duffy, 1912) in the Duffy Penny Library series is a short story which originally appeared in *By Beach and Bogland* (1905).
[129] 'My Heart's Grief, Ireland! this bides over thy shame / That thy faith thou has broken, and hast betrayed thy Dead', from 'For Herself Alone' in *Between Doubting and Daring* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1916), 24.
[130] Barlow to Stephen Gwynn, 12 August 1915, quoted in Duane, 87.

Rising was heavily criticised by nationalists who believed that poets had a duty to the national project, and perhaps another factor in her later relegation to a minor role in the literary history of the period.[131]

Despite her creditable output, literary standing and celebrity, a constant thread through Barlow's correspondence with Purser is the sense that Barlow's work was inspired by what Mary T. Duane characterises as 'volition rather than creative impulse'; that she wrote primarily in search of intellectual outlet in order to assuage boredom. A year or so after the death of her mother in December 1894 she wrote to Purser that 'to tell you the real truth, nothing has much interest for me these times. My world is left more than half desolate, and it will be wholly so some day; and I am not a genuine artist at all. If I were I should care about my works themselves, "without respect" and I don't in the least.'[132] Nonetheless, she published a considerable corpus of poems, short stories and articles in journals such as *The Bookman, Cornhill Magazine, The National Review, The Saturday Review, The Lady's Realm* in London; *Eclectic* magazine and the *Literary Digest* in New York; *The Living Age* and *The Youth's Companion* in Boston; as well as the *Irish Homestead, Freeman's Journal* and *United Ireland* (anonymously in the latter to save the feelings of her Unionist father) in Dublin. In letters to Purser, who illustrated some of her short stories, she commented that while many journals paid a guinea per 1,000 words, *The Lady's Realm* paid twice that and 'a Bostonian paper, quaintly called "The Youth's Companion" ... offers princely terms – four guineas per 1000 words – which is about quadruple what most of my patrons pay.'[133] Her attempts at drama, undertaken consciously to contribute to the Irish theatre movement, were not successful however. She attempted but abandoned a libretto for the composer Michele Esposito in 1897 and 1898. Also in 1897, she told Purser that she 'had a letter today from Mr W. B. Yeats about their Celtic theatre. So at present I feel extremely toploftical which delightful adjective is another of my debts to the Intermediate Candidates', adding that she wished she had 'some more honours and glories to vaunt about on this page – not that I meant to make a mock of Mr Yeats, whose work I seriously admire very much.'[134] She made a further attempt to write for the 'Theatre of

[131] As noted earlier Barlow's writing was entirely omitted from all five volumes of the *Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing*.
[132] Letter to Sarah Purser, 2 April 1896. NLI MS 8186 (6).
[133] Letter to Sarah Purser, 15 November 1898. NLI MS 9186 (9). In 1899 she told Purser that *The Youth's Companion* 'has just sent me a surprisingly large number of dollars for a small story.' She recorded that the magazine's editor, Mr W. H. Rideing, would be visiting Ireland during the summer and had asked to visit her. Letter to Sarah Purser, 24 May 1899, NLI MS (8187) (1).
[134] Letter to Sarah Purser, 19 October, 1897. She was an Examiner for the Intermediate Certificate for several years from the mid-1890s.

Ireland' in 1910 and 1911. The play 'A Bunch of Lavender' was performed to indifferent reviews but never published. She was interested in the Gaelic Revival and took Irish lessons, together with Sarah Purser, with a Miss O'Kennedy and described her enthusiasm for Fr O'Growney's *Simple Lessons in Irish.*[135] She wrote to Purser in October 1900 that: 'John and I have just been elected honorary members of St. Columba's branch of the Gaelic League. Is not that great glory?'[136] In her correspondence with the 'Theatre of Ireland' she signed herself Sinead Barlow, using the Gaelic script.[137]

W. B. Yeats's criticism of Barlow that she did not get deep into the 'heart of things' must be seen in the context of his propagandist mission on behalf of the Literary Revival.[138] By locating her stories in a contemporary and realistic, albeit fictionalised, location, Barlow's work was arguably problematic for the developing Revivalist vision of a mythical and heroic Celtic past, one element of which promoted a strategy of hyper-masculinity and virility seen, for example, in the enthusiasm for the Cuchulain myth as a conscious corrective to the perception of colonial Ireland as feminised and subordinate to the imperial centre. Yeats and other Anglo-Irish Protestant writers were also concerned to foreground a new literature that was 'authentic', but necessarily not dependent on the Irish language or the Catholic religion. The brutally real, matriarchal society of Lisconnel was antithetical to the romantic incentives which lauded the purity of the Irish peasant and viewed the west of Ireland as the source and essence of the Irish character. Indeed, Barlow's work also diverged from William Morris's pastoral idyll *News from Nowhere* whose agrarian anarchy had appealed to Yeats when it was published in 1890.[139] Significantly, the *Belfast Newsletter* suggested in January 1895 that Barlow 'represented the modern school of Irish romance' whose themes were inspired by the persistence of poverty and economic and structural problems in Ireland.[140] Barlow regarded herself as a 'Fenian' and a Nationalist, and it is clear from her letters to Sarah Purser that she was researching the subjects

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[135] Letters to Sarah Purser, 26 September 1899 and 31 October 1899. NLI MS 8187 (2). Also 3 August 1901 where she says that she is three lessons behind Purser. NLI MS 8187 (5).
[136] Letter to Sarah Purser, 31 October 1900. NLI MS 8187 (4).
[137] Correspondence with unnamed recipient between April 1910 and June 1911. TCD MARLOC MS 4644-3329.
[138] An example of this contemporaneous with the publication of *Irish Idylls* can be seen in Yeats's encouragement of Katharine Tynan in 1892 to compile a collection of 'Irish Love Songs'. The contents of the two volumes were very dissimilar. A somewhat caustic reader's report on the Tynan volume commented that while the selection was 'very pleasing, [though] it is a fact that Irish poetry naturalised into English is not generally of a very high order and is small in amount.' *CL Yeats I*, 290, n. 1. The reader is almost certainly Edward Garnett who at the time was a reader for Thomas Fisher Unwin who published the volume.
[139] Thomas McAlinden, 'The Idea of Byzantium in William Morris and W. B. Yeats', *Modern Philology* (May 1967), 307-19, 11.
[140] 'The Congested Districts Board', *Belfast Newsletter,* 2 January 1894, 6.

of land nationalisation and agriculture at the end of 1893 and early 1894 for *Kerrigan's Quality*.[141] Only a few months later when Yeats's justification for his choice of the thirty best books appeared as four essays on Irish national literature in *The Bookman* between July to October 1895, he challenged the *Belfast Newsletter's* view, arguing that while Barlow may be a 'master over the circumstances of peasant life, [who] has observed with delightful care no Irish writer has equalled, the coming and going of hens and chickens on the doorstep, the gossiping of old women over their tea, the hiding of children under the thorn trees, the broken and decaying thatch of the cabins, and the great brown stretches of bogland', his damming verdict was that she 'seems to know nothing of the exultant and passionate life Carleton celebrated, [and] shrink[s] from its roughness and its tumult.'[142] By contrast, the Unionist *Irish Times,* making its political stance clear in a 1901 review of a reissue of *Strangers at Lisconnel,* took the opposite view, calling it a book to 'delight in' which would 'appeal not only to the many who have learned to love Lisconnel, but to a wider audience in the lands of the shamrock, the rose, the thistle and the golden rod.' It noted that Barlow had 'forsaken the less characteristic medium of the long novel' to return to the 'form of art in which she so peculiarly excels... with heightened vitality.' It praised Barlow for not labouring 'a great theme' but rather for illuminating and glorifying small ones, 'transforming the dull metal of ordinary life into golden poetry.'[143]

Declan Kiberd suggests that Yeats's selection was a strategic decision to 'deliberately [ally himself] with the Gaelic bardic tradition of "dinn-sheanchas" (knowledge of the Gaelic lore of places)', as a means of resolving his alienated status as a (non-Irish speaking) Irish Protestant.'[144] Yeats was strategic, therefore, in excluding Jane Barlow from his early project of canon formation, and while he included Emily Lawless's *With Essex in Ireland* he was suspicious of both women's 'Irishness'.[145] Similarly, he was critical of the realism of Somerville and Ross's *The Real Charlotte* (1894) which he described as portraying 'with

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[141] In a letter to Purser on 22 December 1893, Barlow wrote that she has been reading some books on land nationalisation sent to her by her friend Dr Alfred Wallace. On 21 February 1893 she recorded that she has been reading about farming while recuperating from influenza. NLI MS 8186 (1).

[142] W. B. Yeats, 'Irish National Literature', *The Bookman,* August 1896.

[143] 'Books of the the Week, Jane Barlow's new Idylls': The *Irish Times,* 6 September 1901, 6.

[144] Declan Kiberd argues that this strategy was deliberately pursued by Lady Gregory and J. M. Synge also in Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* (London: Vintage, 1995), 107.

[145] In addition to a critical narrative, the psychological and personal element can never be entirely ignored in an analysis of Yeatsian polemic, and an element of Yeats's difficulties with Barlow are likely related to his ideological differences with Trinity College and its Professor of English, Edward Dowden. Barlow was a member of the Trinity inner circle and a close friend and correspondent in her own right of Dowden.

unexampled grimness our middle-class life.'[146] Furthermore, as Eve Patten observes, Yeats and his circle in a later publicity-seeking controversy in 1898 which positioned literature against science, insisted that 'art must be resistant to the everyday, the factual, and the material [which] challenged the views of those who sought to pursue under the aegis of Whitman, a poetry of the quotidian which would encounter the world and its progress; a literature of engagement rather than retreat.'[147] As the Literary Revival gathered momentum, critical opinion in Ireland, in contrast to that in Britain and America, increasingly viewed Barlow through the Yeatsian lens.[148] She attempted to counter that view in a preface to *Irish Ways,* expressing her impatience with advocates of Celtic mysticism, and criticising those who 'will have none of an Ireland that is not steeped in Celtic glamour, spell-bound by Druidical trances, murmurous with Gaelic incantations. Its inhabitants are exiles belonging to magical regions, far remote from this workaday world and are more concerned about the exploits of ancient Heroes than the doings of their contemporary neighbours.' She understood that 'not to believe in, at least, fairies, argues you a west-Briton, if nothing worse. The existence of a shrewd, matter-of-fact Irishman, with a keen eye to the main chance, cannot be recognised as by any means possible.'[149]

By 1910 the Revivalist verdict on Barlow was dominant, reflected in the opinion of the *Irish Book Lover* that:

> We all knew by this time that Miss Barlow can write with charm, that she has a poignant sense of pathos in humble lives which never degenerates into sentimentality. She does not make the mistakes of a tourist, and yet she remains a kindly visitor from the outer world to peasant cabins. She has not the remarkable flair for the niceties of dialect that marks the stories of Miss Somerville and "Martin Ross" whose stories, if they were not so amusing, would be more generally recognised as possessing great merit in the sphere of realism. Miss Barlow is an artist, and Charles Kickham was profoundly innocent of art, yet every one of the characters who meander through the interminable pages of "Knocknagow" has a flesh

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[146] W. B. Yeats, 'Irish National Literature', *The Bookman,* July-October 1895.

[147] Eve Patten, 'Ireland's "Two Cultures" Debate: Victorian Science and the Literary Revival', *Irish University Review,* Vol. 33, No. 1, Special issue: New Perspectives on the Irish Literary Revival (Spring-Summer, 2003), 1-13, 3.

[148] She wrote to Sarah Purser, however, about 'another nasty little paragraph in the current Academy, pointing out that as I live in a Dublin suburb, I can't know anything about Connemara', suggesting ironically that Purser, who was on her way to Egypt, should 'be prepared on your return to have it said by carping critics that as you have a house on the banks of a Dublin canal, you must be entirely unacquainted with the Nile.' Letter to Sarah Purser, 31 December 1901. NLI MS 8187 (5).

[149] Jane Barlow, 'Ourselves and our Ireland' in *Irish Ways* (London, George Allen & Sons, 1909), Internet Archive, University of California Libraries; collection: Americana; cdl. Uploaded to www. Aughty.org, December 13, 2010, (accessed online 19 February 2013).

> and blood existence beside which the figures of the well-educated writer are misty and insubstantial. Miss Barlow can seize an episode well enough, but the Irish peasantry for all their friendliness and good manners, take very good care not to reveal themselves to the visitor from a larger world. The only educated writers who can get the Irish peasant on to paper are those whose childhood has been spent in the country of Ireland. The best work of Emily Lawless therefore possesses this certainty of characterisation, but Miss Barlow, like Maria Edgeworth, has not at her command the countless memories of the many friendships which a child enjoys with cottagers and dependents.[150]

A few voices, nonetheless, were raised in her defence. Shan Bullock, for example, was unconvinced by her sidelining. In an address to the Irish Literary Society in March 1912 on 'Some Irish Novelists', his choice of the six best works of Irish fiction placed Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* first, described as 'a masterpiece and perhaps the finest piece of fiction written about Ireland', followed by Carleton's *Traits and Stories* and Kickham's *Knocknagow. Irish Idylls* was his fourth choice because 'in it we have a miracle of presentation by a woman of learning, humour, wonderful insight and extraordinary cunning of style.' He singled out 'The One Too Many,' and 'Herself' as the 'most pathetic stories in his knowledge and told with such extraordinary reserve and power.' Miss Barlow's works always suggested to him 'Rembrandt's pictures, Beethoven's music and Pater's prose.' *The Real Charlotte,* 'worthy of Balzac' was his fifth choice, and the final choice was left to the audience which was divided between Emily Lawless's *Grania* and Frank Mathew's *The Spanish Wine*.[151]

Bullock, however, was in the minority. The influential Stephen Brown, together with other critics with a nationalist agenda such as Daniel Corkery and Ernest Boyd, would consistently judge Barlow as insufficiently Irish, or cite the transgression of writing for 'an alien market' with the consequence of exclusion from the national literature.[152] In particular Brown, although praising the quality of *Irish Idylls* in 1929, dismissed the author in an influential and damming judgment as 'not of our faith, and scarcely of our race.'[153] In his essay 'Books and the Irish Child', Brown included 'tales of the people' in his three essential categories of juvenile reading, arguing that 'without acquaintance with the plain people and peasantry of Ireland one cannot know the real Irish people; and, without that, patriotism would be an unsubstantial and shadowy

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[150] 'A "Saturday Review" of Irish Writers, *Irish Book Lover,* Vol. I, No. 7 (February 1910), 92.
[151] *Irish Book Lover,* Vol. III, No. 9 (April 1912), 146.
[152] Daniel Corkery, *Synge and Anglo-Irish Literature,* (Cork: The Mercier Press, 1966), 4.
[153] Fr Stephen J. Brown, SJ, 'Books and the Irish Child – continued', in *The Irish Monthly,* Vol. 55, No. 650 (August 1927), 410-16, 414.

thing.'[154] Ultimately, nationalist critics did not believe Barlow's assertions of nationalism and Fenianism and categorised her as one of the Anglo-Irish writers whose Unionist sympathies made her an unsuitable subject for canonisation in the new Irish State after 1922.

Finally, as well as finding Barlow's Protestantism and nationalism problematic, critics later revised the earlier reception of her use of dialogue, and specifically dialect. W. P. Ryan, the contemporary chronicler of the early years of the Literary Revival, noted the mixed reactions to her deviation from writing in Standard English commenting in 1894 that:

> Jane Barlow's 'Irish Idylls' are a luminous index to young Irish authors of that world of appealing humanity which is still to be found by observant eyes in Irish local life... When Rolleston was editing the *Dublin University Review* her first poem came to him anonymously. He was at once struck with its power, but the 'brogue' did not wholly pass muster. Several such pieces were afterwards given to the world in 'Bogland Studies' (1892). Irish writers whose early attempts are scorned of some critics may take courage from the example and fate of this first offering. 'United Ireland' welcomed it, and saw its promise; but several critics could make nothing of it. They shrugged their shoulders over the 'brogue' and the whole form, confessed their inability to read it, and cast it away. Afterwards when 'Irish Idylls' made a stir, and the 'studies' were brought up again on the strength of it, they found a less frosty audience. Miss Barlow now finds herself amongst our foremost writers, with every encouragement to go on and prosper.[155]

Ryan identified early the complex and problematic status of language or dialect in the new literary form that Barlow was employing, and the critical response to it at a time of both literary and political flux in Ireland. The early years of the 1890s witnessed Hyde's call for the 'de-Anglicization of Ireland' and the growing cult of the Irish peasant as representing the true essence of Irishness. Throughout the nineteenth century Irish writers used fiction as a means of presenting the problems faced by the Irish people. After the Famine Irish fiction had been dominated by authors who used their work as a vehicle for explaining Ireland to the British, especially notable in the enormous number of novels devoted to the land war issues in the 1870s and 1880s.[156] However, as the century went on the perceived caricaturing of the Irish in

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[154] Brown, 'Books and the Irish Child', 413.

[155] W. P. Ryan, *The Irish Literary Revival: Its History, Pioneers and Possibilities* (London: Ward & Downey, 1894), 146.

[156] Joep Leerssen suggests that the land war novels had no 'pure aesthetic value' given the propensity of authors to use the genre as a vehicle for advocacy addressing 'matters of public interest, so much that the fictional storyline can often barely contain the factual investment.' Joep Leerssen, 'Fiction, Interest, and the Public Sphere', in Jacqueline Belanger (ed.), *The Irish Novel in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), 36.

fiction, particularly in the work of writers such as Charles Lever, grated for Irish cultural nationalists in a way that Dickens's portrayal of English characters did not for English critics. Dialect was a highly sensitive issue. The colourful stories of Lever and Samuel Lover, and even William Carleton, were increasingly viewed with embarrassment by Revivalists as presenting the familiar but despised 'stage Irishman', a literary trope since the heyday of eighteenth-century theatre, one who spoke inferior English which was appropriate for comic or sentimental themes but lacked authority and authenticity. From both a political point of view as well as a commercial one, writers wanted to reach a wider audience than that in Ireland, looking beyond the island to Britain and the United States. Irish authors, therefore, had to negotiate a methodology for presenting the idiom of the peasant to a wider readership that itself used Standard English. Somerville and Ross fashioned a pragmatic style for their writing which employed Standard English for the narrator and dialect for Irish country characters, and they argued that Irish dialect was not necessarily inferior:

> Ireland has two languages; one of them is her own by birthright; the second of them is believed to be English, which is a fallacy; it is a fabric built by Irish architects out of English bricks, quite unlike anything of English construction. The Anglo-Irish dialect is a passably good name for it, even though it implies an unseemly equality between artist and material, but it is something more than a dialect, more than an affair of pidgin English, bad spellings, provincialisms, and preposterous grammar; it is a tongue pliant and subtle, expressing with every breath the mind of its makers.[157]

A review of Barlow's novel *Flaws* in the *Times Literary Supplement* in 1911 echoed this characterisation of Anglo-Irish or Hiberno-English dialect:

> Miss Barlow may or may not understand the Irish peasantry and the Irish gentry. That must be decided, if at all, by those who have an equal knowledge. To the mere Saxon it is enough that she convinces him that she understands them and can bring them to life convincingly even at their most fantastic moments. We have done in such books with the old 'bedad' and 'begorra' convention. No one gets picturesquely drunk or bothers about Erin or the Hill of Tara. This is a real people with blood in their veins and a soft, languid speech, full of inversions and an unconscious or semi-conscious humour, which seems to flow from, rather than depend upon, the use of language not theirs by inheritance.[158]

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[157] Edith Somerville and Martin Ross, 'The Anglo-Irish Language', 1910, reprinted in '*Stray-Aways*' (London: Longmans & Co., 1920), quoted in Gifford Lewis, *Edith Somerville: A Biography* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), 28.

[158] Anon. 'Flaws', *Times Literary Supplement,* June 1911, 246, quoted in Heidi Hansson, 'Our Village: Linguistic Negotiation in Jane Barlow's Fiction', *Nordic Irish Studies,* Vol. 7 (2008), 55-70, 62.

Heidi Hansson has examined 'linguistic negotiation' in Barlow's fiction in terms of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of the linguistic capital inherent in the symbolic power of language, noting that 'alternations between official and non-standard varieties of language in a text may take on a meaning far beyond what the writer originally intended, and be seen as strategies of condescension or structures of dominance.' Hansson comments that Lady Gregory's Kiltartan stories drew on folklore to recreate a past world in which 'the dialect contributed to the archaic atmosphere of the stories' whereas Barlow focused on the present, where her choice to alternate between standard English and dialect laid her open to accusations of erecting a boundary between herself as educated and privileged and the country people as uneducated, poor and linguistically inferior.[159] Because Gregory's Kiltartan represented an imagined world her efforts were seen as a way of 'upgrading Irish English', while Barlow's dialect was accused of being 'perilously close to caricature.'[160]

Hansson concludes that Barlow was 'aware of both the political and communicative problems surrounding dialect passages in literature' and deployed strategies of empathy and belonging to neutralise what might be interpreted as parody of peasant speech in the manner of earlier comedies.[161] Barlow achieves empathy in her two volumes of *Irish Idylls* not only by embedding her narrator inside the community she describes – thus Lisconnel is 'our very small hamlet' and the villager's affairs are 'our own engrossing domestic troubles' – but by demonstrating affection and concern for the characters she depicts.[162] In 1896 Barlow was critical of a request by the editor of *Cosmopolis* magazine in Paris that she write an idyll for them without any Irish dialogue because their readers disliked it. She wrote to Sarah Purser that they 'might as well ask you to paint an Irish cabin of red-brick with a galvanised iron roof... So I told them and their foreign readers off to blazes with themselves out of that. Do you not think that I was right?'[163]

Stephen Brown's position on Barlow was inconsistent. In 1916 he noted in *Ireland in Fiction* that Barlow had 'a power of reproducing with great fidelity the humorous quaintness and

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[159] Hansson, 57.
[160] Ibid, 66, quoting Ernest Boyd, *Ireland's Literary Renaissance* (Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1968, rev. ed.), 209.
[161] Hansson, 67.
[162] Jane Barlow, Chapter 1, 'Out of the way', *Strangers at Lisconnel* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1892), 1, quoted in Hansson, 60. Also, Chapter 4, 'A Wet Day, 41.
[163] Letter to Sarah Purser, July 14, 1896. NLI MS 8186 (6).

picturesqueness of peasant talk', and that in her second series of *Irish Idylls*, *Strangers at Lisconnel,* 'the peasant dialect is never rendered so as to appear vulgar or absurd.'[164] By 1920, however, she was merely an 'observer' of the peasantry, and her dialogue was 'not a reproduction, but a caricature of peasant speech, [which] gives an impression of vulgarity.'[165] In an attempt to resolve this apparent contradiction – ignoring Brown's political motivation – Mary T. Duane examines Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*, the comprehensive and standard work of 70,000 entries of all dialect words in the English language in use, or previously in use, between 1700 and 1900, and concludes that Barlow's dialectal accuracy may be proved given that she is quoted more than any other Irish writer in the dictionary which Wright compiled between 1898 and 1905.[166] Another factor that may be relevant is Barlow's own musicality and ear for speech. The family had an organ in the house on which she played regularly, and it is evident from her correspondence with Sarah Purser that the few social events she attended with any enthusiasm were concerts. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that criticisms of Barlow for inaccurate or overwrought dialect may be unfounded, but have been employed as justification for her exile to the periphery of Irish literary history.

Conclusion

Jane Barlow's work is more significant for both Irish literary studies and publishing and book history than is currently understood. The study of her publishing history and contemporary reception demonstrates that she is more than a minor Revival writer, deliberately discounted by Yeats or by the 'Irish-Ireland' Catholic literary establishment, and that she can instead be reappraised and repositioned as an exponent of regional literature and the 'narrative of community', intentionally recruited by her publisher to a late-Victorian initiative to popularise

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[164] Fr Stephen J. Brown, S.J., *Ireland in Fiction* (Dublin: Maunsel & Company Ltd., 1916, rev. ed. 1919), 26.
[165] Fr Stephen J. Brown, S.J., 'Novels of the National Idea', *Irish Monthly,* Vol. 48, No. 563 (May 1920), 254-262, 259.
[166] Duane, 69. Joseph Wright, (ed.), *English Dialect Dictionary: being the complete vocabulary of all dialect words still in use, or known to have been in use during the last two hundred years; founded on the publications of the English Dialect Society and on a large amount of material never before printed* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 6 vols. 1898-1905). Wright who was born in 1855 in poverty in Yorkshire only learned to read and write in 1870 after the introduction of Forster's Education Act. He later studied at the universities of Leipzig and Heidelberg before being appointed to the University of Oxford. The *English Dialect Dictionary* is currently being digitised by the University of Innsbruck as part of the SPEED project (Spoken English in Early Dialects), funded by the Austrian Research Fund (Fonds für Wissenschaft und Forschung). See Manfred Markus, 'Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* computerised: towards a new source of information. Online resource http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/02/markus/, (accessed 9 April 2016).

a form of nostalgic and escapist literature at a time of *fin de siècle* anxiety about the alienating effects of industrialisation and urbanisation. In his recent *Irish Poetry Under the Union, 1801-1924,* Matthew Campbell argues for a four-nation synthetic reading of nineteenth-century Irish poetry as a corrective to much Irish literary criticism which isolates Irish texts from their wider archipelagic context and reciprocal influence, in order to 'allow in the broader British poetic story.'[167] Here and in other articles, Campbell advocates the usefulness of conceptualising a 'larger Victorian United Kingdom' rather than distinguishing 'Victorian England', 'Victorian Britain' and 'nineteenth-century Ireland', the latter term predominating in Irish studies in resistance to the notion of Ireland being considered 'in the Union' as Scotland is, preferring to characterise Ireland as 'under the Union.'[168] Similarly, in foregrounding Barlow's involvement with William Robertson Nicoll and J. M. Barrie in the 'Kailyard' publishing project, we can, perhaps, extend the paradigm of the four-nation synthesis beyond poetry to Barlow's prose to fully appreciate the cultural context in which she was operating. Thus, her *Irish Idylls* and *Strangers at Lisconnel* provide an opportunity for an examination of *fin de siècle* Irish literature, exactly on this basis, and on a broader canvas than that of the Irish Literary Revival alone.

In this regard, a reassessment of Barlow's work, and that of other neglected Irish writers, outside the traditional author-text critical paradigm, facilitates a more accurate understanding of their social and cultural context, and the contemporary intellectual climate beyond the Revival narrative. This approach serves also to illuminate the conditions of the contemporary literary marketplace as experienced by Irish authors and to examine the importance for them of the cultural commerce with British publishers in particular, independent of the ideological and political biases of their time and afterwards. In this respect, the next chapter on the Ulster writer, Beatrice Grimshaw, examines in detail her status as a bestselling popular novelist to provide a reappraisal of her place in both Irish literary and commercial publishing histories.

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[167] Matthew Campbell, *Irish Poetry Under the Union, 1824-1924* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 6.
[168] Matthew Campbell, 'Victorian Ireland?', in *Journal of Victorian Culture,* (November 2005), 297-303, 297.

Chapter 5: Beatrice Grimshaw, 1870-1953: An International Bestselling Author

Introduction

This chapter examines the career of the Ulster writer Beatrice Grimshaw, a popular novelist and journalist who enjoyed extraordinary celebrity, influence and bestselling status over the first four decades of the twentieth century. Despite the attention she received in her lifetime, Grimshaw slipped into the background after her death and, if remembered at all, is usually claimed by Australia where she died in 1953.[1] Grimshaw was born in Ulster in 1870, and worked as a journalist for a decade in Dublin in the 1890s before making several around-the-world voyages and settling in Papua New Guinea in the south-western Pacific Ocean for most of her life. For some forty years, her pioneering travels and adventures in the South Seas gave her global celebrity as she drew on her experiences for an extensive output of travel writing, popular cultural anthropology, more than thirty travel-based romantic adventure novels and hundreds of short stories published around the world.

The limited critical attention she has received from a small number of scholars based in the modern Pacific nations, Australia and her native Ulster since the mid-1970s has tended to focus on her perceived colonial and imperial enthusiasm, racism, and assumed conversion to what has been termed 'Australianism'.[2] Irish literary critics in the past have found no place for her in even a second-order canon, though she defies the paradigmatic characterisation of the absentee Protestant writer whose affiliation is to the British or English, who she described as 'the race we do not love.'[3] There are many contradictions in her identity which render neat categorisation impossible. She was an Ulster Protestant from an apparently wealthy mercantile

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[1] Grimshaw is included in *The Bibliography of Australian Literature*. John Arnold, *The Bibliography of Australian Literature: Volume 2, F-J* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2005).

[2] Susan Gardner, A "'vert" (i.e. convert) to Australianism': Beatrice Grimshaw and the Bicentenary: *Hecate*. St. Lucia, Vol. 13, no. 2 (November 30, 1987). Proquest web archive 'Beatrice Grimshaw Evaluations' http://grimshaworigin.org/prominent-grimshaw-individuals/beatrice-grimshaw-evaluations/, (accessed 4 April, 2012). As this is a web archive, there are no page numbers. Eugenie and Hugh Laracy in Fiji began to write about Grimshaw around 1977, followed by Susan Gardner in Papua New Guinea from 1987. Early papers appeared respectively in *The Journal of Pacific History* ('Beatrice Grimshaw: Pride and Prejudice in Papua' in Vol.12, No. 3 *JPH* (1977) and the *New Literature Review,* (Canberra: 1977), 'For Love and Money: early writings of Beatrice Grimshaw, colonial Papua's woman of letters'. The Laracys emphasise what they see as the racist nature of Grimshaw's writings. Gardner is critical of Grimshaw's 'artfully crafted class pleading for colonial settler nationalism', and promotion of European interests in Fiji but Australian interests in Papua. Since 2006 Clare McCotter from the University of Ulster has been examining the polarities in Grimshaw's writings with reference to the theories *inter alia* of Freud, Foucault, Benedict Anderson and Dean McCannell.

[3] Gardner, 'A "vert" to Australianism'.

background who rebelled against conservative Victorian societal norms as well as her religion – she converted to Catholicism in 1894 at the age of twenty-four. Her family wealth and social position were, as we shall see, unstable. She was a 'careerist' who never married, but remained a lifelong advocate of the institution of marriage; she was a New Woman, passionately committed to female independence which she succeeded in winning for herself, who nonetheless had a huge output of commercial romantic novels sustaining and perpetuating a patriarchal culture, one in which women, ultimately, surrender their independence to their husbands. Certainly, feminist scholars have had difficulty with her views on marriage, class, race, colonialism, and imperialism. Yet she supported herself from the age of twenty-one; travelled to America and onwards to Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea and beyond, to places which no white woman had visited before; as well as owning and managing a number of plantations in the tropics. Her authorship spanned nearly half a century from the 1890s through the Second World War, a period of both immense social change in the position of women and, as we have seen, huge structural change in the literary marketplace and the publishing industry. Grimshaw adapted successfully to the changing environment and forged a lucrative career and an independent life.

An examination of Grimshaw's publishing history reveals a shrewd and pragmatic woman, skilled at image-creation, who had a successful working relationship with several major publishing houses and literary magazines in Britain, America and Australia. In particular, charting her moves between publishing houses demonstrates her strategic ability to maximise her potential by choosing the optimum publisher to market and distribute her work at different points of her career, thereby earning for herself the status of international best-selling author and celebrity over several decades. Her personal papers have not survived, and in the absence of biographical material Grimshaw becomes more visible by way of this examination of her publishing history. This approach also facilitates a fresh view of literary history by extending the traditional author-text critical paradigm to the point of textual production. It also expands on a critical paradigm such as Robert Darnton's 'communication circuit', which focuses on the material production and consumption of the book, to include the literary culture and publishing experience of the author.[4] In this way, Grimshaw's Irish origins can be integrated into her longer career as an international best-seller, novelist and travel-writer.

[4] See Chapter 2 and the Conclusion for a more comprehensive discussion of Darnton's theory. 'What is the History of Books?', in *Daedalus,* Vol. 111, No. 3, 'Representation and Realities' (Summer, 1982), 65-83.

The critic John Wilson Foster, in his sampling of *Irish Novels 1890-1940,* includes Grimshaw in his retrieval of the forgotten literary output of the period. Foster views Grimshaw as part of the narrative of 'greater Ireland', and sees popular novels such as hers as an important element of Irish literary, cultural, and social history fully engaged with imperial discourses:

> Irish popular fiction is a reminder that many Irish were engaged with matters in the wider world, that there was in Ireland, even during the time of the Irish Revival – a necessarily self-regarding and self-interested movement – a centrifugal energy and enthusiasm. Such energy and enthusiasm were facilitated and impelled by the Empire in which the Irish participated, certainly, but also by an historical Irish interest in the New World and other parts of the globe as well. The cultural as well as political sentiment of Sinn Fein ('Ourselves') came to dominate Irish feeling as it was publicly acknowledged inside and outside Ireland, but the larger sentiment remained alive and expressive, though just as neglected by literary critics since, as well as during, the Revival.[5]

Part of this 'larger sentiment' related to the evolution of popular culture within the publishing industry. Grimshaw was an active and early participant in the dynamic entertainment industry that emerged and grew with the twentieth century. Her first novel was published just after the demise of the three-decker novel, the straitjacket format that had, as we have seen, dominated the cautious nineteenth-century publishing landscape. She was a prolific short story writer and a mainstay author of magazines like *Strand* and *The Blue Book* in what Mike Ashley has called the 'age of the storytellers' between 1890 and 1940.[6] Her stories were serialised or extracted and syndicated to numerous newspapers in the British Empire and America, and two of her novels were adapted for film with a Hollywood director and stellar casts.

Grimshaw's first novel, *Broken Away* (1897), developed the themes of artistic integrity, independence and social freedom, marriage, and the position of single women in society. In publishing under her own name, she was an early adaptor to the new practice which saw women reject the previous convention of anonymity or the use of a pseudonymous identity or their married names: exemplars include George Eliot, George Egerton, Mrs Henry Wood, and Mrs

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[5] J. W. Foster, *Irish Novels, 1890-1940: New Bearings in Culture and Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 12.

[6] Mike Ashley, *The Age of the Storytellers: British Popular Magazine Fiction 1880-1950* (London: British Library, 2006. Ashley describes Beatrice Grimshaw and Elinor Mordaunt as the 'queens of the South Seas'. Ibid, 41. Ashley's titles alludes to *The Times* valediction of *Strand* magazine as the stimulus for 'that lively period of English storytelling… which reached its height in the 'nineties.' *The Times,* 14 December 1949, quoted in Ashley, 3.

Cashel Hoey. *Broken Away* is a romantic thriller set in the literary circles of young, semi-Bohemian, upper middle-class Dublin writers to which Grimshaw herself belonged. A contemporary reviewer was among several critics to approve the sharpness of Grimshaw's observation in this respect: '[T]he people act and speak, gossip and criticise one another, as people in what is called Dublin Society are supposed to do.[7] The novel portrays the life of a *fin de siècle* Irish writer and his circle, and – in a parallel description of the lives of three young women – casts a jaundiced eye on the institution of marriage and the position of single women in society. The novel juxtaposes the fortunes of 'Ireland's greatest novelist', Stuart Rivington, with those of the previously fashionable decadent novelist, Alfred Moore, building on these foundations a closely-engaged account of Dublin's literary circles and its convoluted marital and emotional relationships. As the book opens, both writers are struggling with their work, but while Rivington's difficulties are like a 'mist passing over the sun', Moore's brain is 'barren of ideas. As a novelist of repute, his career was run.' Grimshaw suggests that Moore's 'facile pen and coldly introspective turn of mind had hit the taste of his own generation', but that his talent was insufficient to maintain a career as a writer as literary fashion passed.[8] Rivington's writer's block provides the plot device for the couple to break away from Dublin society and civilisation, to a remote cottage high in the Wicklow hills above Dublin so that Rivington can write his masterpiece. His wife, Eva, enthusiastically supports the move, declaring her previous desire, sublimated since her marriage to:

> [L]ive my own life – to see Nature and God as they are, not as we in our little cliques and 'schools' of thought imagine them. I wanted a life of adventure – you can't tell how the longing for it used to pull at my very heartstrings! I wanted to live for myself and work out my own life; to be – well, what you would call a New Woman, I suppose. You don't need to now how the passion for absolute freedom sometimes takes hold of a girl.[9]

In contrast to her passionate declaration, however, Eva has spent the six years of her marriage devoted entirely to her husband and his career, losing sight of her own talent and ambitions in the process. Moore meanwhile, gradually descending into insanity, loses his grip on reality and, believing that Rivington has stolen his brains, resolves to murder him, an attempt that results in his own violent death.

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[7] *The Social Review,* June 1897, 5.
[8] Beatrice Grimshaw, *Broken Away* (London: John Lane: The Bodley Head, 1897), 35, 36.
[9] Ibid, 46.

In its critique of marriage and the subjugation of women, *Broken Away* belongs to the contemporary genre of marital protest fiction. If one shifts perspective, however, from the politics of the text alone to the background and context of its publication, the work becomes of further interest, throwing into relief an ironic discrepancy between the restricted circumstances of its female protagonist, Eva, and the opportunistic and commercial instincts of its author. *Broken Away* was published at a time of significant upheaval in the publishing market generally, and issued by a young and avant-garde London publishing house at the confluence of New Woman writing, Aestheticism and Decadence, and it was Grimshaw's proximity to this venture that laid the foundations for her successful and prolific career.

Grimshaw's first publisher was John Lane: The Bodley Head, founded in 1887 by John Lane, a printer from Exeter, and Elkin Mathews, Yeats's first publisher and his neighbour and friend at Bedford Park. The company quickly earned a reputation for quality and high literary standards and was at the forefront of the rise of Aestheticism as the publisher of *The Yellow Book,* edited by Henry Harland and Ella D'Arcy and illustrated by Aubrey Beardsley. One historian of the firm recorded the response to the first issue of *The Yellow Book* on 1 April 1894, observing that: [t]he aim of ruffling the sleek waters of bourgeois respectability and self-complacency was achieved with a thoroughness that startled even the perpetrators of the outrage. Two or three days after the publication of the first number they awoke with delight to find themselves infamous.'[10] The partnership between Lane and Mathews was uneasy, however, and was eventually dissolved at the end of September 1894, allowing the former partners to follow their own interests. Lane intended to concentrate on fiction and took the *Yellow Book* with him, together with the new and very successful Keynotes series, whose first title *Keynotes*, by George Egerton, had been issued earlier in the year. George Egerton was a pseudonym for Mrs Egerton Clairmonte (nee Mary Chavelita Dunne Bright, 1859-1945), the Australian-born Irish writer, who had submitted an anonymous manuscript to the firm in 1893. Richard Le Gallienne, the firm's literary adviser and reader, had read the manuscript by the unknown author and recommended it for publication. The book, a collection of short stories with a running theme of the 'dismissal of female purity as a male construct that denies women the right to expect and experience sexual freedom and fulfilment', was an immediate and

[10] J. Lewis May, *John Lane and the Nineties* (London: John Lane: The Bodley Head, 1936), 75. May worked at the firm for several years in the 1890s.

notorious success on both sides of the Atlantic selling 6,000 copies very quickly, unusual for a publishing house with a strategy of specialising in niche, high-art, somewhat risqué titles with limited print runs.[11] Lane published thirty-three volumes in total in Keynotes – nineteen novels and fourteen volumes of short stories – between 1894 and 1897.

The Keynotes series included other titles also considered notorious such as Grant Allen's *The Woman Who Did,* and the riposte by Victoria Crosse (Vivian Cory) *The Woman Who Didn't.* Wendell V. Harris suggests that the series 'which served as the vehicle through which a number of writers achieved either their first real notice is a valuable epitome of the kinds of fiction Lane and his staff thought new and vital at the time.'[12] The 'Marriage Question' was a major or secondary theme for most of the volumes in the series as were some of the other preoccupations of fiction of the 1890s including 'irrational depths of the mind, the difficulty of being anything more than one of the minimally happy multitude, and the melancholy sense that the fates are so arranged that everything comes to one too soon or too late.'[13] Also, as noted in earlier chapters, short stories were a new literary form in the 1890s, adding to the innovative nature of the series.[14] With Keynotes, John Lane's publishing firm was identified with the New Woman, and with the publication of Oscar Wilde (*Salome* in 1894, illustrated by Beardsley) and *The Yellow Book,* with Decadence. The publication of the Keynotes series came at a pivotal time in the campaign of sustained hostile reaction to the New Woman undertaken by newspapers and periodicals in the late 1880s and 1890s, peaking after the 'critical uproar' which followed the publication of Blanche Alethea Crackanthorpe's article, 'The Revolt of Daughters', in *Nineteenth Century* in January 1894. Crackanthorpe argued that an unmarried girl had the right to be considered 'as an individual as well as a daughter', should have more freedom in the public sphere, and should have the option of a future not just as a wife and mother by way of professional training to provide an alternative. The article, together with Sarah Grand's (Frances Bellenden Clarke McFall 1854-1943) declaration, also in 1894, that 'the Woman Question is the Marriage Question', contributed to the view that the New Woman was a serious threat to the institution of marriage, the structure of society and ultimately the imperial project. Whitney Standlee counts 350 references to the term 'New Woman' in

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[11] See the entry for George Egerton by Jessica March in the *Cambridge Dictionary of Irish Biography*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2009), 596.
[12] Wendell V. Harris, 'John Lane's Keynotes series and the fiction of the 1890s.' *PMLA*, Vol. 83, No. 5 (October 1968), 1410.
[13] Harris, 1409-10.
[14] Short stories were an increasingly popular form in the 1890s. *Strand Magazine* founded in 1891 was an early publisher of the single short story, a trend that accelerated as the decade continued.

journals, newspapers and periodicals in the first six months of 1895 alone, but notes a steep fall in 1896 and virtually no use of the term by 1900.[15] In the same context Sally Ledger suggests that '[c]ontemporary with the new socialism, the new imperialism, the new fiction and the new journalism, [the new woman] was part of that concatenation of cultural novelties which manifested itself in the 1880s and 1890s.' Thus, although the New Woman had little in common with decadence:

> [T]hey were repeatedly linked in the flourishing periodical press of the 1890s. The New Woman and the decadent writers both overtly challenged the dominant sexual codes of the Victorian era … and this association with homosexuality and perceived hostility to marriage probably underlies what was the source of panic about the New Woman, that she may not be at all interested in men, and could manage quite well without them.[16]

The implications of this connection for Grimshaw's publisher were far-reaching. As the fictional novelist Alfred Moore's difficulties in *Broken Away* signal, the cultural climate in which John Lane and other publishers were operating changed dramatically in 1895 after the arrest and trial of Oscar Wilde. According to J. Lewis May, who worked for, and later wrote a history of the firm, six of their most prominent authors threatened to withdraw their books unless '[Lane] suppressed Beardsley's work in Volume V of *The Yellow Book* and omitted Oscar Wilde's name from his catalogue.'[17] Lane conceded, and although he published nine more volumes of *The Yellow Book* after Beardsley left, and remained lifelong friends with him, the magazine lost much of its previous brilliance and originality. On 27 May 1895 Wilde was convicted on eight charges of Acts of Gross Indecency. Elkin Mathews and John Lane, among other publishers, were deeply concerned about the impact of the scandal on their businesses, and wrote letters in April to *The Times* and the *New York Times,* respectively, distancing themselves from Wilde. As Whitney Standlee has noted, John Lane referred to the 'absurdities and morbid fantasies of Oscar Wilde and his adherents', and assured readers that steps had been taken by the Bodley Head to 'discredit [Wilde and his associates] and to minimise their influence'.[18] These steps included a change in editorial policy causing George Egerton –

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[15] Whitney Standlee, 'George Egerton, James Joyce, and the Irish *Künstlerroman', Irish Studies Review,* Vol. 18, No. 4 (November 2010), 440.
[16] Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the fin de siècle* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), 1, 5.
[17] When Wilde was arrested, the headlines of the Sunday papers shouted 'Arrest of Oscar Wilde, *Yellow Book* under his arm!' 'It killed *The Yellow Book* and it nearly killed me,' Lane said afterwards according to his colleague, J. Lewis May, 75, 80.
[18] Standlee, 441.

writing to Lane in November 1896 – to express her reluctant agreement to changes he had demanded: 'I have had to change a good deal, out of concession to the new Bodley Head policy and this has necessitated much rewriting and rearrangement – as merely erasing would not do.'[19] Standlee argues that:

> Egerton's letter is indicative of the compromises those authors who needed to earn a living were being asked to make in the wake of the neo-conservatism of the mid-1890s. In drawing attention to her publisher's change of policy, she alludes to a trend that afflicted the British publishing industry in general, and the Bodley Head in particular, after the spring of 1895. It reflects the decline in the fortunes not only of feminist fiction of the type that Egerton was producing at the *fin de siècle* but also of all those like Egerton and her publishers who had been associated with the Decadent movement in Literature. By May of 1895, the reactions against the movement had become so pronounced that one London periodical, *The Woman's Signal*, was moved to announce exultantly, "The Death of the Decadent".[20]

Philip Waller notes that '[i]n 1896 Lane actually proclaimed that "the sex novel was played out."'[21] Lane misjudged the market in the long term, but his remark indicates the pressure of current and short term market conditions on publishers who had to consider general public taste and the reputation of their firms in the moral climate after the Wilde trial.

Grimshaw's first novel, *Broken Away* appeared, therefore, in a very particular publishing and moral climate. Although it treated many of the Keynotes themes, and indeed was published in America by Roberts & Co., of Boston who published all but one of the Keynotes volumes, it was not published as part of the series, which ceased to be published the same year.[22] Tellingly perhaps, Lane did not take her second novel, *A Fool of Forty*, which was never published in book form but was serialised in *The Social Review* in Dublin in 1898. Lane continued to distance himself from his earlier publications, issuing more mainstream fiction as well as biography, history, and topography. In this landscape, Grimshaw would need to be adaptable if she wished to continue earning her living as a commercial writer. Her output, her business

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[19] Letter from George Egerton to John Lane, 10 November 1896. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University, Selected Papers of Mary Chavelita Bright, Box 2, Folder 17. Quoted in Standlee, 440.
[20] Ibid, 442.
[21] Philip Waller, *Writers, Readers and Reputations: Literary Life in Britain, 1870-1918* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 999.
[22] 'Books of the Week', *London Standard*, 9 April 1897.

decisions and choice of publishers over the next four decades demonstrate that she was pragmatic and expedient, and ultimately successful in negotiating the new dispensation.

In the wider publishing context as discussed in the Introduction, 1897 was the year that saw the last three-decker novel issued.[23] Three years earlier, in 1894, the dominant and influential circulating libraries, Mudie and Sons and W. H. Smith united to abolish the model, thereby precipitating a seismic change in the hitherto entrenched format of novel publishing, which had operated since the 1820s. In the year of the announcement, 184 three-volume novels were published but in 1897, when *Broken Away* appeared, only four were published.[24] As we saw in the Introduction, the literary market place was thrown into confusion. The assumptions and certainties of the previous seven decades disappeared almost overnight and publishers had to rethink fundamentally their publishing strategy and agree new terms with authors in respect of advances and copyrights. Print runs, prices and trade discounts in the mid-1890s had no precedents and, as we have seen, it led to a period of 'bewilderment and paralysis' before the market was stabilised by the introduction of the Net Book Agreement in 1900, which in introducing the payment of royalties to authors also had the unintended but significant consequence of greatly improving conditions for authors like Grimshaw, who wrote primarily for entertainment.[25] Beatrice Grimshaw's career would therefore start at a time both of wholesale structural change in the publishing industry and a transitional time for women.

Beatrice Grimshaw was born at Cloona House, Dunmurry, County Antrim on 3 February 1870, one of six surviving children – four daughters and two sons – of Nicholas Grimshaw, a wine merchant and Ella Newsam of Belfast.[26] A great-grandfather from Blackburn in Lancashire had settled in Ulster in 1776, and introduced the first machinery for spinning cotton-twist in

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[23] Grimshaw's awareness of the modern publishing environment is expressed in Eva's comment to her husband towards the end of the story that '[l]ife isn't a three-volume novel, unfortunately, where everything turns out as it ought.' *Broken Away*, ibid, 290.

[24] Guinevere Griest, *Mudie's Circulating library and the Victorian Novel* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1970), 171.

[25] R. A. Gettmann, *A Victorian Publisher: A Study of the Bentley Papers,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 263.

[26] Biographical information on Grimshaw is contradictory and in places incorrect. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry for Grimshaw gives Eleanor Thomson, nee Newsam, of Co. Cork as her mother and Eugenie Laracy and Hugh Laracy state Eleanor Newson of Cork, but a notice in the *Morning Post* on 7 February 1861 is accurate, I believe, in the context of other information. It records the marriage at St. George's Church, Bloomsbury, London of Nicholas William Grimshaw to Ella, the only daughter of the late James Ramsey Newsam of Belfast and Walsall. It would appear from notices in the *Belfast Telegraph* that Ella's mother died the year after her birth and ten days after giving birth to a son on 10 October, 1842. James Ramsey Newsam died at Walsall on 13 September 1856.

Ireland, thereby establishing the family's wealth and ensuring a prominent position in Belfast civic and social life. Cloona was a sizeable country house, and the family was wealthy enough to advertise for a coachman in 1870, the year of Grimshaw's birth. However, her father appears to have had business and personal difficulties, and seven years later the coach and most of the contents of Cloona were sold at auction and the family moved to College Gardens, Belfast, in the neighbourhood of Queen's University.[27] Her upbringing was that of a conventional, though highly-educated Victorian girl, schooled at home in the early years, and then at Victoria College, Belfast, Caen in France, Bedford College, London, and a year at Queen's University, Belfast.[28] Despite an upbringing conforming to the societal norms of the age, Grimshaw showed an early independence as well as interest in literature and travel in her teens. She later recorded that her family wished her to become a classics lecturer at a women's college, but that she was determined from the age of seventeen to become a sporting journalist.[29] Her earliest publication is thought to have been verse written to celebrate the visit of the Princess of Wales to Belfast in May 1885, and published in the *Girl's Own Paper* when Grimshaw was fifteen. She also contributed to the college magazine while at Bedford College in 1887, including a piece on tourism at Portrush, Co. Antrim.[30] Her early desire for independence is evident from a later biographical article:

> I am a Victorian. I was born in the 'Seventies, in a big lonely country house five miles - a whole hour's journey - from Belfast. I was governessed and schooled and colleged. I was taught to ride and play games. I was taught to behave. To write notes for Mamma. To do the flowers. To be polite but not too polite, to Young Gentlemen. To accept flowers, sweets and books from them, but no more… I went to afternoon parties. I was chaperoned. My three sisters were good girls, and content.
>
> But I was the Revolting Daughter - as they called them then. I bought a bicycle, with difficulty. I rode it unchaperoned, miles and miles beyond the limits possible to the soberly trotting horses. The world opened before me. And as soon as my twenty-first birthday dawned, I went away from home, to see what the world might to give to

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[27] Susan M. Gardner suggests that Nicholas Grimshaw was a heavy drinker. Gardner, 'A "vert" to Australianism'.

[28] I have cited both Mike Ashley, 'Grimshaw, Beatrice Ethel (1870-1953), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) which gives Grimshaw's school in Belfast as Margaret Byers' Ladies Collegiate College, and a short biography by Clare McCotter in *DIB*, which adds Queen's University Belfast, but gives Victoria College, Belfast as her school. To the best of my knowledge, the information above is correct. Grimshaw herself referred to Victoria College in several later interviews.

[29] From an article published in *The Register,* Adelaide, on 17 September 1921, based on a piece Grimshaw wrote for *John O'London's Weekly* in August 1921 to coincide with the publication of *My South Seas Sweetheart.*

[30] Ashley, *DNB*.

> daughters who revolted. What it gave me first was the offer of a journalistic post. There were maps of far-away places, maps with tantalizing blanks in them; maps of the huge Pacific, coloured an entrancing blue. I swore that I would go there.[31]

Grimshaw came to Dublin in 1891, to lodgings at 6 Fitzgibbon Street and a post as sub-editor on the *Irish Cyclist,* a weekly magazine established by Richard James Mecredy in 1883.[32] There were constraints in this situation too as she noted later:

> The Careerist of that day, in Dublin, was daring – but within iron limits. Much was made and much said of latchkeys. But one lived with respectable widows, and the chaperone was never absent, even from bicycle clubs famous for hard riding. Sometimes a racing husband mounted his wife on a tandem bicycle, to run down offenders more certainly. 'Fast' was a word at which one trembled, unless it applied to the speed of your wheels.[33]

Grimshaw's enthusiasm for cycling and her desire to have a career were both satisfied by her role at *The Irish Cyclist.* The 1880s had seen a major expansion of the sport and the establishment of cycling clubs throughout Ireland and Britain. Before 1890 the sport was largely a male pursuit, and contemporary accounts are 'suffused with the rhetoric of muscular Christianity', with frequent references to the cyclist as a 'knight of the wheel', in the manner of the medieval knight.[34] Before the invention of the safety bicycle and pneumatic tyres in the late 1880s, the sport was largely inaccessible to women because their long skirts made cycling on the 'ordinary' or penny-farthing impossible, and they were confined to tricycles. Even when the new women's safety bicycle was invented in 1887, women risked scandal by the wearing of bloomers, or 'rational clothes.'[35] There was increasing acceptance of women cyclists, albeit more slowly outside Dublin, from the mid-1880s.[36] As Brian Griffin observes: '[t]he bicycle accorded middle-class women unprecedented opportunities of physical emancipation.'[37] The sport also provided a new social outlet for women. Newry Cycling Club was the first club to

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[31] Beatrice Grimshaw, 'How I Found Adventure', *Blue Book,* April 1939.
[32] Mecredy was a keen cyclist and solicitor's clerk in Dublin in 1882 when he became Dublin correspondent of the Tralee based *Irish Cyclist and Athlete.* The following year he bought out the paper, renaming it the *Irish Cyclist.*
[33] Beatrice Grimshaw, *Isles of Adventure* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1930), 14-15.
[34] Brian Griffin has an informative study of cycling in Ireland in 'Cycling and Gender in Victorian Ireland', *Eire-Ireland,* Vol. 41, No. 1/2 (Spring-Summer 2006), 213-41.
[35] In the New Woman context, the wearing of bloomers was seen as transgressive and political, a further threat to society by its overt association with masculinity. For Grimshaw and other women cyclists, however, they allowed physical freedom. In *Isles of Adventure*, Grimshaw recalled a Dublin beggar woman shrieking in horror on seeing her in bloomers, ibid, 15.
[36] Grimshaw, *Isles of Adventure,* 16-17.
[37] Griffin, 229.

admit women members in 1885, and in 1887 Sandymount and Pembroke Cycling Clubs in south Dublin were the first clubs to be established from inception as mixed sex clubs. Clubs hosted outings and races, as well as dinners and dances. With the expansion of the sport there was a concomitant growth of specialist periodicals, and by 1891 the *Irish Cyclist* had been adopted by seventy-six clubs as their official organ.[38] Peter Keating notes in his social history of the English novel between 1875 and the First World War that the bicycle was 'one of the most common symbols of social liberation in the 1890s and that in *The Time Traveller* (1895), H. G. Wells placed his protagonist on an adapted bicycle.'[39] Grimshaw made use of cycling in *Broken Away* as both a plot device and a means of expressing freedom.[40] The sport of cycling was emancipatory for Grimshaw, and typically, she pushed the boundaries by successfully claiming the world ladies 24-hour cycling record. The record was held by a married woman whose husband had paced her during the race. As an unmarried woman, Grimshaw could not cycle with a male companion in the hours of darkness, but without another cyclist to pace her she would be at a considerable disadvantage. Her account of the race demonstrates her initiative and determination:

> It was seven times impossible for me to ride through the proper twelve hours and the improper twelve hours alike, of a twenty-four, accompanied by any man. Everyone knew that, of course. I had to try, unpaced. I left my rooms at eleven o'clock at night; rode through the dark alone, with provisions packed on the bicycle, and an ankle-length skirt encumbering my limbs. Checks were necessary for world records. I got my first on leaving, my next, far out on the central plains of Ireland, at 5 a.m., from a police barracks. From eight o'clock on through the 'proper' hours I was paced from time to time by various enthusiastic friends. The newspapers of the day 'featured' the performance, and maintained discreet silence as to pacers, except where they ventured to say that I had been paced 'through the latter part.' The old ladies, who suffered much in those days, were pained by the idea of the solitary ride from eleven till five, but not shocked. It was considered that a difficult question had been ingeniously solved.[41]

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[38] Griffin, 229-30.

[39] Peter Keating, *The Haunted Study: A Social History of the English Novel, 1875-1914* (London: Fontana Press, 1991), 357.

[40] It is indicative of Grimshaw's modernity that in February 1897 *The Bookseller* worried that the 'cycling mania' would be detrimental to book sales and that 'it seems indisputable that cycling and book-buying do not go very well in double harness. In this point, we fear that we cannot offer our readers any hopeful anticipation, at least for two or three years, as cycling certainly seems to have come to stay, and whether for good or evil, will have to be made the best of.' *The Bookseller* was incorrect in this case as reading was expanding. *The Golden Bookseller,* Centenary Edition 1958, 1572.

[41] Grimshaw, *Isles of Adventure,* 16-17.

This was Grimshaw's first introduction to celebrity, and she was clearly proud of the world record, referring to it frequently in later newspaper articles and interviews.

Women were gradually entering the public sphere in the 1890s, but paid employment opportunities were still limited. Writing, both literary and journalistic, was recognised as acceptable employment for middle-class women, in turn assisted by the enormous growth of newspaper and periodical publication from the 1880s. For many periodicals the employment of women permitted them to signal modernity and attract female readers, but more pragmatically, the sheer growth of the industry ensured that women were increasingly required as contributors. Sally Ledger, Laurel Brake, and Margaret Diane Stetz among others have examined the role of women in the press at a time when the increasing emergence of women into the public sphere and the employment market intersected with an enormous growth in all areas of publishing including newspapers and periodicals, fuelled by interlocking factors such as increased literacy, cheaper production methods, faster distribution routes, and expanding imperial markets.[42] Periodical and book publishers became increasingly aware of the potential of the female market. In this spirit, Oscar Wilde argued in 1887for the renaming of Cassell's magazine, the *Lady's World,* to *Woman's World* both to modernise it and differentiate it in the market. When he agreed to take on the editorship, his letter to Thomas Wemyss Read, Cassell's general manager gives a flavour of the changing climate:

> [I] would be very happy to join with you in the work of editing and to some extent reconstructing it. It seems to me that present it is too feminine, and not sufficiently womanly. No one appreciates more fully than I do the importance of Dress… but it seems to me the field of the 'mundus muliebris' is to some extent occupied already by such papers as the *Queen* and the *Lady's Pictorial,* and that we should take a wider range, as well as a higher standpoint, and deal not merely with what women wear, but with what they think, and what they feel.… From time to time also, we might have news from Girton and Nuneham [sic] Colleges at Cambridge and from the Oxford Colleges for women.[43]

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[42] Ledger, ibid; Laurel Brake Laurel, *Journalism, Gender and Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke, Houndmills: Macmillan, 1994); Margaret Diane Stetz, 'The New Woman and the British Periodical Press of the 1890s', in the *Journal of Victorian Culture*, Vol. 6. No. 2 (April 2001), 272-285.

[43] Oscar Wilde to Thomas Wemyss Reid, April or May 1887, quoted in Simon Nowell-Smith, *The House of Cassell, 1848-1958* (London: Cassell & Company Ltd, 1958), Appendix 2, 253-54. Wilde's comment in a letter to the feminist, and later suffragist, Helena Maria Sickert, sister of Walter Sickert the painter, is representative of his approach to potential contributors: 'The magazine will try to be representative of the thought and culture of the women of this century, and I am very anxious that those who have had university training, like yourself, should have an organ through which they can express their view on life and things.' Ibid.

Margaret Stetz argues that Wilde's enthusiasm for the Girton Girl, 'a construction that would soon elide into the figure of the New Woman', was indicative of both his feminist sympathies and his 'sound commercial instincts'. A table of contents listing prominent female writers would surely 'advertise the modernity of his journalistic enterprise and its difference from the old sort of periodical.' Wilde commissioned a careful selection of intellectual and upper-class women for *Woman's World* including Mary Robinson, Olive Schreiner, Dorothy Tennant, Rosa Mulholland, Lady Dorothy Nevill, Lady Constance Howard, Millicent Fawcett, and Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein (Queen Victoria's fifth child).[44]

While George Eliot had edited the *Westminster Review* between 1852 and 1854, though anonymously and without payment, and Ella D'Arcy co-edited *The Yellow Book* with Henry Harland, it was still unusual for women to be appointed to the editorial chair. It is significant therefore, that in 1895 Grimshaw – then twenty-five – was appointed editor of Mecredy's newest venture, *The Social Review*. The magazine's masthead proclaimed it 'The Leading Journal of Society and Fashion in Ireland', with a 'larger circulation than any Society Journal in Ireland'. In her memoir, *Isles of Adventure*, published some thirty-five years later, Grimshaw reflected on her time at the paper:

> In the 'nineties one had a Career. Careers have died; they need explaining. One began, as a rule, by leaving a perfectly good home, where the manners and the food were better than one found anywhere else, but where life was infested by givers and takers of loathsome parties, and nobody was really serious. Some Careerists learned typing and shorthand and wrote letters in men's offices; a daring thing to do, but when daring began to pall, not very profitable. Some became lecturers in Ladies' Colleges; upon these, about the 'thirties, a strange blight seemed to fall, so that they became desiccated, nervous, and inclined to giggle miserably in the presence of the pupils' fathers. As for me, being very young and rather brazen and full of the "beans" that go with a good muscular system, I started to teach other and older people their jobs… A sporting paper kindly endured me as a sub-editor; there were reporters whom, with awful impudence, I instructed in their duties. There was afterwards a Society Journal, which I edited mostly by main force, once locking the door against rivals. Over the way they were dynamiting each other on daily paper staffs, so locking the door seemed an absolute gesture of courtesy, by comparison. The staff of the society paper did not tear me in

[44] Stetz, 277-9.

> pieces, but that was not for want of goodwill towards the task. The proprietors sat back, saw their bank accounts fatten, and laughed.[45]

Grimshaw was editor of *The Social Review* from 1895 to 1899, writing much of the material herself using various pseudonyms including Maev, Graphis, Orlando Lyall, Candid Jane, Grimas, G, Thyra and Aunt Norah. The journal was issued weekly at a cost of one penny for sixteen pages. She oversaw a substantial redesign of the paper in April 1897 when the pink cover, with its hectic typography and untidy mixture of display and classified advertising, was replaced by a clean white cover with the advertisements moved to inside pages and the back page.[46] Each issue usually led with a full-page book review or essay, written by Grimshaw herself under the pseudonym 'Maev', and other regular features included short stories, commissioned from various writers, including Angela Dickens, the granddaughter of Charles Dickens, society notes (notable for detailed descriptions of the dresses of those present at weddings, parties, concerts, and Viceregal receptions), opinion pieces, a cycling column entitled 'The Wheelwoman', gossip, and household tips. In more substantial articles Grimshaw contributed to contemporary debates on the education and employment of women, the position of the woman writer, and the marriage question:

> [W]e have nevertheless to face the fact that the majority of women who desire to work, and the still larger number with whom it is essential to do so, are found to be entirely unfitted, owing to want of suitable training, to accept posts which are at times actually open for trained workers…Day after day I am interviewed by women on the subject of literary employments, and, taking one who recently consulted me as an example, I may say that she had no fixed idea except to make some kind of start; no knowledge of press requirements, no notion of promptness, neatness, originality, the art of epitomising, or, in short, of anything, except that "she *thought*" she could do so-and-so, and had attempted one or two stories for parish magazines, which, of course, had never paid anything to the unskilled author. This type of subject seems to waste her time in wasting that of others, for when she is not calling she is writing to busy people on the subject of procuring work for which no training has ever been secured, or any especial fitness evidenced.[47]

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[45] Grimshaw, *Isles of Adventure,* 12-13. Grimshaw describes how an irate male reader came to the office enraged by something she had written, to punch the presumably male editor of the *Social Review,* and was astounded and disconcerted to find a woman in the role. Ibid, 14.

[46] The National Library of Ireland holds several issues of *The Social Review* from the years 1896-98 in its Ephemera Collection, including the first redesigned issue of April 1897.

[47] *The Social Review,* April 8, 1899, 1. The influence of Crackanthorpe's views on training for women is evident in this piece. In many interviews in later years, Grimshaw would return to the theme of the necessity for women to train properly for employment.

Susan Gardner's 1985 doctoral dissertation on Grimshaw references sixty-six articles or reviews from *The Social Review* that she located and identified as Grimshaw's work.[48] The range of subject matter is wide, and indicates that Grimshaw wrote much of the eight weekly pages of *The Social Review* herself. As 'Maev' she wrote articles including 'Women artists such as Rosa Bonheur continuing to work after marriage' (1895), 'Praise of Women's Life' (1895), 'Re: Editor-Proprietor Relationships' (1896), 'Accused of being "one of those women who are against women"' (1899); essays on Irish Novelists (1896), the novels of William Carleton (1896), Walter Besant (1897), and George Egerton (1897); and reviewed works of authors including Ella MacMahon, Jane Barlow, Bram Stoker, John Eglinton, Padraic Pearse, Lionel Johnson and W. B. Yeats. Articles on cycling appeared under the by-line of 'Graphis'; 'Aunt Norah' was used as the pseudonym for articles such as 'A Chat with Girls' (1895), and 'Orlando Lyall' was used for other book reviews.

In 1899 after nearly a decade in Dubin, in order to advance her dream of travel, Grimshaw moved to London and then Liverpool where she secured a position as a publicity writer with the Cunard shipping line. Thirty years later in her autobiographical reminiscences, *Isles of Adventure,* she recalled that:

> To be a traveller, an 'explorer', either in the old or the modern sense, is the vague ambition of quite a number of youths and girls. It is not until one is confronted with the towering cost of long-distance steamer fares, the big incidental expenses, that the question arises – how is it to be paid for? I was in the plight of a good many others, whose people were just discovering in that nineteenth-century end, that the 'top drawers' would not, and did not, hold them any longer and that it mattered not the least bit in the world how many or how few centuries they had inhabited those top drawers … What you wanted, beyond the ordinary necessities of life, you must get for yourself.[49]

Grimshaw went to work for Cunard at a time when the concepts of marketing and publicity were beginning to be developed. The transatlantic passenger trade was expanding and was the subject of fierce competition between the major shipping lines. Although Cunard and the White Star line would later merge, at the time they were competitors and Cunard was losing ground

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[48] Susan M. Gardner, 'For Love and Money: Beatrice Grimshaw's Passage to Papua', Ph.D. Thesis, Rhodes University, 1986. The list of sixty-six articles is reproduced in Peter Ruber and Victor A. Berch: 'Beatrice (Ethel) Grimshaw: A Bibliography in Progress', 2003. http://pulprack.com/arch/2004/04/beatrice_ethel.html, (accessed 17 January 2013).

[49] Grimshaw, *Isles of Adventure,* 18.

to its rival. British lines also faced competition from German shipping lines, and the formation of the American combine, the International Mercantile Marine, in 1902 further increased the pressure. Grimshaw was employed to write about passengers and freight, using her extensive journalistic experience in Dublin to place articles in newspapers. She was successful enough with Cunard to win commissions from other shipping lines.[50] At the end of 1903 she left for a round-the-world voyage on a six-month commission for the *Daily Graphic* newspaper, having persuaded the directors of major shipping lines to underwrite her passage – first-class – provided she guarantee in return newspaper articles advertising their companies.[51] The planned six-month voyage around the world 'expanded, like the magical tent in the *Arabian Nights*, until in the end it covered all my life.'[52] The *San Francisco Call* recorded her journey on the Oceanic Steamship Company's Liner, Marpiosa, in the first of many years of accounts of her career on 12 February, 1904, reporting that the ship 'sailed yesterday for Tahiti with a general cargo and a large number of passengers... Miss Beatrice Grimshaw of the London Graphic also sailed in the liner. She is making a tour of the world for the purposes of gathering material for a series of articles on the places best worth seeing.'[53]

After this point her international career took off: from 1905 newspapers around the world began to publish highly-coloured accounts of her adventures among cannibals, lepers, pirates, and tropical storms under headlines such as 'Plucky Irish Girl on Exploring Trip in the South Seas', accompanied by a photograph of the new celebrity.[54] She negotiated the placing of these stories directly with the press, who in turn prominently printed her material often with dramatic illustrations, quickly establishing for her a highly visible and distinctive public image. One colourfully-illustrated story depicting Grimshaw in front of a dramatic waterspout, for example, was syndicated throughout the United States in 1908 in newspapers from Los Angeles

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[50] There is an informative article on her work for Cunard in *Australian Women's Weekly,* 9 February, 1935, 11.
[51] Grimshaw, *Isles of Adventure,* 19. Grimshaw recounts that she dressed 'as a lady' and approached the chairmen of the shipping lines directly, promising them she could place favourable newspaper articles if they would underwrite her travels. Having secured the travel vouchers, she then pitched the voyage to editors, knowing that she was virtually certain to succeed as they would not have to pay her travel costs.
[52] Grimshaw, *Isles of Adventure*, 20.
[53] 'Many Sail for Tahiti' in the *San Francisco Call,* 12 February 1904, 2.
[54] 'Plucky Irish Girl on Exploring Trip in the South Seas', *San Francisco Call,* Sunday, 2 July, 1905, 5. The plucky girl was then aged 35. Grimshaw wrote to the paper from Fiji with her story. The white settlers and administrators of Fiji were reportedly angry at her portrayal of life on the island. The same newspaper carried a further article about Grimshaw, exactly a year later, on Monday July 2, 1906 under the headline 'Woman Enters Island Wilds – Beatrice Grimshaw has Interesting Visit in South Sea'. Immediately following in the same type face and size is a headline 'Miss May Sinclair Has Completed New Story'. Independent travel became easier for her at this time, perhaps, as her mother died on 6 November 1905, and her father on 16 March 1907. See Death notices in the *Belfast Telegraph* 10 November 1905 and 17 March 1907.

to New York, via Minnesota, Omaha, Nebraska, and Kentucky among other states. Another widely distributed piece reported on the intrepid author leading a 'simple life' and learning to canoe through shark-filled waters in Tonga.[55]

Grimshaw's travels provided her with material for four books and numerous newspaper articles in the next four years. In 1904, on the strength of her reputation as a travel journalist, she was commissioned to tour and report on New Zealand for the Government Tourist Department, with a similar commission from the Governor of Fiji in 1905.[56] Meanwhile she continued her work in fiction, producing an episodic novel, *Vaiti of the Islands*, whose heroine – a Cook Islands princess – would feature in a series of later books and short stories. This was a major commercial success, published by the Curtis publishing company in New York and serialised almost simultaneously by their magazine the *Saturday Evening Post* in London and New York in 1906 with dramatic front pages and extensive inside text. The first chapter of *Vaiti of the Islands* appeared on 18 August 1906, with a full-page colour illustration of the eponymous heroine. Four more episodes appeared over five issues to in the following weeks.[57] Copyright seems to have been elastic: Eveleigh Nash published and edition of the book in London in 1907 and, according to a perhaps mistaken record in the State Library of Tasmania, so too did T. Fisher Unwin the same year. An American edition was issued in New York by A. Wessels & Co. in 1908. Later cheaper editions were published by George Newnes in 1916 and 1920 and Macmillan in America in 1922.[58]

Grimshaw was clear about where her best interests lay, however, and her next three titles were travelogues rather than fiction. *From Fiji to the Cannibal Islands,* was published by Eveleigh Nash in an attractively produced, illustrated edition, for which he paid Grimshaw an advance of £40 and 15% royalties.[59] George Bell issued a cheap edition in 1907, and an American

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[55] Grimshaw sent these stories from Papua and it is clear that newspapers made few or no changes to the copy supplied by Grimshaw. They are notable for their breezy tone. The canoe and shark story appeared in newspapers including the *Omaha Sunday Bee* on 6 October 6 1907 under the headline 'Authoress in Simple Life: Learning to Canoe in Tonga – Swimming Impossible because of Sharks.' The *Los Angeles Herald* carried a story entitled 'Among Papuan Cannibals' on 24 July 1910.

[56] Eugenie Laracy and Hugh Laracy, 'Beatrice Grimshaw: Pride and Prejudice in Papua', *The Journal of Pacific History,* Vol. 12, No. 3 (1977), 157.

[57] Susan Gardner comments that her 'favourite of [Grimshaw's] heroes, the "half-caste" Queen Vaiti, considers murder, sadistic sexuality, near-incest, and witchcraft all in a day's work.' Gardner, 'A "vert" to Australianism'.

[58] Information from the British Library, Library of Congress and the State Library of Tasmania.

[59] Note 13 in Gardner, Susan, 'A "vert" to Australianism'. A later paperback edition was published by Nelson in 1916, priced at one shilling, in the UK, and the 'British Islands, Colonies and Dependencies, excluding Canada', for which Grimshaw received an advance of £30. Rights to a school edition were acquired by Nelson for an

edition, retitled *Fiji and Its Possibilities,* was published by Doubleday, Page & Co. in New York in the same year. She moved to Hutchinson for her next two books, *In the Strange South Seas* (1907) and *The New New Guinea* (1910), which was also issued by J. B. Lippincott in Philadelphia in 1911. By this stage she was a well-known figure in Australia, having been commissioned (in spite of some of opposition in the Federal Parliament) in 1908 by the Australian Liberal Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin (whom she had approached directly), to write a series of articles and pamphlets aimed at attracting both capital and settlers to New Guinea.[60] The colony's infrastructure was undeveloped, and, in a series of articles and newspaper interviews from September 1908, Grimshaw praised the opportunities for settlers, recommending the territory in particular to 'younger sons with two or three thousand pounds' who had to make their own way in the world. She also praised Sir Hubert Murray for 'his genius for administration'. When asked if New Guinea was a suitable place for women, she insisted that with infrastructural development it would be ideal, arguing that '[n]o country can be said to be properly settled when there are but a few white men settled here and there… The place wants the influence of women and society.'[61] This was a theme to which she frequently returned, criticising settler wives who removed themselves and their children to Melbourne and Sydney because they could not, or would not, tolerate the climate or the lifestyle. The articles and pamphlets from this commission were published as *The New New Guinea* and she was paid a fee of £100 by Sir Hubert Murray, the Lieutenant-Governor of Papua New Guinea, with whom she had stayed at Government House on her first arrival in Papua in 1907.[62] She had intended to stay just a few months in Papua, but instead it became her home until her retirement to Australia in 1936. Murray and Grimshaw became close friends, with Murray (after first meeting her) writing to his brother, the classical scholar Gilbert Murray, that she

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outright fee of a further £30 in 1918. Gardner speculates that its 'chauvinism had kept its appeal alive during WW1: the political interest it served may well have led to its being deemed suitable as a set book.'

[60] In her approach to Deakin she was able to show him nearly one hundred and fifty favourable reviews of *In the Strange South Seas* to persuade him of her suitability for the project.

[61] *The Northern Miner,* 28 September, 1908, 4.

[62] Sir John Hubert Plunkett Murray (1860-1940) had an Irish Catholic father from Dublin who became President of the Legislative Council of New South Wales. Murray was educated in England at Brighton College and Magdalen College, Oxford and called to the bar in 1886. His legal career did not prosper upon his return to Sydney the same year, and he joined a volunteer militia unit which sailed for South Africa and the Boer War in 1900. He was appointed chief judicial officer of British New Guinea as it was about to become the Australian territory of Papua, negotiating the difficult years between Britain relinquishing control in 1901 and the Australia Papua Act in 1906, and was appointed acting administrator in 1907 and Lieutenant-Governor in 1908. Like Grimshaw he was a Catholic convert. See the entry for Murray in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* by Francis West. Critics including Susan Gardner and Eugenie and Hugh Laracy have speculated that Grimshaw and Murray were lovers but there is no firm evidence of an affair. However, it is clear from newspaper articles and her own accounts that she was a regular guest at Government House in Port Moresby, and she accompanied Murray on several lengthy expeditions in the interior of Papua.

was 'an extremely nice woman, and not a bit superior; also she is an Irish Catholic and a Fenian and if she was also Australian there would be nothing more to be desired.'[63] She was to use her publicity skills both to assist Murray in his aim of attracting settlers and capital to Papua, as well as in his political struggles with the outgoing administrator.[64] Her fame in Australia was further cemented by her regular contributions to the *Sydney Morning Herald,* for which she contributed both short stories and articles often under the by-line of 'special correspondent' for most of her life.[65]

Grimshaw's arrival in the South Seas could hardly have been better timed for a commercial writer with a living to make. Control of British New Guinea had been formally relinquished by Britain in March 1901 and there was a politically fractious transitional period before the Australian Papua Act of September 1906, during which Murray, as chief legal officer and sole judge administered an adapted Queensland legal code. At the same time anxieties about German ambition given the immediate proximity of German New Guinea in the northern half of the world's second largest island were rising in Britain and the colonies. Grimshaw reflected the concerns in her comment to the press that 'Germany is a small over-crowded country… and she must have room, and Australia [and her territories] will certainly be one of the rooms she will look to.'[66] For Australia, British New Guinea, renamed Papua New Guinea, was to be its showplace colony, and political and public interest in the territory was intense. Fiji, which had been a British Colony since 1874 at the invitation of its most powerful chief, had appointed a Legislative Council to advise the Governor in 1904. European male settlers were enfranchised for the first time, and elections to the Council were held in 1905 and 1908. The troubled New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) had been placed under joint English and French government by the secret and controversial (to the Australians at least) Anglo-French Condominium of 1906. There was, therefore, a ready market for articles and reports in the Australian and British newspapers, and Grimshaw capitalised on her presence in the South Sea islands. Later in life she closely associated herself with the British colonial project, declaring that she had 'helped

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[63] Murray to his brother, Gilbert Murray, from Francis West (ed.), *Selected Letters of Hubert Murray* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1970), 34. Murray was using the term 'Fenian' loosely and there is no suggestion that he was referring to membership of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

[64] See *DNB* entry for Murray and Laracy and Laracy, 158-59.

[65] Susan Gardner notes that when Grimshaw was writing for the *Herald* in 'the important years of her Pacific reportage' between 1905 and 1911, the paper's average daily circulation was rising steadily from around 75,000 in 1905 to 103,000 by 1911, using these figures to speculate on how influential Grimshaw was. The pre-World War 1 figures were not audited but were contained in an old office ledger supplied to Gardner by the archivist of the newspaper's owners John Fairfax and Sons. Gardner 'A "vert" to Australianism', n.12.

[66] Reported in several newspapers including the Queensland *Townsville Daily Bulletin,* 8 October, 1908.

in the settlement of the tropics, in the opening up of the torrid lands to white races, and in making these places better known and understood. For this little scrap of pioneering work I am thankful.'[67]

Grimshaw's fluid adaptation from *fin de siècle* Ireland to the demands of the new colony suggest a highly strategic individual, capable of managing a successful career as a writer. She became a pivotal and influential figure in Papua, deciding to settle there and support herself with her writing. At the end of 1909, she wrote to Murray that she considered 'the market is ripe for New Guinea literature.'[68] She had identified a genre of romantic adventure set in the exotic background of the South Seas that was perfectly suited to her talent for storytelling and vivid narrative. The potential for making a living from writing of this kind was now possible since, as Peter Keating notes, the 'fragmentation and categorisation [of fiction in] the last two decades of the nineteenth century' which was encouraged by '[t]he proliferation of magazines, newspapers and periodicals, directed at very clearly defined groups of readers, [and so] encouraged novelists either to specialise in one particular type of fiction, or, if the writer was exceptionally talented (or facile) to move between different kinds…' Robert Louis Stevenson (a major influence on Grimshaw) and H. Rider Haggard led the way in the 1880s with their adventure stories, leading Kenneth Grahame to fix 1887 'as "the year of recognition for the new romance", because in that year George Saintsbury, Rider Haggard and Andrew Lang, the writers who – with the addition of Stevenson – were the major propagandists for romance, issued manifestos on its behalf.'[69]

For these writers, romance was an antidote to the unpleasant realism of authors such as Emile Zola and George Moore, and a rejection of the experimental forms of modernist authors. While writers like Joseph Conrad and Henry James remained aloof, unashamedly commercial authors increased in numbers during the 1890s, in a trend linked to the demise of the three-decker and the contemporaneous rise of the short story. Years later, Grimshaw robustly defended the tenor of her output, insisting that 'no one should be ashamed of writing a good story – that is no author should, as so many modern authors do, consider plot and subject matter as something

[67] Article in *the Adelaide Register,* 17 September 1921, 6.
[68] Laracy and Laracy, 160. Grimshaw to Murray, 23 December 1909, Sydney, Mitchell Library, Murray Papers, A3138, accessed online 8 October 2013.
[69] Keating, 340, 344, citing John Inglesant, *A Romance* (Macmillan Illustrated Pocket Classics: 1905), *ix.*

of no importance and concentrate solely on method and subjective interest.'[70] While Grimshaw would maintain that her Catholicism ensured that her stories were moral and without 'coarseness', her plots frequently involved lurid love triangles – often involving an Irishman and a Briton – with the troublesome issue of miscegenation usually resolved by the tragic but honourable death of the native wife, thus permitting the marriage of her white characters.[71] She enthusiastically included grisly accounts of murder, headhunting and cannibalism in her tales.

Grimshaw's first, and perhaps most important, attempt at the genre of romantic literary adventure was *When the Red Gods Call*, set in Papua New Guinea and published in 1911.[72] With its title derived from a Kipling poem, the story features the attractive and successful Irishman Hugh Lynch, who having settled in Papua, finds himself imprisoned on false charges of having killed his native wife.[73] John Wilson Foster includes *When the Red Gods Call* as one novel 'among many by Irish writers that try seriously to portray the competing tides of Victorianism and modernity' and notes a key difference between novels like Grimshaw's and those of the Revival tradition in that 'setting so important to a novel, was in fact a far more casual affair to popular novelists than to writers of the Revival who believed an Irish setting was all but essential to the Revival project. For the popular writers, story trumped setting and they told it wherever it lay at hand.' Foster evidently considers that Grimshaw's Catholicism may have adversely affected her writing, suggesting that the perception of love and marriage that occurs in her work is 'conservative..., it is typically tested not just by exotic alternatives but by the anomalies of affairs and separation in British marriages; divorce is discountenanced and affairs are abortive and, if necessary, sexual and emotional fulfilment is postponed until a spouse's death. Foster suggests that '[i]t is this conservative perception that prevents *When the Red Gods Call* from depicting a truly Conradian heart of Imperial Darkness.'[74]
However, as with *Broken Away* the novel is notable less for its content than its publishing context. It was published by a new and innovative publisher that in only two years of business

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[70] ''Southward Ho!' Adventurous Career. Miss Beatrice Grimshaw', *Sydney Morning Herald,* 21 February, 1935, 4.
[71] In *Ireland in Fiction* the Jesuit Stephen Brown unusually does not note Grimshaw's Catholicism, suggesting he was unaware of it.
[72] Ibid. Foster notes that after her conversion to Catholicism, Grimshaw joined a cohort of Catholic middle- or upper-middle class Catholic women novelists, including Katharine Tynan, Rosa Mulholland (Lady Gilbert), Hannah Lynch, Katherine Cecil Thurston, M. E. Francis and George Egerton, as well as the other converts Ella MacMahon and Annie M. P. Smithson. Ibid.
[73] Grimshaw's title is derived from a refrain in Rudyard Kipling's 1897 poem, 'The Feet of the Young Men', 'And the Red Gods call me out and I must go', a reference the Aryan or Vedic gods of nature in Indian religion calling young men to adventure.
[74] Foster, *Irish Novels,* 70, 35, 62.

had secured a reputation for launching the first books of talented new writers, particularly women.[75] Gerald Mills and John Boon had worked together for five years, at the pioneering firm of Methuen, one of the new publishers of the 1890s, before deciding in 1908 to found their own publishing house, Mills & Boon. They also had sales experience, respectively at the educational publisher Whitaker & Sons, Ltd and Mudie's Circulating Library.[76] Sir Algernon Methuen was an early publisher of cheap fiction, launching the Library of Fiction series of six-penny novels in 1899, the Sixpenny Library series in 1902, including 'great and popular books of past years', and the Standard Library six-penny novels series in 1904 including titles by H. G. Wells, Henry James, Mrs Oliphant and Joseph Conrad. Methuen was notable for publishing the book considered to be the first 'best seller' in Britain, Marie Corelli's second novel, *The Sorrows of Satan* in 1895. At a time when a sale of 1,000 copies was considered very good, Corelli's book sold 20,000. Despite what Methuen termed 'savage and merciless treatment from the critics' the public bought Corelli's books in large numbers. Her continuing success until her death in 1924 was a vital factor in Methuen's prosperity. Boon and Mills were well trained by Methuen in new publishing methods, including a sales strategy which '"pushed" sales of cheaper editions (priced at 1s. or 6.d.) as a bread-and butter line through vigorous advertising.' As the firm's historian, Joseph McAleer, notes: '[f]rom the beginning Mills & Boon published in a form and at a price that was within the reach of a wide readership.'[77] The new firm attracted favourable publicity within a couple of years with reviews that demonstrate how quickly the achieved success:

> One has almost come to regard Messrs. Mills and Boon as the publishers of the unexpected. Alike in fiction and in more serious works, they introduce us to writers of exceptional ability, and to subjects of uncommon interest with a facility which has induced the reviewer to open any book bearing their name with a sense of pleasurable expectancy.[78]

> Messrs. Mills & Boon, the new publishers, have proved themselves both enterprising and energetic in bringing new work before the public. Their spring list for 1910 contains many attractive publications, both in general literature and in fiction. Another fact

[75] Susan Gardner has suggested that Grimshaw's move to Mills & Boon may have been at the suggestion of her agent, unnamed, but based on other material thought to be Curtis Brown. The Curtis Brown archivist has been unable to locate any material relating to Grimshaw. Certainly Curtis Brown acted for other Mills & Boon authors.

[76] Waller, *Writers and Readers,* 62 and Joseph McAleer, *Passion's Fortune: The Story of Mills and Boon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 13.

[77] McAleer, *Passion's Fortune,* 14-17.

[78] *The Globe,* 28 January 1910. Saved as a clipping in a scrapbook in the Mills and Boon archive at Reading University. Archive reference: MB/ADM/6/1. HMB/Add 3/2.

> worth noting is that Colonial Issues are issued of all Messrs. Mills and Boon novels, and most of their books in recent literature.[79]

A number of popular Methuen authors later published with Mills and Boon, including E. F. Benson, Mrs B. M. Croker, William Le Queux, Max Pemberton and Jack London, but the new firm also sought the new authors essential for growth in the expanding publishing industry of the day. *Bystander* was one of many journals to comment on Mills and Boon's ability to discover fresh talent. A review of I. A. R. Wylie, *The Rajah's People* in the 'Thrilling Adventure Library', was typical: 'A finer Indian novel... it has never been my lot to read, further proof if any were needed, of the good services Messrs Mills and Boon are doing in giving new authors a chance to make their name.'[80]

Although *When the Red Gods Call* was Grimshaw's third published novel, fourth work of fiction, and sixth published book, Mills & Boon marketed it as a first novel, cleverly allying it with recent titles they had issued. Fortuitously for sales, publication of the novel coincided with the disappearance in Papua of the Colonial Administrator and his party around the end of 1910 and the beginning of 1911 which was reported around the world, with Grimshaw herself providing many of the reports. A review in the *Morning Post* titled 'Among the Cannibals' commented that:

> Messrs Mills and Boon seem to have acquired a monopoly in clever first novels by women writers. About this time two years ago this enterprising firm published 'The Veil' by Miss E. S. Stephens and the same time last year 'The Rajah's People' by Miss I.A.R. Wylie. Both these novels have reached seven editions and their publishers are not without grounds for hoping to do a sort of literary hat-trick with their latest publication – another original novel by a new writer. Indeed with all the circumstances that tend, in a manner with which we feel a sentimental sympathy that we do not attempt to justify, to 'boom' the book, we have little doubt but that 'When the Red Gods Call' by Miss Beatrice Grimshaw will attain the same mystical number of editions as its two predecessors.[81]

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[79] *Staffordshire Sentinel*, 7 March 1910. Saved as a clipping in a scrapbook in the Mills and Boon archive at Reading University. Archive reference: MB/ADM/6/1. HMB/Add 3/2.

[80] *Bystander,* 14 September 14, 1910. Ida Alexa Ross Wylie was born in Melbourne in 1885 and moved to England at the age of three. Among her many works she wrote five best selling novels about India, despite never having been to the country. She based her books on the childhood reminiscences of a friend. More than thirty films of her books were made between 1915 and 1953 including *Torch Song* and *Keeper of the Flame.* She lived permanently in America after 1917, writing for Hollywood.

[81] *Morning Post,* 14 August 1911. Saved as a clipping in a scrapbook in the Mills and Boon archive at Reading University. Archive reference: MB/ADM/6/1. HMB/Add 3/2.

The writer was referring to Grimshaw's book as the third in Mills & Boons marketing ploy of the 'June 15th Novel' – heralded as 'a major discovery of a new first-time author.'[82] The first June 15th Novel in 1909 was *The Veil* by E. S. (Ethel Stevana) Stevens. *The Rajah's People* was 1910's offering, and *When the Red Gods Call* that of 1911. Sales figures are not extant for Grimshaw's novel but *The Veil* went to seven printings or 7,000 copies, and a one-shilling paperback edition published in 1910 sold out its run of 10,000.[83] *The Rajah's People* sold out all 14,000 copies printed over ten editions in two years. Victor Bridges' first novel, *The Man From Nowhere,* was a departure from the pattern of women's novels in the June 15th series in 1913, and its sales ran to 8,000 copies over two printings in three months. The third 1s. edition, issued in 1914, sold over 4,000 copies.[84] Despite the fact, therefore, that Grimshaw's first novel had been published by John Lane as far back as 1897, and that her second novel failed to secure a publisher, the combination of an exciting story and Mills & Boon's innovative marketing ensured that Beatrice Grimshaw became a 'newly-discovered' bestselling popular author in 1911.[85] The novel was published the same year by Moffat, Yard of New York, serialised in several papers including the *Sydney Morning Herald,* and translated into German, Norwegian, Swedish and Italian.[86] Her next book with the firm, *Guinea Gold*, published the next year was top of the best seller list in the *Publishers' Circle* in the first week of October in 1912.

A later interview with John Boon makes clear that the firm saw Grimshaw as one of their lead authors in the new era of publishing. In an article published early in 1913 entitled 'Finding a New Author. An Elusive Element in Literature – Opinions of Publishers who cultivate unknown writers', Boon explained that '[i]t is the new author who makes the publishers life so exciting and interesting. The stock exchange can boast of no greater gamble.'[87] The *Daily Citizen* in which the interview appeared commented that Mills and Boon was 'a publishing house which from its inception has made the discovery of new authors a sine qua non of its

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[82] McAleer, *Passion's Fortune,* 21. The date of June 15 was selected for no apparent reason, although it was almost certainly related to the summer holiday season. The Christmas market was a long-established element of the publishing market. Nelson's published Grimshaw's *In the Strange South Seas* in their 'Popular Libraries for the Holidays' series.

[83] McAleer, *Passion's Fortune*, 27

[84] Ibid.

[85] The publisher understood the emerging concept of celebrity marketing and photographs of Grimshaw appeared in several newspapers and periodicals, including the *Illustrated London News* on 22 July captioned 'Miss Beatrice Grimshaw whose new novel "When Red Gods Call" has just been published by Messrs Mills and Boon.'

[86] *Sydney Morning Herald,* 18 August 1926.

[87] *The Daily Citizen*, 3 January 1913. Mills & Boon archive, Reading University, Archive reference: MB/ADM/6/1. HMB/Add 3/2.

existence.'[88] Boon went on to comment on the selection process, presenting a stark picture of the very many women who were in addition trying and likely failing to secure a publisher:

> Last year, for instance, we read and carefully considered over one thousand manuscripts. Of these, I may mention, probably quite seventy-five percent represented the work of women. Ninety-five per cent of the whole, at any rate, came from the pens of totally unknown authors. Of the whole number, no more than six books were actually published by us. You can therefore imagine the tremendous competition which authorship of the six-shilling novel is undergoing at the present time. Among our finds women authors predominate. There is, for instance, Miss Steven's, whose novel 'The Veil', came to our notice through quite the usual channels. Her book, and those which have followed, achieved an unusual success. There is Miss Wylie, whose extraordinary insight into Indian life has made her novels so popular. Then there is Miss Beatrice Grimshaw, whose book, 'When the Red Gods Call,' had no small following of readers, which her recent novel, 'Guinea Gold' has served to increase. Miss Grimshaw takes her work seriously. She is just now studying life in the gold mines of New Guinea, the only white woman who has ever done so. Her trip, I would add, has been taken entirely at her own risk, a fact which shows her devotion to her art.[89]

Mills & Boon had male authors on their list too of course, including Victor Bridges, Cosmo Hamilton, Maurice Leblanc, Barry Pain, Robert Barr, Gilbert Parker, and William Pett Ridge, but their star author, who generated considerable income for the firm, was Jack London who, like Grimshaw, was writing about the Solomon Islands and the Pacific. A *Morning Post* review linked the two authors:

> Miss Grimshaw either knows New Guinea extremely well or has the power of making her ideas of the place seem very real, or, as is probably the case, has both qualifications for drawing the vivid and engaging pictures which she gives us in 'When the Red Gods Call.' No recent book of this kind, with possibly the exception of Mr Jack London's story of the Solomon Islands, 'Adventure', leaves behind it so many clear images… No doubt there is much exaggeration in the tale, especially in the cannibalism which provides its leading horror, but then it must be remembered that this is primarily a novel of adventure. As such it is extremely good, and we cordially congratulation Miss Grimshaw on a first novel which is likely to have more than a *succes d'estime.*[90]

American editions of *When the Red Gods Call* and *Guinea Gold* were published by Moffat, Yard in 1911 and 1912, a company established in 1905 by two Princeton graduates, W. B.

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[88] Ibid.
[89] *The Daily Citizen*, 3 January 1913. Mills & Boon archive, Reading University, Archive reference: MB/ADM/6/1. HMB/Add 3/2.
[90] *Morning Post,* 14 August 1911.

Moffat, who left Scribner's to establish his eponymous firm, and Robert Sterling Yard who had worked as a journalist on the *New York Tribune* and *New York Sun* in the 1880s and 1890s. As early as 1913, Moffat, Yard felt able to advertise Grimshaw's titles prominently in newspapers such as the *New York Sun,* with the caption 'The latest Grimshaw novel', suggesting how well known she was after the success of *When the Red Gods Call.* Her books were widely reviewed in America and an indication of her standing is her inclusion in 1921 in the *New York Tribune* list of 'Some Fall Fiction' which included Grimshaw in the company of H.G. Wells, May Sinclair, and Winston S. Churchill.[91] The paper carried a lengthy review of *Conn of the Coral Seas* the following spring.[92] Grimshaw's American publishers included the American branches of Macmillan, Hodder & Stoughton and Longmans, John C. Winston of Philadelphia, A. C. McClurg of Chicago, and Houghton Mifflin of Boston and New York.

Grimshaw published two more novels with Mills and Boon, *Kris-Girl* (1917) and *The Coral Palace: twixt Capricorn and Cancer* (1920). However, at this point she demonstrated once again her commercial shrewdness and awareness of the conditions of the literary marketplace, despite her distance from London, by moving to a new firm of publishers during a period when Mills & Boon's earlier success was compromised by difficulties experienced during the First World War and the economic problems of the 1920s. Although the war had stimulated reading, particularly of escapist fiction, it proved to be a particularly challenging time for small publishers, especially after the extension of conscription to married men and those aged up to fifty-one in 1916. Eveleigh Nash, Grimshaw's earlier publisher, recalled that his (small) staff joined the army voluntarily before conscription, leading him to put his publishing business into voluntary liquidation, paying all his authors and trade creditors in full.[93] His secretary, Miss Allen, together with some women assistants, carried on selling backlist titles during the war and '[a]uthors who thought their works nearly dead were surprised to receive further cheques for royalties', but no new books were issued.[94] Gerald Mills and Charles Boon were both called up in 1916, leaving Margaret Boon, Charles' sister, to run the firm. Boon's son John later recalled that '[t]he war really knocked the firm for six. It lacked direction, and my father lost his contacts with authors and the book world.'[95] The inability to nurture existing writers and

[91] 'Some Fall Fiction', *New York Tribune,* July 31, 1921. The authors, in the order listed, are H. G. Wells, May Sinclair, Winston S. Churchill, William Allen White, Hamlin Garland, Beatrice Grimshaw and R. A. Maher
[92] *New York Tribune*, 31 July 1921, and 19 February 1922. The review had the headline 'Cannibal Isles – A Stirring Romance of the South Seas', *New York Tribune,* 19 February 1922
[93] Nash, Eveleigh, *I Liked the Life I Lived* (London: John Murray, 1941), 123-26.
[94] Nash, *I Liked the Life I Lived*, 123.
[95] McAleer, *Passion's Fortune,* 38.

sign new talent took several years to correct. More seriously, perhaps, Margaret Boon was unable to manage the stock so that when the directors returned after the war, they discovered one million unsold books in storage including large quantities of reprints, the costs of which would tie up working capital for many years, dampening the firm's ability to invest and expand.[96] They also faced the problem experienced across the industry of the increase in production costs which rose substantially in years of post-war inflation. *The Bookseller* reported on the difficulties facing publishers in December 1919:

> [T]hough the prices of books have no doubt gone up, the increased price is by no means proportionate to the cost of production. Take for example the cost of the ordinary one-volume novel, published before the war at 6s., now usually priced at 7s. The cost of an edition of 2,000 copies today works out at something like £350, as compared with the pre-war cost of something over £200. Before the war it was quite usual, even in the case of an unknown author to print a first edition of 1,000 copies; if half or rather more were sold any serious loss was avoided. Today the publisher, to be safe, must sell at least 1,800 out of an edition of 2,000. This is naturally a more risky speculation ... [and] makes it extremely difficult for the new author to make his way into print. ... Nor does there seem much prospect of lessening costs. Paper did come down a little, but it is rising again, while the prices for printing and binding show very little prospect of reduction.[97]

A third problem facing publishers at the time was the increasing competition from the new media for public attention and disposable income. Philip Waller has surveyed the growing impact of cinema and has noted that in the ten years after the the opening of the 'Daily Bioscope' in Bishopsgate, London, in 1904, more than 3,500 cinemas were established in Britain.[98] The exigency of wartime propaganda led to the growth of the British film industry, though from around 1920 American films began to dominate. Before and during the war writers such as Rider Haggard, J. M. Barrie, Anthony Hope, Frances Hodgson Burnett, and Thomas Hardy had significant earnings from adaptations of their work or the sale of film rights.[99] After the war as the American film industry entered a period of expansion, an increasing number of writers wrote for Hollywood or had their books adapted for film. The first regular radio broadcasts for entertainment began in Britain around 1922 from the Marconi station in Essex.

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[96] Ibid, 39-41.
[97] *The Bookseller,* December 1919.
[98] Waller, *Writers and Readers,* 13, with a wider discussion on cinema, 3-16.
[99] Waller, *Writers and Readers*, 10-11. The Herkomer Film Company purchased the film rights of *Far From the Madding Crowd* in 1913. Although the film was never made, Hardy was paid well for the rights. Ibid, 11. Barrie was offered £2,000 'in advance of royalties' for *Peter Pan* in 1912. Ibid.

In addition, publishers were facing the difficult economic climate of the 1920s with industrial unrest causing problems for all sectors of the economy. Given these interlocking factors the consequence was a period of major consolidation in British publishing, and smaller publishers like Mills & Boon lost many authors to the bigger houses and groups. *The Writer's and Artist' Yearbook* lists 335 British and Irish publishers in 1914, but consolidation is evident in the figure of 263 by 1930.[100] Hutchinson took over Hurst & Blackett which had a particularly strong women's fiction list, and in 1920 sold over one million copies of their new 3s. 6d. fiction series, featuring writers such as Ethel M. Dell and Arnold Bennett.[101] Hodder & Stoughton responded to the difficulties by increasing their output of cheap 2s. 'yellow-jacket' novels which dominated bookshops and circulating library lists in the mid-1920s, doubling their sales by 1920 from the pre-war figure and adding more than a hundred novels annually to the firm's fiction list. As a consequence, smaller fiction publishing houses were squeezed in the marketplace.[102]

Grimshaw was confident about moving to a new publishing platform and from 1915 published fourteen new titles and a reissue of *When the Red Gods Call* (1922) with Hurst & Blackett. Her new publisher had been founded in 1853 by two junior partners who bought out Henry Colburn's publishing business, with Fanny Trollope as their leading author.[103] In the second half of the nineteenth century, the firm had built its list on the lesser works of such novelists as Dinah Mulock Craik, Margaret Oliphant, Ouida, and George MacDonald. Hurst & Blackett may be best known today as the publishers of *Mein Kampf* in an abridged version in 1933 and an unexpurgated edition in 1939, but they had a large stable of best-selling popular authors in the 1920s including William Le Queux, Cosmo Hamilton, Helene Countess Barcynska, Netta Syrett, Rachel Swete Macnamara, Katharine Tynan, Ethel Winifred Savi, Margaret Peterson, Pamela Frankau, Doris Leslie, and Fergus Hume.[104] Many of their authors wrote under pseudonyms or more than one name. Grimshaw's books appeared under the Hurst and Blackett imprint in 1915, 1917, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924 (three titles), 1925, 1926, 1927

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[100] Joseph McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 47.
[101] Anderson, Patricia J. and Jonathan Rose, *Dictionary of Literary Biography: Volume 106 'British Literary Publishing Houses, 1820-1880* (Detroit and London: Gale Research Inc. 1991), 158. It is not clear in which year in the 1920s that Hutchinson took over Hurst & Blackett. Walter Hutchinson came into the business in 1928, but given the consolidation so prevalent in the industry the takeover may well have pre-dated his arrival.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid, 160.
[104] There is scant archival material for Hurst & Blackett as their offices and records were destroyed during the Second World War. I have compiled publication information from the catalogues of the British Library, the National Library of Ireland, National Library of Australia, the Library of Tasmania and the Library of Congress.

(two titles). Significantly for authors of stirring adventure tales like Grimshaw, the firm took note of the expanding entertainment industry, publishing novels by its new stars, such as Charlie Chaplin in 1922, Rudolf Valentino in 1924, and Will Rogers in 1925. Two of Grimshaw's novels were adapted for the cinema: *My Lady of the Island* was filmed as *Thunder Island* in 1921 and *Conn of the Coral Seas,* as *The Adorable Outcast,* in 1928, both directed by Norman Dawn, with a stellar Hollywood cast.[105] Newspapers in Australia ran extensive articles on the author, the director, and the cast who spent six weeks in Fiji filming. Peter Keating has noted in the context of popular novels like those of Grimshaw that '[a]t its most vital the best-seller achieved a mythopoeic status that transferred successfully to the stage and then film, reaching out to ever-increasing audiences and creating its own cultural pantheon of classic characters and moments.'[106]

There is evidence that Grimshaw also published with the Australian publisher of cheap editions A. C. Rowlandson, though few if any of her titles published under that imprint survive in library collections. In 1927, the *Sydney Morning Herald* reviewed a memorial volume to the late publisher in which the scale of his business – and Grimshaw's popularity – is apparent:

> If A. C. Rowlandson was not actually the pioneer in Australia in the production of cheap novels... he put the publication of this class of book on a sound commercial basis. He may be said, indeed, to have created the demand, and his enterprise has deserved well both of the public and of Australian writers who had in him a generous patron, and many of whom owe him their 'start' in letters. In the course of less than a score of years he produced almost two hundred novels by Australasian authors, and they sold more than six million copies. They circulate throughout Australia and New Zealand. They go to the Islands and South Africa. They accompanied the A.I.F. to Gallipoli, France and Palestine. The reader is given good value for his money: Miss Beatrice Grimshaw, Mr J.H.M. Abbott, Mr Edward Dyson... to take a few names at random are among the well-known authors who are represented in the series.[107]

Numerous newspaper and magazine articles record the growth of Grimshaw's fame and celebrity in the 1920s. As well as reviews of her books, the press around the world carried articles on her life and travels and interviews with the celebrated author. In February 1921 a typical piece in Australian newspapers reported on 'the lonely though beautiful house [of] the

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[105] *DLB 106,* 158. American press reports indicated that *Adorable Outcast* was retitled *Black Cargoes of the South Seas* in America. The film was made as a silent movie and released just months before the first 'Talkie', *The Jazz Singer* in October 1927. Sound synchronisation was added after its release.
[106] Keating, 444.
[107] 'An Australian Publisher', *Sydney Morning Herald,* 20 August 1927, 10.

eminent novelist of the Pacific Isles', in which Grimshaw added to the legends surrounding her by describing how she dived for pearls at the bottom of the German New Guinea Sea.[108] Throughout the 1920s Australian newspapers reported on her holidays in Australia, dinners she attended, and lectures she gave.[109]

In late 1921 Grimshaw sold the coffee plantation she had owned since 1917 on the island of Samarai off Papua New Guinea, and travelled back to England via Sydney, Java and Rangoon for the first time in fifteen years. The London newspapers and periodicals dispatched reporters to Plymouth to await the arrival of the celebrated author on 5 May 1922, with *The Bookman* observing that 'cinema stars and even professional boxers had to take a back seat for the moment', as the press clamoured to meet the famous novelist.[110] In a report entitled 'Miss Beatrice Grimshaw to reach Plymouth today', the *Western Morning News* reported on 5 May 1922 that '[t]here is rather more than a certain activity on the part of the London Press in regard to Plymouth today. Representatives of the acme of the major papers have been for several days waiting for the arrival of the Bhamo, of the Henderson Line, now on her way from Rangoon. When the ship drops anchor sometime this morning she will be invaded by pressmen... The object of their search is Miss Beatrice Grimshaw... curiously enough her return synchronises with the appearance of her latest book, *Conn of the Coral Seas,* (Hurst & Blackett, 7s. 6d.). The *Manchester Guardian* among many newspapers in Britain carried her various observations on life in Papua New Guinea, reporting excitedly on volcanoes, headhunting, cannibalism, sorcery and witchcraft as well as her views on the excellence of the Australian administration under Sir Hubert Murray, particularly in relation to his treatment of the native islanders by way of enlightened labour laws.[111] The *Daily Mail* interviewed her and syndicated the report to many Australian newspapers. She gave a lecture to the Royal Colonial Institute in London on 'Papua and the Western Pacific' on 27 June. *John O'London's Weekly* carried an interview with her in August 1922, which was again widely syndicated in Australia, describing her early ambition to be a 'sporting journalist', as well as recording her travels to New York, Boston, Italy, Sicily, Morocco, San Francisco, Austria, Spain, Fiji, the Solomon Islands, Borneo, and Timor before she settled in New Guinea. Some of Grimshaw's image-making backfired,

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[108] *The Queenslander*, 19 February, 1921. Articles and reports were generally widely syndicated to local and regional newspapers in Australia.
[109] The *Northern Territory and Times Gazette* reported the 'popular authoress... having a holiday in Darwin' on 21 July 1925.
[110] Susan Gardner in 'A "vert" to Australianism' quotes Francis Grierson in *The Bookman,* 62 (1922), 123.
[111] *Manchester Guardian,* 6 May 6 and 13 May 1922. The same article was also published in the *Dundee Advertiser* and the *Evening Telegraph* among other newspapers.

however. Lurid headlines about cannibals in Australia's showpiece colony attracted a rebuke from Australia's government after the *Adelaide Register* reported her views under captions reading: 'Among Cannibals. Miss Grimshaw's Story. Where husbands Eat their Wives. Not an Explorer. Cannibalism Rampant. Tortured Prisoners. Ten Thousand in Unknown Valley. Unhappy Women.'[112]

Grimshaw was also the subject of extensive newspaper coverage in the United States, especially in the metropolitan centres of New York, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Washington D.C. and Salt Lake City.[113] Newspapers in Hawaii, unsurprisingly, were particularly interested in her travels. The American press carried reports of Grimshaw's visit to England in 1922, with stories filed by their London correspondents or syndicated by English newspapers such as the *Evening Standard.* The *Washington Times* devoted a full page to Grimshaw in its Sunday Morning section on 2 July 1922. In a report filed from London on 26 June, the writer recounted that the famous English novelist, 'a woman of gentle breeding and cultivation', escaped with her life on a perilous expedition thanks to her 'physical strength, determined presence and good luck.'[114] The article provides a striking account of Grimshaw's physical appearance, describing her as being 'in the prime of life, tall and massive in proportion, with her hair turning silvery gray from the hardships of her life, her piercing eyes shining through eyeglasses with intense earnestness, the adventuress authoress presents an impressive and formidable figure.'[115] She was quoted as saying that Papua New Guinea fulfilled a lifetime ambition to discover wilderness, untouched by 'our civilisation'. She described how cannibalism remained an entrenched practice despite the efforts of the Governor to eradicate it, as the natives believed they were entitled to eat human flesh as 'the result of tribal victory and because they are under the belief that their victim's strength is transferred to them, while their flesh is strong, nourishing food.'[116] She recounted grisly tales of cannibal feasts where husbands ate the flesh

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[112] Ibid. 4 July 1922.

[113] I have found 90 digitised records of newspaper articles or advertisements on the 'Chronicling America: Historical American Newspapers' database at the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. Newspapers in the following states reported Grimshaw's adventures in the 1906-8 period and again in 1922: Arizona, California, Florida, Hawaii, Kentucky, Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Philadelphia, South Carolina, Utah, Virginia, Washington, and Washington D.C.

[114] '15 Years with New Guinea Cannibals – Beatrice Grimshaw, the Daring English Writer, Nearly Eaten Up by Savages Time After Time, but She learned a Lot of Surprising Things for Her Next Novel'. *Washington Times,* 2 July 1922, 47. The 'Irish Girl' of 1905 had by 1922 become the famous 'English' writer.

[115] Ibid.

[116] *Washington Times,* 2 July 1922, 47.

of their discarded wives, and expressed her sympathy with the conditions of the New Guinea native women:

> I found that the native women everywhere in the South Sea Islands had a cruelly unhappy time. I strove to arouse them to a sense of their rights and wrongs. They become wives in exchange for pigs, shell bracelets or beads paid to their parents. Seven tiny pigs is considered good payment for a healthy young wife. If she proves unsatisfactory, her husband beats or often kills her. Very often the infuriated husband makes a meal of her dead body and nobody raises an objection. Strange to say, the girl is the one who makes the proposal of marriage. Usually when she is about thirteen years old the parents send her to offer herself to some man. If she is pretty and well built her generally accepts the offer. When he has got her in his power he makes her do all the hard work and treats her as a slave. Then, when she is dead or broken down, he accepts a new wife.[117]

Grimshaw's account of the conditions of native women and the practice of cannibalism appeared in newspapers around the world. She was not a professional anthropologist, but her vivid descriptions of native conditions were drawn from the extraordinary access she gained to remote districts of Papua New Guinea in the company of Sir Hubert Murray. Her ability to create a self-image in the great tradition of intrepid British women travellers is notable in an account in which the 'fair explorer modestly' described how, on being attacked by a native man in her garden, she remained calm and grasping his hand, stared him down while threatening to put a curse on him, and describing how her heart stood still as she 'wrestled with this mad, black, red-eyed cannibal.' She suggested that her 'English voice' had a 'sobering effect on him [and] he hesitated and lowered his knife.' She finished by triumphantly recounting that she 'had time to run into the house and seize a .44-calibre revolver. He knew the power of *that* and immediately fled.'[118] However, she also told the *Manchester Guardian* (in a piece reprinted in the *Irish Weekly Times*) that she was immune from attack by the natives because they had 'no quarrel' with her.[119] A notable feature of Grimshaw's professionalism is that she was adept at providing copy appropriate to the nationality of the newspaper readership. The article in the *Washington Times* concluded with her suggestion that:

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[117] Ibid, 47.
[118] Ibid.
[119] 'An Englishwoman Among Cannibals – More South Sea Stories from Miss Grimshaw – "Queen" and the Subject who Ate His Neighbours', *Manchester Guardian,* 13 May, 1922. The same material provided the basis for an article in the *Irish Weekly Times,* also on 13 May, 1922, this one claiming a different nationality for Grimshaw: 'Wanderings of Irish Novelist – Life in Cannibal Areas – Prisoners Tortured and Eaten'.

> Enterprising Americans ought to look to New Guinea as a [illegible, possibly place] for trade and adventure. There a large number of very valuable plantations, and it is the one place in the world where there are no serious labour troubles... My firm belief is that American capitalists will in time have the dominating power in the country. I realize the immense possibilities which a far-seeing people like the Americans are not likely to let slip.[120]

At the same time, she was telling her British audience via an interview with the *Manchester Guardian* that she felt a particular 'affection for islands, and thinks the word island has a magical sound to the British Race.'[121] She also suggested, contrary to what she told the *Washington Times,* that Murray was having some success in 'stamping out cannibalism.'[122]

Three expeditions which Grimshaw undertook in the 1920s added to her contemporary fame. She was the self-reported first white woman to travel hundreds of miles up the Sepik and Fly rivers of Papua New Guinea on expeditions with Murray in 1923 and 1926 respectively, penetrating well beyond the white settlements to native villages where the threat of human sacrifice by head-hunters and cannibalism was real. These trips provided extensive copy for newspaper and magazine articles, as well as for radio broadcasts, like the fifteen-minute programme 'Up the Fly River by Miss Beatrice Grimshaw who has lived among the cannibals for 20 years', transmitted by the BBC in London on 1 February 1927, as well as regional stations such as Bournemouth. In the same year the *Brisbane Courier* remarked that Grimshaw had 'a wider circulation, perhaps, than Somerset Maugham.'[123] In 1924 she was an early traveller and photographer in the interior of New Caledonia, some twenty years before other Australian photographers, a trip that yielded copy for newspapers around the world.[124]

Meanwhile in Britain, the Hutchinson acquisition did little to strengthen Hurst & Blackett, with the senior imprint acquiring or poaching the better authors. In addition to the declining quality of the list, there was a noticeable shift in the list away from 'swashbuckling' titles from the late 1920s and it never recovered its position before it published its last book in 1954.[125] In another demonstration of her commercial awareness, Grimshaw began negotiating yet another new

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[120] *Washington Times,* 2 July 1922, 47.
[121] *Manchester Guardian,* 13 May 1922.
[122] Ibid.
[123] *Brisbane Courier*, 11 June, 1927.
[124] Max Quanchi, Max, 'A name that features once or twice a year: New Caledonia in mid-twentieth century Australia,' *The Journal of Pacific Studies,* Vol. 29, No. 2, 195-216, 207.
[125] *DLB 106,* 159.

publishing arrangement around the end of 1926 or beginning of 1927, in a shrewd and well-timed move that capitalised on her fame and ensured her continued status as a bestselling writer in the 1930s. Her new publishers, Cassell & Company Ltd., were ideally suited to her location in Australia, having established offices in Melbourne in 1884, Sydney in 1895 and near Wellington in 1920. Grimshaw made another trip back to England in 1926 – both her departure in August and her return in April 1927 noted in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and regional newspapers – and there is evidence of Cassell's attempt to woo her from Hurst & Blackett at a dinner they gave in her honour at the Lyceum Piccadilly in December 1926, attended by other Cassell's authors including Henry de Vere Stackpoole, John Foster Fraser and Rose Champion de Crespigny. Cassell's were emerging from a turbulent few years in 1926 with a new business model, an appetite for new talent, and a strong presence in the colonies, and although Grimshaw had been famous since the early 1900s, her celebrity reached its height in the 1930s, in great part assisted by her publishers' ability to market and distribute her work around the world.

The foundation of Cassell's can be dated to the first publication on 1 July 1848 of a weekly newspaper *The Standard of Freedom* by John Cassell, a former mill worker who had come penniless to London in 1837 and become a Nonconformist missionary in the west of England, and then a tea and coffee merchant in London.[126] The paper advocated religious, political, and commercial freedom according to advanced Radical principles. It was followed by a monthly temperance magazine and the beginning of what was to become an extensive list of low-priced almanacs and tracts which Cassell intended would 'advance the moral and social well-being of the working classes' providing 'instruction and rational entertainment for the family circle.'[127] In the campaign of the early 1850s to abolish stamp duty, Cassell tacked a careful course between the capitalist side in the campaign whose aim was to remove barriers to trade and the Radical demand for the end to 'taxes on knowledge', accompanying the former in a delegation (which included Charles Dickens) to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in February 1851, but also joining William Cobden, John Bright, G. H. Lewes and others on the stamp abolition committee, now reconstituted as the Association for Promoting the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge.[128] The campaign was ultimately successful with the advertising duty abolished in 1853 and the newspaper stamp in 1855. The repeal of the paper duty was not achieved until

[126] Simon Nowell-Smith, *The House of Cassell, 1848-1958* (London: Cassell & Company Ltd, 1958), 3-17. The book is a valuable source, but is at times hagiographic, unsurprising given that it was commissioned by the firm. Definitive statements about the firm being 'the first' or 'the only' in some respects require verification.
[127] Ibid, 22.
[128] Nowell-Smith, 24-5.

1861 by which time paper costs had nearly bankrupted Cassell's in the late 1850s. After 1861 it is calculated that the repeal of paper duty saved the firm around £10,000 per year and the business survived and prospered.[129]

The firm grew rapidly establishing offices in New York in 1860 (where the firm published Mark Twain), Paris in 1871 (immediately after the Franco-Prussian War), and Toronto in 1907 as well as those in Melbourne, Sydney and Wellington. By the late 1940s the firm would add offices in Calcutta, Johannesburg, Karachi and Auckland. The strength of Cassell's can be seen in the size of its workforce: in 1888, the firm had 1,200 employees, half of whom worked at the firm's new printing works at Belle Sauvage Yard in the City of London, built in the 1870s.[130] The firm was agile in building a strong educational publishing list after Forster's 1870 Elementary Education Act introduced universal primary education to England and Wales.[131] When the firm was incorporated as a limited liability company in 1883, *The Bookseller* noted that:

> The rapidity with which this enormous business has been built up is one of the most remarkable facts in the modern history of the trade. Looking back to the modest beginnings of this house, it is possible to trace in their publications an accurate reflection of the progress of literary culture in the masses. The prescience with which they have adapted their undertakings to the advancing tide of education has enabled them to increase their establishment until it has reached its present vast dimensions.[132]

As we have seen, Cassell's moved upmarket with the publication of *The Lady's World* in 1886, famously renamed by its new editor, Oscar Wilde, and the author Dinah Mulock Craik as *Woman's World* after a battle with conservative Cassell's directors. Wilde gave the journal intellectual and New Woman credibility with the signing up of writers such as Mrs Craik, Olive Schreiner, Marie Corelli, Katharine Tynan, Ouida, and E. Nesbit, but he proved to be a detached editor and the periodical was brought to an end in the autumn of 1890.[133] The firm did not prosper in the industry upheavals of the 1890s. Despite success from the late 1880s with the novel format of 5s. one-volume adventure, crime, and juvenile titles by writers such

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[129] Ibid, 51-7.
[130] *DLB 106,* 75.
[131] W. E. Forster was an original shareholder in Cassell & Company Ltd and the adoptive father of H.O. Arnold-Forster, who became secretary of Cassell's and was appointed to the board in 1890. Hugh Arnold-Forster worked with W. E. Forster during the latter's time as Chief Secretary to Ireland in 1880-82.
[132] 'Rapid Rise', *The Bookseller,* May 1883 in *The Golden Bookseller,* 1554.
[133] Nowell-Smith, 149-51

as Arthur Conan-Doyle, E. W. Hornung, Anthony Hope, J. M. Barrie and Robert Louis Stevenson, it persisted with the three-decker format for fiction publishing after more agile publishers had moved to the single volume which 'limited its ability to attract leading authors.'[134] It was offered and turned down Hall Caine's fourth novel *The Bondsman* which was then taken to Heinemann and was a huge success. Its successful magazine *Cassell's Family Magazine* lost ground to highly popular new ventures such as George Newnes *Tit-Bits*, which offered prize money of up to £1,000 for short stories as compared with Cassell's' prize of £30-£50. Increasingly Cassell's magazines were seen as stale, relying too heavily on reprinted material, and the firm entered the twentieth century lagging behind its competitors virtually every aspect of its business, editorial, production, illustration and sales.

The appointment of new management in 1905, and the recruitment of Newman Flower, a young executive trained at Lord Northcliffe's highly successful and modern Harmsworth Press, reinvigorated the company.[135] In particular, the launch of *Story-Teller* magazine in 1907 (to which Grimshaw contributed between 1916 and 1939), which was later calculated to have earned the firm £262,000 by its twenty-first birthday from an initial investment of £1,600, helped Cassell's back to its feet.[136] However, it was to be the eve of the First World War before the book side of the business was saved from its drift to second rank status by three star authors. In 1911, the firm acquired the rights to G. K. Chesterton's *Father Brown* stories; in 1913 a previously unknown author, Olive Wadsley, became a huge success with a romantic first novel, *The Flame*; and the acquisition of the reclusive Kitty O'Shea's *Charles Stewart Parnell: His Love Story and Political Life* was a major literary event in 1914.[137]

Cassell's came through the First World War comparatively well, thanks mainly to a solid trade list and healthy periodical publishing, although there had been fears at the beginning of the war that the firm might have to close.[138] H. G. Wells brought his war novel, *Mr Britling Sees It Through,* to the firm in 1915, and his friendship with Arnold Bennett helped bring the latter in with *The Lion's Share* the following year. After the war, Newman Flower was quick to identify the new market for war memoirs and commissioned Admiral Jellicoe's memoirs and a

[134] Ibid, 78.
[135] Ibid, 187.
[136] Ibid, 200-2.
[137] Ibid, 203-5.
[138] Three hundred and eighty-one Cassell's men joined the armed forces, many others went into munitions factory and other jobs of national importance. Thirty-two of the men who went on active service were killed. Nowell-Smith, 205-6.

biography of Earl Haig, as well as accounts from the German side, including those by Von Buelow, Marshal von Hindenburg and Admiral Scheer. In 1918, I. A. R. Wylie, Beatrice Grimshaw's immediate predecessor as Mills & Boon's 'June 15th' writer, moved to Cassell's with *Towards Morning*, a war novel that became a best-seller. Wylie stayed with the firm for the rest of her life. During the early 1920s, the firm now under the ownership of the newspaper owners William and Gomer Berry (later Viscounts Camrose and Kelmsley) benefited from a capital investment following its flotation on the stock market in 1923.[139] However, the industrial unrest of the decade, culminating in the General Strike of 1926, caused huge disruption for a company with a large printing works where nine separate trades unions represented the workforce, affecting not just Cassell's own publications but periodicals for other firms and institutions published under contract. By 1926 the Berrys' patience had run out, and they closed and sold off the printing works and transferred the periodical publishing to another section of their business empire. Newman Flower raised enough capital to buy out the remaining book business and took Cassell's in its new form, private again in 1927. Although Flower had been with the firm since 1905, the firm's historian, Simon Nowell-Smith observed a 'broadening of interest and an added liveliness' once he assumed complete command, and new authors were signed in increasing numbers.[140] Although the sudden death of Arnold Bennett in 1931 was a great loss to the firm, the list had been augmented by the signing of Francis Brett Young in 1925, Stefan Zweig in 1930 and Louis Bromfield in 1931. In addition, when Alfred Knopf closed his London office early in 1931 Cassell's acquired the British rights to his list and became the publishers of Dashiell Hammett, Willa Cather, Andre Gide and Guy de Maupassant.[141]

Beatrice Grimshaw came to Cassell's after Newman had resuscitated the firm with *My Lady Far Away* in 1929.[142] Six more new books followed in each of the following years up to 1935, the year of her final visit to Britain: *The Star in the Dust* (1930), *The Beach of Terror and Other Stories* (1931), *The Mystery of Tumbling Reef,* (1932), *The Long Beaches and Other South Sea*

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[139] Ibid, 209.
[140] Ibid, 206-7.
[141] Ibid, 219-20.
[142] Cassell archives were largely destroyed in a devastating air raid on 10 May 1941, so I have been unable to find extant correspondence between Grimshaw and Cassell's. Paternoster Row, the centre of English publishing had been bombed catastrophically on 31 December 1940, leading to the destruction of the premises of firms – and millions of their books – including Longmans, Nelson, and Simpkin, Marshall. Belle Sauvage yard miraculously escaped that bombing only to be in turn destroyed in a huge air raid on 10 May 1941 which killed 3,000 people, and damaged a huge amount of property in the West End as well as the City of London, including the chamber of the House of Commons. *DLB* 106, 77, and Nowell-Smith, 222.

Stories, (1933), *The Victorian Family Robinson: A Novel* (1934), and *Pieces of Gold and Other South Sea Stories* (1935), as well as the reissue of the earlier titles: *My Lady of the Island: a Tale of the South Seas* (previously published as *Red Bob of the Bismarcks* by Hurst & Blackett in 1915, and as previously noted, filmed as *Thunder Island* in 1921), and *Nobody's Island* (originally published by Hurst & Blackett in 1917). An American edition of *The Mystery of the Tumbling Reef* was published by Houghton Mifflin in Boston and New York, as well as by the Riverside Press in 1932. *Victorian Family Robinson* was published in New York in 1934 by Longmans. The latter was one of Grimshaw's most popular titles, and was serialised in *Australian Women's Weekly* from 9 February, 1935 heralded by a prominent announcement that:

> By special arrangement with the author, we have secured the Australian serial rights of the latest novel written by Beatrice Grimshaw. Miss Grimshaw is one of the most popular living writers of fiction. Her books have an amazing sale. Every leading periodical in the world eagerly seeks her stories, but until now no Australian newspaper has ever been able to secure serial rights of any of her novels.[143]

As we have seen, the distribution of Grimshaw's titles in America was complex. It is clear from contemporary reviews and reports, in the absence of exact sales figures, that Grimshaw's celebrity in America had been maintained since 1905. Susan Gardner notes that even at the height of the American Depression, Grimshaw could command $1,000 for a short story in an American magazine.[144] Grimshaw herself declared in 1939 that 'my stories sell very well in America, because my central figure is always a heroine. Americans look up to their women more than any other nationality. They like to see her come on out on top. I make sure she does.'[145] Short story writing was very lucrative for authors like Grimshaw, given the fees paid by American magazines in particular. In 1926, an interviewer for the *Adelaide Register* had noted that her 'first efforts were through an agent, but … now she sends all of her work, under contract, to one big combine, and prefers it to the haphazard distributing to the various periodicals and publishing houses.'[146] The *Sydney Morning Herald* noted in its obituary of Grimshaw that she had been particularly popular in America.[147]

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[143] 'Beatrice Grimshaw Novel for our New Serial', *Australian Women's Weekly,* Saturday, 2 February, 1935, 2.
[144] Gardner, 'A "vert" to Australianism'.
[145] *Sydney Morning Herald,* 13 February 1939
[146] Article in the *Adelaide Register,* 23 February 1926.
[147] *Sydney Morning Herald,* 27 July 1953,

Grimshaw's output of short stories was prolific in the 1930, and many were published, as well as articles and extracts from her novels, in *The Argosy, Australian Women's Weekly, Blue Book,* the *Boston Sunday Globe Magazine, Grand Magazine, Liberty, Pearson's Magazine, Strand Magazine,* and *The Story Teller.*[148] In 1931 Leslie Rees of *Grand Magazine* listed the magazine's three outstanding writers as Edgar Wallace, Agatha Christie, and Beatrice Grimshaw, and her short story, *The Safe of the Shalimar*, appeared in the same April 1931 issue of *Grand* as stories by Hugh Walpole and Henry de Vere Stackpoole.[149] By 1935 *Australian Women's Weekly* described her as 'unquestionably one of the most popular of living authors.'[150] However, a year later as ill-health began to be a problem, she left Papua New Guinea and retired to Bathurst in New South Wales at the age of sixty-six. It is notable that after the publication of *Rita Regina* in 1939 and *Lost Child* in 1940 by Herbert Jenkins (who had been a young man at John Lane: Bodley Head when *Broken Away* was published), her last few titles (when she turned to sensationalist crime fiction with titles such as *The Missing Blondes* in 1945) were not taken by British or American publishers. The Second World War had significant consequences for her. Susan Gardner observes that bombing in Britain destroyed not only stocks of her books – and therefore income from back sales – but also property she owned in Britain, and Welsh collieries in which she had shares, severely reducing her income. In the absence of personal papers and publishers' records, it is impossible to be certain of her contractual arrangements and intellectual property ownership, but clearly she was impoverished and had no access to money towards the end of her life. She applied to the Commonwealth Literary Fund for a pension in 1947, but on being granted £1 per week she turned it down, remarking that 'one pound a week is of no use to anyone.'[151] Susan Gardner interviewed a doctor who as a young man had treated her before her death for 'incipient insulin shock', and who recalled that neurological damage, possibly caused by untreated diabetes, rendered her foul-mouthed and disturbed towards the end of her life.[152] He also recalled that she had been unable to afford to heat her house. When she died in Bathurst in July 1953, the newswires carried the story to Sydney, London, Belfast, Dublin, Manchester, New York and beyond, and obituaries appeared in numerous newspapers. Beatrice Grimshaw died in a public

[148] Peter Ruber and Victor A. Berch compiled 'Beatrice (Ethel) Grimshaw: A Bibliography in Progress' in 2003. http://pulprack.com/arch/2004/04/beatrice_ethel.html. It is very comprehensive but inaccurate in some respects, particularly in regard to published books. To the best of my knowledge, my bibliography of Grimshaw's books is the most accurate of bibliographies compiled to date.

[149] Leslie Rees, *Grand Magazine,* 2 May 1931, 3.

[150] *Australian Women's Weekly,* 9 February, 1935.

[151] Gardner, 'A "vert" to Australianism'.

[152] Contemporary doctors have suggested to the author that the symptoms sound more like syphilis which can lie dormant in the body for decades.

hospital and was buried in a pauper's grave.[153] Her books went out of print and only a very few titles – mainly her travel writings – have been reprinted.

Conclusion:

Beatrice Grimshaw's descent into literary oblivion after her death is startling in light of her celebrity, influence and bestselling status over the first four decades of the twentieth-century, and doubtless relates not only to the 'lurid' nature of her popular romances, but also to the racist texture of her work when viewed from contemporary political and critical perspectives. The limited critical attention she has received from scholars based in the modern Pacific Nations, Australia and her native Ulster since the mid-1970s has tended to focus on the colonial and imperial texture of her work, and her embracing of what has been termed 'Australianism.' Earlier attempts at literary retrieval were hesitant, with critics like Susan Gardner attempting to justify 'not whether Grimshaw was racist … but whether and how white women's racism differed from white men's.' However, it is possible to view Grimshaw as pragmatic and expedient, rather than compromised. As Clare McCotter observes: 'Empire is not posited by Grimshaw as a motivating factor behind her original decision to travel to the Pacific; it only becomes a justification for travel once she is already in Oceania.' Grimshaw was a pioneering woman and a confident self-publicist. She fostered and maintained her reputation in remote locations in spite of her independence from her family from the age of twenty-one and her unmarried status. It is impossible to miss how all known photographs of Grimshaw are of a stern, upright woman with spectacles, rigid hair and Edwardian dress, doubtless a deliberate projection of image by the author. McCotter suggests that Grimshaw was 'quick to show the public that her sense of propriety and decorum were undiminished by colonial travels. And indeed it may well have been the need to maintain an impeccable reputation that, among other variables, encouraged Grimshaw to imbue her off-the-road travels with a sense of imperial duty.'[154] Cotter suggests that in order for her travels in Fiji, to take one example, 'to meet with approval from a readership at home, Grimshaw's horseback journey through the centre of Fiji with three Fijian guides may have required what were deemed to be more serious underpinnings than a love of the open road. And what could have been more serious to a large

[153] Gardner, 'A "vert" to Australianism'.
[154] McCotter, Clare, 'Woman Traveller/Colonial Tourist: Deconstructing the Great Divide in Beatrice Grimshaw's Travel Writing. *Irish Studies Review*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (2007), 482, 485.

percentage of Grimshaw's British readership in 1907 than imperial duty?'[155] Gardner's earlier analysis of Grimshaw's difficulty with her motivations for travel is virtually identical: 'Grimshaw's mandate to propagandise, then, resulted from a long pre-existent urge to travel. Since by then she came from a family no longer of means, she could best fulfil this desire by allying herself with the forces of capitalist and imperial expansion.'[156]

In her native Ireland, meanwhile, a combination of Revivalist exclusions and political or cultural difficulties in respect of the British imperial project inevitably rendered her doubly problematic. Her publicity work for early tourism complicates her inclusion in an orthodox narrative of the women traveller, while the unlikely stretch from a background in conservative late Victorian Ulster to the social and political climate of post-World War II Australia further obscures her critical and national position. In support of her claims to fresh critical attention, it is important to understand the contexts of the literary marketplace in which Grimshaw operated at a time of the significant and momentous changes in the publishing industry which this thesis has foregrounded. Paul Delaney, as discussed in the Introduction, notes the arrival of new kinds of writers and readers who supplanted the 'man of letters' of the high Victorian period and his relatively narrow readership:

> [The] compact group of major Victorian writers, held together by a collective ethic and coherent standards, achieved a hegemony in the literary system that would be eroded in the literary marketplace at the end of the century. Once eroded, that hegemony could never be regained by any successor group; it was precluded by the new conditions of literary production, which could be summed up as a shift from cultural authority to material success, from prestige incentives to monetary ones. The broader and more open literary marketplace, driven by popular literacy and consumer choice, necessarily brought with it a decentering of literary authority.[157]

Beatrice Grimshaw was a successful and bestselling Irish author at a transitional time in the both publishing and Irish history. She succeeded in moving beyond an Irish Literary Revival cradle to build for herself a successful publishing career over half a century from the 1890s to the Second World War, a period of immense social change in the position of women as well as huge structural change in the literary marketplace. Her recognition of the compromised

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[155] McCotter, 485.
[156] Gardner, 'A "vert" to Australianism'.
[157] Delany, Paul, 'The New Literary Marketplace, 1870-1914', Chapter 7 in *Literature, Money, and the Market: From Trollope to Amis* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 103.

circumstances in the period of publishers such as John Lane, her confidence in moving to new publication platforms (including an international print journalism circuit), and her willingness to adapt to the demands of a mass popular readership through the channels of a new enterprise such as Mills & Boon, speak to her rare status as one of the very few Irish writers of her time, female or male, able to capitalise on a global field of book production, distribution and reception. In this respect, retrieval of her publishing history opens up space for her critical reputation to begin to find a foothold, in advance of more rigorous ideological scrutiny within the contexts of Irish literary history, New Woman fiction, diasporic and imperial popular culture studies.

Conclusion

In 1896 the publisher Edmund Downey told D. J. O'Donoghue that he was:

> [C]onvinced that all the talk... about the 'Irish Literary Revival' simply prevented any such literary revival... It was much easier to sell Irish books before any of the books began to be talked up, & everything pointed to a real revival in the literature concerning Ireland – but the Book-Mongers spoiled it all. Christ save us from any more of them! The Scotch don't talk of literary revivals. Bad as their present literature is, at any rate they support it literally without screaming over it & lying about it.'[1]

As we have seen, Downey was a veteran of the battle between different camps which sought to define the texts suitable for canonisation in the Irish Literary Revival. He identified early the narrowness of the body of literature that was being privileged by Revivalist incentives, and the associated elision of a wider corpus of 'literature concerning Ireland.' Downey's central position in London in the 1890s at the confluence of the Revival, Irish politics and the publishing landscape illustrates the tensions at play in the period when Ireland moved towards, and subsequently achieved, independence from Britain. Downey was reflecting on the determination of the leaders of the Irish Literary Revival to fashion a national literature according to their limited ideals, and his frustration at the trajectory of the Revival movement and its significance for the development of Irish literary output is evident.

Considerable scholarly attention has been paid in the past three decades to publishing and book history, engaging a range of theories and methodologies, and a large body of work has emerged on the evolution of the book as both material and social object. In line with these developments, this thesis has attempted to examine the impact of the changing contexts of publication and authorship in the years 1884-1922 on the networks of dissemination, reception and influence that operate between authors, publishers, printers, distributors, and readers, and particularly how the key developments were significant for Irish writers and their publishers. Irish authors who published in London were strategic, pragmatic and rational in their career decisions; however, as we have seen, the incentive of the Irish Literary Revival in the context of cultural nationalism to provide Ireland with a distinctive sense of national identity in the English

[1] Letter from Edmund Downey to D. J. O'Donoghue, 10 October 1896, quoted in Peter Van de Kamp, 'Whose Revival? Yeats and the Southwark Literary Club,' in Peter Liegbriets and Peter Van De Kamp (eds.), *Tumult of Images: Essays on W. B. Yeats and Politics* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 154-81,178.

language has resulted in the obscuring or elision of many contemporary writers who were deemed peripheral to this project. This thesis, therefore, foregrounds the publishing experience of Irish authors such as Jane Barlow and Beatrice Grimshaw, and the London-based Irish publisher, Edmund Downey, to contribute to the opening up of a more expansive literary history of the period.

As we have seen, Ireland's history shaped the evolution of the native publishing industry. Structural difficulties flowed from the colonial supremacy of the small English-speaking settler population over the Irish-speaking and largely illiterate native population. The monopolistic early legal framework for printing together with the exclusion of Ireland from the Statute of Anne copyright law resulted both in an enfeebled local book trade and clear incentives for authors to publish in London. The centripetal magnetism of London increased, and was consolidated, in the late nineteenth century with the rapid development of the metropolitan publishing industry in the largest city in the world, an imperial capital with close trading relationships with a fifth of the world's population by 1900. In examining the publishing history of Irish writers, it is striking to note the extensive geographic reach of their publications beyond Dublin and London to markets served by New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Toronto, Paris, Leipzig, Berlin, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Sydney, Melbourne and Auckland as a consequence of the networks of offices and trade established by their publishers.

Given this international reach, it is instructive by way of conclusion to see how these findings relate to broader theories of book and publishing history. In his influential exegesis on nationalism, *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson argues that the interaction between capitalism and print was one of the key factors in the growth of nationalism. After the coming of print in 1455, Anderson identifies a significant shift in the book market from the initial market of 'a wide but thin stratum of Latin-readers' who were bilingual, and thus a naturally small educated elite.' For Anderson, the logic of capitalism meant that once the elite European Latin market was saturated, 'the potentially huge markets represented by the monoglot masses would beckon', and observes that in the fifty years after Gutenberg first printed his Bible, some twenty million books were printed in Europe – a revolution in itself – while a century later, the number of books in print in many vernacular languages had multiplied to 200 million.[2]

[2] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2006, rev. ed.), 38, citing Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450-1800* (London: New Left Books, 1978), 122.

Much of the impetus for the massive expansion in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century printing was engendered by the Protestant Reformation, whose propagandists successfully harnessed the expanding vernacular print market, thereby rapidly creating large new reading publics – not least among merchants and women, who typically did not read Latin – thus 'simultaneously mobilis[ing] them for politico-religious purposes.'[3] The Reformation sowed the seeds for the development of national consciousness by facilitating the growth of national (or vernacular) publishing industries which differed significantly from the monolithic universality of the pre-Reformation Catholic Church's manuscript and Latin printed books. Anderson argues that the next major shift in European political development was the rise of nationalism and nation states in the eighteenth century. Once again the logic of print capitalism was the eventual dominance of what he terms the 'languages-of-power', or the print languages of English, Norman French and German, which 'created unified fields of exchange and communication below Latin and above the spoken vernaculars.' He suggests that had print-capitalism 'sought to exploit each potential oral vernacular market, it would have remained a capitalism of petty proportions.'[4]

Instead, the centres of the European publishing industry were consolidated in the capitals or major cities of the successful nation-building states where the economic imperatives of market, scale, and supply were present, so that, far from being a trade of 'petty proportions', significant publishing centres were established, which in turn encouraged the development of related trades according to the model of geographical clustering seminally identified, as we have seen, by the economist Alfred Marshall.[5] Paris, therefore, dominated the French publishing industry after Lyon's short-lived independence as an early publishing and distribution centre, and this dominance extended to Francophone Belgium.[6] The Austrian and Norwegian book trades were overshadowed respectively by Leipzig and Copenhagen, the location of much larger same-language publishing centres with no barriers of access to their smaller neighbours. Outside

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[3] Anderson, 40. Febvre and Martin note that before the age of print, Rome won every battle against heresy because of it had better lines of communication than its challengers. However, the coming of print facilitated the Reformation: when Martin Luther nailed his theses to the chapel door in Wittenberg in 1517, they were printed up in German translation, and within 15 days [had been] seen in every part of the country.' Febvre and Martin, 289-90, quoted in Anderson 39.

[4] Anderson, 4, 44, 43.

[5] Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics* (London: Macmillan, 1890), 225. See Chapter Two for a discussion of Marshall's thesis on the impact of geographic clustering on the development of an industry. Scotland, with its small but well-developed Edinburgh publishing industry, was an exception to this model as Peter Garside discusses in 'Publishing, 1800-1830' in Bell, Bill, (ed.) *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland: Volume 3: Ambition and Industry 1800-1880* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

[6] James Raven, 'Selling Books Across Europe c.1450-1800 in *Publishing History* 34 (1993), 5-17, 9.

Europe, the Canadian book trade has historically been weaker than might be expected for a country of its size, largely because of its proximity to the United States of America. Dublin, therefore, like Brussels, Vienna and Oslo was a capital city with a nationalist impulse for a strong native publishing trade but weakened by proximity to its mighty neighbour.

A key point to note, however, is while the metropolitan centres exert an irresistible dominance on literary publishing, non-trade (i.e. educational, official and legal) publishing is highly localised, and in this undertaking, as we saw in Chapter One, nineteenth- and twentieth-century Irish publishers developed successful businesses in the context of the market in which they were operating. Religious differences between Ireland and Britain created the conditions for the strong devotional and homiletic book trade that was a defining feature of Irish publishing. Anderson's argument for print-capitalism as a foundational condition for nationhood therefore, would seem to be more applicable to the formation of larger European nation states such as Britain, France, Germany, or Spain, and less to smaller nations such as Ireland. Anderson, in fact, emphasises the significance of the large publishing centres in his 2006 revised edition of *Imagined Communities,* when he surveys the publishing after-life of his original 1983 text, observing that his book was published in thirty-three countries and in twenty-nine languages, and suggesting modestly (but accurately) that 'this spread has much less to do with its qualities than with its original publication in London, in the English language, which now serves as a kind of global-hegemonic, post-clerical Latin.'[7] Anderson's revised view thus shows that the earlier emphasis on nations and nationalism obscured rather than illuminated the importance of country-specific and local factors in the development of publishing. In this context, both the attenuated nature of Irish publishing and the attractions of London come into focus, and we can see the derogatory characterisation of Irish writers who published in London as 'literary absentees', and their consequent elision from the national canon, as having little regard for the powerful magnetism of the London literary marketplace.

A second key point arises in relation to the future development of book history studies. Several leading researchers in the field of book and publishing history have made persuasive arguments for regarding books as a transnational commodity, and the experience of Irish literary authors in the period of 1884-1922 supports this view. This reality seems to indicate a possible breakdown in national parameters of publishing and raises the question of how far this reading

[7] Anderson, 207.

of the book as a transnational commodity can be reconciled with the increasing number of university and academic press editions of book and publishing histories that have a determinedly national context and arrangement.[8]

As already noted, early in the development of book history as a discrete academic field, Robert Darnton suggested that its emergence 'arose from the convergence of several disciplines on a common set of problems, all of them having to do with the process of communication.' Darnton examined the rise of book history across Britain, Europe and the United States across several academic fields, and noted indigenous traditions of scholarship that led scholars in the various countries to concentrate on different themes and disciplines. Darnton's desire to navigate a clearer route through 'interdisciplinarity run riot' and see the subject as a whole, led him to develop the theory of the 'communications circuit', modelling the life cycle of a given book from author to reader via all the participants in the production and dissemination of that book in order to analyse how it comes into being and spreads through society. He argued that as 'books themselves do not respect limits, either linguistic or national', then it follows that '[b]y its very nature... the history of books must be international in scale and interdisciplinary in method.'[9] Darnton's model was effectively no more than a simple flow chart and it has since been superseded by more complex bibliographical methodologies, but his holistic approach to the subject, and his emphasis on the international and interdisciplinary nature of the field, shaped the direction of subsequent scholarship. In 1987 he warned that '[t]he history of the book...faces a danger that has restricted the development of other disciplines: nationalisation.'[10] Michael Suarez further developed this theme in an essay entitled 'Historiographical Problems and Possibilities in Book History and National Histories of the Book', and cited the 1980 'Statement on the History of the Book' produced at the Association of College and Research Libraries' Rare Books and Manuscripts Preconference which observed that 'since the book is by its nature a cultural force that transcends national boundaries, both the design and compilation of basic tools require international cooperation.'[11]

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[8] What do we make of contemporary bestseller lists, for example, when a cursory survey reveals very little overlap between different countries, except for a few outliers with huge international sales which represent only a tiny proportion of the output of the modern publishing industry?

[9] Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', in *Daedalus,* Vol. 111, No. 3, 'Representation and Realities' (Summer, 1982), 65-83, 65, 66-7, 80-1.

[10] Robert Darnton, 'Histoire du livre, Geschichte des Buchwesens: An Agenda for Comparative History', *Publishing History 22* (1987) 33-41, 33.

[11] Michael F. Suarez, S.J., 'Historiographical Problems and Possibilities in Book History and National Histories of the Book', in *Studies in Bibliography*, Volume 56, (2003-2004). Kenneth E. Carpenter, Kenneth (ed.), *Books*

Similarly, James Raven suggested in 1993 that:

> Although there are several national 'history of the book' projects in progress, in many ways the nation state is a misleading geographical unit for such research. The political (not always language) unit is the obvious enabler for retrospective national bibliographies (upon which some countries have yet to embark), but books circulating within that unit were and are international commodities.[12]

As Raven observes, a number of substantial national book histories have emerged, or are emerging, from university and academic presses over the past couple of decades. Britain has the seven-volume *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, which ranges from a starting point of c. 600 BCE in the first volume to the seventh volume on *The Twentieth Century* (2006-14, Volume 1 forthcoming); the four-volume *Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland* (2007-17); and *A Nation and Its Books: A History of the Book in Wales* (1998), a single volume collection of thirty-four essays. Oxford University Press has issued three of five volumes so far of the *Oxford History of the Book in Ireland,* arranged thematically and chronologically from the Gaelic manuscript tradition to 2000 (2006-2011, Volumes I and II forthcoming). The massive *Histoire de l'Edition Française* in four volumes appeared in the 1980s; the United States has the *History of the Book in America* (2000) in five volumes, and there are three volumes of the *History of the Book in Canada* (2004-7). These editions treat the history of the book chronologically, with some similar volume divisions based on obvious transnational events in book history such as the coming of printing, or the invention of industrial printing presses, and other volumes delineated by indigenous events such as the lapsing of the Printing Act in Britain in 1695, or the Act of Union in Ireland in 1801. They do not, however, provide a context for how, for example, publishing developed in Ireland and Scotland in relation to the London market, or how the evolution of American publishing impacted on the Canadian book trade.

We can see, therefore, that while non-trade publishing is local, literary production is transnational. Thus, reading Irish authors in an isolated national context can distort understanding of both their contemporary influence and the popular reading of their time. A more productive paradigm is a synthetic reading such as that proposed by Matthew Campbell

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and Society in History: *Papers of the Association of College and Research Libraries Rare Books and Manuscripts Preconference, 24-28 June, 1980, Boston, MA* (New York: R. and R. Bowker, 1983), *xi-xii, xi.*

[12] Raven, 6.

for poetry (and which we can extend to prose) when he suggests that '[a]t the very least, to tell the story of nineteenth century Irish poetry, we cannot avoid matching it with another, more frequently told one, following recent historians and critics from a number of ideological positions in revising it a little to allow in the broader British story.'[13] In foregrounding the importance of Irish literary networks and placing Irish authors within a global field of book production, distribution and reception, this thesis has sought to open up important literary contexts such as the upsurge in wider British regional, colonial and popular fiction in the period, and has attempted to extend the narrow group of texts often taken to constitute Irish literary history. In conclusion, it has confirmed the need for a relocation of Revival-era writers in a wider commercial print-culture landscape in order, first, to expose the complex profile of Irish literary output, and second, to introduce significant new perspectives on the influence of publishing and the book trade on Ireland's cultural evolution at this time.

[13] Matthew Campbell, *Irish Poetry Under the Union, 1801-1924* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 6.

APPENDIX A

Publications of (1) Ward and Downey, 1884-1898, and (2) Downey & Co, 1894-1917

(1) Ward & Downey

1884

Barrett, Frank	*John Ford: His Faults and His Follies.*
Farjeon, B L	*Great Porter Square: A Mystery.*
	Grif: A Story of Australian Life.
O'Donovan Rossa, Jeremiah	*Edward O'Donnell: A Story of Ireland in Our Day.*

1885

Adams, William Davenport	*Songs from the Novelists, from Elizabeth to Victoria.*
Argles, Mrs Margaret (afterwards Hungerford)	*A Maiden All Folorn, And Other Stories.*
Barnett, George Smith	*Victor Hugo: His Life and Work.*
Barrett, Frank	*Folly Morrison.* A Novel.
	Honest Davie. A Novel.
By the author of "The New Mistress"	*Some Stained Pages. A Story of Life.*
Collins, Mabel	*The Prettiest Woman in Warsaw.* A Novel.
Croker, Mrs B. M.	*Proper Pride... a new edition.*
Dowling, Richard	*The Duke's Sweetheart.* A Romance.
	Under St. Paul's. A Romance.
Dubard, Maurice	*Japanese Life, Love, and Legend.*
Edwards, Matilda B. B.	*The Flower of Doom; or, the Conspirator, and other stories.*
Farjeon, B. L.	*The Sacred Nugget:* A Novel.
	The House of White Shadows. A novel.
	Christmas Angel.
Fenn, G. M.	*The Dark House: A Knot Unravelled.*
	Eve at the Wheel. A Tale of Three Hundred Virgins.

Fitzgerald, Percy H.	*An Apology for the Life of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, or, The New Politics.*
Fitzgibbon, Edward	*The New River: A Romance of the Time of Hugh Myddleton.*
Gift, Theo [pseud. Dora Havers]	*Lil Lorimer.*
Gray, Arnold	*Like Lost Sheep: A Riverside Story.*
G. M.	*Morning Grey.* A Novel.
Hardy, Lady Mary Anne	*In Sight of Land.* A Novel.
Harrison, Constance Cary	*Folk and Fairy Tales.*
Hilary, Max	*Hunted Down.*
Hoffman, F. A.	*A Catechism of Politics: for the use of the new electorate.*
Hugo, Victor	*The Outlaw of Iceland: A Romance.* [Transl.]
Korolenko, Vladimir	*The Blind Musician* (Transl.)
Legge, Alfred Owen	*The Unpopular King: The Life and Times of Richard III.*
MacEwen, Constance (afterwards Dicker)	*Not Every Day: A Love Octave.*
McQuoid, Katharine	*At the Red Glove.* A Novel.
Molloy, J Fitzgerald	*Court Life Below Stairs: or, London under the First Georges, 1714-1760.*
	Royalty Restored, or London under Charles II.
Notley, Frances	*Mind, Body, and Estate. And Sea Maidens.* [Tales.].
O'Connor, Right Hon T P	*Gladstone's House of Commons.*
O'Reilly, Elinor Grace	*David Broome. Artist.* A Novel.
O'Shea, John Augustus	*Leaves From the Life of a Special Correspondent.*
Panton, Jane Ellen	*Less than Kin.* A Novel.
Phillips, Francis Charles	*As in a Looking Glass.*
Sand, Georges	*Letters of Georges Sand.* [Transl. and ed. R. Ledos de Beaufort]
Stepniak, S.	*Russian under the Tzars* [Transl. W. Westall].
Strauss, G. L. M.	*Philosophy in the Kitchen: General Hints on Food and Drinks.*

Tristram, William Outram — *Comedies from a Country-side.*

1886

Alb. — *Living Paris and France. A Guide to Manners, Monuments, and the Life of the people; and Handbook for Travellers.*

Allen, F. M. — *In One Town.* A Novel.

Anon. — *A House of Tears. An Original Story.*

Anon. — *Eaten Up.* By Eosten.

Argles, Margaret — *Her Week's Amusement.* A novel.

Arnold, Frederick — *Three-Cornered Essays. By a Middle-aged Englishman*

Robertson of Brighton.

Bates, E. Catherine — *A Year in the Great Republic.*

By the author of "Phyllis" — *Lady Valworth's Diamonds.*

A Mental Struggle. A Novel.

Beaufort, R de Ledos — *The Abbe Liszt: The Story of His Life.* [Transl.].

Cameron, Caroline Emily — *A Life's Mistake.*

Daunt, William J O'Neill — *Eighty-Five years of Irish History 1800-85.*

Dodd, Anna Bowman — *Cathedral Days. A Tour through Southern England.*

Dowling, Richard — *The Skeleton Key.*

Elliott, Frances — *Old Court Life in France* (New ed.).

Farjeon, B. L. — *In a Silver Sea.*

Fendall, Percy — *Spiders and Flies.* A Novel.

Fenn, G. M. — *The Chaplain's Craze: Being the Mystery of Findon Friars.*

Double Cunning: The Tale of a Transparent Mystery.

The Master of Ceremonies. A Novel.

This Man's Wife. A Novel.

Frost, Thomas — *Reminiscences of a Country Journalist.*

Gibbon, Charles — *A Princess of Jutedom.* A Novel.

Grant, James — *Dulcie Carlyon.* A Novel.

Hardy, Iza Duffus — *Oranges and Alligators: Sketches of South Florida Life.*

Harte, Francis Bret — *Snow-bound at Eagles.*

Keenan, Henry Francis	*The Aliens.* A Novel.
Keith, Leslie	*The Chilcotes: Or Two Widows.* A Novel.
[Pseud. Grace L. Keith Johnston]	
King, Richard Ashe	*A Shadowed Life.*
Lermontov, Mikhail	*A Hero of Our Time* [Transl.].
Lester, H. F.	*Under Two Fig Trees.*
Macquoid, Katharine S.	*Louisa:* A Novel.
	Sir James Appleby, Bart. A Novel.
Mann, M. E.	*Confessions of a Coward and Coquette.* A Novel.
Martin, Mary Emma	*From the Silent Past.* A Novel.
Molloy, J Fitzgerald	*That Villain, Romeo!* A Novel.
	Famous Plays, with a Discourse By Way of Prologue on the Playhouses of the Restoration
Oliphant, Mrs	*Oliver's Bride: A True Story.*
O'Reilly, Eleanor Grace	*David Broome.* Artist.
O'Shea, John Augustus	*An Iron-Bound City or, Five months of Peril and Privation.*
Phillips, Francis Charles	*Jack and Three Jills.* A Novel.
	A Lucky Young Woman. A Novel.
	Social Vicissitudes.
Purnell, Thomas	*The Lady Drusilla; a Psychological Romance.*
Roosevelt, Blanche	*The Copper Queen. A Romance of Today and Yesterday*
[pseud. B. R. Tucker Macchetta]	
Sand, George	*Letters of George Sand.*
Smith, Mrs J.	*Atlanta. A Story of the Lost Island.*
Thomas, Annie H.	*A Reigning Favourite.*
Wall, A. H.	*Fifty Years of a Good Queen's reign. A Book for the Royal Jubilee of 1886-7.*
Weldon, G. W. (ed.)	*Tillotson's Sermons.*
Westall, W. B.	*Two Pinches of Snuff.*

1887

Allen F. M.	*Through Green Glasses.*

	In One Town.
Anon.	*The Twin Soul; or, The Strange Experiences of Mr Rameses.*
Appleton, George	*A Terrible Legacy. A Tale of the South Downs.*
Ayles, Margaret	*A Modern Circe.*
Barrett, Frank	*His Helpmate.*
	Found Guilty. A Novel.
Bates, Emily Katharine	*A Year in the Great Republic.*
Blinkhoolie	*A Tory Lordling.*
[Pseud. William Allison]	
Broglie, Duc de	*Personal Recollections of the Late Duc de Broglie, 1785-1820.*
Buchanan, R. W.	*A Look Round Literature.*
By an Old Bohemian	*Dishes and Drinks; or Philosophy in the Kitchen.*
[Pseud. Dr. G. M. L. Strauss]	
By the Auth of 'Dame Durden'	*'The Lady Nancye'.* A Novel.
By the Author of Mollie Bawn	*A Modern Circe.*
('Duchess', pseud. Mrs W. Hungerford)	
By the Author of Phyllis	*Her Week's Amusement.* A Novel.
'By the author of Spavin Hall'	*The Fox and the Goose*: *A Tale of the Curragh of Kildare*
Carstone, Sydney	*Love, the Conqueror.* A Novel.
Collins, Mabel	*Through the Gates of Gold.*
Cope, Baron	*Mad.* A Novel.
Courteney, L. T.	*Travels in the Interior; or, the Wonderful adventures of Luke and Belinda.*
Croker, Mrs. B. M.	*Pretty Miss Neville.*
Curtis, George Ticknor	*Creation or Evolution? A Philosophical Inquiry.*
Davenport Adams, W. H.	*The Healing Art; or, Chapters upon Medicine, Diseases, Remedies and Physicians, etc.*
Douglas, William	*Duelling Days in the Army.*
Dowling, Richard	*Ignorant Essays.*
Farjeon, B. L.	*Molka: "Christmas Angel.*
	The Tragedy of Featherstone. A Novel.

	A Secret Inheritance.
Fendall, Percy	*Sex to the Last.* A Novel.
Fenn, G. M.	*The Bag of Diamonds.*
Fenn, G. M.	*One Maid's Mischief.* A Novel.
Foli, Madame R.	*The Last Stake: A Tale of Monte Carlo.*
Fothergill, Caroline	*An Enthusiast.*
Gould, Sabine Baring	*Little Tu'penny.*
Grant, James	*Playing with Fire. A story of the Soudan War.*
Harland, Marion	*Common Sense in the Nursery.*
Hogan, James Francis	*The Irish in Australia.*
Keane, John F.	*Six Months in the Hejaz: an account of the Mohammedan Pilgrimages to Meccah and Medinah.*
	Three Years of a Wanderer's Life.
	Mere Shakings.
King, Richard Ashe	*A Coquette's Conquest.*
Koettschau, C.	*The Coming Franco-German War. A Military Study.*
Kropotkin, P.	*In Russian and French Prisons.*
Martin, Mary Emma	*Amor Vincit.* A Novel.
Molloy, John Fitzgerald	*A Modern Magician.*
Moulton, Louise C.	*Ourselves and Our Neighbours: Short Chats on Social Topics.*
Murray, David Christie	*A Novelist's Note Book.*
O'Connor T. P., MP	*The Parnell Movement* (new and rev. ed.).
O'Shea, John Augustus	*Romantic Spain: A Record of Personal Experience.*
Panton, Jane Ellen	*A Tangled Chain.* A Novel.
Phillips, F. C.	*The Dean and his Daughter.* A Novel.
	As in a Looking Glass.
Purnell, Thomas	*The Lady Drusilla.*
Reed, Samuel Percy	*The Candidate's Latin Grammar,*
Riddell, Mrs J. H.	*Miss Gascoigne.* A Novel.
	The Nun's Curse.
Rita	*Gretchen.* A Novel.
Roosevelt, Blanche	*Verdi: Milan and 'Othello'.*
Scott, Edward	*Grace and Folly; or, Dancing and Dancers.*

Tristram, William Outram	*A Strange Affair.* A Novel.
Tytler, Sarah	*Logie Town.* A Novel.
Walker, Thomas	*The Original.*
Warden, Florence	*A Prince of Darkness.* A Novel.
Westall, W. B.	*Her Two Millions.*
Wilde, Lady	*Ancient legends, Mystic Charms and Superstitions of Ireland*
Wohl, J.	*Francois Liszt: Recollections of a Compatriot* [Transl.]

1888

Addison, Francis	*An Adventuress.* A Novel.
Allen, F. M.	*The Voyage of the Ark As Related by Dan Banim Through Green Glasses.*
Anon.	*Memoirs of an Arabian Princess.*
Anon.	*Proposals: Being a Maiden Meditation.* A novel.
Appleton G. W.	*Frozen Hearts.*
Argles, Margaret	*Marvel.*
Arnold, A. S.	*The Story of Thomas Carlyle.*
Barrett, Frank	*A Recoiling Vengeance.*
Blackburne, Gertrude	*In Opposition.* A novel.
Croker, Mrs B. M.	*Diana Barrington. A Romance of Central India.*
Diehl, Alice Mangold	*Fire.* A Novel.
Dowling, Richard	*Arm-Chair Essays.*
Dunphie, Charles J.	*The Chameleon. Fugitive Pieces on Many-Coloured Matters.*
Farjeon, B. L.	*Devlin the Barber.*
	Miser Farebrother. A Novel.
	Toilers of Babylon.
Fenn, G. M.	*The Story of Antony Grace; or, Some Stained Pages.*
	The Man with a Shadow.
Field, Henry M.	*Old and New Spain.* [With a map.]
Fitzgerald, Percy H.	*The Life and Times of John Wilkes, MP: Lord Mayor of London.*
Fothergill, Caroline	*A Voice in the Wilderness.*

Forrester, Mrs	*An Impecunious Lady*
Garnett, Lucy M. J.	*Greek Folk Songs.*
Gerard, Frances	*Angelica Kauffmann.*
Grant, James	*Love's Labour Won.* A Novel.
Gray, Arnold	*Periwinkle: an autobiography.* A Novel.
Greenwood, James	*Handsome Jack and Other Stories.*
Hamilton, Edwin	*The Moderate Man and Other Verses.*
Hopkins, Tighe	*For Freedom.* A Novel.
Hudson, Frank	*The Last Hurdle: A Story of Sporting and Courting.*
Keith, Leslie	*Uncle Bob's Niece.* A Novel.
King, Frank Leigh C.	*Past, Present and Future. Being a Brief Epitome of the History of This world.*
King, Richard Ashe	*A Leal Lass.*
Kink, Emmanuel [Pseud. Richard Dowling]	*School Board Essays.*
Liebe, J. [transl.]	*The Wit and Wisdom of the Late Emperor William.*
Linskill, Mary	*Robert Holt's Illusion, and Other Stories.*
Merryfield, Frank	*Molly's Story. Being a Family History as Related by a Faithful Servant.*
Molloy, J. Fitzgerald	*The Life and Adventures of Edmund Kean: Tragedian, 1787-1833.*
Nisbet, Hume	*The Land of the Hibiscus Blossom: A Yarn of the Papuan Gulf.*
Notley,Frances	*The Power of the Hand.*
Panton, Jane Ellen	*From Kitchen to Garret. Hints for young householders.*
Payn, James	*A Prince of the Blood.*
Purnell, Thomas	*Dust and Diamonds.*
Rabbe, Felix	*Shelley: the man and the poet.* [Transl.]
Riddell, Mrs J. H.	*The Nun's Curse.*
	Idle Tales.
Ruete, Emily	*Memoirs of an Arabian Princess.*
Runciman, James	*The Chequers: Being the Natural History of a Public House.*
Scott, Edward	*Dancing and Dancers; or,Grace and Folly.*

Solly, Henry	*Lady Stella and her Lover* .
Stevens, A.	*Miss Hildred.* A Novel.
Strauss, G. M. L.	*Emperor William: the Life of a Great King and a Good Man.*
Suckling, H. J.	*Anti Darwin, etc.*
Van de Velde, Madame M S	*Random Recollections of Courts and Society.*
Warden, Florence	*A Woman's Face.*
Westall, W. B	*Nigel Fortescue; or, The Hunted Man. An Andean Romance.*
Wills, Charles James	*The Pit Town Coronet: a Family Mystery.*
Wingfield, Hon Lewis S.	*The Curse of Koshiu. A Chronicle of Old Japan.*

1889

Allen, F. M.	*From the Green Bag.*
Anon. [Christian Lys]	*The Swoop of the Eagles: An Episode from the Secret History of Europe.*
Argles, Mrs Margaret	*In Durance Vile, and Other Stories.*
Badrick, Frederick C.	*The Spanish Galleon. A West Country Romance.*
Baldwin, Louisa	*The Story of a Marriage.*
Bates, Emily K.	*Kaleidoscope: Shifting Scenes from East to West.*
Betham-Edwards, Matilda	*For One and the World.* A Novel.
Bishop, Gilbert	*The Beachcombers or Slave Trading under the Union Jack.*
Campbell, Josephine E.	*The Crime of Keeziah Keene.*
Chesney, F R	*Operatic Tales.*
Cobb, Thomas	*Brownie's Plot.*
Corkran, Alice	*The Fatal House.*
Croker, B. M.,	*Diana Barrington: A Romance of Central India.*
Daly, J. Bowles	*Glimpses of Irish Industries.*
Dowling, Richard	*Indolent Essays.*
Doyle, Sir Arthur Conan	*The Mystery of Cloomber.*
Edwards, Matilda	*For One and the World.* A novel.

Everett-Green, Evelyn	*Monica.* A Novel.
F. A.	*Reminiscences of a Literary and Clerical Life.*
Fenn, G. M.	*In Jeopardy, and other Stories of Peril*
Fenn, G. M.	*Of High Descent.* A Novel.
	The Lass that Loved a Soldier. A Novel.
Fowell, F. G.	*The Wreck of the Argo; or, the Island Home.*
Francis, J.	*The Story of Mary Herries.*
Gerard, Frances A.	*Audrey Ferris.* A Novel.
[Pseud. Miss Geraldine Fitzgerald]	
Gibney, Somerville	*A Charge from the Grave.*
Goodman, Edward J.	*His Other Self.*
Hardy, Thomas	*Desperate Remedies.* A Novel
Herbert, F. W. von	*Leonora.*
Hogan, James F.	*The Australian in London and America.*
Hudson, Frank	*A Very Mad World: or, Myself and My Neighbour Fair.*
	The Origin of Plum Pudding, with other Fairy Tales.
Hulburd	*In Black and White.* A Novel.
Leeds, Mrs Lucy A.	*The Master of Rylands.*
Le Fanu, Joseph S	*The Wyvern Mystery.*
Lys, Christian	*Suspicion. A Story.*
Macquoid, Katharine S.	*Roger Ferron and Other Stories.*
MacMahon, Ella	*Heathcote.* A Novel.
Martin, Mary Emma	*Common Clay.* A Novel
Moore, George	*Mike Fletcher:* A Novel.
Nisbet, Hume	*Memories of the Months.*
	Eight Bells. A Tale of the Sea and the Cannibals of New Guinea.
	Doctor Bernard St Vincent: A Sensational Romance of Sydney.
O'Brien, Fitz-James	*What Was It? and Other Stories.*
O'Grady, Standish	*Red Hugh's Captivity: A Picture of Ireland Social and Political in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.*
Panton, J. E.	*Nooks and Corners: Being the Companion Volume to 'From Kitchen to Garret'.*

	Bypaths and Cross-roads.
Pask, Arthur T.	*The Eyes of the Thames.*
Phillips, F. C.	*As in a Looking Glass.* A Novel.
Pickering, Edgar T.	*At the Eleventh Hour.* A novel.
Pigot, F. [pseud.]	*The Strangest Journey of My Life, and Other Stories.*
Riddell, Mrs J. H.	*Princess Sunshine and Other Stories.*
Saunders, Marshall	*My Spanish Sailor.*
Sergeant, Adeline	*Roy's Repentance.* A Novel.
Sigerson, Hester	*A Ruined Race, or the Last MacManus of Drumroosk.*
Stuart, Esme	*One for the Other: Stories of French Life.*
Teller, Isaac	*Angele's Tempters.* A Novel.
Tipton, John	*A Trust Betrayed.* A Novel.
Van de Velde, Madame	*Cosmopolitan Recollections.*
Vince, Henry Scott	*Two Pardons.* A Novel.
Webber, Byron	*Tartan and Gold. Tales of Sports and Play.*
Westall, W. B.	*Larry Lohengrin.* A Novel.
	Birch Dene. A Novel.
Wright, Henrietta C.	*Stories of the Great Scientists.*

1890

Allen, F. M.	*Brayhard: the Strange Adventures of One Ass and Seven Champions.*
Armstrong, Florence C.	*Sisters of Phaeton.* A Novel.
Arnold, Frederick	*Three-Cornered Essays.*
Ashton, John	*Social England under the Regency.*
Astor, Viscount	*Sforza: A Story of Milan.*
Bickley, A. C.	*Midst Surrey Hills. A Rural Story.*
Bickley, A. C. & G. S. Curryer	*Handfasted.* A Novel.
Bourne, Mrs	*Beta.* A Novel.
Bridges, John A.	*A Brummagem Baron.*
Burchett, Godfrey	*One of the Wicked.* A Novel.
Cahill, John	*Wheal Certainty: A Cornish Story.*
Cashel Hoey, Mrs	*Falsely True.*

Cobb, Thomas	*For Value Received.*
Cross, Mary	*Under Sentence.*
Davidson, John	*Perfervid. The Career of Ninian Jamieson.*
De Leon, Edwin	*Thirty Years of My Life on Three Continents.*
D'Esterre, G.	*Fickle Phyllis*. A Novel.
Dowling, Richard	*The Crimson Chair and Other Stories.*
Dyer, Thomas	*The Loves and Marriages of Some Eminent Persons.*
Everitt, Graham	*Guillotine the Great and Her Successors: Some Fresh Memorials of the French Republic.*
Ewald, Alex Charles	*Paper and Parchment: Historical Sketches.*
Fenn, G. M.	*A Fluttered Dovecote*. A Novel.
Fitzgerald, Percy H.	*Music-Hall Land.*
	The Life of John Wilkes, M. P..
	Picturesque London [Illus.].
Fletcher, J. S.	*Mr Spivey's Clerk.* A Novel.
	A Short Life of Cardinal Newman.
Fonblanque de E. B.	*A Life Journey from Mannheim to Inkerman.*
	From the Reminiscences of an Army Surgeon.
Foster, Baynton [pseud.]	*A Queen of Roses.* A Novel.
Gibbon, Charles	*A Strange Wooing: A Story of the Period.*
Greenwood, James	*Prince Dick of Dahomey; or, Adventures in the Great Dark Land.*
Hill, John	*An Unfortunate Arrangement.*
Hodgetts, J. F.	*A Tale of Three Nations, Recording Some of the Deeds of the Emperor William and of his son Frederick.*
Hoey, Frances Sarah	*Nazareth.*
	The Question of Cain.
Hogan, James F	*The Lost Explorer: An Australian Story.*
Hopkins, Tighe	*The Nugents of Carriconna: A Story More or Less Irish.*
Hullah, Mary E.	*As the Tide Turns.* A Novel.
Hudson, Frank	*Running Double: A Story of the Stable and the Stage.*
James, Charles T. C.	*An Early Frost* and *An Awkward Affair.*
King, Richard Ashe	*Love's Legacy.*
Korolenko, Vladimir G	*The Blind Musician.*

Kroupa, B.	*An Artist's Tour. Gleanings of travels in North and Central America and the Sandwich Islands*
Lee, Tom	*Stephanie.* A Novel.
Lemore, Clara	*A Harvest of Weeds*. A Novel.
Lillie, Arthur	*The Cobra Diamond.* A Novel.
Lysaght, Elizabeth J	*The Gold of Ophir.*
"Lyth"	*The Golden South: Memories of Australian Home "ife from 1843 to 1888.*
Malortie, Baron von	*'Twixt Old Times and New.*
Macquoid, Katharine S.	*Cosette.* A Novel.
Mathers, H. B.	*Blind Justice: A Story.*
afterwards Reeves, Helen B.	
Nisbet, John F.	*Marriage and Heredity: A View of Psychological Evolution.*
Paterson, Arthur	*The Better Man*. A Novel.
Pryce, Richard	*Just Impediment.*
Reid, Elizabeth Hyde	*Mayne Reid: A Memoir of His Life.*
Stockton, Frank R.	*The Floating Prince.*
Taylor, Ida Ashworth	*Vice Valentine*. A Novel.
Tytler, Sarah	*Sapphira.* A Novel.
Westall, W. B.	*Strange Crimes.*
White, G. F.	*Lucinda.* A Novel.
Wilde, Jane Frances, Lady	*Ancient Cures, Charms and Usages of Ireland: Contributions to Irish Lore.*
Williams, J.	*Amyon Drewth*. A Novel.
Wohl, Stephanie	*Sham Gold.* A Novel. [Transl. S. L. Simeon]
Wright, Henrietta C.	*Children's Stories in English Literature, from Taliesin to Shakespeare.*

1891

Allen, F. M.	*The Round Tower of Babel.*
	Captain Lanagan's Log.
	Anchor-Watch Yarns. [5th ed.]

Blagden, Mrs George	*Trash. A Tale of Brittany.*
Brougham, Hon. Reginald	*A Cruise on Frieseland's "Broads".*
Buckland, Anne Walbank	*Anthropological Studies.*
Campbell, Josephine E.	*Of This Death.*
Cutcliffe Hyne, C. J.	*A Matrimonial Mixture.* A Novel.
Davidson, John	*In a Music-Hall, and Other Poems.*
	The Great Men and a Practical Novelist.
Dowling, Richard	*An Isle of Surrey.*
	A Baffling Quest. A Novel.
	The Crimson Chair, and Other Stories.
Dunstan, Cecil	*Quita: a Novel.*
Elmslie, Theodora C.	*The Little Lady of Lavender.*
Fitzgerald, Percy H.	*Editing a la mode: An Examination of Dr. Birkbeck Hill's new edition of "Boswell's Life of Johnson".*
Fogerty, J.	*Mr. Jocko.* A Novel.
Gossip, G. H. D.	*The Chess-player's Vade Mecum.*
Hardy, Thomas	*Desperate Remedies* [4th ed.].
Hodgson, Agatha	*Love in A Cottage: or, Making the Most of a Small Income.*
Hogan, James A	*The Convict King: Being the Life and Adventures of Jorgen Jorgenson.*
Hoppus, Mary A. M.	*Orlando Figgins, and Other Stories.*
Horner, Christopher	*Darrell's Dream. An Unexplained Romance.*
James, C. T. C.	*Holy Wedlock. A Story of Things as they Are.*
	The Romantic Rigmarole of a Time out of Town.
	Humbling his Pride. A Novel.
Johnston, Henry	*Kilmallie.* [Episodes of a village life in Scotland.]
Lynn, Elizabeth	*An Octave of Friends with Other Silhouettes and Stories.*
Lynch, Arthur	*Modern Authors: a Review and a Forecast.*
Madden, Richard Robert	*The Memoirs (Chiefly Autobiographical) from 1798 to 1886 Of Richard Robert Madden.*
Morris, Isabel	*A Summer in Kieff; or Sunny Days in Southern Russia.*
Nisbet, J. F.	*The Insanity of Genius.*

	A Colonial Tramp: Travels and Adventures in Australia and New Guinea [1896]
Norris, W. E.	*Miss Wentworth's Idea.* A Novel.
O'Donnell, John Francis	*Poems* (Introduction By Richard Dowling)
Pemberton, Max	*The Diary of a Scoundrel, etc.*
Pitcairn, W. D.	*Two Years among the Savages of New Guinea.*
Pryce, Richard	*Deck-chair Stories.*
Sergeant, Adeline	*Under False Pretences.*
Sydney, W. C.	*England and the English in the Eighteenth Century.*
Westall, W. B.	*Back to Africa: A Confession.*
Wilde, Lady	*Notes on Men, Women and Books: Selected Essays.*
Wills, Charles J.	*John Squire's Secret.* A Novel.

1892

Baron, Frank	*George Waring's Choice.*
Blagden, Mrs. George	*Pixie; or, Two Little English Girls in France, etc.*
Byrne, Mrs W. Pitt	*Gossip of the Century: Personal and Traditional Memories.*
Cobb, Thomas	*Miss Merewether's Money.* A Novel.
Cunninghame, Lady Caroline	*A Wandering Star.* A Novel.
Duntze, Lady	*Infelix. A Society Story.*
Ellis, Edwin J.	*Fate in Arcadia; and Other Poems.*
Elmslie, Theodora	*Those Midsummer Fairies.*
Fenn, G. M.	*King of the Castle.* A Novel.
Gossip, G. H. D.	*Modern Chess Brilliancies.*
Hopkins, Tighe	*The Incomplete Adventurer. The Boom in Belltops.*
Hugo, Countess	*Comedy and Comedians in Paris.*
James, Charles T.	*Honours Easy.* A Novel.
King, Richard Ashe	*A Geraldine.*
Knight, Hubert B.	*In Fool's Paradise.*
Korolenko, Vladimir	*In Two Moods. In Bad Society.*
Macquoid, Katharine S.	*Miss Eyon of Eyon Court.*
Martin, Mary Emma	*Many a year ago.* A Novel.

	A Man and a Brother. A Novel.
Miller, Mrs Florence F.	*In Ladies Company: Six Interesting Women.*
Molloy, J. Francis	*The Faiths of the Peoples.*
O'Shea, John Augustus	*Some Roundabout Recollections.*
Roberts, Sir Randal H.	*Ridge and Furrow.* A Novel.
Sydney, W. C.	*Social Life in England from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660-1690.*
Westall, W. B.	*Ben Clough and Other Stories.*
	Roy of Roy's Court.
Yonge, Charles D.	*Our Great Military Commanders. Sketches of the Lives of the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Clive, Duke of Wellington, Sir Charles Napier, Lord Gough, Lord Clyde.*

1893

Allen, F. M.	*The Land Smeller, and other Yarns.*
Ashe-King, Richard	*A Geraldine.*
Atkinson, Jane	*Old Proverbs with New Faces.*
Bishop, Mrs. George	*Two Men and a Woman.* A Novel.
Breeze, Ryder E. N.	*Lays of the Scottish Highlands, Home Rule in 1897, and Other Poems.*
Bridges, John A.	*Poets All.* A Novel.
Brookfield, Charles H. E.	*The Twilight of Love. Being Four Studies of the Artistic Temperament.*
Buckland, Anne Walbank	*Our Viands. Whence they come and how they are cooked. With a bundle of old recipes, etc.*
Collins, Mabel	*Juliet's Lovers.*
Cuthell, E. E.	*By a Himalayan Lake.*
Dawe, William Carlton	*The Emu's Head. A Chronicle of Dead Man's Flat.*
Dyer, Thomas	*The Ghost World.*
Eastwood, Mark	*When a Woman's Single: the Humours of a Sedate Profession.*

Fogerty, J.	*Juanita.* A Novel
Fletcher, J. S.	*The Quarry Farm: A Country Tale.*
	Poems. Chiefly Against Pessimism.
Garvey, Ina	*Rosamond's Story.* A Novel.
Gossip, G. H. D.	*The Chess Player's Pocket Guide to Games at Odds.*
Granhim, Caradoc	*Life's Tapestry; or, Homes and Hearths.*
	Fitzthorpe. A Novel.
Hogan, James	*Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke.*
James, Charles T.	*Mrs. Grundy at Home. Being a Companion Picture to "Holy Wedlock".*
Killeen, Louis	*Soldiers at Sea: being an account of the everyday life and experiences of a battalion of soldiers ordered abroad.*
Malot, Hector	Micheline. [Transl. Julia E.S. Rae].
Macquoid, Katharine S.	*Berris.* A Novel.
Moore, John Morris	*By Fits and Starts. Poems.*
Morris, Cochrane	*An Unco Stravaig.*
Nisbet, J. F.	*The Insanity of Genius.*
O'Connor Morris, W.	*Moltke. A Biographical and Critical Study.*
O'Donovan Power, Victor	*A Secret of the Past.*
Panton, Jane	*From Kitchen to Garret.* (Rev. ed.)
Philips, F. C.	*Constance.* A Novel.
	One Never Knows. A Novel.
Power, Victor O'Donovan	*A Secret of the Past.* A Novel.
Ryan, W. P.	*The Heart of Tipperary: a Romance of the Land League.*
Stuart, Esme	*By Right of Succession*
Terrell, Thomas	*A Woman of Heart.* A Novel.
Warden, Florence	*A Passage Through Bohemia.*
Wilde, Lady	*Social Studies.*

1894

Ashton, John	*Varia.*
Campbell, Josephine	*The Shibboleth.*
Davidson, John	*Baptist Lake* A Novel.
Dawe, William Carlton	*The Confessions of a Currency Girl.*
Dowling, Richard	*While London Sleeps.*
Elmslie, Theodora C.	*Gladdie's Sweetheart. A True Story.*
Greville, The Lady	*Ladies in the Field Sketches of Sport.*
	That Hated Saxon.
Hetherington, Helen F.	*Led On.* A Novel.
Hickey, E. H.	*Livingstone in Africa.*
Hudson, Frank	*She shall be mine!* A Novel.
Le Fanu, Joseph Sheridan	*The Evil Guest.*
	The Watcher, and other Weird Stories.
Macquiod, Katharine S.	*Appledore Farm.* A Novel.
Newill, Henry	*Whiffs*
Thirsk, James	*How He became a Peer.* A Novel.
Ryan, W. P.	*The Irish Literary Revival: Its History, Pioneers and Possibilities.*
Sherard, R. H.	*Jacob Niemand.* A Novel.
Somerville, E. O. and Ross, M.	*The Real Charlotte.* A Novel.
Westall, W. B.	*As a Man Sows.*
White, Henry A.	*Tales of Crime and Criminals in Australia.*
Woolam W. B.	*With the Help of the Angels.*

1895

Bridges, John A.	*Myrtle and Ivy.* A Novel.
Cushing, Paul (pseud.)	*The Shepherdess of Treva.* A Novel.
Davidson, John	*A Full and True Account of the Wonderful Mission of Earl Lavender, Which Lasted One Night and One Day.* With a frontispiece by Aubrey Beardsley.
Ellis, Edwin John	*The Man of Seven Offers.* A Novel.
Kovalevskaya, Sofia	*Vera Barantzova. From the Russian.*

Gerard, Frances	*Some Celebrated Irish Beauties of the Last Century.*
Lee, F. J. and G. H.D. Gossip	*The Chessplayer's Mentor.*
Le Fanu, Joseph Sheridan	*The Fortunes of Colonel Turlough O'Brien.*
Macquoid, Katharine S.	*His Last Card.* A Novel.
Mallock, W. H.	*Studies of Contemporary Superstition.*
Malortie, Baron von	*Here, There, and Everywhere: being the second part of 'Twixt Old Times and New.*
Murray, Henry	*A Man of Genius.* A Novel.
Oppenheim, E. Phillips	*A Daughter of the Marionis.*
Parkes, Bessie Rayner	*In a Walled Garden.*
Wasserman, Lilias	*The Goddess of the Dandelions.* A Novel.
Woollam, W. S.	*The Friends of Innisheen.* A Novel.

1896

"Alva"	*His Cousin's Wife.*
Ashton, John	*The Devil in Britain and America.*
Belloc, Hilaire	*Verses and Sonnets.*
Blaxland, G.	*Mayflower Essays.*
Bradford, William	*History of the Plimoth Plantation containing an account of the voyage of the Mayflower.*
Brodrick, Emily H.	*The Creed of Philip Glyn.*
Carey-Hobson, Mrs. M. A.	*At Home in the Transvaal.*
Dalziel, L. (pseud.)	*The Story of Bell.*
Davidson, John	*The Pilgrimage of Strongsoul, and Other Stories.*
Elmslie, Theodora	*The Pilgrim Child.*
Finny, Violet Geraldine	*The Revolt of the Young McCormacks.*
Fletcher, J. S.	*At the Gate of the Fold. A Country Cale.*
Forster, Joseph	*Studies in Black and Red.*
Gerrare, Witt (pseud.)	*The Men of Harlech.*
Hogan, James	*The Sister Dominions. Through Canada and Australia by the New Imperial Highway.*
Hopkins, Tighe	*Nell Haffenden. A Strictly Conventional Story.*
Hutchinson, J. R.	*Way Down East.*
Locke, W. J.	*A Study in Shadows.* A Novel.

Murray, Henry	*A Fatal Mistake.* A Novel.
	The Ordeal of Thomas Taffler, Costermonger.
Nisbet, Hume	*A Colonial Tramp. Travels and Adventures in Australia and New Guinea.*
O'Grady, Standish James	*'Pacata Hibernia', Or A History of the Wars in Ireland by Sir George Carew.*
Oppenheim, E. Phillips	*The World's Great Snare.*
Panton, Jane E.	*Suburban Residences and How to Circumvent Them.*
Saint Aubyn, Alan (pseud.)	*The Bishop's Delusion.* A Novel.
Smith, E.	*My Village.*
Tytler, Sarah	*Rachael Langton.*

1897

Arber, Edward	*The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, 1606-1623 A.D.*
Buckland, Anna W.	*Margaret Moore, Spinster: Her Love Story.*
Davidson, John	*Ninian Jamieson, and a Practical Novelist.*
Forster, Joseph	*From Grub to Butterfly.*
Griffinhoofe, Charles George	*Helps towards Belief in the Faith.*
Hazlitt, William Carew	*The Confessions of a Collector.*
Hutchinson, J. S.	*The Quest of the Golden Pearl.*
James, Charles T.	*The Finger and the Ring.*
Smith, A. R.	*The Struggle and Adventure of Christopher Tadpole*
Vance, Faber	*Fate and a Heart: A Study from Life.*
Young, E. R.	*Three Boys in the Wild North Land.*

1898

Byrne, Mrs William Pitt	*Social hours with celebrities: being the third and fourth volumes of the 'Gossip of the Century'.*
Ewens, Editha	*The Stars in their Courses: A Modern Romance of the Himalayas.*

N.D.

Parke, Walter	*The merry muse, with graver moments. Poems.*

Downey & Co

1894

Appleton, George Webb	*The Co-Respondent.*
Downey, Edmund	*The Land Smeller and Other Yarns.*
Greville, Lady Violet	*That Hated Saxon.*
LeFanu, Joseph S	*The Evil Guest.* A Novel.
	The Watcher and Other Weird Stories.
Morris, William O'Connor	*Moltke: A Biography and Critical Study.*
Phillips, Francis Charles	*Mrs Bouverie.* A Novel.
Ryan, W. P.	*The Irish Literary Revival, its history, pioneers and possibilities.*
Somerville E. & Martin Ross	*The Real Charlotte* A Novel.

1895

Allen, F. M.	*Ballybeg Junction. An episode.*
	The Little Green Man.
Anon.	*The Mahatma: A Tale of Modern Theosophy.*
Bremont, Comtesse de	*The Ragged Edge. Tales of the African Gold Fields.*
Dowling, Richard	*While London Sleeps.*
	A Dark Intruder.
Ellis, Edwin John	*Sancan The Bard.*
Gerard, Francis A	*Some Celebrated Irish Beauties of the Last Century.*
Hardy, A. F. S.	*Princess and Priest. A Tale of Old Egypt.*
Hinkson, H. A.	*Golden Lads and Girls.* A Novel.
Kennedy, Kevin [Pseud. W. P. Ryan]	*Starlight Through the Roof.* A Novel.
Magee, Violet	*Scholar's Mate. A Story.*
Morgan, Lady	*O'Donnell, A National Tale.*
Parkes-Belloc, Bessie	*In a Walled Garden.*

Phillips, F. C.	*The Worst Woman in London, and other stories.*
Sievier, R. S.	*A Generation.* A Novel.
Stern, Julian	*An Experiment in Respectability.* A Novel.
Woollam, Wilfred	*The Friends of Inisheen.*

1895

Allen, F. M.	*Ballybeg Junction*
	The Little Green Man
	The Merchant of Killogue.
Anon.	*King Stork and King Log: A Study of Modern Russia*
Anon.	*The Mahatma: a tale of modern Theosophy.*
Bradden M. E.	*The Doctor's Wife.*
Bremont, Comtesse de	*The Ragged Edge: tales of African Gold Fields*
Dawson, Forbes	*A Sensational Trance. [A novel].*
Dowling, Richard	*A Dark Intruder*
Fitzgerald, Percy H	*Bozland. Dickens' places and people.*
Hardy, A. S. F.	*Princess and Priest (a tale of old Egypt)*
Hinkson, Henry A.	*Golden Lads and Girls: a novel.*
Johnson, Robert	*Photography, artistic and scientific.*
Kelly, William P .	*Schoolboys Three: a story.*
Kennedy, Kevin (pseud.W.P. Ryan).	*Starlight through the roof.* A Novel.
Le Fanu, Joseph Sheridan	*The Evil Guest.*
	The Cock and Anchor
Magee, Violet	*Scholar's Mate: A Story*
Mayhew, Athol	*A Jorum of Punch.*
Phillips, Francis Charles	*The Worst Woman in London, and Other Stories*
Roberts, Morley	*The Degradation of Geoffrey Alwith etc.* A Novel.
	The Adventures of a Ship's Doctor.
Sievier, R S	*A Generation.* A Novel.
Stern, Julius	*An Experiment in Respectability.* A Novel.
Sylva, Carmen (pseud.)	*Shadows on Love's Dial.*
Westropp, Jack	*Jack Westropp: an Autobiography.*

1896

Allen, F. M.	*Pinches of Salt.*
	The Ugly Man.
Anon	*Tales from the Terrace: Being a Westminster Week's Entertainment. By an Old Parliamentary Hand*
Appleton, George W.	*A Philanthropist at Large.*
Ashton, John	*Hyde Park from Domesday-Book to date.*
Bloomfield, J. H.	*A Cuban Expedition.*
Bourget, Paul	*A Tragic Idyl.*
By the Author of 'A House of Tears'	*The Ugly Man.* A Novel.
Carleton William,	*The Life of William Carleton*
	Faradorougha the Miser.
Chatwood, Arthur Brunel	*The New Photography.*
Cleeve, Lucas (pseud.)	*Epicures.*
Collins, Mabel	*The Star Sapphire.* A Novel.
Davis, Nathaniel N.	*Three Men and a God, and other stories.*
Fall, Marcus (Pseud. Richard Dowling)	*London Town.*
Fitzgerald, Percy H	*Sheridan Whitewashed: An Examination of the New Life by Mr Fraser Rae.*
	The Life of Laurence Sterne.
Fitz-Patrick, W. J.	*The Life of Charles Lever.*
Forster, Joseph	*Studies in Black and Red.*
Goodloe, Abbe Carter	*College Girls.* [Tales].
Graves, Alfred P. (ed)	*The Poems of J. S. LeFanu.*
Hawthorne, Julian	*A Fool of Nature.*
Hill, John and G F Bacon	*Dinah Fleet.* A Novel.
Hungerford, Mrs Margaret	*A Lonely Girl.*
Le Fanu Joseph S.	*The Purcell Papers: A Chronicle of Golden Friars and other stories*
	The Poems of J. S. Le Fanu (edited by A. P. Graves)
Lonergan, Walter F.	*Historic Churches of Paris.*
Lough, Thomas	*England's Wealth, Ireland's Poverty.*

Lys, Christian	*The Dunthorpes of Westleigh: a Rale.*
MacDermott, Martin (ed.)	*Songs and Ballads of Young Ireland.*
Molloy, J. F.	*The Most Gorgeous Lady Blessington.*
Murray, David C.	The Bishop's Amazement. A Novel.
O'Brien, William B	*The Great Famine in Ireland and a Retrospect of the Fifty Years, 1845-95 with a Sketch of the Present Condition and the Future Prospects of the Congested Districts.*
O'Donoghue D. J. (ed.)	*The Life of William Carleton* (with an introduction by Mrs Cashel Hoey)
O'Grady, Standish	*Ulick The Ready, or the Chieftains' Last Rally.*
O'Grady, Standish J. (ed)	*Pacata Hibernia: A History of the Wars in Ireland During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Limited edition of 500 copies).
O'Leary, John	*Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism.*
Panton, Jane Ellen	*The Way They Should Go. Hints to Young Parents.*
Paxton, Mary W.	*Jenny's Bawbee.* A Novel.
Phillips, Francis Charles	*An Undeserving Woman and Other Stories.*
Roberts, Morley	*The Earth-Mother.* A Novel.
	The Circassian.
Soldene, Emily	*Young Mrs Stapes.* A Novel.

1897

1897-99	*The Novels of Charles Lever in 37 volumes.*
Allen, F. M.	*Ballybeg Junction.*
Anderson, Mary	*Tales of the Rock.*
Anon	*A Doctor's Idle Hours.*
Bunner, Henry C.	*Love in Old Cloathes and Other Stories.*
Faly, Patrick C.	*Ninety-Eight: being the recollections of C. C. O'Faly.* (Collected and edited by his grandson)
Fenn, George Manville	*High Play: A Comedy Off The Stage.*
Gerard, Francis A	*Some Fair Hibernians.*

Goodloe, Abbe Carter	*College Girls.*
Hill, John	*Dinah Fleet: A Novel.*
Hungerford, Mrs Margaret	*A Lonely Girl.*
Le Fanu, Joseph S.	*The Fortunes of Colonel Torlogh O'Brien.*
Lough, Rt Hon. Thomas MP	*England's Wealth, Ireland's Poverty.* (3rd ed. Rev.)
MacManus Seumas 'Mac'	*'Twas in Dhroll Donegal: Tales.*
Molloy, J Fitzgerald	*A Justified Sinner.*
	The Life and Adventures of Edmund Kean: tragedian 1787-1833.
	The Life and Adventures of Peg Woffington.
	The Romance of the Irish Stage: Vol. 2.
Moore, Thomas	*The Memoirs of Lord Edward Fitzgerald* (with a new preface and supplementary material by Martin MacDermott.
Murray, David Christie	*A Rogue's Conscience.*
Oppenheim, E. Phillips	*The Amazing Judgment.*
Payn, James	*Another's Burden.* A Novel.
Peel, Sir Robert	*A Bit of a Fool.*
Phillips, F. C.	*Poor Little Bella.*
Poore, Lady Ida	*My Sister Barbara.*
Radclyffe, Raymond	*Wealth and Wild Cats: Travels and Researches in the Gold Gields of Western Australia and New Zealand.*
Riddell, Mrs J. H.	*Did He Deserve It?* A Novel.
Roberts, Morley	*Strong Men and True.*
Smith, Albert R.	*The Struggle and Adventures of Christopher Tadpole.*
Soldene, Emily	*My Theatrical and Musical Recollections.*
Thicknesse, Lily	*Two Sinners.*
Trimmer, Frederick M.	*The Golden Crocodile.*

1898

Anderson, Mary	*In the Promised Land.* A Novel.
Balzac, Honore de	*La Comedie Humaine: Vol 30: The Deputy of Arcis.* [Transl. Katharine Prescott Wormeley.

Bourget, Paul	*Some Portraits of Voyageuses.*
Braddon, M. E. et al	*Downey's Annual: The Christmas Tree.*
Clark, Capt. Charles	*The Story of an Ocean Tramp.*
Constable, Thomas	*The Great French Triumvirate (translations of poems by Corneille, Moliere and Racine).*
Creswick, Paul	*Bruising Peg: Pages from the Journal of Margaret Molloy.*
Cumming, Francesca	*The Inventor of the Numeral-Type for China.*
Davis, Nathaniel N.	*Jadoo.*
Graves, Arnold	*Prince Patrick: A Fairy Tale.*
Hill, John	*"Ninety-Eight": a story of the Irish Rebellion.*
Hobhouse, Violet	*An Unknown Quantity: A Sad Story of Modern Life.*
Hume, Fergus	*The Devil Stick.*
Lever, Charles	*The O'Donoghue: A Tale of Irish Rebellion.*
MacManus, Seumus (Mac)	*The Bend of the Road: Tales.*
Murray, David C	*The Cockney Columbus: A Book of Travels.*
Pender, Margaret T.,	*The Green Cockade: A Story of Ulster in '98.*
Radclyffe, Raymond	*Wealth and Wild Cats: Travels and Researches in the Gold-Fields of Australia and New Zealand*
Rugg, R.	*Rugg's New Map of the Klondike Gold Fields, Youkon (sic) district and adjacent Territories.*
Smith, Albert R	*The Struggle and Adventures of Christopher Tadpole.*
Trimmer, Mortimer F	*The Yukon Territory: the narrative of W H Dall, leader of the expeditions to Alaska 1866-1868.*

1899

Callow, Edward	*Old London Taverns*
Cumming, Francesca	*The Inventor of the Numeral-Type for China* (new ed.)
Davis, Nathaniel N	*"Baby" Wilkinson's V.C., and Other Stories.*
Fitzgerald, Percy H	*The Good Queen Charlotte, etc.*
Funck-Brentano, Frantz	*Legends of the Bastille. With an introduction by V. Sardou.* Authorised translation by G. Moidment, etc.
Hamblen, Herbert E	*The Yarn of a Bucko Mate.*

Herford, Oliver	*The Bashful Earthquake, and Other Fables and Verses.*
Howarth, K. A.	*Philip Helmore, Priest.* A Novel.
Hunt, Horatio	*Nero.*
Jones, Stanley	*The Actor and his Art: Some Considerations of the Present Condition of the Stage.*
Leigh, Florence	*Greedy Frederick: Nursery Tales.*
Lever, Charles	*Gerald Fitzgerald, Chevalier.* A Novel.
Roosevelt, Blanche	*A Riviera Romance, or "Rien ne va plus."*
Smedley, Francis Edward	*Frank Fairleigh.*
Spears, John Randolph	*The Fugitive. A Tale of Adventure in the Days of Clipper Ships and Slavers.*
Sullivan, James F.	*Here they are again! Tales.*
	The Great Water Joke. [In verse.]
Wemyss, George	*A Fantasy in Fustian.*
Woollam, W. B.	*The Parson and the Fool: A Romance of Today.*

1900

Allen, F. M.	*Mr Boyton.*
	London's Peril.
Cooke, Alice M. P.	*His Laurel Crown. A Player's Romance.*
Fleury, Maurice de	*Medicine and the Mind.* [Transl.]
LeFanu, Joseph S	*The Rose and the Key.*
Lever, Charles	*Harry Lorrequer.*
O'Downey, Augustine	*Jack Cade: A Shakespearean Study in Mental Disease known as General Paralysis of the Insane.*
Smith, Arthur Cosslett	*The Monk and the Dancer*
Somerville E & Martin Ross	*The Real Charlotte.*
Stendhal, (Marie-Henry Beyle)	*The Red and the Black. A Story of Provincial France.* [transl].
Sullivan, James F	*Queer Side Stories: With Numerous Illustrations by the Author.*
Valdes, Armando Palacio	*The Joy of Captain Ribot.*
Wickersham, James A.	*Enoch Willoughby.* A Novel.

1901

Allen F. M.	*Glimpses of English History.*
Balzac, Honore de	*The Love Letters of Honore de Balzac: Vols. 1 and 2.*
Bourget, Paul	*Domestic Dramas.*
Fleury, Maurice de	*The Criminal Mind.*
Gaskell, Mrs.	*The Life of Charlotte Bronte.*
Krasewski, Jozef I.	*The Countess Cosel.* [Transl].
Lanark, H. M. L.	*Thelge: A Tale.*
	Which Wife? A Tale.
Lever, Charles	*Charles O'Malley, the Irish Dragoon.*
	Harry Lorrequer.
	Tom Burke of 'Ours'.
	Jack Hinton: The Tuardsman.
Maxwell, W. B.	*The Countess of Maybury: "Between You and I."*
Mills, John	*D'Horsay; or the Follies of the Day* [Transl.].
Scott, Temple (ed.)	*The Novels of the Sisters Bronte* (12 vols)
	The Life of Charlotte Bronte.
Taunton, Winefriede F.	*Marked with a Cipher.*
Welton, Thomas A.	*The Water Difficulty. A Suggested Solution.*
Wilson, J. Paul	*The Romance of L'Aiglon* [Transl.]

1902

Walker, Francis Sylvester	*Killarney's Lakes and Fells: twelve mezzotint engravings.*

1907

Power, Maud	*Wayside India*
White, James	*My Clonmel Scrap Book.*

1912

Fitzpatrick, Thomas	*Waterford During the Civil War (1641-1653).*

1913

Butler, Matthew	*A History of the Barony of Gaullter.*

1917

O'Flynn, John	*Two Centuries of Catholic Bishops of Waterford and Lismore.*

Notes:

1. Only original titles are included. Reprints issued in subsequent editions are not included.
2. The legend 'A Novel' is included where it appears on the title page of the published novel. It usually appears on three-volume and two-volume novels.
3. The bibliography is not comprehensive.
4. Downey issued some titles under the Edmund Downey & Co. imprint after his return to Waterford.

APPENDIX B

A Bibliography of the Works of Edmund Downey (1856-1937)

- *Anchor Watch Yarns* (London: Tinsley Bros, 1883; New York: Scribner & Welford, 1887).
- *In One Town* (London: Ward & Downey, 1885; New York: D. Appleton & Co, 1886).
- *A House of Tears* (London: Ward & Downey, 1886; New York: John Lovell & Co, 1887; Toronto: William Bryce, 1887).
- *Through Green Glasses: Andy Merrigan's Great Discovery* [As F. M. Allen] (London: Ward & Downey, 1887; New York: D. Appleton & Co, 1887).
- *The Voyage of the Ark: As Related by Dan Banim* (London: Ward & Downey, 1888; New York: J. S. Ogilvie & Co, 1890).
- *From the Green Bag* [as F. M. Allen] (London: Ward & Downey, 1889).
- *Brayhard: The Strange Adventures of One Ass and Seven Champions* (London: Ward & Downey, 1889).
- *The Round Tower of Babel* [as F. M. Allen] (London: Ward & Downey, 1891).
- *Captain Lanagan's Log* [as F. M. Allen] (London: Ward & Downey, 1891).
- *Green As Grass* [as F. M. Allen] (London: Chatto & Windus, 1892; New York: Lovell, Coryell & Co, 1893).
- *The Land Smeller and Other Yarns* (London: Downey & Co, 1894).
- *The Merchant of Killogue: A Munster Tale* (London: William Heinemann, 1894; New York: P. F. Collier, 1894).
- *Ballybeg Junction* [as F. M. Allen] (London: Downey & Co., 1895).
- *The Little Green Man* [as F. M. Allen] (London: Downey & Co, 1895).
- *Pinches of Salt* [as F. M. Allen] (London: Downey & Co, 1896).
- *The Ugly Man* (London: Downey & Co, 1896).
- *Mr Boyton* [as F. M. Allen] (London: Downey & Co, 1900).

- *London's Peril* [as F. M. Allen] (London: Downey & Co, 1900).
- *Glimpses of English History* [as F. M. Allen] (London: Downey & Co, 1901).
- *Clashmore: A Novel* (London: Downey & Co, 1903; Simpkin, Marshall, 1903; Dublin: The Parkside Press, 1945).
- *The Brass Ring: The Extraordinary Adventures of a City Clerk* [as F. M. Allen] (London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1904).
- *Dorothy Tuke: A Story of the Sea* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1905).
- *Twenty Years Ago: A Book of Anecdotes Illustrating Literary Life in London* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1905).
- *Charles Lever: His Life in His Letters* (Edinburgh: W. H. Blackwood, 1906).
- *Dunleary: Humours of a Munster Town* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, 1911).
- *Waterford: An Illustrated Guidebook to the City by the Suir* (Waterford: Waterford News, 1912).
- *The Story of Waterford: From the Founding of the City to the Middle of the Eighteenth Century* (Waterford: Waterford News, 1914).
- *The Illustrated Guide to Waterford* (Waterford: Waterford News, 1917).
- *Tramore and Its Neighbourhood* (Waterford: Waterford News, 1921).
- *Morrissey* (London: John Lane, 1924).
- *Waterford: An Illustrated Guide and Tourist's Handbook* (Waterford: Waterford News, 1928).
- *A Brief History of Reginald's Tower* (Waterford: Waterford News, n.d.).

APPENDIX C

A Bibliography of the Works of Jane Barlow (1857-1917)

- *Bogland Studies* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1892; New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1894).
- *Irish Idylls* (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1892; Leipzig: Heinemann & Balestier, 1893; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co, 1893, 1917; London, Sphere Books, 1984).
- *The Battle of the Frogs and Mice Rendered into English* (London: Methuen & Co., 1894).
- *The End of Elfintown* (London: Macmillan, 1894).
- *Kerrigan's Quality* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1894; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1894).
- *Strangers at Lisconnel. A Second Series of Irish Idylls* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1895; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1895; London, Sphere Books, 1984).
- *Maureen's Fairing and Other Stories* (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1895; New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895; NY, Books for Libraries Press, 1972).
- *Mrs. Martin's Company and Other Stories* (London, J. M. Dent & Co., 1896; New York: Macmillan & Co., 1896).
- *A Creel of Irish Stories* (London: Methuen & Co., 1897; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1897).
- *From the East Unto the West* (London: Methuen & Co., 1898).
- *From the Land of the Shamrock,* (London: Methuen & Co., 1900; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1900).
- *Ghost Bereft, With Other Stories and Studies in Verse* (London: Smith, Elder 1901).
- *At the Back of Beyond* (London: Methuen & Co., 1901; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co, 1902).
- *The Founding of Fortunes* (London: Methuen & Co., 1902; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1902).

- *By Beach and Bog Land: Some Irish Stories* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1905).
- *Irish Neighbours* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1907).
- *The Mockers and Other Verses* (London: George Allen & Sons, 1908).
- *A Strange Land* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1908).
- *Irish Ways* (London: George Allen & Sons, 1909).
- *Flaws: A Novel* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1911).
- *Mac's Adventures* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1911).
- *Doings and Dealings* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1913).
- *Between Doubting and Daring: Verses* (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1916).
- *In Mio's Youth: A Novel* (London: Hutchinson & Co., [posthumously] 1917).

APPENDIX D

A Bibliography of the Work of Beatrice Grimshaw (1870-1953)

- *Broken Away* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head; Boston: Roberts & Co., 1897).
- *A Fool of Forty* (Serialised in *The Social Review,* Dublin 1898).
- *Vaiti of the Islands* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1907, George Newnes, 1916[14], 1920; New York: A. Wessels, 1908, New York: Macmillan, 1922).
- *In the Strange South Seas,* London, Hutchinson, 1907; New York: Freeport, 1971).
- *From Fiji to the Cannibal Islands* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1907, G. Bell, 1907, Thomas Nelson & Son, 1917; published in the United States as *Fiji and Its Possibilities* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1907).
- *The New New Guinea* (London: Hutchinson, 1910; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1911).
- *When the Red Gods Call* (London: Mills & Boon, 1911; New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1911).
- *Guinea Gold* (London: Mills & Boon, 1912; New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1912).
- *The Sorcerer's Stone* (London, New York and Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton, Hurst & Blackett, n.d.; Philadelphia, John C. Winston & Co., 1914).
- *Tours to the South Sea Islands, Tonga, Samoa, Fiji* (Dunedin, New Zealand: Union Steam Ship Company of New Zealand, 1914).
- *Red Bob of the Bismarcks* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1915; published in the United States as *My Lady of the Island: a Tale of the South Seas* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1916).
- *Adventures in Papua* (Melbourne: Australian Catholic Truth Society, 1915).
- *Kris-Girl* (London: Mills & Boon, 1917).
- *Nobody's Island* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1917; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1923; London: Cassell & Co., 1934).
- *The Coral Queen* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1919; New York: Federal Printing Co., 1919; Sydney, NSW Bookstall, 1923; London, George Newnes, 1921).
- *White Savage Simon* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1919; Sydney: New South Wales Bookstore, 1919; London: George Newnes, 1924).

[14] George Newnes published cheap paperback editions. It is likely that the firm published more of Grimshaw's titles than those listed, but there are few bibliographic records extant.

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- *The Coral Palace: twixt Capricorn and Cancer* (London: Mills & Boon, 1920).
- *Queen Vaiti* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1920; London: George Newnes, 1921; Sydney: New South Wales Bookstall, 1920).
- *My South Sea Sweetheart: A Novel* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1921; New York: Macmillan, 1921; Sydney: Australian Consolidated Press, 193-).
- *Conn of the Coral Seas* (London and Melbourne: Hurst & Blackett, 1922; New York: Macmillan, 1922).
- *The Little Red Speck and other South Sea Stories* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1921; Melbourne: Hurst & Blackett, 1922).
- *The Valley of Never-Come-Back and Other Stories* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1923).
- *The Sands of Oro* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1924; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1924).
- *Helen of Man o'War Island* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1924).
- *The Paradise Poachers* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1924, George Newnes, 1928).
- *The Candles of Katara and Other Stories* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1925).
- *The Wreck of the 'Redwing'* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1926, C. Arthur Pearson, 1929, R. Hale, 1937; New York: Henry Holt, 1926).
- *Eyes in the Corner and Other Stories* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1927).
- *Black Sheep's Gold* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1927; New York: H. Holt & Co., 1927).
- *My Lady Far-Away* (London: Cassell & Co., 1929).
- *Isles of Adventure* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1930; Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1931).
- *The Star in the Dust* (London: Cassell & Co., 1930).
- *The Beach of Terror and Other Stories* (London: Cassell & Co., 1931).
- *The Mystery of Tumbling Reef* (London: Cassell & Co., 1932; Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1932).
- *The Long Beaches and Other South Sea Stories* (London: Cassell & Co., 1933).
- *Victorian Family Robinson: A Novel* (London, Toronto, Melbourne, Sydney: Cassell & Co., 1934; New York: Longman, 1935).
- *Pieces of Gold and other South Sea Stories* (London, Toronto, Melbourne, Sydney: Cassell & Co., 1935).

- *Rita Regina* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1939; New York: Arcadia House, 1940).
- *The Woman in Black* (Mosman: Admirals, 1940).
- *South Sea Sarah. Murder in Paradise. Two Complete Novels* (Sydney: New Century Press, 1940).
- *The Lost Child* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1940).
- *The Island Queen* (London: Todd Publishing Co., 1943, Vallancey Press, 1945).
- *The Missing Blondes* (Sydney: Invincible Press, 1945, Elmsdale, 1946).

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Leeds Mercury
London Standard
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Morning Post
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Nineteenth Century
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