Werner Huber, Sandra Mayer, Julia Novak (eds.)

Ireland in/and Europe: Cross-Currents and Exchanges

Irish Studies in Europe

Edited by

Werner Huber, Catherine Maignant, Hedwig Schwall

Volume
4

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IRELAND IN/AND EUROPE:

CROSS-CURRENTS AND EXCHANGES

Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier

Ireland in/and Europe:
Cross-Currents and Exchanges /
Werner Huber, Sandra Mayer, Julia Novak (eds.). -
Trier: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2012
(Irish Studies in Europe; vol. 4)
ISBN 978-3-86821-421-5

Umschlaggestaltung: Brigitta Disseldorf

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ISBN 978-3-86821-421-5

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WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier
Bergstraße 27, 54295 Trier
Postfach 4005, 54230 Trier
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Internet: http://www.wvttrier.de
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The essays collected here represent a selection of papers first delivered at the Seventh EFACIS (European Federation of Associations and Centres of Irish Studies) Conference on the theme of "Ireland in/and Europe: Cross-Currents and Exchanges," which was held at the University of Vienna, 3-6 September 2009. Both the conference itself and this volume of proceedings would not have been possible without the generous support of various individuals and institutions. The editors would like to express their sincere gratitude to Their Excellencies Ambassadors Frank Cogan and James Brennan and cultural attachés Niamh Neylon and Ian Devine (representing the Embassy of Ireland in Austria) for their continuing encouragement and steady support, as well as to Prof. Dr. Arthur Mettinger (representing the Rector's Office), the Faculty of Philological and Cultural Studies, the Department of English and American Studies, the Austrian Federal Ministry of Science and Research, and the City of Vienna. Special thanks go to Dr. Elisabeth Siegel, Ms. Ulrike Zillinger, and Paul Fagan, M.A., for their help with the organisation of the conference and the preparation of this volume. We would also like to thank all colleagues for their contributions and for their patience.

Vienna, July 2012

Werner Huber
Sandra Mayer
Julia Novak

INTRODUCTION

Werner Huber, Sandra Mayer, Julia Novak

"Hibernicise Europe and Europeanise Ireland"[1] – this apocryphal quotation from James Joyce seemed a good motto for an EFACIS (European Federation of Associations and Centres of Irish Studies) conference precipitating a volume of essays on Irish-European cross-currents and exchanges. Vienna as the venue for that conference (University of Vienna, 3-6 September 2009) and the editors' home base also evinced its potential as a place of exchange and negotiation. Ever since the fall of the Iron Curtain, Austria in general and Vienna in particular have been branded and promoted as the hub, cross-roads, and marketplace of a redefined Central Europe.

Incidentally, James Joyce nearly made it to Vienna, but not quite – as he did not take up the invitation his friend Oliver St. John Gogarty extended to him late in 1907. (Gogarty then had lodgings at Spitalgasse 1 in the 9th district, very close to the Old General Hospital, which is now part of the University). Even so, Joyce provides excellent parameters to initiate discussions of the "Ireland vs/in/and/with/without Europe" theme.

For a start, one could do worse than listen in on the autobiographical persona of Stephen Dedalus musing as he is walking along Dollymont Strand on "a day of dappled seaborne clouds":

> Disheartened, he raised his eyes towards the slowdrifting clouds, dappled and seaborne. They were voyaging across the deserts of the sky, a host of nomads on the march, voyaging high over Ireland, westward bound. The Europe they had come from lay out there beyond the Irish Sea, Europe of strange tongues and valleyed and woodbegirt and citadelled and of entrenched and marshalled races. (Joyce, *Portrait* 167)

Europe thus is many things to Joyce, not only the Gothic/Exotic Other, as this quotation would lead us to believe, but also a symbol of liberation, cosmopolitanism, and modernism. At the end of his book *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, James Joyce aka Stephen Dedalus prepares to leave Ireland, an "afterthought of Europe" (*Stephen Hero* 52), for Paris to study medicine and encounter Life! The parameter of Ireland vs. Europe in the whole of Joyce's *œuvre* neatly reflects the trajectories of exile, return, distancing, and appropriation, as expressed in the famous apothegm containing Stephen's advice to one of his fellow students: "Told him the shortest way to Tara was *via* Holyhead" (*Portrait* 250). And Joyce did indeed follow his own advice. Although he spent the better part of his life in 'exile' in mainland Europe (the

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1 Joyce, as quoted by Kearney 17. In Joyce's highly autobiographical play *Exiles* (publ. 1918) we find the lines: "If Ireland is to become a new Ireland she must first become European" (45).

Habsburg Empire, Italy, France, Switzerland), he could never get away from the 'matter of Ireland' as the essential subject and theme of his work.

In yet another variation, the Ireland/Europe dichotomy is satirised by the arrogant piss-artist (if you excuse the language) that Stephen Dedalus has become by the time we follow his career in *Ulysses*: "You suspect […] that I may be important because I belong to the *faubourg Saint Patrice* called Ireland for short. […] But I suspect that Ireland must be important because it belongs to me" (*Ulysses* 599).

This healthy reversal of perspective is also underlying the agenda of these proceedings. The conference brought together scholars from many different countries, from many different schools, approaches, and disciplines[2] to engage in comparative studies and explore mechanisms of cultural transfer, contact, reception, and intertextuality, still they were united in their common aim and effort to question and explain traditional perspectives and to illuminate and deconstruct (as the case may be) myths and stereotypes that Ireland and Europe have entertained about each other in the twentieth century mainly.

At the EFACIS conference and in the present volume the Nobel Laureate **Seamus Heaney** gracefully consented to open the proceedings with a lecture-cum-reading. Heaney plays variations on the Joycean/Dedalanian idea of a European trajectory, as his title indicates ("Mossbawn via Mantua: Ireland in/and Europe: Cross-Currents and Exchanges"), Mossbawn, of course, being Heaney's birthplace in Northern Ireland, and Mantua that of the poet Virgil. 'The shortest way' to Mossbawn and to an overview of the poet's career and *œuvre* is via five European "starting points" or "provinces." By these Heaney means models, examples, influences, parallels, perspectives, ways of inspiration. The five categories are as follows: (1) Classical: Greco-Roman civilisation and Judaeo-Christian heritage; (2) Barbarian: the North/South divide in Europe; (3) Hyperborean: twentieth-century Russian and Eastern European poets; (4) Dante Alighieri; (5) direct translation as a "response to different contemporary crises."

In the second half of his key note address Heaney cites, and comments on, individual poems that are illustrative of his engagement with various dimensions of Europeanness and their effect on his work. He concludes with a new translation of the famous medieval poem "Pangur Bán" about a cat and a monk in his cell hunting mice and words/meanings respectively.

In "Hy Brasil: Cartographic Error, Celtic Elysium, or the New Jerusalem?" **Barbara Freitag** examines early literary representations of the phantom Brasil Island off the western coast of Ireland, which has captured the imagination of writers ever since it

2 A selection of film papers from the conference including a lengthy interview with Lenny Abrahamson and Mark O'Halloran has been published as a separate volume (see Huber and Crosson).

was first marked on an early-fourteenth-century Italian map. Her essay provides an overview of how the island has variously been portrayed as attractive destination for roguish travellers, the Elysium of the pagan Celt, or the 'promised land' of the saints and shows how it has frequently been related to questions of Irish national and religious identity as well as millenarian prophecy.

Moving from the realm of the legendary to the history of ideas, **Eglantina Remport** ("'My Change of Character': *Rousseauisme* and Maria Edgeworth's *Ennui*") traces the influence of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Émile, ou De l'éducation* on Edgeworth's writing and on her novel *Ennui* in particular. The great Maria's engagement with the French philosopher was mediated through the reception of Rousseau's ideas on education by her father, Richard Lovell Edgeworth. Remport also sketches the wider social and political implications of the primacy of education and natural living, pointing out traces of Rousseau's legacy in Ireland's social and cultural history all the way to George Russell (AE) and the Co-operative Movement.

One of the most popular Irish writers in early-twentieth-century Europe is the focus of **Gabriella Vöő**'s paper, "The Rise of the Hungarian Dandy: Oscar Wilde's Contribution to the Experience of Modernity in Early-Twentieth-Century Hungary," in which she discusses Wilde's initial Hungarian reception and its contribution to the development of a 'cult of the dandy.' Wilde, as the prototype of a 'literary dandy,' was considered both a role model and an inspiration to a whole generation of *fin-de-siècle* Hungarian writers and intellectuals who defined themselves as urban, cosmopolitan, and modern and aimed at the incorporation of Western European literary trends into a newly emerging metropolitan artistic culture.

Sandra Andrea O'Connell's contribution, "Published in Paris: Samuel Beckett, George Reavey, and the Europa Press," revolves around the small Paris-based imprint run by the enterprising Irish-Russian poet George Reavey, which between 1935 and 1939 published the poetry of Samuel Beckett, Brian Coffey, Denis Devlin, and Reavey himself, as well as artwork by the likes of Max Ernst and Pablo Picasso. The essay explores the central role the Europa Press played in forging a unique bridge between the European avant-garde and expatriate Irish Modernist writers and the essential channel it provided to these Irish writers, whose work was rejected at home as being outside the traditional Irish canon.

The following three papers deal with Irish authors' fascination with Spain in the twentieth century. In "Franco's Spain: A Dubious Refuge for the Poets of the 'Irish Beat Generation' in the 1960s," **Ute Anna Mittermaier** analyses the poems of Irish writers James Liddy, Michael Hartnett, John Jordan, and Pearse Hutchinson, focusing on the authors' impressions of 1960s Spain and their varying responses to the socio-political malaise of their host country. These young poets can be linked not only by their education at University College Dublin but also by their liberal political and sexual views. Mittermaier's essay reveals the irony of their flight from Irish nationalism

and conservatism to a country then governed by General Franco's authoritarian right-wing regime.

Another contribution on the Ireland-Spain connection, **Sarah Heinz**'s essay "From Utopia to Heterotopia: Irish Writers Narrating the Spanish Civil War" discusses Irish writers' fascination with, and assessment of, the Spanish Civil War since the 1930s as a reflection of violent conflicts at home. Examining the works of Somhairle Macalastair, Ewart Milne, Charles Donnelly, and Neil Jordan, Heinz traces a development from utopian praise to contemporary heterotopian visions that centre on the futility and destructiveness of armed conflict and question essentialist notions of nation and class.

Michael G. Cronin's contribution, "Fantastic Longings: The Moral Cartography of Kate O'Brien's *Mary Lavelle*," explores the imaginative reconstruction of Spain in Kate O'Brien's novel *Mary Lavelle* (1936) and her travelogue *Farewell Spain* (1937). Specifically, it examines O'Brien's construction of Spain as a symbolic space for negotiating the author's ideal of liberal individualism through the moral challenge of (homo-)sexual desire. In addition, the symbolic treatment of Spain is placed within the wider context of post-independence Irish intellectual history, as during the 1930s and 1940s European Catholic culture offered to many Irish writers and intellectuals a viable alternative to both Irish Catholic nationalism and Anglo-American secular liberalism.

Irish and French versions of Catholicism and different national attitudes towards the dialectic of church and state, church and society, underpin **Eamon Maher**'s essay on "John Broderick and the French Catholic Novel." The Athlone novelist John Broderick has often been linked with the French Nobel Laureate François Mauriac and other 'Catholic Novelists' such as Georges Bernanos and Julien Green. Maher sets out to test the validity and heuristic value of the critical paradigm of the "Irish Catholic Novel" through an intercultural comparison. He reads Broderick's novels *The Pilgrimage* and *The Waking of Willie Ryan* against the main 'Catholic' themes and epistemes in Mauriac's *œuvre*.

In "A Fruitful Exchange," **Claudia Luppino** undertakes a comparative study of the different versions of John McGahern's novel *The Leavetaking* (1974/1984) and its French translation, *Journée d'adieu* (1983), by the poet Alain Delahaye. The encounter between McGahern and his French translator, Luppino argues, played a crucial role in the production of a second and revised edition of the novel ten years after its first publication. Collaborative work on the novel's French translation appears to have convinced the author to rewrite *The Leavetaking* in an attempt to live up to his own ideal of formal perfection, acknowledging the limits of stylistic experimentation that had characterised the 'middle period' of his writing career.

Migration and exile are experiences deeply ingrained in the Irish consciousness and closely interwoven with common notions of Irishness. However, since the days of 'new wave' Irish migration in the 1980s, a more positively connoted concept of Irish diaspora has gained currency. In her essay, **Michaela Schrage-Früh** analyses literary representations of the Irish diaspora in England from the 1990s which interrogate and problematise the notions of national identity and transnationalism, home and cosmopolitanism, place and displacement. Foregrounding issues of gender and religion, she specifically focuses on the representations of individual female characters in Deirdre Madden's novel *One by One in the Darkness* (1996), Anne Devlin's play *After Easter* (1994), and Nuala O'Faolain's novel *My Dream of You* (2001).

Hedda Friberg-Harnesk's essay "A Clearing in Inferno: Banvillean Constructions of Prague in *Prague Pictures* and *Kepler*" explores John Banville's literary representations of Prague in his novel *Kepler* and the non-fictional *Prague Pictures*. Following Italo Calvino's notion of the city as an 'inferno,' Friberg-Harnesk points to the restrictions that Banville's versions of Prague impose on its citizens, as well as to the 'clearings' of empowerment and affection it leaves them with. Friberg-Harnesk concludes that although the two texts feature vastly different historical periods – the year 1600 and an early 1980s moment – they both reflect a specifically Irish sense of place.

Displacement and estrangement also feature largely in **Angela Vaupel**'s essay on "Exile, Migration, and 'The Other' in Contemporary Irish Writing." Vaupel explores some of the historical and contemporary connotations of the term "exile" (and, consequently, "emigration") as quintessential to the self-definition of Irish writers before moving on the consider immigration literature as exile literature with the help of examples drawn from contemporary Irish prose-writing (e.g. Roddy Doyle, Judith Mok, Chris Binchy).

The second part of this volume, which is more cultural-studies-oriented, opens with a key note address by the economist **John FitzGerald** ("Two Recessions and a Boom: Where Next for Ireland?"). Obviously, speaking in 2009, FitzGerald could not have foreseen the rapid changes the Irish economy is still undergoing today. Nevertheless, working from his privileged position at the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) in Dublin, FitzGerald was well able to offer a less ephemeral, less transient survey of the malaise of Irish economic history than one could have expected regarding the volatile nature of the subject. FitzGerald uncovers in detail the legacy of failed economic policies in Ireland from 1922 onwards with a first bust in the early 1980s, the hubris of the Celtic Tiger era, and the second bust of 2008/09. He rounds off his analysis with a summary of the key challenges facing the Irish economy, and, as it turns out in retrospect also, "investment in education" as the primary lesson to remember.

The effects of economic globalisation are the theme of **Anne Groutel**'s "Whither the State?: The Recent Evolution of the Role of the State in Ireland." Groutel scrutinises the role the Irish Government has played in the past two decades while being caught

in the antagonism between transatlantic economic partnerships (the expectations and interests of US multinationals) on one side and European considerations and restraints (in the shape of EU regulations) on the other.

On a different, i.e. philosophical/theological level, **Catherine Maignant** also takes up Irish-European exchanges in "Ireland and European Post-Secularism." Following up the deliberations of such unlikely ideological bedfellows as Jürgen Habermas and Pope Benedict XVI on (post-)secular societies, Maignant points to the re-instatement, the re-imposition of religion and religious heritage in the post-secular age, which she finds in a number of examples from public/political discourse. Eventually, she argues, post-secularism may be a chance for the Catholic Church in Ireland to redefine its role in the state and contribute, once again, to the shaping of 'the soul of Europe.'

Claire Dubois's essay sheds light on "The Representation of Ireland in Two Nineteenth-Century French Journals," *La Revue des Deux Mondes* and *L'avenir*, and shows how both periodicals exploited the public image of Ireland in the context of contemporary French political and religious debates. Thus, for instance, Daniel O'Connell, the leader of Irish Catholic Emancipation, was portrayed as a source of inspiration for the renewal of French Catholicism. Apart from emphasising the numerous common issues in Irish and French debates on religion, freedom, and the nation, Ireland was also represented as a romantic and picturesque island, an image which resonated with the general European perception of Ireland at the period.

Alison O'Malley-Younger's essay "The Business of Pleasure: Modernism, Marketing, and Music Hall in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland" examines the remarkable range of advertising strategies adopted by music hall magnate Dan Lowery Junior in late-nineteenth-century Dublin as an example of the visual and cultural mix of the modern urban metropolis. It demonstrates how a reading of these advertising ephemera can shed light on the commercial ethos of the leisure industries in Dublin, as well as on their implication in a nationalist discourse regarding unwelcome European influences on Ireland.

In "The Irish in Continental Europe and Ireland: Sustained Connectedness across a Virtual Diaspora Space?" **Gráinne O'Keeffe-Vigneron** discusses the changing face of the Irish diaspora in continental Europe, focusing on the impact of new communication technologies on the relationship between Ireland and its European communities. The quantitative and qualitative analysis of a survey of her own constitutes a step towards assessing the nature and extent of transnational exchange and communication between the Irish in Europe and in Ireland, and the role of virtual diaspora spaces such as *EuropeanIrish.com*.

The final two papers are concerned with aspects of didactics in international contexts. **Theresa-Susanna Illés** looks at "Mutational Patterns in the Teaching of Irish as a Foreign Language at the University of Vienna." Drawing on her own experience as a

teacher of Irish, Illés considers one specific problem area of Irish grammar and language-teaching, i.e. initial mutations, with reference to variations in terminology and practical error-analysis, to speculate on the impact of a specific teaching/learning environment.

The volume concludes with a contribution by **Lesley Lelourec** entitled "Promoting Mutual Understanding and/or Enriching the Curriculum? The Contribution of the 'Ireland in Schools' Forum to Bringing Ireland into the English Classroom." It introduces the work and the resources of the 'Ireland in Schools' forum and initiative (IiS), which was started in 1993 in response to the virtual non-existence of Ireland and Irish history in national curricula in England and Wales. Having sketched the background and aims of IiS to underpin "the peace process in Ireland by fostering better understanding of Ireland in Britain through young people" (IiS), Lelourec goes on to analyse a survey she conducted in 2009 to study the impact of IiS teachers' motivations and pupils' reactions in England, thus returning to Ireland's longest-standing cross-cultural conflict and exchange.

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Mossbawn via Mantua
Ireland in/and Europe: Cross-Currents and Exchanges

Seamus Heaney

Among the several virtues which Samuel Taylor Coleridge ascribes to the creative imagination in his *Biographia Literaria,* one of the most notable is the ability of imagination to retrieve what he calls "the sense of novelty and freshness, with old and familiar objects." Coleridge is making a case for poetry as a matter of refamiliarisation rather than defamiliarisation. He sees it capable of refreshing perception in much the same way as his friend Wordsworth hoped to. In the famous "Preface" to *Lyrical Ballads*, Wordsworth had proposed to throw over the incidents and situations of common life "a certain colouring of imagination, whereby ordinary things should be presented to the mind in an unusual way."

When James Joyce made his character Stephen Dedalus declare that the shortest way to Tara was via Holyhead, he was therefore thinking along the same lines. Leaving Ireland, taking the boat from the North Wall in Dublin to Holyhead in Anglesey, proceeding then through England to Paris and subsequently to Trieste and Zurich, then back to France and forth again to Switzerland, Joyce established conditions where his writing could more easily restore a sense of novelty and freshness to old and familiar objects. From the viewing deck of Europe ordinary Irish things were presented and represented to the mind in an unusual way.

As a title, "Mossbawn via Mantua" is meant to echo Joyce and to suggest how the Irish home ground can be reviewed in the light of certain European perspectives – classical, medieval, and modern. These planes of regard allow us to get a closer view of that ground by standing back from it and help to establish a different focus, a more revealing angle of vision. I'm thinking of Mantua first and foremost as the birthplace of the poet Virgil and I juxtaposed the name of his region with the name of my own birthplace because it so happened that the invitation to speak at this conference arrived just after I had finished a sequence of short autobiographical poems which depended significantly on Book VI of Virgil's *Aeneid*. In this, too, I was following the example of Joyce, since each poem in the sequence echoed and paralleled episodes in that most haunting book in much the same way as Joyce had echoed and paralleled books of Homer's *Odyssey* in the different chapters of his novel *Ulysses*.

As I see it, there were five main European starting points which gave me short cuts back into Irish destinations, which is to say five headings under which I will group the poems I'm going to read.

First and foremost, there's the whole mythological, cultural, and intellectual baggage which European civilisation holds in common, all that we have inherited from the Greek and Roman and Judaic past, all that came to Ireland from the fifth century onward with the arrival of Patrick and his Christian missionaries. Their conversion of the country had immense cultural as well as religious significance. The pens and parchments and manuscripts which those missionaries introduced were as important for the Irish future as were the monasteries and chalices and croziers. Call it the Christian humanist inheritance, if you like; think of it as a religious order amplified and inflected by the classical discoveries of the Renaissance, but whatever you call it or however you think of it, this heritage remains foundational, a determining factor in the way we in Europe imagine and make meanings of our experience. It provides the first co-ordinates of the western mind, its common vocabulary, a system of longitude and latitude whereby the individual can locate himself or herself in culture and consciousness, a system so pervasive as to be unremarkable. It was moreover the system employed to epoch-making effect by twentieth-century Irish writers, the mythic method, as T.S. Eliot called it when he reviewed James Joyce's *Ulysses*. And at a more local Irish level, it was the method employed by Patrick Kavanagh in his poem "Epic," where he imagines the row between two Co. Monaghan farmers in the light of Homer's Greeks and Trojans in *The Iliad*. Rather than the mythic, however, I shall call this inheritance simply 'the classical.'

But, of course, there is an antithetical European inheritance, one which is equally familiar and accessible, less official, perhaps, but no less attractive to the imagination. This is what we might call the barbarian element in European culture, all that babble beyond the pale, all those tribes north of the Alps and north of Hadrian's Wall, all that is symbolised by the runic Germanic letter or the Irish ogham stone rather than the lines of Roman script. It is the element symbolised by the Viking longboat rather than the Mediterranean trireme, by the human head of the Tollund man displayed in the museum in Silkeborg as opposed to the sculpted head of a Caesar or the painted face of a Saviour in some museum in the warm south. In spite of the fact that we may now find these north/south antitheses a bit too prim and binary, too *reçus* and stereotypical, they continue to exert a gravitational pull on our thinking, and for a period in the 1970s my poems were not so much waiting for the barbarians as dwelling among them. I found myself "lost, unhappy and at home" among the Germani, contemplating the dying Gaul on his shield and the Iron Age victim in the bog, inclined to lie down in the Anglo-Saxon word-hoard and even farther to the north in the Icelandic burial mound.

Another term which the Greeks reserved for people living to the north of them is less pejorative and more suggestive than 'barbarians.' They talked, you remember, about a tribe called the Hyperboreans, people who lived beyond Boreas, beyond the north wind, although in this version of cultural geography the Hyperboreans were at least recognised as a more or less developed nation. One Greek tradition, for example, maintained that when the God Apollo left his shrine at Delphi in the wintertime, he mi-

grated to the north and dwelt among them for the duration of the season. So I think of my third European poetry province as Hyperborean. And in my literary atlas, it is inhabited by different twentieth-century poets of Russia and Eastern Europe, poets who helped me make sense of my own situation in the turbulent Ireland of the 1970s and 80s. Of these, the first to absorb me was the Russian Osip Mandelstam, whom I imagined "on a muddy compound, / His gift like a slingstone / Whirled for the desperate"; but very soon after that I was in thrall to the Polish Zbigniew Herbert and the Lithuanian Czeslaw Milosz, dual citizens of the republic of letters and the republic of conscience.

The fourth province is more specific, more precisely defined, more easily located. It is the one invigilated by the poet whom Yeats called "the chief imagination of Christendom," Dante Alighieri, and the Dante part of my work is inhabited by shades of the dead who tell their stories in a book called *Station Island*. By the mid-seventies I had learned from Dante's *Divine Comedy* that one way to represent the vehemence and complexity of a riven society is to allow those most violently and fatally involved in it to speak for themselves and bear witness to their own experience, so in imitation of Dante and indeed Chaucer – not to mention the anonymous author of the seventeenth-century Irish poem "Trua mo thuras go Loch Dearg" / "Alas for my journey to Lough Derg" – I made myself into a pilgrim. When I was a teenager, I had done that same Lough Derg pilgrimage, had fasted and prayed on Station Island and performed the penitential exercises, as generations of Irish people had done for centuries. So in the early 1980s, I imagined myself setting out again for Station Island and wrote a sequence of poems in which I encountered familiar ghosts, some of them the shades of people killed in The Troubles (people I had known personally), others figures from the historical past, such as Joyce himself, but all of them spirits who acted at one moment as accusers, at another as counsellors, at yet another as confessors and ultimately, therefore, as comforters.

The fifth zone of European operations is one of more or less direct translation, and my translation activity has been mainly carried out in three of the four provinces already mentioned. In the classical area, for example, I have done translations of Virgil, including extracts from the *Aeneid* and a faithful rendering of his Ninth Eclogue, not to mention an adaptation of the Fourth ("Bann Valley Eclogue" in *Electric Light*) as a millennium poem set in post-ceasefire Northern Ireland. I've done a Horace "Ode" and versions of two plays by Sophocles, as well as an adaptation of the Watchman's speech at the beginning of Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*. But it hasn't all been classical. Barbarian Europe was also given its due when I buckled down to a complete translation of the Old English epic *Beowulf*, a story set in the Angles' and Saxons' ancestral home in Baltic Europe. Dante, too, I have approached directly, with a translation of his account of the vengeance wreaked by Count Ugolino on Archbishop Ruggieri in Cantos 32 and 33 of the *Inferno.* But with Dante, as with my Hyperboreans, the main influence has been indirect, a matter of example, of being shown

how to deal with conditions on the home ground, of trans-lation in a wider, looser, more general sense as 'carry over.'

In all these cases, however, the translations were a response to different contemporary crises. The Dante, for example, which deals with the starving to death of the imprisoned Ugolino in a tower in Pisa – that particular passage was translated during the late 1970s, at the time of the dirty protest in the Maze Prison, a protest which would eventually lead up to the IRA hunger-strikes of 1981. The Aeschylus ("Mycenae Lookout," *The Spirit Level*, 1996), in which the watchman imagines the bloodshed of the Trojan war and the bloodshed to come when his master returns to Mycenae – that was done fifteen years later, after the orgy of sectarian killing which had preceded the IRA ceasefire in 1994. And later still, in the aftermath of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, I translated Virgil's Ninth Eclogue. The Ninth Eclogue is fundamentally concerned with the frail but vitally necessary work of poetry in a time of violence, so I suppose I did that job as a poet's *apologia pro vita mea* over the previous thirty years. Finally then, my version of the Horace ode was done in the aftermath of the 9/11 destruction of the Twin Towers, since the Latin original is about high towers being toppled and those in high places being brought low by the sudden bloody predatory swoop of the goddess Fortuna. In every one of those acts of translation, therefore, you could say I was approaching terror via Holyhead.

To begin with, however, my poems were more about territory than about terror – my own personal territory, that is, in the fields around the townlands of Broagh and Anahorish and our farm at Mossbawn. So to start with, I want to read one which approaches that territory by way of Mount Helicon, the muses' mountain in the ancient Greek province of Boeotia. When I wrote it I was unaware that Helicon was the place where Hesiod, the original European farmer poet, had worked his land, but I did know that it was where the Hippocrene Spring was situated. This spring was a source of poetic inspiration, sacred to the muses, and its water had welled up when Pegasus, the winged horse of inspiration, landed on Helicon and left his hoof-mark in the ground of the hillside. So before I ever thought of Mantua, I had found analogies for my Co. Derry world in Boeotia. This poem, called "Personal Helicon," was the last one in my first book, published in 1966.

Personal Helicon (*Opened Ground* 15)

I could read many poems which proceed by this method and parallel personal experience with a mythic or legendary character or occasion. There are a couple, for example, in which the god Hermes is linked to my cattle-dealer father with his stick and his hat and his trademark yellow leather boots: Hermes was the god of fairs and markets, and he too came to be known by his broad hat and winged ankles and trademark sandals. Equally I could read a poem which links a defiant husband walking ahead of his wife through a tunnel in the London Underground to a different

underground scenario, the one where Orpheus and Eurydice are toiling up the path from the land of the dead. But instead I'm going to read something slightly odder, something written in the distressed, exhausted mood of the mid-1980s in Northern Ireland, something which involves the Greek philosopher Diogenes, the one who went round Athens in the fifth century BC with a lantern in his hand trying to find a just man among the citizens.

One of my favourite sights in the Irish countryside is a hawthorn hedge in wintertime, a hedge stripped of its green leaves but decked now with its crop of ripe red berries, the small, bright, stony haw itself, hanging from its twig like a lantern from the hand. In this poem, therefore, Diogenes materialises bearing in his hand a haw on its twig, carrying it through the narrow-minded world of the Ulster Troubles as if it were a scanning device that could read the heart and soul of every citizen.

The Haw Lantern (*Opened Ground* 299)

For someone of my generation, educated at a traditional grammar school, which also happened to be Roman as in Roman Catholic, it would have been hard not to take those classical deposits for granted and treat them as a *lingua franca* of sorts, a way of bridging the gap between our Ulster subculture and European high culture. But in 1970 a veritable "shock of the new" came from what I called "the old mankilling parishes" of Iron Age Denmark, more specifically from the pages of P.V. Glob's book *The Bog People* and from displays of bog bodies in the museums of Aarhus and Silkeborg. "The Tollund Man" was the first of those bog poems, written just two years after the Civil Rights march was baton-charged in Derry and one year after the first killings and reprisals in Derry and Belfast. It arrived, in other words, at a time when the wedge of polarization was being driven deep into the Northern Irish psyche and the shadow of violence was darkening over the population of the entire island.

The Tollund Man (*Opened Ground* 64-65)

"The Tollund Man" was published in 1972, in a book called *Wintering Out*. But the imagery and heritage of Northern Europe got a much fuller and more obsessive treatment in *North*, published in 1975. I'll read just one of the bog poems contained in it, the one about "The Grauballe Man." This is a companion piece of sorts for "The Tollund Man," dwelling upon the Grauballe Man's mutilated but beautifully preserved body as a way of reflecting the brutal killing and dumping of victims in the savage and increasingly sectarian atmosphere of Ulster in the early 1970s.

The Grauballe Man (*Opened Ground* 115-116)

During those early years of the Troubles, however, my Hyperboreans were as important to me as my barbarians. What the Hyperboreans provided was comfort and example, comfort when I *read* their work, example when I wondered how to write poetry

in our own dark time. The question which I repeated then and often since then was the one framed by Shakespeare in Sonnet 65, "How with this rage shall beauty hold a plea?." And one answer given by poets as diverse as Pasternak and Mandelstam and Milosz was to write poetry that showed beauty holding its plea by holding its own, showed beauty remaining true to itself and thereby defying its evil and ugly opposite.

In Warsaw, for example, at the most desolate period of the Second World War, in face of the cruelty and devastation being visited on that city's population, Czeslaw Milosz had written what he called a naif poem boldly and simply entitled "The World," a poem that was as far from the world of the occupied city and the warring continent as could be imagined. In perfectly rhymed stanzas, in a pellucid schoolbook language, it conjured up a childhood world of innocence and security, of beloved relatives and beautiful landscapes. Yet the poem was by no means escapist: rather it was obstinate in holding on to a vision of human life informed by creative virtue and communal trust. It shone, to quote Shakespeare again, like a good deed in a naughty world.

I was not familiar with "The World" when I put together the poems in *North* which dealt with the barbaric aspects of life in our vicious little province. But those dark compositions were prefaced by two poems dedicated to an aunt whom I knew and loved in my childhood in Mossbawn, and the dedicatory poems operated in much the same way as the Milosz poem in that they presented a world which contradicted the violent one we were being made to suffer. The first of them is a kind of placid Dutch interior, the second a Breughel-like picture of seasonal life going on in spite of the bombs and ambushes and assassinations that were happening just beyond the art-space established by the poems themselves.

Mossbawn: Two Poems in Dedication (*Opened Ground* 93-95)

I mentioned the poet Zbigniew Herbert as one of my Hyperboreans. I could equally have invoked other post-war figures such as Miroslav Houb or Marin Sorescu, writers living in Soviet regimes who dealt obliquely and allegorically with the political conditions in their different countries. They were poets who maintained their self-respect by refusing to be co-opted by the Party and who managed instead to write poems true to their own imaginative selves. In doing so, they reinforced their moral certitude by the integrity and truancy of their artistic discipline, maintained their inner freedom in spite of the repressive conditions.

The next poem I'm going to read could not have been written without their example. At one level, it's a straightforward account of an experience that was commonplace during the Northern Troubles. It's a recreation of what it was like to be halted and inspected and mildly interrogated at a British Army roadblock; it's about getting through the physical barrier of the armoured cars and the armed soldiers and out on to the unimpeded road ahead. At another level, however, it's about the psychological ex-

perience of enduring that interrogation as a member of the nationalist minority, an experience which entailed feelings of being in some sense subjugated and being in some kind of bad faith for co-operating. Which means, I suppose, that the poem ends up being a kind of compensation, a kind of lyric getaway, a payback in writing for the small but real compromises required for the maintenance of a civil and indeed a civic life.

From the Frontier of Writing (*Opened Ground* 297-298)

"From the Frontier of Writing" is composed in a muted form of *terza rima* and appeared in *The Haw Lantern* in 1987. In its original form, however, it had been included in a first draft of the *Station Island* sequence. I had meant it to be something that happened to the pilgrim on a northern road as he drove along towards Lough Derg, but decided eventually to leave it out. Next, however, I want to read a section which I did include, a passage where the pilgrim hears the story of a random sectarian assassination from the lips of the victim himself. This is obviously written in imitation of one of those cantos in *The Inferno* where Dante meets the shade of someone who has died a violent death and who now repeats the whole story – a story which would have been well known to the contemporary audience. And this was the case with my poem also: it retold the well-known story of a local Catholic shopkeeper who was visited by police in the middle of the night and asked to come down to supply them with something in the shop. It turned out, however, that these particular policemen were also loyalist paramilitaries, in effect a mini-death squad, and they quite brutally shot the man on his own doorstep. In this section the pilgrim speaks first and is answered by the shade of his murdered friend, a friend he had known in his youth as a wonderfully stylish athlete and footballer. And again the story is told in a form that keeps close to the Dantean *terza rima*.

Station Island VII (*Opened Ground* 255-258)

I suppose you could argue that a passage like that is a form of translation because it is a carrying over, in a very obvious and direct way, of the Dantean example. So in conclusion I could now go on to read some of those translations I mentioned earlier, except that I don't think there's any necessity to do that. You've already heard enough of my classics and barbarians and Hyperboreans and Dantesqueries to have got the point. But since we are in German-speaking Europe, and near the old Austrian province of Carinthia, what I want to do instead is to read two brief poems which reveal the ongoing reality of these European cross-currents and exchanges, the reality moreover of that phenomenon which Eugenio Montale called "the second life of art," its obscure pilgrimage through memory and conscience.

I'll finish, therefore, with translations I have done of a poem by Rilke and one by an anonymous poet writing in the Irish language. The Rilke, which was published in

1908 in the second volume of his *New Poems*, is entitled “Die Brandstätte” in the original. It evokes the state of mind of a young boy who suddenly turns up at the burnt-out site of his home the morning after the fire. He is bewildered: the world has proved itself unreliable, has made itself strange and made him strange in it. When I came on the poem shortly after the attacks on the twin towers on September 11, 2001, it seemed to catch the kind of dazed, estranged condition of individuals and whole societies in the aftermath of that shocking event.

Rilke: After the Fire (*District and Circle* 16)

The lyric poem can be defined as the snapshot of a moment of consciousness, hence its availability and, *pace* Robert Frost, its translatability. For the logic of what I have been saying means that the poetry is not that which is lost in translation but that which survives it. Cultural differences, historical circumstances, the whole circumambient life and times out of which a poem arises – admittedly all those things can have an estranging effect, yet a true poem speaks beyond itself and its origins. “Die Brandstätte” would be meaningful for a survivor of 9/11, but it would be equally meaningful for one who survived the fall of Troy or the burning of the library in Alexandria or a blitz in London or a bombing raid on Berlin or Baghdad.

I could just as easily, therefore, have called this address *New York via New Poems*. I want to end, however, with a translation which would allow for an even more topical title, something like *Clonmacnoise via Carinthia*. I’m going to conclude with my own translation of a poem written by an Irish monk in ninth-century Europe. This is a diaspora poem, if you like, written by one of the first of those “rambling scholars,” as Helen Waddell has called them, one of the *peregrini* far from his birthplace, deep in the learned language of Latin, but still very much at home in his native Irish language and in his newfound monastic life of study. It too is a poem which affords a sense of novelty and freshness in relation to an old and familiar situation. It’s about the relationship between the monk and a cat called Pangur Bán who shares his cell, a work of great technical intricacy in the original, but also a work of great intimacy and immediacy. I did this translation a few years ago, and I hope its theme of study rewarded and intellectual endeavour engaged upon as a pleasurable and profitable challenge will make a fitting end to my address and a fitting start to our conference:

Pangur Bán

Pangur Bán and I at work,
Adepts, equals, cat and clerk:
  His whole instinct is to hunt,
  Mine to free the meaning pent.

More than loud acclaim, I love
Books, silence, thought, my alcove.
  Happy for me, Pangur Bán
  Child-plays round some mouse’s den.

Truth to tell, just being here,
Housed alone, housed together,
  Adds up to its own reward:
  Concentration, stealthy art.

Next thing an unwary mouse
Bares his flank: Pangur pounces.
  Next thing lines that held and held
  Meaning back begin to yield.

All the while, his round bright eye
Fixes on the wall, while I
  Focus my less piercing gaze
  On the challenge of the page.

With his unsheathed, perfect nails
Pangur springs, exults and kills.
  When the longed-for, difficult
  Answers come, I too exult.

So it goes. To each his own.
No vying. No vexation.
  Taking pleasure, taking pains,
  Kindred spirits, veterans.

Day and night, soft purr, soft pad,
Pangur Bán has learned his trade.
  Day and night, my own hard work
  Solves the cruxes, makes a mark.

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Hy Brasil: Cartographic Error, Celtic Elysium, or the New Jerusalem? Early Literary Representations of the Imaginary Brasil Island

Barbara Freitag

In the late thirteenth century so-called portolan charts began to be produced which were named for the *portolano* or pilot book. They were then much in demand for the increasing Mediterranean trade and shipping, because they provided practical navigational help which was derived from seafarers and specifically compiled for seafarers. When commercial interests drew them into the Atlantic, the Mediterranean traders had the portolanos extended northwards to take in the British Isles and Northern Europe as well as the newly discovered (or imagined) Atlantic island groups (Campbell 67).

The early portolan charts were produced almost exclusively by Italian and Catalan cartographers. One of these, the Genoese cartographer Angelino Dulcert, was the first, as far as we know, to put Brazil Island on the map. His early-fourteenth-century chart marks a large round island called 'insula de brazil' to the west of Ireland.[1] Other mapmakers copied it, and for the next five hundred and fifty years this island held its place until it was finally removed from the charts in 1865.

One might well ask why this Genoese cartographer marked an island where there is none, and what prompted him to give it this particular name. When mapping out new territories, the cartographers strove to draw information from as many sources as possible. They incorporated older maps and local knowledge into their charts, and, in time, they would revise these through use and comparison with other charts (Kelley 18). But with Ireland lying on the outer margins of the ancient world, older maps hardly existed,[2] and cartographic progress was hampered by the fact that not long after Dulcert, other Mediterranean mapmakers applied the name of Brasil Island to one of the larger islands of the Azores group, which we nowadays call Terceira. A little later we find two, sometimes even three, Brasil Islands marked in one and the same chart in different parts of the Atlantic Ocean.

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1 Some attribute the chart to Angelino Dulcert, a Majorcan mapmaker of Genoese origin, others to his colleague Angelino Dalorto, who, some argue, is the same person as Dulcert, as their maps show such a remarkable accord in style, form, and content. Because of this uncertainty we come across references like "Dulcert/Dalorto" or the "Dalorto-group." Exactly when this map first appeared is also somehow uncertain, but most cartographers put it between 1325 and 1330. The map is preserved in Florence and forms part of the Prince Corsini Collection.

2 The earliest maps in which Ireland is represented are those of the British Isles and charts of the Western Coasts of Europe and World Maps. No particular map of Ireland is known from before 1489; see Andrews 13.

The free distribution of the name is confusing and has indeed caused consternation. Small wonder, then, that in his discussion of 'Brazil' as a geographical appellation, Walter Scaife remarks in 1890 that this toponym has something of a will-o'-the-wisp character, "for [...] it may be seen designating a great Antarctic continent, extending to the South Pole, or a small island near the arctic circle; or it may be as far west as the southern part of South America or as far east as [...] the coast of Ireland." Even the form of the name, he observes, "is almost as various as the positions in which it is found [...]" (Scaife 209), and he lists thirteen different variations.[3]

Trying to establish what local knowledge the early cartographers would have had, we find that Irish trade relations with France and Italy are pretty well documented from the Norman invasion onward, and so we must assume that the mariners of France and Italy had ample opportunities to familiarise themselves with the coasts of Ireland where they would have obtained further local information (Westropp, "Brasil" 259).[4] What is not so clear, however, is whether they garnered this information from the native Irish, the Norse, or the Normans. Westropp points out that most of the Irish places marked on the early portolan charts were well known to the Anglo-Normans. Accordingly, French or rather Norman influence underlies these maps from the very first, while distinctive Irish names remain unrecorded (Westropp, "Early Italian Maps" 363-364; "Brasil" 259).

What is more, Westropp also draws attention to the fact that the maps contain names which are neither Norman nor Irish, but are toponyms of southern European extraction. In some cases they represent straightforward Spanish translations; for example, 'The Bull Rock' in Kerry is marked as *Toro,* its neighbouring island, 'The Cow,' is down as *Vaca,* and 'The Old Head' in Cork is called *Cap Veio,* etc. Other sites are given names that bear no resemblance to the local versions whatsoever, as is the case with 'Bolus Head,' which is marked as *Lespor d'irlanda.* The two corollaries of this are, first, that it is quite erroneous to assume that the names on the portolan charts are all somehow derived from the Irish language and, second, that, as there is no corresponding island named in the Irish tradition, a Mediterranean origin of the toponym is more than likely.

In the early Middle Ages, 'grana de Brazil' was a coveted and very valuable commodity. It was a dye whose name is derived from its colour, namely a fiery red. "Weight for weight it was more valuable than gold, and the demand for clear strong colours for the clothes of […] rich men […] made it an ideal adventurer's product" (Hills 54-55). Chaucer already refers to its use in the *Canterbury Tales*, where he says, "Him nedeth nat his colour for to dyn with brasile, ne with greyn of Portyngale" (206; epi-

3 Scaife lists the following names: *Brasilia, Bresilia, Prislia, Prisilli, Brasielie, Brazili, Brasil, Brassil, Brazil, Brazill, Brazile, Presillg, Brasi* (Scaife 209).

4 Traces of merchants from Florence, Lucca, Pisa, Sienna, and Parma are found as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Ireland, but none from either Venice or Genoa; see Andrews 18.

logue to *The Nun's Priest's Tale*). The dye was mainly extracted from the logwood tree of the genus *Caesalpina*, commonly referred to as brazil-wood, after which the South American country is named. What is less well known is that the dye was also prepared from two types of lichen called *Rocella* or *Orchella* moss. This northern species of brazil, which grows on Atlantic rocks and headlands, has been found not only in Irish waters, but also as far north as Iceland. Columbus mentions "collecting brazil" in the accounts of his third and fourth voyages, and judging by the equipment he brought along for this – slung bags and knives – one can only assume that these were lichen-gathering and not tree-felling expeditions (Hills 54). As with the South American country, then, the dye may very well have been responsible for giving Brasil Island its name.

Others have argued that originally the name could have denoted a volcanic island, since it is a Romance word for "brazier," of which we find variants in French, Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian, all having to do with fire, also red of course (Kelley 25). The Italian geographer Revelli, who holds that *brasile* is cognate with *brazi,* the Genoese word for red embers, is certain that it was this Genoese word which supplied all the Atlantic islands with the name. He points out that in the district of Genoa we still find a place called 'Brasile' (Revelli 380-381).

If seafarers had understood the name to mean a volcanic island, they would hardly have made such determined efforts to find it. There is some anecdotal evidence of Cornish and Welsh gentlemen[5] squandering their family's fortunes in fruitless attempts to find the elusive island. Far better documented are the endeavours of Bristol merchants in the last decade of the fifteenth century, who sent two to four ships each year in search of it. In 1497, an Englishman by the name of John Day informed Christopher Columbus that John Cabot had found Brasil Island, adding that Columbus knew of course that its discovery had already been made by the English some time previously.[6] To this day, it remains a mystery to which island these letters are referring.

Once on the maps, Brasil Island not only attracted merchants; writers, too, fell for its lure. Spain provides us with the earliest literary references to it. As early as 1340, an anonymous Spanish Franciscan monk wrote a travel book in which the first person narrator purports to give an account of a journey through Africa, Europe, and Asia. Among many other islands, he claims to have visited Brasil, by which he clearly meant Terceira (*Book of the Knowledge* 29). In one sense his claim is negligible be-

5 In the early fifteenth century, Sir Thomas Arundell of Filley, "having injured his fortune by a wild adventure in attempting to discover an imaginary island called Old Brazil […], sold his manor and barton, and removed to the parish of Sithny" (Hitchins 2, 206). From *A History of the Isle of Man* we also learn that one Sir "Richd Buckley of Anglisey" had fruitlessly endeavoured the discovery of "O'Brazille" by "twice manning out a ship of his own from Beaumaris" (Blundell 1, 7).

6 Of the dozens of studies on the subject, the most succinct is probably by A. A. Ruddock.

cause the name is all we hear of it, but the early date is important. It tells us that people already knew of its existence although it had not yet been marked on any known map.[7]

More intriguing is a fifteenth-century Spanish version of the legend of King Arthur, written by one Lope García de Salazar (1399-1476). Salazar changed the traditional story of Arthur's final resting place by substituting Brasil Island for Avalon, placing it near Ireland, twenty-five leagues from Land's End in Cornwall (see Sharrer; Ryan; "Salazar's Account"). He justifies the substitution by pointing to sea charts which clearly show the island and also by giving an account of a meeting with Bristol sailors who told him that they had found the island and had taken on there a load of what they thought was firewood, but which turned out to be brazil-wood. Having made a fortune from its sale, they naturally wished to rediscover the island, but were unable to do so. To Salazar, this made perfect sense, because he knew it was enchanted. He comments on the belief of the English that Morgain, Arthur's sister, had cast a spell on the island and that it could only be discovered if the ship could see the island before the island the ship ("Salazar's Account" 5). Its enchanted status notwithstanding, Salazar firmly believed in its existence, and his reference to brazil-wood and Bristol sailors are obvious indications that his story was inspired by the nautical explorations of the Englishmen.

While there are passing references in earlier novelists and playwrights, the seventeenth-century English writer Richard Head (c.1637-1686?) was the first to elevate Brasil Island to a full-blown literary topic. It is not entirely surprising that Head, author of *The English Rogue* and by all accounts a bit of a rogue himself, found disappearing islands attractive. An inveterate gambler, he frequently faced bankruptcy, which obliged him temporarily to duck out of sight and also to produce books quickly by borrowing from other works, thereby resulting in his notorious reputation for plagiarism. Head published three works in which Brasil Island figures: *Hic et Ubique; or The Humours of Dublin* (1663), *The Western Wonder; or, O'Brazeel, an Inchanted Island Discovered* (1674), and *O-Brazile; or, The Inchanted Island* (1675). Like Salazar before him, Head makes reference to the maps, to the island's enchantment, and to the English expeditions. In his first two books, a bunch of blackguards on the run are desperately trying to find Brasil Island, because they need a hiding place and because they hope to lay their hands on its fabled wealth. In each of the books their attempts fail. His third literary quest for Brasil Island is not only different in style, tenor, and format, but also in its outcome. In *O-Brazile; or, The Inchanted Island* the island is discovered and explored. The lucky seafarers are one Captain Nisbet and his crew, who chanced upon it close to the coast of Northern Ireland. All the circumstances of the exploration are related in the manner of a factual eyewitness account and are contained in a letter supposedly written by William Hamilton, a man from Derry, who

7 The earliest map showing this particular Brasil Island is the 1351 Portolano Laurenziano Gaddiano seu Atlante Medicaeo, preserved in Florence.

claims to have faithfully written down everything Captain Nisbet told him about his exploration of the island. To this day the letter is still sometimes quoted as an authentic piece of evidence.

So what did Captain Nisbet have to say about Brasil Island? We learn that its inhabitants are destitute Scots-Gaelic-speaking people who feel greatly relieved at having been discovered at long last. Descended from noble ancestors, these once prosperous islanders have been unable to manage their own affairs and plentiful resources and are incapable of ridding themselves of an evil spell under which they have lain for hundreds of years. In other words, their *ancien régime* has failed miserably. With its rich gold and silver mines untapped, its towns derelict, and its population languishing, the island is clearly in need of a competent colonial power to rescue it.

The view that a culturally superior nation could by rights take over another considered inferior was of course quite commonly expressed in the context of colonial expansion, but I do not think that Head intended to make a political statement here. He needed to write books which catered for, and satisfied, a popular taste. *O-Brazile* was clearly intended to excite the English reading public, with whom travel books, in particular those which fuelled their sense of superiority, were prodigiously popular. In fact, reports of newly discovered islands, whether real or fictitious, were sure to cause a sensation among the reading public all over Europe. One such example is Henry Neville's *Isle of Pines*, which was published in London in 1668. It was an instant success throughout Europe and was translated into French, Dutch, Italian, and German (Ford). Head's *O-Brazile* is clearly modelled on the *Isle of Pines,* which was ambiguous enough to make some readers believe that it was a true story of discovery, and it, too, was published in the form of a letter purporting to be an eyewitness account.

In the 1720s, another booklet appeared under the title of *The History of the Inchanted-Island of O-Brazile*, claiming to give an account of a visit to the island. Head's influence is unmistakable. Here we have a sailor named William Hogg, on board a ship sailing from Londonderry to Boston, who describes how the crew suddenly espy an island, about twenty leagues off Galway. When they explore it they learn that they have landed on Brasil Island, where they stay for the next seven years. Again, the island is portrayed from the point of view of someone who is smug in the knowledge of coming from a culturally superior background, and the islanders are described as pretty barbarous and devoid of art, culture, and industry.

If we turn to Ireland for early traces of Brasil Island, we find that as a literary motif it occurs much later than in England. There is, however, a highly intriguing case of an attempt to write about the island, a case involving treason and piracy within the lofty echelons of Irish society.

The four main players in this drama: the Reverend Thomas Contarine, Oliver Goldsmith's uncle; Charles O'Conor, a preeminent antiquarian; Richard Digby, a historio-

grapher and relative of Henry Brooke; as well as Henry Brooke himself, the Anglo-Irish poet and dramatist and better known as the father of Charlotte Brooke. The time: 1743. In June of that year, a prospectus was published advertising a book entitled *Ogygian Tales; Or, A Curious Collection of Irish Fables, Allegories and Histories, From the Relations of Fintane the Aged, for the Entertainment of Cahal Crove Darg, during that Prince's Abode in the Island of O'Brazil, In which are occasionally set forth, The Manners, Customs, Arts and Religion of the Ancient Inhabitants of Ireland, with the Characters of the most illustrious Persons in Science and Government.*[8]

Apparently, O'Conor, who had written the manuscript, had given it to his friend Richard Digby, who in turn passed it on to his cousin, Henry Brooke. Brooke, sensing its marketability, kept the manuscript and tried to pass it off as his own (O'Conor, *The Letters* 1, xvi; O'Conor, *Letters: A Catholic Voice* 103n). Unbeknownst to the others, he advertised under his own name the proposal for *A History of Ireland from the Earliest Times,* which was based entirely on O'Conor's manuscript.[9] When this was discovered, the Reverend Contarine was so incensed over Brooke's "treachery" that he advised Digby to file a bill against him in order to brand him with public infamy (O'Conor, *Memoirs* 192), while Charles O'Conor, who had taken legal advice in the matter, was equally encouraged to bring Mr. Brooke's "dirty" tricks out into the open (O'Conor, *Memoirs* 195). Regrettably, in the end, neither the *Ogygian Tales* nor the *History* appeared.

In the late eighteenth century, the island suddenly comes to be called 'Hy Brasil'[10] in Ireland, where it develops into a popular theme in the following century. For the patriotic movements the west generally began to acquire a special significance, but the

8 K. O'Donovan mentions that he had found references to the prospectus in a number of catalogues, but as he was unable to trace it he assumed it was now lost. Happily this is not the case, for a copy of it is preserved as part of the *Stowe MSS* in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. I am afraid that in the light of the story surrounding the prospectus, Donovan's praise for Brooke's ground-breaking enthusiasm for Irish antiquities has to be modified somewhat.

9 *Dublin Journal* no. 1868 (26-29 January 1744/5). The full title of Brooke's proposal was *The History of Ireland from the Earliest Times; wherein are set forth the ancient and extraordinary Customs, Manners, Religion, Politics, Conquests and Revolutions of that once hospitable, polite and martial Nation; interspersed and illustrated with extraordinary Digressions, and the private and affecting Histories of the most celebrated of the Natives*, in 4 vols, by Henry Brooke.

10 In spoken Irish *Hy* and *O* share the same sound, being like the English 'O,' but in English the first part of the island's name is pronounced 'hi.' *Hy* (or *I*) signified a district, a tribe or an island, and when annexed to the name of persons, it frequently signified a chief. As a surname we find O Brazil and Brassill which are anglicised forms of the Irish sept of Ó Breasail. Then there is the Clann Bhreasail, which was the tribe name of the Uí Bhreasail of Oriel; see Mac Lysaght 39-40. As a place name it is mentioned in connection with the Synod of Ráth Breasail. There is a place in Co. Armagh called Clanbrassil, formerly Hy-Breasail, and another Hy-Breassail used to be in Co. Tipperary, but it no longer exists; see Ó Muchadha 151-161.

Literary Revivalists, in search of the pure, uncontaminated soul of Ireland, pushed the focus of their attention as far west as possible, that is, farthest away from England, to the western island.

Local folklore around the Irish coastal areas abounds with tales of enchanted islands, often based on one of the commonest of sea phenomena, which is the delusion of sighting land. A cloud on the horizon or a fogbank is easily mistaken for a shadowy island, and its disappearance and reappearance explained by magic. Indeed, as early as the twelfth century, in his *Topography of Ireland,* Gerald of Wales drew attention to the folklore surrounding one such imaginary island, without name or location, which he simply referred to as the "phantom island" (66).

All along the western and northern coasts in particular, we find a firm belief in such phantom islands, most of which have local names and different legends and tales attaching to them. But in none of the even moderately old folklore collections do we come across 'Hy Brasil.' Nor do any of the early Irish texts, records, or annals mention it. And this is the reason why Irish scholars dismiss it as a non-authentic name (Westropp, "Brasil" 255; MacNeill qtd. in Westropp, "Brasil" 393), with the great Celticist James Carney insisting that this "curious term" is found "exclusively in non-Gaelic and comparatively late sources" (Carney 47).[11]

And yet the imaginary island of Hy Brasil came to be presented as the epitome of all things Celtic. As both an incarnation of Gaelic Ireland and as the location of the Celtic Otherworld its charm proved irresistible for the Celtic Revivalists. Here, imagination and reality could meet, the spiritual and the common could be reconciled, the mythical Celtic past could be merged with the rural Irish present: its romantic possibilities were endless. While numerous poets and writers sang its praises, Lady Gregory laid the scene of one of her plays in Hy Brasil (*The Jester*), and Jack B. Yeats painted it (*A Race in Hy-Brasil*). It also became a Christian designation, on a par with the terrestrial paradise reserved for God's saints. It was the island which St. Brendan set out to find. The association between St. Brendan and Hy Brasil had in fact become so commonplace by the end of the nineteenth century that the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* could confidently state that according to tradition, St. Brendan "made a voyage in his curragh across the Western ocean, in the sixth century, in search of the shadowy land of Hy-Brasil […]" (66).

Unfortunately, there is not enough space to trace this fascinating later development, and so we will finally turn to Northern Ireland. Nowhere else is Brasil Island more cryptically bound up with questions of national and religious identity than in the northern province of Ulster. The two most elaborate stories concerning the island stem from here. Although published anonymously, both were in all probability written

11 If it did reflect an Irish tribal name, Carney argues, it is difficult to see how it came to be associated with the idea of an imaginary island.

by Northern Irish clergymen, and, by peculiar coincidence, they both date from the same year, 1752.

A Voyage to O'Brazeel is about an island which was once situated close to the coast of Donegal, but whose inhabitants had opted to become invisible, and who now, having lived under water for generations, dread the possibility of their discovery. So the story focuses on the islanders rather than on the enterprising conqueror or would-be coloniser.

The island is a little paradise with cattle in fair pastures, splendid vegetation, fruit and grain in full perfection, where the people are happy and virtuous. Two men from Northern Ireland manage to visit the island, and the author contrasts what he obviously considers to be the unfavourable social conditions of Ulster with O'Brazeel's ideally organised society. The two could hardly be any more different. There is no aristocracy, no military, and no institutionalised church in O'Brazeel. Personal property is limited, poverty, corruption, and injustice unheard of.

Overall, it amounts to a pious yet progressive vision of an autonomous Ulster which serves as a model for possible unification with the rest of Ireland. It is presented as a popular sovereignty, underpinned by a radical and egalitarian philosophy, prudently governed by elected representatives, and spiritually guided by a church brought back to her apostolic origins.

The other book, entitled *Old Ireland's Misery at an End,* is also set in Donegal and shares a number of features with *A Voyage* in the conception of Brasil Island. In both cases the island is bound up with millenarian prophecy. Both texts portray the island as hidden under water, and, as its concealment is deliberate on God's part, it follows that the islanders are the chosen people. Like the biblical New Jerusalem it is not yet "seen," but its emergence is prophesied in time to come.

The two authors imaginatively explore Brasil Island's complex symbolic possibilities. Coming from opposite sides of Protestantism – apostolic and episcopalian – they both use it for patriotic ends, albeit with different political goals. *A Voyage* is aiming at a totally independent Ireland, while *Old Ireland's Misery* is only looking for legislative independence for Ireland within an English Empire.[12]

To conclude, what began as an error by an Italian cartographer initiated a spate of exploratory voyages, but, more importantly, has for centuries provided writers in Spain, England, and Ireland with a rich literary motif. In Ireland, when the ethnocentric approach to the west and with it the romantic sentimentality disappeared, poets and writers began to explore, without strain, Hy Brasil's philosophic dimension. In the United Kingdom there were sporadic sightings, including mythical apparitions

12 The author specifically rules out Scotland, which is why he is not talking about a British Empire.

throughout the last century, and in 2002 the island resurfaced in all its glory in Margaret Elphinstone's novel *Hy Brasil.*

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"My Change of Character": *Rousseauisme* and Maria Edgeworth's *Ennui*

Eglantina Remport

The title, *Ennui*, that Maria Edgeworth chose for her 1809 novel offers the first suggestion that the book was influenced by the works of the eighteenth-century French writer Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In a passage from the fourth book of *Émile, ou De l'éducation* (1762) he describes the feelings of a young man who dislikes the idle lifestyle of kings as follows: "il plaint ces voluptueux de parade qui livrent leur vie entière à l'ennui, pour paraître avoir du plaisir" (318). The line, translated by Barbara Foxley as "he pities these ostentatious voluptuaries, who spend their life in deadly dullness that they may seem to enjoy its pleasures" (*Émile* 190), provides the opening image of Edgeworth's novel. Wasting his life away in the luxurious surroundings of Sherwood Park in London, the Earl of Glenthorn describes his situation as follows:

> If I might judge from my own experience, I should attribute fashionable epicurism in a great measure to ennui. Many affect it, because they have nothing else to do; and sensual indulgences are all that exist for those who have not sufficient energy to enjoy intellectual pleasures. (Edgeworth, *Ennui* 153).

Marilyn Butler assumes that Edgeworth's choice of format for the book was deliberately intended to create the "parodic equivalent of Rousseau's *Confessions* of a provincial" (24). Rousseau's influence on Edgeworth's book is undeniable, but the theme of *ennui* and the plot of the novel suggest a greater extent of indebtedness to the thoughts of the French philosopher.

Edgeworth's description of Glenthorn's life in the first few chapters of *Ennui* bears a strong affinity to Rousseau's depiction of the life of the wealthy in the passage above. Glenthorn's weekly routine consists of luxurious dinner-parties and visits to illegal, curtained, candle-lit hazard rooms. His marriage, which had been settled by the friends of a young heiress, is a mere formality. After Lady Glenthorn's elopement with Captain Crawley, the man in charge of his house in London, Glenthorn realises that his servants are becoming his masters (166). Rousseau depicted the life of the wealthy French aristocrat in much the same fashion: "As his desires are always anticipated; they never have time to spring up among his pleasures, so he only feels the tedium of restraint. Even before he knows it he is disgusted and satiated with the sex formed to be the delight of his own" (*Émile* 175). Like Rousseau, Edgeworth considered the danger for wealthy young men of slowly falling prey to their servants – a central theme also of *Castle Rackrent* – the unfortunate consequence of the negligence brought about by aristocratic *ennui*.

This absorption in Rousseau's work is not surprising given that, as Edgeworth herself noted, the books of the French philosopher were then "in everybody's hands" (*Prac-*

tical Education 1: 168). The debate regarding the state of the French education system and the proposals of the *éducateurs* for its reformation were to have a great impact around Europe and generate heated discussions in England in particular. As a result of the debate concerning the role of the government and various religious bodies in children's education, the influence of the state and the Anglican Church significantly decreased during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, notwithstanding the ongoing impact of the War of Independence on the American continent. The Dissenters Act of 1779 allowed Richard Lowell Edgeworth, Maria's father, to set up a family-run institution for children on his estate in Ireland, modelled on Rousseau's educational principles (Py 228). Edgeworth *père* and his friend, Thomas Day, were great admirers of the Frenchman, whose influence was also palpable in Day's own didactic book, *The History of Sandford and Merton*. Richard Edgeworth was determined to educate his son Dick in France according to Rousseau's system (Hare 3), but the other Edgeworth children also enjoyed the greater freedom advocated by the French philosopher (Py 156). Maria's diaries suggest that Rousseau's work and private life were often discussed at dinner tables. In a letter to Mrs Mary Sneyd, dated 10 January 1803, Edgeworth mentioned Mme d'Ouditot's gossip from the night before: "She told me that Rousseau, whilst he was writing so finely on education, and leaving his own children in the Foundling Hospital, defended himself with so much eloquence that even those who blamed him in their hearts, could not find tongues to answer him" (Hare 60).

Determined to voice her own ideas on the education and cultivation of children, Edgeworth found ways to answer Rousseau. Her first published work, *Letters from Literary Ladies* (1795), allowed her little room to formulate her own ideas, as the book was merely based on letters exchanged between her father and Thomas Day. The two-volume *Practical Education*, written with her father and published in 1798, was a much better platform to communicate her views to a wider public, especially as she alone was responsible for the first volume on the cultivation of children. At key points Edgeworth drew on Rousseau's *Émile* and she did not shy away from disagreeing with the French philosopher when she considered it necessary. While acknowledging his eloquence, Edgeworth was critical of Rousseau's suggestion for parents "to teach truth by falsehood." She considered Rousseau's anecdote, in which a gardener taught Émile about the just notion of the rights of property and the nature of exchange and barter using a series of lies, a "very dangerous counsel" (*Practical Education* 1: 169). Edgeworth firmly asserted the value of truth as both means and end: "Honesty is the best policy, must be the maxim in education, as well as in all the other affairs of life" (1: 170).

Writing at the time of French Absolutism, during which period the rigid and almost unchangeable class structure had become a burden on French society, Rousseau argued that man was born good-hearted and open-minded; it was the rules and expectations of the social system that changed man's good nature. He blamed the French education system for ingraining into children a set of social prejudices which

he considered the root of social injustice encountered in France at the time. According to Rousseau, the way to minimise social discrepancies was to introduce new ways of cultivating children. His proposition to "return to nature" – to rediscover the innate goodness he attributed to man's essential character – was taken up by the writers of European Romanticism. While disagreeing with Rousseau on certain points, Edgeworth nonetheless embraced the French philosopher's central propositions. In *Ennui* she portrays a young aristocrat who returns to rural living, arguing that a "seconde naissance" in nature had the power to induce a positive change in a man's personality. Thus, the journey of the central protagonist from England to Ireland – as from indolence to purposefulness – literally embodies the argument Rousseau expounded.

In leaving the luxurious but mind-numbing environment of his London house behind and moving to Ireland to visit his estate, the Earl of Glenthorn takes the first steps on his journey of self-discovery. Having arrived at his castle the night before and receiving an enthusiastic reception from his servants and dependants, Glenthorn opens his eyes to the picturesque landscape of the sea, wildly booming against the castle walls. He is filled with the "melancholy feeling of solitary grandeur" exuding from his new surroundings (179). Over the course of the next few days he is kept busy with calls from his tenants, who swarm into the castle courtyard to pay him homage and to ask for his protection. Soon after his arrival he is forced to confront his responsibility for the quality of other people's lives.

Glenthorn's experiences in Ireland stand in stark contrast to the life he used to know in Sherwood Park, as indicated in the opening lines of the novel: "Bred up in luxurious indolence, I was surrounded by friends who seemed to have no business in this world but to save me the trouble of thinking or acting for myself" (143). Put into a situation where he has to take responsibility for his actions, as well as for the well-being of others living on his Irish estate, Glenthorn slowly starts to develop a new way of thinking. He still enjoys the small luxuries of his aristocratic surroundings, especially when these are compared with the living conditions of some of his tenants, but the focal point of his life is slowly beginning to shift. As an act of good will, he arranges for Elinor's house to be rebuilt in the fashionable English style. He is taken with Elinor, who strikes him as different to the women he had encountered in the treacherous aristocratic circles of London. Although Glenthorn is taken aback by the rapidity with which the state of her new house deteriorates for want of cleaning, he discovers true affection in her family. He has not forgotten how the affectionate woman had saved him from self-destruction in England. Elinor inadvertently prevented him from committing suicide and subsequently lured him to the estate, where Glenthorn found a society in which family members helped each other. Edgeworth uses Elinor, a personification of Mother Ireland, to instigate Glenthorn's journey to his Irish estate, and it is within the country setting of his Irish demesne that Glenthorn's "return to nature" commences.

Try as he might to repress it, Glenthorn's *ennui* re-emerges tentatively during his visit to the Ormsby villa, neighbouring his estate. Lady Geraldine, daughter of a local Anglo-Irish landlord, is the central figure of this scene. She gives voice to Edgeworth's own views on the notable differences to be observed between the Anglo-Irish aristocracy and their English counterparts. Lady Geraldine is appalled by the behaviour of her cousin, Lord Craiglethorpe. His pride, vanity, ignorance, and dullness she considers typical of his kind, crossing the channel only to take critical notes of the Irish way of living. Craiglethorpe spends his days walking around the parks writing down everything he sees in Ireland without engaging with the people, an oversight Lady Geraldine thinks a serious mistake. She despises him for coming to Ireland to ridicule rather than help its people, criticising them without making any effort to understand them. Glenthorn's attention, fully directed at Lady Geraldine, is once again drawn to the necessity of a landlord to act responsibly and protectively towards the people on his estate.

The issue of whether (and by what means) to work towards improving the conditions of the rural Irish populace, and the role of education therein, proves the main point of disagreement between McLeod, Glenthorn's agent, and Captain Hardcastle, the agent of the dowager Ormsby. McLeod despises Hardcastle for his way of treating Irish people in New-town-Hardcastle, a town, unsurprisingly, named after himself. Hardcastle is of the view that "the way to ruin the poor of Ireland would be to educate them" (193). He believes that the poor should stick to the spade and the shovel; they should forget about education that only produces scholars, bailiffs, and excisemen who "grow on the worst-disposed" (193). He also finds that the only way to effectively govern Irishmen – already "too quick and smart" – is to deny them the benefits of good schooling. He considers education the privilege of the rich, its sole aim being the creation of a type of gentleman on whom leadership could be bestowed. Hardcastle sees in the example of the Earl of Glenthorn the failure of the English upper-class private education system to breed strong leaders, producing indolent fops instead. Glenthorn's character only confirms for Hardcastle his belief that the creation of a newly educated native Irish class would only serve to amplify tendencies towards indolence already present, making practical governance almost impossible.

Hardcastle's ideas are especially poignant as the Earl of Glenthorn, brought up and schooled in England, turns out to be none other than the son of Elinor. Thus, he is the son of a tenant of the Glenthorn estate, a man of true Irish blood whose ancestors had lived on the estate for generations. The real name of the Earl of Glenthorn is Christy O'Donoghoe, born at approximately the same time as the true heir to the Glenthorn estate. Exchanged as a baby, Christy had enjoyed the comforts of life among the rich in England. Meanwhile, the real heir, a man of Anglo-Irish ascendancy, had been brought up by Elinor as an Irish commoner. With this twist in the novel, Edgeworth sought to demonstrate the significance education and upbringing played in a child's personal and social development, a point central to Rousseau's argument in *Émile*. Christy O'Donoghoe – an Irishman enjoying a gentleman's education in

England – had actually become the very type of Irishman that Hardcastle feared would emerge, were English upper-class education to be extended to the native Irish population.

The Scotsman McLeod argues for a different type of education, one that is more in line with Rousseau's principles. He disagrees strongly with Hardcastle's motto: "keep the Irish common people ignorant, and you keep 'em quiet" (193). In contrast, McLeod bemoans the fact that the rural Irish peasantry "know nothing because they have been taught nothing" (194). He finds ridiculous Hardcastle's fears of the Irish overturning the rule of law in the country when provided with better education. On his own estate, which Glenthorn visits during the course of the novel, McLeod and his wife have created a prospering micro-society. Following Rousseau's proposition that the root of any social progress lies in education, McLeod has founded a new schoolhouse where children are introduced to new ideas and ambitions. He encourages his tenants to become independent farmers, working for their own benefit while also contributing to the well-being of the estate as a whole, rather than remain men willing to accept external governance. The one point on which McLeod and Hardcastle agree is the insufficiency of scholarly education alone for the formation of a well-rounded personality; manual labour is expected in the school built by McLeod. He seriously disagrees with Glenthorn's attempt to solve his tenants' problems with money. McLeod argues as follows: "I *doubt* whether the best way of encouraging the industrious is to give premiums to the idle" (189). Glenthorn has to concede that McLeod is right. In a relatively short space of time the castle is flooded with "crowds of eloquent beggars," while the "industrious tenants grumbled, because no encouragement was given to them" (190). His efforts to rebuild Elinor's hut as a mansion only confirmed for him the view that supplying Irish tenants with goods and money alone would not provide sufficient impetus for them to change their way of living.

Rousseau argued that children should be encouraged to work. De Negroni points out that in the *château à la campagne* Émile learns that work is indispensable to becoming a social being (120). Lemay mentions that at the National Assembly, held on 27 March 1791, Dupont de Nemours referred to Rousseau concerning the acquisition of property solely by means of work (378). This not only demonstrates the influence of Rousseau's ideas at the highest level of post-revolution French politics but also indicates the extent to which work had become sanctified by French politicians of the time. Incorvati explains that the new plan of national education, designed by Michel Lepeletier and read to the Convention by Robespierre on 13 July 1793, drew on Rousseau's notion of the importance of work (392). Robespierre was adamant that Rousseau's ideas had paved the way for the revolution, even though, as Lemay suggests, it achieved more than Rousseau had originally proposed (379).

Louis-René Caradeuc de La Chalotais, Rousseau's contemporary, insisted that a national education system should be created to help soften the rigid class system of eighteenth-century France. In his *Essai d'éducation nationale* of 1763, a year after

the publication of *Émile*, he proposed that education should cultivate good citizens of the state (Pomeau 7). Slowly but steadily public discourse concerning the French education system began to change during the decades preceding the revolution. From the mid-eighteenth century onwards the aim was to create a system that would create responsible citizens of the state capable of handling public, social, and political affairs, instead of trying to modify the private education of the rich or ameliorate the public education of the less wealthy. De Negroni argues that *Émile* was influential in raising issues that resulted in the reconsideration of the education system of eighteenth-century France and ultimately led to its displacement (120-121). Pomeau believes that revolutionaries such as Condorcet and Lakanal succeeded in creating a national system for children from all walks of life (7).

French *éducateurs*, La Chalotais, Rousseau, and Robespierre amongst them, promoted the idea of responsible citizenship as the goal of parenting and education; this idea comes to the fore in the last part of Edgeworth's novel. Having lost his estate to the real Earl of Glenthorn, Christy befriends Lord Y–, a lawyer at the Irish bar and owner of two estates in Ireland. Lord Y– proposes the profession of law and five years of hard labour at the bar to make Christy a man of distinction, more respected by his peers than he had been previously with the old title and his idle lifestyle. "In our country, you know," Lord Y– proudly explains, "the highest offices of the state are open to talents and perseverance; a man of abilities and application cannot fail to secure independence" (304). This is not only another of Edgeworth's subtle criticisms of England, casting a positive light on Ireland, nor is it simply an appraisal of her own father, who had saved their estate from ruin by succeeding in the profession of the law. The last scenes of the novel echo the story of the young aristocrat Rousseau referred to in *Émile*. Rousseau suggested that the idling aristocratic lifestyle ruined a young man's character; hence his proposal that Émile engage in practical employment.

Fired with ambition, Glenthorn's new life as Christy O'Donoghue slowly starts to resemble the life of those living on the McLeod estate he had visited earlier on in the novel. The examples of both the McLeod and the Lord Y– estates, as well as the experiences of his own life, confirm for him the character-forming power of ambition. Christy remembers this awakening in the following passage:

> all the faculties of my soul were awakened: I became active, permanently active. The enchantment of indolence was dissolved and the demon of ennui was cast out forever. […] When I found myself surrounded with books, and reading assiduously day and night, I could scarcely believe in my own identity; I could scarcely imagine that I was the same person, who, but a few months before this time, lolled upon a sofa half the day, and found it an intolerable labour to read or think for half an hour together. (305-306)

Without a title and penniless, no doubt, when called to the bar, he becomes a "plodding man of business, poring over law-books from morning till night" (305). As his powers of observation awaken, his disposition towards the Irish countryside alters:

"the confinement and labour to which I had lately submitted gave value to the pleasures of rest and liberty, and to the freshness of country air, and the beautiful scenes of nature. So true it is, that all our pleasures must be earned before they can be enjoyed" (307).

Lord Y– occasionally takes Christy on visits to his Irish country estates where the young man can see for himself the reward of the tenants' labour: "the neat cottages, the well-cultivated farms, the air of comfort, industry and prosperity, diffused through the lower classes of the people" (307). The nature of Christy's work at the bar is obviously distinguished in class terms from that of the manual labour of the tenants; however, they are united at least in the notion of labour itself, whether mental or material, creating comfort, order, and prosperity. Christy's observation concerning the necessity to work in order to enjoy social benefits recalls Rousseau's concept of a just social system. Condemning eighteenth-century French social structures for allowing the titled aristocracy to reap all the benefits of the social system while withholding them from the working men and the labouring tenants, Rousseau argued that no man was entitled to gain benefits unless he had worked for them.

During the time in which Edgeworth's novel is set, some in France believed that social equality could only be achieved through revolution involving, by necessity, the abolition of titled aristocracy. No such notion is present in Edgeworth's *Ennui*. On the contrary, when Christy visits Lord Y–'s estate he realises that "much may be done by the judicious care and assistance of landlords for their tenants" (307). Christy begins to understand how little he had done for those under his power earlier on in his life, a mistake he intends to put right when reclaiming the Glenthorn estate at the end of the novel. As a result of the real Earl's mismanagement of the estate while Christy was away, the demesne is in ruins. Having been brought up as Elinor's son and having lived amongst the Irish peasantry, the real Earl had gained no experience in managing property of the scale of Glenthorn Castle. In his letter to Christy, which informs the latter of the fire that destroyed the castle, the Earl begs Christy to return and take possession of the estate.

Writing at the time when the formal union of Ireland and Britain was on the legislative agenda, Edgeworth does not disseminate the revolutionary ideas of Robespierre and his followers. Growing up in a family which was affected by the 1798 United Irishmen rebellion, itself modelled on the French revolution of 1789, she placed historical events at the centre of the novel. These events acquire a special significance in the narrative but she chooses to present them neither in terms of glorification nor condemnation. She treats the events of the rebellion merely as a backdrop to revealing the true identity of the Earl of Glenthorn. The truth comes to light when the real Earl is taken into custody for partaking in the rebellion. Elinor is forced to reveal his true identity in order to release the young man from jail. Personalising and, in consequence, marginalising the rebellion, while also weaving the thread of the novel in such a way that the protagonist is to return to Glenthorn Castle by the end, Edge-

worth ultimately endorses the prevailing structure of Irish society. Like Rousseau, and unlike the revolutionaries in France, she believes that social hierarchy should not be upturned but re-modelled so that it would allow its members to fulfil their aims within a general social framework. Shklar and Masters point out that Rousseau himself realised the impossibility of achieving real social equality. Discussing Rousseau's egalitarian and democratic views, Shklar asserts that in the ideal society depicted by Rousseau in his 1762 book *Du contrat social*, Rousseau conceded that "some degree of inequality in wealth and power must be endured" (17-18). Masters maintains that the French philosopher "would not have preferred a direct democracy" (192); the aim of a just civic society, according to him, was to achieve equality under the law between citizens of the state. Rousseau did not consider stripping the aristocracy of their land and their possessions a prerequisite for the creation of an ideal society so much as the creation of a system in which the inequalities of birth were to be balanced off by the equality of men under the law (*Du contrat social* 1: ix).

A century later, during the third Home Rule debate, reflections on the nature of education and its social, economic, and political consequences continued in Ireland. The last section of *Émile*, which describes the young man's tour of Europe to showcase the various forms of government, signifies the extent to which Rousseau considered education on political matters an essential part of the cultivation of the young. The aforementioned debate between Hardcastle and McLeod concerning the probability of the rule of law being upturned by the Irish (were they to be granted a better education system) touches upon this very point. This episode in Edgeworth's book anticipates some of the critical debates shaping public opinion in Ireland a century later around 1910 as the Home Rule crisis loomed. During the nineteenth century, heated political and religious controversy accompanied various educational experiments, including the establishment of the non-denominational Peel's Colleges in all major cities of Ireland, John Henry Newman's Catholic University in Dublin, and John Ruskin's all-girls school in Cork. These experiments differed in form, but consented to the view that the best way to bring about reconciliation in Irish society more peacefully was through the development of systems of education through which modernising and anglicising influences could be disseminated in an authoritative but non-coercive fashion. Strongly in disagreement with these intentions and motivated by a desire to alter disciplinarian methods used in the Catholic schools of the Christian Brothers, Patrick Pearse established St. Enda's College in 1908. Introducing new teaching methods, it was essentially designed to provide alternative schooling for young boys, while its ethos also exuded ideals personified for Pearse by the warrior hero of the Ulster Cycle, Cúchulainn (Sisson 79). As a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, Pearse was in favour of military action to achieve independence for Ireland and he used St. Enda's to disseminate "his worship of military discipline" (Sisson 4). He held the view that social change in Ireland could only be achieved by military means, but the educational methods of shaping Irish character could not rely upon the brutalities of corporal punishment.

In marked contrast to Pearse, Horace Plunkett's Co-operative Movement was proposing a more gradual and less militant form of social change. The Movement intended to encourage social development along the lines we encounter in Edgeworth's novel through the character of McLeod, Glenthorn's agent on his Kerry estate. Plunkett's methods were not quite in line with those envisaged by McLeod, but the Raiffeisen scheme of agricultural co-operation recalls the Scotsman's propositions. Besides providing financial aid to ameliorate the working conditions of farmers and to facilitate the marketing of Irish produce, the aspirations of the Movement included the creation of a social context in which farmers' self-confidence could grow. It was hoped that the system would facilitate the education of people living in rural areas in such a way that, were Home Rule to become a reality, they would be able to benefit from the newly opened possibilities. In a similar fashion, although significantly different in its aim of promoting the idea of a Socialist republic, James Connolly noted in the pages of *Shan van Vocht* in 1897 that simply removing the British flag from Dublin Castle would not create a prosperous society unless a proper social system was put in place first (Rumpf & Hepburn 12). The leaders of the Co-operative Movement realised that the Irish needed practical education to achieve a greater overall standard of living. Its aims were not expressly democratic, but the hope was, as Anderson recalls it, to achieve a certain change in the character of Irish farmers. Capable of deciding for themselves, they would cease to submit passively to external governance, thereby concurring with the tenets of Rousseau (Anderson 254). The argument developed in *Co-operation and Nationality* by George Russell, chief ideologist of the Movement, that manual instruction should accompany intellectual cultivation, indicates the endurance of Rousseau's influence on intellectual life in Ireland into the twentieth century. Edgeworth's *Ennui* was a point of departure for a tradition of *Rousseauisme* that would mark Irish social and cultural developments in various and profound ways.

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The Rise of the Hungarian Dandy: Oscar Wilde's Contribution to the Experience of Modernity in Early-Twentieth-Century Hungary

Gabriella Vöő

The body of Górián, the young dandy, defies the ravages of time. His terrible exploits – ruining innocent virgins, associating with "sailors, murderers, journalists and other such democratic elements,"[1] striking old ladies dead in side streets, picking pockets, giving public speeches to propagate communism – never leave any blemish on his lotus-like face and statuesque body. All corrupting consequences of depravity and old age only affect his perfectly cut white satin waistcoat, studded with shiny mother-of-pearl buttons. With every hideous crime Górián commits, ugly creases, rents and bloody stains mar the smoothness of this once-splendid piece of clothing, the masterpiece of Snazil, his tailor. Thus is the life of Górián, spent in beauty, elegance, and ennui, heralded by the aphorisms of his mentor, Lord Para Dox (Karinthy 9-16). In a parody of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* entitled "Wilde Oszkár, a hedonista: Góri Andrej mellénye" [The Waistcoat of Góri Andrej by Oscar Wilde, the Hedonist], the writer and humourist Frigyes Karinthy retailors Wilde's novel into a veritable sartorial tragedy with the sparkling wit Wilde would have appreciated. In this concise masterpiece Karinthy serendipitously captures the dandy's fascination with art and apparel, his aloofness, melancholia, and disdain for social conventions.

An author is fully integrated into literary culture when he is available for caricature. Karinthy's sketch, published as the first piece of his popular collection of literary parodies *Így írtok ti* [This is How You Write] in 1912, attests that by this time Oscar Wilde (1854-1900) had been solidly integrated into the Hungarian canon of European literature. The rapidity of his rising fame is all the more striking as Wilde's début on/in the Hungarian literary scene was only posthumous. The first critical articles on his work by the poet Géza Szilágyi and the critic and prose writer Gyula Szini were published in 1902 (Kurdi 245). The Hungarian translations of *Lady Windermere's Fan* and *The Happy Prince and Other Tales* appeared in 1903 and 1904, respectively. Yet by 1910 most of Wilde's major works had their first Hungarian translations, which were succeeded, within a couple of years, by new and generally even more proficient ones, and even his hostile critics acknowledged an "epidemic fashion of the Wilde cult" (Szász, "A 'mozi' felé" 333). Most importantly, however, his growing renown contributed to a radical change in the way the notions of 'dandy' and 'dandyism' were understood in Hungary. A new generation of artists emerged on the literary scene that, according to an evaluation made in 1937 by Gábor Tolnai, were "rough and superficial,

1 All translations from the Hungarian are mine.

like their end-of-the-century predecessors." However, the critic adds, "their superficiality takes inspiration from European models, which alone distinguishes them from the dandy of the 1890s. Instead of repeating their fathers' worn-out compliments, they now learn wit from the books of Oscar Wilde" (Tolnai 333). Tolnai rightly noted that the Irish writer became the initiator of a cultural paradigm shift that prompted an entire generation of intellectuals in early-twentieth-century Hungary to define themselves as urban, metropolitan, and modern.

The fact that Wilde's reception – translations from his poetry, the staging of his plays – only occurred some years after the artist's death is due to the belatedness of Hungarian Modernism. And yet, the *fin de siècle* in Hungary did not pass without a detectable influence of Wilde, which then continued unabated until the 1930s. My essay explores how the reception of Oscar Wilde in Hungary in the years preceding the First World War and in the interwar period contributed to a definitive change of the meaning of 'dandy' from insubstantial character-type of bourgeois society and salon life to 'literary dandy.' In Hungarian literary periodicals Wilde was regularly referred to as "dandy" or "hedonist" and was associated with George Brummell, Charles Baudelaire, Barbey D'Aurevilly, and Théophile Gautier. A steadily growing Wilde cult in this period triggered the irreversible processes of modernisation and the integration of new Western European literary and critical trends into Hungarian culture. Moreover, a novel understanding of the phenomenon of 'dandyism' created a cultural ambiance that acknowledged and accepted the modern notion of the self as an artefact, a carefully designed work of art. Also, in a case study of 'dandyism,' I wish to show that Wilde was not only an artistic inspiration and standard, but also a role model and a means of self-promotion for aspiring dandies in Hungary. In order to demonstrate all of this, I will highlight relevant moments in the process during which, in early-twentieth-century Hungary, the "novelist and playwright, London conversationalist, hedonist, convict and Paris bohemian" (Laczkó, "Oscar Wilde" 513) became common cultural property.

From the Social to the Literary Arena: Metamorphoses of the Dandy

A slim volume published in 1888 entitled *A dandy* [The Dandy] presents a figure sufficiently established in Hungarian society to be further popularised by a book, but extravagant enough to anticipate interest among the "charming lady readers" (Méray-Horváth 5) to whom it was dedicated. Written mainly to entertain, the book meant to draw the caricature of a social type[2] considered at once notable for his elegance, creative social skills, and artistic inclinations, but also for his superficiality. The author, Károly Méray-Horváth, poses, tongue in cheek, as a dandy himself by signing his

2 *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára* [The Historical and Etymological Dictionary of the Hungarian Language] traces the first occurrence of the word "dendi" [dandy] back to 1836, when it was defined as "a handsome, elegant [male] person."

work as Cactus Mirliflor. This self-appointed expert with the botanical pseudonym[3] explains that the appearance of the dandy is artfully crafted, is recognisable by the "smoothly waved hair" and "finely curled moustache" (15), the "smart tie […], the monocle, the cufflinks and then the collar, and the gloves, and the handkerchief" (22). He finds pleasure in provocative gestures and mannerisms and displays a sort of wit that does not particularly serve any purpose and, moreover, verges on the absurd in its naiveté: "He concocts new languages, he devises, for instance, how witty, how lovely it would be to say 'a' instead of every 'e' and 'e' instead of every 'a,' no one would understand but the initiated, the 'intime,' the one who knows the code" (33). The dandy acts as a "dance partner, cavalier, wooer" of young women, he is the "butterfly of the salon, of soirées, tea parties and balls" (5-6), but represents only fleeting moments in the process of courting and marriage. This champion of fashion, good manners, and style raises the standing of eligible young ladies among prospective suitors. The latter are referred to as clumsy "cucumber-cavaliers" (46), but are solid in their manliness, social standing, and financial position. The 'dandy' is the hero of salons and cafés, a well-informed man of the world and veritable charmer who displays no particular interest in such mundane matters as work, politics, or marriage.

As so often happens, external characteristics like 'dandyish' clothing, gestures, and mannerisms outweighed other, more complex, aspects of the type regarding culture, sensibility, and intellectual attitude. As Endre Ady, the flamboyant, self-assertive poet and forerunner of Hungarian High Modernism, noted in 1906, there were more men of fashion in Budapest than in London or Paris. One "tiny detail," though, was amiss: "these highly elegant gentlemen [were] rough, dull and obscure, like autumn days in London" ("Brummel" 114). Ady's article, "Brummel és a budapesti dandyzmus" [Brummel and Budapest Dandyism] was a review of Roger Boutet de Monvel's book *George Brummell et George IV* (1906), a biography of the quintessential English dandy of the Regency period. Residing in Paris at the time of the book's publication, Ady was able to evaluate recent developments in Hungarian society and culture from a distance and from a perspective that immediately exposed the pathetic shortcomings of home-grown "lions." "What strange [impersonators of] Alcibiades are these Budapest dandies," he laments, expressing contempt for "these Budapest Brummels, these heroes of tailors' workshops," set characters of Hungarian "pseudo-culture" ("Brummel" 115).

This *fin-de-siècle* avatar of the dandy was not yet a distinctively urban character type, but rather displayed the social mannerisms of the landed gentry. The protracted relevance of this class in Hungarian society and culture was due to the arrested development and slow transition of the country's economy and culture from feudalism to capitalism. Typical representatives of the landed gentry, albeit impoverished, clung to aristocratic manners and social conservatism after the failed revolution and war of in-

3 The man behind the pen-name was Károly Méray-Horváth, a versatile young man who had studied art and photography in Paris, invented a new type-setter and became, later in his life, a sociologist and political essayist.

dependence of 1848-49. However, the Compromise of 1867 and the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy ensured a stable political atmosphere and economic prosperity that helped Hungary to overcome its backwardness both economically and socially and precipitated the development of urban centres. Budapest, the new metropolis, was created in 1873 by the unification of the loosely connected cities lying on opposite banks of the Danube, Pest, Buda, and Óbuda. By massive migration from the countryside, the aspiring Hungarian metropolis became, according to Zsuzsa L. Nagy, the competitor of Vienna by the end of the first decade of the new century (36, 40). The cultural elite of the city was made up by urbanised Hungarian landowners and the bourgeoisie as well as the assimilated bourgeoisie of foreign provenance. The German, Slovakian, and German-speaking Jewish population (Dányi 147-48) was transformed into a mainly Hungarian-speaking, well-educated, cosmopolitan middle class ready to absorb the literature and culture of the West. As a result of all these major economic and social transformations, the city of Budapest had to reinvent itself as a modern regional metropolis accommodating new attitudes and codes of behaviour while establishing new scenes of social and cultural interaction such as literary clubs and cafés (Sántha 37).

Championed as an icon of change in both art and social attitude, or reviled as a decadent and even degenerate sensation-monger, the literary dandy became a permanent character in the rising metropolis. The dandy, as Jessica R. Feldman claims, "practises, and even impersonates, the fascinating acts of self-creation and presentation. He is the figure of paradox created by many societies in order to express whatever it is that the culture feels it must, but cannot, synthesize" (3-4). Hungarian society, struggling towards modernisation throughout the nineteenth century but thrown back in its efforts by the semi-colonial situation within the Habsburg Empire, rushed to embrace novelty both in culture and in social behaviour. The dandy as a role model accommodated both the aristocratism of the landed gentry and the artistic sensibilities and cultural receptiveness of the urban intelligentsia. Wilde was generally credited with refreshing and updating the code of the dandy. "The pedigree of […] literary dandies goes far back, and they have not died out. […] Perhaps Oscar Wilde himself was oblivious of the social relevance of the type he represented," Géza Laczkó claims in a review article about the French symbolist writer Barbey D'Aurevilly (387). In his review of Ernest La Jeunesse's novel *Le Boulevard* (1906), Gyula Szini stresses the essentially urban character of the dandy. In the novel Wilde appears thinly disguised as the dandyish character "Odin Howes," and Szini evaluates at length the relevance of the city's public space in the new, "apocalyptic vision" of modern culture and Wilde's instrumentality in creating one of its persisting types (179).

In *fin-de-siècle* and early-twentieth-century Hungary several young authors like Zoltán Ambrus, Sándor Bródy, Zsigmond Justh, and Elek Gozsdu explored the connection between art and life and embraced the genre of the *Künstlerroman*, their

novels featuring characters inspired by the Wildean artist-dandy.[4] However, as Magda Ajtay-Horváth points out, these heroes, unlike Wilde's Dorian Gray, do not fall prey to their own false philosophy. Rather, they become the victims of a trivial and hostile environment that drags them down to the reality of petty provincialism (185). These were obvious commentaries on Hungarian conditions: rejection and oblivion, based on the reading public's lack of understanding, was frequently the lot of innovative, experimentalist artists who could only find acceptance and acclaim among their fellow-authors. Turn-of-the-century Hungarian writers most frequently associated with, and compared to, Wilde were Gyula Szini and Gyula Török, essayists and prose writers as well as regular habitués of literary cafés. Szini, the first Hungarian translator of *Salome*, was one of the first representatives of the 'dandy' in the literary circles of Budapest. An enthusiastic advocate of new trends in literature and criticism, he made his début in the 1890s in the journal *Magyar Géniusz* [Hungarian Genius] with essays about French Symbolism, Impressionism, and the principle of *l'art pour l'art* in literature. Szini's own chiselled, lyrical prose was impressionistic and featured isolated characters, dreamers lost in fantasy worlds, secretly suffering or longing for the imaginary realities that engulfed them. In a retrospective evaluation of Szini's work after his death, the author Gábor Thurzó points out his likeness to the famous predecessor and literary role model: "The reigning prince of the fin-de-siècle is Oscar Wilde, and Gyula Szini was such a belated dandy," whose insightful, high-quality literary gossip brought the cultural life and celebrities of Paris, "the capital of the human spirit," to Hungarian readers (241). Szini was the quintessential artist in both his work and his life, which ended, like Wilde's, in tragic oblivion and poverty. The other dandy-author, Gyula Török, was a native of Nagyvárad, a city and cultural centre in West Transylvania, often playfully referred to as the Hungarian Paris. His friend, the Modernist poet Gyula Juhász, must have had Dorian Gray in mind when he sketched out the portrait of Török, who died, prematurely, in 1918. According to Juhász, Gyula Török, in the "cigarette smoke and din" of cafés, was an "aristocratic and singularly elegant, slender figure with demonically beautiful young features: a poor, Hungarian literary dandy, the haughty, scornful, pain-ridden grandson of Hungarian gentlemen" (Juhász). As artist-dandies painfully experienced, and their peers rightly noted, at the turn of the twentieth century the Hungarian social and intellectual milieu was not yet prepared for the change, in both attitude and literary expression, that innovative authors attempted to implement.

Wilde's Name on the Banner: The Battle for the Modern

Wilde was not only a relevant literary influence and role model for Hungarian writers but a powerful symbol of the wronged artist, a victim of philistine obtuseness. Hungarian authors' admiration of, and familiarity with, Wilde was part of their rebellion

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4 Sándor Bródy, *Színészvér* [Actor's Blood] (1891); *A nap lovagja* [The Cavalier of the Sun] (1902); Zoltán Ambrus, *Midás király* [King Midas] (1906); *Solus eris* (1907).

against the conservative, nationalistic trends in literary criticism that saw the historical legacy of rural Hungary as the fountainhead of national culture. The new generation of writers envisioned for themselves a social and cultural ambiance that was modern and compatible with Western European social and cultural models. The cult of beauty and wit, excess of stylishness, both in life and art, and an attitude of extreme individualism were those characteristics attributed to Wilde that were eagerly embraced by early Modernist authors in Hungary. However, in the first decade of the twentieth century, as his witticisms and paradoxes started to gain popularity, Wilde also became the target of attacks by conservative critics and authors. Details of his life, his trial, and imprisonment had a divisive effect on readers and commentators alike, and statements regarding his work verged on the extreme.

In 1907, the publication of several of Wilde's aphorisms by the political daily *Pesti Hírlap* [Courier of Pest], in a rudimentary translation from the German, prompted the critic Béla Tóth to wage an attack on the Irish author and dismiss his work as worthless humbug. This short but vitriolic commentary provided an excuse and impetus for the poet Endre Ady to attack the critic and the conservative critical establishment he was associated with. Ady was residing in Paris at the time and was familiar with, but left unnoticed, Tóth's hostile criticism of his own poetry. However, reading what he considered to be a flawed and biased review of Wilde's work, he lost his temper and in the March 12 issue of *Budapesti Napló* [Budapest Journal] he published a powerful counterargument entitled "Válasz Tóth Bélának" [An Answer to Béla Tóth]. Besides effectively arguing Wilde's greatness, Ady also exposes the backwardness of Hungarian culture and the lacking willingness, on the part of influential critics and shapers of public opinion, to notice the winds of change: "How splendid, how saintly and tattered, but how munificent are, in Hungary, those with novelty in their intentions and their souls. Out of nothing, they must concoct the Hungarian [version of] Europe. These people are no cowards, however, they huddle together in dread when they hear, at twilight, the roar of barbarous beasts in the Hungarian wasteland" (225). The barbarians, Ady explains, are those who ignore not only Wilde but all harbingers of modernity in world-view and art: Baudelaire, Verlaine, Maeterlinck, Dehmel, D'Annunzio, Shaw, Andreev, and Gorki. "'There,' they say to each other, 'how fortunate we never read. The entire world literature is nonsense, Béla Tóth says so'." Ruthless as this remark may seem, Ady adds, he owed it to "the unjustly insulted, melancholy shadow of Oscar Wilde" (232-33).

There were among Ady's contemporaries, as he contends in the article cited above, those who "dream[t] of a new Hungary and the new Hungarian soul, of the coming of a brilliant European culture in Hungary" (234). He did not have to wait long: in 1908, the circle of Budapest literati that Ady felt akin to in intellectual orientation, if not in temperament, established the literary journal *Nyugat* [The West]. As its name signalled, the new periodical intended to overcome the cultural backwardness of Hungary by promoting Western European literary standards and became a major forum for the literary output by three generations of writers. The journal remained a central and

prestigious forum for modernist authors until its cessation in 1938. Translations and critical reflections on Wilde's work as well as on his private life and public attitudes contributed to his Hungarian reception as an iconic figure of modernity. In addition, Wilde was the most extensively translated Irish author in the first decades of the twentieth century. For the first generation of authors grouped around *Nyugat*, translating his poetry into Hungarian was not only a technical *tour de force*, part of their formative experience as poets, but also an opportunity to put their own poetic experiments into an international context. Those young authors, who would later become his major translators, Mihály Babits and Dezső Kosztolányi, were poets, prose writers, and critics who started their respective careers under the influence of aestheticism and shared an enthusiasm for Wilde's works. Although they veered away from Wilde's influence later, they remained loyal to him as translators. Babits translated almost two dozens of his poems, which were published in a separate volume, *Wilde Oszkár verseiből* [From the Poetry of Oscar Wilde], in 1922. Kosztolányi rendered into Hungarian *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, "The Ballad of Reading Gaol," and the plays *The Duchess of Padua* and *Salome*.[5]

As is often the case with artists who perceive and embody essential change in their culture, Wilde's influence quickly transcended the realm of literature and became the subject of criticism and controversy. Not only his works but also his life came under scrutiny by authors who claimed a more intimate knowledge of his career than Béla Tóth. There appeared, even in the pages of the journal *Nyugat*, famous for its progressive principles and tolerance, grumbling attacks on Wilde's notoriously provocative conduct. Zoltán Szász, for example, repeatedly expressed disdain for Wilde's dandyism, his "bizarre way of life and shocking apparel" ("Tűnj fel!" 502), his "morbid desire to attract attention, sensation- and curiosity-hunting taken to extremes" ("Wilde Oszkár" 652). Szász attributed Wilde's provocative social conduct and flamboyance to biological causes, pinning down his extravagancy and homosexuality as symptoms of a degeneracy deriving from his parents, "an alcoholic sensualist and hysterical blue-stocking playing politics." The critic blames Wilde's Irish descent, the "curse" of the Celtic race, for "an inclination to show off," as well as for "a lack of restraint, voluptuousness and frivolousness" ("Wilde Oszkár" 651). Discourses on Wilde ranged from the seriously critical to the chatty and frivolous. The definitive evaluation of Wilde the artist and the person was, however, made by those sympathetic commentators who attributed his flamboyance to the Irish national character and "the spiritual milieu that gave Swift and Sheridan to the World, and of which [Chesterton], Wilde and Shaw were born" (Földi 709).[6] Géza Laczkó, for example, fondly claimed that "Oscar's mind is over-refined, omniscient, shifting, and suffering from a veritable

5 *Dorian Gray arcképe* [*The Picture of Dorian Gray*] (1910); "A readingi fegyház balladája" ["The Ballad of Reading Gaol"] (1926); *Pádua hercegnője* [*The Duchess of Padua*] (1922); *Salome* (1923).

6 For a discussion of Hungarian reflections on Irish literature and national character, see Vöő 149-155.

nymphomania of artistic and linguistic creativity" ("Oscar Wilde" 515). Writing about Wilde's trial, Márta Gyulai compassionately noted: "Oscar Wilde, who sought and even provoked other people's admiration and wonder, Oscar Wilde, writer of wit, virtuoso of story-telling, gentleman, aesthete, supercilious disdainer of society, hero of salons, prodigal dandy: now he was exposed to public loathing" (52).

Life Imitates Life: A Case Study in Dandyism

A barely visible, nevertheless relevant change in views and attitudes in early-twentieth-century and interwar Hungary concerned the shifting nature of gender identity and sexuality. Many artists refused to be shocked by Wilde's scandal and trial and expressed compassion for his ordeal. It was the Wilde advocate Kálmán Rozsnyay, an amiable dilettante rather than outstanding artist, who by his mediocre writing and titillating personal life made the type of the dandy popular in Hungary.

More than a decade after Wilde's death, Adolf Tevan, a new but ambitious publisher in Békéscsaba, a town in Eastern Hungary, published 300 numbered copies of a booklet entitled *Jegyzetek Oscar Wilderól* [Notes about Oscar Wilde] by a certain Sydney Carton. The author meant to commemorate his "noble friend and great artist," dedicating the book to Wilde's son, "Vyvyan Wilde [sic]" (n. p.). "Sydney Carton," a name with Dickensian associations, was the pseudonym of the young journalist, actor, and *artiste manqué* Kálmán Rozsnyay, born Kálmán Van der Hoske, who claimed to have been Wilde's secretary during his last years. The "Preface," signed by Stuart Mason, warmly recommended the work as a worthy piece advancing the reputation of Oscar Wilde (n. p.). The book, however, fell short of either novelty or reliability. We cannot even be sure whether the opening words were Stuart Mason's or, if they were, whether he knew what he was promoting. Containing little original material, *Jegyzetek Oscar Wilderól* was a compilation of letters, journal articles, fragments of literary texts by Wilde and others, excerpts from hostile criticism of his works and Wilde's answers to these, as well as fragments of the transcript of his trial. It must be conceded that much of the borrowed material rang new for the average Hungarian reader, and certain excerpts from Wilde's works, such as "Phrases and Philosophies for the Use of the Young" and "La Sainte Courtisane," were first translations by Rozsnyay.[7] However, the anecdotal episodes and conversations between the author and "poor Oscar" (1), as well as Rozsnyay's claim that he was in possession of Wilde's writing-table (Balogh), added up, most likely, to a grand hoax.

Kálmán Rozsnyay's book, despite its obvious flaws and shortcomings, was, in essence, a well-meaning work, a benevolent gesture on the part of a peripheral participant in the literary culture of Hungary before the First World War. Rozsnyay meant to pay homage to the writer he so much admired and was determined to defend him

7 Rozsnyay was also the first translator of *Vera, or: The Nihilists* [*Vera: a nihilista lány*], published in 1911, by Tevan.

from the philistine disdain voiced by some Hungarian critics. For this purpose and without Ady's permission, he incorporated the full text of his previously quoted defence of Wilde against the attacks by Béla Tóth. Rozsnyay briefly expressed his hope that "Endre Ady would not mind" (109). Wilde's early biographers were probably also expected not to mind being used as sources of information, as he did not credit any of these either. Proficient in both English and French, he had probably read André Gide's *Oscar Wilde: A Study*, translated into English by Stuart Mason (1905), as well as Robert H. Sherard's *Oscar Wilde: The Story of an Unhappy Friendship* (1908). Having visited England and France between 1898 and 1901 (Gálos 114-116), Rozsnyay had most probably heard about Wilde's trial and his last years in Paris, but there is no evidence in any of Wilde's biographies that the two ever met. The anecdotal references to Wilde in his book were inventions inspired by the existing biographies: they were essentially fabulations almost endearing in their sentimental naiveté, as in the following passage:

> The last time I met him was three months before his death. I invited him to dinner at the Grand Café. At the time he was in perfect health and full of wonderful wit. […] Later, when we parted and I took my farewell, he became dejected. He told me he had a strong presentiment that he would not live for long. […] "Somehow," he said, I feel I will not live to see the new century." He made a pause. "If I were alive when the new century kicked off, it would be more than what the English can bear." Thus did we part, not to see each other ever again. (Rozsnyay 17)

Although *Jegyzetek Oscar Wilderól* represents a notable, if notorious, moment in the reception of Wilde in Hungary, the self-fashioning of its author as the representative Hungarian dandy is just as relevant. Kálmán Rozsnyay worked steadily on designing his own public self as a literary dandy, his efforts adding up to a well-orchestrated concert in which the book on Wilde was only one of many musical phrases. His life was a series of failures, hoaxes, and scandals from which he emerged with his public image almost unscathed. He started his career as an artist, but when it turned out that he was colour-blind he became an actor. Failing again, he travelled to London, where he wrote, by correspondence, articles for various Hungarian journals. On one occasion he substituted for a British actor in J.M. Harvey's stage adaptation of Dickens's *Tale of Two Cities* (Gálos 111-114). This episode provided him with the remarkable pseudonym of "Sydney Carton." Returning to Hungary in 1901, his most significant and daring exploit was his courtship and marriage, in 1905, with the famous actress Kornélia Prielle, a national celebrity. At the time of their wedding, in 1905, she was 79 years old, 46 years her intended's senior (Gálos 121-122; Balogh). The marriage provoked a national scandal: Rozsnyay was accused of marrying Kornélia for the sake of her literary memorabilia, such as the love letters the actress received in 1846 from the great national poet Sándor Petőfi. A few months later, after the grande dame's death, the bereft husband was indeed in possession of the Petőfi letters and Kornélia's wheelchair, which joined Oscar Wilde's writing-table in the collection Rozsnyay carried to Szeghalom, a small, picturesque town on the Hungarian Plain. Later in his life he married a poetess, and the two kept a modest literary salon

in whichever town they happened to reside (Gálos 123-125). By befriending authors and artists, collecting literary relics and, occasionally, writing, this artful dandy remained inside, albeit close to the periphery of, the Hungarian cultural scene until his death in 1948.

His obvious hoaxes, fabulations, and selfish motives notwithstanding, Kálmán Rozsnyay was essentially a harmless character. Moreover, his cultural significance reached beyond his expectations or intentions. Never openly contesting the rigid moral standards of his time, he fended off criticism and hostility by steadily persisting in his opinions and plans. True, there was obvious calculation in marrying Kornélia Prielle as well as in writing a book about Wilde and also, years later, about Kornélia herself. However, he expressed genuine admiration for both of them and was never offensive in his views or style. Although he lacked the talent to create outstanding work himself, Rozsnyai had the sensibility to recognise the literary value of Wilde's work at a time when only a handful of Hungarian authors appreciated him. His appreciation of Wilde was welcomed and shared by the most talented and innovative writers and literary critics of his time: Endre Ady, Mihály Babits, Dezső Kosztolányi, Gyula Szini, and Géza Laczkó. Meanwhile, Rozsnyai was carefully building his public image and came as near as he could to being an artist, if not in his work, then through his flamboyant lifestyle. He had the gift of elegantly ignoring provocative remarks and displayed almost Wildean promptness even when taken by surprise. For instance, Aladár Schöpflin, editor-in-chief of *Nyugat*, once accosted the Hungarian dandy with the question of whether Oscar Wilde had “had him, in passing.” Rozsnyay is reported to have answered: “By all means, Ali, if he had, I would have printed it on my name card” (qtd. in Balogh). With this remark Rozsnyay joined those Hungarian authors and critics who appreciated the element of invention, experimentation, and play in matters of gender and sexuality, ready to loosen rigid systems that delimited the boundaries of identity.

Conclusion

Early in 1909, Oscar Wilde was allegedly sighted in Turin as he was turning a corner: at least so the writer and journalist Hugó Ignotus informed his readers in a brief article in the Hungarian literary weekly *A Hét* [The Week]. This prominent writer and critic expressed no surprise at this spectral evidence of Wilde's immortality and regarded the rumour as a wishful fantasy rather than a hoax. “Legend-makers are honest people, they do not lie, they believe. Today Wilde lives in the minds of us all,” Ignotus concluded, adding that he would not be surprised if, walking the boulevards of Budapest, he ran into the artist-dandy who would treat him to “Egyptian cigarettes from his diamond inlay cigarette case” (136). The teasing, spectacular, flamboyant figure of Wilde had become, during the first decade of the twentieth century, a cultic icon of the modern artist in the emerging metropolitan literary scene of the Hungarian capital. His versatile identity as playwright, poet, and representative dandy was in-

strumental in reinforcing those trends in early-twentieth-century Hungarian culture that assimilated *fin-de-siècle* aestheticism and subsequent European versions of high modernist literary expression. Wilde's provocative and divisive attitudes also helped Hungarian artists and readers to accommodate modern conceptions regarding identity, such as the instability of the self, its artificiality, and fictionality as well as the shifting nature of gender identity.

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Published in Paris: Samuel Beckett, George Reavey, and the Europa Press

Sandra Andrea O'Connell

> Mr Denis Devlin and Mr Brian Coffey are without question the most interesting of the youngest generation of Irish poets. […] They have submitted themselves to the influences of those poets least concerned with evading the bankrupt relationship referred to at the opening of this essay – Corbière, Rimbaud, Laforgue, the *surréalistes* and Mr Eliot, perhaps also to those of Mr Pound – with results that constitute already the nucleus of a living poetic in Ireland. (Beckett, *Disjecta* 75-76)

A Living Poetic in Paris

Samuel Beckett's claim of a new "nucleus of a living poetic in Ireland" – made in his polemic essay "Recent Irish Poetry" for the London review *The Bookman*[1] – arguably points to a new centre of Irish poetry around the young poets Denis Devlin, Brian Coffey, and Beckett himself, whose poetry owes more to continental influences, notably the Surrealists, than to the Irish tradition of Yeats and post-Revival poets, derided by Beckett as "our leading twilighters" (71). While Beckett critics, such as his biographer Anthony Cronin, have rejected the notion of a formal 'movement' as "one of the many false starts of modernism in Irish poetry" (194), Beckett in his essay is at pains to distinguish between those poets who have come under the influence of modernism and those evincing "awareness of the new thing that has happened […] namely the breakdown of the object, whether current, historical, mythical or spook" (70). Thus Beckett argues that "contemporary Irish poets may be divided into antiquarians and others, the former in the majority" (70). Eschewing Irish literary tradition – condemned by Beckett as the "antiquarians" and "leading twilighters" – he prefers the "no-man's-land" of modernism, even if its propagators (the "others") had been derided by Yeats as outcasts, "the fish that lie gasping on the shore" (70). Less than a year within the appearance of "Recent Irish Poetry," Beckett, Coffey, and Devlin were in the throes of a new Irish poetic venture, initiated in Paris by the enterprising Irish-Russian poet and publisher George Reavey. Perceptively entitled "The Europa Poets," Reavey's announcement of a list of Irish poets, which featured in his own collection *Nostradam*[2] in spring 1935, marks a decisive moment in Irish literary modernism. The initial list of numbered "limited editions" consisted of a series of six titles,

1 Beckett's review (in *Disjecta* 70-76) was first published in *The Bookman* (London, 1891-1934) in August 1934 under the pseudonym Andrew Belis, according to Cronin "the maiden name of his maternal grandmother, slightly misspelled" (193).

2 Loosely based on the ominous *Prophecies* by the French astrologer Michel de Notredame (1503-1566), Reavey's collection draws parallels with the post-war Modernist *zeitgeist* of the 1930s.

which would all be released by Reavey in the lifetime of the Europa Press (1935-1939), albeit under different titles and in a different sequence:

1. – *Nostradam* by George Reavey
2. – *Image At The Cinema* by Brian Coffey
3. – *Signes d'adieu* by George Reavey
4. – *Echo's Bones, and Other Precipitates* by Samuel Beckett
5. – *Poems* by Denis Devlin
6. – *Quixotic Perquisitions* by George Reavey
   (Reavey, *Nostradam* 30)

Reavey's cycle of love poems, *Signes d'adieu*, published in French translation from the manuscript *Frailty of Love*, replaced the second title by Brian Coffey, who abandoned his earlier manuscript *Image At The Cinema* in favour of the poems collected in *Third Person* (1938). Samuel Beckett's *Echo's Bones, and Other Precipitates* appeared as the third Europa Press title in December 1935, while Denis Devlin's *Poems* became *Intercessions* in 1937. Reavey's *Quixotic Perquisitions* bookends the series in 1939 shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War, but the initially purely Irish list became internationalised when the Europa Press in 1936 released *Thorns of Thunder,* the first English-language collection of Paul Éluard's love poetry, followed in 1937 by *The Garden of Evil* by the American expatriate Charles Henri Ford, with a critical introduction by poet William Carlos Williams.

While Reavey had a pragmatic motive for setting up a small imprint – being "very fed up with English publishers [who] were always turning down books of poems, not only by me, but by various other of my poet friends" (Knowlson, "George Reavey" 10) – he also had a higher ambition to produce an exquisite series of "limited editions – poets illustrated by various engravers" (Reavey, *Nostradam* 30). In the four-year lifetime of the Europa Press, Reavey commissioned artworks by the German Surrealist Max Ernst, the Spanish Cubist Pablo Picasso, the Russian painter Pavel Tchelitchew, and by the British experimental print-maker Stanley William Hayter,[3] at whose Paris studio *Atelier 17* these artists collaborated.

A keen follower of Surrealist art, Reavey had befriended the English printmaker S.W. Hayter in Paris in the early 1930s, and the pair collaborated on Reavey's first collection, *Faust's Metamorphoses*, published in 1932 by New Review editions. In the inter-war period, marked by a world-wide economic crisis and the rise of fascism in Europe, Reavey found a recurring mask in the dark and dualistic character of Faust and his descent into peril. He found an empathetic collaborator in Hayter, who later recalled that his own "apocalyptic preoccupations of that time did agree very closely

3 Descending from a long line of English artists, Stanley William Hayter (1901-1988) had settled in Paris in 1926, experimenting with drypoint, woodcuts, and aquatints. He set up his first studio in 1927 to develop print-making as an art form, which took on the legendary name of Atelier Dix-Sept [Atelier 17] when Hayter moved it to 17 rue Campagne-Première in Montparnasse in 1933.

with George's image" (Hayter, "Tributes to George Reavey" 6). In response to the poems, Hayter produced several engravings, and their creative synergy in the case of *Faust's Metamorphoses* clearly inspired the founding objectives of the Europa Press, as Reavey later revealed in an interview with James Knowlson:

> At the […] time, I was very closely in touch with Stanley William Hayter, the famous engraver, who ran Atelier 17 in Paris, and my idea was to get some books of poems illustrated by people out of the school at the beginning. (Knowlson, "George Reavey" 10)

In May 1934, Atelier 17 had its first group show at the Galeries Pierre, on the Rue des Beaux-Arts, and featured 22 artists.[4] Reavey later selected four of these – Max Ernst, Roger Vieillard, S.W. Hayter, and John Buckland-Wright – to illustrate Europa Press publications. Max Ernst designed the striking cover illustration for Éluard's *Thorns of Thunder*, the French artist Roger Vieillard provided original engravings for twenty special edition copies of Reavey's *Signes d'adieu,* and New Zealand-born John Buckland-Wright, Hayter's right hand man at Atelier 17, illustrated the final Europa Press collection, *Quixotic Perquisitions* (1939). The literary and artistic legacy of the Europa Press is all the more remarkable, considering Reavey's youth, relative inexperience, and complete lack of financial resources.[5]

Reavey arrived in Paris in 1929 from Cambridge, where he had studied History and English at Gonville and Caius College. Of mixed Irish-Russian parentage, he was born in Vitebsk, Belarus, in 1907, where his Northern-Irish father, Daniel Reavey, managed flax spinning mills in the booming linen industry of the Russian Empire. The family spent lengthy periods in Russia but returned to Belfast in 1918 during the Russian Civil War (1917-1923) before settling in London in the early 1920s. At Cambridge, Reavey wrote poetry, developed an expertise in Russian literature, and emerged as a central figure of a group of undergraduates, including William Empson, Jacob Bronowski, Kathleen Raine, Humphrey Jennings, and others, who founded the legendary review *Experiment*. Modelled closely on the Paris avant-garde review *transition*, the interdisciplinary *Experiment* covered an eclectic mix of poetry and prose alongside film reviews, essays on psychology, and art criticism. *transition,* in turn, acknowledged *Experiment*'s 'modernity' when in June 1930 editor Eugene Jolas devoted over 30 pages of double issue 19-20 to a handpicked list of fourteen *Experiment* contributors including Reavey, who is represented with his first Paris publication, the prose poem "Quel che non fu fatto, io lo sognai" [What was not done, I dreamed] – a homage to Gabriele D'Annunzio's poem "Maia."

In Paris, Reavey's growing expertise in Russian literature brought him to the attention of the American expatriate publisher Samuel Putnam, who introduced him in his

4 The George Reavey archive at the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin, contains an original exhibition poster from the show, which opened in May 1934 at the Galerie Pierre.

5 By contrast, Edward Titus's Black Manikin Press, which famously brought out the 1929 Paris edition of D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, was financed by the cosmetic empire of his wife Helena Rubinstein.

interdisciplinary journal *The New Review* as "a young poet just down from Cambridge" and "a specialist in and an authority on Russian literature since the revolution" (Putnam, "Notes on Contributors"). Significantly, Putnam put the young poet in charge of a substantial project as editor of the Russian section of a 1931 pioneer anthology of European post-war literature, entitled *The European Caravan*. Having passed on the *Caravan*'s "England and Ireland" section to fellow *Experiment* editor Jacob Bronowski, Reavey's editorial influence is nevertheless palpable as the inclusion of several poems by his fellow Irish expatriates Samuel Beckett and Thomas MacGreevy demonstrates. MacGreevy is introduced by Bronowski (and, arguably, Reavey) as "a friend of Joyce and Yeats" and "perhaps the only Irish writer who has not been influenced by either; as well as one of the few Irish writers who has kept in touch with the work of Eliot," while Beckett is praised as "the most interesting of the younger Irish writers" (Bronowski 475, 493).

Reavey had befriended Beckett and MacGreevy during Beckett's tenure as Trinity College's exchange lecturer at the École Normale Supérieure in Paris, an appointment he had taken up in 1928. By 1930, when his term at the École Normale had ended, Beckett was back in Dublin as a junior lecturer in French at Trinity College. Yet, unable to settle down into an academic career, he resigned from his post and spent the next seven years moving somewhat erratically between Dublin, London, Paris, and Kassel in Germany, home to his cousin Peggy Sinclair and her family, before finally settling in Montparnasse in 1937. The friendship between Beckett and Reavey endured these wandering years, as Reavey became increasingly aligned with Beckett's writing. Poems by Samuel Beckett, such as "Return to Vestry" and "Text," began to appear regularly in Putnam's *New Review,* of which Reavey had become an associate editor from issue No. 4, published in Winter 1931-1932. In the same issue, Reavey also published a passionate defence of Thomas MacGreevy's monograph on T.S. Eliot, which had been negatively reviewed by Richard Thoma in *New Review* No. 3. Representing the interests of a growing circle of writer friends and acquaintances, Reavey became a 'natural' literary agent and co-founded, in 1932, with Russian émigré Marc Slonim (1894-1976) the appropriately named *Bureau Littéraire Européan* [European Literary Bureau]. Between them, the business partners had unrivalled access to Russian, French, and English language writers in the Parisian avant-garde, as Reavey later recalled:

> Among the Russian émigré authors, for whom we got publishers, were Bunin and Berdyaev. Among the French, were Georges Duhamel, André Malraux, André Gide, Céline, Maritain, and others. Obviously we were not after best sellers or popular fiction, but after more serious writers. Finally, Samuel Beckett became one of them. (Reavey, "Some Background")

Reavey's efforts as Beckett's literary agent culminated in 1938, when he secured, after over 40 rejections, the publication of Beckett's experimental novel *Murphy* with London publishers Routledge. The most enduring legacy of their professional re-

lationship remains, however, the release of Beckett's first poetry collection, *Echo's Bones, and Other Precipitates*, by the Europa Press in 1935.

Echo's Bones, and Other Precipitates

Published in late 1935, *Echo's Bones* came at a crucial point in Beckett's early writing career – a whole five years after his surprise success at winning, with "Whoroscope," the Hours Press poetry prize for the best new work dedicated to time. Although Beckett's London publisher Chatto and Windus had released his *Proust* monograph in 1932 and his short stories *More Pricks Than Kicks* in 1934, they subsequently turned down these poems, which marked an important development for Beckett since the work he had published in *The European Caravan* in 1931.

Beckett's decision not to include any of the *European Caravan* poems can be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to reposition himself as poet. The poems collected in the "*Bones*," as Beckett would refer to the collection, are generally simpler and more concise than the ambitious, wordy verses chosen by Bronowski for *The European Caravan*. For example, Beckett's long poem "Casket of Pralinen for a Daughter of a Dissipated Mandarin" creates startling imagery – such as the "radiant lemon-whiskered Christ" – from obscure personal references (the "blood-faced Tom" is Thomas MacGreevy) and 'Joycean' multi-lingual vocabulary.

> Radiant lemon-whiskered Christ
> and you obliging porte-phallic-portfolio
> and blood-faced Tom
> disbelieving
> in the Closerie cocktails that is my
> and of course John the bright boy of the class
> swallowing an apostolic spit
> THE BULLIEST FEED IN 'ISTORY
> if the boy scouts hadn't booked a trough
> for the eleventh's eleventh eleven years after.
> (*The European Caravan* 476)

Beckett's 1929 essay "Dante … Bruno . Vico .. Joyce," commissioned at Joyce's request for *Our Exagmination Round His Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress* – a collection of essays conceived by Joyce and Shakespeare and Company – had publicly established him as a follower and defender of Joyce. For example, the writer and critic Richard Aldington, who had awarded Beckett the Hour Press poetry prize for "Whoroscope," referred to him in his 1941 memoir *Life For Life's Sake* as a "splendidly mad Irishman who was James Joyce's white boy and wanted to commit suicide" (319).[6] *Echo's Bones*, on the other hand, marked a long-awaited opportunity for Beckett to *break* away from the image of being one of Joyce's disciples. Beckett

6 Aldington, who wrote his memoir in 1941 prior to Beckett's most successful postwar period, does not even name Beckett but refers to him simply as MacGreevy's "successor" at the École Normale Supérieure.

deliberated long over the title, which is a reference to Echo, who mourns for the dead Narcissus and turns into stone in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and wrote to Reavey in March 1935: "Not Poems after all, but: Echo's Bones, and Other Precipitates. C'est plus modeste" (*Letters* I: 264).

Among the poems collected in *Echo's Bones* are (in order of their publication) "The Vulture"; "Enueg 1" and Enueg 2"; "Alba"; "Dortmunder," named after a German beer; "Sanies 1" and "Sanies 2"; "Serena 1," "Serena 2," and "Serena 3"; "Malacoda"; "Da Tagte Es," and the title poem "Echo's Bones":

Echo's Bones

asylum under my tread all this day
their muffled revels as the flesh falls
breaking without fear or favour wind
the gantelope of sense and nonsense run
taken by the maggots for what they are (*SP* 32)

According to Beckett critic John Fletcher, the literary influences on Beckett in this collection were manifold – from the Surrealists' disregard for punctuation, "metric anarchy [and] the presence of the image over the sense" (23-24) to Rimbaud's *Illuminations*, from which Beckett included a quotation (in his own translation) at the end of the poem "Enueg 1": "Ah the banner / the banner of meat bleeding / on the silk of the seas and the arctic flowers / that do not exist" (*SP* 16). Beckett, who had studied French literature at Trinity College Dublin, wrote several poems as variations on traditional models of Provençal poetry, such as "Enueg 1" and "Enueg 2," which are composed "in the form of a Provençal dirge or lament," and the love poem "Alba," based on the "Provençal song of the dawn, lamenting the separation of the poet from the beloved" (*SP* 187). French troubadour evening poems became the model for "Serena" 1, 2, and 3, while the German *minnesänger* Walther von der Vogelweide provided the model for the poem "Da Tagte Es." A fragment from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's "Harzreise im Winter" ("Dem Geier gleich") was the inspiration for the haunting opening poem of the collection, "The Vulture," which Beckett arranged simply in three sets of two lines, opening on the existential statement: "dragging his hunger through the sky / of my skull shell of sky and earth" (*SP* 13).

While the poetic form follows external models, the content of these poems is highly internal and personal, as images of death, decay, and suffering are omnipresent. In 1933, the poet's father had died in Dublin of a heart attack, and two poems in particular – "Malacoda" ("thrice he came / the undertaker's man") and "Da Tagte Es" – have been linked to this traumatic experience for Beckett. In the same year, his cousin and, for some time, his lover Peggy Sinclair also died from tuberculosis and references to her illness – "tired of my darling's red sputum" (*SP* 14) – pervade these poems. The quatrain "Da Tagte Es" appears to have translated these painful experiences into a concise poetic statement that reflects on the transitory nature of love and life itself:

Da Tagte Es

redeem the surrogate goodbyes
the sheet astream in your hand
who have no more for the land
and the glass unmisted above your eyes (*SP* 31)

Reavey was aware of Beckett's personal background to these poems and later recalled "that a lot of the poems that appeared in *Echo's Bones* were written in the London period, about 1934" (Knowlson, "George Reavey" 9). The "London period" was a difficult time for Beckett, marked by physical ill health, severe depression, and recurring anxiety attacks, on account of which he attended psychoanalysis, as his biographers James Knowlson (*Damned to Fame* 173) and Deirdre Bair (184-186) report. A strong sensation of resignation and paralysis pervades these poems; the poetic self is described in "Enueg 2" as "tired of dying" with his "feet in marmalade / perspiring profusely," which can be biographically interpreted as a reference to the night-sweats Beckett experienced at the time. When asked by James Knowlson whether Beckett's later poetry, such as "Dieppe" and "Saint-Lô," had a "greater consciousness and purity," Reavey replied that, although the "early poems had many allusions and references," he "liked the rhythm of them very much" (Knowlson, "George Reavey" 10).

Thorns of Thunder – The Influence of Paul Éluard

A mutual influence on both Beckett's *Echo's Bones* and Reavey's *Signes d'adieu* was the French Surrealist Paul Éluard, whom both knew personally. Both Reavey and Beckett 'borrowed' stylistic innovations from Éluard, such as the use of repetition and absence of punctuation, relying instead on rhythm to convey meaning in the poem. Reavey extensively translated Éluard, whom he deeply admired as "one of the few genuine love poets writing in an out-of-love world," and *Signes d'adieu* profoundly echoes the sensuality of Éluard's love poetry (Reavey, *Signes d'adieu*, vii). Reavey had written the short but intensely emotional poems in rapid succession, almost diary-like, following the death of his lover Andrée Conte. Not much is known about the circumstances of Andrée Conte's death, but both Reavey's letters to Julian Trevelyan and references in the poems to "fever-toss" and "love bespattered" indicate that tuberculosis was the likely cause – the same illness that caused the death of Samuel Beckett's beloved cousin Peggy Sinclair.[7]

While the collection of poems, entitled *Frailties* or *The Frailty of Love*, has never been published in the English original, Reavey selected fourteen poems for the French edition *Signes d'adieu* in a translation by Pierre Charnay. Reavey shared these poems among his group of Irish friends in Paris and recalled that "Beckett admired

7 See the poems no. 4, "O false Why Icarus," and no. 18, "Night of anguish," in the unpublished TS *The Frailty of Love*, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin, Reavey Collection, Box 14, Folder 5.

them very much" (Knowlson, "George Reavey" 11). The cycle opens with the foreboding sound of the swing of the bell ("la branle de la cloche"), evocative of the death knell and heralding the presence of death, while the sudden loss has cast the lover from the world of certainty into emptiness:

La branle de la cloche
marque la cadence et le cœur
s'élance de chute en chute
du monde certain
vers le vide où remue le vent
mais rien ne bouge O mon amour
où donc est mon amour?
(Reavey, *Signes d'adieu* 9)

Reavey's imagery enters the Surrealist realm on several occasions, for example in the penultimate poem of the collection, in which the voice compares the affections and caresses of women to the "farewell of falling stars" ("signes d'adieu d'étoiles mourantes") only to realise resignedly "the inconsequence of all" ("l'inconséquence de la plupart"):

Femmes si réelles votre réalité n'est pas sûre
quant à ce qui est des caresses
signes d'adieu d'étoiles mourantes
apposition des mains mésintelligence
des lèvres et des yeux
l'enchaînement de certains moments
et l'inconséquence de la plupart
(*SDA* 21)

Women of reality
less real
for what are caresses
farewell of falling stars
hands' touch lips'
eyes' miscomprehension
the sequence of some moments
and the inconsequence of all.[8]

Beckett was equally familiar with Éluard's œuvre, having translated several Éluard poems for the Paris-based journal *This Quarter*. Published in September 1932, in the magazine's special "Surrealist Number," Beckett's renditions were praised by editor Edward Titus as "characterizable only in superlatives" (6). In 1936, Reavey republished several of Beckett's Éluard translations when the Europa Press landed its biggest coup to date with the first English-language edition of a selection of Éluard's love poetry, entitled *Thorns of Thunder*. The collection also had the biggest Europa Press print run with 600 copies, almost twice that of *Echo's Bones* (327) and more than three-times that of *Nostradam* (150). Reavey chose Beckett's accomplished translation of Éluard's sensual love poem "L'Amoureuse" to open the collection:

L'Amoureuse

Elle est debout sur mes paupières
Et ses cheveux sont dans la miens,
Elle a la forme de mes mains,
Elle a la couleur de mes yeux,

Lady Love

She is standing on my lids
And her hair is in my hair
She has the colour of my eye
She has the body of my hand

8 Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin, Reavey Collection, Box 14, Folder 5.

Elle s'engloutit dans mon ombre Comme une pierre sur le ciel. (Éluard, *Selected Poems* 38)	In my shade she is engulfed As a stone against the sky (Éluard, *Thorns of Thunder* 1)

Beckett's rendition deliberately makes no attempt at a faithful translation, as is instantly evident in his playful title "Lady Love." Instead, his objective appears to have been to recreate the rhythm and sound of Éluard's poem. For this purpose, Beckett even rearranged the order of lines three and four, as the word "hand," ending on a consonant, gives a more finite ending to these lines with their parallel sentence structure "She has […]." Even more defiantly, Beckett reordered the sentence structure of line five, thereby putting the emphasis on the 'lyrical I' and turning the lover into an object: "In *my* shade she is engulfed" [emphasis added].

At the time of publication, Beckett objected strongly to the collection and also turned down Reavey's request for new Éluard translations, as he was in the throes of finishing his experimental novel *Murphy*. Reavey ended up providing a large chunk of seventeen translations of the 44 Éluard poems, which must have added considerable strain to his editing and publishing activities. Other translations came from Devlin, David Gascoyne, and Ruthven Todd as well as from *transition* editor Eugene Jolas and Surrealist artist Man Ray.

The Irish circle of Beckett, Devlin, and Coffey expressed also considerable opposition to the involvement of the poet and art critic Herbert Read, as is evident from the following extract of Denis Devlin's letter to Thomas MacGreevy:

> Brian was to edit this Éluard [*Thorns of Thunder*], give some translations himself and Sam and I were to give the rest. In his letter to me, Reavey mentioned that Herbert Read was to do an introduction, Picasso an engraving. I demurred at Read then I found that R. [Reavey] had not told Br. [Brian] and Sam about Read. Anyhow Br. + Sam refuse to appear with Read and I too.[9]

It is likely that the Irish poet friends objected to Read because they regarded his involvement as an act of opportunism on Reavey's part, who sought to align himself firmly with the English Surrealist Group. Read was an influential member of that group and had edited the critical study *Surrealism* (1936), with contributions by André Breton, Hugh Sykes Davies, Georges Hugnet, and Paul Éluard (in translation by George Reavey), to coincide with the First International Surrealist Exhibition at the New Burlington Galleries in June 1936.

Reavey, in turn, invited Read to write a critical introduction to *Thorns of Thunder.* However, somewhat unsatisfied by Read's rather short contribution, Reavey decided to add a significantly longer "Editorial Foreword" to the collection. Reavey was undoubtedly strategic about the publication of *Thorns of Thunder*, which he carefully timed to coincide with the opening of the First International Surrealist Exhibition. Reavey considered the large-scale, controversial, and highly publicised exhibition an

9 Letter from Denis Devlin to Thomas MacGreevy. Undated, post-marked envelope 16 March 1936. MS 8112/9, Trinity College Dublin.

ideal launch pad to relocate the Europa Press to London, a move he had considered for some time. Alongside Herbert Read, he became a member of the organising committee, which was headed by the Paris-based Surrealists Paul Éluard, André Breton, and Man Ray as well as the English artist Roland Penrose. Reavey took charge of a public Surrealist reading on 26 June 1936 at which Paul Éluard read from his poems, followed by renditions of other Surrealist works by Humphrey Jennings, Reavey himself, and E.L.T. Mesens as well as by the young poets David Gascoyne and Dylan Thomas.

A particular coup for Reavey was also the striking cover design of *Thorns of Thunder* by the German Surrealist painter Max Ernst, a close friend of Éluard's. In Surrealist style, Ernst plays on the themes of masks and identities through the depiction of a harlequin figure, front and back, which appears to be a study on proportions. Yet, a closer comparison of the two views throws up questions of identity – as it is doubtful whether these are in fact two sides of the same figure. For the frontispiece, Reavey commissioned a portrait of Paul Éluard, executed in bold charcoal strokes by Pablo Picasso, who dated it "ce soir le 8 Janvier XXXVI" [this evening 8 January 1936]. Reavey was anxious to mark the collaboration between Éluard, Ernst, and Picasso as well as that of the poets/translators and prepared a special copy, No.1, which was printed on hand-made paper, signed by the author, the artist, and the translators and which contained Picasso's original drawing and an original MS by Paul Éluard. The Reavey Archive at the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin, contains a signed copy by Paul Éluard, to which Reavey, David Gascoyne, and Ruthven Todd all added their signatures on the night of the public Surrealist reading. Samuel Beckett's signature was added during one of Reavey's visits to Paris in 1972, marking his belated support of *Thorns of Thunder*, which was of great importance for Reavey. Beckett's skilful translations have also ensured the legacy of the collection.

Ironically, Reavey's controversial involvement of Herbert Read in the 1936 collection *Thorns of Thunder* would prove instrumental two years later when Read, as a reader for Routledge and Sons, accepted Samuel Beckett's novel *Murphy* from Reavey after a litany of rejections. The row over the Irish poets' contributions to *Thorns of Thunder* reveals, above all, the strong sense of ownership that Beckett, Coffey, and Devlin felt over the Europa Press.

Conclusion

Even though there were many more titles planned in the Europa Poets series – such as a controversial collection of Dylan Thomas's short stories, *The Burning Baby,* and several of Reavey's own projects – the onslaught of the Second World War marked the end of the Europa Press. A precarious venture from the start, financed from advance subscriptions, small sales, and subsidies by the Europa poets themselves, the press was not without problems, particularly in the area of distribution, a task which Reavey handled mostly himself. A publisher's notice in Denis Devlin's *Intercessions*

for example states: “If you are interested in the Europa publications kindly write or order copies directly from Europa Press.” Beckett grew increasingly frustrated when, in the absence of an efficient distribution system, copies of *Echo’s Bones* failed to appear in bookshops in London and Dublin.

Yet, the diligence and care Reavey took with content, artwork, and production have ensured the immortality of these books today. Although Beckett “didn’t like the idea of having his book of poems illustrated” (Knowlson, “George Reavey” 10), Reavey paid careful attention to the typesetting, typography, paper, printing, and finishing of all Europa editions. He arranged the print-run of 327 copies into an ordinary and special edition, with 25 copies printed on specially selected “Normandy Vellum” and signed by the author. The dust wrapper features the title and author’s name in striking Modernist typeface and black lettering with “Echo’s Bones” emphasised through large capital letters.

Echo’s Bones, and Other Precipitates remained of life-long importance to Beckett, and the critic Hugh Kenner writes that the poems in *Echo’s Bones* “seem to constitute the only early work he values at all” (42). Beckett drew heavily on *Echo’s Bones* when Calder produced his *Collected Poems,* which contained “an acknowledgement to you & Europa,” as Beckett wrote to Reavey in November 1961.[10] Reavey’s persistent endeavours on Beckett’s behalf and their enduring friendship was attested to by Beckett’s moving dedication after Reavey’s death in 1976:

> Adieu George,
> to whom I owed so much, with whom shared
> so much, for whom cared so much
> (“In Memoriam: George Reavey” 1)

The Europa Press was of central importance in the creative development of Samuel Beckett, Brian Coffey, and Denis Devlin. Its legacy lives on in the form of exquisitely produced books of poems, perceptively illustrated by leading contemporary artists. Ironically, the books, which Reavey produced without financial backing on a precarious system of advance subscriptions, today attract large sums of money.[11] Most importantly, in the 1930s the Europa Press gave a voice to Irish poets who sought belonging within a wider European *zeitgeist*. It provided therefore not only a temporary refuge for these self-exiled poets but a permanent homeland for the wider legacy of Irish Modernist literature – written at the heart of Europe.

10 Letter dated 9.11.61 from Samuel Beckett to George Reavey. Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

11 A Europa Press copy of *Echo’s Bones* currently fetches between £1,500 and £6,000 from antiquarian booksellers, depending on whether it is part of the numbered or unnumbered series; see, for example, <www.abebooks.co.uk> (29 Feb 2012).

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Franco's Spain: A Dubious Refuge for the Poets of the 'Irish Beat Generation' in the 1960s

Ute Anna Mittermaier

From the 1960s, Spain, then governed by the right-wing dictator General Franco, became an increasingly popular travel and/or living destination for Irish tourists and writers alike. This seems to have more to do with the fact that Spain was cheap and easily accessible from Ireland than with any romantic-nationalist notions about close historical and cultural ties between Ireland and Spain, which had played an important role in nineteenth-century Irish nationalist discourse on Spain.[1] Indeed, "time spent in Spain […] seems to have become *de rigeur* for any self-respecting Irish poets since the 60s" (Goodby 118n). The Irish poets discussed in this paper – James Liddy, Michael Hartnett, John Jordan, and Pearse Hutchinson – stayed in Spain for varying periods of time, and the impressions they gathered in this country entered their work to varying extents.[2] They all knew each other, both from their studies at University College Dublin (Smith 155) and their frequent sessions at their favourite pub, McDaid's in Harry Street, "the center of Ireland's literary and bohemian life in the 1960s" (Wall 33). They also co-edited and/or contributed poems and articles to the same literary magazines, *Poetry Ireland* (edited by John Jordan), *The Dolmen Miscellany*, *Arena* (edited by James Liddy, Liam O'Connor, and Michael Hartnett), *The Holy Door*, and, from the late 1960s, *The Lace Curtain* (edited by Michael Smith). They shared a desire to make a change in the contemporary Irish poetry scene (mainly by extricating themselves from the long, inhibiting shadow of Yeats and undermining narrow definitions of 'Irishness'), an internationalist outlook and a strong interest in foreign-language poets, a Bohemian lifestyle imbued with the 'flower-power' *zeitgeist* of the 1960s, and a contempt for the puritanism of the Irish Church and State marking the first four decades of Irish independence. However, as their poems on Spain illustrate, they can hardly be said to form a coherent group or poetic

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1 The 'Milesian Legend,' according to which the Irish descended from Spanish Celts who had invaded Ireland about 2,000 BC, the Irish-Spanish conspiracies and military interventions against England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, culminating in the Battle of Kinsale (1603), the integration of thousands of Irish exiles into the Spanish army, and the establishment of Irish priest seminaries all over Spain during the Penal Days constituted popular subjects of ballads and poems by Irish nationalist poets like Thomas Davis, James Clarence Mangan, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, and Thomas Moore. On cultural and historical links between Ireland and Spain, see Reynolds and Trainor.

2 Other Irish poets visiting Franco's Spain in the 1960s include Michael Smith, Seamus Heaney, Paul Durcan, Brian Lynch, Philip Casey, Joseph Hackett, Dorothy Molloy, Macdara Woods, and Anthony Cronin. In their poetry, these writers engage only marginally and from a predominantly personal, apolitical perspective with their experiences in Spain.

school; while they all prefer free verse forms, they differ thematically, above all in the extent to which they concern themselves with public issues in their poetic works.

The most unconventional and provocative literary magazine of the time was probably *Arena*. Largely the brainchild of James Liddy (1934-2008), but co-edited by Liam O'Connor and Michael Hartnett in four issues appearing between 1963 and 1965, *Arena* was a product of, and testament to, the "brief summer of love," i.e. the wave of optimism sweeping Ireland in the early 1960s following the success of the economic reforms suggested by T.K. Whitaker and implemented by Seán Lemass's government (Gardiner 75). The magazine offered a platform for young poets who looked to the anti-establishment American Beat writers as well as their anti-pastoral Irish compatriot Patrick Kavanagh rather than to the romantic Celtic Revivalists for models and celebrated individualism, (free) love, and egalitarianism. For lack of public funding, however, *Arena* foundered after four issues. In their last editorial the editors announced their departure for Spain:

> We done our best when we were let. We were young, we were payers, we were bad proof-readers, we were (sometimes) merry, we were very, very wise. The door of the nearest pub stayed open all day and we drank like prodigal sons. Now we think Spain would be a cheaper drinking life. (Liddy, Hartnett, O'Connor 1)

Assessing his time as editor of *Arena* in 1983, James Liddy remembers what attracted him and Michael Hartnett to Spain in 1965:

> It was the period when Spain became briefly Roman and General Franco offered dazzling suits of lights and peseta chatos of wine to interiorized Northern sensibilities. It was there two thirds of the Editors took themselves after the last double issue, to wind down its legacy in piles, dalliance and punning. ("Arena" 30)

In his poem "Reasons for Departure," however, Liddy strikes a more serious tone in trying to answer the question "Why do writers leave Ireland?" and explain the appeal of Spain. As for Irish writers' reasons for leaving their home country, he cites their contempt for the bourgeois literati engaging in the institutionalisation and tailoring of Irish literary studies to the U.S. market; as for Spain's attractions, he refers to Spain's cultural treasures, its pleasant climate, and its people's appreciation of "the solitary mind":

> […] [T]he reasons why we leave are simple and I'll say it
> For one should explain things to the young who live in a prison
> Run by elderly bores, whose function is to disillusion.
> We do not want to read what they write in the book columns,
> Sad journalese, conceived by lounge-drinking commuters
> Who outside the bourgeois details of marriage have never lived it
> Either up or down but variously export their insincere lies
> To flatter the Great Society's culture-loving ear
> Which believes in mass producing books like car hooters.
> These gentlemen support expansion, Paddy Columns
> Come lately into the trade area from Berkley to U.C.D.
> But why should we have to meet or speak on platforms with them?
> Though we leave we will not read at any poetry centres
> In grey Memphis or that motor mortuary, Los Angeles, […]

> Rather we will ship ourselves to, say, Spain and be God's spies
> Like Cordelia and Lear in a land where the architecture is fit for angels
> And in some sunny village or square consider the ties
> That attract the soul to the spiritual secret of a vital idea,
> Attempt to see God without coughing up moral phlegm. […]
> It behoves us to travel where art is part of dignity
> And praise given to the solitary mind, where mutual desiring
> Projects on to a small world of known objects Singularity
> Which performs the miracle of opening hearts […] (34)

In the account Liddy gives of his visit to Spain together with Michael Hartnett and Barry Cusack in the summer of 1964 in his autobiography *The Doctor's House* (2004), by contrast, he again foregrounds 'sex, drugs, and rock'n'roll' as Spain's major attractions. After arriving in Málaga, they head straight for a *bodega*, where they drink themselves to oblivion – "a gracious introduction to the land of Francisco Franco, Lorca's song ghost, and Philip II's gout-chair," as Liddy flippantly comments (*Doctor's House* 85). During a brief stay in Morocco they continue their drinking spree, smoke *keif*, and party with transvestites claiming to be in Franco's Foreign Legion and singing 'fascist' songs. On a bus trip they are stopped by the police, who check their papers but turn a blind eye to the hashish Hartnett had spilled on the floor in panic: "the officials were not interested in tourists" (*Doctor's House* 86).

Liddy's visits to Spain in 1964 and in 1965 together with Michael Hartnett obviously inspired his Bohemian novella *Young Men Go Walking* (1987), set in Ireland and Spain in the 1960s. Its plot centres on the troubled relationship between the thirty-year-old homosexual teacher Stephen Corrigan and the twenty-year-old student and aspiring poet Vincent Cosgrave. Stephen is attracted to Vincent, who, according to himself, is unequivocally heterosexual and "a conservative really" (84). As long as they remain on Irish soil, Vincent fends off Stephen's sexual advances. During their stay in southern Spain, however, he temporarily sheds his inhibitions and consciously becomes intimate with Stephen. Even though same-sex relationships were just as unlawful in Franco's Spain as they were in Ireland up to the 1990s,[3] it seems that for Vincent different moral laws operate when far away from inquisitive acquaintances and relatives back home. However, he comes to repent of his temporary aberrance from his "permanent heterosexuality" (66) after a quarrel with Stephen over his political or, rather, apolitical views on Spain. Stephen is an unapologetic Bohemian, who proudly announces "I never did a day's work in my life" (88) and takes no interest in social questions. His romantic depiction of Spain as beautiful and backward in his letters infuriate the politically aware Vincent, who replies: "Your Mediterranean is a

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3 "Homosexuality was designated as an offence under the 'law against delinquency and criminals' introduced in 1954. But towards the end of Franco's regime, it was increasingly viewed as an illness rather than a crime. […] Jail terms of up to three years were imposed under laws covering 'public scandal' or 'social danger.' Homosexuals, almost all of them men, were packed off to mental hospitals, where some were given electric-shock therapy" (Keeley 8). In Ireland homosexuality was only decriminalised in 1993; see Healy 2.

Robert Graves subutopia which beckons to no one but the tired and lunatic […] or an encircled James Joyce, a domesticated Rimbaud, all handicrafts, beaches, beautiful boys, gitanos, and old walls" (97).

Aware that Vincent resents his apparent indifference to the Spanish people suffering under the repressive military dictatorship of General Franco, to whom he flippantly refers as "Little Caesar," Stephen provokes Vincent into calling him a "fucking Blueshirt" (108) with tactless remarks that the people's appalling poverty and physical sufferings are a result of "God's intervention" (108). Unlike Stephen, Vincent cannot enjoy himself fully in a country in which civil liberties are severely curtailed and socioeconomic progress seems perpetually delayed: "The reason I can't stand Spain," he explains, "is that people are cowed. Franco gave nothing. No structure, no adventure, no contact with reality. There's nothing to come after him. He set up nothing" (112).

It is likely that the real-life models for Stephen and Vincent are the author, James Liddy, and Michael Hartnett respectively. Like Stephen, the late James Liddy remained unashamedly Bohemian and proudly recalled in his autobiography:

> To join [Patrick] Kavanagh [in McDaid's] was to be part of the aristocratic all day in the bar, ultimately justifying the verdict of May O'Flaherty in Parson's on Baggot Street bridge, "James Liddy is a nice man, but he has never done a day's work in his life." (*Doctor's House* 63)

Similarly, like Stephen, his creator considered his homosexuality as a key component of his identity: "I will have to say straightaway that being queer, like being Irish and being Catholic, has charted my imagination" (Arkins 339). Finally, like Stephen, Liddy was labelled a "Fascist" and a "blueshirt" by Brian Lynch,[4] the then openly left-wing editor of *The Holy Door*, presumably for his mildly anti-Semitic statements and flippant comparisons of De Valera with Hitler and Franco in some of his contributions to this short-lived magazine.[5]

The Winter 1965 issue of *The Holy Door* carries "Some Quickies" by James Liddy and Liam O'Connor, including one entitled "On Spain":

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4 In the biographical notes on contributors to the second issue of *The Holy Door*, Brian Lynch created the following entry for James Liddy: "A recent convert to fascism, which, as those who know him will testify, has always been latent in his personality. Has recently discovered his uncle's blue shirt and is having copies made for his friends"; back-cover of *The Holy Door* 2 (1965).

5 Thus, in a deliberately provocative article Liddy argued that "Hitler must be understood and forgiven" and that "we [the Irish people] cannot afford to pose as virtuous, because we were in favour of Hitler during the war, at least a majority of us were […]. So if we're talking of honesty […], the Nazis got power by a free vote while our contemporary St. Patrick, Valera, split a country and allowed brother to kill brother against a free vote" ("Lazarus" 24).

As Spaniards go
I prefer Franco
To De Valera
But I like Lorca. (19)

In these four short lines the authors intimate that, though they consider Franco a less despicable despot than De Valera, their sympathies lie with the defeated Spanish Republicans. While the frivolous tone and the brevity of this 'quickie' cast doubt on the sincerity of the opinions expressed in it, Liddy's opposition to Franco is more convincingly expressed in his elegy "The First Gone: Charlie Gavin Dead July 1962 in his Twenty-First Year," where he remembers:

Our favourite topic of conversation was the Spanish
Civil war which you had read up – two anti-
Francoites – I lent you *Homage to Catalonia* a month
Before you died. (36)

To the extent that some of Liddy's poems express the poet's concern with recent Spanish history and the plight of the defeated Republicans,[6] they contrast with his own and his character Stephen Corrigan's statements in *The Doctor's House* and *Young Men Go Walking*, conveying the impression that Liddy was completely indifferent to the plight of the people of Spain and availed of the cheap holidays it offered him without any feelings of guilt. Possibly, Liddy merely adopted his self-centred, Bohemian, and even more provocative quasi-Fascist guise to protest against, and distance himself from, the sweeping condemnation of the Franco regime by some of his Irish left-wing writer-friends; firstly, because in his opinion 'democratic' Ireland under De Valera as *Taoiseach* had not offered its citizens much greater personal freedom than Franco's Spain, and secondly, because he might have resented the hypocrisy of some of Franco's fiercest critics, who, while feigning to scorn the dictatorship in Spain and taking exception to Liddy's seeming apathy, still visited the country and enjoyed the low prices and the pleasant climate as much as he did.

One potential target of Liddy's protest against his writer-friends' double standards concerning Spain was the poet Michael Hartnett (1941-1999), his co-editor and travel companion, who frequently spoke out on public issues in a much more serious and sober tone than Liddy.[7] Hartnett's most publicised statement was his announcement,

6 See, for example, "The Republic 1939," a short poem on Republican refugees taking "a handful of earth of the Republic," which they "held more dearly than any baggage," into exile in South America, where it dried out (35). As "a poem about the pain of enforced exile" from Spain, "'The Republic 1939' […] contrasts with the [above-mentioned] 'Reasons for Departure'," included in the same collection, *Blue Mountain* (1968), "where [the author's announced] exile [in Franco's Spain] is self-imposed" (Skinner 58).

7 Hartnett's celebration of love and his satirical barbs at "the sexual Puritanism of the Catholic church" (Grennan 300) in his early poetry are in keeping with the 'Make Love, Not War' motto of the 1960s, as are his critical observations on the sectarianism dividing the contemporary Dublin literary scene into an "'Irish Catholic' [clique] on one side and [an] 'Anglo-Irish' [one] on the other" ("The Dublin Literary World" 6), with the former idolising Joyce and the latter Yeats.

in his 1975 poem “A Farewell to English,” that he would henceforward write his poetry in Irish. Although Hartnett refrained from idealising rural Ireland in the manner of the Celtic Twilight poets in his own poems about the West of Ireland, he shared the revivalists’ concern that socio-economic modernisation and urbanisation were posing a threat to Gaelic culture (Flannery 44).

It is presumably Hartnett’s commitment to keeping the Gaelic tradition alive which mainly accounts for his interest in the Spanish poet Federico García Lorca, who in his poetry immortalised Andalusian gypsy and peasant folklore, which had come under pressure from modernity (Liston 126). Yet Lorca also held a fascination for the liberal left-wing poet by virtue of his status as “an almost mythical figure, symbolic of victims of political oppression and fascist tyranny both in Spain and outside” (Liston 127), derived from his assassination by Falangist soldiers during the Spanish Civil War. Indeed, Hartnett stated in an interview in 1986 that “[he] went to Spain in 1964, deliberately to learn Spanish so that [he] could translate Lorca” (O’Driscoll 18). His stay, however, ended with his arrest, the confiscation of his passport, and his deportation from Spain for having shouted “Down with Franco!” in a pub (Fitzmaurice 106; Curtis 168).

Hartnett’s “Thirteen Poems Written in Madrid 1964 (i.m.F.G.L.) [in memoriam Federico García Lorca]” deal only marginally with Spain. It is only in the penultimate poem that Hartnett openly condemns Franco’s police state in terms reminiscent of Vincent’s statement in Liddy’s novella *Young Men Go Walking* that he dislikes Spain because the people are ‘cowed’:

> […] I hate this country.
> I hate the joy, the loquacity,
> the blind illogic of the people
> building again after war
> and expecting another:
> and the police,
> the police, the military, everywhere
> like rats that dominate
> a refuse-heap
> when it is too dark for crows.
>
> He is dying, the coin-adorner,
> and he will be mourned
> and what are principles in face
> of cheap wine, cheap cigarettes? (62)

This stanza recalls Vincent’s moral scruples about compromising his left-liberal, democratic principles by profiting from the low cost of living in a country where the vast majority of the people are kept in poverty by an authoritarian right-wing government. These sentiments reinforce the possibility that James Liddy modelled Vincent on Michael Hartnett, his fellow-traveller to Spain, whose public expressions of concern about socio-political issues in Ireland and Spain set him apart from the former’s poses as the unapologetic Bohemian or right-wing provocateur.

James Liddy and Michael Hartnett's common friend John Jordan (1930-1988), better known as a literary critic and editor of *Poetry Ireland* than as a poet (McFadden, *Selected Poems* 23), also belonged to the Bohemian clique of artists gathering at McDaid's (Smith 156). Jordan's fascination with Spain was presumably kindled by his friend Kate O'Brien, whose love for Ávila he shared (McFadden, *Selected Poems* 21), but it also stemmed from his internationalist outlook and his interest in the literature of Spain and other European countries (McFadden, *Crystal Clear* 9). Jordan "abhorred Irish national exclusivity" and aimed to contribute to the development of an "inclusive" Irish cultural scene which "would take full account of the cultural riches of European traditions, in a variety of languages" (McFadden, *Crystal Clear* 9). An astute but much-antagonised literary critic championing the work of Modernist writers like Pound, Eliot, Joyce, and controversial literary figures like Oscar Wilde and Sean O'Casey as early as the 1950s and '60s, Jordan began to crack under the pressure of leading a public life. He drifted into alcoholism and spent more and more time in hospital (McFadden, *Selected Poems* 16; Macdara Woods 20-22). His status as an outsider was arguably aggravated by his homosexuality, which would generally not have been looked upon in a favourable light in the Ireland of the 1950s and '60s and seemed irreconcilable with his Catholic faith (Jordan, Diary).

That Jordan's frequent visits to Spain were motivated by a desire to escape from the claustrophobic and presumably homophobic Dublin (literary) scene is suggested by his prose piece "Haemorrhage." In this autobiographical essay Jordan recalls his stay at a hospital in Barcelona in January 1964 and reckons that if he could have afforded it financially he would rather have stayed in the hospital than go back to "Dirty Dublin (where) my enemies were attempting to confound me" ("Haemorrhage" 11).

The "existentialist *angst*" afflicting Jordan in the 1960s and '70s also left its traces in his poems inspired by his visits to Spain (McFadden, *Selected Poems* 20). In "Tidings from Breda," Jordan muses on his childlessness and perceived lack of professional achievement and states his conviction that "Everyman has a singular future. / Mine is failure" (76). While the name of the Spanish *caudillo* appears in several poems, including "The Feast of St. Justin" and "A Paella for Drivellers," Jordan's poems are generally highly personal and offer no coherent critique of the socio-political conditions in Franco's Spain. The poem which comes closest to an expression of disapproval of the Franco regime is "Excoriations on Mont-Seny," written in Breda in 1963, where Jordan 'excoriates' the appearance of two heavily armed policemen destroying the atmosphere of peace and quiet on Mont-Seny.[8]

8 Jordan's short stories are similarly apolitical in content. "Passion," the only story set in Spain, illustrates the sexual inhibitions of a newly-wed Irish Catholic couple spending their honeymoon in Seville, while the brief references to Franco in "The Reader in Classics" and "Weariness of Flesh," both set in Dublin, merely serve to demonstrate the shallowness and meaninglessness of the political debates among the countless would-be intellectuals and artists populating Dublin's literary pub scene.

By contrast, John Jordan's friend Pearse Hutchinson (born in 1927) has engaged extensively with Spanish politics in his poetry. Like Jordan, Hutchinson resented the puritanical and stifling atmosphere in Ireland during the post-Emergency years and suffered from a dominant, conservative mother.[9] Hutchinson's parents were fervent anti-Treatyite Republicans who named their son after Patrick Pearse and returned to Dublin from Glasgow after De Valera's accession to power in 1932 (Ó Gormaile 115). In the introduction to his poetry volume *The Soul that Kissed the Body* (1990), Hutchinson remembers how after the discovery of sex and his loss of faith he conflated puritanism with Irish Republicanism and found them both repellent:

> Puritanism seemed to me the worst thing ever invented, it was my enemy, and with it I identified (not unnaturally, given that prevailing late-Forties atmosphere) Ireland itself. So I rejected Ireland, and with it the whole patriotic Republican tradition. (14)

His disenchantment with his native country engendered a strong desire "to escape, and not to England but to the Continent" (Ó Muirthile 23). His great interest in foreign languages and cultures led him to study Spanish at University College Dublin and visit Spain for the first time in 1950 (Ó Gormaile 116). After "[falling] in love with Barcelona," he learned Catalan, a language which was "completely forbidden" in Franco's Spain but "widely spoken" (Ó Gormaile 116). Later he also learned the equally suppressed Galician language and translated both Catalan and Galaico-Portuguese poetry into English and Irish (Vincent Woods 113, 117). But the 1950s also saw Hutchinson's reconnection with his native culture. After spending the years 1951-1953 in Geneva working as a translator for the International Labour Office of the United Nations, he returned to Dublin for one and a half years, during which he discovered his love of Gaelic poetry and started to write poetry in Irish (Coleman, "Chronology" 2). Like his friend Michael Hartnett, Hutchinson was scandalised at the seeming indifference of the Fine Gael/Labour Party government (1973-77) to the fate of the Irish language and remonstrated against it in "The Frost Is all Over," a poem ending with the line: "To kill a language is to kill one's self" (173).

Hutchinson's concern about the fate of the indigenous language and culture of his home country made him all the more alert to the linguistic and cultural oppression in Franco's Spain, and particularly in Catalonia, where he lived from 1954 to 1957 and from 1961 to 1967 (Coleman, "Chronology" 1-3). The poem "Questions" is informed by Hutchinson's awareness of the different attitudes of the Irish and the Catalans to their respective native tongues, to which he referred in an interview in 1997:

> Although Catalan was banned and not taught in the schools unlike Irish here, nonetheless Barcelona was a city where most of the people spoke Catalan all of the time. It was a living daily language in the capital city. I realized, although I had been to the Gaeltacht a few times, that that was what was missing in Ireland. (Ó Muirthile 24)

9 See Hutchinson's recollections of his youth in *The Soul that Kissed the Body*: "Living at home, under the thumb of a deeply loving but strong-minded, puritanical (though otherwise understanding) mother, was often hell" (14).

In the poem's first two stanzas Hutchinson derides the Gaelicist "fáinnetics" as "fun figures" and "bony old men in bonny kilts, embarrassing," who, in force-feeding the Gaelic tongue to Irish schoolchildren have merely succeeded in "[m]aking the language of Diarmuid and Deirdre / Sound a language of tyrants and fools." In the third stanza, however, the poet chides those readers who would immediately agree with such a facile dismissal of the efforts of the Gaelic revivalists and introduces a series of questions reminding them that, while they neglect their indigenous language and ridicule those who endeavour to keep it alive, people in Catalonia risk imprisonment by asserting their right to speak their language in public:

> Mock those: well you may;
> But listen, have you lived where
> You look behind before you dare
> Speak your own language? […]
> Where one fine day, the gun smiles, and everyone rumours a thaw,
> But next night, the gun kills, and all remember the law? […]
> Your duty is: forsake, dislearn, disown
> Your own language?
> Go to jail for speaking it too clearly,
> Get beaten up for speaking it too clearly,
> Lose – worse, get (sub-thorn) – jobs, for speaking it nearly,
> While eminent Abbots are called commies for speaking it fairly clearly […]
>
> Have you lived where twenty-five years of war
> Are called 25 Years of Peace? […] ("Questions" 82-84)

Hutchinson's resentment of the Franco regime for its prohibition of the Catalan, Galician, and Basque languages, its violent suppression of political resistance, and promotion of social injustice manifests itself in many poems, including "Enriqueta Bru" (*CP* 256), "Spain 67" (*CP* 77), and "The Palace of Injustice or The Swallow's Well" (*SKB* 81).[10] In these "Iberian texts, the poetic voice is that of a chronicler of the times, a witness of the facts who denounces injustice and who also awaits a political change which would precipitate an improvement of living conditions in society" (Veiga 140).

Hutchinson's more personal poems dealing with his own experiences during his lengthy sojourn in Spain reveal an ambiguous attitude towards his host country. In "Travel Notes" the poet reckons that no more than "Two foreigners in a century, / perhaps, break through to a nation's core" (26). That he does not consider himself one of the few exiles who manage to become fully integrated into their host society becomes clear from the poem "Speaking to Some," in which Hutchinson vents his anger at constantly being stared at and laughed at for his long beard. The unwanted attention from the native Spanish people makes him feel as out of place as a "tourist"

10 "The Palace of Injustice" was first written in Irish and then translated into English by Hutchinson himself for the collection *The Soul that Kissed the Body* (1990). For more comprehensive discussions of Hutchinson's extensive poetic engagement with Spain, see Veiga and Vincent Woods.

or the “Christian trivia pinned up in the places of / pleasure and worship / the Moors left in Andalusia” (80-81).

In his autobiographical travel piece “Intimations in Málaga” Hutchinson relates how in the late 1950s he and some other non-Spanish friends visit the British author Gerald Brennan in his house in the Alpujarra mountains and entertain themselves by drinking gin and staring down from the roof-top at naked Spanish kids playing in the garden. The appearance of a completely stripped teenage girl stirs up ambiguous emotions oscillating between “ascetic reverence” and guilt at indulging in a “Humbertian lust” (43). Back at their lodgings in a primitive fishing village far away from the overrun tourist resort of Torremolinos, Hutchinson and his companions “[feel] protected from the bridge, brandy and sad largesse of those rootless people: our wealthier compatriots in ‘exile’” (44). However, the author’s friend Sammy “break[s] the spell” by uttering the suspicion that has been nagging at the narrator all day: “That girl, […] did he put her up to it, do you think, for our benefit?” (45). The “idea” that Brennan might have hired the girl to pose for them in the nude to satisfy their thirst for signs of the Andalusians’ ‘native savagery’ seems to be “so shattering” (45) to Hutchinson, as it dispels any illusions that he and his friends have nothing in common with those other voyeuristic tourists and exiled artists invading the Costa del Sol from the late 1950s. This epiphanic insight bespeaks a general sense of unease at occupying a privileged socio-economic position in comparison with the majority of Spain’s population, and this impression ultimately raises the question as to why Hutchinson as well as his politically aware poet-friends Jordan, Hartnett, and Liddy chose Franco’s Spain as their temporary exile.

Hutchinson answered this question at least for himself in an interview with Philip Coleman. He “wanted to get away from the Irish climate” and “live in a sunny country,” and he “also wanted to get – escape – from [his] mother’s influence which severely restricted [his] freedom”, as well as “from the society” of “puritanical Ireland.” Although he was aware that it seemed “odd” that he had “wanted to get away from it to Franco’s Spain,” he explained that in “Madrid and Barcelona there were places that were wide open, there was nothing you couldn’t get or do. Franco was far too clever to try to get rid of prostitution, for example” (Coleman, “Conversation” 224). Thus, in Barcelona the poet “live[d] a moderately Bohemian life while subsisting on his income from teaching English at the British Institute” (Parcerisas 7).

Yet, Hutchinson himself experienced the curtailment of freedom of speech in Franco’s Spain when, “following an altercation with the Spanish authorities[,] he [was] charged, with two Irish friends, with being drunk and disorderly and ‘mocking the Head of State,’ and threatened with deportation” (Coleman, “Chronology” 3). Moreover, he could not have helped being troubled by the realisation that he was enjoying himself in the very country where his fellow poets were forbidden to publish in their mother tongue, Catalan. Perhaps it was his feelings of guilt as much as his genuinely felt solidarity with his silenced or exiled Catalan poet friends, including Carles Riba,

Salvador Espriu, and Pere Quart, which motivated him to translate their work into English and/or Irish and to co-organise Catalan poetry readings at the British Institute in Barcelona in 1955 and 1962 (Hutchinson, *Done into English* 19-21). In particular, Hutchinson's translation of Josep Carner's poetry of 1962 represented a significant political gesture insofar as it was intended to enhance Carner's chances of being nominated for the Nobel Prize for Literature and thus draw the world's attention to the suppression of the Catalan language and culture in Franco's Spain (Parcerisas 12). To the extent that he endeavoured to give something back to his liberating host country by defending and promoting the Catalans' right to use their language in public in his own poems and in his translations, Hutchinson stands out from his fellow Irish poets visiting Spain in the 1960s.

In conclusion, it is most likely the combination of cheap wine, sexual freedom, and a pleasant climate which initially attracted not only Hutchinson but also the other poets discussed in this paper – James Liddy, Michael Hartnett, and John Jordan – to 1960s Spain. Given the poets' generally liberal political and sexual views, making them in Liddy's opinion the "Irish Beat Generation,"[11] it seems ironic that they all found a refuge from the puritanism and narrow nationalism of many of their compatriots in a country governed by a right-wing dictator. As a comparative reading of their poems on Spain illustrates, none of the 'Irish Beat poets' could turn a blind eye to the socio-political ills still afflicting Spain in the 1960s. However, they differ above all in the extent to which they express their concern about the plight of the Spanish people and their own moral right to enjoy themselves in Franco's Spain in their poetry. While Liddy's poems are unashamedly Bohemian and Jordan's are of a highly personal nature, Hartnett's and, to a much greater extent, Hutchinson's writings on Spain express a sense of guilt for taking advantage of the low living costs and indulging in touristic voyeurism in a country whose people suffer from poverty and severely curtailed civil liberties. It is, above all, on account of the varying degrees to which these poets engage with socio-political issues in their poetry that they cannot really be said to constitute a coherent poetic school.

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11 See Liddy's essay "The Irish Beat Generation," where he states: "It is now in the region of forty years ago since we went to conquer Dublin and U.C.D.; our intentions were plain, we were to become poets, Modernists, and new Bohemians. We proceeded about our business with varying degrees of middle-class aplomb, tasting aesthetics, magic, and politics in McDaid's and other miraculous watering places. We wanted to trade for sex with a little bent flavour, and we practised our strut down Grafton St. […] We were the Irish Beat Generation and I think we knew it" (44).

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From Utopia to Heterotopia: Irish Writers Narrating the Spanish Civil War

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Ever since its outbreak in July 1936, the Spanish Civil War has generated enormous interest with historians, writers and poets, politicians, and readers alike. Although it has been called "a civil war in a minor power on the periphery of Europe" (Seidman 3), the Spanish conflict encapsulates in a concentrated form all the larger international conflicts of the twentieth century and has been "transformed into an allegory in which the major social and political philosophies of the time were the chief antagonists" (Benson 3-4). This has led to a presentation of the Spanish Civil War along sometimes gross dichotomies, and both sides involved at the time called their fight a holy war or crusade (see Johnston 28; Cunningham, "Preface" 30; Stradling). Irish writers have always been fascinated by the Spanish Civil War, its history, its aftermath, and its international implications. For a country with a civil war of its own and the ensuing partition of Irish society, Irish writers' own hopes and fears were mapped onto the conflict in Spain. This parallel was close enough to become an extension of Irish people's quest for liberty and national unity, a fact that led Frank Ryan, leader of the pro-Republican Irish contingent in Spain, to declare: "the Spanish trenches are right here in Ireland" (Sean Cronin 79).

The paper will consider the development of the Irish assessment of this parallel from the 1930s to today. It will start with texts by Irish poets from the 1930s and 1940s that celebrate the fight in Spain as a utopian vision of a future Ireland, but it will also consider Irish poets who depict their political and individual disillusionment with Spain and Ireland. Poetry by Somhairle Macalastair, Ewart Milne, and Charles Donnelly will be included here. An analysis of Neil Jordan's novel *Sunrise with Sea Monster* (1994) will complement the discussion of the poetry as it is a contemporary assessment of the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War which centres on the futility and destructiveness of armed conflict everywhere. The argument is that this development from utopian praise to heterotopian questioning encapsulates the development of Irish identities in Ireland and their larger European context. While most early literary representations of the Spanish Civil War stress essentialist concepts of nation or class and posit an absolute and ideological view of freedom, contemporary Irish literature focuses on the constructed and potentially destructive nature of such notions. Through re-working the Spanish Civil War, Irish writers come to terms with their own difficult history and envision new, potentially hybrid identities.

Utopia and Heterotopia

Utopia is a name for an ideal community or society and was first used by Thomas More in his book *Of the Best State of a Republic, and of the New Island Utopia*, written in 1516 and based on Plato's *Republic* (Ahlbäck 145). The word comes from the Greek: oú ('not') and τόπος ('place'). The homophone *eutopia*, derived from the Greek εú ('good' or 'well') signifies a double meaning: the good place is a non-place. Thus, our concept of utopia retains both meanings and puts the perfect society in an illusory non-place (Castro Varela 114; Sargisson 25). Foucault therefore calls utopias "fundamentally unreal spaces" that at the same time have "a general relation or direct or inverted analogy with the real space of society" (Foucault 24).

European authors have always been fascinated by utopian visions of a perfect society, first in other places, then, when there were no blank spaces left on the map, in other times, shifting to chronotopias (Groeben 177). As a political theory, utopianism was "directed towards the creation of human happiness" which tried to combine the individual with the community and happiness with virtue (Goodwin & Taylor 207). However, after the experiences of the First and the Second World War, of Fascism and Stalinism, utopian visions were increasingly suspected of an ideologically informed totalitarian impetus. Karl Popper interprets utopia as the enemy of open societies, because utopia is not only a vision for a better society but attempts to be a precise blueprint for it. In such a plan there is no room for dissent. Utopias therefore are said to have an inherent tendency towards totalitarianism (Popper 161). Recent research has put this categorical rejection into perspective. As Norbert Groeben points out, only 'archistic' social utopia and its claim to universal validity can be said to be totalitarian and can be called dead (176).[1] What Tom Moylan calls "critical utopia" retains utopian thinking as social dreaming while still expressing "oppositional thought [in an] unveiling [and] debunking of both the genre itself and the historical situation" (10).[2] The often-claimed death of utopia is therefore only the death of one kind of utopia that in the following I would like to call 'traditional' utopia.

The concept of heterotopia is closely linked to this rethinking of utopia. It is neither the opposite or negation of utopia nor is it dystopia, as this would keep the teleological, unified form of utopia, if only in inverted form. While traditional utopia tries to present an outline, if not a blueprint, even for a better or a perfect world, heterotopia is defined as a representation, contestation, and inversion of the real world that we live in *from the point of view of* this real world (Warning 14). Thus, we can catch a glimpse of another space that is a "simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the

1 For another rejection of the death of utopia and its totalitarian impetus, see Goodwin & Taylor 48-57. For contemporary reformulations of utopia as relative and partial and its positive potential, see Bammer and the study by Widmer.

2 For an analysis of utopia as "social dreaming," but also as potential nightmare, see the essays in Moylan & Baccolini, especially Sargent.

space in which we live" (Foucault 24). Foucault therefore calls these spaces "counter-sites" (Foucault 24).

Under six principles that present different forms of heterotopia, Foucault presents many examples of such counter-sites, for example the boarding school or the honeymoon trip, where critical moments of initiation take place in the "nowhere" of another space. Cemeteries, hospitals, prisons, psychiatric clinics, or rest homes are real locations whose positions at the centre or periphery of a city or town tell us something about the imaginary space they occupy for a society (Foucault 24-25). Theatres or cinemas are real places in which a whole succession of different and incompatible images and places can be juxtaposed, leading to a change in our perception of our real spaces and our relation to them. It is this potential for juxtaposition and multiplication that delineates heterotopia from utopia.

The most interesting metaphor that Foucault uses for heterotopia and its relation to utopia is the mirror. A mirror is a metaphor for utopia because the image that you see in it does not exist, but it is also a heterotopia because the mirror is a real object in a real space that shapes the way you relate to your own image. From a real vantage point and with a real object I can catch a glimpse of the world I live in, but in a fictional other space that first represents, then contests, and then (literally) inverts my reality in another space:

> The mirror functions as a heterotopia in this respect: it makes this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there. (Foucault 24)

Heterotopia is therefore an 'other space' in which I can imagine my real space and my self as probably better, but in any case different, multiple, and open-ended. Thus, heterotopia is a space of "constant re-visioning suggestive of new possibilities and interpretations" (Upstone 15). In contrast to utopia, which tries to design the one perfect place, heterotopia creates a relation to multiple other spaces, which connect my real and imperfect here and now with 'theres' that are other, not perfect spaces encapsulating other, not perfect selves.

The Spanish Civil War as a Mirror of the Irish Conflict

Right from the beginning, the Spanish Civil War prompted an international reaction which often had little to do with the conflict in Spain but more with essentially local issues that international audiences could project onto the conflict (Foster 210). In the case of Ireland, the parallels are indeed striking. Both civil wars were deeply shaped by Catholicism or a rejection of it. Both took place in countries that, until the conflict, had remained at the periphery of Europe. Both countries were seen by England as exotic places full of Catholic zealots and beautiful wild women. The men were depicted as cruel and violent, and the country as a whole as unstable and culturally distant (Alpert 16). These depictions mirror crude prejudices and stereotypes that are

at the heart of the Irish-English conflict and of colonial hierarchies, both of which are based upon the binary opposition of nature and culture, savagery and civilisation (JanMohamed; Cheng 34-38). Both conflicts did not split the countries into two clearly defined opposing sides but into several multiplying factions. What Richardson says about the Spanish Civil War can therefore with equal truth be applied to Ireland: "Both sides in the civil war represented a varied amalgam of mutually incompatible ideologies" (1).

The complication of the Irish involvement in Spain is that both parties, pro- and anti-Franco, can be called Irish nationalists and that both parties interpreted the struggle in Spain as a reflection of their own righteous struggles. The more numerous party that went to Spain were about 700 men under Eoin O'Duffy, the leader of the so-called "Blueshirts" and former official under Cosgrave's pro-Treaty government. This movement has been interpreted as proto- or semi-fascist, Irish extremist and nationalist as well as idealist (Stradling; Mike Cronin). Frank Ryan's almost 200 volunteers for the communist-organised International Brigade are today more lovingly remembered than O'Duffy's luckless Blueshirts (Sean Cronin). Nevertheless, at the time of the Spanish Civil War, Ireland was dominated by conservative Catholic nationalism "and so the struggle in Spain – interpreted by many as one involving godless communism versus the Faith – was easy enough to read" (English 338), a fact which is illustrated in Jordan's novel. Both parties were in the end frustrated and disappointed by their respective crusades, which not only ended in defeat and an inglorious return home but which also mirrored the non-existent unity and deep factionalism of their movements back home in Ireland.

"History is a Cruel Country": 1930s and 1940s Irish Poets on Spain

Today, the best-known Irish writers who took part in the Spanish Civil War are mostly volunteers for the Spanish Republic who fought against Franco, most of them in the International Brigade. This emphasis is due to a historical bias that can be detected in most studies of the literature of that period (Ford; Benson; Cunningham, "Preface"). The function of poetry in the Spanish Civil War shifts between being party literature (for both parties involved), tendentious and programmatic literature, and highly individual accounts of real experiences, both good and bad (Thomas 17-30). Two poems that openly sympathise with the Republic and that link Ireland's fight to Spain's fight will be discussed first. In these poems freedom is, as Cecil Day-Lewis famously wrote in "The Nabara," "more than a word" (191). The first is Somhairle Macalastair's poem "Ballyseedy Befriends Bajadoz," the second one is Ewart Milne's "Thinking of Artolas." Both poems project traditional utopian perspectives onto an idealised war of heroic sacrifice. Charles Donnelly's critical poem entitled "Poem" will then be discussed, as it also links Spain to Ireland, but presents an entirely different and much more critical perspective on the war that can be called heterotopian.

Somhairle Macalastair was an Irishman who fought in the International Brigade and wrote poetry that is directly addressing Irish matters. The authorship of the ballads attributed to Macalastair has been debated in recent years, but Gustav Klaus suggests that the name "Somhairle Macalastair" was one of many pseudonyms used by Diarmuid Fitzpatrick, who was born in Dublin in 1901 and who became involved in Republican politics in the 1930s (Klaus 107-108). His poetry draws a grim picture of Ireland's future should fascism and people like Eoin O'Duffy be allowed to rule the country. The title of his poem, "Ballyseedy Befriends Badajoz," already indicates the direct connection between Ireland and Spain. In the Irish Civil War, Ballyseedy in Kerry was the scene of a massacre of Republicans by Free State soldiers in 1923. In the Spanish Civil War, Badajoz was the scene of a similar massacre in 1936. Macalastair here describes the violence in Ireland and in Spain by turns, thus linking them through proximity and parallel and by directly referring to O'Duffy:

> O'Duffy's dupes are killing as their Fascist masters bid.
> Gas bombs are falling on the Mothers of Madrid.
> (The birds at Ballyseedy picked flesh from off the stones
> And Spanish suns at Badajoz are bleaching baby bones.)
> (Cunningham, *Spanish Civil War Verse* 385)

Ireland and Spain are one place in this poem, and the flesh that has been picked in Ballyseedy is missing from the bleaching baby bones in Spain. The future of Spain, embodied by the babies, has been killed by Franco. The future of Ireland, embodied by the dead Republican soldiers, has been killed by the Free State. Macalastair then directly compares the goals of Franco and O'Duffy in Spain with what will happen to Ireland if no one fights for her freedom:

> Our lanes are marked with wayside cross to trace their bloody trail,
> While others lie in quicklime pit in ev'ry Irish gaol.
> They cant of Salamanca, our Irish Pharisees;
> 'Tis the flag of black reaction they flaunt upon the breeze.
> They hope to lure out Irish youth to learn their murder trade
> And bring them back to Ireland as a Fascist Shock Brigade.
> (Cunningham, *Spanish Civil War Verse* 386)

The Spanish Civil War plays an entirely subordinate role in this poem. What is really addressed and indeed fought out in Spain is an internal Irish conflict between the two parties of the Civil War. Rather than fighting Franco, Macalastair is fighting O'Duffy. The struggle of the anti-Treaty parties in the Irish Civil War is presented as a heroic sacrifice which must be repeated to save Ireland from a dark future that Macalastair describes in the last two stanzas of the poem: "O'Duffy crowned Dictator 'midst the rolling of the drums / And the fools that listened to him are rotting in the Slums!" (Cunningham, *Spanish Civil War Verse* 386).

Another Irish poet who wrote during and about the Spanish Civil War is Ewart Milne. He was born in Dublin in 1903 and worked as a teacher, seaman, and journalist. During the Spanish Civil War, he was a voluntary administrator for the Spanish Medical Aid Committee in London (Lovelock). His poem "Thinking of Artolas" is not as openly

referring to the Irish Civil War and its factions as "Ballyseedy Befriends Badajoz." Yet, through the exemplary figure of Charles Donnelly, an Irish volunteer and poet who died in Spain, and the linking of Donnelly to Wolf Tone the national background is again brought up. The artolas of the title is a Spanish back-to-back seat for two persons on the same horse and is used as a metaphor for the common fight against fascism which unites different nationalities and religions. The two protagonists of the poem are Charles Donnelly, the Irish volunteer, and Izzy Kupchick, the Jewish volunteer:

> Two, Gael and Jew side by side in a trench
> Gripping antique guns to flick at the grasshoppers
> That zoomed overhead and the moon was rocking.
> Two who came from prisonment, Gael because of Tone,
> Jew because of human love, the same for Jew as German –
> Frail fragments both, chipped off and forgotten readily.
>
> I set them together, Izzy Kupchik and Donnelly;
> And of that date with death among the junipers
> I say only, they kept it: and record the exploded
> Spreadeagled mass when the moon was later
> Watching the wine that that baked earth was drinking.
> (Cunningham, *Spanish Civil War Verse* 178-179)

Here, the linking of Donnelly and Kupchik in the image of the artolas goes even further when both the cause why they went to Spain and their death join them together. The Irishman and the Jew are described as being persecuted because they believe in freedom, a freedom for which they sacrifice their lives. In this context, the martyr who sacrifices his life for the freedom of his mother country refers to a common symbol of Irish nationalism, perhaps most famously embodied in W.B. Yeats's *Cathleen ni Houlihan* (Cullingford 1981, 51-56; Cullingford 1990; Heinz 184-190). In death, Donnelly's and Kupchik's bodies are intermingled, a mixing which mirrors the joining of their minds in their fight for freedom. In this poem the Irish and the Spanish Civil War turn into an allegory of the eternal fight for freedom and humanity, thus taking on a universal meaning.

Charles Donnelly's "Poem" again links events in Ireland with events in Spain, but it does so in a much more critical vein. In this poem

> Donnelly recognizes that the public acclaim for deeds of valor will inevitably distort the nature of the deeds. He makes it clear […] that heroism is very nearly an accident, and that its occurrence is unpredictable; it is not conferred upon a man by his beliefs or by the organizations to which he belongs. (Muste 167)

Donnelly connects this accidental heroism of the volunteer in Spain to the fate of Irish heroes like Parnell and Pearse, whose heroic deeds serve the same purpose that Donnelly's own actions in Spain will probably serve:

> Name, subject of all-considered words, praise and blame
> Irrelevant, the public talk which sounds the same on hollow
> Tongue as true, you'll be with Parnell and with Pearse.
> Name alderman will raise a cheer with, teachers make reference

> Oblique in class, and boys and woman spin gum of sentiment
> On qualities attributed in error.
> (Cunningham, *Spanish Civil War Verse* 109)

In this complex poem Donnelly makes clear that the fight in Spain is like the fight in Ireland, but not in the sense of being a heroic sacrifice for universal freedom or the necessary fight against fascism. The volunteer is on the same level as Parnell and Pearse, but not in the sense of being a hero or a martyr. They are the same, because all of them will turn into a part of the flexible historical narrative and will become a means for politicians and teachers to stir up sentimentalism and hero worship:

> Whatever the issue of your battle is, your memory
> Is public, for them to pull awry with crooked hands,
> Moist eyes. And village reputations will be built on
> Inaccurate accounts of your campaign. You're name for orators,
> Figure stone-struck beneath damp Dublin sky.
> (Cunningham, *Spanish Civil War Verse* 108)

The poem states that war is not heroic and should not be celebrated, and is, as Donnelly formulates, "different from what you'd expected" (Cunningham, *Spanish Civil War Verse* 108). The glorification of the violent Irish struggle is therefore criticised by pointing to the misinterpretation of the Spanish Civil War. The volunteer is not a heroic youth but rather an individual whose deeds are dictated by accident. After being killed by enemy bombs he will be killed a second time by the public orators back home in Dublin who exploit his death just as they exploit the history of Parnell and Pearse: "[Donnelly] saw not just the possibility of sudden death, but the aftermath when ideals are cheaply and callously exploited, when revolutions go wrong" (Ford 124). Donnelly's "Poem" therefore reflects the disillusionment of those who came to Spain and connects it to his disillusionment with the fight for Ireland. Thus, he represents many writers of his generation who wrote about war and violence (Muste 10). In contrast to Milne's eulogy or Macalastair's fear of a fascist Ireland, Charles Donnelly writes about individual experiences that are neither heroic nor a willing sacrifice. Spain thus becomes the mirror of heterotopia in which Donnelly can see Ireland as an 'other place.'

"This is no time for heroics": Neil Jordan's *Sunrise with Sea Monster*

This function of Spain mirroring another Ireland is continued and updated by Neil Jordan's novel *Sunrise with Sea Monster* (1994). The novel tells the story of Donal Gore, the first-person narrator of the novel and his experiences in Spain and Ireland. It both narrates the difficult relation between Donal and his father and the love-affair between Donal and his piano teacher Rose, who nearly becomes his stepmother.

Very similar to the structure that Macalastair and Donnelly use in their poetry, the first part of the novel presents what happens in Spain and what happened in Ireland by turns in short, consecutive paragraphs. This narrative pattern connects both strands of the plot into the one attempt of the narrator to come to terms with his complicated

relationship with his father who represents the Irish nation and its recent history. In this sense, *Sunrise with Sea Monster* is a historical novel, a generational novel, a *bildungsroman,* a love story, and a political novel in equal measure (Schwall). Donal is a volunteer in the International Brigade, but his motivations could not be more different from Milne's heroic youths. Asked by a German officer why he volunteered, Donal answers:

> I volunteered, I tell him, I took the course of action most likely to wound my father. I became the person he was most likely to fear, despise, to loathe. I wanted to quench forever the last embers of speech between us. I joined the Republican movement he had abandoned, espoused whatever politics would fill him with terror. (Jordan 58-59)

This is a far cry from heroic sacrifice and starry-eyed idealism and very close to Charles Donnelly's depiction of his Spanish experience. Here, politics are not utopian dreams for a perfect world. On the contrary, Donal wants to use the Spanish Civil War as a heterotopian mirror to hold up to his father. By going there, he wants to force the generation of his father to look at an Ireland that is paralysed and partitioned and has remained stuck in a history of seemingly heroic events, first and foremost the War of Independence, in which his father fought himself but which he never talks about. That Donal is not in Spain because he believes in a utopian socialist revolution is made clear by his feelings when the prisoners have to attend Catholic mass. While the other volunteers sneer at the ceremony, Donal feels at home in it. This becomes clear in a recurring conversation with a Welsh communist, who is one of the prisoners:

> So what's a Mick doing here? he asks me with monotonous regularity. Passing the time, I tell him. I fancy the heat to disguise the fact that I know he knows I'm not one of them. Something in my face shows it, I suppose, some comfort emanates to me from the altar beyond us on the packing cases, the wine the priest pours from the leather gourd into the cruets and I wonder when he lifts the tiny disc between two thumbs and forefingers will I be able to resist the urge to kneel. My apostasy is almost over. (Jordan 40)

Through this experience, the factionalism of Ireland and Spain is commented upon. Neither the International Brigade nor the Irish Republican movement are one body and one mind, as glorified in Milne's poem about Izzy Kupchik and Charles Donnelly. Even when faced with death the Welshman addresses Donal as "Mick" and the Spanish prisoner only calls Donal "Irlandés" (Jordan 50). Donal in return never uses any first names and for him the other prisoners always remain the two Germans, the Welshman, the Jewish kid from Turin, and the Spaniard. The International Brigade is in reality a conglomerate of national groups that do not mix. This is even a source of hope for them, as Donal explains: "Not being our fight, it could well not be our execution, a thought that plays with a sly unwitting smile behind each face […]" (Jordan 2). The presentation of both the Spanish and the Irish Civil War as a common fight for universal freedom is here exposed as what Donal later calls "an untruth, or a truth after the fact, a retrospective lie" (Jordan 29).

Donal is finally released from his Spanish prison on the condition that he will help to establish contact between the IRA and the Germans, who are seen as the natural ally against the English enemy. The slogan "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity" is repeatedly quoted in the novel (Jordan 63, 114). A whole series of betrayals, both private and political, lead Donal to the final realisation that "things could have been different" (Jordan 180). Through being a double and triple agent for three different organisations and through his affair with his stepmother he effectively multiplies his selves in many other spaces, again both private and political. What for a traditional utopia is a compulsory telos leading towards perfection and happiness here turns into a heterotopian multiplicity of open spaces, accidents, and multiple selves. When Donal resurrects his dead father in a dream-like vision in the final part of the novel, his father tells him: "We are born out of accidence […] and out of accidence we imagine is created the necessary, the indomitable self, which, if we only knew it, could change in a minute with our intervention" (Jordan 180). This is a profoundly heterotopian statement.

Conclusion

The point I wanted to make in this paper was that in Irish writing about the Spanish Civil War from the 1930s to today we can perceive a shift away from authoritarian, ideologically informed traditional utopias towards more individualised, heterogeneous heterotopias. Through re-working the Spanish Civil War, Irish writers like Jordan and Charles Donnelly come to terms with their own difficult history and envision new, potentially hybrid identities. On the other hand, poets like Macalastair and Milne illustrate how writers can become entangled in the ideals and factions of their time, mapping their own background and the conflict in Ireland onto the Spanish Civil War. While Donnelly and Jordan envision heterotopias, Macalastair and Milne imagine traditional utopias, if only by showing how dystopian a fascist Spain or Ireland could look. Here, I want to return briefly to Foucault, who formulates that the ship is the utmost heterotopia: "In civilizations without boats, dreams dry up, espionage takes the place of adventure, and the police take the place of pirates" (27). This is an apt summary of Neil Jordan's novel. Donal's world is indeed increasingly in danger of becoming a world of espionage and police action. Donal does his best to remain an adventurer and a pirate, that is, an independent and individual human being in his entanglement in state affairs, an attempt which is underlined by the role of boats and ships in the story. If, as Foucault proposes, a society without ships is inherently a repressive one, then Jordan's novel indeed proposes a way out of authoritarianism, sectarianism, and political ideologies. The poems by Irish volunteers in the Spanish Civil War and their ambivalent and sometimes partisan responses to the Spanish and the Irish conflict underline this difficulty of retaining independence and agency when faced with ideology, sectarianism, and violence. Blurring the lines of factionalism and

focusing on our individual reception and responsibility is turning utopias into heterotopias, 'other spaces,' where other things and other selves are possible.

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FANTASTIC LONGINGS: THE MORAL CARTOGRAPHY OF KATE O'BRIEN'S *MARY LAVELLE*

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Writing in *The Bell* in 1942, C. B. Murphy argued that "the average Irish mind has not, and perhaps never had, a properly balanced outlook upon sex. Either it runs away from sex, or it runs after it: it never seems able to stand and look at it objectively" (73). Murphy was responding to the banning of Kate O'Brien's *The Land of Spices* (1941) by the Irish Censorship Board, one of the most controversial decisions in the ignoble history of that institution.[1] Arrayed against this lack of objectivity on the part of the "average" Irish mind Murphy posited the "sane" force of writers like O'Brien. In Murphy's view, O'Brien wrote of life "in a sane and noble tradition of thought and speech," but he worried that "there are yet unfortunately too few like her for us to feel sure it is a native Irish tradition" (75). Paradoxically, given the context in which he was writing, the other potential source of 'objectivity' in relation to Irish sexuality that Murphy identifies is Catholicism, or more specifically, 'Roman' Catholicism, which is a term Murphy uses to highlight the need for Irish Catholicism to look outward to European Catholic culture and therefore avoid being co-opted by what he terms "the Victorians."

This contrast between 'Irish' and 'European' Catholicism was a characteristic trope used by mid-century Irish intellectuals, pre-eminently O'Brien and Sean O'Faolain. In the sizeable body of critical work on O'Brien that has developed over the last two decades, it has become conventional to conceive of the political and cultural cartography of 'Ireland' and 'Europe' in O'Brien's fiction as a binary. In this view, Europe represented for O'Brien openness, freedom (intellectual, artistic, sexual), and moral maturity in contrast with the claustrophobia, insularity, repression, and infantilising paternalism of the newly-independent southern Irish state. However, it may be more historically apt to think of O'Brien's use of the Ireland-Europe trope in terms of a triangular relationship. O'Brien, O'Faolain, and other Irish intellectuals of the period were striving after an ideal of a democratic Catholic European worldview. This ideal offered them a sustaining alternative to Irish Catholic nationalism, in which the individual was suffocated by the imperatives of collective development. But this ideal also offered an alternative to Anglo-American secular liberalism, in which the individual was rootless and alienated without the co-ordinates of a collective, historical tradition. In other words, O'Brien's narratives of youthful self-formation, such as *Mary Lavelle* (1936), with their distinctive political and cultural cartography of 'Ireland' and 'Europe,'

1 For an account of the debate on censorship in the Irish Seanad which was provoked by the banning of O'Brien's novel and two other books, see Adams 84-95; see also Terence Brown 184-186, and Richardson.

offered Irish society a complex attempt at symbolically reconciling liberal individualism with an ethical and collective dimension, provided by Catholicism, within a 'European' frame.

O'Brien's novel begins and ends with the eponymous heroine alone on a train. In the opening pages the young Irish woman is crossing the border into Spain. It is 1922, and she is on her way to take up her post as a governess, or 'Miss,' to the three daughters of the Areavaga family (xix-xxii). The novel ends with Mary leaving Spain a few months later. Though our last image is of Mary in anguished tears for the recently dead father of her charges, and for her married lover and the friends whom she is leaving behind, we also learn that she now has an entirely new plan for her life. When she arrived there, her year in Spain was intended to be a "tiny hiatus between her life's two accepted phases. To cease being a daughter without immediately becoming a wife" (34). Her intention as she leaves Spain is to return only temporarily to Ireland. She will stay long enough to break off her engagement to be married, collect a small inheritance, and then leave again (344). What happens to Mary during her months in Spain that transforms her projected "tiny hiatus" into this permanent breach between how her life was meant to be and how it will be? To put it simply, falling in love – love that is either unrequited or impossible in some other way. One of the other Irish 'Misses,' Agatha Conlon, declares that she loves Mary, "the way a man would" (285). Meanwhile, Mary has met Juanito, the married brother of the girls in her charge, and they have fallen for each other.

With this novel, O'Brien merged the *bildungsroman* with an equally venerable literary form, the romance. As Ann Fogarty observes, "by bringing the *bildungsroman*, a literary genre which is a product of high culture, into contact with women's romance, a form of popular fiction, O'Brien creates an idiosyncratic literary space of her own" (104). Choosing the romance as the generic raw material out of which to produce a distinctively woman-centred narrative of subject formation was a propitious choice on O'Brien's part. At its most practical, this enabled her to insert herself into a tradition of women novelists and to find a place for her novels in the literary marketplace. In her analysis of the romance in twentieth-century French literature, Diana Holmes offers a succinct history of the emergence of the popular romance as a culturally denigrated genre, and one culturally designated as a feminine form of writing, in the late nineteenth century. This history was shaped through the interaction of the ascendant bourgeois ideology of gender – the radical separation posited between a public sphere gendered as male and a 'feminine' domestic sphere – and technological and economic developments in publishing and the literary marketplace (Holmes 9-14). The history of the romance genre offered a writer of O'Brien's generation an ambiguous inheritance: the opportunities of an achieved and ready readership for a particu-

lar type of women's writing, the constraints imposed by established conventions, and the cultural politics of literary distinction.[2]

At the same time, O'Brien was also drawing on an older, pre-modern form of the romance. One of O'Brien's earliest critics, Vivian Mercier, argues that her scrupulous elaboration of "the conflict between love and Christian duty" made O'Brien "in our day, the ablest practitioner of Romance in the English language" (87). Mercier drew on Denis de Rougement's 1939 work *L'Amour et l'occident* (*Love in the Western World*) to locate O'Brien's fiction in the long history of the romance form, with its medieval origins in the archetypal *Tristan and Isolde*. One of the salient structural features of this romance tradition is the moral test which the hero or heroine must undergo. Using this formal device allowed O'Brien to introduce an ethical and spiritual dimension to the formation narrative, and to the problematic relationship between individual desire and social conformity that is the crux of the secular *bildungsroman* and popular romance. In O'Brien's novels this ethical dimension is invariably framed by Catholicism.

If we take this notion of a moral test as the principle structuring O'Brien's plots, we can identify three such tests in *Mary Lavelle*. One of Mary's tests is her response to being loved by Agatha Conlon. Agatha is one of the older Irish 'Misses' and has been living in Spain for twenty years. As Emma Donoghue and Katherine O'Donnell have shown, O'Brien drew on the expanding range of historically available lesbian imagery when shaping her portrayal of Agatha (Donoghue 41-47; O'Donnell 84-85). Agatha's 'queerness' in the eyes of the other 'Misses,' her mannishness, and her ascetic, nun-like quality would have registered with a 1930s readership conversant with the popular versions of sexology, and more especially with the lesbian figure that was becoming increasingly common in literature. The best-known contemporaneous example of the literary lesbian was Stephen Gordon, the self-styled 'invert' heroine of Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*. Hall's book had been tried for indecency in England on its publication in 1928 and subsequently banned, which had brought the novel to popular notice.[3] Agatha's expressions of guilt about her sexual feelings should also confirm her status as an example of the anguished and tortured literary lesbian. How-

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2 It is also important to note that O'Brien's use of the trope of the journey as enabling or facilitating in complex ways a young woman's quest for autonomy also connects her work to the tradition of women's writing; from Jane Eyre's travels through nineteenth-century England (and Jane is, of course, a governess, like O'Brien's Mary) through to Rachel Vinrace, the youthful creation of O'Brien's Modernist contemporary Virginia Woolf in her first novel, *The Voyage Out* (1915). For both Mary, who begins the novel on a train at a border crossing between France and Spain, and Rachel, on an ocean-going liner to South America, their quest for autonomy is propelled forward by this experience of being on the move, distant from all that is known and safe, and thus all the more susceptible and receptive to potentially transformative experiences (see Abel et al. and also Penny Brown).

3 On the historical significance of *The Well of Loneliness* trial in the evolution of twentieth-century lesbian cultural identity, see Doan 1-30.

ever, Agatha describes her own guilt with a cool detachment that places it at a distance from her. Having declared that she likes Mary, "the way a man would … I can never see you without – without wanting to touch you," she observes that "it's a sin to feel like that" (285). She goes on to explain that "lately I've been told explicitly about it in confession. It's a very ancient and terrible vice." That she laughs "softly" while recounting this judgement emphasises her awareness of the ironic juxtaposition between the delicate, humane scale of her feelings for Mary and the ponderous melodrama of this ascription. Agatha, in other words, draws a subtle distinction between her desires as such and the theological nomination of them as sinful. She acquiesces to this theological model for framing her feelings while simultaneously holding fast to those feelings, and actively keeping them aflame. When Mary is about to leave for Ireland, Agatha insists that Mary send her back a photograph of herself – a poignantly stoic gesture yet hardly one conducive to her forgetting or abjuring her desires.

The crucial factor within Mary's formation narrative is not whether she does or does not reciprocate Agatha's feelings, but rather her realisation of the essential similarity between Agatha's position and her own. Their love is impossible because of his marriage, and Agatha's because it is unrequited. Mary realises this as she and Agatha sit together outside a church, just after Agatha has declared her feelings. Watching "the baize door swing and swing again in the porch of San Geronimo," Mary thinks of the people "going in incessantly to pray, as Agatha did so often, as she did, as Juanito too, perhaps. Seeking strength against the perversions of their hearts and escape from fantastic longings" (297). As the rhythm of O'Brien's sentence establishes an equivalence between the three characters, the meaning of their common 'perversion' is clearly no longer defined by the logic of heterosexual and homosexual or natural and unnatural. Instead, their desires are perverse in their waywardness, their divergence from, and incompatibility with, reality. It is this perversity which also makes their longings 'fantastic,' quixotic, and utopian. As Fredric Jameson observes, it is precisely romance's intimation of the fantastical, "the possibility of sensing other historical rhythms, and of demonic and Utopian transformations of a real now unshakeably set in place" that distinguishes this form (91).

To describe Agatha's, Mary's, and Juanito's desires as perverse because they are in conflict with reality is, of course, to invoke the Freudian *agon* of libido and reality principle. Strikingly, O'Brien elects not to employ this Modernist *episteme*. She draws instead on a much older theological conception of perversity, not as a psychological or physiological category but as an ethical orientation.[4] Illicit sexual desire is perverse and potentially utopian because it is conceptualised within a moral paradigm which such desire disrupts and transcends. But while conceptualising sexual desire in this way involves imagining the subversion of this moral framework, hence the utopian potential, such a conceptualisation simultaneously affirms or validates that framework. In *Mary Lavelle* this moral paradigm is specifically denominated as Catholic.

4 On the history of the concept of perversion, see Dollimore 103-228, and Davidson 35.

Hence, the identification of Mary, Agatha, and Juanito is struck through Mary's image of each of them praying. Mary's perception of their "tangled longings" as a moral problem is framed by her Catholic religion, just as her view of the candlelit interior of the church is framed by the doorway. But while a frame shapes perspective it does not entirely determine the meaning of that which it holds. Agatha's, Mary's, and Juanito's longings may be perverse because they are disruptive, disorderly, and will cause pain to each of the three as well as to others. But the perversity of their desires is not limited or contained by this negative quality; the perversity may simultaneously contain some positive, "fantastical" as Mary perceives it, potential.

Since Agatha's characterisation involves a complex oscillation between the categories of 'type' and 'character,' she stands as a figure for this doubleness. Her isolation, irascible misanthropy, and 'queerness' stem from her figuration as an instance of the literary lesbian 'type.' But it is also her difference from the other 'Misses' that makes her a distinctive character. In comparison with these deracinated expatriates living in a country they hate and refuse to engage with, Agatha has learned the language, knows Spanish history, and is passionate about the landscape and, especially, the bullfight. Thus, while Agatha's declaration of love for her produces an opportunity for Mary to develop morally, Agatha also provides Mary with an example of a cultured and sturdy individualism. Hence Mary too demonstrates an idiosyncratic curiosity about Spain, its language and culture and is open to being transformed by her experience of the country. But perhaps the most striking similarity between the two women is their complex negotiation of sexual morality. In her relationship with Juanito, Mary performs a sort of mental acrobatics through which her inherited moral framework gets bracketed and placed to one side. As Juanito is making love to her, she "thought of school and home, of John, of God's law and of sin, and did not let herself discard such thoughts. They existed, as real and true as ever, with all their traditional claims on her – but this one claim was his, and she would answer it, taking the consequences" (308). Like Agatha, Mary wilfully adheres to a religious notion of morality that situates sexual transgression as socially disruptive, while simultaneously recognising the inadequacy of that framework. For O'Brien, illicit sexual desire is perverse because it overflows the boundaries imposed by that framework and casts those caught up in it out into an unchartered moral territory where they must ascertain their co-ordinates using their own conscience.

In common with D. H. Lawrence, Joyce, and other Modernist artists, O'Brien assumes that sexuality is productive, in the sense that the experience of sexual desire and sexual pleasure is expected to generate development and transformation in the individual subject. However, in O'Brien's fiction this experience of transformation through sexual pleasure is not mapped according to the psychoanalytical model of an *agon* between desire and repression but according to a theological model of an ethical challenge. It is not so much that O'Brien denies or repudiates Freud's concept of libidinal sexuality, as that she is less convinced than her male literary contemporaries of the liberationist implications of this concept for the individual. Most obviously,

O'Brien uses a pre-Freudian grammar to give imaginative shape to this experience of transformation and she draws this grammar from the realms of classicism, aesthetics, and Catholicism. Thus, classical antiquity, aesthetics, and the erotic are entwined when Juanito compares Mary's naked beauty to Greek statuary: "'Aphrodite!' he said, when she gleamed white and shivered in the moonlight" (309). Soon the narrator is describing Mary as "no longer Aphrodite, but a broken, tortured Christian, a wounded Saint Sebastian" (309). Here the sexual masochism of Mary's physical pain at Juanito's hands is overlaid with a notion of violence and pain as purposeful and transformative, derived from the Christian notion of martyrdom. As they reach the climax of their lovemaking, the two lovers are described as "emotionally welded, not by their errant senses which might or might not play in unison, but by a brilliant light of sympathy which seemed to arise from sensuality and to descend from elsewhere to assist and glorify it" (309-310). Notably, O'Brien characterises physical pleasure, the "errant senses," as an unreliable means of achieving intimacy, and this suspicion of sexual pleasure is manifest throughout this episode of the novel. Desire and the pursuit of sexual pleasure are irrational and disruptive. Rather than leading us to the fullest expression of our individual personality, as sexuality is imagined to do in the Lawrentian mode of modernist literary erotics, O'Brien suggests that sexuality threatens to rob us of our humanity and transform us into monstrous, driven monads.[5]

To redeem the errant and always potentially destructive dimensions of sexual experience, in O'Brien's work such experience needs to be converted into a secular form of religious transcendence, and thus the merely physical experience of pleasure is invested with a metaphysical and spiritual import. Crucially, the effect of this is to redirect one from the monadic, libidinal pursuit of pleasure towards the attainment of relational connection and solidarity – the achievement of "sympathy" with another human being. This, for O'Brien, is the decisive question to demand of sexual experience – to what degree does this experience further our ethical development? Emma Donoghue has observed that O'Brien's characters can be divided into those "who take moral responsibility and step back from sin and […] those who are equally morally responsible and walk into sin from motives of love" (37). She goes on to note that there is no great difference between these two types of characters. The point is not whether they commit the sin or not "but the responsibility and integrity they show in the choice." In this regard, Agnes Mulqueen in *The Ante-Room* (1934) and Mary may be thought of as mirror images. By refusing to elope with her sister's husband, with whom she is in love, Agnes makes a decision that is ultimately tragic but for reasons that are morally scrupulous and commendable – she does not want to cause pain to her sister. Our sense of her at the novel's end is that she is deeply unhappy but morally strengthened (*The Ante-Room* 258-273). Conversely, by choosing to make love to the married Juanito, Mary takes an important step on her path to achieving the eventual autonomy that is the *telos* of the novel. There is no question

5 On modernist literary erotics, see Hunter et al. 96-102.

of reading Agnes's choice as an effect of repression, and of Mary's choice as a victory over such repression. Moreover, Mary's decision to embrace sexual desire does not mean she rejects her inherited moral framework, any more than Agnes's refusal of such desire involves an endorsement of that framework. Rather that system is placed to one side as insufficient to the ethical task at hand.

With both Agatha and Juanito then, the content of Mary's choice when confronted with sexual desire is of less significance than how she makes the choice. She cannot reciprocate Agatha's desire for her, but Agatha's declaration of love elicits from Mary solidarity, an empathetic insight into the perverse and utopian quality of desire. With Juanito, her own desires meet with his, but her decision to consummate their relationship is not cast as the impetuous pursuit of sexual pleasure. It is, instead, a carefully considered decision to take a "risk," as Mary describes it (307). She is consciously placing herself outside the bounds of what she knows to be the parameters of her inherited morality, parameters that she still believes in even as she transgresses them, because of what she hopes such an act of estrangement will achieve – namely, that experience of "sympathy" with another person and the development of her own moral capacity. As she explains her decision to Juanito, she places it within the larger trajectory of the changes she has experienced in herself during her time in Spain. "It's been fantastic, my time in Spain," she tells him, "it's been a mad, impossible thing dropped into my ordinary life" (305-306).

Interestingly, Mary describes her time in Spain in terms similar to her earlier description of the "perversions of the heart"; it has been "fantastic" and a "mad impossible thing." The equivalence between Mary's experience of Spain and her experience of sexual desire is reiterated throughout the ensuing episode of her love-making with Juanito. This connection is mainly created through the echoes and parallels with the earlier bullfight episode, since the bullfight stands in the novel as a synecdoche for Spain – or more accurately 'Spain,' the constellation of ideas and values which O'Brien affixes to that word, as O'Faoláin, in a similar vein, was to do with 'Italy' in *A Summer in Italy* (1949) and *An Autumn in Italy* (1953). The bullfight is explicitly recalled by the narrator during the love-making episode. But it is most vividly present metaphorically, and in a particularly troubling form, when the description of Mary's physical pain invokes the earlier bloody image of the violent death of the bull.[6] The episodes are further linked through O'Brien's use of the same combination of aesthetics, classicism, and eroticism in each. The bullfight is, in O'Brien's version, an aesthetic ritual of cathartic violence that gives expression to the human encounter with mortality. She describes a man slowly killing a bull as an elaborate and darkly sensuous dance, and as unmistakably erotic: "the matador drew his enemy to his breast, and past it, on the gentle lure; brought him back along his thigh as if for sheer love; let him go and drew him home again […] the sword sank where the stud ribbons

6 For an incisive reading of the disturbingly masochistic current running through this episode of the novel, see Coughlan 59-84.

fluttered, in to the hilt, as bravely driven as if the dealer believed himself to have been dipped in Achilles' river" (114).

O'Brien's resort to these rather baroque effusions indicates her attempt to convey a sense of the bullfight as a metaphysical and transcendent experience for Mary, and thus O'Brien uses the bullfight episode to elaborate her concept of *bildung* as a narrative of ethical development. As Mary enters the bullring before the fight, she "had never felt so much ashamed of herself as she was feeling now" (102). When they are leaving afterwards, Agatha comments that she wonders why "the Church doesn't make it a sin to go to the bullfight." Mary replies, "I think it is a sin" (119). The references to "shame" and "sin" indicate a similarity between the bullfight and illicit sexual desire that O'Brien will seek to create in the rest of the novel. Mary's nomination of the bullfight as sinful, although it is not technically so, is a rhetorical equivalent to her original decision to go to the bullfight. It is an assertion that the ultimate arbiter of her moral actions, the authority to nominate what is moral or not, must be Mary herself. It is only through placing herself directly in the midst of a potentially sinful or immoral experience that she can reach such decisions. As in her encounters with Agatha and Juanito, the content of Mary's experiences – whether of unrequited or fulfilled sexual desire, or her intense if rather opaque emotional and intellectual response to the bullfight – is less crucial to her development than the moral decisions that she makes around those experiences.

The bullfight is therefore one of the three moral tests that structure Mary's formation narrative; it is also chronologically first and sets the pattern for those two erotic tests that are the more familiar and conventional material of the romance. The narrative significance ascribed to the bullfight, combined with its uniquely Hispanic cultural location, inevitably draws our attention to O'Brien's setting of her novel. As her friend and early critic, Lorna Reynolds, points out, O'Brien "never uses a foreign setting for mere decoration or trimming: it always plays an organic part in the total design" (112). The Spanish setting of *Mary Lavelle* has its origins in biography and in Irish social history. O'Brien had made a journey similar to Mary's when she worked as a 'Miss' and an English literature tutor to the son and daughter of a wealthy family near the Basque city of Bilbao in 1922 and 1923 (Walshe 129). As the 'Prologue' to the novel suggests, it was a journey made by many young Irish Catholic women of her class and generation.[7] Perhaps because of this encounter with the country in her formative years, Spain is the country outside of Ireland to which O'Brien returned most often in her writing. Along with the two novels, *Mary Lavelle* and *That Lady* (1946), which are set there, she also wrote two non-fiction books on Spanish subjects, her

7 The cookery writer and novelist Maura Laverty also went to work in Spain as a governess and as a journalist later in the 1920s, and she also wrote a novel, *No More Than Human* (1944), based on those experiences. In her work on the Irish magazine *Women's Life* in the 1930s and 1940s, Caitriona Clear also notes a fiction serial about an Irish girl working in Spain. The serial, *Girl on Her Own* by Deirdre O'Brien, appeared in the magazine during 1938 (Clear 85).

biography of the sixteenth-century mystic, *Saint Teresa of Avilla* (1951), and her travelogue *Farewell Spain* (1937).

The choice of Spain as the setting for a novel by an Irish writer in 1936 could not be a politically neutral or innocent decision. O'Brien was to respond more directly to the Spanish Civil War in the travelogue the following year. That book is an entertaining and idiosyncratic account of O'Brien's travels in Spain in the 1930s, which combines architectural and political history with art criticism and personal reminiscences. But there is also a pervasive nostalgia that such travel is no longer possible and bitter sorrow at what Spain and its people are going through. O'Brien expresses her dismay at the attack on the democratically elected Republican government and her fierce opposition to Franco and the Falangists; the book ends with a pungent denunciation of Fascism and a striking defence of democracy. Nevertheless, O'Brien repeatedly emphasises that she is not a Communist but a pacifist opposed to all war and thus draws back from articulating any direct commitment to the beleaguered Spanish Left. She also begins the book expressing her regret for, what she terms, "two thousand years of individualism." In her view, both Right and Left in the 1930s were in the process of bringing into creation a routinised, modern world and the best that can be hoped for after the current crisis in Europe was that the future would be "uniform and monotonous. That is what the maddened world must now seek, the justice of decent uniformity" (*Farewell Spain* 2). While accepting that this future is "elementarily necessary," she confesses to having no "personal desire to see it." O'Brien's reference to "two thousand years" forges an interesting alignment between Christianity and liberal individualism, which eschews the usual historical narrative in which individualism is the offspring of capitalist modernity. Moreover, her sense of the individual as being crippled rather than empowered by the forces of modernity – whether of the right or the left, capitalism or communism – was an instinct shared by those other Irish intellectuals such as O'Faoláin who were striving after an ideal of liberal Catholicism, while a version of it also features in some strands of European Marxism, notably the Frankfurt School.

For O'Brien, then, the crucial issue at stake in the Spanish war appears to be this larger civilisational struggle between 'individualism' and modern political systems of whatever hue. In the novel, Mary travels into this symbolic 'Spain' as much as the geographical and national entity. From the beginning of the novel it is clear that finding a way of making her living is not Mary's primary objective in going to Spain to be a governess. The narrator describes her choice of job as an "expedient" and this choice, "however enforced-seeming, reveals her as an individualist […] capable of dream and unfit to march in the column of female breadwinners, or indeed in any column at all. She becomes a miss because not her wits but her intuitional antennae tell her that it is an occupation which will let her personality be" (xxi). The distinct note of social disdain and *hauteur* in the reference to the "column of female breadwinners" indicates one of the significant defects of O'Brien's individualist ideal. While a highly developed capacity for ethical conduct and the attainment of "sympathy" with others

is a defining feature of this ideal, the practice of political or social solidarity is considered entirely inimical to it. In the travelogue, O'Brien interprets the Spanish Civil War as symptomatic of this conflict. In the novel, Spain, in contrast to Ireland where political and familial commitments make such development impossible, is symbolically mapped as the space where a narrative of ethical individual development can unfold unhampered by political commitments. *Mary Lavelle* maps a geo-moral division between those spaces that are fertile for *bildung* and those that are not – and the newly-independent Irish state comes out the worse in this mapping process. Just as publishing a novel set in Spain in 1936 was politically charged, beginning a novel with an Irish woman leaving the country in 1922 was also symbolically laden. O'Brien's historical setting suggests that it is not only the confines of family and gender ideology from which Mary must escape to develop into an autonomous moral agent. Like Joyce's Stephen Dedalus before her, she must also escape the political demands of nation-building to guarantee her own autonomy

Clearly, the symbolic meaning of Spain in *Mary Lavelle* is not as an exotic space of freedom where, in contrast to a puritanical or repressive Ireland, sexual desire and pleasure can be freely pursued and enjoyed. Rather, Spain comes to stand in the novel as a geo-political representation of that symbolic synthesis of self-fulfilment and ethics, autonomy and sympathy, liberal individualism and Catholicism, which forms the *telos* of Mary's narrative of self-formation. O'Brien's fiction is enlivened and energised by those divergent, and sometimes contradictory, currents of utopianism, liberalism, and conservatism that run through it. What O'Brien offered to Irish society in her novels, especially her *bildungsromane* written in the 1930s and 1940s, was an ideal of liberal individualism and a liberal model of historical development as gradual, progressive change that could be productively fused with a commitment to a Catholic worldview. Clearly, the meaning of this political position alters as historical conditions change. O'Brien was writing at a time when European politics was dominated by totalitarianism and the struggle against it, and her attachment to an essentially nineteenth-century model of ethical liberal individualism was at once nostalgic but also pertinently resonant. But in a late-twentieth and early-twenty-first century political conjunction where the neo-liberal ideology of individualism is now dominant, the political significance of O'Brien's model needs to be conceived in a historically considered manner rather than merely applauded and seconded by the critic.

Therefore, the objective of critical appraisals of O'Brien's work should not be to dismiss her as a conservative; but neither should it be to construct her, in the manner of most recent commentary on her work, as a radical subversive.[8] Instead, we need to

8 An exemplary instance of this prominent current in O'Brien criticism is Ailbhe Smyth's declaration about O'Brien, that "to write this, of this, like this – to refuse the solutions of the system – is a radically subversive act which undermines the bases of the Establishment, its values and practices" (33). See also Éibhear Walshe's opening assertion in his biography that "in her fiction, Kate O'Brien was a subversive. She created novels that were deceptively traditional in form but radical in content" (2).

locate O'Brien's narrative aesthetic, as well as the cultural and moral cartography of Ireland and Europe that informs that aesthetic, within the broader historical context of the 1930s and 1940s. In many respects, O'Brien's fiction offered a courageous challenge to the prevailing political orthodoxies of Ireland in that period, but the more recent critical consensus about her radicalism seriously underplays the degree to which her fiction was entirely in step with the gradualist, counter-revolutionary value system shared by many liberal and conservative Irish intellectuals at that time. O'Brien needs to be conceived as an Irish and European intellectual who, both in her literary commitment to the realist aesthetic and her ideological commitment to the hermeneutics of Catholic moral discourse, was deeply committed to, and enmeshed in, the value systems of her epoch and whose work is best understood in this context. In short, any comprehensive assessment of her liberal politics needs to register the attractiveness and strengths of her model of ethical self-formation and of progressive historical development, while also acknowledging its considerable limitations.

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JOHN BRODERICK AND THE FRENCH CATHOLIC NOVEL

Eamon Maher

A number of commentators have remarked on the fact that the Athlone critic and novelist John Broderick (1924-1989) was a Francophile. For example, here is Brian Fallon's observation: "He not only knew and loved French literature, he loved the French language itself and was one of the relatively few of his generation who spoke it well" ("Remembering Broderick" 16). He goes on to remark that Broderick got to know a number of French writers personally during the period he spent in Paris in the 1950s. His friendship with Julien Green was the most notable, although he stated in a few interviews that François Mauriac was the only literary influence of which he was aware. He described to Caroline Walsh in 1976 how he met the Nobel Laureate on one occasion in Paris when Mauriac was recovering from throat cancer, which rendered conversation between them difficult. At one stage, Broderick's ambition was to write about the area around Athlone with the same intensity as Mauriac wrote about his native Landes district of Bordeaux. Similarly, he felt there was great scope for an 'Irish Balzac' with the emergence of a strong middle class from the 1960s onwards in Ireland. All of this indicates his admiration for, and knowledge of, French literature and culture. This was not unusual among Irish intellectuals, as Brian Fallon observes: "France offered, in effect, an alternative to English domination or at least a corrective to it. France was republican while Great Britain was monarchist, and the fact that both had colonial empires was also conveniently overlooked in this Irish exaltation of France as the home of liberty, equality and fraternity" (*Age of Innocence* 124).

Another vital element in this close relationship underlined by Fallon was the fact that France was, or had been, "a Catholic country with a lively, even aggressive Catholic intellectual wing, a long and illustrious succession of Catholic writers from the middle ages" (*Age of Innocence* 124). This is the aspect that will be the main focus of this essay, the extent to which John Broderick actually succeeded in producing an Irish Catholic Novel, one that, while never capable of reaching the lofty heights achieved by François Mauriac, Georges Bernanos, and Julien Green, nevertheless demonstrated great merit.

The situation in relation to Roman Catholicism was very different in France and Ireland. There was a deep-seated enmity between anticlerical republicans and the Catholic Church in France since the time of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, a fact that prompted many Catholic writers to emphasise the mystical and the supernatural in their work. They were conscious of writing for a public that was, for the most part, indifferent to religion. As the 'Catholic Novel' began to assert itself in the opening decades of the twentieth century, however, the notion of writers being

apologists for the Catholic Church began to disturb many of those who were perceived to belong to this 'school.' As Malcolm Scott notes:

> The term 'Catholic novelist,' which is the only one I can think of to embrace Barbey d'Aurevilly, Bloy, the later Huysmans, Mauriac, Bernanos, and Julien Green, has been blighted by unhelpful assumptions that it must refer to a novelist who puts his art to the service of the orthodox views of the Catholic Church and faith. (4)

Jacques Maritain, in *Art and Scholasticism*, states: "A Christian work would have the artist, as artist, free" (qtd. in Whitehouse 14). This is a rule of thumb that all novelists, irrespective of their religious allegiance, would do well to follow. The work of art is not about edification or instruction; it is never implicitly didactic, even though one often finds a moral behind what is being expressed. The French Catholic novelists were explorers rather than expounders of their religious beliefs, a philosophy John Broderick could never fully buy into, determined as he was to allow his opinions free rein in his fiction. As Patrick Murray points out: "The intrusive Broderick *persona* maintains a godlike control over his fictional proceedings, even to the extent of introducing moral reflections, aphorisms, and associated words of wisdom at appropriate – or inappropriate – intervals" ("Athlone's John Broderick" 24). The French Catholic novelists liked to delve into the dilemmas associated with faith, but they tended to do so while maintaining some degree of distance and objectivity in relation to their subject matter.

In Bernanos' *Diary of a Country Priest* and *Under Satan's Sun*, both of which were beautifully adapted for the screen by Bresson, priests are placed at the centre of the narrative. These men experience the pain of God's absence and consider themselves lamentable failures. Yet there is something about them that others find fascinating, this vibrant interiority that attracts those who are experiencing pain in their own lives. The dramas of Catholicism are acted out in a spectacular fashion in Bernanos' novels. God and Satan vie for people's souls, and wrong decisions could lead to eternal damnation. Despite their low self-esteem, despite their apparent inadequacies on many levels, Bernanos' priest-characters have many saintly qualities. The curé d'Ambricourt's last words, "Tout est grâce" ('Grace is everywhere'), offer a summary of his life of self-sacrifice and implacable faith in the face of the many trials that come his way.

With Mauriac, Catholicism is much more subtly interwoven through the text. His main preoccupation is with the psychological probing of his characters. Although a man of deep personal faith, Mauriac's novels were merciless in their exposition of avarice and hypocrisy among the wealthy landowning class and religion to which he belonged, a trait he shares with Broderick. There is a tinge of lasciviousness and evil palpable in some of Mauriac's fictional creations, which caused French Catholics to question how one of their own could write novels that portrayed sin in such an attractive light.

The work of Bernanos and Mauriac demonstrates the extent to which Catholicism has the correct ingredients to produce powerful literature. In admitting the possibility

of the supernatural, of mystery, a writer has at his disposal some of the essential drama of life. Equally, in the wrong hands, it can have disastrous effects. For example, when a Catholic novelist closes his own eyes and tries to see with the eyes of the Church, the result can only be injurious from an artistic point of view. This is one trap that Broderick could be accused of falling into. His pronouncements on the Church were often scathing, especially when it came to the change of the language of the Mass from Latin to the vernacular after Vatican II. This anger makes itself felt on numerous occasions in his fiction, as if the writer could not refrain from venting his spleen through the utterances of his characters. Mauriac once stated in an interview on the television programme *Une heure avec …* : "I am a novelist and I am a Catholic – and therein lies the conflict. I believe, in fact, that it is fortunate for a novelist to be a Catholic, but I am quite sure that it is very dangerous for a Catholic to be a novelist" (qtd. in Barré 344). Here the problem is presented in terms of a conflict between the role of a novelist who must deal with the miseries of the flesh and that of the Catholic who must not lead his readers into moral danger.

At this stage, I wonder if we are any closer to deciding what exactly the ingredients of the 'Catholic Novel' are. It is undoubtedly far easier to say what it is not than to define what it is. Albert Sonnenfeld, in *Crossroads: Essays on the Catholic Novelists* (1980), provides the most satisfactory definition of the genre that I have encountered: "It is a novel written by a Catholic, using Catholicism as its informing mythopoeic structure or generative symbolic system, and where the principal and decisive issue is the salvation or damnation of the hero or heroine" (vii).

This definition would hold true for many of the novels of Bernanos and Mauriac, to which I have already alluded. I am not sure if the same could be said of John Broderick's fiction. The socio-religious atmosphere in Ireland may have something to do with why a 'Catholic Novel' never really emerged in a country where the majority religion enjoyed a privileged position for well over a century, possibly two. I maintain that Catholicism was too intimately linked with a sense of Irishness for any critical intellectual assessment or objective literary representation of it to take place. Perhaps many of our writers would have been more Catholic if their compatriots had been less so. In an interview with Julia Carlson, John McGahern put it thus:

> The amazing thing is that it's a Catholic country and that nearly all the writers are not Catholics. They're lapsed Catholics. I think that the Church in Ireland was peculiarly anti-intellectual, say, compared to the French Church. People like Mauriac or Bloy could have no place here. […] Nobody actually took any time to understand what to be Irish was. There was this slogan and fanaticism and a lot of emotion, but there wasn't any clear idea except what you were against: you were against sexuality; you were against the English. (qtd. in Carlson 63)

I am in agreement with McGahern's comment about the anti-intellectual aspect of the Church in Ireland, but this was largely as a result of a general lack of knowledge of things theological among both the clergy and the laity. A largely uneducated laity was happy enough to allow the clergy to do their thinking for them. What happened when

writers and intellectuals began to put forward opinions that challenged official Church teaching was a stand-off that usually ended up badly for the writer – witness McGahern losing his job as a primary school teacher after the banning of his second novel, *The Dark*, in 1965. Colum Kenny described the situation in the following manner:

> Throughout the decades following Independence, the new State had among its citizens vibrant artists and interesting writers. However, a stifling blend of nationalism and conservative Catholicism made it increasingly difficult for many to express themselves freely or to work in ways they believed to be moral and necessary. (229)

Broderick baulked on a number of occasions at the 'pathological' manner in which Irish people reacted to homosexuality, an attitude that could also be extended to heterosexual relationships that did not enjoy the sanction of marriage. He undoubtedly suffered as a result of his inability to reconcile his homosexual leanings with his deep religious faith. The recent controversial biography of Mauriac by Jean-Luc Barré claims that the Nobel Laureate struggled throughout his life to hide his true sexual longings, which were homosexual in nature. When one reads his novels carefully with their twisted characters, who are never comfortable with their sexuality, and the sun-drenched, erotically-charged landscapes, it is evident that they disclose a lot about their author. As Mauriac once remarked: "Fiction alone does not lie; it shines a light into a writer's soul that reveals things that he does not even recognise in himself" (qtd. in Barré 359). Broderick equally imbued his work with many of his own obsessions, which involved him in controversy on a number of occasions, as well as bringing down on his head the wrath of the Catholic Establishment. He continued nevertheless to broach a number of taboo subjects in his novels. While disenchanted with certain decisions made by the Catholic Church, he nevertheless acknowledged the possibilities of salvation afforded by prayer and the sacraments. He never definitively left the Church; rather, he remained a dissident voice from within.

Having attempted to outline the difficulties dealing with Catholicism can pose for writers, whether they be French or Irish, I now propose to discuss briefly a couple of Broderick's novels in order to ascertain the extent to which they could be considered 'Catholic,' in the sense that this term is understood by Sonnenfeld in the definition already supplied. At appropriate moments, I will insert some references to works by François Mauriac to illustrate similarities and differences between the two writers.

Broderick's first novel, *The Pilgrimage* (1961), is his best in my view. It has a labyrinthine plot for such a short book. It recounts how Julia Glynn, the wife of an invalided wealthy builder in a midlands town, engages in sexual adventures with various partners, most notably her husband's nephew Jim, a doctor, and the pious manservant, Stephen. Julia's husband Michael, several years her senior, has been crippled with arthritis since shortly after their marriage and is encouraged by a local priest, Fr Victor, to undertake a trip to Lourdes, where he may get a cure. Nobody really believes that the miracle will take place, but they indulge the invalid by having Masses said for his special intention. Julia, largely indifferent towards the pilgrimage, contin-

ues to indulge her sexual desire whenever and wherever an appropriate opportunity presents itself. An easy conscience makes her extra-marital activities even more pleasurable. To her way of thinking, she is not very different from other ostensibly 'religious' people of her acquaintance: "It never struck her as incongruous that the life most of her friends lived was very far removed from the religious sentiments they professed" (19).

In a Mauriac novel, Julia would in all likelihood have been the recipient of grace, as Mauriac had a predilection for lost souls. *The Pilgrimage* is narrated in the main through her eyes. She discovers her husband's homosexual inclinations during their honeymoon when he becomes besotted with a young German man. The infrequent acts of intercourse between the couple reveal his brutality and suppressed homoerotic preferences. In fact, there is something prurient about the way men in this novel regard sex. This is Julia's assessment of Stephen: "There was something odd and perverted about his lovemaking; it was completely anonymous, and try as she might she could never make him kiss her. His lovemaking reminded her very much of Michael's: it had the same brutal off-handedness, and same complete lack of tenderness" (113-114).

Because of the Puritanism that was bred into their bones, Irishmen, in Julia's estimation, "would [n]ever be able to dissociate lovemaking from the furtive, the sordid, the unclean" (171). The last sentence of *The Pilgrimage* caused a major controversy: "In this way they set off on their pilgrimage, from which a week later Michael returned completely cured" (191). It may well have been this line more than the daring descriptions of Julia's sexual escapades that caused the banning of the novel in Ireland. It was considered blasphemous that a sinner like Michael should be miraculously cured. In his introduction to the French version of the novel, reproduced in the Lilliput edition, Julien Green expressed his admiration for an "extraordinarily gripping book" (1) and asked why anyone should see blasphemy in the miraculous cure of a sinner. "Since when has healing been exclusively available to the just?" (2), he asks. Broderick's introduction of a concept like grace in the form of a miracle shows him to be close to some of the preoccupations of the French Catholic novelists. But what is different in this instance is that the beneficiary, Michael, remains a rather peripheral figure throughout.

The approach adopted by Broderick in *The Pilgrimage* differs from that employed by Mauriac in one of his most famous works, *Thérèse Desqueyroux* (1927). Both have what could be termed flawed females as their main characters. Whereas Julia married Michael solely for his money and social position, Thérèse had genuine respect for her husband, Bernard, before they got married. It is true that one of the main attractions he held in her eyes was the fact that the properties of the two families seemed destined to be joined. In addition, there was also the pleasing thought that by marrying Bernard she would become even closer to his sister and her best friend, Anne de la Trave. The relationship between these two women reveals a strong physi-

cal attraction, a fact that possibly leads to Thérèse viewing the relationship with her husband as less than wholesome: “Everything before my marriage now seems to have taken on an aura of purity – by way of contrast, of course, with the ineradicable dirtying of the marriage” (37). Rarely, if ever, are human sexual relations perceived in a positive light by Mauriac. There always seems to be some guilt associated with physical desire, a feeling that the flesh is a source of sinfulness. Mauriac explores the huge transformation in Thérèse that eventually leads to her systematically attempting to poison Bernard, whom she comes to view as hypocritical in his religious observance and totally subservient to social conventions. Mauriac’s decision in the Preface to place himself squarely on the side of a woman who is a potential murderess caused a few ripples among Catholic opinion. The novelist claimed, however, that he had no interest in depicting virtuous characters, people who wear their “hearts on their sleeves.” In his view, such people have no story to tell, whereas “those hearts that are buried, the ones deeply intermingled with the mud of the flesh – those hearts are the ones I know” (25).

What makes Mauriac’s position as a Catholic novelist even more precarious is the manner in which, at a crucial stage in the novel, he suggests that Thérèse may be the beneficiary of grace. As she contemplates taking a lethal dose of arsenic, a maid rushes into her room to announce that her Aunt Clara, possibly the only person ever to love her unconditionally, has died. Could this be an example of a substitution of souls? Clara dies so that Thérèse may live? Some time after this episode, when Bernard decides the time is right, the heroine is released from what had become a prison in Argelouse to go to live in Paris. On the terrace of a sidewalk café in the company of her husband, she imagines “a whole life of meditation, of perfecting herself in the Argelouse silence, an interior journey in search of God” (119). The moment passes, but the very fact that she had such a thought is indicative of Mauriac’s belief in the possibility of redemption, even for what may seem to be the most wretched of sinners. Had Julia Glynn experienced some spiritual revelation in *The Pilgrimage*, had she suddenly become open to the possibility of divine love, we might be able to speak of it as a ‘Catholic Novel.’ As it stands, however, she remains unchanged, and the novel, while undoubtedly a promising literary debut by Broderick, is not really what we could term a ‘Catholic Novel’ in a strict sense of the term.

The Waking of Willie Ryan (1965) comes a bit closer. This is an excellent exploration of the intricate machinations of a well-to-do provincial Irish community. When faced with a potential scandal concerning a homosexual relationship between a family member, Willie, and an older man, Roger Dillon, whose family are well-connected, the Ryans, in collusion with the local priest, Fr Mannix, decide to have Willie committed to a mental asylum. After twenty-five years in this institution, he returns to the community in the hope of living out his last days in peace. Roger has passed away in the intervening period, but the other main actors of the drama are still in place: Willie’s sister-in-law Mary, who claimed that he had behaved threateningly towards her, his older brother Michael, who had sexually abused him as a child, and, finally,

the local priest, Fr Mannix. The use of religion as a means of social control is a strong motif in the novel. Mary Ryan tells her son Chris, who cannot understand why his uncle was committed, that Willie was no better than a heathen, something that justifies his incarceration in her view: “He has never been to Mass or confession since he was a young man, and he didn’t change his ways in the asylum” (47). This same woman abhors the Church’s new-found interest in the working classes and points out the incongruity of a priest like Fr Mannix driving around in a Mercedes, when a Morris Minor would be more in his line.

In order to avoid a scandal, it is decided that a Mass will be organised in Chris’s bungalow where Willie has installed himself since his return. Before the Mass, the prodigal son is to go to confession so as to be in a position to receive Communion, which will provide concrete evidence of his religious rehabilitation. Willie is prepared to play along with the charade, but his friend Halloran, an employee of the asylum, is infuriated at the antics of the family: “‘They can’t bear to have anybody around who doesn’t toe the line, publicly at any rate. If you had died in the asylum without a priest, it would have been put down to madness, and everybody’s conscience would have been clear. But that won’t work any more’” (136-137).

The best scenes in *The Waking of Willie Ryan* are undoubtedly the exchanges between Willie and Fr Mannix. The priest is aware that Willie only agrees to receive Holy Communion as a fob to the family. The two discuss his affair with Roger, and it transpires that the priest was oblivious of the fact that the two continued to meet in secret even after Roger had ostensibly returned to the Catholic fold. In fairness to Broderick, he resists the temptation to demonise the priest, who is shown to have a more sincere approach to matters of faith than the majority of his parishioners. For all that he lives at a remove from the official Church, it is clear that Willie is sensitive to the rhythms of his Catholic upbringing. It is the superficial observance of their religion by the rest of the family, their parody of the Christian life, that prevents him from opening up to the possibility of faith. In this regard, his comment to Fr Mannix is revealing: “Perhaps you only recognise what you call ‘infernal grace’ when you’re told about it. After all, it’s easy to preach to the converted, even if they only pretend to be converted” (199). Later on in their exchanges, the priest is horrified at the thought of Willie committing sacrilege by receiving Holy Communion while in a state of mortal sin: “It’s God you have insulted,” he says. “You may mock me – maybe I deserve it – but you won’t mock Him” (198).

At the end of the novel, Fr Mannix is left feeling uncertain about Roger’s apparent conversion and upset at his inability to lead Willie to some sort of accommodation with God. Mary’s friend, Kathleen Carroll, remarks how strangely the priest behaves at Willie’s grave, like someone who is drunk. His agitation is in stark contrast to the relief of Willie’s family, who happily resume their lives of comfort after the funeral. Equilibrium has been restored, the spectre cast on them by Willie’s reappearance now having been dissipated.

The situation of Willie is left in some doubt. Did he reach some sort of resolution at the close of the novel? The visit from Roger's sister, Mrs Whittaker, the day before his death, does bring him some respite. She tells him that Roger worried hugely about whether Willie could ever forgive him for what happened between them. Then, in a revealing comment, she says: "Sometimes good can come out of evil" (234). These words bring comfort to Willie. The chapter ends with the following lines: "When she was gone the room was very silent. The fire had settled down; the sick man seemed hardly to breathe; outside the falling snow muffled the earth. And the old weep quietly" (236).

Willie's final thoughts are couched in mystery, but we do get the impression from the silence and the falling snow that a cleansing of sorts has taken place. As with Mauriac, the target of Broderick's bile was not the sinner but the conformists who make a mockery of religion. Patrick Murray noted: "Those who knew him merely by repute were probably surprised at his strong emphasis on the importance to him of his Catholic faith and of Catholic moral teaching" ("Athlone's John Broderick" 38) This may have come to him from his knowledge of French Catholic literature that demonstrates how 'âmes égarées' or the lost souls are the ones most cherished by God. In a review of Mauriac's *Mémoires intérieures*, Broderick took issue with the French writer for his decision to stop writing fiction (qtd. in Kingston, *Stimulus of Sin* 9-11). Mauriac wanted to save his soul and figured that writing novels was not the way to do it. We read in *Le roman* (1928), which was in a sense his literary manifesto:

> A Catholic writer advances along a narrow crest between two chasms: he cannot be a cause of scandal and yet he cannot lie either; he must not excite the desires of the flesh and yet he must also beware of the danger of giving a false picture of life. Which is the greater danger: making young people dream in an aberrant manner or inspiring disgust in them for Christ and his Church? (80)

At a certain stage, therefore, Mauriac decided that novel-writing was endangering his salvation. He replied to Julien Green when the latter asked him why he omitted so much from his work: "I am not just responsible for myself. I have a family" (qtd. in Barré 13), a family he risked hurting by revealing the dark side of his nature. Broderick rightly detected that Mauriac's imagination was stimulated more by sin than by virtue.

Throughout his long and not always illustrious career, Broderick showed a great interest in the Catholic faith. He contemplated becoming a priest after his mother's death in 1974 and he always remained attracted to the smells and bells of his early religious experience, the beauty of the Tridentine Mass, the power of church music when properly performed, the theatrical side of it all. Madeline Kingston remarks that it is somewhat clichéd to associate Broderick with the French Catholic novelists as a result of his admiration for Mauriac and his friendship with Green. She points out how Mauriac, Green, and Bernanos "were preoccupied with the portrayal of individual struggles with faith, individual concern with the state of the soul, consciousness of guilt, failure and unworthiness" (*Something in the Head* 121). I agree with this assessment, which complies with Sonnenfeld's statement that the Catholic novel's main

focus is "the salvation or damnation of the hero or heroine." I detect places in Broderick's writing where this preoccupation is prominent also. That said, I think his concerns as a novelist were focused more on the social than they were on the individual. He preferred satire to inner probing – it is here that the Balzacian influence can be seen. Then there were the obvious differences between the social fabric in France and Ireland at the time when the writers produced their best work. Kingston captures this aspect well:

> The Catholic Church in republican, secular France was very different from the Catholic Church of Holy Ireland: its novelists were originally defending the Church against the overt onslaughts of the state and later against the tide of scepticism and scientific advance. But if, as has been suggested, Broderick in writing this work was attempting to reinvent himself as a French-style catholic novelist, he came close to success. (*Something in the Head* 122)

I can accept this thesis also. The French Catholic novelists of the early twentieth century were acutely aware that they were writing for a public that was at best indifferent to spiritual concerns, lukewarm about religious matters. The writers therefore sought to depict characters whose overarching concern is to ensure eternal salvation. The Irish, on the other hand, rather than emphasising the metaphysical, tended to concentrate on the hypocrisy and intolerance of those who used religion for their own purposes. As Fintan O'Toole points out in *The Ex-Isle of Erin*: "Catholicism in Ireland has been a matter of public identity more than of private faith. For most of its history, the Republic of Ireland was essentially a Catholic State, one in which the limits of law and behaviour were set by Catholic orthodoxy and the beliefs of the Catholic bishops" (15). This sort of deference is in short supply in contemporary Ireland, where in fact the pronouncements of bishops are now often met with derision and disdain.

The French have long tended to rely more on individual conscience and questioning when it comes to pronouncements from the hierarchy. The two countries therefore have distinctively different histories in relation to the Catholic Church. So, while one can say with a fair degree of certainty that Broderick was influenced by the likes of Mauriac and Green, it should be stated that many factors contributed to him stopping short of producing an Irish equivalent of the French Catholic novel. The former nun, Aunt Kate, in *The Fugitives* (1962), sums up the Irish situation very well when she says: "'Only the really religious people turn against religion in this country. The ones that are at the top and bottom of every religious organisation are the ones that have no religion at all'" (151).

The Athlone writer did turn against religion for a while, but in the end it was one of the few comforts left to him as, exiled in Bath, he faced into the uncertain terrain of eternity.

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A FRUITFUL EXCHANGE: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF JOHN MCGAHERN'S *THE LEAVETAKING* AND ITS FRENCH TRANSLATION *JOURNÉE D'ADIEU* BY ALAIN DELAHAYE

Claudia Luppino

John McGahern's third novel, *The Leavetaking* (1974; 1984),[1] tells the story of Patrick Moran's last day as a teacher in a Dublin school. The chronicle of this last day is interspersed with long flashbacks that frequently interrupt the narration and delay the development of the story. Some crucial events are accounted for, particularly the death of Patrick's mother when he was a young child, and his more recent marriage to Isobel, an American divorcee, in a registry office in London, which eventually led to his dismissal.[2] Stylistically, this is mirrored by an alternation between present and past tense.[3]

Although both are told by the same first-person narrator (Patrick), the two parts into which the novel is divided are "deliberately different in style" (*L2* 5), as McGahern himself put it, in fact the more poetic and intense the first one, the more journalistic and detached the second, in the attempt

> to reflect the purity of feeling with which all the remembered "I" comes to us, the banal and the precious alike; and yet how that more than "I" – the beloved, the "otherest", the most trusted moments of that life – stumbles continually away from us as poor reportage […]. (*L2* 5)[4]

When *The Leavetaking* appeared, McGahern was standing at the centre of that experimental phase of his career which some critics have referred to as "the middle period" and which resulted in novels and short stories whose artistic achievement was debatable but still indispensable, so their argument goes, to the full development

1 All parenthetical references marked *L1* and *L2* are to the 1974 and the revised 1984 edition of *The Leavetaking*, respectively.

2 As is well known, McGahern's third novel is based on the author's own experience of losing his teaching post in 1965 after the censoring of *The Dark* and his marriage to the Finnish dramatist Annikki Laaksi. Arguably, Isobel's character also draws on McGahern's second wife, the American photographer Madeline Green.

3 Michael J. Toolan observes how such a "format […] is compelling support for the novel's account of the narrator's long withdrawing tide of nostalgic grief for past deaths being gradually, but surely supplanted by a present- and future-oriented encirclement by a different sea, that of love and trust" (48).

4 Dermot McCarthy claims that "the world of the beloved other in Part II would better have been narrated in a third-person voice if McGahern really wanted to communicate its 'irredeemable imprisonment … in reportage'" (163).

of his art.[5] Marianne Mays, for example, notes in *The Leavetaking* "a quality in the writing which might indeed be called 'bad': a clumsiness of sentence structure […], which was only excused or validated by the sense of a powerful struggle to get the meaning through" (39). Yet she recognises that "with hindsight, this can be seen as a transition of necessary and fruitful experimentation" (39) and that what she had "characterized as ineptitude was, from McGahern's point of view, conscious stylistic experiment" (41). The writer himself confirmed and supported this view on several occasions, admitting that "to some extent, *The Leavetaking* is a flawed book, but it was actually a book I had to write […]. I would actually have stopped as a writer unless I had broken out of my own moulds in *The Leavetaking*" (Sampson, "A Conversation" 15-16).[6] Dermot McCarthy underlines how, although "McGahern considered the writing of his third novel to be a turning-point in his career […], it was the writing of *The Pornographer* [1979] that largely enabled the revisions that finally 'broke the moulds' of the early writing" (119). What interested McGahern was not experiment for experiment's sake[7]: his writing, rather, strove to convey his philosophical and aesthetic concerns and mirror the individual's quest for meaning and purpose in life. The difficulties McGahern tackled in *The Leavetaking* convinced him of the necessity to amend that work: "I had been too close to the 'Idea,' and the work lacked that distance, that inner formality or calm, that all writing, no matter what it is attempting, must possess" (*L2* 5).[8]

Some ten years after *The Leavetaking* first appeared, an upcoming French translation offered the writer an opportunity to take the unusual step of rewriting his novel – more exactly, its second half.[9] As he explained in the *Preface* to the revised edition: "I found myself working through it again with its French translator, the poet Alain Delahaye" (*L2* 5).[10] Curiously, *Journée d'adieu*[11] mirrored the revised *Leavetaking* closely, although its publication preceded the second English version. The question thus arises as to what role Delahaye and his translation played in McGahern's revisions: was their contact just a starting point for the revised English edition, or was

5 See also Sampson*, Outstaring Nature's Eye*; Maher, *John McGahern*; Whyte. McGahern's experimental work is usually identified with his novels *The Dark* (1965), *The Leavetaking,* and *The Pornographer* (1979), and with the short story collections *Nightlines* (1970) and *Getting Through* (1978).

6 McGahern reiterated this same opinion about the novels of his middle period on several other occasions.

7 See also Kampen (341).

8 For McCarthy, that 'Idea' might be that of the lost beloved (121).

9 See also Mikowski (75).

10 In an interview (2002) with Eamon Maher, McGahern explained: "I was friendly with the translator and poet, Alain Delahaye. I asked him when he was working on the translation if he minded if I had another go at the second part, and then rewrote it for Alain's translation. I did it for myself, to have another go at the idea" (Maher, *John McGahern* 146).

11 All quotations from *Journée d'adieu* are marked *LF*.

there, rather, some form of cooperation between the two writers? Can we call their meeting 'a fruitful exchange'? The only paratextual clues McGahern left us are the *Preface* and a few interviews, and in June 2009 I had the privilege to interview Alain Delahaye.

A quick look at the textual situation may be in order here.[12] In the second edition of *The Leavetaking*, Part One was left untouched. Part Two, on the contrary, was substantially reworked[13] – with the only exception of the novel's last thirty pages or so (166-195 in *L1*; 143-171 in *L2*), which remained almost unchanged. Countless small changes affected the novel's linguistic texture, making it more fluid and brisk, but the most obvious alteration in the second section was a condensation, in fact a drastic foreshortening, from the original 110 to the eventual 86 pages. Some events were summed up drastically, with several pages often reduced to a single paragraph; other parts were omitted altogether. Both sentence structure and syntax are now much simpler overall, thanks to a more judicious use of punctuation marks.

As Mays observes, "the huge blocks of direct-speech narration are dispersed," and "many of the more embarrassing lumps of personal philosophy have been pruned off" (42). The major target of McGahern's cuts were, in fact, the protagonist's long reflections on the influence of his mother's death and the unfulfilled expectations in his adult life and relationships. Patrick's thoughts on the eve of his marrying Isobel, for example, are omitted in *L2*:

> Much of the past came to disturb me as I prepared to go to the Registry Office and I was nervous. Phrases came, *Man born of woman shall endure for a time of trial here on earth in the hope of his eternal salvation*, and if I had not broken my link and was prepared to extend the blind chain there would have been music and a priest and altar and afterwards the images of aggression, shower of confetti and the battered kettle hurled after the bridal car; but she too had one day walked down the aisle looking the picture of death. Belief was as blind, I thought, as grief, one worn away by habit, the other becoming a habit. If I believed anything, and it was without conviction, it was that once upon a time we had crawled out of the sea and were making a circular journey back towards the original darkness. (*L1* 159)

McCarthy convincingly argues that "the revisions seem intended to 'discipline' the extent and intensity of the original confession" (150).[14] It appears that McGahern decided to get rid of his more reflective and philosophical paragraphs primarily in order to

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12 Most critical comments on *The Leavetaking* are based on the second edition. The few existing reviews of *L1* can, therefore, provide us with interesting insights; see Sampson, "John McGahern's *The Leavetaking*"; Jebb; Broderick.

13 Broderick praises McGahern as the greatest writer of his generation, and *L1* for its "poetic truth and strength" and "perfection." But he distinguished clearly between "[t]he first hundred pages […] so brilliantly written that they constitute a triumph" and "the last eighty pages I am not so sure," an opinion he re-iterated three times in an only four-page-long article (Broderick 59).

14 *L2* achieves, for McCarthy, a "careful re-shaping of the presence of the dead beloved" (148) and a "re-orientation" (153), that is, the removal of the sexual explicitness of *L1*, which can be linked to the writing of *The Pornographer*.

focus on language and on the central idea that we perceive ourselves and others in radically different ways. As he was given, as he put it, the "luck of a second chance" (*L2* 5), I believe he decided to use his third novel as an embodiment of his aesthetic principles. To do so, he eliminated all that was not relevant and functional to that specific purpose.

His re-elaboration affected both the form and the content of *The Leavetaking.*[15] As a matter of fact, the simplification of sentences sometimes corresponds to a different connotation of the situation described. This is the case, especially, with Patrick's feelings towards his girlfriends: his fear and anxiety of the first edition disappear almost totally in the second. So, for example, a passage like

> The days that followed passed in dangerous happiness, so much so that the thought as I hurried home – for the room had become a home – was that I would find her gone. When I opened the door I felt touched by the same panic as the idea that one day I'd have to die caused. (*L1* 124)

now reads simply as "we had lovely hours in that big room" (*L2* 113).[16] Similarly, in the first edition, Patrick employs the term 'death' regularly to describe metaphorically every important change in his life, notably the end of a love affair; by contrast, the occurrence of the word 'death' in *L2* is fairly limited. Patrick's comment on the meeting with the school manager, who will formally dismiss him from his teaching post, for instance, changes from "this farce is another of the deaths" (*L1* 190) to "this farce is another of the steps" (*L2* 166).

Some significant parallelisms that punctuate *L1* are suppressed in *L2*. This is particularly true of the characters of Isobel and Patrick, who need help to overcome their parents' (her father's and his mother's) ambiguous influence, a help which she finds in psychoanalysis[17] and he in love. Both varieties are referred to metaphorically in *L1* through the image of a limb: Isobel admits that "without that artificial limb I would never have been able to walk into my own life" (*L1* 133), whereas Patrick says that he was "as happy as a broken limb miraculously made whole again as [he] saw her step on the gangplank of the boat" (*L1* 167). There is no trace of such parallelism in

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15 The plot features some slight variations in details such as the reason why Patrick requests a year's leave of absence; the jobs he finds in London; the person he talks to when he explains the complex relations between the educational system and the Catholic Church in Ireland. Some curious changes also occur – to mention but one, Patrick's meeting with the school manager is at eight o'clock in *L1* (187), but at nine o'clock in *L2* (163).

16 Similarly, "'But I love you,' I said out of the shadow of losing her" (*L1* 169) becomes "'But I love you,' I said" (*L2* 146). "A new excitement that is the seed of danger" (*L1* 95) and "I was afraid that if I changed anything the magic I'd started to feel about the first night might go away" (*L1* 95) are both omitted in *L2*.

17 McCarthy shows that McGahern's repeated and insistent claim that personal therapy and self-expression have no place in art seem contradicted by his *Memoir*, which unveils the clear connections between his autobiography and his fiction and which therefore "should be read as a coda […] [and as a] code" to his fiction (McCarthy 23).

L2. The same can be said of the link between Isobel's father and the school manager, the two male authority figures that Patrick must confront and reject, through the image of the brass lion's claw decorating the front door of both their houses (*L1* 139; *L1* 189).

If, in the second edition, the space devoted to Isobel's past is reduced considerably and if her father is not as prominent a figure as he was,[18] this is possibly because, as Terence Brown suggests, McGahern realised that, in the rendering of Patrick's and Isobel's relationship with their parents, "his psychologising was a little too schematic to be wholly convincing" (162-163).[19] Again, it appears that McGahern actually wanted his two main characters to stand out more clearly to highlight that dichotomy in the perception of self and other that he refers to in the Preface. Therefore, the secondary characters are reduced to mere walk-ons or at least to poorly designed figures of very little weight in the text.

McGahern's wish to clarify his artistic agenda through this novel becomes tangible in the significant additions to the new *Leavetaking*, despite the above-noted general foreshortening of the novel for the 1984 edition. Such additions echo the Preface, through "an ironic act of self-plagiarism" (McCarthy 162)[20] that becomes clearly obvious when one compares the Preface with the following new passage:

> When I thought of how poorly I had grasped the images of Isobel's early life, how I had to translate them into my own and how clear my own were […], it grew clear that different images must be as vivid in her own mind. I had grasped the movements with her father at secondhand too […]. The whole dear world of the beloved comes to us with the banality of news reports, while our own banalities come to us with the interest of poetry. It did not seem right. The contrary should be true, but it would be as impossible to reverse as to get trees to lean towards the sea. (*L2* 143)

The author's aesthetic view is thus echoed through the main character, and the novel's internal cohesion is reinforced. Not only the interrelation of memory and imagination (the latter filling the gaps of the former), but also Patrick's overcoming of his mother's shadow (the old 'beloved other') and his starting a new life with Isobel (the new 'beloved other'), are now clearly identified as thematic kernels.[21]

The French translation by Alain Delahaye, *Journée d'adieu*, reflects the revised *Leavetaking*: "I did not work on the 1974 text," Delahaye explained, "since John had

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18 The 1974 edition is richer in details about Isobel's relationship with her previous partners and with her father. The whole episode of Patrick's meeting with Isobel's father on the train back to Ireland (*L1* 161-166) is missing from *L2*.

19 See also Sampson, *Outstaring Nature's Eye* 115. In McCarthy's words, Isobel is developed "as a gender-mirror inversion" of both Patrick and McGahern (156).

20 Interestingly, in *Memoir* McGahern recycles language and imagery from his novels and short stories. The recollection of his mother's death and funeral, for example, is taken, almost word for word, from *The Leavetaking*.

21 In a new passage, Patrick compares his life as a priest with the life as Isobel's partner that he chooses for himself (*L2* 156).

asked me to destroy it." His is a very accurate translation, despite some clear instances of "domestication" (Venuti 21). I will mention just a few examples: the English "two miles" (*L2* 97) are 'converted' into "trois kilomèters" (*LF* 149); "claret" (*L2* 103) becomes "Bordeaux" (*LF* 155; 160), and "brandy" (*L2* 105; 129) becomes "cognac" (*LF* 163; 201). Similarly, "the river" (*L2* 108) is translated as "la Tamise" (*LF* 168), and "before being taken to the Mater" (*L2* 86) as "avant d'être emmené" (*LF* 131). As for "Powers Gold label" (*L2* 100) and "Glenlivet whiskey" (*L2* 140), Delahaye explained that he rendered them simply as "whiskey" (*LF* 155; 220) to comply with a French law "which forbids the use of trademarks in books (it could be considered advertising)." Through such an "oblique translation" (Vinay & Darbelnet 31) of, or "dynamic equivalence" (Nida 159) to, McGahern's text, Delahaye thus overcame "the problem [...] to give an idea of something totally unknown in France […] a very specific Irish custom" (Delahaye interview). The translating procedure known as "adaptation" (Vinay & Darbelnet 39-40) can be seen where he translated "*Last Orders* was called" (*L2* 111) as "À grand renfort de cris les clients furent invités à commander leur dernières consommations avant la fermeture" (*LF* 173); or where he rendered "you've never obtained a Letter of Freedom" (*L2* 161) as "Vous n'avez fait aucune demande aux autorités religieuses concernant un mariage" (*LF* 254).

I would argue that what deserves our critical attention most here is the presence of some "deforming tendencies" (Berman 280), in the passage from English to French, of McGahern's keywords 'memory' and 'leavetaking.' 'Memory' is translated by Delahaye both as 'mémoire' and 'souvenir,' even in the novel's *leitmotif* of "memory becoming imagination." Despite the accuracy of such translation, the lexical variation it implies produces a "qualitative impoverishment" (Berman 280) of the original text and unavoidably breaks its internal rhythm.[22] As for 'leavetaking,' it is always translated as 'congé,' but in the title it is rendered as 'journée d'adieu.' Delahaye explained that the choice of the title was partly connected with his publisher's "commercial imperatives" (i.e., the need for an appealing title), but it is undeniable that another internal echo of McGahern's work thus vanished.

Journée d'adieu is a highly poetical text, but it produces a different effect than *The Leavetaking* in that it lacks the insistent – almost obsessive – complex scheme of repetitions, echoes, and resonances that reinforce the internal cohesion of the English original. Delahaye humbly admits that "to translate is a very despairing job, because one is constantly forced to destroy a lot of beautiful things"; and that, with *Journée d'adieu*, "a great part of John's very subtle music, of his secret poetry, of his unique art of making beautiful sentences" went lost. He also maintains that he played no role in McGahern's revision of *The Leavetaking*, that "it was his decision only, and I took no part whatsoever in the elaboration of the new version"; "we did not at all work *to-*

22 An analogous modulation can be observed in the verb tenses, since the English simple past has two French equivalents, namely the "prétérit" and the "imperfait." The English language in general is more economical than French.

gether on this." They "became rapidly good friends," he concludes, and "we never talked much about literature, we were more interested in sharing our experience of life: […] we had lived rather similar things in our childhood and adolescence. So we had more or less the same way of understanding (of not understanding) life."

However, Delahaye also talks of a correspondence with McGahern about the translation and reports that "John's wife, Madeline, who knows French very well, was sometimes of great help when I had difficulty finding the right word" (Delahaye interview), which suggests that indeed some form of collaboration between the Irish writer and the French translator did occur.

Also, a translator's job is not merely to transfer words mechanically from one linguistic code to another: a deep understanding and penetration of the author's mind-set and personal background is necessary to the rendering of the work's true meaning in translation. And when Delahaye says that "we had more or less the same way of understanding (of not understanding) life," we feel somehow authorised to suppose that he *did* fully understand McGahern's intentions.

On the basis of this, I think it can be concluded that, *even if* the question remains unanswered, whether McGahern *would or would not* have issued a revised edition of *The Leavetaking* had its upcoming French translation not existed, it appears nevertheless quite plausible that contact between the Irish writer and his French translator played a decisive role.

It is well-known that McGahern was a demanding artist, who reworked his materials continuously: his obsession with formal perfection is one of the reasons why, in over forty years, he only published a relatively small number of works.[23] McGahern outlined his aesthetic principles as early as 1968, in his artistic manifesto "The Image." For him the artist's journey is "long and complicated," because "image after image flows involuntarily […] and still we are not at peace, rejecting, altering, shaping, straning [sic] towards the one image that will never come, the lost image that gave our lives expression […]" (McGahern, "The Image").[24]

In a Proustian quest for "the lost image," McGahern, as Eamon Maher put it, "chisels away at his work in an attempt to get his words right" and produces "a style that is

23 For a comprehensive and annotated bibliography of primary and secondary works, see van der Ziel. McGahern's *Memoir* (2005) and *Creatures of The Earth: New and Selected Stories* (2006) have been published since then, as well as four volumes of *The John McGahern Yearbook* (2008, 2009, 2010, and 2011, ed. John Kenny), the collection of McGahern's non-fictional essays, *Love of the World* (2009, ed. Stanley van der Ziel), and Eamon Maher's *'The Church and Its Spire': John McGahern and the Catholic Question* (2011).

24 Sampson sees McGahern's *œuvre* as an extended autobiography in which the writer includes different versions of himself in the search for the Proustian lost image (Sampson, "'Rich Whole'"). For McCarthy, "*Memoir* makes clear that 'the lost image,' like 'the lost world,' is the mother-image, the mother-world" (10).

deceptively simple and clear" (3).[25] His patient and tireless search for accuracy, truth, and "calm" brings him close, Declan Kiberd suggests, to "those painters of the Renaissance who tried to do one painting over and over until they got it near to perfection" (Maher & Kiberd 91-92).

In this context, the rewriting of *The Leavetaking* is completely understandable and, arguably, somehow typical of a writer like McGahern. Delahaye remembers how "it was of vital importance to him to rewrite that second part, […] simply a necessity" (Delahaye interview). What is *not* typical, though, is the fact that McGahern's re-elaboration affected his third novel *after* it was published and eventually led to the issuing of a revised edition, which did not happen for any other of his works of fiction. Not even the writing of *The Pornographer*, then, or his friendship with Delahaye would have encouraged or allowed McGahern to acknowledge the limits of the formal experimentation he had attempted in 1974.

In this sense we can arguably describe McGahern's encounter with Delahaye as a *fruitful exchange*, in fact the starting point, if not the engine, of that process of condensation, of narrowing down, of reduction to the essential, that characterises not only *The Leavetaking*, but McGahern's work as a whole, with its relatively small number of characters, places, names, themes, and situations (Cronin 113; Maher & Kiberd 92; McCarthy 27). Also, if we look at translations as "rewritings" (Lefevere 9; Munday 126) and as works that give the originals a new and continued life through recreation (Benjamin 77; Munday 169), we can possibly read *Journée d'adieu* almost as a third edition of *The Leavetaking*, in between the first and the second English editions, a functional "farewell journey" (to paraphrase the French title) from one to the other, ultimately a crucial step in the shaping of John McGahern's aesthetics.

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25 See Andrews 132-133.

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"Aren't We Citizens of the World?": Irish Diaspora and Its Discontents in Deirdre Madden's *One by One in the Darkness*, Anne Devlin's *After Easter*, and Nuala O'Faolain's *My Dream of You*

Michaela Schrage-Früh

Introduction

Emigration and exile are experiences inextricably entwined with traditional notions of Irish identity. However, while most Irish emigrants turned their backs on Ireland for mere survival, rendering its history of migration a story of individual and national woe,[1] Irish migration history of the 1980s and beyond suggests a different story. In a transnational and global age the term 'emigration' has been replaced with the more positively connoted concept of an 'Irish diaspora.' This idea not only encompasses all descendents of Irish emigrants, but also the members of the so-called 'new wave' migration in the wake of the Celtic Tiger. Accordingly, in her inaugural speech in 1990 Mary Robinson declared: "There are over 70 million people living on this globe who claim Irish descent. I will be proud to represent them" (Gray, "Unmasking" 220). Robinson's extension of her representative function beyond the Republic's borders is emblematic of a "global imagined community" (Gray, "Unmasking" 220), characterised by cosmopolitanism, hybridisation as well as economic and cultural interconnectedness. The image of the young and educated 'high-flying emigrant' rapidly became the symbol of a new economically booming Celtic Tiger Ireland. As Breda Gray points out: "By the early 1990s the media in both Britain and Ireland were suggesting that for many young Irish adults, 'London, not Dublin [was] becoming their capital city'" (Gray, "Ethnicity" 65).[2]

What is more, the term diaspora suggests a career-oriented generation of migrant yuppies who, thanks to the latest technologies and means of transport, are continually connected to their home country, altering and expanding the idea of 'Irish identity' and its place in Europe and the world (see Gray, "Unmasking" 223). Migration is experienced as less permanent and, by implication, less painful than in former centuries. In the 1980s and '90s, therefore, Irish migrants appeared as transnational commuters rather than emigrants or even exiles. As Robert Cohen enthusiastically puts it, gone are "the traumas of exile, the troubled relationship with the host culture and other negative aspects of the traditionally upheld diasporic condition. Instead,

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1 As Liam Greenslade points out with respect to the Irish Famine years of 1845-49: "Caught in an economic double bind that resulted in mass starvation, for the Irish emigration became the only viable means of survival" (204).

2 Gray is quoting from Popham (18-21).

strong diasporas are now represented as the key to determining success in the global economy" (12).

In this paper, I will analyse literary representations of the Irish diaspora in England from the 1990s which suggest that the celebrated ideal of a transnational, global identity serves to gloss over some of its more problematic aspects. As Gray notes, "the discourse on diaspora, like the discourse on nation, tends to subordinate gender, class and other politics" ("Unmasking" 213). Foregrounding the issues of gender and religion, I will focus on individual characters from three different literary works: Cate from Deirdre Madden's novel *One by One in the Darkness* (1996), Helen and Greta from Anne Devlin's play *After Easter* (1994), and Kathleen from Nuala O'Faolain's novel *My Dream of You* (2001).

Deirdre Madden, *One by One in the Darkness* (1996)

Traditionally, Irish female migrants in England found employment in the domestic or health care sectors. From the 1980s onward, however, the number of Irish women "in managerial and professional occupations requiring higher qualifications" has increased significantly (Gray, "Ethnicity" 67). Gray explains why Irish women in London in the 1980s and '90s, despite these changes, were still relatively invisible: in order to survive on the English job market, these women often 'privatised' their Irish origin and identity, leading a kind of double existence by oscillating between their Anglicised selves and their Irish roots (see "Ethnicity" 77). One example of this type of assimilated Irish career woman in the 'global city' of London is provided by Madden's novel *One by One in the Darkness*, published in 1996. Cate Quinn, one of the three sisters at the centre of the novel, originates from a small place in Northern Ireland, but lives and works as a successful fashion journalist in London. Her assimilated identity is most obviously expressed in her decision to change the initial letter of her name from a 'K' to a 'C,' because she considers the former "too Irish […], too country." However, "it never crossed her mind that her family would have any problem with this, and she had been grieved and embarrassed when it became clear that they were hurt by what she had done, and saw in it a rejection of themselves" (Madden 4).

Cate impersonates the classic figure of the migrant living in two worlds. The first chapter narrates her journey from London to Belfast, where she intends to confront her mother and two sisters with her pregnancy. As a single, unmarried woman, Cate suspects that this piece of news will hardly go down well. This suggests a predictable discrepancy between Cate's modern urban life and her rural Catholic family's moral expectations. On her way to the airport, Cate remembers an earlier journey on the occasion of her father's death, when she hurriedly searched for "suitable things to wear at home […] but everything struck her as wrong: too pale or bright, too stylish" (Madden 3). Again the discrepancy between *Cate* and *Kate* is clear. With respect to her Irish self and her London self she represents the classic doubling of identity.

According to Breda Gray, this "double consciousness" is typical of migrants whose country of destination is geographically close to their country of origin, so that there is a regular exchange going on with those who stayed behind ("Ethnicity" 76). Outwardly, career woman Cate is perfectly integrated in her adopted country, but internally there is an unbridgeable distance to her London surroundings, resulting from her Northern Irish roots and concomitant experiences: "She had friends in London, good friends, but she'd realised that there was no one to whom she wished to tell what had happened [her father's death], much less anyone she wanted around her at that moment. She had just wanted to be home" (Madden 3). Her hesitancy to share her grief at her father's death even with her "good friends" in London seems justified by her colleagues' subsequent reactions. Having been shot in the house of his brother, an IRA member, he is readily branded as a terrorist, who basically got what he deserved. Cate recalls "a coolness and reserve with some of her colleagues after the funeral, and it was something more than the English being less comfortable with the bereaved than the Irish were. What they were thinking only dawned on her slowly, and it was so horrible that she shrank away, afraid of having to confront it until she was forced to do so" (Madden 91). The discrepancy between Cate's London self and her Irish self is symbolised, rather blatantly, by a small scar beneath her hairline, caused by a farming accident as a child. Touching this almost invisible scar "restored a sense of reality, a sense of who she was, in a way that looking at her own reflection could not" (Madden 2).

Surprisingly, Cate, who outwardly seems so at home with the world of dinner parties, fashion, and one-night stands turns out to be a regular churchgoer. She also keeps a holy image, albeit a modern one, in her London flat. As Jerry White notes, "[e]ven as Cate leaves her marginal community for the metropolitan/imperial center of London, and even as she changes her name, she retains central parts of her marginal identity and manages to update them and make them relevant to her condition" (459). However, Cate not only integrates parts of her identity into her new life, but she also perceives her home from a new, an outsider's, perspective, "trying to fathom Northern Ireland in a way which wasn't, if you still lived there, necessary. Or advisable, she thought. Or possible even" (Madden 82). Still, Cate's strong ties to her family and home are precisely what thwart her chances of settling down and starting a life of her own in London. As one of her partners, "a man whom she'd been seeing for about six months," puts it: "'Cate, I can't tell you how sick I am of hearing you go on and on about your bloody family. Do you ever think of anything else?' [...] Unwittingly, he'd gone straight to the root of the problem. [...] Cate was shocked to realise that the point he made was valid" (Madden 148).

Conversely, Cate's balancing act between her life in London and her Northern Irish home works precisely because of her strong bond with her family: "What did she have 'in common' with Sally and Helen, except that they were sisters? Surely that was the whole point of family. It was to change strangers into friends that you needed some kind of shared interests, beliefs or aspirations, but with your sisters, what you

had ‘in common’ was each other” (Madden 88). Ultimately, Cate’s family accepts her unconditionally, and even the illegitimate child will be admitted to the family circle, functioning as a carrier of hope. At least, this idea is suggested by Cate’s sister reflecting on the unborn child: “To say how much she felt the family needed something like this would have been to point up how haunted and threatened she had felt herself to be over the past two years” (Madden 145-146). While at the end of the novel the three sisters lie “one by one in the darkness” (Madden 181), each immersed in her own grief and bitter-sweet childhood memories, anticipating an uncertain future, the unborn child represents a glimmer of hope for a new transnational identity untroubled by past trauma.

Anne Devlin, *After Easter* (1994)

Anne Devlin’s play *After Easter* also deals with three Northern Irish sisters. One of them is thirty-three-year-old Helen, described in the *dramatis personae* as a “highly successful commercial artist” living in London. Rather than changing her name, Helen discarded her Irish accent so as to succeed in the London world of business. In Helen’s pragmatic reasoning, “I find when I’m buying or selling an American accent gets me through the door. Whereas an Irish accent gets me followed round the store by a plainclothes security man” (Devlin 9). Even though Helen goes for an American rather than a British accent – “There are limits to betrayal – even for me” (Devlin 9) – her assimilation to London seems exemplary; she is the prototype of the ‘high-flying emigrant’: “Me? I’m flying really. There are three managerial positions in my company and I can have my pick” (Devlin 9). Still, she shows signs of what Gray diagnoses as a sense of guilt internalised by many Irish female migrants: “There is still an uneasiness about leaving Ireland. [...] To leave for any reason other than work or career might be seen as rejecting ‘mother Ireland,’ the mother that fed, reared and cared for her children” (“Unmasking” 217). In the course of the play it becomes obvious that Helen, who leads a promiscuous life, seeks to escape from her family’s narrow Catholic moral values. Unlike Cate, Helen seems unable to reconcile her ‘double identities,’ which is why she eschews contact with her family. She is thus representative of many female migrants who fail to manage the balancing act, because their lifestyle is not accepted by their families and friends back ‘home,’ who deem it not ‘Irish’ enough (see Gray, “Unmasking” 214).

Helen’s outward appearance, too, testifies to her changed ‘migrational’ identity. Her brother’s reaction illustrates this nicely: “God, Helen, you look like a million dollars [...] Why don’t you just wear your bank balance on your sleeve –” (Devlin 33). Helen, in turn, asks her brother: “Aren’t we citizens of the world? We were the last time we met” (Devlin 33). Ironically enough, though, it is Helen who has to admit that all she does is done in reaction to her father’s domineering example: “He wouldn’t let me go either. So I had my revenge on my socialist father. I became a capitalist in the most intimate sense: I only come if there is money” (Devlin 73). What is more, it turns out

that Helen donates large sums of money to Catholic orphanages in her home country. Here too, then, cutting loose of one's national roots and family ties seems at best a superficial solution, which easily leads to repressing or denying one's own identity.

This conflict is explored in depth through the example of Greta, Helen's sister, the play's central character. *After Easter* begins and ends with monologues by Greta, whose identity crisis accentuates the subject of the invisibility and voicelessness of women in the Irish diaspora. Thirty-seven-year-old Greta lives in Oxford as a professor's wife and mother of three, the youngest being a new-born girl. Her initial monologue takes place in an anonymous psychiatric clinic somewhere in England, to which Greta had been admitted after sitting on the road and trying to stop a bus.

This act of protest, ostensibly caused by a marital crisis and postnatal depression, is in reality part of a lasting identity crisis, originating in Greta's migration experience fifteen years back. As Greta tells her sister: "I left Ireland in 1979, but I never arrived in England. I don't know where I went" (Devlin 16). At the same time, her way back seemed barred: "They didn't like George [her English husband], so I stayed away" (Devlin 7). The liminal state in which Greta finds herself accordingly – neither England nor Ireland – as well as her concomitant identity loss she describes as a kind of death: "[A]t that time in the house in the glen – two years after I came to England, I felt suicidal and that's when it happened. [...] I – died" (Devlin 14). Greta's suicidal mood had been triggered by the contrast between the school where she taught at the time – "I hated that school. English Catholics. They used to call me the Irish Art Teacher" (Devlin 13) – and her English holiday home, whose similarity to her Antrim home overwhelmed her "with homesickness" (Devlin 13). Greta narrates her so-called death experience in vivid terms: "I was in such despair that I opened my mouth and let out a huge cry until my voice filled the whole sky. And I felt it leave my body and go up into the stars. I did. And I knew I had died that night" (Devlin 14).

The metaphorical loss of her voice and language links Greta to other migrants, such as an illiterate man from the Republic of Ireland and an Indian child, whom she teaches English: "Father, I recognize them, the man from Mayo and the Hindu child, because I am the same. I too am a copier. I do it out of fear" (Devlin 59). That Greta, after her 'death experience,' deliberately chooses to teach English to immigrants rather than to English children, does not necessarily imply though that she identifies with this heterogeneous group. On the contrary, it suggests her longing for conformity: "I taught them to read and write English. I wanted to be English" (Devlin 15). This motivation ties in with her insight that she prefers to copy others rather than embrace her own identity.

Greta is, in Gray's terms, "doubly displaced" ("Unmasking" 215). On the one hand, she leads a relatively isolated life as an Irish migrant in Oxford; on the other hand, both her life and her husband are rejected by her family back home. Her sister Aoife puts this very bluntly: "I never did like him – I never understood how you could have married a cold English man" (Devlin 6); "Say what you like – but this I believe, the

English and the Irish cannot love each other" (Devlin 7). Greta repeatedly tries to transcend this national pigeonholing: "I am a Catholic, a Protestant, a Hindu, a Moslem, a Jew" (Devlin 7) and: "I don't want to be Irish. I'm English, French, German" (Devlin 12). Her doctor's question: "Why do you resent being Irish so much?" she answers thus: "I don't resent being Irish – I only resent it being pointed out to me. I suppose I am beginning to resent being the only Irish person at every gathering" (Devlin 4). However, her repressed Irish-Catholic identity haunts her in the shape of spiritual visions (e.g. of Mary Magdalene) representative of her past, which she needs to face (see Wood 305). One of these she describes as follows: "It felt as if the whole of Ireland was crying out to me" (Devlin 11). In order to be resurrected from the dead she needs to confront her past, and she gets the opportunity to do so when her father's heart attack and subsequent death lead to a family reunion in Belfast.

Back home, Greta faces a number of complex familial conflicts, not least of all a mother-daughter conflict resulting from a life-long competition for the husband's/ father's love. This conflict points towards Greta's problematic gendered and sexual identity, which, in turn, is inextricably entwined with her national and religious identity. The play explores at length the supposed incompatibility between female sexuality and the Catholic ideal of femininity represented by the Virgin Mary. Only after sorting out her own familial conflicts, especially those centring on her mother and the image of femininity she represents, is Greta able to return to England and re-enter her own life. This means first and foremost accepting her identity as a mother and responsibility for the new-born child she had rejected. The last scene presents Greta telling her own story of resurrection, and interestingly enough the setting is not indicated as Oxford, but in more general terms: "*Greta is at home*, *rocking a baby, telling it a story*" (Devlin 75). At the end of *After Easter*, then, Greta has found her self. This self-recovery and internal homecoming, however, is possible only after Greta has confronted her national, religious, and familial roots, reconciling these with her female identity. It is only through this confrontation that Greta succeeds in overcoming her own internal exile and starting to live in what she calls the "main room of [her] life" (Devlin 28).

Nuala O'Faolain, *My Dream of You* (2001)

Nuala O'Faolain's protagonist Caitlín de Burca, or Kathleen Bourke, as she calls herself in England, is a single and childless career woman turning on fifty. Having left Ireland at twenty to live in London and become a travel-writer, Kathleen has led a seemingly independent life taking her to exotic and exciting places and ensuring her independence also in economic terms. While to others her life seems glamorous and enviable, in reality she suffers from her inability to engage in a stable relationship and create a home. She feels torn between a sense of having been "saved from Ireland by England" (O'Faolain 35) and being an outsider in London even after twenty-five years. Countless scenes highlight the anti-Irish racism Kathleen has to endure on a

daily basis. When her American friend Jimmy remarks on how lucky they are to "have England, but […] our own places, too," Kathleen counters: "We do not 'have' England. […] Maybe you do, but I don't. Not a day passes but some remark about 'you Irish' is made to me in a condescending tone" (O'Faolain 97). However, her pointed aversion towards her home country – "It's no good in Ireland. […] I never want to see it again! It's no place for a woman" (O'Faolain 98) – suggests that it may be precisely her unresolved relationship with Ireland that prevents her from feeling at home anywhere else. Like Greta, she needs to face her past in order to find herself.

Jimmy's sudden death causes Kathleen to quit her job, move out of her London basement flat and return to Ireland after almost thirty years of self-imposed exile. In her desperate need to fill her 'wasted' and barren life with meaning, Kathleen sets out to research the Talbot divorce case, which she has been fascinated with since her early twenties. It concerns the legal case of an English landowner in Ireland, Richard Talbot, and his wife Marianne, who came to Ireland at the time of the Great Famine in the mid-1840s. There, Talbot eventually divorced his young wife, separating her from their daughter, supposedly because Marianne had an adulterous affair with an Irish servant called William Mullen.

Even though she is in possession of only the barest facts, Kathleen's imagination is gripped by what she assumes must have been an extraordinarily passionate love:

> There could hardly have been two people less likely to be drawn to each other than an Anglo-Irish landlord's wife and an Irish servant. Each of them came from a powerful culture which had at its core the defining of the other as alien. But they sloughed off those cultures to reach out to each other. They didn't even have a native language in common, yet they pierced through layers of custom and dared every sanction, impelled by the need within desire to express itself. (O'Faolain 66-67)

This kind of passionate love affair transcending barriers of class, race, and culture is what Kathleen has been craving throughout her life but has failed to achieve for various reasons, but mostly for what she calls her "availability" or rather inability to refuse any man's sexual advances. There are numerous hints that Kathleen's inability to create a 'home' originates from her childhood with an uncaring, domineering father and a passive and depressive mother. Still, despite the fact that Kathleen's sexual relationships fail to provide her with the passionate love she seeks and at the same time feels unworthy of, one of her biggest fears is that she might cease to be sexually attractive to men. Her desire for a stable home and happy marriage is presented as a contrary need. As Kathleen puts it, explaining her single state to her sister-in-law: "If I'd stayed in Ireland I suppose I would have married. I've been looking around since I came back this time and there's a kind of Irish couple where he trains the GAA team and she's big and good-looking and shy and they have three red-haired little boys all wriggling away in the back of the Toyota. I wish I'd been that woman –" (O'Faolain 222).

The seemingly contradictory and equally unfulfilled wishes for extraordinary passion and ordinary domesticity meet their temporary fulfilment in Shay, an Irishman in his fifties who divides his time between Liverpool and his father's farm in the west of Ireland. Significantly, elderly Shay is not the dashing hero out of a romance, but "an ordinary-looking man" in "Everyman's clothes" (O'Faolain 148). Still, it is with Shay that Kathleen experiences both the bliss of sexual fulfilment and everyday domesticity. Shay, rather predictably, is a married man though, not prepared to leave his family for Kathleen. Traversing between Ireland and England, however, he provides a link between Kathleen's seemingly irreconcilable worlds and helps her to come to terms with her "double identity."

Parallel to this love story, Kathleen uncovers unexpected documents about the Talbot divorce case that cast doubt on her imaginative reconstruction of Marianne and William's alleged passion. Instead, evidence suggests that both fell victim to a plot arranged by Talbot so as to give him grounds for divorcing a wife seemingly unable to bear him a son. As it becomes clear that Kathleen cannot possibly unearth the truth and faithfully reconstruct Marianne's life, she gradually turns her into a foil for her own desires and fears. By interlacing both story strands, the novel explores how identity is inextricably entwined with the past, both through the Famine narrative and Kathleen's personal history of a deprived and loveless childhood resulting in a disoriented and unsteady adult life.

Tropes of hunger, starvation, and barrenness are used at multiple levels to illuminate Irish gendered identity. Kathleen comes across evidence that Talbot tried to starve his wife, locking her up in the big house and later in England. Crop failure and women's infertility are linked, firstly on the literal level as undernourishment causes infertility and secondly on the metaphorical level which plays upon traditional representations of the land as female. The Famine, during which the feminised land refused to provide nourishment, is projected on women in later legislative attempts to control their bodies and regulate their fertility (see O'Kane Mara 201). Because Marianne fails to bear her husband a son, she is – possibly – abandoned, cruelly separated from her daughter and driven mad. This fate, again, is mirrored by Kathleen's own infertility: "The older I got the more I asked questions about the purpose of my existence, if it was not to have a baby" (O'Faolain 370). Finally, we learn about Kathleen's most deeply rooted trauma that made her leave Ireland thirty years before. Her mother, five months pregnant, had been diagnosed with cancer of the womb and denied treatment to either cure it or at least reduce the pain so as not to endanger the child's life. When both mother and child died, Kathleen blamed Catholic Ireland in general and her self-righteous father in particular.

The central theme of physical and emotional (under)nourishment manifests itself in numerous ways, such as the mother's lifelong failure to provide food or express love for her children. Kathleen's need for passionate love is also described in terms of hunger, which again is intertwined with the regret at her own infertility: "I wanted – an

intense, incoherent, sexual longing surged up through my body – to both feed and be fed. And there was no chance" (O'Faolain 372). Being "motherless in every direction" (O'Faolain 372), as Kathleen puts it, what she needs in order to heal is not so much the passionate love of a man, but the caring maternal love of a mother figure. This she finds in a librarian tellingly enough called *Nan* Leech, who assists her in her research. Nan is an elderly woman on the verge of death, suffering from terminal cancer of the womb, who has remained unmarried and childless because of the Marriage Bar. Nan takes on Kathleen as the daughter she might have had and helps her to get back on track, come to terms with her life as it is – without Jimmy and Shay – and resume her own life in London, caring for her remaining friends who have been through their own traumas and crises.

As Miriam O'Kane Mara puts it, "O'Faolain's text proposes another creative, rather than procreative, space for women. Yet the text includes no characters who combine the roles of successful career with motherhood in a meaningful way" (204). This supposed incompatibility of career, motherhood, and romance seems to characterise many of the female characters in recent contemporary Irish women's fiction; while giving birth implies hope and fulfilment, it remains unclear whether motherhood can be combined with either having a career or a fulfilled partnership. Be that as it may, Kathleen fills this void by adopting her own family (the friends she makes in Ireland as well as her colleagues back in London), thereby suggesting a concept of identity and community beyond national and biological boundaries.

Conclusion

To conclude, all three works discussed in this paper testify to what Breda Gray calls the "inadequacy of understanding immigrant identity with reference only to the country of destination" ("Ethnicity" 178). Cate's invisible scar, Helen's secret donations to the convent, Greta's visions, and Kathleen's obsession with the Talbot case all suggest the more or less strong ties that bind all four characters to their country of origin and thus to their families and roots. Cate's changed name, Helen's American accent, and Kathleen's nomadic life signal not so much their having achieved a transnational identity but rather the attempt to bridge the experienced discrepancy by means of a 'doubling of identity.' In Greta's case the dangers inherent in this doubling become very obvious, as it leads to loss of identity, depression, and visions of the Virgin Mary or Mary Magdalene. The stories of both Greta's and Kathleen's self-recovery respectively document the complexity of this process, which inevitably entails national, gendered, and familial components.

Ultimately, the female characters created by Madden, Devlin, and O'Faolain imply that it is possible to become a true 'citizen of the world' – provided that this process is preceded by self-recovery, which means that one needs to confront and integrate rather than repress one's roots. It is only then that carrying one's own home within oneself becomes possible, in the sense that Mária Kurdi claims that re-born Greta, at

the end of *After Easter*, is carrying her home "hidden inside the soul forever, like Ireland herself, to be carried wherever she goes" (105).

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A CLEARING IN INFERNO: BANVILLEAN CONSTRUCTIONS OF PRAGUE IN *PRAGUE PICTURES* AND *KEPLER*

Hedda Friberg-Harnesk

Augustine Martin, late Professor of Anglo-Irish literature at University College Dublin, once stated that Dublin is "'the most famous city in literary history, with the possible exception of Troy'" (qtd. in Smyth 14). Much speaks for the truth of that statement, but no doubt there are other worthy contestants in a competition for such a title. The contestant I will put forward here is Prague, which, according to one critic at least, "more than any other city in Europe seems to be a literary place" and which has given rise to a literature "so rich that it is possible to speak of it as a genre of its own" (Landmark 6).[1] Prague is not only the city of Franz Kafka and Jaroslav Hasek, whose heroes Josef K. and Josef Svejk have put their marks on the city, or of Jaroslav Seifert, Ivan Klima, or Milan Kundera for that matter, but it is also, as Irish novelist John Banville has put it, "the mysterious, jumbled, fantastical, absurd city on the Vltava, one of Europe's three capitals of magic [the other two being Turin and Lyon]" (*PP* 9).[2] Of course, the Dublin Gus Martin had in mind in the quotation above was primarily the city of James Joyce's *Ulysses* – that is, the Dublin of June 16, 1904. The Prague that will be considered below, as it appears in two texts by Banville, is of a double-layered temporality: the year 1600, as reinvented in the novel *Kepler* (1981), and an early 1980s moment, as outlined in the non-fictional *Prague Pictures* (2003).[3] I will argue that in these texts the city of Prague emerges, in pre-modern and modern versions of itself, as a cramped space of entrapment, a stagnant and oppressive urban place. At times, however, it also appears as a place where spaces open up – for liberating action and flights of the imagination.

As for my material, it should be said that the potential problems of reading a work of non-fiction alongside a fictional one have not escaped me. The two texts selected, however, crucially concerned as they both are with Europe and Prague, speak to each other on several levels. My contention is that at the point where they intersect, a rich Banvillean construction of Prague comes into view.

The city, as a concept, tends to be problematic. A city, to Henri Lefebvre, is a centre of "social and political life" but it is also "itself '*œuvre*' [a work of art, a monument], a feature which contrasts with the irreversible tendency towards money and commerce" (66). According to Burton Pike, it is "an artefact deeply rooted in our civilisa-

1 Landmark's 2004 review juxtaposed *Prague Pictures* with two other books on Prague, one of them by Ivan Klima.

2 The following sigla will be used throughout: *PP* for *Prague Pictures* and *K* for *Kepler*.

3 A few other moments in time, in the respective century of each novel, also take on importance – the later 1600s and the 1990s.

tion and the Western mind; […] the city always speaks, and with many voices" (ix). Furthermore, although a "powerful image in literature" from the start, it is nevertheless "too large and complex to be thought of as only a literary trope. It has a double reference, to the artefact in the outside world and to the spectrum of refractions it calls into being in the minds of author and reader" (ix). The city also, as James Donald suggests, designates a "diversity" to which we ascribe "coherence or integrity"; it is a representation and, as Donald argues, an "imagined environment" (422). Thus, without losing sight of the empirical reality of Prague, I will here consider that city as it emerges in John Banville's *Prague Pictures* and *Kepler*, as a literary construction – a "'word-city'" (Pike xii) and an imagined environment.

Although some have seen the choice of a life in the city as a sign of mental hygiene – the Irish writer Liam O'Flaherty comes to mind, who in his young seafaring days claimed that "man, when sane, needs to be in a crowd. […] They always live in cities" (274) – others have seen such a choice as infernal. Italo Calvino, for one, does so in his *Invisible Cities*: the city is the "'inferno where we live every day, that we form by being together'" (qtd. in Smyth 13). Calvino also suggests two possible ways of escaping the suffering inflicted by this inferno: one is to accept the inferno and become part of it; the other is "'to seek and learn to recognize who and what, in the midst of the inferno, are not inferno, then make them endure, give them space'" (qtd. in Smyth 13). Focusing on the second of Calvino's possible paths, I posit that in Banville's two texts, Prague is constructed partly as infernal and partly as a city where spaces are cleared for that which is not inferno.

A secondary focus in this article concerns my view of John Banville's Prague – in addition to being constructed as word-city and inferno – as containing a Hibernicising element. This view draws on Patrick Sheeran's erstwhile (and notably pre-Celtic-Tiger) suggestion that an Irish sense of place is a "nominal" one and that a "verbal, funereal perception of place may be discerned all the way through the Irish tradition" (196). According to Sheeran, then, an Irish sense of place "relates to death rather than to life" (194) – an idea akin to the Joycean notion that "[t]he Irishman's house is his coffin" (Joyce 110) – and is marked by a predilection for words that includes the excessive naming of names. In what follows, I will leave aside the funereal aspects of this sense of place,[4] and focus on the verbal and nominal aspects. Despite its relative datedness, Sheeran's view of an Irish sense of place, stemming, as it does, from the decade in which *Kepler* was written and *Prague Pictures* is partially set (i.e. the 1980s), strikes me as particularly useful for my investigation. Such a sense of place, Sheeran claims, stands "in sharp contrast to the general European" one, which, in a Heideggerian tradition, is connected to dwelling (196).[5] According to Sheeran, an

4 Incidentally, the funereal sense of place also implies that cemeteries become "focal points" in the landscape, functioning as "inverse *omphali,* sacred places that link this world to the one above and below" (Sheeran 203).

5 The Heideggerian definition of dwelling "includes both *aedificare* 'to build' and *colere* 'to cultivate' – 'to cherish and protect, to preserve and care for'" (qtd. in Sheeran 197).

Irish sense of place is not Heideggerian, nor is it primarily a product of "colonialism and [...] the distortions wrought by historical circumstance" (195). Instead, in Irish culture, since it is one in which place is perceived in a primarily verbal way, "places are defined, not so much by erecting enclosures or buildings, as by being known and being talked about" (197). Furthermore, the storytellers of the Gaelic tradition suffered from "topomania," and Irish literature "obsessively names the names" (192). To Sheeran, then, the Irish "nominal sense of place means [...] not only an obsessive resort to names, but also that it is sufficient to name a place in order to mark one's attachment to it" (197) Moreover, perceived from the perspective of a nominal sense of place, the

> thing itself is of subsidiary importance and it is not necessary to do anything about it to demonstrate affection or possession. Neither building nor cultivating is required. We encounter here a magical use of the word that harmonizes very well with other aspects of our predominantly verbal culture. (197)

Applying Sheeran's ideas to Banville's two texts, I posit, then, that to the focalisers of Banville's *Prague Pictures* and *Kepler* the city of Prague emerges as an inferno, but that in this urban hell clearings are made, metaphorically speaking, for that which is not inferno. Moreover, I suggest that the literary construction of Prague in these texts contains elements of what might be termed an Irish sense of place; thus, Prague is partially constructed as a place in which it is not necessary for J.B. or Johannes Kepler to 'dwell' in order to mark an attachment. Through the two focalisers' nominal perception of place, the clearings made for that which is not infernal in Prague are partially Hibernicised.

"Mysterious, jumbled, fantastical, absurd": The Prague of *Prague Pictures*

When Banville wrote *Kepler*, he had not yet visited Prague. Writing *Prague Pictures*, he had. In the latter, he comments on the challenges of inventing the seventeenth-century city in which his Kepler figure moves:

> some years previously I had written a novel partly set in Prague at the turn of the seventeenth century. When I was working on the book I did not regard the inventing of a city I had never seen as any more of a challenge than, for example, having to re-create the early 1600s – all fiction is invention, and all novels are historical novels – but I was interested to know what level of verisimilitude, or at least of convincingness, I had achieved. Many readers had complimented me on the accuracy with which my book had 'caught the period,' to which I was too grateful and too polite to respond by asking how they could possibly know; I understand that what they were praising was the imaginative feat they felt I had performed in persuading them that this was just how it had been then. (*PP* 7)[6]

The Prague of *Kepler*, then, is a literary construction, but so is the Prague of *Prague Pictures*. As one critic has suggested, "what makes *Prague Pictures* differ from other

6 Lene Yding Pedersen has discussed the construction of Prague in *Kepler* and *Prague Pictures* as a "nexus of memories" rather than a geographic place (264).

non-fictional books on the city is Banville's skills as a writer of fiction" (Pedersen 278). The book is not, as Banville emphatically states, "a guidebook," but rather a "handful of recollections, variations on a theme. An effort to conjure a place by a mingled effort of memory and imagination. [...] a peace token, a placatory gift tentatively proffered, or just a faithless lover's letter of apology" (*PP*, "Caveat Emptor"). Constructed from elements of fact and fiction gleaned from guidebooks, historical accounts, and pieces of poetry, Banville's Prague, word city as it is, is a web of intertextuality: throughout the book, Banville's narrating persona refers to the vast body of literature that has been written on Prague – the "mysterious" and "absurd" capital of magic (9). He repeatedly glances at Angelo Maria Ripellino, who, in his *Magic Prague* (*Praga Magica*) of 1973, represents the city as a "temptress, a wanton, a she-devil," who "'slyly works her way into the soul with spells and enigmas to which she alone holds the key'" (qtd. in *PP* 9-10). Ripellino's Prague is the old Prague, "the city of 'surreptitious passages and infernal alleys [...] still smelling of the Middle Ages'" (10). Ripellino, then, explicitly identifies an infernal element in the city. As Banville constructs Prague, he also draws on the guidebook *Blue Guide: Prague* (1999) and on sources relating to Franz Kafka, Tycho Brahe, and Emperor Rudolph; he frequently turns to Jaroslav Seifert's poetry and he hovers over the photography of Joseph Sudek. Moreover, Prague of *Prague Pictures* is constructed out of Banville's imagination and from recollections of the physical city as he encountered it on his visits. Here, I will focus primarily on his first visit "in the early 1980s" (1), as recalled in Part I of the book. With regard to the role memory plays in the literary construct, Banville reflects that "[m]emory is a vast, animated, time-ravaged mural" and goes on to puzzle over mnemonic selection processes: why does he recall particular "fragments and not others, far more significant?" (45-46). The answer is withheld, and it is in the intersection between pre-existing texts, authorial invention, and the fickle selection processes of memory that the Prague of *Prague Pictures* is conjured and constructed.

In an effort to pin down what he sees as the 'essence' of Prague, the question of how and where to locate the "'real' Prague" (82), Banville's persona – I will call him 'J.B.' from here on – points to the impossibility of ever knowing a city through its "sites and sights," especially "an entity as amorphously elusive as Prague" (11-12). Considering contemporary Prague, he asks himself where the essence of the city is to be found. Is it "in the pretty Old Town Square, with its cafés and its famous clock, or, on the far contrary, in the smouldering concrete suburbs, where the majority of Praguers live their decidedly unbohemian lives?" (12). It is certainly not in the post-1989 Americanisation process which, J.B. thinks, has succeeded in killing the ancient 'capital of magic.' He finds it ironic that "the old Prague, wistful, secretive, tormented, which survived the communist takeover of 1948, and even the Russian invasion twenty years later," has finally "succumbed to the blow delivered to it by a velvet fist in a velvet glove in the revolution of 1989. Now the dollar is everywhere, the young have all the blue jeans they could desire, and there is a McDonald's just off the Charles Bridge"

(10). Ripellino's "beloved temptress" has changed into a "tourist hive" (11). On second thoughts, though, J.B. graciously concedes that "Praguers have the same right to vulgar consumerism as the rest of us" (11). Despite such tight-jawed tolerance, however, J.B. makes no attempt to 'dwell' in the Prague of the 1990s – he neither 'builds,' nor 'cultivates' there. He does, however, to some extent, mark attachment to it, thereby in a sense Hibernicising it. For example, he introduces a "brief history of the Czech Lands" by way of making reference to the "Celts, that mysterious but ubiquitous people, which some specialists claim never existed" and that supposedly arrived in the area "in the fourth century BC" (72). In an attempt to further substantiate nominal Celtic claims to these old Czech Lands, J.B. then names one of the Celtic tribes, "the Boii" – a "race of redheads [...] displaced by Germanic tribes from the west, and by Romans from the south" – that presumably gave rise to the name "Boiohaemum, our Bohemia" (72).

Focusing next on what might be considered the centre of the place that is Prague, J.B. turns to the Charles Bridge – "that statued stone span" (8). Doing so, he refers to Martin Heidegger's essay "Building Dwelling Thinking," which, pondering "the essential nature of the bridge" (76) – a building obviously erected by human beings dwelling in Prague – presents it as a structure that "'vaults over glen and stream'" (77) and that "'*gathers* the earth as landscape around the stream'" (76). Although Heidegger, to generalise grossly, can be said to emphasise safe-guarding "as the basic characteristic of dwelling" (Wrathall 107) and to stress the need for "learning to be rooted in our own particular place in the world" (117), J.B. – despite his evocation of Heidegger – seems to perceive the bridge as a place to be "known and talked about" rather than constructed and safe-guarded. In great numbers, visitors pass across this bridge which, as J.B. reflects, "must now be one of the world's most densely peopled spaces" (*PP* 8). They do so, "all day long, and throughout most of the night" (8) – never becoming rooted, but presumably forming attachments. Partially perceiving the Charles Bridge according to a nominal sense of place, J.B. names it, thus making it 'Irish' and marking attachment.

Having set out for Czechoslovakia in the early 1980s, "in the expectation that all [his] received ideas of what life was like in Eastern Europe would be overturned" (2), J.B. is disappointed. He is also thwarted in his search for the 'essence' of the city. It is not until he encounters the "reticent yet ravishing, dreamy yet precise and always particular" photographs of Josef Sudek, portrayer of the city, that he knows he has found his real Prague. Elaborating on Henry James's statement that "art '*makes* life, makes interest, makes importance'" (58),[7] Banville suggests that art shapes life by singling out "the essential matters, the essential moments, in the disordered flux that is actual, lived life" while still acknowledging that which is *not* art, "the unconsidered but sustaining dross left behind" (58-59). Such singling out and such acknowledgement

7 According to Banville, Henry James wrote this in a "famous letter of rebuke to the philistine H.G. Wells" (58).

is what J.B. finds in Sudek's photos, which, as he sees it, have "managed to capture," even more movingly than Kafka, Prague's "weary charm, its tragic beauty, its light and shadow, and that something in between, the peculiar, veiled radiance of this city on the Vltava" (69). J.B. reflects: "All day I had been walking about the city without seeing it, and suddenly now Sudek's photographs […] showed it to me, in all its stony, luminous solidity and peculiar, wan, absent-minded beauty," and he knows that he has "finally arrived" (58-59). Constructing his Prague, here, through the mediation of photography, the shaped and ordered black-and-white artist's version of the city that emerges in Sudek's photos, Banville presents the city as an imagined environment – an image-city as well as a word-city. And he represents the art of Sudek as a sustaining space cleared for him in a potentially infernal urbanity.

Fully arrived or not, J.B. has to attend to a mission involving personal encounters, which here enter Banville's literary construction of Prague. He is in Czechoslovakia with two women, J. and G. They have, with some anxiety, undertaken to help a young Czech émigré in New York to get on his economic feet by smuggling valuable art works out of Prague. The art works, a number of photographs, "original contact prints by a Czech master" (16) that turns out to be Sudek, are in the possession of the young man's father, a professor of Fine Arts. The reader learns that the professor, who "knew Václav Havel of course, still in prison at the time," had been involved in drawing up the human rights manifesto Charter 77, a fact responsible for his dismissal from the university. He and his wife Marta now subsist on a small pension (19) in a Prague that is truly hellish at times. At one point, this professor visits the hotel of the Irish party. Here, the two women have been allotted a room of "mortuary stillness" and intimidating size, "so vast indeed, that a thin, chill mist seems to hang in the farther reaches of it" (6). Meeting the professor, it becomes clear that the city J.B. encounters on this visit is not only in the grip of winter and of silence – "Prague's silence is more a presence than an absence" (1) – but it is very much in the grip of the Cold War, too. Thus, as the professor enters the hotel room and G. begins to speak of the "mission that had brought the three of [them] to Prague," the professor makes a "Prague gesture" – silencing her "at once by putting a finger to his lips and pointing to the dusty light fixture in the middle of the ceiling" (15). This gesture, J.B. notes, was "always accompanied by a hapless apologetic smile" (16). In this Prague, then, "[t]here were, there really were, hidden microphones everywhere" (16). Prague is an inferno of control and surveillance entrapping its inhabitants.

Invited to the professor's small apartment for dinner – sitting "in a small, neat, bright room with a lot of blond, fake-Scandinavian furniture" – the trio from Ireland attempt to move the conversation to the "frosty state of East-West relations," but the professor's wife, Marta, will not allow it. She wants news of America, where her son lives. And she wants – especially as she is getting flushed "on bad Moravian wine" – to take her visitors to task for speaking continually of "Eastern Europe." Could they not see that by "using that designation" they were "conniving with the Soviets and accepting the status quo?" Besides, she wants to know, "Where does Eastern Europe

begin? At Moscow? Budapest? Prague? *Vienna*? […] No no, if there was an Eastern Europe, it began no further west than Istanbul!" (52). Marta's voice is one of the city's many voices, and it is one which refuses to accept the inferno of a Soviet-controlled Prague. Her husband, proudly and "wordlessly urging her on" (53), admits that "life in Prague was almost unbearable" at times, but that it was not necessarily the "times of active oppression" – the communist takeover in 1948 or the invasion of 1968 – that were the most difficult, but the "state of torpor" that seemed to follow each crisis (54). Here J.B. recalls Ripellino's observation that "'the joyless, eternally pouting'" Prague "'has the rhythm of slow, endless mastication'" (55). Yet, J.B. reflects, there is, especially among intellectuals, a strong affection for the city: "so many things that were precious had been taken from the lives of these artists, critics, scholars that they clung to the idea of their city, its history, its shabby magnificence, its unyielding mysteriousness, with the passion of exiles" (15). There is also, J.B. reflects, heroic work being done, quietly and invisibly, for the survival of culture and the arts in the city by – and here he cites a memorial tribute to Joseph Brodsky, written by Russian writer Tatyana Tolstaya – "the little old ladies of the intelligentsia" who work in libraries and museums and "who stand in the back rows at philharmonic concerts, next to the columns, where the tickets are cheaper" (108). Such women, on their meagre wages quietly supporting the arts in the city and presented as the guardians of the light of 'civilisation,' contribute to the Banvillean construction of Prague. They are certainly dwelling in the city, even building it, but not by bricks and mortar, but by words, solidarity, and feats of the imagination. The people of Prague are shown to be trapped in a suffocating inner exile in their city at this time; yet they are also shown to recognise, and quietly make space for, that which is not infernal in their city – its art, intellectual life, and beauty – and to make it endure. J.B., by contrast, never dwells in Prague. Through the act of naming, however, by inscribing on the pages of his book of Prague all that is not hellish in the city, he marks attachment.

To J.B., Prague emerges during this visit as a city that in quite concrete terms clears a space, or a passage, for the 'freeing' of the thirty valuable photographs by Josef Sudek that the professor owns. They are black-and-white Prague streetscapes and interiors (57), the quality of which deeply impresses J.B., and they become an emblem of resistance against that which is infernal in the city. These photos will ensure the survival in New York of the professor and Marta's son, and through his survival his parents will endure. In a sullen sleet shower, then, the Irish 'smugglers' begin their exit from Czechoslovakia by taking a train out of Prague. G. carries the Sudek photos "rolled up tightly and concealed in a cardboard tube" (70). The group is held up at the Austrian border, where "guards went through the carriages with implements like giant versions of dentist's mirrors, searching under the seats and on the luggage racks for anyone who might have hidden there in an attempt to flee the country" (71). In the end, the trio are allowed to cross. On the Austrian side, J.B. is cheered by the sight of a billboard showing "a half-naked woman advertising some degenerate Western luxury – Dior fashions or Mercedes motor cars"; the sight of "such happy, hope-

ful, life-affirming colours" (71) signals the success of the border-crossing. Doors have opened, the train takes them away from the city and the country, and a space has been cleared for a liberating action leading out of the inferno. "Ashamed," he thinks of "the Professor, and Marta," for whom no doors have opened yet.

In *Prague Pictures*, finally, there are "snapshots" from a later moment in history, too. Thus, Banville's narrating persona recalls a visit to Prague one summer in the middle of the 1990s, his first "since the Velvet Revolution – that journalist's formulation," which he has "never heard a Praguer employ." At this time, the "city is hot and smoky, and seems to gasp" and J.B. assigns blame for the city's breathing difficulties not to its toxic air, but its "distressed relief at having survived the terrible decades" (196). During this visit, J.B. searches the city for evidence of change: in what ways is Prague visibly different since the fall of the Berlin Wall? He considers the floodlighting of Hradčany, the Castle on the hill, which "is a post-1989 innovation, surely? The communists would have regarded such a show of unashamed consumption of the city's electricity as a typical piece of Westernised decadence, and probably they would have been right" (196-197). As noted earlier, J.B. deplores the new Prague, destroyed by the omnipresent dollar and the presence of "a McDonald's just off the Charles Bridge" (10). But even in this new version of the urban inferno, he circumscribes – albeit ironically – a cleared space that is not inferno: "Freedom is freedom to eat cheap hamburgers as much as it is to publish subversive poetry" (11).

In the reinvented 1990s Prague that J.B. sees before him, he specifically ponders the fact that Václav Havel is now the President. The image of this respected man of letters turned statesman becomes a clearing for J.B. in the inferno of the new Prague:

> The fact [that Havel is President] is hard to credit, even yet. It is as if Kafka's K. had suddenly been welcomed into the Castle by a smiling Kramm and told that with immediate effect he will […] assume the leadership of the realm. I try to picture this playwright, admirer of Beckett and Ionesco, sitting in his neat blue suit at a desk in Rudolf's palace, poring over documents of state. (197)

J.B. points to Václav Havel's own speech, held in Jerusalem "shortly after his inauguration," in which he admits to having "feelings of incongruousness – of being, even, an imposter" (197):

> I am the kind of person who would not be in the least surprised if, in the very middle of my Presidency, I were to be summoned and led off to stand trial before some shadowy tribunal, or taken straight to some quarry to break rocks. [...] The lower I am, the more proper my place seems; and the higher I am the stronger my suspicion is that there has been some mistake. (198)

In a Banvillean Prague – word-city of Europe – not only history, but the leaders of nations, too, become literary constructs. Here, reality manifests a fictionality which, in reverse as it were, seems akin to that "essential fraudulence" (9) which J.B. thinks adheres to fiction, as will be seen below.

"Silent city rising [in] freezing mist": The Prague of *Kepler*

"Prague! A world away!" (*K* 340). Johannes Kepler is not enthusiastic about the prospect of leaving Graz for distant Prague as the year 1599 turns to 1600 and religious turmoil boils up again in Austria. Archduke Ferdinand persecutes Lutherans, issuing one severe edict after another. Lutheran worship is banned and Lutheran writings are burned: "Threats whirred in the air, and Kepler shivered" (338). Graz is becoming an inferno for the young astronomer, and his hope of escape lies with Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe[8] in Prague.[9] Thus, when kind Baron Johann Friedrich Hoffmann, the Emperor's councillor and Kepler's patron, visits Graz, Kepler accepts his invitation to accompany him back to Prague. Packed into a decrepit carriage with his bags, wife, and baby daughter, the astronomer undertakes the "frightful journey" to the distant destination. In February 1600, they arrive in Prague and are housed and fed by Baron Hoffmann. Kepler immediately detests the city: "The buildings were crooked and ill-kept, thrown together from mud and straw and undressed planks. The streets were awash with slops, the air putrid" (340). As one perceptive critic has noted, Prague in *Kepler* is "a wreckage waiting to be assembled in *Prague Pictures*" (Powell 46). In a squalid Prague, then, Kepler is trapped for a couple of weeks, forced to wait for Brahe, who fails to show up for a promised meeting. To Kepler, the pre-modern city of Prague with its neglected and poorly constructed buildings is an infernal trap of raw architecture, putrid air, sloppy streets, and enforced passivity. Considering Sheeran's suggestion that the "Irish preoccupation with place [...] has little or nothing to do with tending, cultivating, enhancing, or otherwise materially affecting the immediate environment" (192), the untidy city that rises before Kepler in Banville's novel can be seen as neatly conforming to Sheeran's view of an Irish sense of place.

As Kepler and his family are allowed to leave Prague, to be finally conducted to Brahe's castle of Benatky, an escape from inferno is offered and hesitantly accepted. However, the journey to the castle, "twenty miles to the north of Prague, in the midst of a flat flooded countryside" (*K* 340), seems a continued descent into a cold and snowy Hades – they are cramped and cold in the carriage – and the first impressions are daunting. Kepler is dismayed at the sight of the castle, "grand and impassive in the sunlit February air" (289). Meeting Brahe, he is discouraged, too, at first. He has expected the Danish astronomer – "the Great Dane," as Banville calls him in *Prague Pictures* (130)[10] – to be large and "lavish," but what he finds is "a fat bald man ranting

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8 In Chapter 4 of *Prague Pictures*, Banville elaborates on Tycho Brahe's early life in Denmark and his observatory Uraniborg, on the island of Hven, in the sound of Öresund, which was Danish at the time (130-195).

9 In a companion piece to this text, I have briefly touched on Kepler's association with Brahe in the Prague of *Kepler* (Friberg-Harnesk 243-265).

10 To dwell on dog imagery, the historical Kepler described himself, in a third-person perspective, as having "in every way a dog-like nature. His appearance is that of a little house dog. […] He was constantly on the move, digging among the sciences, politics, and private affairs" (*PP* 171n).

about, of all things, his tame elk" (*K* 292), a much loved animal. The problem seems to be that the moose has consumed a pot of beer, fallen down the stairs of Wandsbeck Castle, where it "broke a leg, and died" (341). Brahe can think of little else and ignores Kepler. Despite misgivings, though, Kepler thinks in the end that he has done right to come to Benatky and that he will do important work here. It is, of course, Brahe's carefully collected astronomical data to which he eventually gains access that will allow him to do so, especially once he is back in Prague.[11] Under the patronage of Tycho Brahe, Kepler recognises that which is not inferno: not only does Kepler in the end get access to the crucial data, but through his connection with Brahe he also gains a new patron after Brahe's death in 1601: Rudolph II, the Holy Roman Emperor. In a Prague that Kepler seems to find hellish, a free space for the pursuit of his scientific work is nevertheless created for him – the new "Imperial Mathematician" – under Rudolph's melancholic and paranoid protection (*PP* 94). Naming the city as his place of scientific endeavour, he marks his attachment.

Notwithstanding Kepler's unease about Prague, the city is not altogether infernal to him. Having returned there in the summer of 1601 with Tycho Brahe, he lives in the Curtius House on the Hradčany. Arriving at this house, which on a hot summer evening has "a forlorn and puzzled air," Kepler "wanders through the hugely empty rooms" and finally seems to arrive in Prague (*K* 356). Naming in his mind the parts of the house – the entrance hall, the doorway, "a parallelogram of sunlit wall" leaning "at a breathless tilt" in a big mirror, and the "palace gardens" in which "an enraptured blackbird was singing" (356) – he marks his attachment to the place.

When Kepler returns to Prague some thirty years later, he has travelled from Ulm, bringing with him the first printed copies of his monumental work, the *Tabulae Rudolphinae.*[12] To these he has devoted twenty years. Stopping at Regensburg (Ratisbon) on the way, he reluctantly allows his second wife Susanna and their children to join him. According to the logic of the novel, they arrive in Prague by barge. The river that carries him there is shown as anything but a flow of happy expectations. Rather, it is a curiously congested waterway which, in the dead of winter, delivers Kepler to the docks of Prague:

> Cold it had been that morning, the sky like a bruised gland and a taste of metal in the air, and everything holding its breath under an astonishment of fallen snow. Soiled white boulders of ice lolled on the river. In the dark before dawn he had lain awake, listening in fright to the floes breaking before the bow, the squeaking and the groans and the sudden flurries of cracks like distant musket-fire. They docked at first light. (466)

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11 In *Prague Pictures*, Banville comments on the historical Kepler's decision to move to Prague in the first place: "It was the purity and dependability of Brahe's data which made Kepler lick his chops and brought him trotting up to Prague in the notable year 1600" (137).

12 This work provided the data necessary for the computation of the positions of the planets.

While the dirty icebergs floating on the river, seemingly congesting it, become manifestations of the lethargy and near-paralysis of Prague, the sharp sounds of the ice cracking, breaking before the barge, ring like warnings of a battle ahead.

Banville has remarked that he links his invention of Prague – a city unknown to him when he wrote Kepler – of this particular seventeenth-century moment to what he sees as "the essential fraudulence of fiction" (*PP* 9). He elaborates: "Conjure a winter morning, a river and a castle and a traveller disembarking with a book under his arm, and for the space of a page or two an implied world comes to creaky life. It is all a sleight of the imagination, a vast synecdoche" (9). In the novel, the harbour that receives Kepler and his family seems paralysed by the cold, the "quayside was deserted save for a mongrel with a swollen belly chasing the slithering hawser" – and the skipper of the barge is scornful: "The bargemaster scowled at Kepler, his oniony breath defeating even the stink seeping up from the cargo of pelts in the hold. 'Prague,' he said, with a contemptuous wave, as if he had that moment manufactured the silent city rising behind him in the freezing mist" (*K* 466). The bargemaster's introduction of the city, frozen as if under an "astonishment" of snow, as if it were his own creation, sharpens the focus on the Prague of *Kepler* as an artefact, man-made and frozen in time. Yet, the reeking, cold inferno, formed by people living together in imposed coherence, is also a trap threatening to snap shut around the newcomer.

The Keplers lodge "at The Whale by the bridge" where even the "children are too cold to cry" (467). Kepler has been afraid of coming to Prague and he is unpleasantly reminded of "how, thirty years before, Ferdinand had hounded the Protestant heretics out of Styria" (468) and of how, now, the war is once more going well for the Catholic parties. Once he moves into the streets, though, the Prague he encounters is new and startling: there is a "new spirit" in the city. At first, he is charmed by the "bustle and an almost gay confusion" at the court, newly returned from Vienna for the coronation of Ferdinand's son as King of Bohemia (467). In this city "where he had expected stillness and stealth," a clearing opens in which there is a polyphony of voices, a rainbow of colours, and a surprising richness of clothing: "The yellow capes and scarlet stockings, the brocades and the frogging and the purple ribbons; he had never seen such stuffs, even in Rudolph's time. He might have been among a spawn of Frenchmen" (468). The hope of significant change dies, however, as it dawns on him that there "was no new spirit, it was all show, a frantic paying of homage not to greatness, but to mere might. These reds and purples were the bloody badge of the counter-reformation. And Ferdinand had not changed at all" (468). Thus, the flickering image of a Prague bustling with life and colourful diversity fades, the cleared space closes again, and Kepler sees, emerging behind it, the well-known inferno of sectarian strife and religious persecution. It is as if the city had become a node of communication between the living and the dead – a place more likely to be "famous and named" for "those who died" in it than for those who dwelt in it (Sheeran 204).

In this infernal Prague, however, the older Kepler discovers sustaining spaces that are not inferno, much as the younger one had done. As Emperor Ferdinand introduces him to his chief commander, General von Wallenstein, the general admits to being an old admirer of Kepler's work. A "brief and turbulent," but beneficial, connection is established. Kepler is pleased: he had come to Prague "to seek the Emperor's patronage, and was given instead a general. He was not ungrateful to the arranging fates. He was in need of refuge" (470). Thus, although Johannes Kepler does not tend to dwell in Prague, in the sense of being "at peace in a protected place" (Sheeran 197), he does repeatedly recognise spaces, within the inferno that the city is for him, that are not infernal and he tries to make them endure.

Conclusion

John Banville's literary construction of Prague – the word-city of Europe, to evoke Burton Pike – in *Kepler* and *Prague Pictures* takes place at two temporal levels – the year 1600 and an early 1980s moment. In the above, I have considered this Banvillean construction from the angle of Italo Calvino's suggestion that the city is an "inferno," the suffering of which can best be escaped by trying to "learn to recognize who and what, in the midst of the inferno, are not inferno" and to "make them endure, give them space" (qtd. in Smyth 13). In *Kepler,* seventeenth-century Prague is constructed as a ramshackle and putrid inferno of pre-modern urbanity. It is a frozen place that Kepler reaches with effort – by "decrepit carriage" or by barge on congested waters. It is a place that tends to force passivity on him and from which he escapes with difficulty. Yet, at crucial moments, it opens up sheltered and empowering spaces for the astronomer's professional success. In *Prague Pictures*, moreover, the Prague of the early 1980s is constructed as a sullen, lethargic city under constant surveillance by the authorities; it emerges as a grinding inferno of little vitality and less hope, moving to the "'rhythm of slow, endless mastication,'" while entrapping its immobilised citizens. Yet, it is a city which clears spaces for the love it inspires in its resilient citizens and for culture and the arts – notably the art of Joseph Sudek. In the end, this city, with a little help from its Irish friends, also clears a passage for the escape of those Sudek photographs, which, going West, will support a child of Prague in his American exile. By sustaining that young émigré, the photos will also help the parents in Prague, for whom escape is impossible, endure. In the Prague of a later moment in this book (i.e. the mid-1990s), not only fiction, but history and leaders of nations, more specifically Václav Havel, become literary constructs. Finally, viewing the Prague encountered in these texts in terms of Patrick Sheeran's definition of an Irish sense of place as a nominal one, the city appears as a place in which it is not necessary for the focalisers J.B. and Johannes Kepler to dwell in order to mark attachment. Through their "Irish" perception of place, the Prague of *Kepler* and, especially, of *Prague Pictures* becomes partially Hibernicised.

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Exile, Migration, and 'the Other' in Contemporary Irish Writing

Angela Vaupel

There is a substantial body of historiographical work on the experience of emigration from Ireland which refers to literary texts for purposes of illustration and which often notes that Irish emigrants viewed their departure as exile. However, there is little recognition and expression in Irish prose writing or 'writing in Ireland' of the relatively new immigrant experience of those who are currently moving from Europe and further abroad to Ireland. This article sets out to explore the possible link between the Irish literary notion of 'exile' and responses to immigration into the island of Ireland. For the purpose of this article I will focus on prose writing only, as additional investigations into poetry and drama would be beyond the scope of this study.

The history of exile literature is as old as the history of writing itself. The concept of exile forms an immensely powerful and enduring element (not only) in the tradition of Western literature and those literatures which grew out of the European experience. Most foundational texts, such as Homer's *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, Flavius Josephus's chronicles on the beginnings of the Jewish diaspora, the Biblical scriptures, and the Koran, deal with conflict, separation, journeys, flights, and re-formations. However, exile has a special prominence in the twentieth century because of modern warfare and imperialism. According to the late Edward Said, himself a displaced Palestinian, the "quasi theological ambitions of totalitarian rulers" have created "the age of the refugee, the displaced person, mass immigration" (164).

Whether viewed metaphorically or literally, exile has profoundly influenced the relationship of innumerable storytellers, artists, and writers to their culture and it has contributed to the ways in which they have expressed that relationship in their works. Exiled writers who have been forced out of their homelands describe the pain that accompanies the loss of place and sense of belonging, the loss of their mother tongue and their cultural roots. Some writers exiled themselves from places they did not consider home to find places where they could write freely. Others are exiled less by geography than according to received literary criteria (genres, literary canons, etc.), which reflect aspects of the complex interactions of ethnicity, class, gender, and sexuality. For example, female authors in their native country often consider themselves as 'expatria in patria' due to their different social experience.[1]

Obviously, voluntary exile and forced exile have different impacts on writing. However, what they have in common is the 'matter of exile,' which extends beyond physi-

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1 It has to be noted that female writing in geographical exile is also quite different with regards to themes and motifs from male exilic writing.

cal or geographical definitions and thus becomes an abstract exile, which Said calls an "estrangement from the centre."[2] What is most important is whether an exiled writer defines him/herself as such and that exile is seen as a psychological experience:

> Exile, however, is a much broader term than the one that defines geo-graphical distance. It is a cross-cultural, cross-territorial and cross-linguistic experience. The cross-cultural and cross-linguistic experience of exile presents itself as a cultural challenge, which offers more colourful and varied means of artistic expression. (Olszewska 1)

Exile Literature and the Irish Context

'Exile' and 'emigration' are contrasting terms defining different states and allegiances: 'emigration' stresses the importance of being part of a community (of an 'out-movement'), while 'exile' implies individuality and solitude. However, the idea of emigration as exile has deep roots in the Irish literary and historical tradition: Gaelic poets used the word *deoraí*, which literally means 'banishment,' to describe anyone who left for whatever reason (Miller 105) – thus referring to a displacement from home and the difficulties experienced in cultural and linguistic assimilation. Hence, the conceptualisation of 'exile' in its literary representation is mainly Gaelic, Catholic, and nationalist and associated with the rural, economic, and political imperatives of Irish Catholicism. The term 'exile,' the affective complex and social construct that surrounds it, and the way this term is understood, expressed, resisted, or ignored in oral and in written forms, is a distinctive and distinguishing feature of Irish literary history.

Patrick Ward suggests a multidisciplinary approach to the study of Irish expressions of exile, emigration, and internal marginalisation in an international and comparative context, which might aid the realisation that Irish experiences of exile are by no means unique. Next to the economic necessity, it can be argued that the nature of Irish exile during the twentieth century was cultural in two aspects: it meant an escape from provincialism and nationalism (as the source of xenophobia and intolerance) and the response to a crisis of culture and identity (as an expression of post-colonial hybridity). Within the context of the exile theme in Irish writing one can trace, following Ward (15-17), four general types of relationship with Ireland as the home place: first of all, an exploration of Irish identity, which involves an examination of community and attachment to place; secondly, a contrary theme of alienation and separation from place and roots. Thirdly, in Irish diasporic literature, a tendency to strive for objectivity and integrity may be identified, which also deals with the effect of separation on those who have departed. The fourth category is concerned with return and includes those texts, which deal with 'internal exile' and the return to the homeland. Despite a vast and varied tradition, exilic writing is generally perceived accord-

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2 Said, "Reflections on Exile" 176-177. See also Böss & Gilsenan Nordin 8-9, and Böss, "Theorising Exile" 16-18, for a detailed outline of the historical, structuralist, and post-structuralist meanings of the term 'exile.'

ing to a binary logic where 'exile' either produces creative freedom or it traps the writer in restrictive nostalgia. Often these notions co-exist within the same literary works, and Irish exile writing is no exception to this.

The Female Experience

Women make up a vast and often overlooked section of uprooted populations. Hence, the story of male exile is predominant not only in Irish literary works on exile and emigration. Notions of homelessness, frustration about conditions that left exile as the only option, the feeling of being dispossessed, and comparisons with Biblical exile are, however, core issues in Irish exile writing by both male and female authors. In particular, it is "the daughter's obligation to follow her father into exile or marriage experienced as an exiled state" (Olinder 13), which is one of the experiences specific to Irish women. Women, too, were part of a post-colonial, disenchanted, and alienated group of writers and artists,

> who either endured the oppressive climate of orthodox nationalist culture with other inner exiles, or who chose to leave the country for voluntary exile abroad, like so many other emigrants who voted against 'de Valera's Ireland' with their feet. (Böss 28-29)

In this context, Irish exilic writing became more than a representation of individual experiences, but a critical reflection by, and literary expression of, those who felt "socially and culturally exiled" (Böss 29) or excluded from a nationalist Irish state. It does not come as a surprise that women writers – subjects to a patriarchal state, church, and Catholic-Gaelic conservative identity code – chose their works to be radical, realist, and often feminist (e.g. the works of Edna O'Brien, Deirde Madden, Anne Devlin). One of Emma Donoghue's characters in "Going Back" makes the point that "I've felt more of an exile for twenty years in Ireland than I ever have in the twelve I've been out of it" (Bolger 160). Specific female themes – in addition to the usual socio-cultural reasons for going into exile – are the issues of children born out of wedlock and moral judgement, female sexuality, the need to get away from patriarchal structures, and the notion of female powerlessness as well as reflections on the mothers who are left behind by emigrating children. However, often it is the working-class woman who has remained voiceless with regard to her specific experience of exile and/or emigration. This silence is not only a result of being female, but a result of being female and *poor* – pushed to the margins even further by the marginalised of more privileged middle-class backgrounds.

The State of Irish Exile Writing

In the light of Ireland's economic miracle, known as the Celtic Tiger, the disappearance of British Rule (almost), the collapse of church authority, and the general impact of globalisation, the "twin concepts of exile and emigration" (Böss 38) have lost their traditional meaning and relevance. The Irish are now in the process of moving be-

yond a traditional, narrow, and insular notion of Irish identity by accepting the plurality of their cultural heritage as well as recognising the country's transition into a multi-ethnic society brought about by immigration to Ireland. Today, the experience of Irish life is linked as much to London, New York, Berlin, or Paris as it is to Dublin, Belfast, and Ballycastle.

Consequently, with regard to a contemporary literature by younger generations of Irish writers (e.g. Doyle, O'Connor, Binchy), the terms 'exile' and 'departure' suggest an outdated degree of permanency: Irish writers no longer go into exile, they commute, travel or stay at home. However, references to 'internal exile' are (still) common in contemporary Irish writing, with Roddy Doyle's 'Barrytown Trilogy'[3] a principal example of working-class characters feeling alienated and excluded from Irish mainstream society as they have little access to the mainstream economy. The criticism voiced by Doyle's characters is thus directed not at foreign oppression of the Irish but at diverse social forces within Ireland that systematically exclude large parts of the population. Furthermore, critics have claimed that it is not the country but the writers who have not changed, in that "they cling to their outmoded culture of exile" and that their "adopted view of Ireland has become a stereotype" that refuses to die (Freitag 80).

Immigration Literature as Exile Literature

As early as the late 1960s, but predominantly since the late 1980s, a steady stream of literature has been emerging from immigrant minority circles in many western European countries. In particular since the 1990s, multicultural literature from refugee authors who fled their native countries because of conflict (e.g. Bosnia) and started writing in their new countries of residence (e.g. Scandinavia) deals with the exile experience of flight, escape, and homelessness as well as with aspects of assimilation or integration into a new society. In this writing, the themes and motives of exile literature and immigration literature mix and the characteristics of both types of literature blur into one another. Most of this hybrid literature reflects phases of the socialisation of the migrant community: that is, coming to terms with (war) trauma and personal loss, reflecting the concerns of the 'guest worker,' the bi-cultural second migrant generation, the cultural ties to the native country (or the loss of these), and the often problematic and different female experience of acculturation or integration.

Ireland's economic miracle at the end of the 1990s transformed it from being an emigration country during most of the twentieth century (and before) to being an immigration country: the boom resulted in an increase in employment of almost 30 per cent between 1996 and 2001 and the emergence of widespread labour shortage. This shortage attracted relatively large numbers of migrant workers and asylum

3 The 'Barrytown Trilogy' consists of the novels *The Commitments* (1988), *The Snapper* (1990), and *The Van* (1991).

seekers. Consequently, inward migration has become a significant component of population change. These changes in Irish migration patterns raise the issue of what kind of society Ireland wants to become, and moves are afoot to promote a more pluralistic and diverse society. Ethnic minority media have also begun to emerge (mostly print and the internet), and some parts of the domestic media have appointed special correspondents to report on ethnic affairs or to present news programmes aimed at promoting cultural diversity and to combat racism. Nevertheless, there is ongoing a complex debate about the changing perceptions of Irish identity and culture, which have been prompted by increased immigration.

Issues of cultural identity and xenophobic reactions to ethnic diversity also form a dominant theme in immigration literature, such as the fear of foreign infiltration, of a country losing its national identity and expressions of racism against the newcomers. However, the history of all immigration teaches us that 'ghettos' dissolve as soon as the process of differentiation and social advancement begins among the immigrants: class ultimately becomes more important than ethnicity. In this process of acculturation, cultural conformity is mainly a question of time, usually a matter of three generations. "Turks in Germany," for instance, "first become German Turks and then finally Turkish Germans. They are already beginning to walk in the footsteps of the Szymanskis and the Cartellieries" (Sommer 291). The same process has occurred over time in the history of Ireland (with Normans, Vikings, Jews, Italians, etc.) and is evident at present: after immigration from African and Asian countries, labour influx to Ireland is currently for the most part eastern European. Already settled Asian or African communities as well as the more recent continental European immigrants will ultimately find their place on the island. Admittedly, by now the Celtic Tiger has lost much of its bite. But its teeth marks – in the form of social change brought about in large part by the boom – appear to be deep and permanent, and Ireland, today economically in line with other EU countries, has no other choice but to accept the fact that it has become and will remain an immigration country.

Literary Responses to Immigration to Ireland

In 2003, Mary Robinson stressed the importance of "accurate portrayals of the diversity in Ireland today," emanating from immigrants themselves. Such an approach, she rightly claims, counteracts the "tendency to homogenise the *other*, the tendency that sees *us* as individuals and *them* as a homogeneous and terrifying mass" (qtd. in Hughes & Quinn 28). Yet, substantial immigration to Ireland is such a relatively recent development that immigrants have only just become involved in the activities and institutions of Irish life. Also, much of the research on immigration in Ireland is focused on asylum seekers (and their special legal status) rather than on immigrant workers. Compared with other countries with substantial immigration this emphasis is rather unusual (Cotter) but most likely a result of the very rapid increase in the

number of applications for asylum in the 1990s and Ireland's lack of experience in dealing with the issue.

One question that arises is to what extent have these societal changes been reflected in contemporary Irish literature – or in literature written in Ireland. So far, there has been limited research conducted on the emergence of media from the immigrant community, reflecting the fact that developments in this sphere are fairly new. Also, as with any community, most immigrants might not have access to the creative potential, the professional support or the drive to become writers or poets – pressurised, as many of them are, by the strains of making a decent living or achieving legal status. Furthermore, according to Abel Ugba, the motivation behind the emergence of ethnic minority media is often to redress the sensationalism in mainstream media rather than to create an outlet for artistic ambitions.

Since the very beginnings of *Metro Éireann*, Ireland's multicultural newspaper (with Ugba being one of its founders),[4] the Irish writer Roddy Doyle has been a regular contributor. His first collection of short stories, *The Deportees*, published in 2007, began life as a series of fragmented stories written for *Metro Éireann*. Restricted to chapters of 800 words, these short stories of varying length all focus on different aspects of a changed Ireland, one where multiculturalism is a reality. With humour throughout, the eight stories in total address, among other issues, friendship, exclusion, inclusion, prejudice, racism, identity, and respect.

> Maybe it was *Riverdance*. A bootleg video did the rounds of the rooms and the shanties of Lagos and, moved to froth by the sight of that long, straight line of Irish and Irish-American legs – tap-tap-tap, tappy-tap – thousands of Nigerians packed their bags and came to Ireland. *Please*. *Teach us how to do that*. (Doyle xi)

After this flippant introduction, Doyle educates his readers by explaining the real reasons for immigration – "jobs and the E.U., and infrastructure and wise decisions, and accident […], education and energy, and words like 'tax' and 'incentive'" (xi). The narratives in *The Deportees* are all about "someone born in Ireland meets someone who has come to live here," and they all take place in the country's capital, Dublin. Doyle's loyal readership get an update on the lives of old acquaintances, such as Larry, the father from *The Van*, who has to face his own hypocrisy when his daughter brings home a Nigerian refugee. Or a slightly older Jimmy Rabbitte Jr, the protagonist from the author's first novel, *The Commitments*, who considers his multiethnic band The Deportees' rousing Soul music as the unifying marker of the band members' multicultural identity. Music figures here (as it does in *The Commitments*) as more than mere atmosphere: here Soul, the voice of 1960s oppressed black America, is used for the specific political purpose of trying to establish the same sense of brotherhood among multicultural Dubliners as it did among African Americans.

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4 *Metro Éireann* was launched in April 2000. The paper started out as a monthly. Since 2007 it is a weekly, responding to an obvious need of expressing multicultural experiences in Ireland.

Identity is at the core of these narratives – national, cultural, ethnic and/or gender – whether the story deals with a young Irishman struggling, since he is black, to identify his Irishness ("Home to Harlem") or whether the story's focus is on immigrant exploitation ("I Understand"). Like some kind of contemporary multicultural *Dubliners*, Doyle's stories introduce the reader to the experience of people living in a post-economic-miracle Dublin and, in analogy to cosmopolitan James Joyce's narratives, in *The Deportees* the stories are linked by their themes. Doyle uses a range of perspectives and characters to examine, consider, and discard the reasons behind the obvious tensions and irrational fears which arise as a result of culture clashes or xenophobia. He reminds his readers that Dublin, and Ireland with it, has changed utterly and irreversibly and that the entire population must adjust and adapt, and individuals must learn accordingly not only 'to tolerate' but rather to accept 'otherness.' This notion is expressed quite powerfully in a story entitled "New Boy." The story's setting is the first day at an Irish school experience: new boy Joseph – a black African immigrant – has to deal with immediate racial abuse by two of his Irish classmates, which forces Joseph to learn quickly how to interpret and to negotiate the social codes that operate in the classroom as a microcosm of the dominant society. A victim of childhood trauma in his war-torn native country, Joseph proves ultimately capable of handling both the verbal and physical bullying inflicted on him by refusing victim status.[5]

The centrality of cultural identity and ethnic diversity is not a new feature of Roddy Doyle's literary work: in his first novel, *The Commitments*, Irish post-colonial working-class identity plays a major part, and in his novel *Oh, Play that Thing*, about protagonist Henry Smart's journey through the America of the 1920s and 1930s, Henry brings an outsider's "clarity of vision to the intricate written and unwritten rules governing interracial interactions that a white American would have taken for granted in that period" (Reddy 374). As in most of his novels, in *The Deportees* Doyle strictly avoids multi-syllabic vocabulary (as it appears in many canonised texts), but, instead, achieves a rather conversational literary style by using everyday language (including a high level of profanity and slang) combined with little description and almost no authorial commentary – an overall 'easy read,' designed to reach a broad cross-generational and cross-cultural audience, irrespective of their social standing.

> The absence of intrusive references to religion or to Irish politics is another aspect common to Roddy Doyle's novels; instead of belabouring tribe or traditional questions of sin or nationality, Doyle explores significant problems in contemporary Irish society. (White 142)

In her short story "Pirates" (2006), published in a collection of fictions by Irish women, the Dublin-based Dutch writer Judith Mok takes on a young male Iranian's perspective: fleeing from the Ayatollahs' revolution in former Persia, Rashid Gallili immigrates

5 An eleven-minute film adaptation of "New Boy" by Irish-American writer and director Steph Green was nominated for an Oscar in 2009 in the short film category; see *New Boy* and also O'Grady.

to Ireland, where he starts working as a construction labourer. His earnings allow him to study English, and eventually he becomes a part-time tutor in Persian Studies at Trinity College. However, the narrative is not so much about an immigrant success story but focuses on the unfulfilling relationships of the exiled protagonist. Rashid's feelings of loss and alienation not only refer to his native country and the family he left behind but extend and are central to his relationships with 'the Irish' and Ireland: his young daughter Lilly becomes the main reason for Rashid to stay in Ireland, where he is alienated from his Irish lover as well as from his students and even from the Irish landscape:

> Pale students, already tired of a life that hasn't yet started. Exhausted by the idea of having to record all that information in their hung-over brains. He looks discreetly at bulging belly buttons, the white, tender flesh spilling over tight trousers. Citrus trees, mimosa, clean tiled walls, splendid colours are what he wants now. (125)

Although the story's title refers to Lilly's interest in pirate films, it is the flat of fellow exile and compatriot Mrs Bahreini which becomes a secret harbour for both Rashid and the elderly widow and whose furniture, Persian porcelain, and large collection of books in old-fashioned Farsi provide not only a sense of home from home, but a safe island in their displacement. The exile experience makes them form an unlikely alliance, and both Mrs Bahreini and Rashid (and perhaps to an extent bi-cultural Lilly, too) are like pirates banned from their homeland, sailing through foreign waters.

Irish author Chris Binchy's third novel *Open-Handed* (2008) also captures the *zeitgeist* of affluent, multicultural Ireland. It is a recent example of Irish writing on post-Celtic-Tiger Irish society, with Dublin as the narrative's gritty backdrop. The novel's multiethnic characters are interacting in the narrow microcosm of the city's bars and a hotel, where they work as night staff and witness the hidden muck behind the capital's shiny façade. Binchy directs his readers' gaze to the underbelly of life in modern Dublin by observing fleeting moments in the lives of his five main characters, two of them Irish, three from Eastern Europe. Rumanian bouncer Victor (who pretends to be Italian, as Rumanian immigrants seem to rank lowest in Dublin's social periphery), Polish bar worker Agnieszka (whose employer offers her 'promotion' by becoming a prostitute), Polish night porter Marcin (a graduate archeologist), dubious Irish entrepreneur Sylvester, and his violent driver Dessie – all seek success from wildly different starting points and their lives intersect in a tangled web of corruption, exploitation, and violence.

Alienation, disillusion, and displacement are the core experiences addressed in this novel: there is wariness in every exchange, and trust comes with great difficulty. However, these experiences are not merely reserved for Dublin's new immigrant citizens but are also central to the 'indigenous' Irish characters' existence: even in close family relationships there is loneliness and a permanent sense of isolation. *Open-Handed* is a tale of culture clash and broken dreams. It is about cultural identity, morality, and integrity and describes the emerging social fabric of an urban environment that has witnessed an influx of immigrants who arrive hopeful, but sub-

sequently experience exploitation, dislocation, and conflict over allegiances and largely miserable working conditions.

As suggested earlier, there is a difference in the historical and political fact of exile. Looking at post-colonial Irish exilic writing one cannot deny the fact that the nature of Irish exile appears rooted in an economic and cultural, rather than a political, context. Ireland was considered a place of moral oppression and provincialism, and exile was largely a voluntary experience, whereas in totalitarian (or war-torn) countries – for instance, Nazi Germany, the Communist countries before the 1990s, or the Balkans – it was a condition of forced excision. However, it was in particular the implementation of censorship laws in Ireland, making it possible to control all spheres of individual, communal, and artistic life (from 1923 until the end of the 1960s), which drove many of Ireland's intellectuals and artists (e.g. Edna O'Brien and John McGahern) into exile. The Irish meaning of exile, understood as the quest for a voice, springs not least from this particular experience of cultural isolation and curtailment of freedom of artistic expression:

> Censorship created a massive rift between society and its writers, as it isolated them and prevented the exchange of ideas. Seán O'Faoláin saw censorship as fascist, as it created a dangerous and widespread intellectual indifference. (Olszewska 23)

Literary texts act as a filter of experiences such as exile and migration, and often help to mediate the associated problems of identity. Within both exile and immigration literature, *displacement* is a key issue as it is at the centre of human experience. Despite the individual reasons for leaving behind the homeland, what emigrants from Ireland and immigrants to Ireland have in common is the feeling of looking back for probably the last time, of facing a new and possibly hostile world. More so than generations of emigrating Irish before the era of budget flight companies and the internet, today's transmigrants in Ireland regard, and remain attached to, their native country from a base in another state. As it becomes obvious from the literary examples discussed here, a notion of "belonging despite distance, and despite identificatory investments in a new place, may generate new exile imaginaries and processes" (Allatson & McCormack 21). In particular with regard to Ireland, with its history of emigration and now of immigration, there is a possibility that – perhaps due to a common notion of emigration experienced as displacement – a reciprocal acknowledgement of differences, of the other's 'otherness' (Habermas), could become a feature of a (future) common identity.

Conclusion

By reflecting on traditional notions of Irish exile and on the present state of Irish writing, and by focusing on recent literary responses to immigration to Ireland, it becomes evident that by and large Irish exilic writing has become a feature of the past. It has broadened horizons by engaging with other cultures and nations which, in turn, encouraged "the dialogue with and in the native culture and tradition" (Olszewska

170). Exilic and multicultural writing in Ireland by non-native Irish and Irish writing on émigrés and multicultural issues *in* Ireland is likely to become a new and topical focus within contemporary Irish literature. For literature is part of the system of cultural representations through which national identities and national subjects come into being, through which communities are explicitly imagined and consolidated (Bhabha 1-8). Nations require narratives through which individuals imagine themselves as national subjects and align themselves to the national narrative. Thus, the inclusion of the immigrant's experience and perspective will contribute to cultural integration and redefine the relationship of the margin ('social periphery') to the centre.

Furthermore, I would argue that the new 'internal exiles' are the right-wing (Catholic) traditionalists, the uneducated, and the racists who are confronted with a changed Irish society, compelled in many instances to change by the European Court of Human Rights, with the next controversial issue of same-sex-partnerships already pending. These people are facing a complete reversal of fortunes, as the values of the very people they had in the past forced into exile, internal and external, are now the dominant ones enshrined in the state's legislation or enforced by the ECHR. The state no longer belongs to the Catholic Church (which has lost its special position once guaranteed by the constitution), its moral code no longer sets the standards for behaviour, and the arbiter of morals and social values is the ECHR. Not least because of this turnaround, the concepts of 'the other' and identity will continue to form principal themes of Irish writing. Our age of globalisation makes it impossible to ignore an ongoing confrontation with 'difference' that raises equally unavoidable questions about belonging or 'normality.'

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Two Recessions and a Boom: Where Next for Ireland?

John FitzGerald

Introduction

While Ireland experienced a boom decade from the mid-1990s through to the middle of the 2000s, this experience has frequently been misunderstood both by Irish and by foreign observers. To foreigners looking in this seemed like an economic miracle and, until recently, many people abroad sought to discover the Irish elixir of eternal growth. At the same time, many Irish people came to feel that economic success was preordained and that Ireland was invincible. Now everyone knows that the façade hid significant problems, at least since the early years of the new century. However, the period of rapid growth was no mirage. It still leaves Ireland a much more prosperous country. It has also contributed to a much wider transformation of the country, which is both reflected in social and cultural change and also affected by that change itself. While all the other papers at this conference are considering the wider cultural links between Ireland and its neighbours, I want to concentrate on the economic changes that have taken place.

In this paper I want to show that the successful decade of 1995-2005 can best be seen as the belated reward for abandonment of failed economic policies which had been pursued with remarkable consistency since the foundation of the state in 1922. What should be seen as most interesting about the Irish economic experience was not that Ireland succeeded but rather how it had managed to continue failing for so long.

The hubris that grew out of the successful decade contributed hugely to the current economic crisis. Like Icarus, Ireland flew too close to the sun and its wings melted. The fact that Daedalus had warned of the dangers does not make the subsequent crash any more comfortable.

In the final part of this paper I want to consider the future. While many in Ireland have switched with amazing rapidity from hubris to despair, I want to argue that Ireland still has a future. The current problems will pass, albeit leaving a lot of wreckage and pain. I want to end this paper by considering some of the key challenges facing the economy over the next decade.

In 2000, having talked about the performance of the Irish economy at a conference organised by the Australian ambassador in Ireland, I was asked by the Tasmanian Prime Minister what role Irish music had in the Irish success story. While this question floored me at the time, it was actually very perceptive. In considering recent Irish economic history it would be a mistake to concentrate solely on numbers and statistics: after all, the economy is made up of people not numbers. The economic

successes and failures of the last two decades or so were mirrored in the field of social policy and cultural development. These cultural and social changes, in turn, helped mould a very different Ireland. To understand the changes that have taken place in Ireland one must look further afield: hence the importance of many of the areas being discussed at this conference.

Belated Success

There were two policies of the Irish state which were pursued with greater or lesser vigour over the half century 1920 to 1970, almost guaranteeing economic failure. The first of these was the Sinn Féin economic policy – 'ourselves alone.' The objective was to develop a self-sufficient economy behind high tariff barriers. This approach to economic policy had its mirror image in aspects of cultural policy, such as censorship of literature and films: keep out alien influences. The second policy disaster was the failure to invest major state resources in education, in particular the failure to invest in second level education. Finally, a rather different demographic structure from the rest of the EU has also affected the pattern of growth in the last twenty years or so. This latter difference owes less to deliberate policy than to a combination of cultural, economic, and social forces. It is also something that is not easily reproducible in other European societies, but it did contribute to Ireland's more recent success and it will continue to mould the development of Irish society into the distant future.

Opening Up

From independence in 1922 till the early years of the 1960s, a Sinn Féin ('ourselves alone') economic policy was pursued keeping the economy closed to the outside world. After the nightmare of the Second World War, the rest of Western Europe woke up and embraced economic co-operation and free trade. Ireland continued to slumber in its old ways for a further two decades.

From fruit and vegetables to cars and shoe laces, the objective was to produce everything at home. When I began my career as an economist in 1972 car imports came in two categories: the smaller category was FBU ("fully built up") and the larger was CKD ("completely knocked down"). Basically, cars were built in the UK or France and then taken to pieces for reassembly in Ireland. With the advent of EU membership in January 1973, the CKDs disappeared to be replaced with a normal market which delivered much cheaper and better quality cars to the Irish consumer.

I first came across fresh peaches in the late 1960s, because, of course, they were not easily grown in Ireland and hence off the menu. This regime encouraged very inefficient domestic firms, firms that had no hope of exporting or surviving in a global economy. With massive tariff barriers it was a 'stable equilibrium' leaving Ireland at a very low standard of living.

Having been one of the richer countries in the broader Europe at independence in 1922, Ireland continued to sink down the rankings in the years following the Second World War. By focusing only on the UK, Irish policy makers saw Ireland as being relatively poor in 1922, whereas it was richer than many other European countries at the time. It also meant that Ireland's poor post-war performance was continually compared to one of Europe's economic failures rather than to the much larger number of relevant successes.

More than anything else it was Ireland's entry into the EU in 1973 and its access to the wider EU market that helped transform the economy. Ireland embraced globalisation in an unusual way and Ireland benefited from it. A key part of the strategy was the adoption of a low tax rate. However, this was not the only selling point. An efficient, transparent bureaucracy and consistency in policy-making showed foreign firms that when they bought into Ireland there were no surprises. It seemed like a good deal and proved to be such for many firms. The initial thrust of policy was to encourage foreign investment, and this has resulted in an economy that has a high level of foreign ownership. This was not the only model open to Ireland – Denmark and Finland showed rather different approaches but with similar outcomes. However, the Irish approach worked with Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) bringing new skills and certain access to new markets. Initially, there were fears that Ireland would be exploited by these foreign firms. However, the partnership clearly proved good for both parties.

The advent of the EU single market in 1992 proved particularly good for Ireland. Foreign firms supplying EU government markets had previously been disadvantaged. However, with equal access to such markets, firms supplying health-care products (equipment and pharmaceuticals), telecoms, and other products where governments were major buyers were able to set up in Ireland, having equal access to public markets throughout the EU.

The EU structural funds obviously proved beneficial. However, they were a relatively minor part of the story. More important than the money itself was the discipline the EU structural funds process imposed on Irish public investment. With most major projects part-funded by the EU over the course of the 1990s this meant that the Irish government had to answer to the EU for how it had spent the EU money. Like the good steward in the Gospels, it did a good job and was rewarded with more funds. However, with the disappearance of EU funding in this decade Irish governments showed less concern to get good value for money from how they spent their own taxpayers' funds than it had for how it had spent EU funds. This decline in the standards of oversight of public investment has been a contributory factor in the current economic crisis.

EU membership also had a much wider social and political effect opening up Irish society to the beneficial impact of new ideas from abroad. When Ireland became independent in 1922, the new Department of Finance borrowed a number of civil

servants from the Treasury in London to help get the show on the road. While this was seen as a temporary expedient, some of the specialists went 'native' remaining on in Dublin for the rest of their careers. This set the tone for the subsequent fifty years of public administration. Ireland continued to rely on the UK for examples of best administrative practice and for unofficial guidance on how to run an economy.

When I joined the Department of Finance in 1972, one of my first jobs was to put away files dealing with Ireland's external economic relations. These papers covered visits to London in the mid-1960s to negotiate the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement and subsequent missions to seek improved access to the UK market. They also covered advice from UK academics on how to develop the Irish economy. Having filed these papers in the basement of government buildings, they were never again sent for.

From the end of 1972, with the advent of Ireland's membership of the then European Economic Community (EEC), all new files registered on external economic issues related to EU committees and business. This change in focus was dramatic for public servants involved in policy-making. In the previous half century the height of a public servant's expectations had been to travel to London to see how things were done. EU membership moved the same individuals onto a European stage. This entry into the EU meant that many of the policy issues that had been dealt with in Dublin, or more likely not dealt with in Dublin, were for the future resolved as part of the decision-making process in Brussels. This exposed all concerned to a much broader range of administrative and policy-making experience.

EU membership represented a profound cultural change, not only for public servants, but across the broad policy-making community. The injection of new ideas played a vital role in changing both the policy-making process and the nature of the economic and social policies actually pursued. As well as in the obvious economic areas, EU membership drove change across the broad spectrum of social and environmental policy, including the equality agenda. For example, the marriage bar, which had forced all female civil servants, including my wife, to resign on marriage, was abolished from July 1973 because of the EU, ten months too late for us. EU legislation over the course of the 1970s continued to force change in the treatment of women, especially in the labour market. Some degree of equality would probably have arrived eventually, but the EU forced a decisive change in a short period of time.

Initially, the change in the policy-making process affected public servants and politicians. However, the ripples from the new regime spread much more widely than the public service. The social partners, trade unions and employers, suddenly found themselves participating in EU-wide discussions. They learned that there were different models of behaviour from the traditional UK model of endless industrial relations conflict. Many a Friday night representatives of the social partners found themselves in Brussels airport waiting for the delayed flight to Dublin. They had no choice but to socialise and discuss informally a wide range of issues, not just the issues that divi-

ded them. The bar in Brussels airport played its role in the developing momentum towards a more consensual approach to policy-making that is now referred to as the "partnership process."

Looking back on almost 40 years of EU membership, it is clear that Ireland was generally successful in protecting what it perceived at the time as its key economic interests through directly influencing the policy-making process in Brussels. Throughout the period Ireland's interest in developing free trade and ensuring access to the EU, and ultimately to the world market, has fitted well with the key focus of EU policy. In the first decade of membership Ireland's vital national economic interest was construed as the promotion of agriculture. To win support for Ireland's position civil servants and politicians had to build support within the EU through coalition-building. For example, success on the EU milk super levy was dependent on mobilising those interested in olive oil and citrus fruit policy – new areas of interest for Irish public servants. The successful achievement of the broad policy goal on agriculture saw a dramatic improvement in farmers' incomes.

As agriculture's share of the economy fell, the focus of policy shifted next to the development of the structural funds process. Ireland's objective in the late 1980s was to maximise the EU budget and to attract as large a share as possible of the structural funds. This injection of EU funds was used to invest in Irish infrastructure, including education and training. Once again a successful coalition was built, and the policy objective was successfully achieved in the 1990s.

Since the late 1990s the focus of attention has switched instead to the protection of Ireland's low rate of corporation tax. Compared to the previous policy agenda this is a more difficult objective to defend as Ireland has fewer allies than in the past. While remaining important for Ireland, in the longer term, it will be desirable to pursue broader objectives than just tax independence if Ireland is to attract the necessary broad support for its interests within the EU in the future. A tax policy is no substitute for an economic strategy, and there is some danger that the costs of protecting the tax regime will continue to distract from the need to develop a more broadly based and economically sustainable long-term economic strategy within the EU context.

However, Ireland has been less successful in developing its independent voice in areas of EU competence that require a broad range of administrative and technical backup. For example, in the environmental sphere Ireland has been content to follow the EU lead instead of trying to shape policy at the EU level in a manner that would directly benefit the environment and the wider EU economy. In the case of macroeconomics, no Irish presidency has been able, or even felt inclined, to launch a significant initiative. To do so would require a broader knowledge of the other economies of the EU than is available to a small administration. Instead, reliance has been placed on the EU Commission to undertake this task. The difficulties in launching a credible EU-wide initiative are common to all small countries who have limited administrative resources. Nonetheless, when faced in 1996 with the initiative on the

Stability and Growth Pact, the Irish administration proved adept in negotiating a successful conclusion during its presidency.

While Irish diplomats have been successful networkers in the EU, this has not been the case for many other government departments. Irish problems in tackling its banking system might have been reduced in the autumn of 2008 if civil servants from the Department of Finance had drunk more beers with EU colleagues in recent years.

A Multicultural Economy

The significance of emigration in Ireland, both as a social and an economic phenomenon, has been reflected frequently in literature and economic and social policy over the last century. Up to the 1930s the American wake was still a feature of Irish life; the family mourned the emigration of one of their children who would probably never be seen again. However, even in the 1930s the nature of the grief expressed at the wake was changing as the emigrants went to England and Scotland rather than to the United States. Even if they would never live in Ireland, they would, in all probability, be seen again on occasional holidays or at funerals. The attitude of the emigrants was also changing. The contrast in the 1950s between the burgeoning economies of Germany and France and the economic depression of an Ireland where they could not find jobs left them bewildered and angry. This anger and bewilderment was reflected in the literature of the time, for example in the works of Brendan Behan and Edna O'Brien. Whereas in earlier generations emigration was accepted as the natural course for many young people, in a post-war Europe that was thriving it was increasingly seen as a symptom of failure by the Irish State.

Since the 1950s, the experience of emigration has changed greatly. Today emigration is still part of the experience of up to a third of each generation (and of every family), but the difference is that the emigrants of today are seen more as homing pigeons rather than the 'wild geese' of the past. The 'best and the brightest' may still emigrate but the expectation and experience suggest that the bulk of them will return. This is a very different situation from the first fifty years of independence.

In the 1980s, high unemployment rates in Ireland, when compared to other labour markets that Irish people had access to, encouraged many people to emigrate. The bulk of those who emigrated were young and better educated than the typical emigrants of the past, leading to fears of a 'brain drain.' However, these latter emigrants proved to be 'homing pigeons.' They brought back skills, experience, even languages with them. Their productivity and earnings have been raised by 10% through their experience abroad. This has been added to by the immigration of skilled labour. It has interacted in an important way with the FDI.

Ireland in the 1950s was a boring place. Censorship stopped 'bad' books from entering. People left and never came back. Nearly everyone spoke English, was Catholic, and the policy-making elite was tiny, and everyone knew everyone else. Even down

to the dominant blood group – O – which showed how little influx of new people there had been in previous millennia.

In the first half of the 1990s there was little net migration, as employment prospects abroad deteriorated relative to Ireland. In the second half of the 1990s, strong economic growth and a tighter labour market encouraged inflows into the country, and net immigration contributed around 0.75 percentage points to growth in the labour supply, about half of whom were foreign nationals. The majority of immigrants, Irish or foreign, over this period were highly skilled. From 2000 to 2008, there was a significant level of immigration of unskilled labour. Nonetheless, the Irish experience of immigration has been very different from the rest of the EU with foreign immigrants being substantially better educated than even the reasonably well educated Irish population.

For Irish and foreign firms alike, a significant part of their success has been that they have been able to attract skilled labour from abroad. Initially, this labour was largely Irish emigrants returning. However, the stock of Irish emigrants began to run out over the course of the 1990s and there has been a major influx of skilled labour into nearly all areas of economic activity. In the early 1990s no German or Italian would have come to work in Dublin for an organisation such as the one I work for. However, over the last decade we have been able to attract very skilled staff from around Europe, greatly enhancing our ability to undertake high-quality research. For a century and a half, many in the Irish population sought, and were granted, access to the best labour markets in the world. Over the 1990s this process was reversed and Ireland was transformed into a sought-after location for foreign migrants. The bulk of the immigration into Ireland over the 1990s was skilled labour, about half being returning Irish emigrants; the majority of the rest were EU citizens with a high level of education. Many of those coming to Ireland were spouses or partners of Irish citizens.

This influx of skilled labour played an important role in expanding the productive capacity of the economy, allowing the economy to grow more rapidly and helping to solve the problem of long-term unemployment (Barrett, FitzGerald & Nolan). In addition, it has been shown that returned emigrants have higher productivity and higher earnings because of their experience abroad (Barrett & O'Connell). With almost a third of the younger cohorts being returned emigrants, this effect on individual productivity is affecting the economy as a whole. This improved the welfare of the least skilled in the labour force at the expense of lower wages for skilled labour. The immigration had wider benefits, making the economy more cosmopolitan and increasing productivity.

A final aspect of the migration story that has not yet been properly documented is the extent of the integration of foreigners into Irish society. The 2006 Census shows that 15% of all children aged between 0 and 5 had one parent who was Irish and one who was not Irish. Related to this, the Census also showed that quite a high proportion of

foreigners had Irish spouses or partners. This would be particularly true for Germans and British citizens. However, it was true for 7% of Chinese women.

This relatively high level of integration and its social significance needs further study. It probably reflects the high level of educational attainment of immigrants. It probably also reflects the fact that so many Irish emigrate in their twenties, managing to capture foreign spouses and persuading them to come to Ireland. Romance may be a more effective way to capture skilled labour than recruitment drives by companies.

Education

While Northern Europe from the Urals in Russia to Snowdonia in Wales invested in education in the aftermath of the Second World War, Ireland waited till 1967. This delay of a quarter of a century proved very damaging. It locked Ireland into low-quality, low-productivity areas of investment.

Realisation that this was a disaster crept in gradually. Free second-level education from 1967 began the reform. However, over the course of the 1980s and the 1990s major investment took place raising the completion rate for high school to 80% and participation in third level to over 50%. This was reflected in a transformation in the labour force with new skilled high-paid, high-productivity jobs gradually replacing unskilled low-paid employment.

From the mid-1980s, public policy targeted those leaving school with no qualifications as a major problem area. Moving them to minimal qualifications and eventually to high-school graduation has been very important in making them employable and productive, not to speak of the wider social effects. In addition, there was a massive increase in investment in third-level education in the 1990s – now over half of all girls go on to third level, though substantially fewer boys.

Ireland has not been alone in stepping up investment in education. The UK, Spain, and Portugal have also done so. While the UK and Spain are also benefiting from this investment, Portugal is starting from so far behind that it needs further major change.

In most countries, such as Ireland, the returns to education (in terms of higher individual earnings) have held up or increased in spite of the rapid increase in labour supply. This highlights the fact that the world demand for skilled labour is also rising rapidly.

Demographics

It is true that the Irish economy faced a very fortunate set of demographic circumstances over the last fifteen years and will continue to do so for the coming fifteen years. Together these circumstances will conspire to give Ireland one of the lowest

rates of economic dependency in the OECD area. The benefits of past investment in education will also continue to produce a significant boost to productivity for some time to come. In addition, the economy, including the labour market, shows considerable flexibility.

The demographic dividend is not a product of policy, but rather of the private decisions made by parents. Having had a very high birth rate over the first eighty years of the twentieth century, babies went out of fashion in Ireland in 1980, and the birth rate declined steeply over the following decade. In the last few years it has risen again, largely reflecting the large number of women in their late twenties and early thirties. There are also very few old people in Ireland today, because so many emigrated in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. As a result, there are a huge number of 25-to-35-year-olds relative to the other cohorts in the population. After that cohort, there are very much fewer children in the younger cohorts until the 0 to 5s. The result of this population structure will be an exceptionally favourable demographic situation for the next twenty years – a very high proportion of the population in the working-age groups and very few dependents.

Female labour force participation was very low in Ireland in 1980. As women were generally better educated than men this represented an untapped pool of skills. Cultural change and economic forces have seen a dramatic change since the mid-1980s. Female labour force participation is now higher than the EU average for those under thirty. This factor (rising participation) added at least 1% a year to the growth rate in the boom years. However, since 2000 Ireland began 'to run out of women' – with most women with a good education already in the labour force there were no reserves waiting to be attracted back into the labour market. Instead, numbers of skilled labour were made up by immigration.

With women representing almost 60% of university graduates and with a very large number of women in their late twenties in Ireland, there are going to be major pressures for social and economic change. If employers want to hold on to their skilled labour there will have to be changes in the way labour is organised to allow skilled employees to both continue to work in the paid-labour market and to bring up children. With limited provision of child care under the age of four this is going to be a big policy issue in the coming decade.

Ignorance and the First Bust

In the late 1970s a new government came to power promising to implement a wide-ranging policy programme. As part of this programme, from 1977 onwards they planned to borrow and stimulate the economy. They assumed that the supply side would respond, that the propensity to import would fall and that wage inflation would be reduced through an adoption of moderation by the population. While they delivered on the first promise, increasing borrowing, the rest of the promised measures

over which governments have no control headed in the opposite direction. The tightening of the labour market saw an increase in real wages, a dramatic increase in imports, and a very limited supply side response.

The dangers of this policy were pointed out in April 1978 by a prominent economist early in the programme.[1] However, the government pursued the implementation of its promises with undue vigour, raising the debt but not raising the underlying productive potential of the economy.

The result of this was that when recession hit the world economy in the early 1980s, greatly magnifying the problems of the Irish economy, the next government in 1981 found itself with a huge debt and an even bigger borrowing requirement. In turn, the interest bill on that debt also climbed with the increased riskiness of lending to the Irish government.

Over the rest of the decade there was a slow and painful response to this crisis. While the 1983 budget was one of the most painful of the previous twenty-five years, it did not do enough. Also the focus of fiscal action was on raising taxation and cutting capital-spending. Over the subsequent years a generally deflationary fiscal policy was followed, it slowed but did not reverse the problems with the national debt. By 1986, our research suggested that this slow and painful approach to fiscal retrenchment would eventually restore the economy to a normal growth path. However, it looked like being the end of the decade before the economy would turn the corner.

A new government in 1987 decided to hasten the process and it concentrated on cutting current expenditure. The combination of more vigorous (though painful) action and a bit of luck with an upturn in the world economy meant that by 1989 the public finance crisis had largely been addressed. In that year there were signs of a return to vigorous growth.

The advent of German unification and the resulting fiscal expansion in Germany raised interest rates for all members of the EMS. For Ireland it resulted in a further postponement of the return to vigorous growth. However, the conditions remained favourable and when EU monetary policy was relaxed, the Celtic Tiger took off properly in 1994.

One of the key lessons to be drawn from the painful decade of the 1980s was that when faced with a fiscal crisis it is better to act vigorously rather than to postpone the pain. In tackling such a crisis it is also important to cut current expenditure rather than to rely solely on increasing taxation. These lessons have relevance for the Irish economy today. To date, it appears as if the lesson about acting quickly has been learned by the government. However, it remains to be seen whether they can carry through on it in the budget for 2010. The fact that this time round the crisis is not confined to Ireland but is EU-wide greatly complicates its resolution.

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1 Paddy Geary, then of UCD, later head of the economics department in NUI Maynooth. He published his analysis in the magazine *Magill*.

It took a lot of pain and most of a decade to restore order after the very serious policy errors of the late 1970s and the early 1980s. This delayed the realisation of the benefits of EU membership till the 1990s – twenty years after membership. Many of the benefits of EU membership could and should have been reaped a decade earlier, though the investment in human capital was not yet ready.

Hubris

After a decade of generally high growth and low unemployment there was a growing feeling among households and companies that the Irish economy was invincible. Even the short slowdown of 2001-03 did not lead to an appreciable rise in unemployment and, as a consequence, it did not significantly dent confidence in the future. The hubris was particularly reflected in the massive investment in housing. At its peak in 2006, housing investment accounted for around 14% of the economy, fuelling growth in other sectors. The building sector bubble was like a cancer, squeezing out those parts of the economy that exported. To get the resources that it needed the building sector bid up costs, especially wages, which crowded out the rest of the economy. As a result, it now needs drastic surgery to restore balance to the economy.

The unemployment rate was close to the full-employment level between 2000 and 2007, and Ireland was seen to be the most attractive labour market in Europe for many of the mobile young population.

The pattern of behaviour by households reflected a high degree of certainty about the future. The level of gross (and net) household debt rose rapidly; households had confidence that they would be able to service this in the future. Many companies also appeared to be sanguine about the future. This was reflected in very substantial increases in employment. While some firms, especially in the tradable manufacturing sector, were facing difficulties, their woes were masked by the feeling of bonhomie elsewhere in the business sector, especially in all those businesses that depended on the building sector for their success.

While the underlying structure of the economy evolved in a manner that should be favourable to future growth, there were considerable dangers in the situation. In particular, the extremely high level of dependence on the continuing success of the building industry should have been a serious cause for concern. This was compounded by the certainty with which many in the household sector viewed the future prospects for growth.

When Odysseus undertook his long voyage home from Troy, he encountered many dangers. Not least were the distractions that the Lotus-eaters provided for his crew: "They [...] went about among the Lotus-eaters, who did them no hurt, but gave them to eat of the lotus, which was so delicious that those who ate of it left off caring about home" (Homer, Book IX, ll. 83-104).

The lure of good times with the Lotus-eaters nearly derailed the voyage and tough measures had to be taken by Odysseus to get the crew back on board: “I forced them back to the ships and made them fast under the benches. [...] [S]o they took their places and smote the grey sea with their oars” (Homer, Book IX, ll. 83-104).

Today the task of the Irish government is like that of Odysseus – the population will have to go back to the oars in a very unpleasant sea! Whether the crew will mutiny and fire Odysseus remains to be seen.

The Current Crisis – The Second Bust

The Irish economy enjoyed an exceptional period of sustained growth from 1994 through to the early years of the new century. This growth was driven by the expansion in world trade and the very competitive nature of the Irish economy. The result was a rapid increase in world market share for Irish exports at a time when world trade was also rising fast. This produced a rapid but sustainable growth in Irish output and living standards.

By the late 1990s, as unemployment fell to historically low levels, the economy found itself approaching capacity output. Substantial immigration helped relieve labour market pressures (Barrett, FitzGerald & Nolan), but it was clear that growth could not continue at the same rate indefinitely. The natural mechanism to slow the economy was a real appreciation of the currency. In the absence of an independent exchange rate this had to take place through a loss of competitiveness as wage rates and other prices rose more rapidly than in the rest of the Euro Area. Managing this real appreciation through differential inflation was never going to be easy without overshooting. It would have been better, as argued by the EU Commission and the ESRI in 2001 (Conefrey & FitzGerald), if fiscal policy had been tightened to slow the process.

However, the bursting of the dotcom bubble did slow the world economy and hence the Irish economy. This slowdown was less severe than had been initially expected and it effectively provided some breathing room for the Irish economy.

Its particular demographic structure meant that Ireland entered the boom period under-endowed with infrastructure in the form of dwellings. The numbers of adults per dwelling was substantially higher than in the other EU member states (with the exception of Spain). The rapid rise in incomes together with the increased availability of low-cost finance as a consequence of EMU membership and the globalisation of the financial sector resulted in a boom in the building and construction sector. In its early stages this rapid expansion in house building was both sustainable and desirable: people wanted and could afford dwellings. However, from 2003 onwards the housing boom entered a phase that was unsustainable, constituting a growing ‘bubble.’ In contrast to the earlier years when growth was driven by exports, the housing boom drove economic growth over the following years so that the level of

actual output rose well above the potential of the economy to deliver in a sustainable manner.

Work by myself and colleagues in 2001 recommended that the tax system be used to prevent the development of a housing bubble. Again in 2003 in the *Medium-Term Review: 2003-2010* we warned of the need for policy action to prevent over-heating in the property sector of the economy (Bergin et al. 84-85). This refrain was repeated in many subsequent reports. The effect of the massive expansion in the building and construction sector was the crowding out of the tradable sector of the economy (FitzGerald & Morgenroth). Wage rates were driven up across the economy by the rapid growth in labour demand in the building and construction sector and, as a consequence, firms that were dependent on export markets suffered. In effect, the building and construction sector 'crowded out' the rest of the economy, especially the tradable sector.

This domestic imbalance as a result of the building and construction boom began to be reflected in the balance of payments. Having run a surplus on the current account over the export-led boom years, a growing deficit emerged. The combination of EMU membership and the globalisation of financial markets meant there was less concern about such a phenomenon than there would have been in the past. It was seen as being easily financeable. To finance the housing boom the banking sector borrowed extensively abroad so that the net foreign liabilities of the banking system rose from a low of 10% of GNP in 2003 to over 60% of GNP by 2007.

The boom in the building and construction sector was only made possible through the availability of ready finance from the banking sector. The potential exposure of the banks to the property market was clearly underestimated by the regulatory authorities. These dangers were only becoming apparent to those outside the financial system from late 2005 onwards (FitzGerald et al. and Traistaru-Siedschlag). Appropriate regulatory action could have reduced the dangers of a banking crisis. Such action could have helped control the property market bubble, but it would also have required a much more activist fiscal policy stance over the course of the Noughties.

From a healthy competitive position at the start of EMU with high productivity, relatively strong cost competitiveness, and a relatively weak exchange rate, the Irish economy has more recently suffered a significant loss of competitiveness. This loss of competitiveness was reflected in the increasing deficit on the current account of the balance of payments in recent years. The most recent report of the National Competitiveness Council (NCC) has highlighted the competitiveness challenge facing the Irish economy. The NCC report for 2008 (NCC) finds that Ireland's trade-weighted exchange rate has appreciated by 18% since 2000, making Irish goods and services more expensive on international markets.

This deterioration in competitiveness in recent years is primarily a result of the labour market pressures exerted by the growing bubble in the property market and the build-

ing sector of the economy. However, other inefficiencies, including a lack of competition in key areas of the economy, also contributed to the problem. The exceptionally tight labour market in the period to 2007 saw wage rates and other prices rise very rapidly, although there are significant differences across sectors with the loss of competitiveness proving more severe in low-productivity, non-manufacturing sectors of the economy (NCC). This problem particularly affected the non-tradable sector, resulting in higher domestic prices for services as well as increased labour costs.

To undo the consequences of this loss of competitiveness and to improve the situation to attract new business will require a substantial reduction in relative costs, especially labour costs. Within EMU this must take place through changes in nominal wage rates relative to the rest of the Euro Area. Because nominal wage rates are currently rising very slowly in the Euro Area, such an improvement in competitiveness can only be achieved quickly by a reduction in nominal wage rates in Ireland. Such reductions in nominal wage rates are crucial if the economy is to be restored to full employment. However, it looks as if the actual outcome will be a slow adjustment with wages in Ireland remaining static while there is a limited increase in wage rates each year in the rest of Ireland's competitors.

The Future

The Irish economy is facing extremely challenging times. It is in the throes of a deep recession, unemployment is rising rapidly, and the Irish banking system is facing serious funding difficulties. As a consequence, by the end of 2010 output per head will have fallen back to its 2001 level. However, the tradable sector of the economy has survived the recession reasonably well. Exports and output are above the pre-recession levels. Given the very severe recession that Ireland is currently experiencing, this means that, when the world economy eventually recovers, the Irish economy can be expected to experience a period of above average growth. Our estimates suggest that there will be a permanent loss of output of at least 15% compared to where the economy might have been. This will represent a very painful permanent 'scar' on the economy arising from the current recession.

The dramatic deterioration in the public finances in 2008 and the early months of 2009 exposed the scale of the structural deficit – the deficit in the public finances which would remain very large, even after a world recovery, unless fiscal action is taken to close it. This structural deficit largely reflects the legacy of unwise fiscal policies in recent years. The experience of Ireland in the 1980s and of many other countries since then suggests the importance of taking early action to tackle such a fiscal crisis. The budgets of 2009 and the budget promised for 2010 are together likely to make some inroads. However, the huge costs associated with the banking collapse mean that there will be a long hard road of fiscal retrenchment stretching out to the middle of the current decade if the economy is to be restored to balance.

My assessment is that if the world economy recovers significant momentum, the Irish economy, as long as it regains competitiveness, can be expected to grow quite rapidly in the recovery period, regaining some of the lost ground of the current recession.

The legacy effects of the banking collapse are huge – amounting to around 40% of GDP. It took some time for these losses to be crystallised and they now represent an albatross round the neck of the economy.

The analysis undertaken by myself and my colleagues in the ESRI highlights the importance of improving the competitiveness of the Irish economy – this is essential if the economy is to return to full employment within a reasonable time scale. We envisage a major reduction in the level of costs, including labour costs, relative to the Euro Area over the period 2009-15. In this context, it is important that public policy should do all that it can to speed this essential adjustment.

The Irish economy faces a period of very high unemployment. It will be very important that public policy learns from past research in Ireland and elsewhere on how best to prevent the unemployed of today becoming the long-term unemployed of tomorrow. This problem will be particularly acute for those losing their jobs who have relatively low levels of education and skills. This suggests that priority needs to be given to labour market initiatives that will effectively tackle this skills deficit among many of the unemployed. In preparing for a recovery, the economy would also benefit from increased policy attention to measures to enhance productivity and innovation in the tradable sector of the economy.

Looking to the longer term, Ireland's future, as in its recent past, relies on even closer engagement with the EU economy. The single market, particularly the single market in services, is more important for Ireland than for most other EU members. Having reaped such benefits in the past it will be essential to adapt the economy to meet the changing needs of the EU economy in the future. One danger to this single market that has developed as part of this crisis is the gradual nationalisation of banking systems in individual member states, including Ireland. This development could seriously hamper the recovery, not only in Ireland, but also in other member states. It could also offset some of the benefits of a common market in goods and services.

For Ireland the decisions on the recent EU treaty changes have been crucial. Signalling a continuing engagement with the development of the EU was essential. The opprobrium that could have resulted from multiple NOs could have had incalculable effects.[2]

Looking back over the last quarter of a century, the investment in education has paid off. This pay-off took time. By reducing the supply of unskilled labour it increased unskilled wage rates and it priced the unskilled back into jobs. The same must happen

2 These paragraphs were added after the conference when the result of the referendum in Ireland was known.

in the future. The importance of the investment in education holds lessons for some other EU countries. While the returns on such investment take many years to be realised, failure to invest can permanently relegate an economy to the second division.

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Whither the State?: The Recent Evolution of the Role of the State in Ireland

Anne Groutel

Economic globalisation[1] and European integration have had far-reaching consequences on states politically, economically, and socially. This globalisation has contributed to the increasing domination of 'non-state' actors, in particular transnational corporations. Indeed, in recent years, the European Union's authorities have increasingly been influenced by the views of the corporate sector (Greenwood 74-123). The European Round Table, one of the most influential pressure groups composed of some forty European industrial leaders (Gutteridge), and the EU Committee of the American Chamber of Commerce (Jacek) have become extremely influential policy actors. Economic globalisation and European integration have led a myriad of scholars to reflect on what possible consequences these processes will have on nation states in terms of their power and sovereignty.

In 1995, Kenichi Ohmae claimed that economic globalisation sounded the death knell of nation states. He argued that the power of governments had been superseded by four forces, i.e. capital, corporations, consumers, and communications. Thus, nation states, inefficient engines of wealth creation, are doomed to disappear (Ohmae 1-5). Pierre Vercauteren sees European integration as having engendered 'a universal crisis of the state'[2] (Vercauteren 1), which must therefore redefine its role.

At the other end of the spectrum Berthold Goldman, as highlighted by Marie-Claire Considère-Charon (168), contends that small EU states, while conceding part of their national sovereignty, can actually see their power increase. National objectives can be achieved more easily thanks to collective action within the EU context.

Linda Weiss refutes the alleged withering of the state and argues that what is happening is state adaptation rather than state retreat, as suggested by Susan Strange in her 1996 study. Weiss maintains that states, far from being powerless, are essential actors in the globalisation process (Weiss xi). In the same vein, the concept of the 'competition state,' developed by Philip Cerny (21-35), is particularly relevant. It assumes that globalisation has not led to the decline of state power but to a process of change of the state's functions. Achieving national competitiveness as a means of sustaining economic growth and improved living standards has become the state's chief objective. In this theory, there is little room for the welfare or redistributive func-

1 Economic globalisation consists of the integration of national economies into the international economy through trade, foreign direct investment, capital flows, migration, and the spread of technology; see Bhagwati.

2 "Une crise universelle de l'Etat."

tion of the state. However, Nicola Phillips has highlighted a major weakness of these attempts at theorising the effects of globalisation, namely the lack of empirical specificity (4).

The Irish economy has undergone radical transformation in the past two decades. European membership has undeniably played a major role in this metamorphosis. Ireland has become one of the most globalised countries in the world. Thus, the evolution of the role of the state in the economy in the context of Ireland seems to be particularly relevant.

Peadar Kirby and Mary Murphy, elaborating on the work of George Taylor and Philip Cerny, argue that the concept of the competition state is the most adequate to characterise the contemporary Irish state. Successive governments have, according to them, given priority to measures aimed at maintaining the country's economic competitiveness at all costs and at improving the flexibility of the labour market. The promotion of enterprise and profitability has been carried out to the detriment of welfare policies (Kirby & Murphy 122-127).

This paper intends to contribute to the current debate on the evolution of the role of the Irish state in the economy: has it withered or is it going through a process of adaptation? The approach is different from Kirby and Murphy's as it focuses on the government's efforts to offer the most attractive business environment to US multinationals while dealing with European constraints.

In the context of Ireland, the past two decades have been marked by the remarkable success of the government's industrial policy. The Industrial Development Agency has managed to attract a considerable number of multinationals, mainly American, in financial services as well as the biotechnology, pharmaceutical, and information and communications technologies (ICT) sectors.[3] In 2008, there were 580 American multinationals operating in Ireland, directly employing 100,000 people. That same year, US firms paid an estimated € 2.5 billion to the Irish Exchequer in corporate tax (American Chamber, "Investment"). They have virtually become a pillar of the Irish economy. Nevertheless, Ireland is competing with Eastern European countries and Asia as investment locations. It has thus become vital to maintain a pro-business environment and national competitiveness.

Even if the gap between Anglo-Saxon and European economic models has often been overstated, as highlighted in *The Economist* (Charlemagne), policies and views on labour relations, welfare etc. do differ. Regulations are different too. Thus, in the

3 In 2006, 13 of the top 15 world pharmaceutical companies had substantial operations in Ireland and employed over 17,000 people directly, exports in this sector exceeding € 35 billion annually; seven of the world's top ten ICT companies had a substantial presence in Ireland: direct employment was 45,000 and exports exceeded € 21 billion annually; 15 of the top 25 medical technologies companies were based in Ireland: exports were over € 4 billion annually and direct employment was over 22,000 (Enterprise Ireland).

past fifteen years, the Irish authorities have had to find ways of accommodating the American corporate sector while fulfilling EU requirements. It is worth noting that an estimated 80% of economic measures passing through member states' legislation originate from Brussels (Greenwood 74).

Ireland's EU presidency, from January to June 2004, gave the country a tremendous opportunity to forward its objectives. Deep divisions over the conflict in Iraq had badly damaged political relations between the EU and the US, which were at their lowest ebb. At the time, James Kenny, then American Ambassador in Ireland, reaffirmed that Ireland was well placed to serve as a transatlantic bridge and contribute to mending fences between the two partners (Kenny). The EU clearly shared this point of view and selected John Bruton, a former *Taoiseach*, as EU Ambassador to the US in 2004. Previous Irish presidencies were credited with successful EU-US summits, because Irish authorities had good channels of communication with the US. In 1990, *Taoiseach* Haughey engaged in negotiations with President Bush on a structure for consultation which was incorporated into the Transatlantic Declaration in November 1990 (Steffenson 31, 54).

Revitalising the transatlantic partnership became a top priority of the Irish presidency in 2004 (Ahern, "EU-US Ties"). One of the main aspects the Irish authorities focused on was the, relatively speaking, less contentious economic field (Gillespie). Until then, the New Transatlantic Agenda, launched in 1995, had aimed at promoting co-operation and joint action between the two economic blocs, and the Transatlantic Economic Partnership, created in May 1998, had formed the institutional structure of EU-US bilateral economic relations (see "New Transatlantic Agenda"; "Transatlantic Economic Partnership"). However, discussions were dominated by political and security matters and dealt with disputes over relatively minor trade issues (McDowell 54).[4]

Bertie Ahern as *Taoiseach* stressed that political disagreements had overshadowed the magnitude of the interdependence between the European and American economies. He emphasised the fact that 40% of all US software investment takes place in Ireland, that over one third of all manufacturing inward investment comes from the US and that approximately 300 US entities have been licensed to trade in the International Financial Services Centre in Dublin ("EU-US Summit"). Thus, Ireland was particularly keen to play an active role in policy issues such as financial services, taxation, intellectual property, and biotechnology regulation.

During their EU presidency, Irish authorities worked closely with two extremely influential organisations, namely the Transatlantic Business Dialogue (TABD) and the Transatlantic Policy Network (TNP), to prepare for the EU-US summit at Dromoland Castle (County Clare) at the end of June 2004. The TNP is a lobby group whose

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4 In 2005, the European Commission ordered an independent report to assess the work of the Transatlantic Economic Partnership. The conclusions of the report highlight insufficient political commitment as a major reason for the lack of significant progress in EU-US economic cooperation (Commission, "Un partenariat UE/États-Unis").

members consist of EU and US parliamentarians and major corporations from both countries. An active member of this organisation is Irish-born Pat Cox, who was then also President of the European Parliament. In June 2004, he won the Transatlantic Business Award, created by Amcham EU,[5] for his commitment to promoting transatlantic economy (see White). The TABD is an organisation that brings together top people from 35 EU and US multinationals. In 2004, its chairman was another Irishman: Niall Fitzgerald, then Chairman of Unilever. The chief objective of both organisations is to encourage the EU and the US to adopt a common regulatory platform for business and the opening of a barrier-free market (Transatlantic Policy Network) between the two blocs by 2015. The fact that many Irish-American or Irish-born businessmen have made it to the top of the boardroom of multinationals since the 1970s and the intensive trade and investment relationships between Ireland and the US have contributed to establishing a very effective communication channel between the corporate sector and the Irish government (Edwards). On the eve of the summit at Dromoland Castle, a further meeting took place which was attended by the TABD, the then *Tánaiste* Mary Harney, Donald Evans, the US Secretary of State for Commerce, Jan Figel, the EU Commissioner for Enterprise, as well as the chief executives of some of the world's largest multinationals. The collaboration proved fruitful on this occasion. On 22 April 2004, the European Parliament adopted a resolution approving a set of proposals for the June EU-US summit (European Parliament). These proposals included the main TNP recommendations, one of which, most notably, was the establishment of a barrier-free transatlantic market by 2015. The "EU-US Declaration on Strengthening our Economic Partnership" (Council of the European Union), agreed on at the EU-US Summit in June 2004, called upon transatlantic partners to develop a forward-looking strategy to enhance economic relationships between the US and the EU. This was more than just another declaration; it was the first step towards the creation of the Transatlantic Economic Council in 2007. Its objective[6] is to integrate and harmonise administrative rules and regulations between the EU and the US, which would undeniably further Irish interests (see "Framework").

The strong presence of powerful US multinationals has given the Irish branch of the American Chamber of Commerce considerable leverage. In addition, in recent years successive American ambassadors to Ireland have on occasion lobbied the Irish government on behalf of American firms (Allen 64-65). As a matter of fact, the three successive United States ambassadors appointed by George W. Bush were not career diplomats but successful businessmen. President Obama has followed suit and selected Dan Rooney, a prominent Irish-American businessman.

Having to accommodate the demands of the US corporate sector as well as Ireland's economic priorities while complying with EU rules has sometimes put the Irish autho-

5 The European branch of the American Chamber of Commerce.

6 On the potential of the transatlantic market, see Burghardt; Hamilton & Quinlan. For a different perspective, see Paye.

rities in a difficult position. An example of this difficulty can be seen in the Irish government's handling of the issue of genetically modified organisms (GMOs). In 1998, the EU commission declared a *de facto* moratorium on new GMO approvals. The previous year, in a joint statement[7] made on 26 April, Fianna Fáil Spokesman for Agriculture, Joe Walsh T.D., and Spokesman for the Environment, Noel Dempsey, set out the party's clear position against the development and sale of GM food, crops, and livestock and supported the idea of a national moratorium on the release of genetically modified food. In power, however, Fianna Fáil reversed its stated position. In August 1998, Noel Dempsey, who had become Minister for the Environment and Local Government, launched a consultation process on GMOs and the environment. The report was published in June 1999. It became clear that the government was considering biotechnology as a growth sector that the country should harness:

> That the biotechnology industry has been of considerable economic benefit to Ireland is well established. The pharmaceutical companies who have established here have provided employment for many, particularly for graduates. Our national attitude to technology in general is an influencing factor for further inward investment in these and other high-tech sectors of the economy. Access to genetic modification technologies is also critical to the future competitiveness of Irish agriculture. In pure economic terms, if Ireland rejects or ignores biotechnology, it cannot expect to remain attractive to high-tech based investment nor can it remain competitive in arable farming and related food production if other countries are using the new technology. In our view, organic farming is a niche market sector of the economy, not a realistic alternative to safe conventional farming practices. We strongly emphasize the importance of consumer choice. (Government, Dept. of the Environment)

Following this consultation, the Irish authorities discarded the possibility of a national moratorium on GMOs despite the repeated demands of anti-GM groups, the Green Party, and Sinn Féin and, instead, advocated the introduction of appropriate regulation to inform consumers. On 13 March 1998, the *Taoiseach*, Bertie Ahern, opened the new IR£ 12 million Smurfit genetics research institute at Trinity College, Dublin. Although the new institute had attracted substantial funding from the private sector (Ahlstrom), the government provided a grant of IR£ 4.8 million. Ireland has since invested heavily[8] in innovation and technology, as can be seen in the last *National Development Plan* and in *The Strategy for Science, Technology and Innovation 2006-2013* (Government, Dept. of Enterprise).

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7 This statement was made in the heat of the general election campaign. In fact, the decision taken in December 1996 by the Environmental Protection Agency which allowed Monsanto plc to carry out trials of genetically engineered sugar beet was making the headlines. This was a joint venture between Monsanto and Teagasc, the state agriculture and food development agency. The whole issue was quite controversial (see Dáil Éireann 24 Apr 1997). The organisation Genetic Concern obtained an injunction against Monsanto on 1 May 1997. This injunction was lifted by the High Court of Justice on 27 May 1997.

8 An amount of € 8.2 billion has been allocated to scientific research. Science Foundation Ireland will receive € 1.4 billion to invest in three broad areas including biotechnology (Science Foundation Ireland).

The launch of the US/Ireland Research and Development Partnership Task Force Programme was announced during an all-Ireland biotechnology industry conference in November 2002. The initiative is a sort of mentoring programme which brings together chief executives of biotechnology companies from the two countries. It arose as a result of the US-Ireland business summit, which took place in Washington in September 2002.

The EU moratorium[9] on new GMO approvals was certainly a major stumbling block both for American biotech companies and the Irish government. The *Taoiseach* denied on several occasions that he was lobbied by top American officials on behalf of Monsanto[10] to support the introduction of GM corn crops into the EU (Dáil Éireann 16 Feb, 10 Mar 1999). However, issues surrounding the different approaches of the EU and US to GMOs were discussed during the US-Ireland business summit in 2002 (Dáil Éireann 5 Nov 2002).

Quite conveniently, David Byrne, an eager advocate of GMOs, was nominated as Ireland's EU Commissioner in September 1999. He had responsibility for Health and Consumer Protection. Brushing aside European consumers' anxiety over GMOs' potentially harmful effects as "an irrational fear," he insisted that innovation in the biotech field should not be impeded by "emotional reactions and apprehension based on inadequate or biased information" (qtd. in Smriga).

During his mandate as European Commissioner, Byrne set himself the task of creating a regulatory system to improve product labelling and traceability, convinced that it would allay consumers' fears (Parlement européen et Conseil de l'Union européenne 2001, 2003). This did not prevent the Bush administration from filing a formal complaint at the World Trade Organisation against the EU's moratorium in 2003.[11] Nor did it prevent six member states from voting against the regulatory system. The Commission, which on this occasion had the final say, gave its approval.[12] The new labelling laws came into force on 18 April 2004, during the Irish presidency. On 19 May 2004, the Commission's approval of GM sweetcorn Bt-11 put an end to the EU *de facto* moratorium on new GM products.

Taxation is another case in point of the Irish government's difficulty in accommodating the conflicting aspirations of the EU and American investors. The Irish branch of the American Chamber of Commerce has consistently called on the Irish government

9 The European Commission acknowledged the growth potential of the biotechnology sector in 2001 (Commission, "Vers une vision"). However, strong popular opposition to GMOs prompted the EU to impose a moratorium.

10 A US multinational which markets GMOs.

11 The US, backed by Canada and Argentina, complained that their products would have to be mandatorily tagged, which amounted to unfair trade barriers and involved high costs.

12 Since member states did not reach an agreement on the issue, the final decision was taken by the EU Commission.

to resist the EU move towards tax harmonisation (O'Hora; Sweeney; "Bitter Pill").[13] Indeed, in 2005, Dell chief executive Kevin Rollins warned that the computer giant would "reassess" its investment in Ireland if the government increased the 12.5% corporation tax rate (McKenna & Weston). In 2002, in a meeting with the American Chamber, Mary Hearney even vowed to retain this rate until 2025 (Richardson).

Germany and France, among others, wish to eliminate what they see as unfair competition (Smyth, "Germany Hits Out"). They have been supporting the EU tax harmonisation plan ("Barroso") and the establishment of a Common Consolidated Corporation Tax Base, a proposal made by Laszlo Kovacs, the EU Taxation Commissioner. The Irish authorities have consistently resisted such a move (Smyth, "Cowen") and Charlie McCreevy, the Irish Commissioner for Internal Market and Services since 2004, echoing Irish disapproval, has publicly opposed Mr Kovacs' plan (Smyth, "McCreevy"; McEnaney).

Although decisions are taken by the Council of Ministers, on which the member state governments are represented, and ultimately by the European Parliament, the influence of a Commissioner is pivotal even though he/she is supposed to be a neutral body and give priority to the interest of the Union as a whole. The Lisbon Treaty was designed to reduce the size of the Commission as required by the Nice Treaty. This would have involved an equal rotation of Commissioners but also implied that Ireland would not have been represented in the Commission on a permanent basis. Garret Fitzgerald quite rightly remarked that "under such [an] arrangement the opponents of fiscal harmonisation – Ireland, the UK, and Sweden, together with some Eastern European states that have followed the Irish example on corporate taxation – could be voted down on this issue by other member states" (Fitzgerald).

The report of the Oireachtas Sub-Committee on Ireland's Future in the European Union emphasised that Irish people's rejection of the European Union's Lisbon Treaty in 2008 had undoubtedly been detrimental to Ireland's standing and influence in the EU (Oireachtas). The reduced influence in the commission as well as the perceived loss of tax sovereignty were identified as two of the many reasons for the decision by Irish voters. Paradoxically, this gave a strong bargaining hand to the *Taoiseach*, Brian Cowen, who was urged by Ireland's European partners, especially France and Germany, to organise a second referendum. Arguing that Irish people's concerns had to be addressed, he obtained from the EU the guarantee that each member state, including Ireland, would have one commissioner in future colleges ("Summit Aims"). In addition, clarifications on tax sovereignty, among other issues, are to be included in a protocol which should be ratified by other EU states at the same time as the next EU accession treaty. Thus, even if the Irish 'no' may be considered as a setback, the Irish government managed to turn it to its advantage.

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13 See the American Chamber of Commerce Ireland press release of 12 September 2008.

In the last few years, the role of the state in Ireland seems to have undergone a process of adaptation as opposed to a process of retreat. One could argue that this process of adaptation started at the end of the 1950s, when the Irish authorities decided to open the economy to the outside world. However, globalisation is a milestone insofar as it has made the necessity of adapting quickly more vital than ever before. The Irish government plays an essential role in promoting competitiveness as a national priority. European membership has, from the very beginning, limited the capacity of member states to implement their policy preferences. Ireland is no exception. Nonetheless, having to preserve the competitive advantage of its economy, while complying with European requirements, has prompted successive Irish governments to get more involved on the international scene. The authorities have quite astutely used their special relations with the US authorities, their connections within international corporate pressure groups as well as EU membership to lay the foundations of a transatlantic market.[14] Besides, even if Irish Commissioners' neutrality is not to be questioned, they have, up until now, supported policies which serve Ireland's economic interests.

Ireland has been severely affected by the crisis, and the Irish authorities had to accept a European Union rescue package. From poster child, the country has become one of the weak links of the organization. Nonetheless, thanks to its efforts to restore the health of its economy, the present Irish government has managed to obtain a 2% cut on the bailout package interest rate without any concessions so far on its 12.5% corporate tax rate (Beesley), a *tour de force* considering Nicolas Sarkozy and Angela Merkel's relentless pressure to establish a common consolidated corporate tax base throughout the European Union. But how long will Ireland manage to resist the move towards a common corporate tax base? In addition, even if the Irish authorities have agreed to sign the EU Treaty on Fiscal Stability, which aims at strengthening fiscal discipline within the eurozone, Ireland's constitution requires the public to ratify the treaty in a referendum. The outcome is uncertain given that the austerity measures imposed by Brussels have proved extremely unpopular. Joan Burton, Irish Minister for Social Protection, stated that a renegotiation of Ireland's debt burden would boost support for a Yes vote in the referendum (Cullen). Will the Irish authorities once again manage to turn the threat of a rejection of the treaty by Irish voters to their advantage?

14 In the past few years, the concept of the transatlantic economy has lost momentum since the Obama administration seems keener to develop economic links with the Asia-Pacific bloc.

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IRELAND AND EUROPEAN POST-SECULARISM

Catherine Maignant

Fears that a yes vote might eventually force Ireland to legalise abortion and recognise same-sex marriages have fed the campaigns against the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. Following the Pope, Catholic critics of the document have also noted the lack of any explicit reference to God in its final draft, justifying suspicions that the European Union was fundamentally secular and ultimately threatened Christian values.

In sharp contrast, European laicists have criticised the treaty for reintroducing religion into public life and restoring an all too traditional moral order in Europe. They consider that European authorities have yielded to the pressure of the Catholic Church, which is known to have lobbied in favour of some sort of acknowledgment of the Christian contribution to the making of Europe. The preamble of the Treaty on European Union thus refers to “the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe” (“Treaty of Lisbon,” TL/en 11) as a source of inspiration. In the same way, the Charter of Fundamental Rights, which is appended to the treaty, underlines the “spiritual and moral heritage” of the Union (“Charter” C 83/391). It also includes, in its definition of “the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion,” “the freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or in private, to manifest religion or belief, in worship, teaching, practice and observance” (“Charter” C 83/393). As for the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, it expresses the Union’s respect for “the status under national law of churches and religious associations or communities in the Member States.” It also recognises “their specific contribution” and pledges the Union “to maintain an open, transparent and regular dialogue with those Churches and organisations” (“Consolidated Version” C 115/55).

Not only is the Lisbon Treaty not a fully secular text, but it amends previous treaties, namely the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community, to include religious provisions. It is significant that the compromise reached between widely diverging views across Europe should have allowed for such an unexpected move after decades of secularisation. Jürgen Habermas, who coined the concept of post-secularism to define the current trend, notes that “the secularistic certainty that religion will disappear worldwide in the course of accelerated modernization is losing ground” (Habermas). Even though a professed atheist himself, he thinks the time has come to reflect on the relevance and desirability of a purely secular justification of political rule. In his estimation, “cultural and societal secularization” should be understood as “a double learning process that compels both the traditions of the Enlightenment and the religious doctrines to reflect on their respective limits” (Habermas & Ratzinger 22-23). Such an evolution is necessary to provide the con-

ditions for a renewed respect of the value of solidarity between citizens, on which democracy is grounded (Habermas & Ratzinger 35). Should modernisation and secularisation "go off the rail" (Habermas & Ratzinger 22, 35), this essential cornerstone of the democratic system might indeed be threatened. Therefore, it is "in the interest of the constitutional state to deal carefully with all the cultural sources that nourish its citizens' consciousness of norms and their solidarity" (Habermas & Ratzinger 45), while accepting the basic principle of tolerance which defines a post-secular society. "In the postsecular society," Habermas writes,

> there is an increasing consensus that certain phases of the 'modernization of the public consciousness' involve the assimilation and transformation of both religious and secular mentalities. If both sides understand the secularization of society as a complementary learning process, then they will also have cognitive reasons to take seriously each other's contribution to controversial subjects in the public debate. (Habermas & Ratzinger 46)

The Lisbon Treaty clearly follows these recommendations, and we may thus suggest that it can be read as a post-secular constitution for a post-secular Union. However, a post-secular society and post-secularism itself are not so easily defined. Religious considerations and in particular the so-called 'return of religion' must come into the picture at some stage as well as more general considerations on the nature of Christianity and the reduced influence of Europe in today's globalised world.

This article seeks to identify the essential components of European post-secularism and examine the interactions between post-secular Europe and Ireland. It will argue that post-secularism may be central to the elaboration of a new worldview, currently in the making. Post-secular society is still a land of possibilities that is being explored and shaped as a result of debates between individuals and groups that have fundamentally different interests. In the Irish context, it will be argued, both the secularisation debate and the current policy of the Catholic Church may be numbered among the attempts to contribute to the invention of a new Europe as well as of a new Ireland. To Habermas, "a 'post-secular' society must at some point have been in a 'secular' state" (Habermas), which certainly limits the possible application of the notion to affluent western societies but also raises the question of the nature of a secular state. As concerns Ireland, it clearly raises the issue of the extent and depth of the secularisation process. Commenting on the Garda's ban of Sikh turbans, Fintan O'Toole points at the non-secular frame of the Irish state and calls for more secularisation at state level, which, to him, implies "creating a public realm in which all religions are respected because none is invoked" (O'Toole). The secularisation process has only just begun in Ireland, and we may wonder if it is relevant as yet to talk of this residually Catholic state as a part of post-secular Europe.

Indeed, if we are to believe Klaus Eder, a prominent theorist of post-secularism, the label can only be applied to a society in which secularisation has meant the disappearance of religion from public discourse, which is not really the case in Ireland. In such societies as Ireland the current paradox is this: "On the one hand, we speak of

secular society, but, on the other hand more and more people discuss religious matters" (Bosetti & Eder). This phenomenon is certainly difficult to assess in a partly secularised society. Yet we may wonder if any European state has ever been fully secular. It is highly significant, for instance, that objectively secularised and largely de-christianised France should have banned Muslim scarves from state schools while in effect never prohibiting the wearing of Christian symbols in spite of a legal ban on all religious symbols. Nicolas Sarkozy's Catholic commitment and his desire to reconcile Church and State have been much commented on as a symptom of post-secularism, but one of his most noteworthy predecessors, General De Gaulle, one of the founding fathers of the European Community, was also a practising Catholic. Are we to believe that secularism has ever implied schizophrenia? As we proceed, we shall see that it never did, because the liberal values of the Enlightenment have Christian roots. Following Charles Taylor, we may suggest that it would be more appropriate to say that the modernisation process simply induced a shift in the place of religion. Ireland, for its part, features among the modern states in which "the disappearance of an ontic dependence on something higher" has been replaced by "a strong presence of God" in its national identity. According to Taylor, such states may be defined as secular on grounds that they experienced a "shift from the enchanted to the identity form of presence that set the stage for the secularity of the contemporary world" (193). Vincent Twomey, while lamenting the disappearance of the "profound faith" (31) which characterised the Irish tradition, is aware that the politicisation of Catholicism may very well have stood at the origin of secularisation. He notes:

> As a civil religion, transcendent faith tends to become immanent, the bond that binds the nation together […], and so the Church serves the nation rather than transcending it. Nationalism, even with a catholic face, runs the risk of becoming 'the angel of the nation' […] who sets himself up against God. (33)

Whatever the origins of what Twomey calls "the ultimate cause of the implosion of the public face of the Church" (33) over the past decades, it is clear that events in Ireland have echoed the trends analysed by Klaus Eder. "Over the course of my political career," Bertie Ahern said in 2008, "I have observed a growing hesitation in public debate to refer to religion, the churches, issues of faith and belief, and sometimes even to acknowledge the very fact of the impact on our culture and institutions of the historical contribution of the church communities." To him, there has been "an attempt to exclude matters of faith and religious belief from the public debate and confine them to the purely personal, with no social or public significance" (Ahern, "Reception"). Today, things have changed. In an oft-quoted speech delivered at the inauguration of structured talks with churches, faith communities, and non-confessional bodies in February 2007, Bertie Ahern condemned "the aggressive secularism which would have the state and state institutions ignore the importance of [the] religious dimension. Ireland shares in the inheritance of over two thousand years of Christianity [and] this heritage has indelibly shaped our country, our culture and our course for the future." It is not true, he added, to say that religious belief, religious identity, and

the role of religion have been shrinking. Consequently, "governments, which refuse or fail to engage with religious communities and religious identities, risk failing in their fundamental duties to their citizens" (Ahern, "Inauguration"). Religion is back in the public sphere as in the rest of Europe; even if some practices of the Irish state are still reminiscent of its pre-secular past, Ireland's evolution arguably fits in the pattern described by Klaus Eder when he defines post-secularism:

> During secularization, religion did not disappear *tout court*. It simply disappeared from the public sphere. In other words the voice of religion was no longer audible, having become a private matter. Today religion is returning to the public sphere. This is what I call post-secularism. (Bosetti & Eder)

That this Irish version of post-secularism is European is confirmed by its nature and the explicit references that are made to the European model. Thus, when Bertie Ahern inaugurated the Structured Dialogue with Churches, Faith Communities, and Non-Confessional Bodies in February 2007, he summarised the contents of an early draft of the European Constitution and concluded:

> The legitimate role of Churches and Faith Communities in the public life of the Union is thus acknowledged. The participation of civil society and the recognition of, for example, social dialogue in the draft Treaty makes the provision for dialogue with the Churches entirely proper and welcome. The Government considers that the principle of a structured dialogue with the Churches is equally applicable at national as at Union level. It would be anomalous if such recognition and dialogue were occurring in Europe, without its clear counterpart at home. (Ahern, "Inauguration")

By acknowledging both the contribution of religion to the formation of Irish identity and the necessity to reintroduce the churches in the public debate, the Irish government reflects the European commitment to religious freedom and its attempt at moving away from excessive secularism. It also echoes Habermas's call to Christians and secularists to talk to each other, to assess the limits of their respective worldviews and contribute to the building of a common post-secular society based on mutual understanding. This view seems to have become largely consensual since Pope Benedict XVI wrote that he was "in broad agreement with Jürgen Habermas' remarks about a post-secular society, about the willingness to learn from each other and about the self-limitations on both sides" (Habermas & Ratzinger 77). He also recognised the responsibility of both the Christian faith and western secular rationality for building the future. Faith and reason, he concluded, are complementary and "they are called to purify and help one another" (Habermas & Ratzinger 78). This view has Irish parallels. For instance, in his Christmas 2006 Homily, Archbishop Diarmuid Martin said:

> Social peace presupposes an ability to dialogue, to be firm in one's principles without becoming intolerant and disrespectable of the other. A culture, which attempts to impose its views and interest through force or violence, undermines the rule of law and is a threat to democracy. (qtd. in Gillespie)

If Paul Gillespie, writing in *The Irish Times*, then rejoiced at such open-mindedness on the part of the Irish Hierarchy, he also warned secularists to beware "in the face of

new trends and influences raising serious questions about whether religions are definitely on the way out" (Gillespie). Secularists in Ireland also had reasons to be concerned[1] when some TDs expressed regret that the Church had not clearly urged a yes vote in the first Lisbon Treaty referendum. Even Cardinal Daly noted: "The church rarely directed people on how to vote unless there was a clear moral issue in question" (qtd. in Kelly). Indeed, it is quite difficult to establish where compromises stop and compromising begins, and there are grounds for ambiguity. At the European level however, things are relatively clear, as the Lisbon Treaty connects religious heritage and the secular values promoted by liberal Europe. Its claim is that it draws inspiration from "the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe, *from which have developed the universal values of the inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law* [my emphasis]" ("Treaty of Lisbon" TL/en 11). Besides, "it places the individual at the heart of its activities" ("Charter" C 83/391), and neither God nor any specific Church or religious tradition is mentioned. This certainly explains why the Catholic Church in Ireland (and elsewhere) and Catholic public opinion generally have mixed feelings about the Lisbon Treaty.

Shortly before he was elected Pope, Cardinal Ratzinger actually denounced the refusal to mention both God and the Christian roots of the European Union. In his opinion it proved that "Europe ha[d] developed a culture that, in a manner hitherto unknown to mankind, excludes God from public awareness" (*Christianity* 30). He complained that "the Churches are assigned their place on the level of day-to-day political compromises; but their message is not allowed to make an impact on the level of foundations on which Europe rests" (*Christianity* 32). Indeed, today, the Charter of Fundamental Rights expresses an equal respect for believers and non-believers. Post-secularism is therefore fundamentally relativistic and pluralistic. Such an understanding of post-secularism is incompatible with the domination of one Church or even one cultural tradition.

As early as 2004, Bertie Ahern had announced that Ireland had moved to "a healthier model of Church/State relations than existed in the past" since it now "value[d] religious liberty and practise[d] religious tolerance" ("Wolfe Tone"). Three years later, he made it clear that the Irish government did not wish "to recreate a special or privileged relationship with any denomination or creed." It simply meant to deal with "the multicultural reality" of contemporary Ireland ("Inauguration"). True, the Irish government supported the introduction of a reference to God in the European Constitution and its Lisbon avatar, but it was bound by the rules of democracy to submit to the wish of the majority, which opposed it. The state in Ireland also has republican roots and "is inspired by the principles of equality and fraternity" (Ahern, "Wolfe Tone"). To Pope Benedict, "the modern concept of democracy seems indissolubly linked to that of relativism" (Ratzinger, *Values* 55); to him, freedom as understood by liberals is

1 See for instance the reaction of blogger Pat Corkery: "Secular Ireland is dead and gone, it is with McQuaid in the grave" (Corkery).

thus in essence incompatible with truth interpreted by the Church as the Eternal Truth of God. Two rival forms of universalism have emerged from the Christian roots of Europe, one secular and the other religious, both arguably authoritarian in the name of different principles. The latest version of the Catechism of the Church makes it clear that the fundamentals of the Catholic moral message have remained unchanged. As for the democratic states of Europe, they are prepared to make citizens vote several times to have their way in the end. It is tempting to suggest that the two campaigns over the Lisbon Treaty in Ireland may be seen as one episode in the struggle between these two worldviews. Both sides actually try their best to model post-secularism according to their beliefs and shape the compromise as best suits them.

Indeed, if the Churches are back in public life and are in a position to influence public opinion throughout Europe (Habermas), it seems that a new form of civic morality is more influential still. Secular authorities feel their moral authority and legitimacy is such as to allow them to express their competence in religious affairs and even to claim a form of moral superiority over Churches. It is significant in this respect that Taoiseach Brian Cowen should have reacted to the Ryan Report by apologising in the name of the state for not intervening and coming to the rescue of children being abused in religious institutions (Regan). The new law making blasphemy a criminal offence for the first time in Irish legislation is another interesting example of such attitudes. In the words of an Irish correspondent of *The Guardian*, “nobody wanted this law: no one can think of a single thundering priest, austere vicar, irate rabbi or miffed mullah ever calling for tougher penalties for blasphemy” (Reidy). In the face of the controversy caused by Islamic cartoons in European countries such as Denmark, France, or Belgium, it is understandable that the Irish government should wish to fill a gap in its constitution in this area. However, one could have expected the Irish Churches to be consulted about the law proposal. It was not so, and the plan seems to have come as a surprise to all. Besides, the Holy See is a known supporter of the international Covenant on Civil, Cultural and Political Rights as the best protection for religious freedom, “as an alternative to prohibiting the defamation of religions” (Coulter).

Political moralism is actually dismissed by Benedict XVI on grounds that “far from opening the path to a real regeneration, it blocks the way,” because God has become “irrelevant to public life” (Ratzinger, *Christianity* 28, 30), and “the decision of the majority occupies the position of truth” (Ratzinger, *Values* 54). The Church, he adds, has a role to play in the state in today’s world: it “must exert itself with all its vigour so that in it there may shine forth the moral truth that it offers to the state and that ought to become evident to the citizens of the state” (Ratzinger, *Values* 69). Catholic commitment in contemporary Ireland involves a mission of that type at the European

level. Ireland is called to contribute to the shaping of "the soul of Europe."[2] Commentators frequently recall St Columba's mission to the continent and call on Ireland to contribute to the spiritual rescue of the Union. To Bishop Donal Murray, the contemporary Church should draw its inspiration from the sixth-century Irish saint to win it back to Christ (*Secularism* 126). Mark Hederman, for his part, comments on the responsibility of European development for people's loss of faith and suggests that Ireland's role in the new century "could be to act as another Ariadne to Europe's grandchildren" (38).

The ultimate shape of post-secular Europe and post-secular Ireland will depend on the outcome, as yet unknown, of the struggle for influence of political and religious authorities. It will also depend on the impact of the compromises that emerge at national and European levels from the pressure exerted by groups ranging from the most reactionary to the most radical, from the Knights of Saint Columba or Muslim fundamentalists to the New Atheists, to mention but a few. Post-secularism resulted from the realisation that secularisation may very well have been "a modern myth" (Luckman 37). Today, all contributors to the debate are aware that the stakes are high, since a page in the history of modernity – or late modernity – may have been turned.

One challenge that states, Churches, and the European Union will no doubt have to confront to build the new post-secular Europe is exacerbated individualism and the distrust of institutions, which have been induced by ultra-liberalism. In Europe, post-secularism is classically described as the outcome of secularisation and the child of both the Enlightenment and Christianity. In his seminal work entitled *Le désenchantement du monde*, Marcel Gauchet thus suggests that Christianity is the religion that freed men from religions because of its human dimension and its historical connection with the state. In this respect, it is interesting to note that the so-called secularisation process essentially occurred in Christian countries, and particularly in Europe, the heartland of Christianity. The fact that Europe features as an exception has become more and more visible in recent years, as its influence has waned. The spectacular rise of Islam in the wake of decolonisation has been a clear reminder that secularisation has not been an international phenomenon in essence. However, the thesis of the continuity between Christian and secular eras in Europe must be qualified since, in the end, "Christianity has not been replaced by a secular culture, but a plurality of life views and religions have moved in to occupy the vacant space it left behind as a result of its diminishing impact" (Boeve 107). The sense of the divine has survived modernisation, but one paradoxical face of "the new visibility of religion in Europe" is that it has been accompanied by "pluralization," "de-institutionalization" and "de-traditionalization" (Boeve 104). Churches have in fact had to cope with the phenomenon of "believing without belonging," as described by Grace Davie. The so-

2 The notion has become commonplace; see, for instance, Donal Murray, *The Soul of Europe* (2002).

called return of religion is a multi-faceted vibrant phenomenon, involving the rise of à la cartism, syncretism and new religiosities, but also the reconciliation of faith and reason, or science and religion, through the channel of new scientific developments. Yet this revival goes hand in hand with the disaffection of traditional Churches, among them the Catholic Church in Ireland. Practice and vocations have dropped in an alarming fashion, and commentators point at 'religious indifference,'[3] even though atheism has not gained ground. In *Foi et savoir*, Derrida wrote that new religious forms had emerged at the expense of what had hitherto been understood as religion (57). The post-secular era may very well usher in a new definition of religion. To the Irish Catholic Church the post-secular mood is an opportunity to contribute to the creation of a new soul for Europe and put an end to the supposed 'soullessness'[4] of Ireland. However, if it also wishes to save the institution, as its current pastoral initiatives would seem to indicate, we may wonder if European multi-cultural and post-secular relativists will take the risk of letting the absolute and universal truth of an authoritarian Church blur the distinctions between pre-and post-secularisms.

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3 See, for instance, the recent report published by Micheal Mac Gréil on the basis of a national survey of religious practices and attitudes in the Republic of Ireland in 2007-2008.

4 See, for instance, John Lonergan, who calls Irish society "soulless and heartless" (53).

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The Representation of Ireland in Two Nineteenth-Century French Journals

Claire Dubois

Writing in 1843 about the affairs of Ireland, Victor de Mars, news-writer for *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, said: "the age-old wound that seemed to slowly heal suddenly opened up wider and more acute than ever" (1012).[1] He could not pass over the question of Repeal in silence because of the importance of national representation at the time both in Ireland and in France. It seems that the French found echoes of their own ideals and political principles in the fight for freedom in Ireland.

In this paper, I wish to study the way in which Ireland and the Irish were represented in two nineteenth-century French periodicals. The first one, *La Revue des Deux Mondes,* began publication in 1829 and is still in existence. More than a literary periodical, it was meant to be a mirror of European and American ideas and regularly published the stories of travellers. Indeed, travels and travelogues were intended as a fundamental means of knowledge before ethnology came to the fore. The journal was the voice of moderation, always trying to combine a respect for tradition with an openness to modern ideas, along the lines of the philosophy of the July Monarchy. It published many articles on Ireland on a wide range of topics including literature, politics, economy, and social relations. In addition, Ireland frequently received attention in the "Chronique de la Quinzaine," the journal's bi-monthly political summary. The second journal, *L'Avenir,* was published from 1830 to 1832 and followed the main ideas of liberal Catholicism trying to adapt to the new context of post-revolutionary Europe.[2] At the time, the people and especially the *bourgeoisie* rejected the Restoration and its links with the reactionary Catholic Church because it reminded them of the *ancien régime*. In this anti-clerical context, the journal was meant to reconcile the democratic and liberal ideas of the people to a romantic Catholicism. Both periodicals illustrate the fact that interest in Ireland developed with the news of Catholic Emancipation. They also show that this interest was widespread, whatever the political beliefs and aims of the publishers.[3] There were many common points in French and

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1 All translations from *La Revue des Deux Mondes* and *L'Avenir* are mine.

2 It was short-lived because it was condemned by Pope Gregory XVI in 1832. It supported the separation of church and state, claiming the authority of the Pope in religious matters and that of the people in civil matters. See Seamus Deane for a comprehensive analysis of the circumstances surrounding the publication of *L'Avenir* (203-249). Deane also provides a translation of Montalembert's "Letter on Catholicism in Ireland" (251-271).

3 *La Revue des Deux Mondes* was first a liberal journal before becoming more conservative in the 1850s. *L'Avenir* was a liberal Catholic journal written by three priests: Lacordaire, Lamennais, and Gerbet.

Irish debates on the ideas of nation, religion, and freedom. Ireland was also represented as a romantic and picturesque island, an image that resonated with the ideals of the period, claiming both an inheritance of the past and a need for new ideas. The portraits of Irishmen also followed this tendency. O'Connell was the best-known Irish figure in the middle of the nineteenth century, even transcending traditional French sympathy for any man who opposed England. Other portraits included Edmund Burke or Thomas Moore.

In the following, I will concentrate on the first half of the nineteenth century because it was the time of reconstruction after the French Revolution and it was characterised by an intensity of political debates and the proliferation of new ideas. I will first try to define the image of Ireland given at the time, its evolution, which elements appealed to the French public and then explore how they used this image of Ireland in their own political debates.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ireland was represented through the prism of its relations to England. Its wretched condition was constantly insisted upon in both journals, which referred to it as "poor Ireland" or "poor Erin." The complexity of the relations between the two Irish communities was pointed out as the reason for this situation, and it was the main point of interest for the journals. In *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, an anonymous article published in 1829 and entitled "Catholic Emancipation," stated that at the end of the eighteenth century the Irish population was subjected to a whimsical Protestant ruling class:

> No link of religion, no homeland, no hope for justice. On one side, the affected disdain of an insulting superiority; on the other, the deep hatred of a nation that feels hurt in its dearest affections, that sees the career of honours and noble ambitions narrowing down in front of it. (Anon., "Emancipation" 71)

The divisions between Catholics and Protestants, between people of Gaelic or English descent were perceived as limiting the progress of Ireland. There seemed to be no link between the two communities, except disdain and hatred. The Irish government was described as "abnormal" and society as "bizarre" (Anon., "O'Connell" 665). Ireland was said to be in an unexampled situation. In 1840, Prosper Duvergier de Hauranne summed up the book *L'Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse* written by Gustave de Beaumont in 1839,[4] saying that no other country had suffered more than Ireland. It thus deserved the attention of moralists and politicians. According to Beaumont, the Ascendancy was definitely Irish but could not admit it, thus making the country poor and miserable: they "became so impregnated with the Irish character that you would not find in its mores a single trace that would be reminiscent of

4 Beaumont was a friend of Tocqueville's. He went to America with him and contributed to his book *Democracy in America*. Beaumont's book, the most thorough French study on Ireland in the nineteenth century, was the result of his investigations and focused on the progress of democracy there. The Protestant *Dublin Magazine* said that this book could not be by a foreigner and suspected a Dublin radical to be its true author.

the English adventurers, its ancestors" (Anon., "O'Connell" 665). This denial made the Ascendancy an "evil aristocracy" (Duvergier 12). Two communities living on the same territory had been fighting each other for centuries: the oppressed peasantry and the frivolous landowners. Irish civilisation was seen as "unreasonable" at the time. The end of the eighteenth century was an "extravagant, extremely witty, bloody, savage, extraordinary and bizarre period" (Anon., "O'Connell" 665). The life of George Robert Fitzgerald (1748-1794), nicknamed "fighting Fitzgerald," a noted duellist, "proved the savage state of this country and the little influence civilisation and law had on the island, still feudal and left in the grip of the barbarities of the Middle Ages" (Anon., "O'Connell" 666-667).

Under its "apparent ferocity," the Irish nation hid "noble aims, a burning desire for independence and a deep hatred for England" (Anon., "O'Connell" 667). England was indeed considered responsible for a certain number of Ireland's catastrophes. Ireland's piety, abnegation, and resistance to the Penal Laws were considered exemplary. *L'Avenir* frequently alluded to the involvement of the faithful in a non-violent fight for freedom under the guidance of a humble clergy (Deane 204). Charles de Montalembert, who favoured a constitutional and liberal monarchy, wrote "Letters on Catholicism in Ireland," published in 1831 in three issues of the journal, insisting on the link between the situation in Ireland and France:

> And we, laymen, we who were born in a century in which it is so hard to live, but so glorious to fight, if ever despondency came to seize us, if ever our tired heart doubted God and His eternal solicitude, let us think of the wonders of the Catholic Association, that only started with seven members, and that, after a fifteen-year fight, conquered the religious independence of Ireland and laid the foundations of its national independence. Let us think that to maintain Catholicism in Ireland in front of the foreign conqueror, of victorious heresy, of British glory and power, in a situation that offered no support, through three centuries of plundering, revolutions, and troubles, two things were needed that will not fail France: on one side persecution, on the other, faith. (163)

Ireland was persecuted and it never gave up thanks to its deep faith (Deane 229). The Irish situation under the Penal Laws was described as a form of slavery in both journals:

> When law is despotism and tyranny, when it is unfair, oppressive, terrible, can we say there is liberty? Is there liberty when it orders or allows slavery? Were the Catholics free under the terrible penal laws that not long ago still bore upon them in Ireland and in England? (Lammenais 303)

The Penal Laws framed and limited the Irish nation. *L'Avenir* described the laws as an evil legal code no one should respect, using the Irish example as a proof that laws were not always good for the people (Deane 239). In *La Revue des Deux Mondes,* Louis de Carné compared Ireland to overseas colonies, such as the French colonies in the Caribbean:

> The rod of despotism had reached Ireland and had dried out everything to the root. Thus did egotism bring back, if not justice, at least a less bloody policy. A few property rights were given back to those islanders in order to be able to negotiate with them, as

> the Caribbean planter watched over his slaves' health to take more advantage of their work. (295-296)

Ireland was also compared to colonial systems in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of America where Black people were declared White by letters patent. The length of the conflict was likewise insisted upon. The conquest's effect was seen as perverting both the conquerors and the conquered and condemning them to an eternal fight that England had ignored for too long (Duvergier 28). The English attitude was identified as the source of Ireland's current problems.

Both journals supported the fact that England was responsible for the Irish situation and that it should do something to make up for it as in the case of other colonies (Duvergier 25). Catholic Emancipation was seen as the first step towards improvement. The main problem seemed to be the deep anti-Irish feeling in England in spite of the Act of Union. Protestant England did not consider Irish people as fellow countrymen or Catholic people as brothers: "In its eyes, Ireland is still a conquered land, the Irishman a loser, the Catholic a slave" (Duvergier 28). Both journals underlined the discrepancy between this attitude and the traditional English image of an enlightened country. The debate on Catholic Emancipation unveiled the real face of England, i.e. that of an intolerant country. Catholic Emancipation was "a measure that moved too deeply the old England, that showed to the face of Europe a mass of ignorance and fanaticism that is hard to reconcile with the flattering idea that we liked to form of the enlightened liberty of that country" (Anon., "Emancipation" 68). The English government considered Ireland as a sort of "domestic enemy." The Irish question was a never-ending problem that England simply failed to understand. Emancipation is thus described as an act of national justice, the first step on the road to liberty (Anon., "O'Connell" 670).

But the Irish cause was also the pretext for many misdeeds. Outlaws operated in Ireland and attacked or robbed Protestant owners. The Whiteboys and the supporters of Captain Rock[5] were also described as a sort of rampant evil that plagued Ireland from the mid-1820s (Anon., "O'Connell" 675). The fear of such outlaws on the part of French writers shows that the spectre of the 1789 revolution was still there. But these rebels were also considered good examples of the Irish character, illustrating courage and dexterity.

Such descriptions of the Irish character were prompted by a renewed interest in Ireland during the Restoration with its romantic quest for origins and the appeal of Celtic studies. Ireland was described as a romantic landscape, especially the West of the island. This romantic image was the main stereotype used by travellers who visited the country at the time. O'Connell's birthplace, for example, was described in *La*

5 The Whiteboys were an eighteenth-century secret Irish agrarian organisation which used violent methods to target landowners and tithe collectors. The Rockite movement, named for its leader and hero, stirred the Irish countryside from 1821 to 1824. It was notorious for its violence that targeted the landed élite.

Revue des Deux Mondes as a savage and sublime place in which anthropomorphic mountains, "like bald giants, were stretching their arms to reach the sea through the mists of the coast." Ireland seemed to be a land of the gods (Anon., "O'Connell" 660-661). There were also references to Ossian, which proves the European success of Macpherson's book, even if everyone knew that the poems were not originals.[6] Ireland was described as an authentic and picturesque country, a representation that gradually imposed itself as the 'true' image of Ireland.

One of the best-known articles in *La Revue des Deux Mondes* is "La poésie des races celtiques," written by Ernest Renan and published in the January 1854 issue. This article describes the Celtic race as a fundamentally feminine race, which came from a sort of lost paradise, both geographic and utopian. It is a hymn to Celticism and a sort of poetic reverie.[7] Ireland, for Renan, was the only place where ancestry was certain and pure:

> If the excellence of races is to be appreciated by the purity of their blood and the inviolability of their national character, it must be admitted that none can vie in nobility with the still surviving remains of the Celtic race. Never has a human family lived more apart from the world, and been purer from all alien admixture. Confined by conquest within forgotten islands and peninsulas, it has reared an impassable barrier against external influences; it has drawn all from itself; it has lived solely on its own capital. From this ensues that powerful individuality, that hatred of the foreigner, which even in our own days has formed the essential feature of the Celtic peoples. Roman civilization scarcely reached them, and left among them but few traces. The Teutonic invasion drove them back, but did not penetrate them. At the present hour they are still constant in resistance to an invasion dangerous in an altogether different way – that of modern civilization, destructive as it is of local variations and national types. Ireland in particular (and herein we perhaps have the secret of her irremediable weakness) is the only country in Europe where the native can produce the titles of his descent, and designate with certainty, even in the darkness of prehistoric ages, the race from which he has sprung. (Renan, "Poetry")

Celtic Ireland is seen as resisting the invasion of modern civilisation, because the Irish cling to their national type. This gives the impression that Ireland was essentially a nostalgic country (Deane 263). According to Emile Montégut, it was in a strange position, between memory and hope: the Irish looked back on times gone by with longing but they would never restore their glorious past even if they strove to.

> The Celts have always lived upon memories and hopes. To get over the present, they like to delude themselves with the painful memory of faded joys and then look into the future for the resurrection of this beloved past. From this comes the charm, the tenderness, the grace that we notice in the character and especially in the poetry of this race, which seems to speak in the tones of both a young and an old man. (Montégut 895)

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6 A notice on the book *The Poems of Ossian,* in the original Gaelic, with a literal translation into English by James Macpherson, with a new dissertation by Archibald Clerk (published in 1870), claimed that the texts were fake (Étienne 735-736).

7 Renan came from Britanny. His description was laudatory, but it was probably used to justify the English presence in Ireland, as a feminine race needed a more reasonable masculine race to govern it.

La Revue des Deux Mondes presented Ireland to the French as if it was an intermediary, a translator. It dealt with literature, economy, Anglo-Irish relations, but many aspects of the situation in Ireland were left aside, even if the portrait seems more thorough than in *L'Avenir*. Both journals sympathised with the Irish people, blamed England for the situation even if they did not subscribe to every Irish action. But their image of Ireland was biased and determined by the situation in France. The rediscovery of Ireland was framed by the attempts to redefine the French nation, which had been dislocated and disunited by the Revolution. In other words, Ireland was imagined by French people along the characteristics they chose to ascribe to it. According to *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, both countries had a lot of common points but France was a "reasonable" country, contrary to Ireland (Anon., "O'Connell" 665). We may wonder why the journalists from *La Revue des Deux Mondes* wrote so much about Ireland and tried to present the Irish fight for freedom as an example to be followed in France.

Ireland, or the image constructed of Ireland, was used as an example to inspire French people. Many articles in *La Revue des Deux Mondes* thus presented famous Irishmen. A series of three articles by Philarète Chasles and Charles de Rémusat dealt with Edmund Burke and his writings. Burke was represented as the defender of the oppressed. He never let Ireland down and criticised the Penal Laws more or less openly despite his prominent position in England. The poetry of his discourses was also hailed despite a tendency towards "fancy and pathos" (Chasles, "Burke" 629-661; Rémusat, "Burke (1)" 209-252; Rémusat, "Burke (2)" 435-491).[8] An article by Hippolyte Taine dealt with Jonathan Swift and his ability as a pamphleteer and a poet. According to Taine, Swift had invented a type of satire to defend Ireland more efficiently (869-904). Such rhetorical qualities and such involvement were to be emulated in France. In 1820, the French historian Augustin Thierry prompted his fellow countrymen to follow the example of Thomas Moore, who constantly praised his country and its wonders (121). For Thierry, praising the national spirit was a great means of mobilising people into action and uniting them under the same flag. He thought that art could help reason and courage in times of crisis. Ireland was thus presented as a source of inspiration for French people in a number of respects: celebrating the glory of the nation, uniting the people, renewing faith and reform. In 1843, *La Revue des Deux Mondes* devoted a thirty-page article to Thomas Moore. According to it, Moore strikingly shared and expressed the feelings of his fellow countrymen. He was the voice of the nation representing faithfully "the feelings, the passions, and the instincts of the people." He perfectly expressed the fact that Ireland had neither a past nor a present because everything had been taken away. His work was deeply Irish and thus less universal than that of his friend Byron (Dudley 695-696).

Moore's patriotism was perceived to be as strong as that of any politician. His *Melodies* seemed to include all the elements needed to retrace the events of Irish history,

8 Burke's opinions on the French Revolution were also criticised.

but they were songs of captivity, of nostalgia, and had no equivalent in France. Ireland was a “country of memories”; France was a “country of hope” (Lasteyrie 806). Only enslaved and oppressed nations could fully understand Irish suffering. Yet, *The Melodies* seemed to be the collective work of an entire people because of their deeply national quality. Here was an expression of national unity that did not exist as such in France.

The Catholic faith reinforced this sense of unity. *L’Avenir* described Ireland as an example to follow because it had resisted English oppression for centuries. French Catholics should try to emulate this search for unity. France had been far too individualistic since the Revolution of 1789. People should unite under the guidance of religion to defend order and the general interest. The Irish fight for freedom and the link that existed there between God and liberty was seen as proving the fact that religion strengthened social ties. Such ties were the only tangible elements in this period of change (Lammenais, “De la separation” 155-156). Ireland and France had similar problems including hunger, corruption, inequality, and immorality. But such problems were perceived as more acute in Ireland (Chasles, “Le roman” 1006-1007). The real issue both in Ireland and France was to give a new moral impetus to the population, to give it examples to follow.

L’Avenir obviously felt sympathy towards Ireland and the fight for Emancipation there. But Ireland also showed the way to unity to an over-individualistic country such as France. Ireland was a good example of how a people should unite to achieve its aims. The journals stated that the main author of this unity was Daniel O’Connell. In *L’Avenir*, O’Connell was portrayed as a liberator, somebody to draw inspiration from for the renewal of French Catholicism and for bringing it closer to the people. He was also seen as a symbol of the possible reconciliation between the spirit of Catholicism and liberal modernity, between tradition and modernity in general. Montalembert’s address in 1847, when O’Connell came to France, shows the fascination he inspired: “You are our master, our model and our glorious preceptor [...] You are not only the man of a nation; you are the man of Christendom” (“Visite” 2). For Montalembert, O'Connell personified the victory of faith and liberty.

In *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, O’Connell was also portrayed as a central figure. Over a fifteen-year period (from 1829 to 1843) four articles were dedicated to him and many others mentioned him. He was presented as the “champion” of the Irish cause, leading Ireland towards freedom. His talents as a “popular orator” were emphasised: he was able to communicate with the masses; he understood them (Anon., “O’Connell” 670). The journal built up a sort of myth of the liberator and agitator, comparing his public speeches to the tides of the sea or a tempest.

Both journals praised O’Connell’s moderation and his advocacy of legal reform instead of violence. This was important in the aftermath of the French Revolution, because many people feared a new outburst of violence in France. He was depicted as a political hero whose fight for democracy was firm but non-violent, contrary to that of

John Mitchel[9] for instance. Beaumont thought O'Connell was the best example of what modern politics should be. His moderation, inspired by Catholicism, enabled him to use the Catholic Association as a pressure group and push for Catholic Emancipation without violence (contrary to the French Revolution) and guide the masses away from barbarity. He was the best example that it was possible to combine perseverance and passion, force and prudence. This new form of action avoided the unexpected consequences of an unsuccessful insurrection even if it did not have the instant effects of a revolution: "He is a man who, without the military or civil force, manages by the sole force of reason and talent to free his country peacefully and to dominate as it were the government that his country depended on" (Duvergier 38). He allowed the democratic spirit to develop without any violence. The example of O'Connell also confirmed Montalembert's belief that progress without violent revolutions was possible.

This was a good example for France to follow. John Mitchel, on the contrary, was depicted as a man who had a taste for violence. He was not a revolutionary *à la française* according to Montégut in *La Revue des Deux Mondes* (901-902). Mitchel supported revolutions and the republic not because it would help spread the rights of man but because they were a means to producing new political institutions. He had revolutionary instincts but no democratic feelings.

O'Connell's ability to preside over popular movements was strongly underlined. He was declared the "king of the people" or the "orator of democracy." According to *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, he frequently borrowed Moore's verse in his addresses, thus perfectly illustrating the link between past and present. His ability to handle the disorganised masses thanks to his talents as an orator was widely admired (Anon., "O'Connell" 672; Mars 1022). The representation of the masses in political life was becoming crucial in the aftermath of the French Revolution. Political leaders did not know how to organise a crowd's instinctive reactions. A man like O'Connell knew how to make the masses follow him, probably thanks to a certain *mise-en-scène* of his "monster meetings"[10]: "In Ireland as in France, the masses are theatrical; keen on decorations and costumes, they follow their instincts – they have no principles" (Chasles, "Le roman" 1021). This statement by Philarète Chasles shows that the masses inspired both fascination and repulsion in French politicians. O'Connell was portrayed as the advocate of the oppressed people vis-à-vis the kings and the tyrants. The masses were excluded from the ballot but they could be represented anyway through O'Connell as an intermediary. His talent to lead the crowds inspired

9 John Mitchel was one of the leaders of Young Ireland and of the Irish Confederation. He was believed to encourage insurrection even if his editorials in *The United Irishman* show that he favoured passive resistance to English oppression.

10 The term "monster meeting" was coined by *The Times* during the campaigns for Catholic Emancipation (1823-1829) and for the Repeal of the Act of Union (1829-1847) led by Daniel O'Connell. It referred to the impressive number of people that the orator managed to gather at each demonstration venue.

French republicans such as Ledru-Rollin or Etienne Garnier-Pagès, who wanted to unite the poor and the middle classes around such a symbol of republicanism. They idealised O'Connell until they realised in 1843 that he was anti-republican. His decision not to go ahead with the monster meeting at Clontarf after the government's interdiction deeply disappointed French republicans.

In the course of the 1840s, the admiration for this popular hero gave way to his rejection as a liar and a demagogue. O'Connell's campaign for Emancipation had been described as proof of his spirit of modernity. But the campaign for the Repeal of the Act of Union of 1800, according to *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, was a form of attachment to the past, a utopian and nostalgic ideal that would destroy the nation. Ireland was still poor in spite of Emancipation because of the ongoing fight for Repeal: "Political fever agitates and devours it" (Anon., "O'Connell" 696).

O'Connell was compared to French orators such as Marat or Lamartine, who were equally eloquent and popular. But there was no room for an O'Connell in France, because France was not Ireland. According to Lamartine, the Revolution had "removed all the barriers that had separated [France] into three or four different peoples"; there was a "uniformity of patriotism and the fusion of all interests in a common interest" (Mars 1022). The confrontation between these constructed images of Ireland and France enabled the French to reappraise their self-image. In comparison with Ireland, there seemed to be virtually no internal divisions in France.

The image constructed of O'Connell corresponded to the needs of the parties that exploited it.[11] O'Connell was thus depicted as a sort of hero to be taken as an example of what could be done to fight for freedom within the limits of legal action. The myth of the "Liberator" was used as an inspiration to reconstruct the French national spirit, as the situation in Ireland reminded the French of what had happened in their own country at the end of the eighteenth century. Such a myth thus integrates both elements from the past and ideas that appealed to the people in a period of doubt and change, as it is fundamentally a memory, but also a guide to action (Carbonell and Rives 10; Eliade 93, 166). This is how French leaders and journalists thought they could respond in a creative way to their country's situation.

The French had sympathies for Ireland, their age-old ally in the fight against England. Journalists also found common points in the struggle for freedom the two countries had engaged in. But the image constructed of Ireland and its heroes was taken from a set of stereotyped images used in the press and in political speeches. France was thus depicted as a more reasonable country than Ireland would ever be.

According to the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur, the foreigner can be defined as a sort of "empty space" that we try to fill in ourselves as we know what we belong to, but we do not know who the others are. French journalists depicted the Irish fight for

11 See Colantonio on French images of Daniel O'Connell and how they were used by various parties in French political debates.

freedom as necessary but violent, judging its defenders as utopians resisting the movement of modernity. The latter were thus perceived as unreasonable and threatening, even more so because Ireland was a small island. According to Paul Ricoeur, the smaller the communities, the more threatening their minorities. Getting inspiration from the Irish fight for freedom but also rejecting certain aspects of the 'Irish mind' prompted the reconstruction of the French national spirit. A definitely progressive spirit emerged, turned towards the future, contrary to the stereotypical image of nostalgic Ireland.

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The Business of Pleasure: Modernity, Marketing, and Music Hall in *Fin-de-Siècle* Ireland

Alison O'Malley-Younger

> Advertising is an emotional striptease for a world of abundance. (McLuhan 21)
>
> Dan Lowery's Star of Erin: O Infinite Variety past Dame Street's horse trams and curricks, newsboys and flower sellers, past the importunate pandhandling tinkers, bursting into the imperial lobby, gilt ceiling studded with regal gasoliers, Star lamps and Sun lamps, past the hulking mahogany bar, the brass and garnet leather, the gouts of frothy porter, the glint and tinkle of faceted glass or into the huge hall, the Hibernian Night's Entertainment … (Kershner 433)

In his compendious book on Irish Advertising imaginatively entitled *The Advertising Book: The History of Advertising in Ireland* (1986), Hugh Oram asserts that "Irish Advertising did not come of age until the start of *Telefis Eireann* on January 1st, 1962" (1). Furthermore, much, if not all of the advertising employed in the period prior to the twentieth century he describes, somewhat witheringly, as 'passive.' This article will work from the premise that absence of evidence is not evidence of absence,[1] and argue that popular entertainment and advertising were symbiotically linked, the one mediating the other in late-nineteenth-century Ireland as a characteristic and vitally important part of the visual and cultural mix of the modern urban metropolis.

I will concentrate on the remarkable and ingenious range of advertising strategies adopted by a music hall magnate such as Dan Lowery Junior and suggest that reading these exemplary and hitherto largely overlooked ephemera offers a powerful segue into the commercial ethos surrounding the 'leisure' industries in Ireland. Moreover, I will argue that such material sheds light on the concerns of Cultural Nationalists around the unwelcome current of 'imported entertainments,' viewed as social and national pathogens on the nascent body politic of an Ireland coming into being in the maelstrom of modern life and as encroachments of European Modernity. Music Hall was a harbinger of Modernity viewed by many Revivalists as virtually synonymous with the imperial project of Anglicisation: advertising was its life-blood, instilling false desires for non-Irish, non-national products. Thus, in its discussion of the politics of advertising and the advertising of politics this essay will concentrate not on the influence of Ireland on Europe, but on the (sometimes unwelcome) influence of Europe on Ireland as the nineteenth century came to a close.

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1 Tracy C. Davis in keynote speech at Buried Treasures Symposium at Royal Holloway, University of London, 27 September 2008.

Advertise, Advertise, Advertise[2]

In the preface to his 1881 book *Hours with the Players*, Dutton Cook observed that "the blower of his own trumpet is usually rather a suspected sort of soloist […] yet some measure of self-assertion is necessary: traders must advertise their wares" (iv). This sentiment is corroborated in *Consuming Passions* (2007), where Judith Flanders allies the Victorian fascination with spectacle with larger cultural changes such as industrialisation and urbanisation, both of which heralded the emergence of a culture dominated by a consumerist ethos: an ethos which employed and deployed spectacle as a means to promote, reproduce, circulate, and merchandise commodities (some of them being the bodies of the spectacles or entertainers themselves). In Victorian England, the list of such spectacles which had the punters begging for more included: automata, wax works, *trompe-l'oeil* illusion (usually suffixed with "orama"), pleasure gardens, military displays, recreations of famous battles, animals (mechanical, deformed, dancing or "learned"), peep shows, freak shows, and firework displays, all of which passed before the eyes of the delighted and captivated patrons "in one day" (Flanders 286). Flanders continues: "The shows were advertised in a similar melange, with strident messages bombarding the public daily" (286), and, quoting from Pückler-Muskau[3] to stress the umbilical link between popular entertainment and advertising: "They must either advertise or perish" (Flanders 287).

This sentiment regarding the importance of advertising in the circulation of theatrical commodities (shows and actors included) was clearly shared on a more general level by Horace Greeley, who opined to the *Anglo-Celt* of 3 December 1898:

> To neglect ADVERTISING is like resolving never to travel by steam or communicate by telegraph. It is to close one's eyes to the light and insist on living in permanent darkness. (11)

Mr Greeley's comments clearly ally advertising with a concomitant surge towards modernity, a point which has been endorsed by theorists such as Walter Benjamin and Theodor Adorno, and later by cultural historians such as Thomas Richards and also Jennifer Wicke,[4] who argues that advertising is arguably the chief emblem of modern life, "a sign of the sign of the times" which "signifies the modern predicament" (Wicke 593), a concretisation of what Richards, following Guy Debord, describes as "the era of spectacle" (Richards 3).

Richards' and Wicke's arguments, roughly summarised, revolve around the notion that the emergence of advertising as a serious cultural form was concomitant with the heyday of the new market capitalism of the nineteenth century, dependent to some extent on industrialisation and technological developments which revolutionised retail marketing by stimulating mass production. In short, they argue that advertising, the

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2 *Irish Weekly Advertiser* 25 March 1863. Thanks to John Strachan for this quotation.

3 A nineteenth-century Lusatian aristocrat, cultural commentator, and eccentric.

4 See also Loeb and Rappaport.

child of 'commodity culture' effectively instantiated modernity, emerging in tandem with the changing economic and social rules of the mid-to-late nineteenth century.[5] Further, mass production based on low margins and high turnover relied on the creation and arousal of demands and desires in nineteenth-century consumers, thereby lubricating the circulation of goods. Thus, in part European Modernity was ushered in under the aegis of advertising. Indeed, as Wicke suggests, "advertising is a key way of *being* modern, because modernity must advertise" (604).

In other words, the ubiquitous and aggressive spectacle of advertising is *avant la lettre* the symbol of the modern, deleteriously bound up with the frenetic flux and chaos of the capitalist-driven, modern metropolis. Such compulsive and uncompromisingly visible capitalism exerted a disaggregating influence on the modern urbanite, as Marshall Berman points out:

> These expansive, dynamic, frenetic energies generated by the heat of capitalism lay at the heart of cities such as London, Paris and New York; it is in these bustling metropolises where one locates the essence of modernity in the nineteenth century, where business transactions, commerce and strangers from numerous cultures all converged in a concentrated social stew. (95)

Thus, the advertisement in all of its kaleidoscopically changing and gratuitously riveting forms speaks of the cultural tensions regarding the freedom of the marketplace and sanctity of the individual, characteristic of the *fin de siècle.* Here, Berman singles out the metropolitan titans of London, Paris, and New York, as exemplary loci of modernity, yet a stroll through Joyce's Dublin shows a cityscape punctuated with advertisements for everything from Plumtree's Potted Meat to music hall cantatrices and soubrettes created to appeal to a consuming body, who were as Thomas Richards observes, "beginning to yield to the ministrations of commodity culture" (205). To suggest that such images, which litter the pages of *Ulysses*, were designed as a verisimilitudinous jigsaw to be reconstructed by interested scholars is short-sighted. They offer an opaque and possibly unconscious testimonial to the ubiquitous melange of advertisements, signifying a modern mass culture, which lined and laced the streets of Dublin at the turn of the century.

The Flâneur

This understanding of 'the age of consumption' as coeval with the condition of urban modernity is best exemplified by Walter Benjamin's notion of the flâneur, the perfect idler with a predilection for leisure, drawn to, and anaesthetised by, the force of the crowd and carefully managed commodity spectacles. In such circumstances the crowd, according to Benjamin, becomes a mass lulled by the opiates of consumerism. Therefore, as he suggests:

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5 Wicke gives the date for the emergence of this phenomenon as circa 1840, while Richards suggests that advertising and commodity culture emerged as significant forces at the time of the Great Exhibition in 1851.

> The crowd is not only the newest asylum of outlaws; it is also the latest narcotic for the abandoned. The flâneur is someone abandoned in a crowd. In this he shares the situation of the commodity. He is not aware of this special situation, but this does not diminish its effects on him and it permeates him blissfully like a narcotic that can compensate him for many humiliations. The intoxication to which the flâneur surrenders is the intoxication of the commodity around which surges the stream of customers. (Benjamin, *Baudelaire* 55)

Thus, according to Benjamin, in the marketplace of modernity the individual is dehumanised and anaesthetised by the lure of commodities and the illusory glitter of mass culture. Catapulted into what he describes as a "phantasmagoria"[6] the mass becomes entangled in the ephemera of capitalism, fascinated by its "artificial palaces of intoxication and pleasure" (Cronin 12), such as monster stores and music halls, and compelled to consume, often to the detriment of society.[7]

Notably, in Benjamin's account the flâneur is described as 'intoxicated' by commodities and mesmerised by the subliminal seductions presented by the new temples to consumerism: the department store, the arcade, the theatre and the music hall. Psychically debilitated and manipulated thus flâneurs become part of an unmediated mass, "united only," as Anne Cronin observes, "in their common capitulation to the lure of commodity" (24), testifying to what Thomas Richards describes as "the inherent weakness and gullibility of the masses" (183).

If the monster store represented an overwhelming temptation to its mass-purchasing patrons, the music hall was viewed as capitalism at its most venal, irredeemably vulgarised by commercial considerations and thus at least as debased as its primarily working-class audiences. Marked as the favoured locus of tipplers, drunkards, and backsliders the Halls were seen by many as licentious dens of intemperance, nurseries of drunkenness, designed to demoralise and literally intoxicate their socially deviant habitués. Indeed, as Francis Grierson argues in *The Celtic Temperament and Other Essays*:

> The music-hall is a law unto itself. It exists by itself and for itself […]. The people who flock to it night after night, are people who are incapable of any serious thought during the day, who have not worked particularly hard and who wished to be amused in the most neutral manner possible in the evening. (110)

Thus, as in the city in Benjamin's account of the flâneur, in the Halls the crowd becomes an unthinking, aimlessly consuming mass, evacuated of will and morality by the commercially generated commodity spectacles, designed specifically for such a degenerate mass culture.

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6 A collective dream.

7 It has been extensively argued that these intoxicants encouraged 'disorders' such as kleptomania and oniomania (compulsive shopping) in women; see, for example, Abelson. In men the literal intoxicant of alcohol was thought to be the main cause of poverty and wretchedness and was linked to its easy accessibility in the mainly working-class recreations of the public house and the music hall.

From this perspective music hall was viewed as an inauthentic, anaesthetic, and unwholesome palliative to the working classes emerging from, and symbolising, a nascent commodity culture. Moreover, in Ireland the Halls were viewed as tinder boxes for sectarianism and violence, as the following 'complaint' from *The Nation* of 30 November 1867 makes clear. The writer Thomas Francis Meagher recollects that, after jostling through a "large and noisy mob outside" a Belfast music hall,

> [w]e entered by a side door and ascended the platform; but our appearance was the signal for one of the most horrible scenes of uproar I have ever beheld in Ireland; shrieking, whistling, stamping, imprecations in the most uncouth accentuations of Antrim county – groans, cheers for John O'Connell (who was then administering the dilapidated remains of the Liberator's Conciliation Hall agitation) but no Kentish fire, from which circumstance it was plain that mob was not an Orange mob and that the demonstration was an entirely 'Old Ireland' affair … the turmoil became rapidly more and more menacing: until at last a volley of stones from the mob outside came crashing through all the windows of the building.

Here, the audience, far from being stunned into mute subjection by the commodified spectacles on stage, become a homogenous mob who are galvanised to acts of sectarian violence. In short, intoxicated by the on-stage spectacle they are transformed into a frenzied rabble, incapable of self-control.

Of course, it would be a case of *reductio ad absurdum* to suggest that riots in Belfast theatres and music halls could be attributed solely or even in part to the massification of the crowd therein. However, it stands as an exemplar of the way in which the phenomenon of mass culture was viewed by its censors – as an anarchic force which impoverished the intellectual faculties of its stupefied and benumbed patrons and encouraged rowdiness, drunkenness, and cultural disintegration.

At the heart of this debased drama of consumerism stood the advertisement, the illusory and inauthentic creator of false need and catalyst for desire, "an equal opportunity scapegoat," according to Jennifer Wicke, excoriated by both "left wing critical theory" and right wing "reactionary thought," united in their desires to excoriate it or "to mourn its presence among us […] as all that is commercially debased" (Wicke, "Modernity" 593). Wicke goes on to say that

> [t]he guilt is almost always there […] even in the gilt – since an ad's reason for being is to put forth or to enhalo a commodity in order to instigate public desire for it, the ad is contaminated to its very origins. Original sin defines the ad, and no matter how aesthetic, it cannot redeem its genesis in the commodity nexus. (598)

Advertising is thus seen as the lowest form of aesthetic poverty in mass culture – lower even than the degradations of music hall, yet the two were fundamentally and intrinsically reliant on one another. Both offered instant gratification. Both employed an aesthetic of intoxication stimulating 'unhealthy' desires which could only be sated in the consummation of consumer and commodity. In late-nineteenth-century Ireland this phenomenon was attributed to, and exemplified by, Music Hall in general and Dan Lowery's Music Hall in particular.

Dan Lowery's Music Hall

Dan Lowery Junior, 'the Guv'nor' (1841-1897), was a *monstre sacré* to the general populace of turn-of-the-century Dublin and *a bête noire* to the highbrow and temperance brigades. To the former, he was a venerable, eccentric philanthropist who met their entertainment needs in a pleasurable, ambient, and affordable environment. To the latter, he was a commercially savvy Machiavel, purveying smut and salaciousness to the masses and bombarding the city with a barrage of profit-oriented advertisements and mercantile displays. The truth, as is often the case, lay somewhere between these two extremes.

Lowery was enlisted to take over the management of the family business after his father (Dan Senior) was engaged in legal skirmishes with the Gunns – proprietors of the patented Gaiety, who saw the "Star of Erin Music Hall" as unwanted and very powerful competition for the hearts and minds of Dublin audiences. Arriving in 1881, he set about rebuilding, remodelling, and re-branding the venue to create a "Monster Palace of Enchantments" with a capacity of over 1,000. Having done this, as Watters and Murtagh record,

> [h]e sat down in his Office above the Stage to draft his posters and newspaper advertisements. He meant business. Notices of the Re-opening appeared in all the Dublin dailies and weeklies, and coloured posters were displayed on hoardings throughout the Town. He bought two high cars, horse drawn, to be driven through the streets, bells jingling, carrying huge placards of the current Bill of fare. (45)

In short, he promoted the establishment with a missionary zeal, taking every available opportunity and using every conceivable method to brand and market his emporium of entertainments, to the extent that Lowery's advertisements became part of the visual mix of the city, aligned to the rhythms of its day-to-day life:

> His advertising campaign was incessant – two inch column space in Pat and its successor The Irish Diamond, three inch columns in the Times and the Freeman's Journal. His bright posters thirty inches long and ten inches wide were everywhere – in bars, sweetshops, tobacconists, bun-shops, on brick walls and billboards. He himself phrased all the publicity, making everything larger than life. (Watters & Murtagh 51)

It is clear that in his relentless and sedulous promotion of his emporium, Dan Lowery had the first rule of advertising in mind – to keep his name in front of the public continually – hence the melange of strident advertisements he produced and displayed, each of them barking colossal claims, framed in a language of gigantism. His "Star of Erin" was "world famed," unparalleled, a "terrific cannonade of entertainments," "dazzling," "explosive," a "whale among minnows," and "the Crystal Palace of Ireland" (Watters and Murtagh 119).

It is worth pausing to ponder what this allusion to the Crystal Palace actually entails. As Thomas Richards comments:

> The Crystal Palace […] at one and the same time was a museum and a market: it brought together a host of rare and exclusive things and promised, in a way that is very

> hard to pin down, that each and every one of them would one day be democratically available to anyone and everyone. (19)

In keeping with this spirit of 'great exhibitionism' Lowery also brought together "rare and exclusive things": subhominoids and "freaks," performing animals, one-legged trapeze artists, "serios, roseyposies, arch-eyed soubrettes, lesbics and Hebes in bursting bodices" (Richards 99), pickannines, stage-Irish, Lions Comique, tumblers, pugilists, swells, mashers, educated donkeys ("marvellous comprehension"), leg-and-knicker shows, dwarves, stage-Cockneys, stage-Scots, and stage-Geordies, marionettes, mimics, and mediums – all of these things presented in a glittering marketplace, lubricated by liquor in which everything, including the performers were spectacular, fetishised commodities. It is tempting to view this melange of essentially plebeian entertainments as nothing more than pandering to voyeuristic gawking at grotesquery, wrapped up as mass-spectacle and entertainment. However, it testifies to Lowery's ability to predict a need and to supply an increasingly demanding audience with an ever-expanding list of sensational theatrical commodities. Blatant consumerism it may have been, but it was a manifestation of a commercial ethos in *fin-de-siècle* Dublin which was, according to Cheryl Herr, "quite simply a fact of life" (204).

In 1911, Walter Dill Scott described the quintessential advertising impresario thus:

> The man with the proper imagination is able to conceive of any commodity in such a way that it becomes an object of emotion to him and to those to whom he imparts his picture, and hence creates desire rather than a mere feeling of ought. (35)

Dan Lowery Junior was such a man. He knew that to create consumption he had first to create consumers, and with this in mind he adopted a promiscuous repertoire of promotional formats, from the kinetic and three-dimensional with decorated elephants and faux-drownings to the more conventional newspaper ads, sandwich boards, trade cards, playbills, daybills, and hand leaflets he used to pitch his premises to prospective punters. Aware of the importance of maintaining a public profile he peddled a sustained and concentrated conglomerate of spectacles which stressed the novelty, exoticism, escapism, and titillation available at his establishments, all of it accessible, affordable, and affably purveyed to a 'modern' mass audience.

Music Hall and Marketing

Without question Lowery's posters and programmes, even the design of his buildings, emulated images commonly associated with the European culture of *la belle époque*. For example, The Empire Theatre of Varieties, opened in 1894 by a consortium led by Lowery Junior, was described by the press as "a marvel of Moorish magnificence" comparable to "the Palace in London" (Findlater 230). Here the venue exemplifies the decadence of the European *fin de siècle* in the opulence of its extravagant architecture and gilded décor. One might also argue that the building inadvertently embraced the philosophy of *l'art pour l'art* in that, due to a design fault, it couldn't function as a music hall until it was re-modelled. Facetiousness aside, The

Empire's advertising, like its architecture, looked outward from Erin, mimicking and mass-producing the *panneaux décoratifs* of the neo-Rococo Art Nouveau movement in the asymmetrical, undulating lines, insouciant colours, and sensual, eroticised women of the posters and programmes.

In one such poster for an 1898 variety show a scantily clad beauty in scarlet corsetry sits astride a harp, surrounded by exotic foliage in jewel colours. Her gaze is direct, implying her unabashed sexuality and disavowal of Victorian rectitude and Revivalist prudery. On the reverse, a high-kicking soubrette in gold looks coquettishly over her shoulder, in a classic 'come hither' pose hinting at the pleasures available within this temple of seduction. In both instances the images arrest the attention of passing trade, seducing the prospective consumer to stop, stare, and step inside.

In another, earlier image for Dan Lowery's "Star of Erin," a vivacious beauty dressed in a revealing décolleté dress raises her leg and her skirts while holding a hand coquettishly up to the side of her face.[8] As in the vivid images from the Belfast Empire the provocative woman engulfed in lavish materials is a luxury product used to advertise the mouth-watering gaiety and *joie de vivre* of cosmopolitan life.

In both instances the images echo and emulate the commercial poster-art used to advertise the *carpe diem* spirit of the *Folies Bergère*, where vibrantly iconic female figures, or 'cherettes,'[9] tout commodities with sex. This, as Wicke argues, is an advertising commonplace: "Advertising is a mobile, fluctuating sexual subject position; erotic because advertisement puts commodities of all kinds into sexualised narrativity, makes them labile sexualised encounters" (102). In short, in the dynamics of advertising, the sexually charged image of women is used to peddle market commodities by symbolically selling sexual titillation to the voyeuristic, predominantly male consumer. In this, as Marcus Verhagen argues, "the poster was itself involved in a form of prostitution. Like a streetwalker it accosted passers-by in public, using every artifice to gain their attention; like her it was garish and immodest" (117).

Notably, the parallel is drawn between the shamelessness of the prostitute and that of the advertiser, each touting for trade, flaunting their wares in order to manufacture false wants in their clientele. After visually accosting the strolling flâneur, according to Verhagen, the posters seduce him into believing that the product will offer gratification, implied by the sexualised images of the women. It is a commonly employed legerdemain of the advertiser: allurement by association centred on the fetishised female form, through which, as Benjamin argued, "the woman herself becomes an article that is mass-produced" ("Central Park" 40).

As Benjamin has famously suggested, the commercial spirit of the modern crystallises in the joint images of the prostitute and the flâneur – city dwellers who can often be found in what the cultural critic Siegfried Kracauer describes as the "distraction

8 Dan Lowery Music Hall Poster, NLI Ephemera. 4 July 1891.

9 A soubriquet taken from the originator of these mass-produced images, Jules Cheret.

factories" and "barracks of pleasure": superficial, mass-culture industries, designed to delude and, unsurprisingly, 'distract' the crowds from their alienation and isolation in the modern city. At the epicentre of these industries, according to Kracauer, was "the mass ornament," the aimless trappings of commercial culture, included among which are, as he argues, artificially manufactured troupes of dancing girls, beating out the rhythm of modernity to the tempo of the city:

> When they formed an undulating snake, they radiantly illustrated the virtues of the conveyor belt; when they tapped their feet in fast tempo it sounded like business, business; when they kicked their legs high with mathematical precision, they joyously affirmed the progress of rationalization; and when they kept repeating the same movements without ever interrupting their routine, one believed […] the blessings of prosperity had no end. (Kracauer 75)

For Kracauer the mesmeric spectacle of the dancing troupe thus symbolises and incarnates the conspicuous consumption and cultural dislocation of modern mass culture. The 'distraction factory' that was Music Hall was thus viewed as a crucible of Modernity in which the atomised and alienated individual, glutted on immoral and libidinal fare was made submissive to the logic of capitalism and, as was argued in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland, the acceptance of Imperialism.

No Turn Unstoned

Unsurprisingly, in this charged political climate, as Cheryl Herr observes, "no turn was left unstoned" (199). The halls attracted everything from paternalistic hand-wringing from temperance campaigners to booming jeremiads from Revivalists such as the firebrand D.P. Moran, who inveighed against the importation of English amusements as detrimental to the formation of a 'people nation' and inducements to 'shoneenism' and 'West-Britonism.' For Moran, as Frank Biletz points out,

> [t]he primary issue facing Ireland was not the continuation of English rule, but rather the dominance of English culture […]. This process, according to Moran, threatened the survival of the indigenous language, music and literature; hampered the development of a self-sufficient Irish economy; and generally degraded the national character. (61)

Although Moran differed from other Revivalists in that his vision of an Irish Ireland was a *de facto* Catholic one, his stance can be seen broadly to epitomise the views of a burgeoning cultural nationalist lobby who advocated the consumption of Irish produce (entertainment included). The mass consumption of these standard Irish goods, it was thought, would create a homogenisation of collective Irish identity. Moreover the moral, cultural, and national propriety associated with these home-grown wares was seen as a route to economic stability, in that the working classes were encouraged to renounce the wayward pleasures associated with the Halls and shun the debauched habits of modern-day urban life in favour of the bucolic and frugal utilitarianism of the peasantry. The mass-production and mass-consumption of imported English 'shoddy' was viewed as having a disaggregating effect, fragmenting a unified nation coming into being. Moreover, attendance at the halls was seen as

wasteful, frivolous spending at a time when the consuming patriot was being exhorted to create sufficiency out of meagre resources.

Unsurprisingly, in her role as consumer woman took on a new significance in the patriotic rhetoric of national protectionism. Her patriotic duty became that of a sacred guardian of hearth and homeland, and the fate of the nation lay in her consumer choices. In this context, according to Susan Cannon Harris, woman is culturally marked as a patriotic consumer synonymous with the unsullied Irish nation:

> The chaste body of the virtuous Irish woman stands for both the economically independent Ireland, with its closed ports and thriving native industries, and the culturally pure Ireland, whose citizens would never dream of abandoning traditional Irish dress or of reading a decadent Roman novel. (74)

Such reified images which place pure, pious women at the heart of a familial-national economy were part of a nation-building exercise designed to present Ireland as a discrete and homogenous 'family' sharing a pedigree which was Gaelic, Catholic, and Celtic. Within this conception, wayward women such as the music hall entertainer or her graphic counterpart, the 'cherette,' were treated with contempt and suspicion. As Louise Ryan remarks, "the modern girl came to be everything that was disorderly, threatening and dangerous to the future of Irish cultural identity" (185). In part, this related to the modern girl's function as a metonym for modernity and its discontents, in particular at the level of identity. Thus, paradoxically, innovation can lead to enervation of the self and society. As Marshall McLuhan rightly observes, "new technology disturbs the image, both private and corporate in any society, so much that fear and anxiety ensue and a new quest for identity has to begin" (126). The momentum of modernity sunders the image of society from its roots, undermining the pristine and authentic. This in turn leads to cultural dispersal, fragmentation, flux, and, as McLuhan notes, "fear," often resulting in what Iain Chambers refers to as "a rearguard action against modernity," as its proponents turn to the timeless sanctuary of an imagined past. Thus, "in disavowing the discontinuous tempos of the city, commerce and modernity, this critical tradition has persistently sought radical alternatives in the assumed continuities of folk cultures, 'authentic' habits and 'genuine' communities" (Chambers 71).

This summarises the stance of Cultural Revivalists in Ireland, who attempted to regenerate the nation from its moribund state by using the past against the incursions of the present and ensuring the 'Irishness' of their endeavours was not compromised by shoddy external contaminants, including, as Edward Martyn of Abbey Theatre fame complained, the entertainments of "a half-civilised country" (England) whose taste "is for nothing but an empty parade, where the stage is degraded to the booth for foolish exhibition of women, or for enacting of scenes purposely photographing the manners of society rakes and strumpets of the day" (2).

The advertising images discussed in this paper would appear to support Martyn's objections. They do exhibit women who are antithetical to the Irish ideal, and they do

emulate European (though not specifically English) models. Their focus on “pretty, fashionable, fickle, desirable but venal”[10] women implies a bohemian and brazen sexuality which, like the products they tout, can be possessed at a price. Driven by market forces, these images represent a composite of new women and fallen women – luxury goods in and of themselves, but also advertisers of other intoxicating commodities which promise a similar frisson. The scarlet-clad temptress in the Empire programme effervesces like “Cantrell & Cochrane’s Aerated Waters”; the golden-dressed coquette high-kicks in a swirl of spheres above an ad which barks the benefits of “THE CELEBRATED OLD BUSHMILLS WHISKY,” with the order “AT ALL THE BARS ASK FOR IT. SEE THAT YOU GET IT.” Nestling between these images is a vividly ornamented, highly-coloured advertisement for “FINDLATERS A1 WHISKEY,” above which “BODEGA” offers an assortment of wines, spirits, and “other refreshments” for the comfort of visitors, while below “THE STRAND BAR AND BILLIARD SALOON” offers further inducements to the entertainment-hungry patron. Elsewhere, wine merchants, restaurateurs and purveyors of whiskey cajole the prospective consumer with enticements to carouse. Lyle & Kinahan’s, for example, offer whiskey, wine, stout, ale, lager, pilsner, hop bitters, and cider, while the appropriately named ‘Thomas J. Beer’ informs customers that “DEWARS PERTH WHISKY (AWARDED FIFTY PRIZE MEDALS)” is “sold in all the bars.” Also, “to be had in all the bars in this theatre” is “the finest whisky in the world,” “DUNVILLE’S SPECIAL LIQUEUR”: a “pure and wholesome” brand “esteemed by connoisseurs.” Other ‘luxury’ items in the programme include perfumes and “toilet requisites,” evening dress suits from “the King,” clothier, and entrance to the “splendidly furnished Eagle: The Finest Billiard Room in Ireland” sporting cheaply priced premium beers and “a newsroom” for the commercial traveller and transitory flâneur.

It would be an extraordinarily grandiose claim to suggest that a mass-produced theatre programme exemplified the spirit of the age, however many of the component elements are characteristic of the *belle époque*. Taken as a whole, the programme embraces the Art Nouveau desire to take art out of the galleries and into the streets, thereby blurring the distinctions between ‘high-brow’ and ‘low-brow’ culture. It democratises luxury, cajoling customers into an environment which oozes sanctioned hedonism and addresses its advertisements to a developing leisure class who have the wherewithal to buy into these palaces of popular pleasure and assume the cachet of the luxury products on display. Subversive, scandalous, ambivalent, and destabilising, the images and advertisements in the programme embrace the frivolity, flux, eclecticism, and entrepreneurialism of the modern, putting them on display in an elaborate shop-window environment of gorgeous, lavish opulence.

10 See Abigail Solomon-Godeau’s discussion of the Parisienne as an emblem of *fin-de-siècle* sexuality (142).

Ireland on Display

Despite the fact that he embraced the currents of European Modernity which circulated *fin-de-siècle* Ireland, 'Irish-Ireland' was never far from Lowery's mind. In one classic example he was able to combine his support for Irish Industries with self-advertisement, taking up both the opportunity of sponsorship and barking the benefits of his music hall as a monument to consumerism and spectacle. In 1882, immediately prior to the opening of 'The Great Exhibition of Irish Crafts and Manufactures,' Lowery staged *Erin's Awakening, or An Exhibition Rehearsed.* Watters and Murtagh describe the scene:

> The Band broke into the Overture. The Curtain went back, and Irish Manufacturers were summoned to appear by warrant of the Fairy Queen. The green-capped Heralds waltzed, tumbled and wire-walked across the stage, their svelte figures flattered by Mahoney woollens and Lucan tweeds. Weavers mixed into the fun, puppets and ventriloquist's dolls, flaunting Irish flannels among a bevy of Pretty Maidens resplendent in Tuskar serge, Belfast linen, Atkinson's poplin and Balbriggan stockings. Up pops a comic dressed as a big box of Dublin matches, up pops another dressed as a role of Limerick Tobacco, and the slapstick smacks and sizzles between them. Clog-dancers dressed as Guinness Bargemen and Barrels go clattering in jig-time and the Tale is constantly enlivened by a constant stream of Irish Flour, Candles, Clocks, Fruit, Flowers. The Chicks of course dance their delightful ensembles in Limerick Lace. (48)

Here, Lowery capitalises on his knowledge of the culture of advertising to engage in the advertising of culture. The mercenary blandishments and idealised images are designed to claim both the attention and the lucre of the mass audience. Abetted by the ornamented decadence and frolicsome spirit of the *belle époque*, Lowery creates a Hibernian mercantile epiphany, which elicits desire for Irish produce, while celebrating 'Irishness' as a secular essence and shared cultural practice which bridges the gap between tradition and modernity. In short, in stimulating the desires of his audience and incorporating these into the on-stage spectacle of cavorting Irish produce, he sells a lifestyle to be coveted. In the aggressive entrepreneurialism of Lowery's advertising methods, buying Irish is represented as a form of status-enhancing conspicuous consumption disguised as leisure pursuit rather than a sacrifice demanded for the sake of the nation.

Conclusion

There is no question that Dan Lowery was enterprising, entrepreneurial, and alert to the importance of advertising in an entertainment industry which saw the unremitting advance of commodity culture and in a society becoming increasingly in synch with mass production. Faced with this relentless tide of commercialisation Lowery, the apogee of commercial entertainment in *fin-de-siècle* Ireland had two choices: opt out and fail or participate and succeed. He chose the latter, tailoring his acts and advertisements to a clientele who demanded readily available, ephemeral entertainments packaged and processed as marketable commodities. Without question Lowery was motivated by commercial incentives: the pursuit of profit and ceaseless competition.

Furthermore, the Hall itself was a commodity which experienced its coming of age in the age of consumerism. Thus, in accord with other commodities the commercially governed entertainments provided by Dan Lowery cultivated little responsibility to anything, let alone a strategic set of political goals such as those espoused by the Cultural Nationalists.

Lowery may well have been one of the minions of Mammon, living by the morality of the marketplace and selecting his 'products' according to the logic of rampant commerce, yet even in this, Dan Lowery's Music Hall is worthy of note. Due to its position at the centre of cultural life in Ireland during the period of the *fin de siècle,* Lowery's free market funfair approach confirms that, as the century came to a close, urban Ireland saw the dawning of a new era of economic progress ushered in by the relentless tide of European Modernity and heralded by the age of advertising.

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The Irish in Continental Europe and Ireland: Sustained Connectedness across a Virtual Diaspora Space?

Gráinne O'Keeffe-Vigneron

Introduction

Connections between Ireland and its diaspora have significantly changed in the last decade. Once a largely uni-directional phenomenon (from diaspora to Ireland) the relationship between Ireland and its communities abroad has now taken on a more multi-directional form (Boyle & Kitchin 7). Advances in new technologies have certainly contributed to these multi-directional exchanges, and the dominance of these technologies in global relations, through the increased use of e-mailing, Skype, Twitter, Facebook, and Myspace for instance, has considerably altered the way people exchange and communicate. These developments have also naturally touched Irish communities abroad.

The proliferation of internet sites aimed at the Irish diaspora has led to increased access to information for those Irish-born or those of Irish descent living abroad. The Irish in continental Europe are no exception. The principal site created for the Irish across continental Europe – *EuropeanIrish.com* – aims at providing Irish people with networking opportunities, a means of accessing resources and information about Ireland and facilitating exchanges between the Irish abroad and Ireland.

This article will firstly examine to what extent a virtual Irish diaspora space exists for a largely under-researched part of the Irish diaspora – the Irish in continental Europe. Secondly, the role played by the 'new technologies' in transnational exchanges between Ireland and continental Europe will be studied. An analysis of the responses of 150 Irish people based in continental Europe to a questionnaire aimed at establishing the level of exchanges and contacts between their host country and Ireland across this virtual diaspora space will be carried out. The implications on both home and host country, when links are maintained, will also be assessed.

Transnational Exchanges

While much research has been carried out concerning immigrant communities and their host country, migrant exchanges between host and home country also deserve attention. The Council of Europe in a recommendation in 2004 declared that

> while much attention has been paid to the situation of migrant communities and their relations with their host country, relatively little consideration has been given to relations between these communities and those *between each community and its country of origin*. The Assembly recalls in this context its earlier recommendations on the links between Europeans living abroad and their countries of origin. (Council of Europe 1)

In the last few years, the Irish Government has started to see the potential benefits of its Irish communities abroad and has begun to assess the advantages of the implementation of an Irish diaspora strategy. Two global Irish economic forums were hosted by the Irish Government in 2009 and 2011. In 2009, the then Minister for Foreign Affairs, Micheál Martin, described this initiative as a "national effort to reach out to the most successful and influential members of Ireland's diaspora to facilitate their work and contribution to Irish economic recovery" (Connolly). The Government hoped that this forum would initiate a thinking process on the best ways to network the global diaspora that would not only benefit Ireland but also its communities abroad. The Government invited people based in Britain, the US, Asia, Australia, the Gulf Region, and also continental Europe to attend this forum. The Government hoped Ireland would follow the example of other countries and develop an effective diaspora strategy, which would aid Irish economic recovery and future stability.

In a report published by *The Ireland Fund* in 2009 comparing international diaspora strategies and their applicability to the Irish context, the authors stated that

> [t]he Irish can be seen as a global tribe united by history, culture and shared experiences and networked through technology. In a highly competitive world this potential network offers many advantages for Ireland of which we have to take full advantage. Other countries see the opportunities and are actively putting in place extensive programmes of engagement. (Aikins, Sands & White 6)

The Irish Government has now awakened to the possibility of tapping into the potential of the huge Irish diaspora worldwide. In this citation, reference is made to networking the global tribe through "technology." Later in the report the authors explain more fully what they mean by this:

> What were once globally dispersed communities are being brought closer together through developments in transportation and communications. The internet is now bringing a sense of sustained and immediate connectedness. People can be both 'here' and 'there' at the same time. Networking enables people to maintain simultaneous connections with two or more nation states. (9)

The extent to which diaspora communities feel "connected" to Ireland and the importance of exchanges across a kind of virtual diaspora space are difficult to evaluate. Using empirical evidence collected on a sample of Irish people across continental Europe, we will look at the types of connections, via modern communication networks, that are now taking place between host country and Ireland: how often is contact kept? If regular contact is maintained with Ireland, what are the effects of these exchanges on identity formation? What could be the potential advantages or disadvantages on the home or host country?

The Irish in Continental Europe

The Irish on the continent live within a relatively short distance from Ireland and many live in European member state countries. They negotiate their day-to-day lives often in a very different cultural environment to those Irish living in America, Great Britain, or Australia, for example, and have to work and live in a language that is not their mother tongue.

The Irish based in continental Europe have been largely ignored in policy and debates concerning the Irish diaspora in the past. The Irish Abroad Unit set up in 2004 following the publication of the task force report on policies regarding emigrants has financed Irish organisations throughout the world, but very little funding has been given to groups based in Europe. In 2011, the majority of funding went to organisations and associations based in Britain and the USA (over € 9 million and just over € 49,000 to organisations based on the European continent) (Emigrant Services Grants).

According to the Emigrant Advice Network (EAN), 3.1 million Irish citizens (passport holders) currently live overseas and of these approximately 950,000 are Irish-born: nearly 700,000 are based in Britain, 156,000 in the USA, 50,000 in Australia, and over 22,000 in Canada (Boyle & Kitchin 3).

Concerning the Irish based in Europe, it is more difficult to obtain exact numbers. A study carried out by *EuropeanIrish.com* in 2007 using Irish embassies, local statistics offices, local Irish societies and clubs in different European countries and various other resources came up with an estimate of between 250,000 and 300,000 Irish people living in continental Europe, but this figure still remains difficult to verify.

The Irish embassy in Paris estimates an Irish population ranging from 15,000 to 30,000. In Germany, the officially registered figure is over 10,000, but it may be much higher. The long established Irish club based in the Netherlands estimates the Irish population at about 14,000. In Belgium there are approximately 6,000 Irish people registered, but the Irish embassy and the Irish club in Belgium put forward 15,000 as a more realistic figure including all those unaccounted for and those who come on assignment to work in the EU ("Study of the Numbers of Irish People").

The number of Irish people moving to Spain surged by twelve per cent in 2009, and the Irish have established themselves as the country's ninth largest immigrant community. Figures released by the Spanish government revealed that the number of Irish expatriates registered as resident in Spain had risen to 90,000 at the start of 2008 and that most Irish there were of working age ("More Gaels in Spain"). The fact that Irish people are spread out in varying numbers across the continent and may not have access to information on Irish events and activities in their host country gave Proinsias Collins the idea of setting up the first site aimed at Irish people based across the continent.

EuropeanIrish.com

On Easter Monday 2003, *EuropeanIrish.com* was launched. Its aim was to connect Irish people in continental Europe with Irish services, other Irish people, and Irish groups in Europe. Initially a resource for Irish people based in Europe, it quickly evolved into also being a resource for Irish people planning to head to Europe and non-Irish Europeans interested in Irish music, sport, culture, and pubs.

While based in France in the 1990s, Proinsias Collins became involved in Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) activities in Paris and was one of the founding members of the European GAA county board. He set up the first website for the GAA in Paris and in Europe. He began to realise, after having missed some Irish sporting and musical events in Paris, that it was difficult for Irish people interested in attending Irish activities to have access to this information. He then decided to expand his website to include other sporting activities and then started to add information on Irish music and other events. He discovered a vast Irish world across continental Europe.

His research has shown that there are active Irish clubs and societies across Europe, more than 200 Irish dancing schools, 650 Irish music bands, and more than 600 Irish and Celtic festivals. *EuropeanIrish.com* has featured more than 30,000 Irish events in Europe and more than 5,000 Irish news stories from the continent. Members of the site can subscribe to the weekly newsletter in that part of Europe in which they live and receive it by e-mail. It has been estimated that more than 2,500 people read the newsletters sent out by the site (Interview Proinsias Collins).

In November 2007, the site carried out its first survey aimed at the Irish in Continental Europe and received 309 responses. The survey contained 11 questions aiming to discover how long Irish people intended to stay in their host country, the difficulties they had encountered since leaving Ireland, what they liked best about the country where they were now based and comparisons between Ireland and continental Europe.

The site has been running a survey since November 2008 asking the following questions, "Living in Europe? Why would you prefer to stay in Europe, not Ireland?," and gives the following choices: better health service; better pub and social scene; standard of living; the weather; I am settled with family; better education system; for jobs and employment and other. There had been 1,763 responses by late August 2009, and the top three reasons for staying in continental Europe were: the weather (20 per cent), standard of living (19 per cent), and better health service (18 per cent).

The interest that *EuropeanIrish.com* has provoked gives an indication that many Irish people are keen to keep up-to-date with events and activities related to Ireland in their host countries. While the two surveys conducted by *EuropeanIrish.com* have elicited information on Irish people and their reasons for leaving Ireland and staying in continental Europe or the positive and negative aspects of their new lives, it is also interesting to assess the extent to which Irish people keep in contact with Ireland and

the role of modern technologies in exchanges between Ireland and mainland Europe. According to Avtar Brah,

> the ways in which diasporic collectivities themselves mobilise collective resources and identities is also crucial to the construction of diaspora space. With modern means of transport and communication, regular contact across transnational boundaries may be maintained with comparative ease through travel, telephone, fax machine, video, computer and satellite. (243)

Are the Irish in Europe maintaining regular contact with Ireland across this virtual diaspora space? At what level are transnational exchanges occurring between Ireland and Europe?

Exchanges in the Virtual Irish Diaspora Space

In order to analyse the extent of exchanges between Irish people in Europe and Ireland, a questionnaire was prepared by the author, which aimed at ascertaining what type of contacts Irish people had with Ireland. The questionnaire was constructed to assess how important it was for Irish people on the continent to keep abreast of news and developments in Ireland and the main reasons for this. Moreover, if contact was not kept with Ireland, the reasons why these Irish people did not feel the need to keep in touch with events in Ireland were also examined.

This questionnaire was put on-line in July 2009 by *EuropeanIrish.com* to be filled in by people visiting the site who might be interested in replying. Irish clubs and societies, embassies and consulates were also contacted across Europe informing them about the research. Naturally, Irish people who were internet users were targeted, as this research was designed to ascertain the level of exchanges between Europe and Ireland via the web. By mid-August 2009 the questionnaire had been filled out by 150 people, and an analysis of results was carried out by the author using Limesurvey software.

The sample was quite evenly divided between male and female with 55 per cent of respondents “female” and 45 per cent “male.” Most of the respondents had been born in the 1970s (34 per cent), followed by those born in the 1960s (22 per cent) and the 1950s (18 per cent). The person most advanced in age who answered the questionnaire was 79 years old at this time and the youngest three people were 29 years old.

Over one third of respondents to the questionnaire live in Belgium, followed by Norway, France, and Switzerland. There are very active Irish associations in Belgium and Norway, which may explain the high response rate. While the response rate from other countries was low, nine from Spain, six from Germany, and one or two from other countries such as Bulgaria, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, and the Ukraine, a wide variety of countries were represented in the sample: 18 in total.

Respondents were based in their host country for short and long periods. Four respondents arrived in their host country in the 1960s, 15 in the 1970s, 14 in the 1980s, 41 in the 1990s, and 75 since 2000 with 19 respondents arriving in 2008, which could be partly explained by the worsening economic situation in Ireland. One person did not answer this question.

When respondents were asked if new technologies were important to keep in touch with family and friends in Ireland, 93 per cent said "yes," and only 7 per cent said "no." When the web was used, the majority of respondents used e-mail, skype, and facebook to stay in touch. Naturally, this depended on whom they were contacting in Ireland, as not all parents or relations would have access or know how to use the internet, in which case the telephone was used.

When asked how often they had contact with family and friends in Ireland, 37 people replied every day, 42 people several times a week, and 51 people once or twice a week. Therefore, 87 per cent of people were in regular contact with family and friends in Ireland, while for 13 per cent contact was more sporadic. Irregular contact with Ireland was largely age-related: nine of the ten respondents who had only monthly contact with Ireland were all born from 1930 to 1960. Three of them had spent more than 30 years living in their host country and one more than 20 years, but from the remaining six, three had arrived in the 1990s and three after 2000. Age, rather than length of time spent in their host country, for these respondents seemed to influence their level of contact with friends and family more.

The web was also very important for keeping up-to-date with news and events about Ireland for 89 per cent of people. The most visited site was the newspaper site for the *Irish Times* followed by *rte.ie* and then the *Irish Independent* newspaper website.

Of the 135 respondents who answered this question, 65 per cent consulted these sites on a daily basis, followed by 15 per cent who consulted them at least once or twice a week.

One of the reasons evoked for visiting these sites was to find out, in the words of one person, "what was happening *at home.*" Interestingly the use of the word "home" showed how this person, who was 47 years old and had been living in France for nearly 20 years, still called Ireland "home" and still felt connected to the country. Similarly a 79-year-old participant living in Spain stated, "I've spent most of my life outside Ireland […] and lived in many lands […]. Ireland was and still is my *homeland* which I love and will love until I die, I am very proud to be Irish."

Two participants in their late thirties living in Belgium and Spain still considered Ireland as home even though they had been living outside Ireland for 10 to 15 years respectively, and a 49-year-old woman who had been living in Greece for 20 years declared, "even though abroad many years Ireland will always be my *home.*" This sense of roots and origins was still very important for these respondents and made it natural for them that they would want to know what was happening in Ireland.

For other participants a strong sentiment of national identity, of being Irish, was paramount, and keeping up-to-date with events in Ireland meant that they could retain this sense of identity and belonging even though they were living abroad:

> because I am Irish. I left when I was almost 18 years old, my heart is very much in Ireland though I know it is very different to my day. I am now 72. It is my identity. […] There are a number of reasons I suppose but all stem from wanting to still belong. (female, 72, Cyprus)

Other participants also shared the same sentiment in relation to maintaining an Irish identity: "because even though I have lived 40 years in Norway, I still have an Irish passport and feel very Irish, and it's important for me to keep in touch" (female, 60, Norway); "once Irish, always Irish. I still have an Irish passport, couldn't even consider exchanging it" (female, 55, Belgium); "so I don't lose my identity whilst living abroad" (female, 32, Norway), and finally, "because I maintain a strong affinity with an Irish identity" (male, 29, Belgium).

For three participants, all male and recent arrivals in their host country, language problems coupled with problems integrating and adapting to their new environment kept them in contact with Ireland: "I don't feel at home in Belgium. I'm part of the expat community rather than the Belgian one" (male, 25, Belgium). Another man, also living in Belgium, affirmed:

> Mainly because I haven't fully immersed myself in Belgian culture. My French is still pretty poor and I have not yet substituted Belgian t.v., media, sport or culture for the Irish news and events I currently follow. In time I expect that I will develop interests in local (Belgian) news and events, and ultimately lose touch to some degree with what is going on in Ireland. (male, 26, Belgium)

An Irish man living in Spain felt that regular contact with Ireland was important as a sort of "social crutch" for him and allowed him to overcome the negative aspects of his new life:

> At the moment I am not integrated into the Catalan community in which I live. From past experience I expect this to take a further three years to be comfortably integrated. In the meantime by keeping in contact with my friends and their society I will be able to use their presence as a social crutch. I expect that as I become more fluent in Catalan I will focus my attention more on the Catalan region. (male, age unknown, Spain)

For the large majority of respondents the main reason for their regular visits to Irish sites was to be able to follow developments affecting the lives of family and friends and being aware of what was shaping their lives. Keeping links and feeling connected to Ireland was also important for a number of respondents. The following reasons for their continued interest in Irish affairs were given by a sample of participants:

> So that I can be up-to-date when speaking with friends and family. Also, I have a natural interest in events happening in Ireland, makes me feel that I am not very far away and I still feel connected to my friends and family there. (female, 36, Netherlands)

> It's important to keep the link there. You never really stop losing interest no matter how long you are away. Events there impact on your family especially now. It's like reading a horror story now though from long distance. (male, 46, Spain)

> To avoid feeling homesick and to have the impression that although I'm living away from Ireland, I'm still aware of everything that's happening there. Also to be able to partake in conversations with friends and family in Ireland about current affairs etc. (female, 31, France)

> You can't keep up contact with friends if you have no idea about what is shaping their lives. (female, 45, Germany)

> Feel less foreign when visiting Ireland. Can discuss with friends and family. Still feel some connection and concern for events in Ireland. (male, 53, Norway)

> Because I feel that I have roots in two places, my adopted home of Norway and my birth home of Ireland. In my head I live a double life! Also I want to be able to connect with family and friends in Ireland by keeping up-to-date on events in Ireland and not play the role of returning emigrant who is surprised at how things have changed since she left! (female, 58, Norway)

While the majority of respondents felt the need to stay in touch with Ireland, 11 per cent of the sample did not. For these people their lives were not affected by developments in Ireland and they were more concerned with what directly affected them: "sometimes I am more interested in news about Portugal as that is what directly concerns my life here and the people I meet here in person" (female, 30, Portugal); "it also seems unnecessary to follow the day-to-day issues as they do not have much relevance for my life" (female, 52, Belgium); "as I don't live there my life is not directly affected by political decisions or events that take place there" (female, 26, Belgium); "I live my life where I am" (female, 47, Belgium). For another person the main cause of having lost touch with Ireland was the time spent living outside the country: "probably because of length of time I have not lived in Ireland" (female, 71, in France since 1973).

We can conclude from the responses of this sample that for a large majority, 89 per cent, contact with Ireland through the internet is a regular occurrence. One respondent felt this might even have its disadvantages:

> I came to Switzerland just as the internet was taking off (1997) – and it has been my main connection to Ireland since. One negative interpretation could be that I have not fully moved here due to the internet – as I am much more familiar with current affairs in Ireland than I am in Switzerland – despite having lived here for almost 12 years. (male, 45, Switzerland)

However, another respondent felt that both the internet, virtual journeys, and low-cost air travel, physical journeys, had brought him "back to Ireland." He said:

> Cheap flights and the internet (especially the internet) have brought me "back" to Ireland. After initial contact on first emigrating I had virtually lost all contact with Ireland. The availability especially of online newspapers means I have a very good feel for what is going on in Ireland, socially, politically, sport, etc. Especially now that the *Irish Times* does not require a subscription! (male, 53, Norway)

The developments in new technologies have clearly helped this participant to feel closer to developments in Irish society. Unlike emigrants in the past, the modern-day migrant has many more possibilities to move between two nations, which opens up much potential for both home and host country.

Conclusion

This survey is a small step towards assessing the extent of transnational exchange and communication between the Irish in Europe and Ireland. What can be concluded is that for the majority of this sample virtual travel to Ireland is a regular phenomenon and the reasons for this are varied.

The Irish in this study represent what might be termed as the modern-day transnational migrants, settling abroad but maintaining links with their places of origin. The ready availability of air transport and the evolutions in modern communication methods have provided the basis for the emergence of this transnational migrant. The lives of the Irish people in this study encompass both home and host societies, and many are negotiating dual existences.

Unlike the Irish who have settled in America, the UK, or Australia, the Irish in Europe are living their day-to-day lives in at least two different languages and adapting to sometimes very different lifestyles and cultures in their host countries. Many of the Irish in this study are only a two-to-three-hour flight away from Ireland, yet, according to one respondent, are often considered to be “exotic by our countrymen.”

The creation of the site *EuropeanIrish.com* has contributed to the formation of a virtual Irish community across Europe. How real or imagined this community is remains to be researched. The experiences, life histories, and contributions of Irish emigrants in continental Europe to their host country and to Ireland have remained a largely blank page in the story of the modern Irish diaspora. The time may be right to accord some space to these migrants, whose connections to Ireland still remain so strong.

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Mutational Patterns in the Teaching of Irish as a Foreign Language at the University of Vienna

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Introduction

At the University of Vienna, Modern Irish is an optional subject in the Celtic Studies curriculum, which was started in 2000. The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of the teaching of Irish at beginners' level at this university. In order to illustrate some of the difficulties that may arise out of this special situation some of the results of a mini-study will be presented, conducted on the problems and challenges concerning a rather specialised area of Irish grammar: the system of initial mutations. I will start by briefly reviewing the teaching situation in Vienna. The second section then deals with the system of mutations, and in the third and last part I will present my study and discuss some of the findings.

Teaching Irish in Ireland and in Vienna: An Overview

Irish has been taught at the University of Vienna already for some twenty years; in the 1990s, for instance, it was an open course administered by the Linguistics Department and taught by Dr. Fitzsimons. Due to administrative and legal circumstances, the course became part of the Celtic Studies curriculum in 2002. The students there are typically German native speakers with some knowledge of Old Irish and Breton, often also Welsh and/or Cornish. While Breton and Old Irish are compulsory, Modern Irish is an optional subject; therefore the focus of most students is elsewhere. Until recently, there used to be three levels of Irish classes, two during the first year and generally one level in the second year. Courses at higher levels could only be held occasionally, adding up to a maximum of 90 minutes per week in each term in the first year, and usually 45 minutes per week in the second year. This is, no doubt, quite satisfactory with regard to the investment in an optional course in a rather exotic subject, but it is obviously not enough to teach Irish in the same way as, for instance, English is taught in Austrian schools, or Irish is taught at Irish universities. By way of comparison, University College Dublin offers 12 hours of conversation classes per week alone for its Irish Studies programme in the first semester. (In UCD there is no equivalent to the Austrian style of Celtic Studies, which includes, for instance, history and archaeology.)

In Ireland, the main focus in teaching the language is on fluent conversation, written and spoken expression, and generally confident use of the language. The Irish Studies curriculum at UCD, for instance, presents the following (ideal) learning out-

comes after 12 hours of conversation and 24 hours of instruction (on student numbers, see Mac Mathúna):

> On completion of this module students should be able to:
>
> 1. Express themselves both confidently and competently in spoken and written Irish; read and understand texts within a range of areas;
> 2. Discuss and debate current affairs and contemporary issues; translate texts from English to Irish and vice versa;
> 3. Have a greater understanding of the distinctiveness of the Irish language in the areas of phonetics, grammar, syntax and lexis.
>   ("Teanga na Gaeilge")

This is, of course, impossible to achieve with the limited amount of time available for teaching Irish in Vienna. Thus, it has become the main purpose of teaching to give students an introduction to Irish, particularly to the more theoretical aspects of grammar, orthography, and pronunciation in order to enable them to make use of Irish material should they come across it in their future research (also and particularly with regard to secondary literature) and to enable them, if they wish, to continue their studies of the language elsewhere, preferably in Ireland. Furthermore, with Irish being embedded in the Celtic Studies curriculum, it is felt to be essential that they become familiar with the general structure of Irish, specifically with reference to other Celtic languages. For this reason, it was decided to restrict the course content to grammar, somewhat enlivened by basic communication skills, and this is the strategy still adhered to, at least in the beginners' course. While the latter has meanwhile moved to the English Department, since 2006 other Irish courses held by Máire Ní Charra have been offered by the Celtic Studies curriculum, thanks to funding by the Irish Government, and these include genuine conversational classes, which had been sorely missed until then.

Thus, we have reached a situation where students are fed on grammar at a very early stage, which they may put to use in later conversation courses; this runs counter to what most experts on language acquisition suggest (e.g. Van Patten and Poulisse, who advocate a more usage- and output-oriented approach, and Ellis, who warns against exposing beginners to too much grammar and recommends immersion at an early stage), but is still regarded as the best possible compromise. One integral part of this grammar is the so-called *initial mutations*, which will be briefly presented below.

Initial Mutations

Mutations appear in all modern Celtic languages, in varying patterns and determined by varying rules of application. Four patterns are usually identified for Irish (Tables 1-3)[1]:

1 The apostrophe (´ < superscript <j>) marks palatality.

1. Lenition/Aspiration (Seimhiú)
2. Nasalisation/Eclipsis (Urú)
3. Aspiration/h-Prefix
4. t-Prefix

Table 1: Lenition

radical	<p>	<t>	<c>	<b>	<d>	<g>	<f>	<m>	<s>
pronun.	p/p´	t/t´	k/k´	b/b´	d/d´	g/g´	f/f´	m/m´	s/s´
lenited	<ph>	<th>	<ch>	<bh>	<dh>	<gh>	<fh>	<mh>	<sh>
pronun.	f/f´	h(/h´)	x/x´	v/v´	γ/γ´	γ/γ´	∅	v/v´	h(/h´)

Table 2: Nasalisation

radical	<p>	<t>	<c>	<b>	<d>	<g>	<f>	<V>
pronun.	p/p´	t/t´	k/k´	b/b´	d/d´	g/g´	f/f´	V
nasal.	<bp>	<dt>	<gc>	<mb>	<nd>	<ng>	<bhf>	<nV>
pronun.	b/b´	d/d´	g/g´	m/m´	n/n´	ŋ/ŋ´	v/v´	nV/n´V´

Table 3: t-Prefix and Aspiration/h-Prefix

radical	<V>	<s>	radical	< V>
pronun.	V	s/s´	pronun.	V
t-prefix	<t-V>	<ts>	aspirat.	<hV>
pronun.	tV/t´V´	t/t´	pronun.	hV/h´V´

These patterns are not, however, a phonological phenomenon, at least not synchronically, but are generally accepted to be part of the morpho-syntactic system of Irish. The discussion as to which processes are involved in the actual choice of a pattern has been going on for some time; while some scholars, like Ó Siadhail & Wigger, Gussmann, McBrearty, Ní Chiosáin, or Gnanadesikan have considered the processes to be phonological, albeit triggered by a morphological, lexical or syntactic environment, more recently, Green, "Independence," has suggested that they rather be regarded as a case of morphological selection, comparable to case selection in inflecting languages, albeit occasionally overridden by phonological considerations (see also Green, "Coronals").

The greatest problem a phonological explanation comes up against lies less in the sheer frequency and range of application than in the irregularities and number of exceptions. Thus, *ar* 'on' causes lenition in the following noun, resulting in the phrase *ar bhord* 'on a table.' In certain adverbial phrases or as part of a compound preposition it does not lenite: *ar bord* 'on board,' *ar fud* 'all over'; but it may also nasalise, as in the phrase *ar dtús* 'at first.'

As for range of application, mutations affect nouns after prepositions, nouns after articles, adjectives after nouns (in the latter two cases they vary according to gender, number, and case); verbs are mutated after certain preverbal particles (e.g. negative, interrogative, or conjunctive); numerals mutate following nouns and may in their turn be mutated. There are also a number of fixed idiomatic phrases that require various types of mutation.[2]

As to the actual application of mutation, there is some limited variation even in the standard (the combination of preposition and article may nasalise as in *ag an mbean* 'by the woman' or lenite as in *ag an bhean* 'dto.'), but there are at times significant differences between dialectal varieties. It is therefore not surprising that initial mutations have been a topic for linguists of various schools for a long time and seem to lend themselves to the application of whatever theoretical framework one wishes to employ.

Most ordinary and readily available grammars or handbooks, however and quite naturally, restrict themselves to a discussion of the phenomena as such and are generally more at home in the morphological school of thought, i.e. mutations as part of grammar rather than phonology, though they are frequently treated under the headings of "phonology," "pronunciation," or even "orthography," as summarised in Table 4.

Table 4: Terminology and Treatment in Handbooks

BOOK	TERMINOLOGY	WRITTEN/ORAL; LANGUAGE	SEPARATE ENTRY?	GRAMMAR/ PHONOLOGY?
Ambros & Illés	len/ecl(nas)/asp/ t-pref	mostly written; caighdeán+Ulster	yes	grammar/lexicon
Bammes-berger 1	len/ecl/h-insert/ t-insert	written, IPA; caighdeán; occ. dialect	no	phonology, grammar, diachronic
Bammes-berger 2	len/ecl/h-pref/ t-insert	written+oral; caighdeán; occ. dialect	yes	pronunciation/ phonology ("sound system") > diachronic grammar
BC	none	written; no IPA, oral on CD, caighdeán	no	lexicon/grammar

2 A detailed description may, for example, be obtained from NIG; for a summary see Illés.

Dillon	asp(+ts)/ecl/h-pref	written+oral, no IPA; older caighdeán	yes, apart from t-prefV-	pronunciation/ alphabet; tV- = grammar
First Steps	asp/ecl/h-pref/t-pref	written; caighdeán	not really	alphabet/grammar
GG	séimhiú/na réamhlitreacha: urú/réamhlitir h/réamhlitir t	mostly written; caighdeán	yes	orthography/ grammar
GnaG/LnaG	séimhiú/urú/h roimh ghuta/t roimh ghuta agus roimh s/d’	written; caighdeán (no mention of pronunciation)	yes	orthography/ grammar
Graiméar	“athruithe”	written, caighdeán	no	grammar
LGG	séimhiú(len-asp)/urú(ecl-nas)/ h roimh ghuta nó s/ t roimh ghuta	written; mainly caighdeán	intro yes, mainly no	orthography/ grammar
LI	len/ecl/h-pref/t-pref	oral+written; mostly Cois Fhairrge	no	grammar
McGonagle	len/ecl/h-pref/t-pref	written; caighdeán mainly	yes	orthography/ alphabet grammar
NIG	asp/ecl/h-prf/t-prf	written; caighdeán	yes	grammar
NYT	len/ecl/place h before/place t before	mostly oral (CD+DVD); written; caighdeán/Ulster	intro yes, mainly no	phonology/grammar
Progress	asp/ecl/h-pref/t-pref	written; caighdeán	no	grammar
Stenson, *Basic*	len(asp ‘inaccurate’)/ecl/h-pref/t-pref	oral (“sound”) + written, IPA; caighdeán, occ. diaect	no	grammar; orthography
Stenson *Intermediate*	len/ecl/h-pref/t-pref	written; caighdeán, occ. dialect	no	grammar
TYI	len/ecl	written, pseudo-IPA; CD; caighdeán	mostly no; hprf&tprf no	pronunciation; grammar
TYIG	len/ecl/h before V/t before V or s	mostly written; caighdeán	intro yes, mainly no	alphabet/phonology grammar
ÚG	séimhiú/urú/h roimh ghutaí/t roimh ghutaí nó s	written; caighdeán	no	grammar
Carnie	len/ecl/h-pref/t-pref	written+oral; caighdeán+dialect	yes	grammar
Ó Siadhail	len/ecl/h-insert/t-insert	written+oral; caighdeán+dialect	yes	grammar (morphology)
Ó Siadhail & Wigger	séimhiú/urú	oral, caighdeán+dialect	yes	phonology
Stifter	len/nas(ecl)/asp(h-mut)	written+ reconstructed pron.	yes	grammar/ pronunciation
Strachan	len/n-(ecl)	written	no	grammar
Thurneysen	len/nas	written	yes	phonology/grammar

As suggested above, the terminology in handbooks and grammars is not quite uniform. In general, *lenition* is adhered to for mutations of the kind shown in Table 1 (as in TYI, NYT, and by Ó Siadhail, Bammesberger and Carnie); but especially some of the older works still refer to this pattern as *aspiration* (e.g. NIG). Similarly, prevocalic affix *h-* is known as either (more usually) *h-prefix* (e.g. Bammesberger, McGonagle) or *aspiration* (Stifter, Ambros & Illés). What is termed *eclipsis* in most handbooks is sometimes also referred to as *nasalisation*, especially in historically oriented literature (e.g. Stifter, Thurneysen).

In accordance with other courses in the Celtic Studies curriculum, the terms *lenition*, *nasalisation*, and *aspiration* (the *h-prefix*) are used in Vienna, since, for example, *eclipsis* ('darkening') was considered somewhat less descriptive of the actual changes than the term *nasalisation*. Even though the latter refers to only about half of the actual processes, i.e. the changes of voiced plosives to nasals, it is felt that at least it provides learners with a hint as to which system to apply. But more importantly, these terms are also used in the teaching of Old Irish, and since, until very recently at least, most students that attended Irish classes were also students of the Celtic Studies curriculum, the majority of them could be expected to have done some Old Irish or to be doing so in the very near future. In order not to confuse them the terminology was streamlined. This might, in fact, lead to puzzlement when grammar books are consulted, but since students tend to do that only at a later stage in their learning career, the initial confusion surrounding the concept as such is expected to have somewhat abated by then.

The term *t-prefix* is preferred to *s-fortition* (*pace* e.g. Green, "Coronals"), since a *t-* may appear before *s-* but also before a vowel, and these cases should be regarded as one and the same phenomenon – which they historically are, going back to a form of the definite article ending in *-d*.[3]

The Study

The study was based on 12 mid-term and final tests, taken by a total of 172 students between 2002 and 2009.[4] The completed test papers were analysed for errors in the application of the mutational system and the results compared for each test group with the number of instances with no errors in the same environment, as summarised in Table 5 below.

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3 As we wish to adhere to the standard grammar as far as possible, dialectal features such as *t-* before *s-* after *-l* and *-n* in compounds, for instance, are disregarded.

4 The major difference between the year 2008/2009 and previous ones is that in this year for the first time Irish was taught through the medium of English rather than German.

Table 5: The Data

test no. (number of students)	lenition	nasalisation	aspiration	t-prefix	none
1 (12)	26-172	---	3-26	2-10	14-118
2 (9)	15-58	6-26	4-23	---	9-115
3 (29)	66-145	21-55	16-81	---	17-764
4 (25)	25-137	11-61	4-23	---	25-258
5 (8)	21-54	2-21	5-3	---	4-14
6 (3), 2nd year	6-12	4-10	---	---	2-15
7 (20)	16-109	---	10-48	---	9-227
8 (17)	7-40	7-8	---	---	3-0
9 (24)	14-59	15-98	4-28	2-0	7-77
10 (5)	8-16	3-12	15-1	1-1	7-3
11 (4), 2nd year	3-3	3-2	1-0	---	---
12 (16)	4-38	14-52	---	---	---

In this table, for each pattern the token number of errors is given first, followed, after a hyphen, by the number of cases where no errors occurred. *None* refers to cases where mutations were applied in places they would not normally be found in. Thus, for test number 10, in seven cases mutation was applied, as opposed to three identical environments where it was not, the latter being (prescriptively) correct. This test also contains, for example, eight errors in lenition environments against 16 correctly applied lenitions.

The tests were taken by varying numbers of students; their dwindling after the first semester or year is not unusual and one reason why higher level courses frequently are in danger of being cancelled. Furthermore, the length of the tests was not uniform, ranging from one to four pages, and the tasks to be tackled varied considerably from year to year, depending on the numbers of students involved and their overall performance during class. The tasks were mostly of an eliciting nature and included: free writing; picture stories; translations; word-lists (e.g. hobbies, food); fill-in exercises (e.g. supply one half of a dialogue, fill in endings, mutation, or case form); jumbled sentences (without connectives, i.e. verbal endings and/or mutations supplied by the student); conversion exercises (from past to future, etc.). Of the twelve tests, ten are from first-year courses (semesters 1 and 2) and two from second-year courses (both semester 3).

The overview in Table 5 shows that mutation is in fact more frequently applied correctly than misapplied, and that to a considerable degree. It must be noted, however, that while errors are easy to spot, cases with correct non-mutation are rather less so, since in a given environment not all mutable initials need (and do) undergo mutation in the first place. Thus, a case of non-lenition of *t-* after the feminine NSgf. article (*an tine* 'the fire') may be the result of correctly applied coronal blocking, or the simple ignoring of a mutation. Consequently, the figures after the hyphen in Table 5 must be taken *cum grano salis*.

The study took as a starting-point a list of possible categories of errors with examples taken from homework sheets: no mutation (e.g. **sa gáirdín*); misapplied mutation: either by analogy to non-mutating cases or wrong pattern (e.g. *as Bhaile Átha Cliath, **sa theach,* **i pháirc*); mutation of non-mutable sounds (analogy; e.g. **sa lheabhar*); double mutation (e.g. **sa ngháirdín*, *sa dtheach*); diaeresis-deleting function of *h-* (and possibly also *t-* and *n-*; e.g. **sa hobair*).

Let me emphasise at this point that this study does not intend to demonstrate the "shortcomings" of students in acquiring Irish, but is meant to serve the purpose of identifying problems and adapting and improving the teaching of Irish grammar. I was mostly interested in the following questions: Which errors are the most frequent? Which environments are most troublesome to learners? Which mutational patterns do they most frequently disregard? And, finally, would the expectations as to possible error categories indeed be confirmed by the data?

Discussion

The analysis provided a list of error-prone environments, as displayed in Table 6. Not surprisingly, this is a comprehensive list of environments one is likely to be faced with in the first three semesters. Except for a few instances (such as, for example, nasalisation after the conjunction *go* 'that,' which was correctly applied in all cases), errors could be detected for almost every environment appearing in the tests.

Table 6: Error Environments

NO mut. of pres. statement	L/N after *ag/as/ar an*
NO mut. of future statement	L/N after *sa(n)*
L of past statement (after *do*)	L/N after *faoin*
NO mut. of past statement (*sc-, sp-, st-, sm-*)	A after *sna*
L after *ní* (+Verb)	T after *as an* + f. noun
N after interrogative *an*	NO mut. of homorganics after *ag/as/ar an*
L of verb after ar/níor/nár	NO mut. after masc. noun
N after *cá* (+Verb)	L after f. noun
L of direct relative verb	NO mut. after strong pl.
N of indirect relative verb	NO mut after f. noun (homorganics)
NO L of copula past forms (*ba*, not **bha*)	NO mut. after *cúpla*
L after níor (+Adj.)	L after poss.1sg *mo*
L after ba (+Adj.)	L after masc. poss. A
A after equative *chomh*	A after fem. poss. *A*
NO mut. after *ní* (+Adj.)	N after plural poss. 1
NO mut. after copula *is*	N after plural poss. 3
NO mut. of pred. adjective	NO mut. of free adverbs
L after *mar* (+noun)	NO mut. of direct object of VN
L after *ar*	NO mut. of direct object (pace Welsh)
L after *a* (+VN)	L of pers. names in Gen.
L after *de*	L after *Nic, Mhic, Uí, Ní*
N after *i*	NO mut. of *C*, *G* after *Nic, Mhic*
A after *go* 'towards'	*ar tí* not **ar dtí*
A after *le*	*bheith*, permanently lenited

NO mut. after *chuig*	NO mut. of interrogatives (*cé*, not **ché*)
NO mut after *ag*	A after *a* (+ num.)
NO mut. after *as*	L after *aon*
L after NSgf art.	L of *déag* after *dó*
L after GSgm art.	L after *dhá*
A after GSgf. art	L after *beirt*
A after NPl. Art.	NO mut. after *trí* + pl.
T- after NSgm art. (+V-)	L after *c(h)eithre*
NO mut. after NSgm art. (+C-)	L after *c(h)úig*
NO mut. of homorganics	N after *seacht*
L in compounds	N after *ocht*
NO mut. in compounds (homorganics)	N after *naoi*

As for the expected categories of errors, all but the last (i.e. diaeresis deletion) in fact emerged, but the most frequent one was, not surprisingly, simply failing to mutate:

a) no mutation at all,
b) “wrong” pattern,
c) extension/analogy,
d) double application,
e) mutation of non-mutable initials sounds/letters,
f) “anything goes,”
g) varia.

In the following, the error categories will be examined individually. Since the examples are meant to illustrate the use of mutation, the spelling has otherwise been standardised.

a) Not surprisingly, lack of mutation was the most frequent error category and present at least once in almost every test paper. Examples are: *an úll* (NSg)*, ar ceannaigh sé? ba maith, de gnáth, dhá peann, mo dinnéar, mar garda, le athair Úna, girseach deas, Nic Maoilir, a dó déag, go amharclann, i ionad spóirt, an caora, xy a cur, Fraincis maith, i ndiaidh a ocht, chomh ard le, faoin cathaoir, an feicfidh sé?, naoi capall, ina cónaí* (3pl)*, réamhfaisnéis, sa Coiré, deirfiúr Pádraig, beirt mac, ar an bunscoil, l'Áine*.

In most instances it would seem that mutation was simply disregarded, particularly in cases like *de g(h)náth*, or *chomh (h)ard le*; in other cases it may have been the result of confusion, especially in the case of attributive adjectives, numerals, possessive pronouns, or the combination article+noun, where the rules are slightly more complicated.

b) The wrong-pattern category includes misapplied mutation and mutation where it is not required. Not surprisingly, “wrong” patterns were applied mostly in cases such as the ones just mentioned: article+noun, adjectives, prepositions, but, interestingly, not so much in the case of numerals, where as a rule the option ‘no mutation’ was preferred. Examples are: *an t-aimsir, inar chónaí, na chaoirigh, an dteileafóin, an chomharsa* (NSg)*, ní dtógaim, a bhuailfimid leo* (indir. rel.)*, go Bhaile Átha Cliath, an*

snáth fhada, ina chónaí (3Sgf)*, le mháthair Úna, dhéanaim*, *san hollscoil, fear chairdiúil, níor n-ól sé, i phost, ag dhul, cúpla phionta, as Chorcaigh, bha mhaith, i tSeirbia, go nDublin, le athair hEithne, is fhearr, lá ghréine, trí mbliana, ní dtiocfaimid.*

In this group also belongs what may be referred to as syntactic mutation similar to Welsh, i.e. mutation of direct objects or adverbials. Examples here are: *is maith liom Ghaeilge, Ghaeilge líofa, dhonn* [as independent adjective]*, bheagán Gaeilge, is maith léi cheol clasaiceach, ag obair...pháirt-aimseartha.*

The data suggest that such errors are simply the consequence of general uncertainty. In the case of *dhéanaim*, the error seems to have been prompted by the immediately preceding question *Cad é a dhéanann tú...?*.

c) Occasionally, mutations were also applied in environments with restricted mutation, such as coronal homorganics, probably by analogically extending the pattern in question to those cases where it does not apply. Examples of this are: *shcríobh sé, an thine, bean thanaí, Nic Chorra, ag an dheireadh seachtaine.* Again, confusion as to the exact mutation rules and their exceptions, and hence analogical extension, seems to offer the best explanation for these cases.

d) As opposed to what had been subjectively anticipated, double application of mutational patterns was rare. Only two instances were recorded in the data: *naoi gchapall,* and *ina gchónaí* (3pl). It is difficult to identify the cause of the first error; in the second case, however, the error seems to go back to the often-used phrase *Tá mé i mo chónaí i* 'I live in,' where *cónaí* is lenited. Apparently the student was aware of the need to nasalise in the third person plural and applied the latter not to the radical, but to the more familiar lenited form.

e) Mutation of non-mutable initials was the second error type that had been expected to appear much more frequently; in fact, the following examples are the only ones occurring in the data: *Fraincis lhíofa, i lheabharlann, i nleabharlann, a lhéamh, ón rhadió, an rhaidió, siopa lheabhar.* In this case the patterns were extended to letters where mutation does not exist at all in the standard language (although – but only in the spoken language – *l* and *r* may be lenited in some dialects; see Ó Siadhail 82-84).

f) The actual existence of a strategy along the lines of 'anything goes' is, of course, purely conjectural, and simply based on the impression of utter confusion conveyed by the following examples: *i nbialann, i gnaol, ba hfuath, an tseach* 'the house,' *an t-each* 'dto.,' *an bfuil, an bhuil* (both used consistently in the test paper), *naoin ncapall*. More than the other error types above do they suggest that mutations are understood mainly as a written phenomenon, particularly, of course, in a learning situation as in Vienna, where there is much less time for pronunciation practice than would be desirable. The fact that teaching is necessarily mostly instructive rather than output-oriented may also contribute to this phenomenon.

g) The data further contained two errors that did not seem to fit into any of the other categories: *le beith* and *ní fuil*. The first case appears to be hypercorrection (*le* causes aspiration, and the student therefore seems to have felt the need to de-lenite (permanently) lenited *bheith*, since mutations apply only one at a time). In the second case, in order to make the system more transparent, this particular group of students had been told that *níl* is in fact a contraction of *ní fhuil* 'I am not seen, e.g., in a place,' meaning 'I am not, e.g. in a place,' hence the dependent form of *tá* simply is *fuil*, to which the usual mutational patterns apply. In this sense, the error belongs into the category of 'ignored mutation,' but since the word *níl* is so frequently used as a single lexical item, it rather came as a surprise.

When considering the results as a whole, it would seem that the performance of students is varied indeed. It had been anticipated that the more complex the system, the higher the chance of errors, and this was indeed confirmed by the data. On the other hand, interestingly, some of the trickier problems were dealt with surprisingly competently (such as mutation in relative clauses), while some of the rather simple applications were more frequently either mixed up or simply ignored (such as *ní* leniting a verb).

Conclusion

The main question is what causes these errors. Apart from the fact that the system of mutations is generally rather complex, the special situation in Vienna may account for some of the phenomena discussed. As already mentioned, mutation is likely to be understood in terms of correct orthography rather than pronunciation and grammar, and in this respect, not surprisingly, the written test situation itself influenced the results.

Not surprisingly either, the most frequent misapplication seems to be the failure to mutate in the first place, which bears witness to the fact that mutations are often not seen as communicatively important, on a par with the *síneadh fada*, i.e. the length mark/accent.

With regard to the error rate it also might have been interesting to differentiate between students with a philological or linguistic background, particularly those having prior knowledge of another Celtic language, and others, as well as between native speakers of German and those with another L1, to see whether these factors in any way influence results. Unfortunately, the sample was not large enough and would not have yielded any relevant figures.

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Promoting Mutual Understanding and/or Enriching the Curriculum? The Contribution of the 'Ireland in Schools' Forum to Bringing Ireland into the English Classroom

Lesley Lelourec

The 'Ireland in Schools' (IiS) forum was set up in 1993 by Professor Patrick Buckland,[1] formerly of the Institute of Irish Studies at the University of Liverpool, in response to British government briefings to promote mutual understanding between Britain and Ireland. IiS provides free teaching resources relating to Ireland and aiming at specific parts of the national curriculum in England and Wales for schoolchildren of all ages. The motivations behind IiS were initially political, but the project has since taken on an educational life of its own, and its credo has become "making learning fun" (IiS homepage). This paper aims to present IiS, placing it in a political and educational context, and to determine whether the initial objectives of "underpinning the peace process in Ireland by fostering better understanding of Ireland in Britain through young people" (IiS homepage) have been achieved. Using information provided by IiS, questionnaires, and telephone interviews, I shall focus on the motivations behind teachers' decisions to use Ireland as a subject matter and on their pupils' reactions.

Background to 'Ireland in Schools'

Building on the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985, the Framework Documents released by the Governments of Ireland and the United Kingdom on 22 February 1995 stated the common intention to arrive at a political settlement to end the conflict in the North of Ireland based on the principle of consensus. The documents stipulate that "a collective effort is needed to create, through agreement and reconciliation, a new beginning founded on consent, for relationships within Northern Ireland, within the island of Ireland and between the peoples of these islands" (Framework Documents). In fact, few concrete initiatives were undertaken at government level to address the latter part of this equation, namely "the peoples of these islands." Not surprisingly, the emphasis has been on improving links between the North and the South of Ireland and across the internal divide within Northern Ireland. East-West links have not taken pride of place. The British-Irish Inter-Parliamentary Body (BIIPB), established in 1990, originally comprised 25 members of the UK Parliament and 25 members of the Irish Parliament (Oireachtas) with the remit to develop understanding between elec-

1 The author would like to thank Patrick Buckland for making available a large amount of information on IiS for this paper, especially during a personal interview with author, 6 June 2008.

ted representatives of the UK and Ireland.[2] As a result of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, two projects aimed at promoting mutual understanding received funding from the British and Irish governments, albeit on a small scale: Causeway and the East-West Schools programme.[3] Causeway, or the Conjoint Inter-Nation Programme for Young People of the Islands of Britain and Ireland, is a British-Irish youth exchange programme administered by the British Council and Léargas with the assistance of the Youth Council for Northern Ireland: “Causeway’s aims are the development of better understanding and the improvement of the long-term relationship between the peoples of Ireland and the United Kingdom” (Causeway). The East-West Schools programme is “a schools-based programme initiated under the Good Friday Agreement to strengthen school partnerships and to encourage friendship and understanding between young people in Ireland and the United Kingdom” (British Council).[4] As the tables below show, the scale of these schemes has been relatively limited. In the nine years for which figures are available, fewer than 2,000 young people from the UK have been involved in Causeway, and in 2007 there were a mere seven UK-based projects.

Table 1: Number of Causeway Projects and Participants 1999 -2007

Causeway	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	TOTAL
Total	21	29	15	17	18	22	20	16	13	171
UK	11	14	10	11	12	10	9	10	7	94
Ireland	10	15	5	6	6	12	11	6	6	77
Participants										
UK	224	269	135	98	237	282	153	157	183	1739
Ireland	319	316	120	180	262	283	244	203	147	2074

Source: Table compiled by author from data made available by Causeway

As for the East-West programme, data for 2002 and 2003 indicate that fewer projects came to fruition in England and Wales than elsewhere in the British Isles and that the budget was not taken up completely.

2 The BIIPB publishes bi-annual reports on its activities. The author has examined these reports and found very few references to ‘mutual understanding’ apart from the Warrington project mentioned below.

3 Data courtesy of Des Burke and Lorraine McDyer at Léargas.

4 It is funded by the Department of Education and Science (Ireland), the Department for Children, Schools and Families (England), the Department of Education for Northern Ireland, the Scottish Executive Education Department, and the National Assembly for Wales. Both schemes are managed by Léargas and the British Council.

Table 2: Number of East-West Programme Projects and Percentage of Budget Used, 2002-2003

EAST-WEST PROGRAMME	IRELAND	ENGLAND AND WALES	SCOTLAND	NORTHERN IRELAND
2002	12	9	4	2
2002 % budget used	86%	30%	100%	100%
2003	23	17	5	6
2003 % budget used	99%	50%	100%	100%

Source: Table compiled by author from data made available by Des Burke and Lorraine McDyer at Léargas

Parallel to political initiatives, there were a number of local and civic initiatives in the 1990s aimed at building bridges between Ireland and Britain at grass-roots level. The umbrella group WIRE (Warrington Ireland Reconciliation Enterprise) evolved as a constructive response to an IRA bombing in the centre of Warrington, a small town in the North-West of England, on 20 March 1993. The explosion claimed the lives of two young boys, aged three and twelve, and wounded 56 others, leaving the local community shocked and appalled, and provoking a wave of indignation and sympathy across the nation, in Ireland, and worldwide. The victims' families and members of the local community strove to come to terms with the tragedy by finding ways to foster closer links between Britain and Ireland – and in the hope of preventing further acts of hatred. Groups involved in WIRE included the Warrington Project, IiS, and the Warrington male-voice choir. Among the key participants were Colin and Wendy Parry, whose twelve-year-old son was killed in the blast and who went on to found the Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Foundation for Peace, a registered charity named after the two young victims of the bombing. Opened in 1995, the charity continues to work on peace projects and with victims of political violence.[5] IiS was involved in this project, as teachers in the Warrington area tried to respond to the bewilderment of the local schoolchildren in the aftermath of the bombing. As the BIIPB's appraisal of the Warrington project attests:

> When we were in Warrington, teachers in the schools said that the Monday after that bomb children came to school and asked "why?" which they found they could not answer. The credit goes to the people who realised they should find an answer to that question and should be able to explain why [...]. These people have tried to find an answer. They have done that in ways that can be understood by children of six years reading books about giants and getting into discussions of stereotyping and by 16-year-olds looking at newspaper reports of the Troubles and learning historical analysis,

5 "We are an educational peace charity. We inspire people to lead more peaceful lives by participating in our educational programmes. This enables them to better understand conflict and by doing so to reduce or eliminate violence from conflict situations affecting them" (Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Foundation for Peace). The foundation opened a Peace Centre in Warrington in 2000.

> the evaluation of sources and distinguishing between facts, opinion, prejudice and bigotry. It is a very useful introduction to the study of history. (Corston 57)

Initially working together, as a response to a specific tragedy, the individual components became more independent.[6] IiS has endeavoured to find ways of introducing Irish themes into the classroom to heighten awareness of Irish culture, history, and society and to promote the positive aspects of Ireland.

Ireland in the English Classroom Pre-Peace Process

Prior to the peace process, English pupils were unlikely to encounter Ireland in the course of their schooling, and what knowledge English people had of Ireland stemmed almost exclusively from media reports on the Troubles with their onus on decontextualised acts of violence (Miller; Parkinson; Curtis; Butler).[7]

Those schoolchildren who did come across the topic of Ireland would probably have done so in the context of a history lesson. Mary Hickman, in her unpublished studies of history teaching in Catholic schools in England, concluded that "the history of Ireland in texts is the history of its contact with England, when Ireland proved problematic for England" and that it tended to concentrate on flashpoints ("Problematic Irish" 56). Such a perspective contributes to reinforcing the image of Ireland and the Irish as being difficult, unruly, and rebellious. The author's own PhD examined O-Level, GCSE and A-Level history[8] syllabuses from 1970 to 2000 and found that, at least until 1990, English pupils tended to be presented with teaching modules and subsequent exam papers under the broad headings of English history, British history, European history, and world history. British history dealt with mainland Britain, whereas European history meant Continental Europe, and Irish history was touched upon only when it impacted directly on British history (e.g. the Home Rule question and Gladstone). Irish history, thereby, unintentionally or not, was 'squeezed out.' Ann Doyle has studied the portrayal of Ireland in English school textbooks and highlighted their Anglo-centric nature: "In Britain and Ireland, great misunderstanding and large-scale ignorance remain about each other's histories. This, I believe, is directly related to the notion of ethnocentrism" (315).

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6 The umbrella organisation WIRE no longer exists, but the Foundation for Peace, IiS, and the male-voice choir all continue their initial agenda of promoting peace and fostering closer links between Britain and Ireland and within the island of Ireland.

7 Personal contacts also impact directly on an individual's knowledge of Ireland, with perception depending on the various cameo reports from Irish family, friends, neighbours, workmates, and British soldiers stationed in Northern Ireland.

8 O-Levels, now called GCSEs (General Certificate of Secondary Education), are taken at the age of sixteen, A-Levels at the age of eighteen in England and Wales.

In order to evaluate pupil perceptions of Ireland, Paul Bracey and Alison Gove-Humphries[9] undertook a case study of 93 eleven-year-olds in 2001. Their primary aim was to determine the sources of knowledge about Ireland. Their findings showed that knowledge of Ireland was considerably less than knowledge of England; that historical knowledge was predominantly Anglo-centric and that history was less significant than other forms of knowledge in building up impressions and notions about Ireland. Television proved to be the main influence on pupils' images of Ireland, which were dominated by reports of violent conflicts (Bracey & Gove-Humphries 202).

Why Teach Ireland in England?

It is not at all unreasonable to pose the question why, after all, an English pupil should come into contact with Ireland in the course of his/her schooling. First and foremost, Northern Ireland is part of the same nation-state. Mary Hickman remarked in her PhD thesis that "Ireland is consequently an unknown country even though geographically close" ("Incorporation" 367). Secondly, the islands of Ireland and Britain share a common past, which obviously impacts on the present but which is often ignored by a significant number of English people. Furthermore, the Troubles have directly affected the lives of people on the British 'mainland,' which was a prime target for bombings in the 1970s, '80s, and '90s and is still, in 2012, deemed to be under threat from dissident republicans opposed to the peace process, which they consider a sell-out to the British state and Unionists. Partly due to a shared past and to the geographic proximity of the two islands, the Irish community constitutes one of the largest ethnic minorities in Great Britain.[10] Although the Irish are white, and thus considered by many to have been assimilated into mainstream British society, certain Irish groups have lobbied the government to be considered as a separate ethnic group, thus becoming eligible for funding to finance their specific needs. Indeed, Irish people living in Great Britain have been subjected to discrimination and intimidation, especially as a backlash to IRA terrorist attacks (see Hickman & Walter). Finally, the UK is a multicultural society and promotes itself as such. Consequently, the heritage of each one of its diverse components needs to be recognised and valued as suggested by the 2000 Parekh Report:

> The Irish community in Britain as insiders-outsiders is uniquely relevant to the nature of its multicultural society. For generations, Irish experience has been neglected owing to the myth of the 'homogeneity of white Britain' but it illuminates Britishness in much the same way that the experiences of black people illuminate whiteness. (Parekh 32)

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9 Paul Bracey is Senior Lecturer in Education at Northampton University, and Alison Gove-Humphries is History Coordinator for the Birmingham Local Education Authority; both are closely associated with IiS.

10 According to the 2001 Census, 1.3% of the English population ticked the "White Irish" box, making them the second largest ethnic minority after those who described themselves as "Indian" (2.1%); see also O'Keeffe-Vigneron.

This justifies teaching Ireland as a means of recognising and reflecting diversity in English schools. Paul Bracey, in his 2007 PhD thesis entitled "Perceptions of an Irish Dimension and its Significance for the English History Curriculum," explores this element and articulates the case for teaching Ireland. In an article co-written with Alison Gove-Humphries he points out the following:

> The history National Curriculum states that an Irish dimension, along with an English, Scottish or Welsh dimension should be "taught where appropriate" – hardly a strong endorsement for its place in a history departments programme of study. Nevertheless, people from Ireland represent the largest minority group in Britain and a number of studies suggest that an understanding of Irish experiences has much to contribute to multicultural/anti-racist issues. (202)

'Ireland in Schools' (IiS)

'Ireland in Schools' describes itself as "a national network of volunteers which provides free teaching and learning resources for primary and secondary schools in Britain" (IiS homepage). Patrick Buckland has personally overseen this project and has continued to spearhead it in retirement. The inspiration behind the project was to support the peace process and the needs of the Irish community in Britain. Its initial aims, as advertised on the website, were political, "underpinning the peace process in Ireland by fostering better understanding of Ireland in Britain through young people." It relies on private funding.[11] As time has gone by and against the background of a successful if imperfect peace process, the onus has been more on promoting an educational platform under the motto of "making learning fun and challenging" (IiS).

The website constitutes the hub of IiS. Teachers can download 'off-the-peg' teaching material and lesson plans, designed for particular age ranges and key stages.[12] IiS also makes available CD-ROMs. In addition, teachers can contact IiS through the website with specific requests, e.g. developing a new course of work on a particular theme. In this case, IiS suggests sources and provides materials and primary sources which teachers and educationalists may rework, the aim being that the material produced is fed back into the bank of materials available for anyone to access and use freely. Several teachers have organised themselves into groups according to schools or geographic areas and work together to devise, test, and put into practice new schemes of work. A hard core of motivated teachers, lecturers, and educational-

11 Patrick Buckland explained that government funding was offered in the early stages of the forum, but he declined this aid since it came with strings attached and he preferred to remain independent. Private benefactors and sponsors are primarily responsible for the funding.

12 Key Stage 1 corresponds to five-to-seven-year-olds, Key Stage 2 to seven-to-eleven-year-olds, Key Stage 3 to eleven-to-fourteen-year-olds and Key Stage 4 to ages fourteen-sixteen.

ists is particularly active in this area.[13] The rationale is to try and offset the tendency to see Ireland as a 'problem,' which is how it has often been presented via the media and how it has been perceived by British 'mainlanders.' In order to increase understanding of Ireland and the conflict, multiple sources are used to counteract the traditional one-dimensional portrayal of all things Irish. In a resolutely cross-curricular approach, the topic of Ireland breaks down the boundaries between academic subjects and enriches the curriculum using literature, poetry, music, art, history, geography and citizenship classes and creating Irish pathways, both vertically and horizontally, through the curriculum.

As we have seen, Ireland has hitherto been considered a sensitive subject in schools. Mary Hickman concluded that teachers who chose to broach the subject did so in order to redress what they saw as a void: "This suggests that those with an Irish identity are mainly concerned with the best means of rectifying what they perceive as a deficiency in curriculum content" ("Incorporation" 383).

IiS has not shied away from tackling contentious issues, notably the Troubles in general, its key events, and the Famine.[14] The starting point is often a question, and the schemes aim at providing different perspectives and encouraging pupils to develop their thinking skills. For example, a scheme of work on the Republican hunger strikes of 1980-81, designed for Key Stage 4 students is called "Hunger Strikers: Criminals or Prisoners of War?"[15] and a project on the Famine aimed at Key Stages 2 and 3 begins with the question: "Why Did Baby Bridget Die?"[16]

As already mentioned, IiS endeavours to accommodate Irish topics within the pre-existing national curriculum. Thus, a scheme of work entitled "1916: 'Fighting for whom?'"[17] examines the significance of this date for different communities as a means of exploring notions of identity, which is part of the curriculum. The Troubles are approached as a vehicle for explaining the past through the present. In this instance, a group of secondary school teachers based in Nottinghamshire and known as the Nottingham Pilot Scheme undertook to test secondary pupils' knowledge and understanding of the Troubles, seeking to address pupils' apprehensions, as a preliminary to devising a course of work on the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Their initial test revealed: (1) an uncertain grasp of basic facts coupled with confusion about the multiplicity of political and paramilitary organisations; (2) a lack of sympathetic under-

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13 These include Paul Bracey and Alison Gove-Humphries as well as Darius Jackson, Lecturer in History and Citizenship at the University of Birmingham's School of Education, and Marian McQueen, Blackpool LEA National Strategy Consultant.

14 <http://iisresource.org/Documents/0A4_HA_Con_Issues_Worksheets_A4_Sheets_pdf.pdf> (10 Aug 2009).

15 <http://iisresource.org/h_strikes.aspx> (10 Aug 2009).

16 <http://iisresource.org/Documents/0A4_Why_Did_BB_Die.pdf> (10 Aug 2009).

17 <http://www.scribd.com/doc/91194/1916-crosscurricular-approaches-to-the-Easter-Rising-the-Western-Front> (10 Aug 2009).

standing of the nature of the conflict in Northern Ireland; (3) a sense of overload as pupils felt they had to address the whole of the history of Ireland and Anglo-Irish relations.

The group went on to devise a course of work that would widen pupils' knowledge of the Irish Question, taking into account these findings and trying to avoid over-burdening them.[18] As an introduction, Republican and Loyalist murals were used to explore the different symbols and codes of the divided communities in Northern Ireland. Poetry, literature, art, and music were all effectively combined to weave a variety of perspectives into the cross-curriculum approach favoured by IiS.

Granuaile

Ireland in Schools offers several schemes of work featuring Grace O'Malley/Granuaile, a(n) (in)famous Irish sea captain of the 1600s. The national curriculum incites primary schools to work on the topic of a female figure of significance. Traditionally, Florence Nightingale has been a popular choice, but IiS put forward a course of work presenting an alternative: Grace O'Malley (see Jackson, Bracey & Gove-Humphries). This character has also been proposed as a female counterpart to Sir Francis Drake as a way of challenging stereotypes. One scheme of work designed for Key Stage 1 has as its starting point the question "Should We Call Grace O'Malley a Pirate?" At Key Stage 2, another scheme embarks upon a comparison announced in its title "The Pirates Grace O'Malley and Francis Drake: Goodies or Baddies?"[19]

This topic sparked indignation from one of Britain's best-selling newspapers, *The Daily Mail*. One example of the deep-rooted reticence concerning Ireland is an article by Sarah Harris which appeared on 28 December 2004, entitled "Move over Florence: schools are told to ditch 'jaded' heroine Nightingale and give history lessons about a female Irish pirate." As the format of the article suggests, Florence Nightingale and Grace O'Malley are pitted against each other as binary opposites (Hickman, "'Binary Opposites'" 50-58), with photos showing a wild and wanton Irish woman opposite one of the saintly epitomes of British civilisation. The conservative newspaper takes offence at the fact that the official education watchdog, the QCA (Qualification and Curriculum Authority), opted to promote the work of IiS and suggest an alternative "woman of significance" to teachers on its website. *The Daily Mail* bemoaned the fact that the QCA "believes that 'teachers and their pupils can only benefit by taking more account of Ireland and its stories.'" The newspaper goes on to criticise the proposal, citing "historians": "But the watchdog was attacked by historians for downgrading Miss Nightingale in favour of politically correct Left-wing

18 <http://www.scribd.com/doc/29720/SHP-Getting-behind-the-Headlines-in-Northern-Ireland> (10 Aug 2009).

19 See also Bracey, Gove-Humphries, & Jackson, for more information on these schemes of work.

fashion [...]. Dr David Starkey said there is 'no contest' between Florence Nightingale and Grace O'Malley – whom he had never heard of."[20]

Quite apart from their visual representation, the cameo descriptions of the two women are rife with stereotypes: we are told that Florence "collected statistics to show many military deaths were preventable, leading to improvements in medical and surgical practices," whereas her Irish 'counterpart' "stormed castles and was involved in cattle-rustling." In a similar vein, we learn that Grace was nicknamed Grace the Bald after cutting off her hair, slaughtered hundreds of Spaniards, was twice imprisoned, whilst Florence was known as the Lady of the Lamp and awarded the Royal Red Cross by Queen Victoria.

Author's Study

In order to try and examine the impact that IiS has had on English schoolchildren, the author sent out 70 questionnaires in May 2009 to a list of teachers posted on the IiS website "Thank you" page, i.e. who had actively contributed to IiS. Twenty-two responses were received in total, of which twenty were completed; consequently, these can only be analysed from a qualitative perspective. Several responses were followed up by telephone interviews in order to clarify, or gain more insight into, teachers' perceptions. The twenty completed responses came from fifteen teachers, four educationalists, and one community worker. The following tables give an overall view of their profiles.

Table 3: Religion of respondents

RELIGION	Church of England	Roman Catholic	Protestant	None
	5	9	3	3

Table 4: Identity of respondents (in their own terms)

IDENTITY	British	Irish	English	Welsh
	14	3	2	1

Table 5: Irish background of respondents

IRISH BACKGROUND	Yes	Distant	No
	10	2	8

20 In fact, the newspaper names a single historian, Dr David Starkey, a prominent TV commentator.

Table 6: Type of school where respondents work

TYPE OF SCHOOL	State Primary	Catholic Primary	C. of E. Primary	State Secondary	Catholic Secondary	C. of E. Secondary
	2	6	1	4	2	10

In order to try and assess the motivations of IiS users, questions focussed on teachers' motivations as well as on the perceived reactions of pupils and parents. The following motivations emerged, in descending order of occurrence:

- reasons of identity: the Irish background of teachers themselves or pupils in their schools;
- a personal interest in Ireland and/or Northern Ireland;
- a wish to promote diversity in the classroom in order to reflect Britain's multicultural society;
- pedagogical reasons and curriculum enrichment;
- prompting by educational coordinators to use IiS material.

When asked about pupils' reactions to studying topics related to Ireland, teachers noted a general reaction of enthusiasm coupled with excitement. What is striking, but not particularly surprising, is that the most positive reactions appear to have come from children of Irish backgrounds. Teachers remarked on their pupils' sense of pride in the fact that their Irish roots were being recognised, valued, and, for some, even discovered, as the following quotes reveal:

> "They were very enthusiastic particularly charting family connections on a large map of Ireland on wall in hall." (Teacher, Catholic Primary)

> "Pupils even at an early age find it interesting. They discover their Irish roots or speak of parents visiting Ireland." (Teacher, Catholic Primary)

> "Most pupils thoroughly enjoyed taking part in the project. The greatest emotion expressed was a sense of pride from pupils with names such as Murphy, McMahon, O'Brien etc who hadn't realised they had Irish roots! [...] There was a noticeable increase in the number of children wearing Ireland football kits for PE lessons after the first Irish week." (Teacher, Catholic Primary)

It is evident that an Irish topic sits very neatly with the notion of teaching for diversity. Children of Irish descent build bridges between their past and present. It may be beneficial to those not of Irish descent in that they experience at first hand proof that classmates are from diverse backgrounds. But is the work of IiS building bridges between Britain and Ireland?

Other pupils evoke a feeling of awakening to past events, an increased awareness, and resulting empathy towards the Irish:

> "Pupils became aware of historically what led to the hatred of the British by citizens of Ireland especially during the potato famine when wheat was sent to England." (Teacher, State Primary)

> "Most of the children knew very little about Irish history prior to project. Were able to demonstrate empathy with the plight of children during potato famine by the end." (Teacher, Church of England Primary)

In one instance, the teacher described a sense of shame felt by English pupils as they discovered past wrongdoings or misdemeanours: "A lot of shame from English students. Usual reaction: 'How could we treat them like that?'" (Teacher, State Secondary). When asked about their colleagues' reactions, users of IiS material cited apprehension due to the unfamiliarity of the subject matter and fear of extra work. There was also a feeling that the topic was not relevant, with some colleagues asking "Why Ireland? Why not Britain?"

> "Some teachers, who aren't from an Irish background, have expressed a wish to celebrate Britishness in the same way that we celebrate Irishness in Irish Week, but as yet they haven't been driven enough to drum up enough enthusiasm to lead it in school. They seem to resent us having an Irish week, but can't be bothered to organise events to celebrate their Englishness!" (Teacher Catholic Primary)

According to the teachers, the feedback from parents was overwhelmingly positive. Again it has to be mentioned that the responses were most enthusiastic from those of Irish descent, as the following quotes demonstrate:

> "Positive responses from parents with Irish relatives – all enjoyed the Assembly on St Patrick's Day. Only one negative response who asked why Ireland and not Scotland?" (Teacher, Catholic Primary)

> "We did a 'sharing ' with parents at the end of the project, which was well-received." (Teacher, Church of England Primary).

> "Parents enjoyed our first IiS celebration in the hall as an evening of music (Irish ballads), Irish dancing (children from school), food (Irish stews and Guinness), art/literacy display." (Teacher, Catholic Primary)

Only a few negative reactions were reported, which, although anecdotal, attest to lingering prejudices against the Irish and at the same time underline the importance of the work of IiS and the necessity to paint a more positive picture of Ireland to counterbalance stereotypes:

> "One parent reacted adversely to the monthly newsletter informing parents of forthcoming events when we informed them of the first Irish Week. I seem to remember some sarcastic questions from him about whether the children would be learning about bomb-making techniques and terrorism." (Teacher, Catholic Primary)

Conclusion

It would appear that IiS contributes to promoting mutual understanding by breaking down barriers between English schoolchildren and Ireland. The network strives to challenge the established stereotypes of the Irish in an attempt to offset the tendency to view Ireland as a problem and the Irish as problematic. It also seeks to promote understanding of the historical, social, and political landscape, as well as literally putting Ireland on the map. Regarding the specific context of the Troubles, IiS sets out to throw light on key events, providing background knowledge which paves the way to

demystifying the topic by providing the keys or codes necessary for understanding. The main benefits identified by respondents are children (re-)discovering their Irish heritage and the promotion of a positive image of Ireland. The excellence of the teaching materials makes IiS attractive; the study suggests that its users have different motivations, ranging from their own connections with Ireland to teaching for diversity or simply the quality and accessibility of the teaching resources.

Exactly how successful has IiS been in promoting mutual understanding between England and Ireland? It is obviously impossible to quantify. Taking into account the number of schools actively using IiS material, it has to be said that the impact can only be marginal: judging by the responses received to the questionnaires, IiS appears to be more prevalent in Catholic schools (which account for a mere 9.8% of Primary and 9.6% of Secondary schools nation-wide) than in non-denominational or Church of England schools. IiS remains a small-scale forum with no national or official remit or funding, but there is evidence that its outreach is mushrooming: the number of visits to the website is increasing, as is the number of pages viewed per visit. Moreover, Republic of Ireland schools are using IiS material on Northern Ireland, and IiS has been cited on the QCA website under the headline "Innovating with history."

IiS is undoubtedly enriching the curriculum in schools where its material is being used. Placing the onus on creativity and drawing on literature, music, visual arts etc., it aims to "make learning fun" whilst striving to provide models of best pedagogical practice. According to its founder and main pivot, Patrick Buckland, "IiS has taken off – due to the quality of teaching material it provides."[21]

Twelve years after the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, Ireland no longer represents such a controversial topic in Britain, which may reduce barriers felt by certain teachers who in the past were reluctant to tackle contentious issues. On the other hand, this may dissuade others who are politically motivated and who may look to more burning issues in the context of modern-day Britain, such as militant Islam. However, as this article goes to press, Northern Ireland is once again hitting the headlines in the British media due to the rise of dissident Republican activity, making the study of Ireland in the English classroom as relevant as ever before.

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21 Personal interview with author, 6 June 2008.

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