

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Katharine Tynan's Literature for Children and the Construction of Irish Identity

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of the

Department of English

School of Arts and Sciences

Of The Catholic University of America

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

©

Copyright

All Rights Reserved

By

Colette Eileen Epplé

Washington, D.C.

2010

Katharine Tynan's Literature for Children and the Construction of Irish Identity

Colette Eileen Epplé, Ph.D.

Director: Joseph Sendry, Ph.D.

At the turn of the twentieth-century, Katharine Tynan was one of the most famous Irish writers, both for her association and correspondence with prominent Revival writers, especially William Butler Yeats, and as a prolific and acclaimed author in her own right. However, since her death in 1931, she has become relegated to the footnotes of Irish literary history. Such critical neglect is belied by her significance in life. Producing over a hundred books of fiction, poetry, history, autobiography, and children's literature, she advanced the characteristic Revival concern with Irish cultural identity among a very large audience both within Ireland and without. In the process, she achieved greater popular success than most of her contemporaries, becoming one of the most effective writers disseminating the values of the Literary Revival, an accomplishment diminished by the dearth of critical attention in the decades following her death. This dissertation clarifies Tynan's contribution to the creation of an Irish identity by specifically examining her corpus of children's literature, an area previously ignored even by those critics who have noticed her other works. Tynan adapted her children's literature from one genre to another to suit the needs and tastes of her young audience: in addition to children's poetry and adolescent romance novels, she wrote non-fiction texts of Irish history, religion, social etiquette, and travel guides. Examining selections of her children's literature shows how it reflects her concerns with Irish cultural identity.

Her poetry given as “toy books,” her novels presented as “reward books,” her books of history taught in schools, her short narratives published in international travel series, and her views on behavior codified into books of conduct all worked to offer an alternative representation of Ireland from the colonial construct. Her works of fiction and nonfiction, interacting with each other, form an ideological whole. Ultimately, such cohesion embodies Tynan’s construction of an ancient, noble Ireland imbued with, as she says, “virtues of hospitality and generosity.”

This dissertation by Colette Eileen Epplé fulfills the dissertation requirement for the doctoral degree in English approved by Joseph Sendry, Ph.D., as Director, and Rosemary Winslow, Ph.D., and Coilin Owens, Ph.D, as Readers.

Joseph Sendry, Ph.D., Director

Rosemary Winslow, Ph.D., Reader

Coilin Owens, Ph.D., Reader

Chapter 1

At the turn of the twentieth-century, Katharine Tynan was one of the most famous Irish writers, both for her association and correspondence with prominent Revival writers, especially William Butler Yeats, and as a prolific and acclaimed author in her own right. However, since her death in 1931, she has become relegated to the footnotes of Irish literature. Such critical neglect is belied by her significance in life. Producing over a hundred books of fiction, poetry, history, autobiography, and children's literature, she advanced the characteristic Revival concern with Irish cultural identity among a very large audience both within Ireland and without. In the process, she achieved greater popular success than most of her contemporaries, becoming one of the most effective writers disseminating the values of the Irish Literary Revival, an accomplishment diminished by the dearth of critical attention in the decades following her death.

This dissertation is intended to clarify Tynan's contribution to the creation of an Irish identity by specifically examining her corpus of children's literature, an area previously ignored even by those critics who have noticed her other works. The pointed disregard of Tynan's literature for children (the period from childhood through adolescence) has been a serious oversight, as it represents the values of the Literary Revival of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and was in a unique position to advance its cause, the development and promotion of a new idealized Irish identity distinctly different from England. Moreover, because children's literature is notably didactic (McGillis 19), Tynan's literature for children

could be a more effective tool to further the ideology of the Literary Revival than her literature for adults. Like other writers of children's literature who "continually re-invent their fictions and forms in response to changing commercial and cultural constructions of childhood" (Hunt, *Children's Literature* 8), Tynan moved from one genre to another to suit the needs and tastes of her young audience. In addition to children's poetry and adolescent romance novels, she wrote non-fiction texts of Irish history, religion, social etiquette, and travel guides. Examining selections of her children's literature will show how it reflects her concerns with Irish cultural identity. In Tynan's constructions, the Irish are generous, clever, creative, and dignified with a rich history full of valor and nobility. Furthermore, this study will show how she used her children's literature to inculcate Irish and non-Irish audiences.

Tynan's children's literature is able to create specific constructions of Irish identity because "children's books do not merely mirror what exists; rather, they formulate and produce concepts and ideologies, always within the context of adult views about what children should know and value" (Bradford 5). Children's literature has proven itself a particularly potent transmitter of cultural ideology and the use of it as a tool for instruction has long been acknowledged. In *The Nimble Reader*, Roderick McGillis notes that "The title of a British publication dating from 1817 serves to remind us of this pedagogical function: *The Juvenile Review: or, Moral and Critical Observations on Children's Books; Intended as a Guide to Parents and Teachers in Their Choice of Books of Instruction and Amusement*" (McGillis 110). As a whole, children's literature as a genre has received very little critical attention. Only within recent decades has scholarship begun to look carefully at the construction of theme and image in writings for children as anticipating those designed for

the consideration of adults. Books for children “reproduce the dominant values of a culture at a particular time... Even the simplest books for the young reflect not only the climate of their age, the zeitgeist, but also ideological concerns” (McGillis 113).

A constant refrain in studies in children’s literature is an awareness of its ability to educate and influence its audience. Children’s literature produces one of two outcomes: it will reinforce cultural constructs or it will break them apart (Stephens 3). The only way to subvert established cultural constructs is to question their legitimacy. Throughout Tynan’s canon of children’s literature, she alternatively reinforces bourgeois ideologies and deconstructs anti-Irish sentiments. In her books of manners, religion, and children’s poetry, she reinforces Victorian gender and economic roles. However, in her books of romance, history, and travel literature, she challenges anti-Irish sentiment and promotes Irish national unity.

Themes in Tynan’s children’s literature are reflections of her life experiences, political beliefs, and contemporary gender expectations. Born in 1861, Katharine Tynan grew up on the outskirts of Dublin in a middle-class Catholic family. Her father, Andrew Cullen Tynan, was a prominent tenant farmer and entrepreneur. He was one of the greatest influences upon her early career and, unquestionably, her greatest champion. He was very supportive of her education and exposed her to numerous writers and to the Nationalist cause. He receives consistent praise in her memoirs, with entire sections devoted to him, but her mother, Elizabeth Reily, receives very little attention and is dismissed in the memoir *Memories* as a “simple, innocent, narrow woman,” who appears as a foil in Katharine’s literary development.

Because of an eye infection she suffered when she was six, Katherine was left severally myopic. Believing it would precipitate early blindness, her mother strongly disapproved of Katharine's desire to read and write. Her fear led her to attempt prevention of Katharine's reading: "I look back on those years as a series of encounters in which I fought for reading and my mother, at times, frustrated me. She thought my prayers should be a satisfactory substitute for my reading. I did not think so ... And I resorted to subterfuge in order to gratify what was a vital necessity" (*Twenty-Five Years* 46). Standing in opposition to her mother was Katharine's father: he encouraged her voracious reading and intellectual curiosity by bringing books into the house for her enjoyment. When her father was away, she often took refuge in the attic or above the stables, where she could read undetected and uninterrupted by her mother and ten siblings. Katharine delineates the split between her mother and father simply: "It was always my mother who cried 'Don't,' and my father who said 'Let her be'" (48).

Stronger than her mother's disapproval of unrestricted reading was the systemic nineteenth-century societal norm according to which educating women was considered dubious, at best. In that light, Andrew Tynan's encouragement of his daughter's intellectual interests baffled many of his contemporaries who wondered why he allowed her to read at her leisure when more productive and practical tasks—such as mending socks— were left unattended. They warned that her writing would "endanger [her] prospects of making a good marriage" (*Twenty-Five Years* 86).

At around eleven years of age, Katharine was sent to the Siena Convent School in Drogheda, County Louth. This was deemed a necessary move because "on a suggestion of an

old friend of my father's that I was running wild, it was decided that I should go to a convent school... The matter apparently was urgent, for I was sent there in mid-vacation" (*Twenty-Five Years* 54). While she developed a deep reverence towards the nuns¹ and depicted convent life in her writings "as a place of peace, solitude, and sometimes joy for those characters wishing to escape from the world" (Fallon 19), she described her time there as "a bookless desert" (*Twenty-Five Years* 51).

When Katharine was in her early twenties, her father converted a room for her in the family home where she could focus on her literary pursuits; this room later served as a salon, hosting the most popular intellectuals and leading members of the Irish Literary Revival, including George Russell [A.E.], Douglas Hyde, and Yeats (Fallon 25). It was here that they began, as Yeats put it, to "reform Irish poetry" (Yeats, "Poetry and Patriotism" 3) and that, as she remembers, she "really begun to live. I had found out what I could do, and being regarded as an exceptional person at home and abroad, I had perfect freedom about my actions" (*Twenty-Five Years* 322). She and Yeats developed a close friendship and successful working relationship. In 1888, they published their first creative collaboration, *Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland*. They were mutually supportive of each other's work: Yeats

¹ Her first book of prose, *A Nun, Her Friends and Her Order: Being a Sketch of the Life of Mother Mary Fallon (Sometime Superior General of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin in Ireland and Its Dependencies* (1891), was an homage to convent life and a reflection of her love and respect to those who lived within its walls. According to *The Irish Monthly* (1891), the book is directed towards "the intelligent outsider"; it worked, as the *Manchester Guardian* (1891) points out, to repudiate those with prejudices against convents who, after reading it, "would surely be moderated by the reading of this book." *The Athenaeum* (1891) praised Tynan's "dainty style. Her little volume is, in fact, a prose poem, enriched by exquisite sketches... If life at Rathfarnham is as Miss Tynan paints it, it must be a heaven on earth, and all its inmates angels already" ("Notes on New Books" 557–559).

encouraged her to write about what she knew, advice that added a new dimension to her poetry; Tynan provided useful contacts for the young Yeats in the literary and publishing worlds.

Tynan's early poetry shows an eagerness to break with English literary traditions and to create a new Irish voice, focused on Irish subjects and aimed at an Irish audience; this is most notable in her second volume of poetry, *Shamrocks* (1887) and in contributions to *Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland*, the first artistic collaboration of the Revivalist (Fallon 13). Through the publication of *Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland*, Yeats wanted "to let people know that there is a little school of us" (*Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats. Volume I* 183). Many of Yeats's letters to Tynan during this time—period focus on literary concerns—both his writing and hers. Unfortunately, her letters to Yeats have been lost, so we depend upon his to tell us of their common interests. But it is evident that one topic of great interest was artistic voice with an Irish accent. He urges her in 1887: "remember, by being Irish as you can, you will be more original and true to yourself and in the long run more interesting, even to English readers" (51).

When Tynan and other members of the Revival were not discussing literary aesthetics, Irish politics dominated the conversation. Because of her father's influence, she was a devout Parnellite. However, Katharine's political fervor began and ended with Parnell: "My devotion to Mr. Parnell left me, so far as politics are concerned, burnt out, exhausted" (*Twenty-Five Years* 380). She notes with pride that although she chose no longer to remain politically active, she still maintained connections to that powerful sphere, "I do not seem to have touched politics, although I kept in touch with politicians" (322).

In 1893, Tynan moved to England where she met and married the barrister Henry Albert Hinkson. The next eighteen years of their marriage were spent in England. She finally returned to Ireland in 1912 when her husband was appointed resident magistrate of Galway. Even with the tragic death of her two eldest sons, Godfrey (1894) and Theobald (1895), she experienced great joy in domestic life (a sentiment echoed in her later poetry).

Although her political activism had waned, her national pride never did. Even though she married an Englishman, lived in England many years, and is buried there, she was fiercely proud of being Irish and always took the Irish side of any argument. As an Irishwoman in England, she often felt isolated, especially during periods of political upheaval in Ireland, such as when she first learned of the Irish Civil War:

The cry of the Psalmist [‘When I forget thee, O Jerusalem!’] echoed lonely in my heart. To think that my country was in agony and that I was expected to amuse these kind friendly English people, who would begin to laugh the minute I opened my mouth, because I had a brogue! If I had stood up and said: ‘My country is dying,’ they would have laughed, thinking it was meant humorously— or I thought they would. There were good Irish there and good friends of Ireland, but I had gone out into the desert. What did I do there, ‘in a foreign land, in a lonesome city’? (*The Wandering Years* 334)

While Tynan’s poetry garnered artistic respect both within Ireland (in 1885 Anna Parnell wrote to her “[h]oping that you may continue to succeed and throw a reflected glory on your country and friends”) and abroad (it was compared to Christina Rossetti’s and considered by some to be on par with the young Yeats’),² her novels paid the bills. These

² However, she makes us doubt the validity of the praise, when in her memoir *Twenty-Five Years*, she writes, “The amiable reviewers of the Dublin press, if they liked you, would salute your little work with dreadful over-praise, likening you to so many shining ones of ancient and modern literature... I myself have been compared to Sapph and St. Teresa in a breath. I

were extremely popular, and she was astonishingly prolific, but they lack the sophistication of her poetry. In her third memoir *The Years of the Shadow*, she expresses a bitter-sweet melancholy regarding this ability: “I am not specially proud of this facility of mine... [but] it has made some few people happy beside myself” (269–270). And yet her prose, no doubt flowing from a poet’s sensitivity to language, is clean and evocative, with many graceful passages. Her plots, however, tend toward the formulaic, featuring saccharine peasants and benign gentry. For the novels, she explains, “I used to find material for my sketches in the life about me... My sketches were all idyllic, and, of course, there was a very slight substratum of truth in their happenings. As for the people, they were so idealised from the original suggestion that if any thought he or she had been portrayed, he or she should have been immensely flattered” (*Middle Years* 7–8). As a whole, Tynan herself called her romances “potboiling.” However, she continues in her own defense, “[n]ot that I despise boiling the pot. The business might bear a worthier name. It might even be called a Holy War, the struggle to keep the fire on the hearth for the children and the securities and sanctities of home about them. But my novels I wrote usually not to please myself, but to meet the demand; and the demand was diversified ... My poetry, such as it is, I kept undefiled...” (*Middle Years* 353).

In the beginning of the twentieth century she notes: “Poetry at the moment was out of favour in England. Hardly any editor would look at a poem, nor were the publishers kinder. It

have, moreover, been called a fine flower of womanhood, and a divinely gifted daughter of the gods. As for the English poets whom I had pulled down from their high places and passed by, well, the list included everyone my reviewer had ever heard of, which I rather think was summed up in Tennyson. I wonder if Tennyson subscribed to a press-cutting agency in those days, and if he trembled for his dominion.” (289–290).

was the swing of the pendulum towards material prosperity and away from spiritual things” (*Middle Years* 352). Tension between artistic sensibility and economic necessity was constant throughout Tynan’s later career. Eventually, her practicality overrode her artistry: while she was a poet, she was also a wife and a mother who had to find a way to supplement the modest salary Hinkson earned as a Register Magistrate. She viewed the value of her poetry by the praise of her contemporaries, but she looked to book sales for the value of her prose. For her, “prose was a business matter” (*Middle Years* 122). Perhaps on that account, her novels attracted very little analysis as a group, and virtually no criticism has focused upon individual works. R.F. Foster sums up current critical views of Tynan: in the 1880s she was a “formidable literary operator,” but as she aged she became “a high-class hack-writer of relentless facility”(Foster, *W.B. Yeats: A Life* 53–55). Ann Fallon, probably Tynan’s foremost modern commentator, argues, “it is not necessary to examine each novel” (Fallon 150). Rather, Fallon’s study groups the novels according to stages of Tynan’s own life, and all but ignores one of the most significant areas of Tynan’s writing: the works she created for children. Tynan herself makes only passing references to the children’s literature in her memoirs, although it constitutes a quarter of her literary corpus. Furthermore, it has been largely ignored by critics, thus undervaluing it further. This neglect is not unprecedented, as other authors’ writing for children has met a similar fate— including Hardy, Joyce, Woolf, Dickens, Thackeray, Wilde, Huxley, Ruskin, Eliot, Rossetti, Day Lewis, and Twain (Hunt, *Criticism, Theory, and Children’s Literature* 19).

In addition to the general dismissal of her fiction, her career was served a severe blow as a repercussion from her deep love of, and unwavering support for, Parnell. As a young

writer, she was originally “hailed by the priests as the new young Catholic poet.”

However, after the Parnell split, these same priests “cast [her] out— almost as a heretic, a schismatic”(*Middle Years* 100–101). Her poetry was subsequently banned by the Catholic Church, and editors refused to publish any new works. One priest went so far as to declare his “condemnation and scorn of brazenfaced Katherine Tynan for having joined Parnell’s infamous League, and consider her a disgrace to the fair fame of Irish womanhood” (*Twenty–Five* 377—378). Even though she was a devout Catholic, his scorn and the Church’s general censorship did nothing to affect her support of Parnell. How much these vituperations wounded her is uncertain. At times, she dismisses the priests as “amusing” and the Church as misguided; at others, she laments, “Oh, it was not easy for many of us; it was bitterly hard for us to have the things said of us that were said then” (*Twenty–Five* 377).

While she began writing for children in the mid 1890s and did not stop until she died in 1931, her most productive years for children’s literature were between 1906 and 1909. This was following “years given to domesticities... I only emerged from the domesticities [for rare gatherings with old friends] and the domesticities snatched me back again”(*Middle Years* 307). After this emergence, she appears to look at the world through a new perspective, one where children play a more dominant role.

Through numerous anecdotes and asides in her later memoirs, she depicts children as mediators between two conflicting cultures: in particular, her children breached a gap between the Hinkson family and their suburban English neighbors. In *Middle Years* Tynan recalls her life in the London suburb Ealing where she saw herself as “condemned” by her

neighbors. She believed this alienation came from bigotry towards her nationality, religion, and profession:

The London suburb is not exactly a friendly place ... Literary people are somewhat unclassed, if not declassed, in the London suburb ... The respectable suburb is not sure of the literary person. You may receive letters in a name which is not your married name. That in itself is a shocking matter for suspicion. You dress shockingly badly when you take your country walks. Your children are imps. You do not look after your servants. Then, if you are Irish and do not go to the recognised churches—one or the other of them— things look black indeed. In London proper you may be anything you like: it is nobody's business but your own. In the suburbs, if the common formula does not apply to you, you are condemned beforehand (238).

Tynan was not disturbed by her neighbors' coldness; in fact, she notes: "The relationship on our side hardened into passive dislike [and]... For six long years we lived side by side in a most inhuman ignoring of each other" (241—242). However, because her children were able to charm their British neighbors, "the cold unfriendliness of years was broken" (243—244).

One particular anecdote, revolving around her six-year-old son's mastering what parents dread— curse words— stands testament to Tynan's humor, fondness for her children, and eventual awareness of their ability to cross cultural barriers. "Then came the summer when our first-born discovered a gift of 'language' and used it in the garden. It was of no use our objecting. He looked on it as a fine manly accomplishment... It became more serious when the 'dashes' simply flew all over the garden and the garden wall to the neighbours, it being summer-time" (*Middle* 242—243). Although she expected to be driven from the neighborhood, quite the opposite happened. After living in stony silence with their neighbors ("the most important people in the little road") (238) Tynan saw:

the garden gate [open]...and the old sea captain [look] out, pursing his lips, pushing out his shaggy eyebrows, his face as red as the sun in a frosty fog. He came forward and looked down ... 'Having a good time,' said he, in a loud roar— 'hey?' Then he forgot to be an ogre and stood beaming at the children. 'So you're the boy that uses the language, hey?... One of the children offered him tea. He answered that tea was not much in his line, but he would not refuse for once. He slung himself down with some difficulty until he too was under the tent and seated on a cushion, where nothing would do him but to put an arm round the shoulder of the boy who used language, remarking that he was a fine little chap, so he was, and he hoped his father and mother were going to make a sailor of him. After that day he joined the party most days, and although he seldom had any tea he began to contribute dainties to the meal (243—244).

They were dear playfellows well before “we elders had... a speaking acquaintance with him.”

Observing that children could serve as instruments of diplomacy between two cultures, it would be natural to see children's literature as a way to provide a similar opportunity. The time in which Tynan was writing was uniquely suited for such influence because, as critics have noted, nineteenth-century Post-Colonial Children's Literature was a particularly “potent transmitter of cultural values” (Hunt *Children's Literature* 260). If one child could break down social barriers between neighbors, an entire generation with similar socio-cultural values would be a formidable force. Her writing for children therefore enabled her to construct “Irishness” among young audiences in Ireland, England, and The United States who would soon enter into adulthood.

Tynan was writing during a striking paradigm shift in approaches to reading. This shift cannot be ignored, as it helped increase Tynan's accessibility and popularity. By the end of the century, novels were so popular that schools awarded them as prizes for favorable

behavior. However, early and mid–nineteenth century society viewed unrestricted novel reading— especially for girls— with trepidation. For example, the convent school Tynan attended strove to prevent further exposure to novels. Therefore, when leaving school, all students had to pledge “that in the perilous world they would not dance ‘fast dances’; they would not go to a theatre; they would not read novels,” but, Tynan slyly adds in *Twenty-Five Years*, “they did not ask a pledge against writing them” (69).

Current fears that a woman’s literary pursuits could endanger her marital prospects dictated that girls should focus on productive and practical domestic skills. The social commentator, Sarah Trimmer, in “Observations on the Changes Which Have Taken Place in Books for Children and Young Persons” writes in 1802: “books... have... been written, expressly designed to sow the seeds of infidelity, and of every bad principle, in the minds of the rising generation” (qtd. in Hunt *Criticism, Theory, and Children’s Literature* 139). Trimmer warns, not only is the individual at risk, but novels could poison an entire society. These beliefs are exemplified in Maria Edgeworth’s popular treatise, *Practical Education* (1798), which outlines the negative “effects which are produced upon the female mind by immoderate novel–reading.” She draws particular attention to “sentimental stories, and books of mere entertainment, [which] we must remark, that they should be sparingly used, especially in the education of girls. This species of reading cultivates what is called the heart prematurely, lowers the tone of their mind, and induces indifference for those common pleasures and occupations which, however trivial in themselves, constitute by far the greatest portion of our daily happiness” (Edgeworth 332—333). Reading, in and of itself, is not to be scorned— rather, it is the content that must make the parent wary. Edgeworth tells us the

wrong choice of books could severely damage a girl's contentment with her life, as she would expect to experience the same excitement and romance filling the lives of the heroines.

In *The parent's assistant; or, stories for children* (1834), Edgeworth attempts to provide guidance for parents maneuvering through the dangerous world of reading by recommending appropriate tales for their daughters. Fearing that the effects of the novel's melodramatic sentimentality would garner dissatisfaction with real life, she promotes stories of overt didactic messages. Edgeworth defends her selections of appropriate stories for children stating: "At the same time care has been taken to avoid inflaming the imagination, or exciting a restless spirit of adventure, by exhibiting false views of life, and creating hopes which, in the ordinary course of things, cannot be realised." Edgeworth's own stories for children, such as those of young Rosamund, serve as cautionary tales rather than entertainment. For example, in "The Purple Jar," from the book *Early Lessons*, Rosamund learns a lesson about impulsiveness after she suffers the consequences of choosing a decorative purple jar over new shoes because she is forced to wear shoes that are painfully too small. Asking her mother whether she could change her decision and receive shoes that fit, her mother responds, "No, Rosamond, you must abide by your own choice; and now the best thing you can possibly do is, to bear your disappointment with good humour." In the Rosamund tales, the parents are simply mouthpieces for lessons on morality rather than complex characters. Both Edgeworth and Trimmer promote reading— as long as it is instructive.

However, views on reading fiction were dramatically different for late Victorian children in Ireland (Bratton 193). By the end of the nineteenth century, there was a steady increase in publications for children. Many factors led to the rise in popularity of the novel, including the proliferation of literacy and the steady rise of the middle class. As the century progressed and literacy increased, Blackie and Son, a premier publisher of schoolbooks, quickly saw the advantage of expanding their publishing house from publishing schoolbooks to publishing “juvenile literature.” In her book *Blackie & Son 1809–1959: A Short History of the Firm*, Agnes Blackie noted that between the two genres “there is an obvious connecting link” (38). And they were able to capitalize on the growing number of readers. Towards the end of the century, there was a general increase in wealth in Ireland, creating a growing middle class with disposable income. As Ireland began to feel economic and political stability, the publishing world felt a surge in popularity. In Britain, the novel was already an established, and popular, genre. In *The English Novel*, Terry Eagleton explains that the popularity of the novel derived from social stability and economic prosperity—neither of which was readily available in pre-industrial Ireland during most of the nineteenth century.

Not only were novels more popular with the general public, schools began to institutionalize them by presenting them to students as rewards for successes in school. Blackie explains, “Victorian schools—and Sunday Schools—were great prize-givers, so that the Education Act, by increasing schools and scholars, automatically multiplied the demand for ‘reward’ books... from educational publishing to ‘rewards’ was a natural line of progression” (Blackie 38). When presented by a national institution as an honor, a hitherto unacknowledged value is bestowed upon these novels. As J.S. Bratton points out in *The*

Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction, prize books— in addition to serving as rewards for desirable behavior or performance— served as a tool “reminding the scholar of his teacher and continuing that teacher’s work in influencing him” (18); because of this, the novels were imbued with a didactic subtext. Tynan’s novels fit well in this genre and were popular prize books.

Blackie described the reward books from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries published by her family’s firm as “Well written, with a discreet spice of romance interwoven with other themes....” To offer these engaging novels as ‘reward’ or prize books elevates them and shows that their message is worthy of learning, even if it is outside of school. The very things Edgeworth warned against— adventure, romance, entertainment— were now heralded as selling points. For example, various works by Tynan’s contemporary, the popular children’s novelist Bessie Marchant, are sold as “very good fun, and quite thrilling”; “full of interest and excitement”; and there is even praise for “a remarkably well-written story. Both [the heroine’s] life and her love story are described with a sympathetic touch which will delight any imaginative girl.”

Especially important is the fact that children’s literature reflects a reality adults have fashioned with the goal of indoctrinating children by creating narratives that teach what is expected of them and what rules to follow in order to be accepted into their society (Bradford 5). The world within the novel is not a replication of daily life because the society depicted there is designed with a clear sense of purpose: Ethel Heddle’s *Strangers in the Land* (1904) serves as a perfect example, praised because it “[stimulates] high ideals of life and action,

and renewing faith in lofty and chivalrous sentiment as a factor in human service”

(*Dundee Advertiser*).

Juvenile literature accomplishes gender socialization in a covert manner through examples. In a 1909 advertisement, the *Teachers' Aid* praises *Three Bright Girls* written by popular novelist of literature for girls, Annie Armstrong, for heroines who “influence other lives, and at last they come out of their trials with honour to themselves and benefits to all about them.” These heroines serve as examples of the ideal middle class girl and become role models for young girls to fashion themselves. Qualities highlighted include selflessness, propriety, self-reliance, and gentleness. These traits, just as valued and promoted as in early nineteenth-century juvenile fictions, were now taught through examples, not sermons.

The heroines are often shown within the sphere of the home focused on activities of domesticities appropriate for a member of the bourgeois, such as decorating and gardening. Young girls learn the importance of making the home a comfortable and lovely place. This prepared them for their later roles as wives and mothers where they, in turn, would be responsible for the running of the house. Conversely, in novels written for boys, the heroes exist in the sphere of the world at large. The boy's travels and adventures serve an essential part in his maturation as they prepare him for his role as patriarch. These novels reinforce the normative gender expectations where the boy is trained to interact with the outside world while the girl occupies the realm of the home.

Nineteenth-century children's literature worked to prepare young girls and boys with the necessary tools for the roles they were expected to fulfill upon reaching adulthood. Its purpose was to inculcate the child with the importance of character, morality, and his or her

place in society. Because of the social changes in Ireland that allowed novels to reach new levels of popularity, the lessons of morality and appropriate gender behavior once relegated to overt preaching were now taught to an unprecedented number of young readers through the engaging narratives and covert messages of the Victorian prize book.

Through imbuing Tynan's children's literature with positive representations of the Irish, she was able to promote particular constructions of Irish identity to generations of Irish and non-Irish audiences. The ways in which Tynan structured her work gave both explicit and implicit definitions of the Irish, "Irishness," and cultural awareness. It worked as a conduit between two cultures, and generally contributed (as children's literature invariably does) in "socializing the child" (McGillis 111). Inspired by ideology and driven by economy, Tynan created an impressive corpus of children's literature that uniquely transmitted issues of Irish identity and culture.

Chapter 2

It is easy to chart the development of Tynan's poetry through the changing events in her life. While living under her father's roof, holding salons for patriots, and volunteering for political causes, namely The Ladies Land League, a core amount of her poetry promoted a nationalist agenda.

Although a substantial amount of her literary canon was geared towards children, growing up and into young adulthood, she showed little interest in children, especially her younger siblings, referring to them in her memoirs en masse, never quite sure how many were around—the exception being her adored eldest sister Mary, who died young. Katharine was quite enamored of Mary, and characters resembling her appear throughout Katharine's novels.

In recounting a memory from her childhood her awareness of the individuality of her other siblings is quite absent:

Every Sunday morning our excellent nurse trailed the whole family off to Mass. We used to take a short cut, being always rather pressed for time, across a field in which grazed the bull— his name was Young Leviathan, and he deserved it— that bellowed at our ears. There must have been seven or eight children for the intrepid woman to convey unhurt... The bull usually discovered us before we were clear. I have a vivid memory of his charge as I tumbled down the steep ditch. That was the occasion, I think, on which another child lost her shoe...¹

When one of her sisters contracts scarlet fever, Tynan shows much more interest in the saffron-cakes she was allowed— “saffron-cakes were esteemed in those days as highly efficacious for the sick”¹— than the actual health of this unnamed sibling. In fond memories of her childhood, her brothers and sisters stand on the periphery— much like her mother,

“the large, placid, fair woman, who became an invalid at an early age and influenced my life scarcely at all.”¹ Instead, it is her father who takes center stage. In remembering the “beautiful memories of my father,” she tells stories of their outings to the country where she vividly remembers things such as the farmhouses they visit, but not her family: “I think there must have been only two little girls of an age for these excursions. There are no boys in the picture and no elder sisters. No mother either. She would probably stay at home to look after her brood.”¹ In another memory, she goes into great detail describing the rather mundane details from an outing shopping for shoes:

It was the day of the hoops and smart boots with shiny leather let in at the toes, and the shiny leather did not wear well. I remember [my father] knocking up an obliging bootmaker and fitting us out with new boots. I can recall the very feel of the foot—measure as my foot was put into it and smell the leather in the dim room at the back of the shut-up shop.

Conversely, the only description given to her other companions are “two small girls”—even though they are her sisters.¹

However, as she aged and her experiences turned towards domesticities, her poetry likewise focused on home and family, with particular attention placed upon mothers. Although her early work contains several poems where mothers and children are central figures, Tynan’s rhetorical choices keep them at a distance—just as she keeps her own mother at a distance throughout her memoirs. Two of her poems from the 1880s that exemplify this detachment are “The Heart of a Mother” and “The Dead Mother.” In both poems, the children are separated by death from their mother.

“The Heart of a Mother” tells the story of a mother’s anxiety over the life of her son, who is a sailor. In the first two lines, Tynan sets up the mother’s effectiveness: “You were so far away,/ Beyond all help from me.” Throughout the poem, there is a constant barrier between the mother and child: first, they are separated by the dangers of the sea; and second, they are separated by death:

Oh, safe for evermore,
With never a weird to dree;
Is any burden sore
When one's beloved goes free?
Come pain, come woe to me,
My well-beloved goes free!
You are so far away,
And yet are come so near;
On many a heavy day
I think of you, my dear,
Safe in your shelter there,
Christ's hand upon your hair.

The mother’s relevance is as inconsequential as Tynan’s mother’s. The first stanza of “The Dead Mother,” shows the mother’s insignificance because she is replaced easily and speedily:

I had been buried a month and a year,
The clods on my coffin were heavy and brown,
The wreaths at my headstone were withered sere,
No feet came now from the little town;
I was forgotten, six months or more,
And a new bride walked on my husband's floor.

However, she rises from the grave when she hears the sound of her children’s cries. While her love for her children is admirable, the macabre imagery overshadows sentimentality:

On All Souls' Night, when the moon is cold,
I heard the sound of my children crying,
And my hands relaxed from their quiet fold;
Through mould and death-damp it pierced my heart,
And I woke in the dark with a sudden start.
I cast the coffin-lid off my face,

From mouth and eyelids I thrust the clay,
 And I stood upright from the sleeper's place,
 And down through the graveyard I took my way.

Once she reaches her children, she bemoans:

But what had come to my tender one,
 My babe of little more than a year?
 Her limbs were cold as my breast of stone,
 But I hushed her weeping with--"Mother is here."
 My children gathered about my knees,
 And stroked with soft fingers my draperies.
 They did not fear me, my babies sweet.
 I lit the fire in the cheerless stove,
 And washed their faces, and hands, and feet,
 And combed the golden fleeces I love,

And brought them food, and drink, and a light,
 And tucked them in with a last "Good night."
 Then softly, softly I took my way,
 Noiselessly over the creaking stair,
 Till I came to the room where their father lay,
 And dreamed of his new love's yellow hair;
 And I bent and whispered low in his ear,
 "Our children were cold and hungry, dear."

Through this mother's intervention, the lives of her children greatly improve because of their father's rekindled attention. In both poems, Tynan writes in first person from the view of the mother, but what is most interesting is the mother's absence in her children's lives. Mothers and children are never seen together in life. In fact, the mother who influences her children's lives in any positive way can only do so from the grave.

However, Tynan's tone changes when she became a wife in 1893. Throughout the nineties, she seems to be acting upon the criticism Yeats offered, "Your best work—and no woman—poet of the day has done it better—is always where you express your own

affectionate nature, or your religious feeling, either directly or indirectly. Your worst—that which stands in your way with the best readers—is where you allow your sense of colour to run away with you, and make you merely a poet of the picturesque” (*Twenty-Five* 298–299). Now the bonds of motherhood become quite strong as the mother in her poems becomes central to the family unit. The poem “Any Woman” reflects Tynan’s belief that the woman is the central figure in a family, which is in complete contrast to her view of her own mother:

I am the pillars of the house;
The keystone of the arch am I.
Take me away, and roof and wall
Would fall to ruin me utterly.

I am the fire upon the hearth,
I am the light of the good sun,
I am the heat that warms the earth,
Which else were colder than a stone.

At me the children warm their hands;
I am their light of love alive.
Without me cold the hearthstone stands,
Nor could the precious children thrive.

I am the twist that holds together
The children in its sacred ring,
Their knot of love, from whose close tether
No lost child goes a-wandering.

I am the house from floor to roof,
I deck the walls, the board I spread;
I spin the curtains, warp and woof,
And shake the down to be their bed.

I am their wall against all danger,
Their door against the wind and snow,
Thou Whom a woman laid in a manger,
Take me not till the children grow!

Within the metaphor lies the assumption that the mother in the poem is not only central, but also sturdy enough to hold a house together. For Tynan, “[t]he woman was the focal point of the home, inculcating in those around her the particular feminine wisdom of trust, gentleness, and understanding” (Fallon 136). Tynan wholeheartedly believed that in order to be a good mother, wife, and friend, she had to be fulfilled as an individual (136–138), an example she provided her children. In the Irish Library Bulletin, her daughter, Pamela Hinkson, describes the multifaceted qualities that Tynan found essential in successful women:

And her immense output of writing was not the whole of it. She [had] time for everything— a fact which makes me marvel, looking back on her way of living. A genius for friendship, often made and kept by her long letters, which were her, talking. This gift created her books of reminiscences with their living pictures of people. ‘AE’ said of her as a Memoir writer that she would be the terror of her friends if she were not so naturally amiable. She bore five children, writing up to the moment of their birth, and, I am quite sure, taking a pen in her hand as soon as possible afterwards; and she had, as mother, that rare and indefinable and most precious of all gifts, that lights a fire on the hearth, a lamp in the window, for the children coming home to her. It is a very early picture that is framed for me of her sitting in that chair... lifting her eyes from the pad to meet those of a child coming for comfort to where it was never refused. She was the poet especially of motherhood and for the sake of that gift which she prized above all others, she accepted gallantly the lessening of her literary position which her ‘pot-boiling’ involved (102–103).

Perhaps because the death of her two infant sons, Tynan held children as particularly dear, which is exceptionally evident in her later poetry, especially since the loss of a child is a recurring theme. In her memoirs, however, she only obliquely makes mention of her sons’ deaths. In 1896, all that she could write is: “There were many reasons why we should leave

the little house, but I shall not talk of them” (*Middle Years* 155). Instead, her focus rests on her surviving three children. Her poem “The Child’s Call” (1901) reflects her new priorities. Here the mother is deeply connected to her child, as evident in her instant response to her child’s voice (unlike the dead mother in “The Dead Mother,” who had to rise from the grave, walk through the church yard, and make her way through the town to her former home):

He calls with quick, insistent cry,
 He calls at work or play,
 And I must put my business by,
 And all my books away.
 He summons me from household cares
 Back to his sunny room,
 And up the stairs and up the stairs
 In happy haste I come.
 Sweeter than lark and mavis dear,
 And nightingales in May,
 The little voice so shrill and clear
 That I must yet obey.

And yet Tynan’s dead sons haunt the poem:

While up the stairs and to the door
 My heart runs on in glee,
 I hear a voice I knew of yore
 That never calls for me.
 Ever through shadow–time and sun
 I hear a baby call,
 That is not you, my precious one,
 That is not you at all...

O mother’s love and mother’s joy!
 But while I come in haste,
 I hear another lovely boy
 Cry from the lonely past.
 And while I kiss your curls aside
 And hold you to my breast,
 I kiss the little boy that died,

That will not let me rest.

The poetry Tynan produced before she became a mother compared to that after her children were born changed in several more ways. Earlier when she spoke of childhood, it was obvious she was an adult recalling her own childhood— the themes are distant and the tone melancholy. The first stanza of “A Child’s Day” (1887) is indicative of this tendency:

When I was a little child
 It was always golden weather.
 My days stretched out so long
 From rise to set of sun;
 I sang and danced and smiled--
 My light heart like a feather--
 From morn to even-song;
 But the child's days are done.
 I used to wake with the birds--
 The little birds wake early,
 For the sunshine leaps and plays
 On the mother's head and wing--
 And the clouds were white as curds;
 The apple-trees stood pearly:
 I always think of the child's days
 As one unending Spring.

After she became a mother, she became adept at adopting the voice of a child with sing-song light rhymes geared for entertainment, no longer aimed at expressing internal struggles. This shift also had economic benefits as it subsequently increased her audience. Luckily for Tynan, because of an increasing interest in owning poetry anthologies, there was a strong market for poetry for children (Zipes et al.1124). These anthologies were

predominantly purchased by middle-class families “with upper-class pretensions” who desired to provide a cultural education for their children (1124). As opposed to the upper class, they did not own a large library containing individual works of poets and therefore had to depend upon the taste and selections deemed appropriate by an editor (1125).

Some editors used their discretion to appropriate Tynan’s poems for adults into poetry anthologies for children. For example, although originally published in *Ballads and Lyrics* (1891) and *The Wind in the Trees: A Book of Country Verse* (1898), Tynan’s “The Golden Weed” and “The Little Red Lark” (respectively) became anthologized in two of A. Watson Bain’s compilations for children: *A Poetry Book for Children* (1927) and *A Poetry Book for Boys and Girls* (1933). There is no evidence that either “The Golden Weed” or “The Little Red Lark” were written for children. In fact, Tynan never published them together. Under her guidance, they appeared in anthologies quite different, in both style and aesthetic concerns.

Ballads and Lyrics, in which “The Golden Weed” is found, is part of the triumvirate of her most significant early poetry: *Shamrocks* (1887), *The Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland* (1888), and *Ballads and Lyrics* (1891) (Fallon 62). The poems in these works, several written in collaboration with W.B. Yeats, signaled her out as one of the most important voices of the revival, showing an eagerness to break with English literary traditions and create a new Irish voice, focused on Irish subjects and aimed at an Irish audience.

While the majority of poems in *Poems and Ballads* focus on Irish themes, there is also space dedicated to nature poems, a motif where she thrived. In these poems she demonstrated her painterly eye for nature: “[a]dept at selecting lovely images with an eye for

true, telling, delicate detail, she also possessed the gift of compression so necessary for lyric poetry” (Fallon 65). “The Golden Weed” shows her proclivity towards the bucolic:

Buttercup is golden,
Gold is a star,
But the yellow bindweed
Is goldener far.

Gold was the crocus,
Like a gold cup
That the King’s handmaid
Stately lifts up.

Gold was the daffodil
When the winds blow;
And the white daisy
Gold heart will show.

Gold is the reaping,
And the great moon:
Gold was the yellow-bill
Singing in June.

Though all the west sky
Is flecked to gold flame,
Still my brave yellow weed
Puts it to shame.

Dappling the wayside
Burnt up and brown,
Till it is cloth of gold
For the Queen’s gown.

Queen, you have gold hair
Like a gold veil,
But the gold bindweed
Turns your gold pale.

It is indeed uncomplicated, but there is nothing inherently juvenile in this poem.

Tynan wrote the collection *The Wind in the Trees* during the second stage in her artistic career, 1893—1913, where she began a thematic shift from distinctly nationalistic

verse towards themes of marriage and motherhood. This time of transition was defined by her emigration to England and marriage to Henry Albert Hinkson, the birth of her five children, and the subsequent loss of two of them. When she became a wife and mother, there is a distinct change in her tone and subject matter. *The Wind in the Trees* is notable, not for its technical mastery, but rather for its thematic shift away from “the Irish subject matter that had established her central role in the revival” (Fallon 80). The greatest part of this specific collection is dedicated to “nature poems... [following] the cycles of nature and the seasons of the year” with particular attention placed upon birds and vegetation,¹ as illustrated in “The Little Red Lark”:

The little red lark is high in the sky,
 No eagle soars where the lark may fly.
 Where are you going to, high, so high?

All in the morning early, O.

His wings and feather are sunrise red,
 He hails the sun and his golden head:
 Good-morrow, sun, you are long abed.

All in the morning early, O.

I would I were where the little red lark
 Up in the dawn like a rose-red spark,
 Sheds the day on the fields so dark,

All in the morning early, O.

This poem reads more like something produced by an inexperienced poet, but just because it is intellectually undemanding does not necessarily define it as children’s poetry. A.A. Milne advises the writer of children’s literature that “[w]hatever fears one has, one need not fear that one is writing too well for a child... It is difficult enough to express oneself with all the

words in the dictionary at one's disposal; with none but simple words the difficulty is much greater" (qtd. in Swann).

While viewed through the lens of her literary corpus, "The Golden Weed" and "The Little Red Lark" are clearly unrelated; however, in publishing them together, Bain redefines them as children's poetry. His editorial decisions seem more akin to the choices Eleanor Graham, founding book editor of Puffin Books, who articulated in a preface to one of her compilations of poetry, *A Puffin Book of Verse* (1953), "I have a simple standard in compiling this anthology for children, namely to find verses which sing in the ear and catch in the mind" (preface).

Although Bain believed "Weed" and "Lark" to be appropriate for children, it can be argued that Tynan did not because they are distinctly different from the works we know she specifically wrote for children in contributions to *Number Three Joy Street: A Medley of Prose and Verse for Boys and Girls* (1925), edited by Walter Delamare, and *The Merry Story Book: Stories for Little Folk* (1928), edited by The Children's Press. With these works, Tynan joins the "long line of women, demonstrating how children could be the subject matter and audience for poetry" (Styles "'Of the Spontaneous Kind'?" 143). In general, in the verse she provided for children is the unrealistic bourgeois construction of the child and childhood (Styles *From the Garden* xviii)..

Number Three Joy Street, a large collection containing poetry and short stories from illustrious authors of children's literature, including Walter De La Mare, A.A. Milne, and G.K. Chesterton, concludes with Tynan's pleasant "Evensong" (1922):

When sweet day is over
I creep into bed

Under my rosy cover,
My prayers all said.

My nice bath taken,
I lie cool and sweet,
Wrapped in sweet-smelling linen.
From head to feet.

I watch Nanna's candle
Through a chink in the door,—
Nanna, sitting and sewing,
Her shadow on the floor.

The Moon comes to see me
And Evening Star;
All night long the Corncrake
Croaks near and far.

I think I've been sleeping
Just a minute or two
Before Cuckoo shouts beside me—
Wake up! Cuckoo!

This collection is similar to the children annuals of the early twentieth-century popularly known as “toy books”—praised for their “content, binding and illustration,” these were often given as gifts (Blackie 49–50). In addition to the eight lovely colored plates, elegant and fanciful black and white drawings are abundant throughout *Number Three Joy Street*.

The Merry Story Book, a smaller collection of poetry and prose, opens with her version of the nursery rhyme “Sing a Song of Sixpence” (whose only resemblance to the original lies in its title and rhythm):

Sing a Song of Sixpence going to the Fair!
Tell me, pretty lady, what saw you there?
Sheep and lambs and horses, cattle so mild,
Ponies trotting gaily with their manes so wild.

Sing a Song of Sixpence! What saw you else?

Doughnuts and gingerbread, shrimps and cockle shells,
 Apples and bananas and a learned pig;
 Some danced the hornpipe and some danced the jig.

Sing a Song of Sixpence! there were ladies bright,
 Pedlars selling laces and silks for their delight;
 Swing-boats, merry-go-rounds, all the folk were there
 Buying all and selling and the fun of the Fair.

Sing a Song of Sixpence— tent doors opened wide
 Seemed to ask a little boy, so I stepped inside,
 Some were shooting bull's eyes, and some were shooting peas,
 And a man kept shouting: "This way, if you please!"

Sing a Song of Sixpence! When the day was done,
 Children all were weary of the frolic and the fun.
 Tuck them up in cool sheets, draw the curtains tight,
 Kiss them all and bless them and so Good-Night.

Both of these poems are melodious, easy to follow, and devoid of any subtext. Furthermore, they follow in the style of Robert Louis Stevenson's collection *A Child's Garden of Verses* (1885), which is notable because it "marks a turning point in the history of poetry for children, for Stevenson was the first poet to re-create the voice of a real child and portray the world from a child's point of view" (Zipes et al. 1124). Tynan's cadence and diction in "Sixpence" and "Evensong" is much more akin to Stevenson's children's poetry than to her anthologized "The Golden Weed" and "The Little Red Lark." "Sixpence" and "Evensong" are playful and center on a child's experience— just as Stevenson's "Time to Rise":

A birdie with a yellow bill
 Hopped upon my window sill,
 Cocked his shining eye and said:
 "Ain't you 'shamed, you sleepy-head"

These poems exemplify the replacement of didactic, often morbid, poetry with a “loving, inconsequential language— the sort of affectionate, rhythmic talk” (Styles “‘Of the Spontaneous Kind’?” 148).

In addition to increasing the audience for her own poetry in anthologies, Tynan furthered the fashionable interest in children’s singing games by including a variety of them in periodicals she edited. This genre was gaining in popularity thanks to the folklorist Alice Gomme. As the editor of the popular column, “The Girl’s Room,” in the British periodical *Monthly Packet*, Tynan was able to direct the periodical towards the preservation of “ancient posies,” as she calls Victorian Singing Games. Throughout volumes eleven to fourteen (1896—1897), she calls upon her readers to submit the singing games of their childhood and offers them small prizes in return. “The Girls’ Room” was a popular publication and she not only received singing games from England, but also Scotland. She took it upon herself to supplement the contributions, orienting them to Ireland and noting the similarities (“Many a time have I played this game in Ireland”) and slight variations (“Maturin says this is an action game, but I remember it only as a very young child’s counting rhyme”). In her collections, she appears simultaneously interested in the universal and the regional, the sorrowful and the joyful, the dreadful and the delightful. However, there is a feature that unifies her selections— her interest in melody, which she points out in the March 1897 volume, “bears out my idea that the singing–games are occasionally scraps of ballads.”

While Tynan was in no ways a folklorist (and at no time did she presume to be), her interest was sincere, even though it was directed by her “romanticised rural–idyll–of–the–past school” (Roud 3–5). This approach is exemplified in her response to the similarity

between the children's songs of New England, Ireland, and England when she pondered in

Volume Eleven (April 1896):

It was wonderful to see the common root of the songs sung by the children of many nations. With some slight verbal alterations, the singing-games of New England children were those of my childhood. I suppose they derived them from England, as well as the songs of Irish children. Were they carried by the children of the Pilgrim Fathers, or did the winds and the waves drift them in little enchanted seed-pods to take root and flourish beyond the seas?

During her time as editor, she amassed an impressive collection of singing games— albeit framed with a romanticized view of the transmission of cultural knowledge between generations. Although she did not make overt political statements, in consistently drawing attention to her nationality, she offered herself as an ambassador for Ireland.

As Tynan's greatest artistic acclaim originates from her poetry for adults, it is not surprising she uses that medium in her work for children. In adding poetry and collections of singing games to her repertoire of prose, she successfully widened her audience throughout the British Isles and America. With such a large audience, she was clearly a formidable force to promote Irish identity

Chapter 3

Of Tynan's one hundred novels—including those written for adolescents—the majority are romances, a genre implicitly conducive to instruction. She uses her romances for young adults to explore the relationship between England and Ireland, and the decline of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, most notably in four works: *The Heart O'Gold*, *Bitha's Wonderful Year*, *The Handsome Brandons* and *Three Fair Maids*. Through the romance's inherent tendency away from realism, Tynan is allowed a certain degree of license as improbable situations (such as confused births, incredible reunions, unlikely marriages) are readily accepted. Rather than presenting itself as a true representation of reality, the romance "create[s] an idealized view of the world" (S. Murphy 35): not only does it offer the reader escapism, it also provides moments for instruction from the author (Beer 9)

As a vehicle for instruction, the romance novel is an effective means of indoctrination, as it "absorbs the reader into experience which is otherwise unattainable. It frees us from our inhibitions and preoccupations by drawing us entirely into its own world—a world which is never fully equivalent to our own although it must remind us of it if we are to understand it at all" (Beer 3). Once the young reader is able to imagine herself into the idealized version of her world, the author can direct her towards certain value systems, usually the one constructed by the dominant social structure.

In his critical analysis of the romance, *Secular Scripture*, Northrop Frye notes that the purpose of the romance novel is to "reflect certain ascendant religious or social ideals" (30). With the creation of superlative characters, the reader is given someone not only to identify

with, but also to idealize. But, Frye contends, this identification is “something to be outgrown: sooner or later we recognize something immature in it” (162). Ultimately, what the reader identifies with is the society portrayed— making the romance novel a most effective tool to promote dominant ideologies (165–166). Frye takes particular notice of the relationship between the novel and post-colonial discourse, where the romance becomes a conduit for promoting British imperialism, ultimately, “kidnapping” the romance novel from entertainment into indoctrination (57).

Frye characterizes the romance as the conflict between two diametrically opposed worlds: the “idyllic world” and the “demonic or night world.” The idyllic world is a place of quiet happiness populated by lush images of “spring and summer, flowers and sunshine.” While the demonic/night world is filled with adventures, they are often dangerous and “involve separation, loneliness, humiliation, pain, and the threat of more pain.” Furthermore, the characters in the novels serve iconic functions representing the two divergent worlds (53), and their interactions serve as a microcosm for the society at large.

Tynan’s romance novels *Heart O’ Gold, Or the Little Princess* (1912) and *Bitha’s Wonderful Year* (1921) share plot structures common to much of her literature for children: they revolve around an orphaned child or otherwise disenfranchised young adult, who, through strength of character, overcomes a variety of obstacles, mostly arising from genteel poverty. The behavior of the protagonists reinforces the existing power structures within the novels: they yield to the aristocracy while placing adequate distance between themselves and the servants; they are then rewarded for this behavior with an upturn in prospects, either economic or marital — which ultimately results in economic stability. Tynan’s novels are

paean both to social order and to romantic love (themes prominent in many of Tynan's works), but what sets these two novels apart is that both Bitha O'Grady in *Bitha's Wonderful Year* and Cushla MacSweeney in *Heart O' Gold, Or the Little Princess* are taken — against their will — from Ireland by the English sibling of their dead mother. The plots and interpersonal relationships in *Bitha* and *Heart* reflect colonial experience and, in the process, turn these heroines into tools for the instruction of Tynan's audience, young British and Irish readers.

Furthermore, *Heart* and *Bitha* share similar settings: the Irish countryside with a gently dilapidated castle and the city of London. The Irish castle links the characters to what Lady Gregory called the “ancient idealism” of bygone nobility, reflecting the emphasis the Revivalists placed upon the noble lineage of the Irish.³ Both novels exhibit a growing tension between the two settings. This dichotomy between country and town is a common motif in Revivalist literature, which privileges bucolic beauty over urban industrialization (Goldring 63–74).

Tynan is hardly singular in articulating this type of antagonism: the trope of tension between country and city can be traced as far back as antiquity. As Raymond Williams explains in *The Country and the City*, “[o]n the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence, and simple virtue. On the city has gathered the idea of an achieved centre: of learning, communication, light. Powerful hostile associations have also developed: on the city as a place of noise, worldliness and ambition; on the country as a place

³ In her manifesto for the Abbey Theatre, Lady Gregory stated: “we will show that Ireland is not the home of baffoonery and of easy sentiment, as it has been represented, but the home of an ancient idealism” (*Our Irish Theatre* 8).

of backwardness, ignorance, limitation.” This is a clear complement to Frye’s idyllic and demonic components of the romance.

In *Heart*, Penrose Talbot, who had always been opposed to her sister’s marriage to an Irishman, becomes guardian of that sister’s two daughters, Cushla and Nancy MacSweeney. The novel begins with Penrose’s consternation as she arrives at the ancient residence of the MacSweeney family, Cappamore Castle. Even though Tynan describes the Irish countryside in ideal terms, Aunt Penrose sees only savagery at Cappamore:

‘Dear me, I have only just come in time! If it is not too late indeed! I wish I had come before! Poor Anne!’

These disjointed and inconsequent thoughts reflected the confusion of Miss Penrose Talbot’s mind on the morning following her arrival at Cappamore Castle, the ancient residence of the MacSweeney family. She had drawn up a very ragged blind upon a panorama of bogland and lake and mountain by which the placid English landscape to which she was accustomed was tame and formal. The deep brown pools of the bog glittered like so many topazes where the sun caught them. An iridescent mist hung above the distant Lough Neena with its hundred islets set sweetly in an inland sea. Beyond Neena and the mist and the sea rose the blue hills of Clare. The air, blowing through a broken pane on her face, had a salt deliciousness.

Miss Talbot had no consciousness of these beauties. She was aware only of a mild horror at the savagery of life, as she esteemed it, at Cappamore.

Here Tynan highlights the conflict of the novel through discordant images of Ireland. Aunt Penrose, the English woman, sees Ireland as savage, while Cushla, the protagonist, sees it as a demi-paradise.

Aunt Penrose's convictions of her own superiority and of Irish inferiority are indicative of — and necessary to — the imperial mindset. In her mind, Cappamore is clearly incapable of self-direction: left to itself, it is in a state of degeneration. As Edward Said asserts, “[a]lmost all colonial schemes begin with an assumption of native backwardness and general inadequacy to be independent, “equal”, and fit”” (*Culture and Imperialism* 80). And it is because of this inferiority that Aunt Penrose sees herself as a savior with a divine right — and moral duty — to occupy the Castle and rear her nieces.

Aunt Penrose unsuccessfully tries to recreate Cappamore in Britain's imperial image. Throughout the several months she is living in Ireland, she is continuously at odds with everything around her, from the environment to the people: for her, Ireland is wild and the people unruly, “The household at Cappamore gently but firmly resisted the new ways Miss Talbot would have forced upon it. There was no insolence; there was not even sulkiness ... It was not easy to deal with such people ... The people agreed with her, returned her a soft answer, and went their ways.” To Aunt Penrose everything, from the landscape and home decor to the servants, is dilapidated and lacking propriety. Even the dogs do not know their proper place.

Her feelings are indicative of English attitudes to Ireland that date as far back as 1596 when Edmund Spenser wrote *A View of the State of Ireland* (*Culture* 236). While Aunt Penrose's disapproval is couched more in domestic than national terms than is Spenser's,

there are clear echoes of his rhetoric in her thoughts. Spenser writes in unequivocal terms of the need for forceful domination of Ireland, of “reducing that salvage nation to better government and civility”; “the like regard and moderation ought to be had in tempering and managing of this stubborn nation of the Irish, to bring them from their delight of licentious barbarisme unto the love of goodnesse and civility” [sic]. Aunt Penrose’s inner monologues show how Spenser’s beliefs, which predated her by three hundred years, are ingrained in her English psyche.

Aunt Penrose is particularly affronted by the custom the servants and the country people have of addressing members of the MacSweeney family as princes and princesses; in fact it “staggered [her]. To her mind it was hardly respectable.” However, it is this same regal title that gives Cushla the most pride: “The MacSweeneys were Princes in this country before the mountains were made,” she tells her aunt. Cushla sees herself as not only a member of the nobility, but of a nobility long predating English occupation; through this association, she repudiates English dominance. What Aunt Penrose sees as ridiculous, Cushla sees as noble. Just as the MacSweeney family is indelibly aligned to the Irish landscape, so too is Cushla. She is first seen riding a “wild little mountain pony” complete with a “wildly overhanging mane,” and she is often described as wild herself as she moves through the Irish countryside. In the novel, being referred to as wild is an endearing description when used by the Irish, but a condemnation when used by her British aunt.

Cushla is able simultaneously to reject this British characterization and hold onto her identity by intertwining herself with nature. Linking themselves to nature is a means marginalized peoples commonly use to separate themselves from the dominant culture and,

as Jean Webb argues, this separation helps those who are subjugated by colonial rule to strengthen their identity (Webb 72). Cushla's refusal to deny her lineage and acquiesce to what is proper to her English aunt's sensibilities mirrors the Irish resistance to British rule and embodies the concerns of the Revivalists.

Juxtaposing Aunt Penrose's disdain for Ireland is her view of England as a formal and civilized place filled with "quiet and ordered beauty" as well as "comforts and luxuries." From her vantage, a desire to have her nieces raised in British society is understandable. Conversely, Cushla sees England as "crowded up," "cold and formal," a place where she can hardly breathe because of the lack of sky that is pressed out by the buildings. In fact, she likens it to being "buried in a well." We see the common English assumption that Ireland is savage; for the Irish, however, England is oppressive.

In *Bitha*, as well as *Heart*, the heroine is forcibly removed from her ancestral home by her dead mother's British sibling, enters British society, appears to assimilate, longs for Ireland, and eventually returns to her castle. The novel opens upon Bitha's British uncle, William Orme, telling Bitha and her father, Hercules O'Grady, they must leave their ancestral home, Castle O'Grady, because they lack the money to maintain it. Akin to Aunt Penrose's disapproval of her sister's marriage to an Irishman is Uncle William's: "He wondered for the hundredth time why a sister of his should have married Hercules O'Grady. Well, poor girl, she had paid for her folly."

Just as in *Heart*, there is a chasm here between the way Ireland and England are viewed. For her uncle, Castle O'Grady is "ramshackle," "droughty, rheumatic," "miserable," "wretched," and "moldering." For Bitha, it is idyllic, "soft," "clean," and beautiful. The

antithesis to this is Bitha's view of London, which is "crowded," "wretched," "murky," dirty, dangerous, "choking, blinding, black" and where there is a "strange wilderness of streets" and "poisonous weather." Tynan writes: "Bitha could not imagine how anyone could choose to live in this pall of smoke, surrounded by the strange shadow-shapes that emerged from the fog only to be engulfed again." Conversely, Uncle William sees only the "English order and comfort."

While Cushla finds London oppressive, Bitha finds it outright hostile. Her experience takes a particularly dire turn in one of the more dramatic scenes of the novel when the omnipresent fog, which has created a "perpetual night," overwhelms her. This fog bears a resemblance to the fog of Charles Dickens' *Bleak House*. However, the Dickensian fog is a set metaphor, while Tynan's is extended to the point where it becomes anthropomorphized into a dangerous foe: "A queer repulsive smell came to her through the fog. She stood still, her heart beating hard in her ears. She could not have told whether the thing was man or beast. Perhaps it was a mixture of both. Suddenly the fog was crowded for her with dangers and terrors." When the fog does lift, horrific scenes of a wasteland swim into view: "[The fog] broke up and wavered in the air like a ragged curtain of impalpable grey stuff ... She caught a momentary glimpse of low fences and piles of bricks and mortar. Her feet were stumbling on a half-made path. She thought she saw a half-built house, the door and window-spaces gaping, but she could not be sure before the fog fell again." This imagery harkens back to the Gothic imagination of the late eighteenth century, where the helpless maiden is in great danger from a force larger than herself and dependent upon a hero to rescue her; but now the demonic streets of London replace the haunted corridors of ancient

castles. With melodramatic flare, a “deliverer” with “a kind, well-bred masculine voice” rescues Bitha — a duke, we learn later.

While both Bitha and Cushla ultimately penetrate British society, Bitha has an impediment: Uncle William’s wife, Alice Orme. Aunt Alice calls to mind Austen’s Mrs. Norris in *Mansfield Park*, in her determination to keep her niece, Fanny Price, confined within a lesser social sphere. As Mrs. Norris zealously browbeats Fanny, she reminds Fanny to be grateful for any condescension her cousins grant. Her warnings are designed to reinforce a strict social structure she believes would be destroyed if Fanny were accepted as a peer. Mrs. Norris speaks candidly of what she sees is “[t]he nonsense and folly of people’s stepping out of their rank and trying to appear above themselves” (151). Tynan’s Aunt Alice is equally eager to keep her niece subjugated. She loathes Bitha and her father; the only rationale given for her contempt is they are Irish and therefore part of a lower social class. She disparages them in public, declaring that the Irish are inept, irresponsible, and a drain upon Britain’s largesse. Finally, she proclaims that the only suitable role for the Irish girl in British society is to serve: quite the opposite of the English girl whose “working would disturb the balance of things.”

Striking similarities also exist between Bitha and Fanny in their adherence to decorum and a strong tendency towards self-depreciation and restraint. Both heroines embody all that is proper regarding behavior and morality, but the bourgeois “native” aunt is unable to see her niece’s true value and therefore struggles to keep her niece oppressed. However, the aunts fail to accomplish their objectives because the girls are able to overcome barriers of class and money.

In *Bitha*, the sale of Hercules' memoirs provides the impetus for the conventional reversal of fortune popular in romance novels. While the reader is far from surprised by this twist, Aunt Alice is quite taken off guard because of her contention that an Irish memoir is of neither consequence nor interest. But Hercules' enormous success demonstrates how the Irish, who keep true to their history, are triumphant in the face of British condescension. Not only are Irish histories interesting, they are also economical propositions. Again, in an unsurprising turn of events, just as Bitha and her father come into money, Uncle Orme's company suffers a debilitating loss, but the Ormes escape destitution through the O'Grady's generosity. Even though Aunt Alice never fully embraces Bitha, her hostility is softened because of Bitha's benevolence to her family: "I haven't been very kind to you, Bitha O'Grady," Aunt Alice said. "I don't like your country or your people, and I began with a prejudice... I am sorry for the past. I can't say more than that."

Throughout these novels, Tynan walks a thin line between criticizing Britain for its societal prejudices and offending her British audience. In her depictions of the English, Tynan had to be careful not to alienate her English audience, who provided a significant part of her income. She was successful in this attempt in *Bitha* because she countered Aunt Alice with British nobility. As much as Aunt Alice is coarse, the aristocracy in the novel is refined. Tynan has Bitha spending a great deal of time interacting with the upper class and they are faithfully depicted in an idyllic light: constantly altruistic, beautiful, and elegant. Their kindness to Bitha is unfailing, as exemplified by the Duke, who rescues her from the fog. In depicting the aristocracy as flawless, Tynan links the quality of their character to their actions. They are respectable; therefore their views must be respectable. A dowager duchess

who befriends Bitha declares that Aunt Alice “seems a vulgar person. I suppose [she is] very new.” In making Aunt Alice, who is a representative of the rising middle class, an unsympathetic character, Tynan denounces the antagonistic, prejudiced, imperial view of the Irish. The character that sees Ireland in a negative light is, in turn, seen as an antagonist who serves as a tangible example of the quality of character that vituperates the Irish. Tynan shows the reader that to respect the Irish reflects refinement while being inhospitable is uncouth.

Tynan’s disregard and disdain for the bourgeois is from a prejudice she carried in real life; in *Years of the Shadow*, she writes: “During those years of English life we had never suffered because we were Irish. On the contrary, most of the people we had met with, in literary and Bohemian circles, or those who were interested in the Arts, always made much of us because we were Irish... When we [were with the gentry] we rapped sharply over the knuckles such middle-class persons as spoke in a superior manner of Ireland” (204–205). Tynan leaves no room for confusion: upper echelons of British society ostracize and scorn the middle-class because of their poor treatment of the Irish.

At the novel’s close, Bitha is rewarded for resisting English domination and is granted her deepest desire, a return to Ireland. A spiritual connection to Ireland drives Bitha just as much as it does Cushla. Reminiscent of the lonesome narrator in W.B. Yeats’ ‘Lake Isle of Innisfree,’ who longs for the Irish countryside, these characters are drawn by an incorporeal force back to Ireland: just “[a]s the heart pants after the water-springs, Bitha longed for Castle O’Grady.” Both heroines willingly reject the monetary stability England offers in favor of the spiritual fulfillment Ireland provides. In both novels, the protagonist is

triumphant in withstanding British control, which is historically indicative of the colonial experience where there was cultural resistance (Said, *Culture and Imperialism* xii).

Contrasting with Bitha and Cushla's dedication to Ireland is the attitude of Cushla's sister, Nancy. As she grows up, Nancy happily becomes a member of British high society, rising in the ranks to be presented at Court. Cushla hopes that in visiting Cappamore an "allegiance long forgotten" to Ireland will be renewed in Nancy. However, rather than awakening any empathy with Ireland, the visit propels her farther from it. When she discovers they have been exposed to smallpox, Cushla's thoughts turn immediately to the needs of the peasants — "her people," as she calls them — and Nancy's turn to the preservation of her own beauty. Cushla exhibits altruism and Nancy, vanity. When Nancy rages against Cushla and Ireland, it becomes clear that not only has she rejected Ireland, but that she has also adopted Aunt Penrose's Spenserian views. Nancy, the Irish character who welcomes British assimilation, is shown to be self-absorbed and devoid of moral strength. Furthermore, in discarding Ireland, she is separating herself from her spiritual core. As Nancy's story ends, Tynan appears to punish her by not allowing her to marry (after all, marriage is the ultimate goal of a romance fiction). So when Nancy screams that Cushla has become "wild Irish with a vengeance!", we cannot see it as a stinging insult, but rather as a great compliment.

Another way Tynan avoided alienating her English audience was by having both Aunt Penrose and Uncle William uncomfortable with taking Cushla and Bitha away from Ireland, where the girls are obviously happy. Yet they proceed in removing the girls because of their sense of purpose: as they see it, removing them from Ireland is saving them from

savagery. The reader understands the motivations of Aunt Penrose and Uncle William because of the complex narrative voice Tynan maintains throughout the novels. Other than Cushla and Bitha, these are the only two characters to whose thoughts we gain intimate access. Through change in narrative, the reader inhabits the minds of these characters; the motivations for their actions are understood almost as well as those of the main protagonists.’ By allowing access to the thought processes of these characters, the reader cannot but empathize with them.

The only ‘villains’ in the novels are the supercilious Aunt Alice Orme and Aunt Penrose’s maid, Hull. Their apparent disdain for the Irish is at the root of their villainy. Making deplorable characters the embodiment of bigotry, Tynan is able to criticize stereotypes without directly attacking British mores. In addition, she avoids insulting the British by surrounding these antagonists with a wide range of benevolent British aristocrats.

Two of Tynan’s other romance novels, *The Handsome Brandons* (1898) and *Three Fair Maids or The Burkes of Derrymore* (1901), explore the decline of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy. Impoverished aristocratic Anglo-Irish families are at the center of both novels. By using the state of the house as an allegory for the overall decline of the Ascendancy, these two novels are clear continuations of the “big house” motif that gained in popularity in the nineteenth century. For Irish nationalist writers, the decrepit house is a reflection of “Anglo-Irish improvidence and the rising nationalism of the Irish society outside the walls of demesne” (Kreilkamp 6–7). The Anglo-Irish novelists present a more complex representation because “the gentry house becomes the most compelling symbol of ascendancy survival: on occasion the assertive economic, political, and social power center

of rural life, but more often the shabby object of derision and contempt” (6–7). Although a nationalist in her personal life, on the market she is more aligned with the Anglo–Irish writer who depicts the ascendancy favorably. In *Brandons* and *Maids*, poverty is not a symbol of degeneration, but a convergence of unlucky events (with the occasional dastardly villain thrown in for good measure). Tynan’s fictional landlord class is indispensable, serving as the community’s spiritual core. Additionally, by the novels’ close, the houses— and by extension, the families— are rejuvenated and restored to their former beauty.

Brandons begins after both parents of the nine Brandon children have died, leaving them to fight for their land, Brandon Mountain, and their ancestral home, Castle Brandon— a losing battle, it appears. With true melodramatic flair, great trials and tribulations threaten to destroy the family. The eldest son ventures out to make his way in the world, but returns home, penniless, and soon dies. The two youngest sons are eager to save their family, but are too young to leave. One of the daughters marries with great prospect of wealth, but is widowed young and becomes destitute in London. Another daughter falls in love with the grandson of the rich, yet evil, Sir Rupert De Lacy of Angry Mountain who is violently opposed to the union and kidnaps his grandson, locking him away in his gothic castle to prevent the union. The two youngest girls, twins, are lovely, but cannot make an advantageous marriage— much like Austen’s Bennet sisters whose low connections, as Darcy points out, “must very materially lessen their chance of marrying men of any consideration in the world (*Pride and Prejudice* 25).” Finally, the narrator, Hilda, is a talented writer, but can find no publisher. Not to fear— at *Brandons* close the brothers embark on untold adventures, Hilda becomes a successful writer, and three of the sisters

marry honorable men. But it is the oldest sister's marriage that helps the family the most: because she marries a wealthy businessman, the family's position in society is restored—along with Castle Brandon's "ancient glories"—and the twins are "counted among the beauties of the Season."

Tynan opens the novel with a description of the Brandons comparable to her description of the MacSweeneys: "The country people say that there were Brandons in the land before the mountains were made." However, here the description is not intended to thwart British occupation as it is for Cushla, but to establish the validity of the Anglo-Irish family in the larger Irish culture by inextricably intertwining them with ancient Irish history. As the narrator, Hilda, tells us, their land was once surrounded by a fortified wall "to protect it from the Irish chieftains, with whom afterwards we Brandons became such good friends, and even intermarried." Hilda defends her Irishness by meticulously delineating her ancestry—as if to tie her family irrevocably to Ireland. The fictional Hilda evokes her historical associations as proof of her nationality.

Here Tynan hints at the "cultural insecurity" felt by many late nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish (Foster, *Paddy and Mr. Punch* 32). In *Modern Ireland*, Foster posits that the pervasiveness of their insecurity is even evident in their architectural endeavors: "The Ascendancy built in order to convince themselves not only that they had arrived, but that they would remain. Insecurity ... remained with them to the end" (194). This also explains the indelible importance of the Big House—it was more than a literary motif: the house itself was proof of the Ascendancy's permanence.

By the time the novel begins, the impecunious Brandons are reduced to meager meals of “skinny chicken and a pig’s cheek and greens,” but their dinners are always served on “silver, and the old table–linen, darned to the last extent, is always beautifully snowy and shining, as its texture deserves.” Their dresses are made from “dead–and–gone Brandon ladies,” but “fortunately they made no shoddy in those days, and the things have been safe in their camphor–lined dwellings from the moth and mildew.” Even their servants, greatly reduced in number, are always deferent, despite the family’s slipping social class: “Oona [the housekeeper] never forgets what the Brandons were in old days, and ignores as much as possible the sad change that has come upon the family fortunes.”

The Brandon’s impoverished state is a result of Rupert De Lacy’s deceit: years ago, when their grandmother refused De Lacy, he swore to destroy the Brandons; and after the marriage, he tricked their grandfather into selling him land purported to be useless, though DeLacy knew it to be rich in copper. Since then, the Brandon fortune slowly deteriorated and their money was lost as they looked for another seam of copper while “[DeLacy] sits like a great grey old spider in his web, waiting and waiting till we are obliged to walk into it and he gobbles us and our poor Brandon up.”

Frye’s paradigm of the idyllic and demonic worlds plays out in the descriptions of Castle Brandon and Castle Angry: Brandon is always associated with the divine:

Brandon always seems to take the sunshine. There, beyond the trees of our park, the blue peak lifts gloriously a smiling face to heaven. The gold of sunset crowns it, and the roses of the dawn fall first upon its head.... Up there, where the little woods are, is

like fairy-land. You are in a world of feathery aisles and arches. The ground under your feet in spring is dancing with the daffodils....

While Angry Mountain is always linked to the demonic, as the name subtly implies,

Angry Mountain no doubt had its name from its looks. No one ever saw its head out of the clouds. When there is thunder it bellows terribly out of the wall of cloud on Angry. There is a great chasm in the side of it, “The Devil’s Slice” they call it, which looks like the track of an avalanche... Angry Woods, that clothe the mountain base, have a bad name... it is a place of gnarled old trees flinging themselves about in horrible attitudes— that it is damp and full of fungus— and that you never know when you may plunge into a bog-hole unaware, and be drowned there, and dried into a brown mummy, no one knowing your fate.

The Brandon/Angry dichotomy appears multiple times throughout the novel until the climax where Angry Mountain is destroyed by an apocalyptic storm. The storm threatens cataclysmic damage throughout the region, but the only structure destroyed is Castle Angry and its inhabitants (DeLacy’s grandson being rescued just days before): the bog had swept it away and “of Sir Rupert and his bailiff nothing was ever heard. The bog had swallowed them, and when at last it stopped moving and was quiet, the ravine over which Castle Angry had stood was all a quaking bog, a menace to any living thing.” What saves the country people is— of course— Brandon Mountain, as it reroutes the path of the destructive bog away from any populated area.

Although the country people look to Brandon as a place of salvation, the family must look outside of Ireland for security because of their barren land: “Brandon has nothing else

[than beauty]. Time was when it had deer and grouse and pheasants and wild little black cattle, to say nothing of hares and curlews and such small fry. But that was before the prosperity went from us....” The English characters romanticize Ireland as “a half-wild country flowing with milk and honey.” In fact, the retired British General Hugh MacNeill buys Brandon’s adjoining estate, Rose Hill, in order to, a servant speculates, “come here to get his mind quiet an’ his temper settled before he laves this world for a better. Ireland’s an elegant, quiet place for makin’ your sowl.”

After Hilda befriends the General, he offers to introduce her to a London publisher who agrees to read her novel, *Love in the Valley!* The publisher tells her: “[i]t isn’t a *Jane Eyre*, you know, nor a *Wuthering Heights*. Still, ‘tis pleasant reading, and very hopeful” (one might say the same of Tynan’s novels). Tynan makes it very clear that Hilda, while prospering from the General’s encouragement, is a success because of her own talent. With a convenient romantic twist, the General’s estranged son, Lance, reunites with his father and falls in love and marries Hilda.

In *Three Fair Maids*, the Anglo-Irish family is likewise left penniless, but the eldest sister, Elizabeth Burke, devises “a revolutionary scheme” to save their home, Ardeelish, and prevent the three sisters from becoming governesses, their only other option for survival: she will turn Ardeelish into a hotel accommodating a select few “guests.” She accepts the fact that “[t]he old state of things will never return... [and] we cannot have yesterday back. We must make the best of to-day.” In order to keep from tarnishing their family name Elizabeth decides to use her mother’s maiden name, Franklin. “It is a good old English name; but it will not have the same associations to people here as Burke.” She convinces her malleable

mother to use the name as a “professional name... as if [she] were an author or a musician.

These people have no right to your own dear proper name.” Her mother agrees to this because she is, “to myself and my friends, Sir Jasper Burke’s widow; as the hostess of paying guests, I am— Mrs. Franklin.” We see Elizabeth’s astute analysis of the situation: in order to attract an English audience, the Irish must present themselves as entertaining characters. It is unremarkable that Tynan would include this plot line, as it is a reflection of her own success.

There are many parallels to life at Brandon Castle and life at Ardeelish. The home is in a state of decline, as “[t]here is practically nothing left but this house, the woods, the lake, the bog, the mountain— scarce a rood of arable land... All the rooms need doing up, and the billiard-table is... a bit antiquated.” The dresses of the heroines are “”rather dull and faded.” The servants are particularly assiduous in their work because, as the maid Oona explains, “’tis for the credit of the family.” The families feel a responsibility to the peasants (a similarity also shared with *Heart*). Finally, the novel culminates in multiple marriages, leading to a restoration of former splendor — “If it occurred in a novel, instead of in real life, people would say that it was rather stretching the probabilities.”

But one of the most interesting parallels between the two novels is that the Irish natural world works as a purifier: in *Brandons*, the bog obliterates Angry; and in *Maids*, the river purges the origins of the malignant force of the countryside, Synott House. In *Modern Ireland*, Foster notes the importance the Ascendancy places upon land. He posits that the Ascendancy imposed structures upon the landscapes in hopes of making Ireland its own because of its “obsession with putting their mark on a landscape only recently won and insecurely held” (194). If this is true, then Tynan has wiped out the Ascendancy’s claim upon

Ireland. Through the complete destruction of the homes of the malicious member of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy—a representation of oppression—Tynan demonstrates how the country will always belong to the native Irish. Although she creates overwhelming benign gentry, thus placating an anti-nationalist sentiment, through nature's destruction of the big house, she is able to subvert colonial power.

Just as the demonic Angry is destroyed by a storm of sublime beauty, so too is Synnott House, the home of the Burke's dear and loyal friend, Margaret Synnott, and her tyrannous mother, whose bile seems to seep into every room of the house. Margaret's mother, another member of the disintegrating Ascendancy, stands in sharp contrast to Mrs. Burke. Both families lost their fortune, but the matriarchs' reactions are diametrically opposed to one and other: Mrs. Synnott becomes embittered and paralyzed with anger, while Mrs. Burke is calmly resigned to her fate, believing it to be God's Will, and grateful for His benevolence—"It is His mercy that I am not proud and angry, like Mrs. Synnott." Here Tynan not only demonstrates the power of the country, but she also interjects a lesson on Christian devotion, as the reader sees salvation through faith in God.

The gothic Synnott House, described by the peasants as a "terrible ould dead-an'-alive place," lies precariously upon a spit of land cleaving the river in two just before it opens to the sea—"It was a mad thing to build it, a mad thing to live in it" explains the narrator, Joan Burke. The windows at the back of the "black and menacing" structure are barred, "add[ing] to the prison-like aspect of the house." The front has a "dreary front, nothing but one blank window after another, the higher ones yet holding a blood-red gleam from the sky above the mountain"—as welcoming as the House of Usher. In fact, Synnott House falls to

the same fate as the House of Usher: just as Margaret's mother dies, it crashes into the water. Margaret, unsurprisingly, escapes with the help of her long-lost love.

As each novel charts the path of its heroine's development, the reader learns from Bitha, Cushla, Hilda, and Joan's awareness of how society functions and, in turn, learns how to behave by following the examples Tynan provides. All of these novels were extremely successful enjoying multiple publications: *Bitha* had five publications between 1921 and 1930; *Heart* three between 1912 and 1920; *Brandons* had three between 1898 and 1921; and *Maids* had four between 1900 and 1917. Through these popular romances, Tynan teaches lessons of forgiveness, tolerance, and acceptance as these are rewarded through economic prosperity, happiness, and marriage. Nevertheless, the most important message in the novels occurs in the subtext because she redefines Irishness through subverting the damning British representations of the Irish.

Chapter 4

While fiction was the mainstay in Tynan's oeuvre, she did branch out into areas of nonfiction as a more overt approach to instruct Irish and non-Irish audiences. Directed specifically to Irish children were *Katharine Tynan's Book of Irish History: A Little Book of Irish History* (1915), *The Story of our Lord for Children* (1907) and *The Rhymed Life of St. Patrick* (1907). In varying degrees, all three of these books express nationalist and Catholic concerns.

Katharine Tynan's Book of Irish History, a schoolbook published by The Educational Company of Ireland Limited, purports impartiality, but "[s]ubliminally or not, politics often remain inextricably involved in the assessment of historical evidence" (Foster *Paddy* 79). Tynan's analysis of Irish history is notably skewed towards a nationalist agenda. Overwhelmingly, Tynan's exploration of history "communicated the nationalist perspective of Irish history to young and adolescent readers" (McBride 110–111). By promoting a nationalist agenda, she "reinforced the nationalist construct of history by deploying a source-based approach to the study of history that had begun to place the discipline on a more professional footing and which eventually released it from its place as a branch of literature" (108).

For such a large subject—encompassing the history of Ireland from the prehistoric to World War I—*History* is a relatively small book comprised of twenty short chapters in 192 pages. Although the overall organization of the book is chronological, the individual chapters do not seem to follow a unifying structure. At times Tynan defines Irish history by men,

dedicating separate chapters to St. Patrick, Brian Boru, The Normans, The Geraldines, Shane O'Neill, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, and Gerald, fifteenth Earl of Desmond. Sometimes, she defines it by events, The Battle of Clontarf, The Passing of Ulster, The Battle of the Boyne, The Sieges and Treaty of Limerick, The 1798 Rebellion. Sometimes, she combines the two, "1641 and Owen Roe O'Neill," "Cromwell in Ireland." At other times, she defines it by epochs, The Fourteenth Century, The Eighteenth Century, The Nineteenth Century. Finally, she defines it by metaphors, "The Golden Age" and "The Dark Night." With its romantic imagery, focus on drama, and scant attribution of sources, occasionally it reads as fiction rather than a textbook.

Tynan wrote *History* during a time of renewed interest in Irish history when debates were developing in education circles as to the most effective modes of communicating Irish history to children, with many believing that only a novelist, with a flare for drama, could engage the adolescent reader. An explosion of work focusing on Irish history reflected this interest—the most notable authors were Charles Kickham, Emily Lawless, Margaret Pender, and Katharine Tynan. Placing particular attention upon the mode of transmission, in September 1915, Fr. Stephen Brown, bibliographer and contributor to the *Irish Booklover*, wrote: "It is one thing for the writer to present truth and to record fact. It is another to cause this truth to be realised and to bring this fact home to the reader... To attain this second end truth and fact—the stuff of history—must be made to *live again* for the reader" (McBride 110–111). These writers were also Irish nationalists whose work "communicated the nationalist perspective of Irish history to young and adolescent readers" (111).

To truly understand the significance of teaching history, it is essential to understand the development of Ireland's colonial educational system from the standpoint of its ideological implications. Of primary concern is England's use of Ireland as a testing ground for social experimentation, which is indicative of the colonial relationship. These experiments were important to England because they could be implemented without any disruption of the status quo at home. In the nineteenth century, Ireland was ready-made for such an experiment, especially in the area of education. Because the Act of Union of 1800 gave England control of Irish government institutions, including the Department of Education, it could revamp the system and try techniques that, if they failed, did not have an impact on an English child's education. Ireland was, in effect, a "social laboratory" (Coolahan, *Irish Education* 3–4). The Irish National School System, established in 1831, was not designed for the purposes of educational experimentation alone, but for control of the native population. Indeed, it was there to "perform a massive brain-washing operation, obliterating subversive ancestral influence by inculcating in the pupils a proper reverence for the English connection, and proper deference for their social superiors, defined according to the exquisite English concept of class" (Lee 28). The schools were there to counter so-called subversive organizations, such as Hedge Schools whose books were, according to the *Fourteenth report of the commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland* (1812–1913), "calculated to incite lawless and profligate adventure, to cherish superstition, or to lead to dissention or disloyalty" (Goldstrom 56–57).

The Irish National School System was designed to further England's vision of the world— or what Foucault calls the "régime of truth." He notes "[e]ach society has its régime

of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as truth; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth” (131). England, as the dominant power, was able to define (while simultaneously create) what was true and to base the educational system on this construction. Specifically, by taking control of the Educational System, England was able to privilege certain views and (re)create an Irish heritage. As Memmi points out, a country’s heritage is fostered “[b]y the education which it gives to its children... Traditions and acquirements, habits and conquests, deeds and acts of previous generations are thus bequeathed and recorded in history” (104). As such, the Irish Educational System worked to undermine any awareness of Irish cultural identity (Coolahan, *Irish Education* 21). National Schooling “was the latest chapter of a turbulent history of politicized education, all the way from the early–eighteenth–century Acts...” (Eagleton, *Heathcliff* 74).

Long before the Act of Union, however, England was playing a major role in Ireland’s educational system. In 1733— decades before the English gave money to their own schools— they subsidized *The Incorporated Society for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland* in a futile attempt to control and convert the native, often hostile, Catholic population (Goldstrom 52). In 1792, the *Association for Discountenancing Vice and Promoting Religion* relegated funds to “schools where Protestant clergymen and teachers were striving to make the Irish more law–abiding, industrious and temperate.” There was a particular sense of urgency because the English feared a French invasion aided by a sympathetic Catholic majority (52).

While these organizations faced stiff resistance, another attempt made in 1811 was more successful because of its inclusive nature; the *Society for Promoting Education in Ireland*, also known as the Kildare Place Society, was “a cheap and non-denominational system... [and it] include[d] Catholics, Nonconformists and members of the Church of Ireland” (Goldstrom 53). The Kildare Place Society worked to balance the needs of all its members and was for the most part successful. However, the success was not easily won: “Distrusted by many of the Catholic hierarchy, resisted by the Church of Ireland clergy and ardently contested by the Presbyterians of Ulster, national schooling was a zone of furious ideological contention from the outset” (Eagleton, *Heathcliff* 74).

Not wanting to choose texts that could appear pro-Catholic, pro-Church of Ireland, pro-Presbyterian, the Kildare Society focused on books with “a strong moralistic and socialising aura... urging acceptance of the prevailing social economic and political value system” (Coolahan, *Irish Education* 20). Readers of the 1819 *Dublin Reading Book* and *Dublin Spelling Book* “are told of ‘the dangers of disobedience,’ of ‘selfish sorrow reprov’d,’ of ‘the pious sons,’ of ‘the Salisbury Shepherd’; they are urged to piety, obedience and humility” (Goldstrom 58). In *The Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education* (1870), Dr. Blake, the Roman Catholic bishop of Dromore, praises the Irish National System of education because it:

provides... first, the great desideratum, a good moral education for the whole community, supplying excellent class-books, excellent teachers, and excellent inspectors. Secondly, it invites all the youth of the whole country into its schools. Thirdly, it takes care that the great principles of morality and religion, which are

suggested by the law of nature, and are admitted by all Christians of every denomination in Ireland, shall be diligently inculcated in its books and by its teachers (Akenson 1).

A ‘cheap book department,’ that was designed to produce books of religious impartiality, aimed for “cheap moral instruction for the lower orders.” The result of the endeavor was nonpartisan books such as *Voyages and travels in every region of the world*, *Arts and sciences of every description connected with manufactures, mechanics, trade and agriculture*, *Rural economy and interesting narratives*, and *Collections from the Psalms and Proverbs* (Goldstrom 59). “Indeed for much of the century the books contained very little material relating to a distinctively Irish environment and were geared towards the British cultural assimilation policy of the time” (Coolahan, *Irish Education* 21). The choice of textbooks was not nearly so contentious as the creation of a curriculum, which centered on whether and how to include the study of Irish history. One solution offered was to teach Irish history in reverse; starting with the glories of the Victorian era, then “having craftily sweetened the pill, moving to the less than palmy past” (Eagelton, *Heathcliff*, 75–76). Eventually, the only history of any sort taught in Ireland was paltry, only paying note of Europe and England (McBride 88). In fact, there were no history text-books at all; the readers for the two highest grades contained a “brief compendia [of history and] were studied by less than one–sixteenth of pupils in 1868” (Fitzpatrick 170). The 1862 Supplement to the *Fourth Book of Lessons* allocated only twenty-two pages to ‘modern history’ with no reference to Ireland (171).

Removing Irish history from the educational system shows Britain's belief that Irish history is of little importance. In omitting a colonized country's history, the colonizer is attempting to suppress the unique cultural identity of the colonized: "The memory which is assigned him is certainly not that of his people. The history which is taught him is not his own... Everything seems to have taken place out of his country. He and his land are nonentities or exist only with reference to [the colonizer]... In other words, with reference to what he is not" (Memmi 105).

At the start of the twentieth century, the Christian Brothers began to reclaim Irish history and use it as a tool to promote Irish nationalism, specifically Catholic nationalism. In their *Irish History Reader* (1905), they encourage instructors to dwell "with pride, and in glowing words on Ireland's glorious past, her great men and their great deeds,' until pupils were persuaded 'that Ireland looks to them, when grown to man's estate, to act the part of true men in furthering the sacred cause of nationhood'" (Fitzpatrick 169). They wanted to counter the actions of the commissioners of the educational system whose goal, proffered the Brothers, was "to efface from the minds of the Irish children all idea of their distinct nationality" (170).

Even though the National School system integrated Irish history into the study of history in general, the subject as a whole received little attention. Because it was allotted few points on exams, it was not considered important— either to the student or teacher (McBride 94). Additionally, teachers lacked significant training in Irish History (Fitzpatrick 177). However, the subject gained in popularity and importance after 1908 when the National University introduced a third year of teacher preparation under the guidance of Timothy

Corcoran, SJ.. Corcoran was an avid Nationalist who “wanted to turn the study of Irish history away from its connection with England and re-orient the study of Ireland in two directions: inward, toward the spirit of the native Irish; and outward, away from England, emphasizing instead the country’s connection to the continent and to Church history” (McBride 101). And, the same year, the education commission sanctioned independent textbooks on British and Irish history for advanced students (Fitzpatrick 173).

As studying Irish History grew in popularity, publications began to flourish, and in 1910, The Educational Company of Ireland, Limited began to publish books solely of Irish history. However, as Tynan often exhibits, strict adherence to fact was not always as important as making history vibrant. Eleanor Hull, in *A textbook of Irish Literature* (1906), a work she wrote for the intermediate board, declared, “One of the difficulties with which the Irish historian will always have to deal is to discriminate where the imaginary ends and the actual begins. It, in fact, ends and begins nowhere; the two move on through all the centuries in a friendly union which can only partially and uncertainly be disentangled” (McBride 110).

Tynan begins her narrative in the vague shadows of ancient Ireland whose origins “are hidden in dusk if not in darkness,” but are nonetheless essential elements, so Tynan indicates, of Ireland’s cultural identity. Within the first paragraph, she connects the student reader to the noble past while creating a communal link through direct address, indiscriminately interchanging ‘you,’ ‘we,’ and ‘I’:

We are told that Ireland was peopled successively by Parthalonians from Greece, by Nemedians from the Black Sea, by Firbolgs, by Tuatha-de-Danaans, finally by Milesians, or Gaels. But all these colonizations down to

the wizard Tuatha-de-Danaans are so interwoven with myth and legend that they remain but vague traditions. What we keep of them is their duns or forts, their tombs, their ornaments, their weapons and drinking-vessels. The remains of these mysterious peoples, who look on the green fields, the mountains and rivers and lakes, which you and I look on to-day, prove that there existed among them an art and a civilization. The bogs and the mountains of Ireland still hold their treasures. In an old house at the foot of Knockmany, that Tyrone hill which still wears at times, it is said, the Druidic fires, I saw a few years ago a golden torc which had been dug up on a hill. That flat ornament of beaten gold gave assurance of royal splendours in the misty Ireland of long ago. By such relics, which are to be seen in numbers at the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, and in other museums throughout Ireland, you can imagine the old Ireland better than by turning on your tongues such words, and dry words, as Parthalonians, Nemedians, and Firbolgs.

She continues to trace Irish ancestry through the Tuatha-de-Danaans who “are said to have been the workers in metals, the inventors of the Ogham writing, and, like the Witch of Endor, they were able to call unseen powers to their aid and to invoke the elements— wind, thunder, and lightning.” Her rhetorical skill is evident as she encourages the student to identify with Ireland’s origins through romantic imagery, ancient mythology, and archeological splendor. In essence, she is showing the reader he is in a place of privilege because he is Irish.

Throughout the text, she weaves fact and assumption together presenting them with equal validity. Often she presents information in the passive voice, without providing proof

of her assertions. As evident in the opening passage, rather than relying on specific historians, she evokes “it is said” (a pattern she continues throughout her textbook). We do not know who is saying this information; however, she is apparently relying on communal knowledge because she is describing “history that is real enough to us.” Again, she is creating a community— a community, as Benedict Anderson would say— “conceived in language” (145).

In another example of an assumed communal knowledge, in the final chapter when discussing the Land Act of 1870 and the Wyndham Land Act (1903), she neither explains the 1870 Land Act nor gives justification for her assertion that the Wyndham Land Act is “one of the most beneficial measures ever enacted for rural Ireland.” An assumption here is that the reader fully knows and understands these Acts and no further explanation is needed. However, there is another possible explanation: Tynan does not believe the reader needs to know any more information than she is presenting. This editing is indicative of the relationship between the adult/creator and the child/consumer. Through providing only what she deems necessary to a child’s understanding of Irish history, she creates her own version of Ireland.

The ancient Ireland that she fashions for the Irish child is one of power, benevolence, and sophistication— as opposed to Britain, which was nothing more than a “Roman Province.” Furthermore, Tynan asserts, Ireland’s prowess in battle was so overwhelming that it was instrumental in the demise of the Roman Empire. Additionally, at one point in history, “it is said,” the Irish King Crimthan was sovereign of England and “the years of his reign

were beneficent ones.” The subtext of this statement, of course, points to the oppressive nature of British rule in Ireland.

Even more celebrated than the years of ancient sophistication, according to Tynan, is the “Golden Age,” “[t]he period between the death of St. Patrick and the coming of the Danes, that is to say between the fifth and ninth centuries.” For the first time, Tynan provides a concrete time marker. With the coming of Catholicism, “Monasteries, Schools, Colleges and Churches sprang up everywhere. Ireland was at peace while the Goths and the Huns swept over Europe, burning and destroying as they went, till amid the ruins of the old civilization they halted and began to build up a new civilization for themselves.” The Continental scholars fled to Ireland from the tumult of war and “rested there”:

Very dear and welcome guests they were, for Ireland was then the home of religion, of learning and the arts. Many monasteries there were by the side of pleasant rivers full of salmon and trout, amid meadows and woods; many colleges for youths and clerics; many hermitages, many churches. The people were engaged in peaceful pursuits under their Christian Kings, and in the monasteries men sat at the feet of the scholars and learned the Latin tongue and the Greek. Also the monks were learning to do the wonderful illuminations which you see in the Books of Kells and other manuscripts...

Not only was Ireland a place of refuge for exiled scholars, but also “she sent out her missionaries to teach, to elevate, to roll back the tide of barbarism which was sweeping from the North over Europe.” Ancient Ireland was the protector and preserver of Western civilization. With descriptions depicting Ireland as a place of cultural and spiritual salvation,

it is no wonder that imperialists from Commissioners of National Education were hesitant to teach Irish history. In 1858, John Mitchel feared teaching Irish history “would have made young faces flush hot with a dangerous passion, mingled of pride and shame, to think of what their country was, what it is, and — God of heaven! what it *might be*” (Fitzpatrick 171).

However, Ireland’s “Golden Age” ended with the invasion of the Vikings who “sailed up the beautiful rivers, fought down all opposition, and took possession of what they pleased.” The recounting of events is not as intriguing as Tynan’s explanation of why Ireland was such “easy prey” for the Vikings. For her, the victory was not a result of Viking skill, but rather of Ireland’s inner turmoil. During the Golden Years, Irish power moved from the central Ard-Ri (High King of Ireland) to the many fractious clans. They began to fight amongst themselves, thus weakening the country as a whole, allowing the Vikings an easy victory: “*Divide et impera!* — Divide and Conquer— has been the wisdom of Ireland’s masters throughout the centuries; and Ireland has learnt no wisdom of her own to counteract it.” This sentiment becomes a constant refrain throughout the text: every loss was a result of Irish division, every victory of Irish unity.

As the text continues, Tynan attributes more and more information to specific sources, including notoriously anti-Irish writers such as, Edmund Spenser and Oxford Professor of History, James Anthony Froude (1818–1894). In using these men as sources, she appears to be providing a balanced, impartial picture of the events, devoid of Nationalist agenda. No one could accuse Spencer or Froude (who believed the Irish were “more like squalid apes than human beings”) of being biased towards the Irish. However, the quotes she selects are innocuous and often superfluous, thereby offering no offense to any Nationalist

reader. Following her statement, “In April, 1563, Sussex marched an expedition into Ulster against Shane, but not a chief joined him, and he was compelled to withdraw and return to Dublin” is the insertion, “‘The Earl of Sussex,’ says Mr. Froude, ‘having failed alike to rout Shane O’Neill in the field or to get him satisfactorily murdered, was recalled,’” which adds nothing of substance to her argument. Tynan includes Spenser’s vitriol directed to the Normans who changed their names to Irish forms, but by positioning his statements in a new context, she undermines his authority. In the chapter, “The Normans,” she explains: “As time passed the Normans married with the Irish: De Burgos became Mac Williams, De Berminghams, Mac Feorais, etc. ‘They themselves for hatred of England so disgraced their ancient names,’ as Spenser says.” However, she renders this criticism absurd as she bookends Spenser’s scorn with praises of the Normans: “Like their Viking ancestors, the Normans had great qualities, a dominant, predatory race seizing what they desired and holding it against all comers. Great soldiers and traders, builders of laws and constitutions, they had already in England brought order out of confusion, and established the kingdom on a sound basis.”

According to Tynan, the Normans were “nation builders” who subjugated the unruly English. In defining wild England a conquered country, she subverts the English colonial paradigm (again) by “[inverting] the standard barbarism/civility trope” (Whelan 196). Furthermore, she is saying that the Normans, rather than triumph over Ireland (as they did England), choose to create an alliance through intermarriage, making “the greatest of the Norman families more Irish than the Irish.” The contrast she accentuates between Norman assimilation and English colonization is essential because assimilation “tends to eliminate the

distinctions between the colonizers and the colonized, and thereby eliminates the colonial relationship” (Memmi 149–150).

In *History*, the Normans (unlike the English) were “splendid. They were fierce and grasping, but they were also magnificently generous. Their great Abbeys and Churches to the Glory of God stand ruined, by many of their ancient walled towns, with but a lovely gabled window or an arch of choir or transept to show what splendours once were.” Of course, the implicit implication is that those who came later— the English— are responsible for the destruction of Norman splendor and incapable of creating architecture of equal value. This becomes explicit when, later in the text, she describes Cromwell a “destroyer.”

Tynan praises the benefits brought to Ireland from the union with the Normans, but her description of the Act of Union with Britain is quite the opposite. According to Tynan, before the Union, Dublin was “a dream city, indeed, as we see her at dawns and sunsets, and in the beautiful Irish atmosphere, a city worthy to carry in her heart the imperishable memories which are hers.” However, she continues, “Dublin was very poor after the Union, with all the stately mansions of the Lords, spiritual and temporal, and the Commons of Ireland, silent and deserted.” Pre-1800, Ireland was romantic, ideal, divine, but after the Union, Ireland was destitute, silent, soulless. Like another popular Irish writer, Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan (1776—1859), Tynan’s work “advances an anti-imperial project, narrating the Irish nation as one which had regressed rather than advanced under colonialism” (Whelan 196). She further highlights this regression by immediately following her description of destitute Dublin with, “[d]uring the first twenty years of the century famine was a common thing, and the grass grew in the highways of Dublin.” She does not provide

great detail about The Famine, but she conveys an overall feeling of sorrow, especially in describing emigration, “her life-blood was running from her [as] the people had learned to go of themselves: they had founded friendly colonies in America.” While she does not explicitly cite the Act of Union as the cause of the Famine, by placing them in close proximity, she implies they are related.

Throughout the book, Tynan draws attention to two opposing yet simultaneous uses of language: an Irish and an English. She highlights the manipulation of language between the two countries, especially in the use of proper names: “Thomas, Lord Offaly, known in Irish history as Silken Thomas”; “Hugh Roe O’Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell— to adopt the English spelling for the title”; “Hugh O’Neill, Earl of Tyrone— once more with the English spelling.” She uses the English translation, thus appearing to assimilate, yet in drawing attention to the change she is refusing to fully consent to colonial ownership of language. As Ashcroft points out in *The Empire Writes Back*, “[o]ne of the main features of imperial oppression is control over language. The imperial education system installs a ‘standard’ version of the metropolitan language as the norm, and marginalizes all ‘variants’ as impurities” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 7). However, Tynan refuses marginalization when she shows the English spelling is a variant, not the standard. She subverts the “hierarchical structure of power” of the colonizer’s language by refusing to accept English translation and its subsequent “conceptions of ‘truth’, ‘order’, and ‘reality’” (7). This is most clear in her omission of Irish-to-English translations.

While she agrees to use English translations of names, she refuses to translate the war cries of four tribes. Without explanation, she lists the O’Neill’s “Lamh Dhearg Abu” (Hurray

for the Red Hand), the O'Brien's "Lamh Laidir Abu" (Hurray for the Strong Hand), Fitzgeralds of Kildare's "Crom Abu" (Hurray for Crom), Fitzgeralds of Desmond's "Seanid Abu" (Hurray for the old place). In the dramatic battle between Hugh O'Neill and a "gigantic English knight named Seagrave," Tynan describes the "fierce hand-to-hand encounter" with flair born from a novelist's pen: "O'Neill was all but lost, but recovered himself, and, pinned to the earth as he was, managed to stab his assailant in a vital part of the body. Up again, with the battle-cry *Lamb Dhearg Abu*, he swept his men on to victory." If she translated the Irish words, she would be giving the English language a preferential position of power, "thus the 'receptor' [English] culture, the higher status" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 66), but by keeping the Irish intact, she is privileging Irish culture and excluding a non-Irish audience.

Using these war cries has an added significance because they were outlawed in 1494. In this context, she shows England's inability to control Ireland because England is still unable to enforce laws put into place centuries ago. Not only is she defying English linguistic dominance, she also "forces the reader into an active engagement with the horizons of the culture in which these terms have meaning" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 65). In essence, including the Irish language is a commentary on the English/Irish relationship and a political act of defiance.

While Irish remains untranslated, she does translate Latin, a language she also reserves for descriptions of battles. Including Latin—both the language of the Catholic Church and of antiquity—elevates the struggles above the mundane. As a reflection of Catholicism, she makes them Holy Wars; as reflection of antiquity, she gives them epic standing. Both of these techniques dispose the Irish child to the fight for Irish independence.

Here her use of language is more than political defiance against the English— she is not trying to shut them out of the dialogue; she is trying to impress upon them the magnitude of the battle in the Irish collective conscience. Like others in a colonial discourse, her “techniques of selective lexical fidelity” is used to distinguish Ireland from the colonial power (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 64).

Not only is the use (or withholding) of language a means of exclusion, but so too is the schoolbook’s overall structure. For example, without preamble, section four of chapter twelve begins: “THEN followed the confiscation of their property and territories, the spoils to the victors.” The only way for this assertion to make sense is to have knowledge of what preceded— Tynan structures the book so that the reader cannot discern meaning half way through it. She shows, much like Irish history, that it exists in an unbroken continuum; to understand one period of Irish history, you must understand the one before. What Tynan is describing is the English conquest of the Irish chieftains and the subsequent division of Ireland at the start of the seventeenth century, but this cannot be understood without reading the previous chapters.

Tynan describes the division of this confiscated property in agricultural terms, playing with the idea of plantation. In her construct, the English are both planters of the plantations and planted *in* the plantations. They are both active and passive. “The plantation of Ulster was followed by the plantation of Leinster, where half-a-million acres were confiscated and planted with English and Scots... Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, in 1632 continued the work of ‘planting’ the more fertile lands of Connaught.” As shown in the opening of the text, Tynan sees land, above all else, as the conduit to ancient Irish culture.

The English control of the land, therefore, is particularly dangerous to the Irish because it “still hold[s] their treasures”— at this point in history, the English, through their plantations, have the ability to disconnect the Irish from their past. England’s dominance would be complete if they were able to achieve this severing. However, through Tynan’s opening descriptions, the reader sees that, in the end, the Irish are the true victors, since they did not lose the connection to their ancient past. Here, the importance of land lies not in its beauty, but in its ability to unify generations. Land, so intertwined with identity in the Irish psyche, “is a political rallying cry as well as a badge of cultural belonging, a question of rents as well as roots” (Eagleton, *Heathcliff* 7).

In her personal life, there were two historical events that were of great importance: the Parnell Split and World War One. However, they are downplayed in *History*. She wrote about her love for Parnell often in her memoirs and was his outspoken champion, but while she does praise him in *History*, her devotion is nowhere near what she felt in real life. The unmistakable fondness for Parnell in *History* is a fraction of the utter devotion expressed in her memoirs: Parnell is barely given two paragraphs in *History*, but entire chapters are dedicated to him in *Twenty-five Years*, including pictures of Parnell, his family, and his home in Wicklow. Although his mention in the schoolbook is brief, Tynan does show his importance by dedicating more time on expounding Parnell’s virtues than explaining the Land League:

It was opportune to the hand of a man who held the national idea, and was not deeply interested in the reform of Land Laws, Charles Stewart Parnell, a young Wicklow squire, who had entered Parliament in 1875. Parnell was a

most extraordinary man... His genius suited the thing he had undertaken.

He was cold, keen, subtle and determined: outwardly cold, I should have said— and his personality, proud, distinguished, and aloof, was very unlike that of the Irish leaders who had preceded him... Many believed that Parnell was the one man capable of winning for the Irish the freedom they desired, the one man to have safeguarded the first steps of the parliament in its new-won independence. He died in 1891, deserted by the great body of his followers, and by many of those for whom he had worked and planned and suffered.

Clearly, the man was more important than the movement. This was a belief she also expressed in her memoirs, “To the Muse of History it matters very little whether movements fall or succeed, whether men live or die untimely. She is concerned only with men. And here was a man to whom longer living could have added nothing of luster, or splendour” (*Twenty-Five Years* 380). In contrast, the tender eloquence and pointed criticisms in *Twenty-five Years* — “One’s heart bled for the man who was stabbed through the woman he held dear. There was no pity, no mercy” (377)— is diluted in *History* because there is no explanation as to why he was deserted.

Although *History* shows no evidence of this, Tynan was very interested in the War, as a war poet and a correspondent. In her second memoir, *The Years of the Shadow*, she writes:

Quite early in the War letters began to come to me from the mourners. A poem of mine in the *Spectator*, ‘Flower of Youth,’ had apparently caught and held many.

Since it first appeared, in the autumn of 1914, it has brought me many hundreds of letters. I believe I have written better poems of the War, or as good, but nothing I

have written has approached its popularity... Besides my own work, of which I have done a great deal, I computed that at one time I was writing a hundred letters a week to the bereaved of the War... [At home] the War began to sweep this one and that one away. Some went to come back no more... So many of our friends had gone out in the 10th Division to perish at Suvla. For the first time came bitterness, for we felt that their lives had been thrown away and that their heroism had gone unrecognized. Sulva— the burning beach, and the poisoned wells, and the blazing scrub, does not bear thinking on. Dublin was full of mourning, and on the faces one met there was a hard brightness of pain as though the people's hearts burnt in the fire and were not consumed... One got to know the look of the new widows— hard, bright eyes, burning for the relief of tears, a high, feverish flush in the cheeks, hands that trembled, and occasionally an uncertain movement of the young head (175–178).

Then in 1914, she became even more personally invested when both her sons eagerly enlisted, but, she writes, “I never thought then that the War would last long enough for the boys to go.” She was wrong. “On the very last day of the year, I heard in the dark of the morning a quick, sudden cry, ‘Mother! Mother!’ It is a cry I have often dreamt I heard. I lay drowsily, wondering if I had dreamt of that call in Toby's voice. A little later he was at my door. He had got his commission...” (179).

Conversely, there are only a few mentions of the War in *History*. The first mention comes during her description of the Desmond Rebellion of 1565 and is oblique: “War is always cruel, as we know now; though a few years ago we might have talked of the progress of civilization since those days.” A reference to the War does not appear again until the last

page, and only then as a time marker: “[d]uring that twenty years of the old century and the fourteen of the new which led up to the Great War...”; “till within a year or so of the War”; “It will not come into effect till after the War....” Refraining from any discussions of the War implies that it has no place in Irish history because it is an English war. However, there are practical concerns that muddy the water. We cannot know for sure whether her intention is to differentiate Ireland’s relationship with the Continent from England’s relationship because of possible censorship; in her memoir *Wandering Years* she states, “[n]ow that one is no longer forbidden by the publishers to mention the War, I may tell of [my son’s] experiences” (17).

However, one thing is certain: in *History*, Tynan describes, while simultaneously creates, an Ireland fashioned according to her own vision by a “political construction rather than archival account” (Eagleton, *Heathcliff* 152), as evident in her lack of scholarly support. She is not alone. In his discussion of the novel Eagleton points out to “narrate a history in Ireland is to promulgate a particular image of the nation, fashioning what you purport to describe” (152).

Tynan continued the construction/instruction of Irish identity in her works of religious teachings for children in *The Story of our Lord for Children* and *The Rhymed Life of St. Patrick*. Unsurprisingly, as the most successful Irish Catholic writer of her generation, she gravitated towards Catholic subject matter. In her work (especially in her poetry), she “tends not to engage intellectually with her faith, nor does she take up theological matters, rarely moving far from a trusting depiction of a recognizable, incarnate God” (Gray 61). Her

unquestioning faith made her particularly well suited to religious instruction for children—in neither of these books is there a moment of doctrinal ambiguity.

On the face of it, *The Story of our Lord* would have a generic, Christian audience, but by originally publishing in Dublin at Sealy, Bryers and Co., and beginning with a “Letter to the Author from His Eminence Cardinal Logue” of Armagh, Tynan is specifically targeting an Irish audience. Cardinal Logue’s imprimatur significantly increases her Irish audience and strengthens her ethos among that group:

I have submitted the proofs of your little work, THE STORY OF OUR LORD FOR CHILDREN, to an expert in religious instruction, and I find his opinion of it is very favourable. “It is written,” he says, “in simple language to suit children, and gives a fairly comprehensive account of the Life of our Lord. Neither is it overloaded with unnecessary details, which is the case with many other works of the kind.”

From this expression of opinion I believe your work to be very suitable and very useful for the religious instruction of children. I can see for myself, what I would naturally expect in anything coming from your pen, that it is written in simple, pure, correct English. Hence I cordially recommend it as a very suitable and very useful book for the religious instruction of children.

Wishing you every blessing and success in your useful work...

(vii)

Interestingly, the name of the “expert in religious instruction” is never given, showing that the validity of intellectual scholarship is decided upon by the opinion of the Church. In fact, we have to accept he is an expert solely on the Cardinal’s proclamation. Tynan wrote it, an

expert reviewed it, but, most importantly, a Cardinal sanctioned it. Furthermore, the placement of the Cardinal's open letter in the beginning of the book is particularly important as it tells the reader to accept the contents without question.

Tynan focuses on the humanity of God, Christ, and Mary in *The Story of our Lord*⁴—just as she does with her devotional poetry for adults (Gray 59). In the book's opening, she relates God to a child's experience with his/her family: "God had for all the souls He made the love that fathers and mothers have for their children, and more than that, because His love is greater than we can imagine, and the love of parents for their children is part of the likeness of the soul to God." The child can easily process this information and interpret God as a loving parent. To describe the magnitude of God's love, she writes that before Christ came to earth for our sins, "God in Heaven was in grief, as a most loving father would be whose child had rebelled against him and was wicked." She focuses on the loving God of the New Testament, whose actions are motivated by "buy[ing] back the souls out of darkness so that they might not lose the happiness for which He destined them." She explains Christ's willingness to offer himself to atone for our sins as "the greatest Thought and the greatest Act of Love the world has ever known or ever will know."

In *Story of Our Lord*, Tynan extols the virtues of obeying parents—a lesson she weaves throughout her corpus—by offering both Mary and Jesus as examples to follow.

⁴ In a side note, throughout the text she uses the Bible as evidence for her claims, but confesses in her memoir, *Twenty Five Years*: "I had read everything I could lay my hands on in my own home, except the Family Bible. We had a very handsome one, a Catholic Bible—was it Dr. Challoner's? It was a translation which was published for the use of Catholics late in the eighteenth or early in the nineteenth century. I am pretty sure no Irish Catholic ever thought of reading it" (55–56).

Tynan asserts that although Mary wished to devote her life to serving the Temple, her parents decided she should marry. Rather than disobeying them, “she submitted her will humbly to that of her parents when they willed otherwise.” Later in the text, Tynan highlights Jesus’ readiness to follow the will of Mary and Joseph, “His foster-father”; she shows children that even Jesus deferred to His parents: “He was *subject* to His parents: He obeyed them.”

Furthermore, Tynan’s descriptions of Mary in *Story of Our Lord* is an incarnation of her construct of the ideal girl, “[Mary] lived very quietly with her parents, too humble and simple to imagine what was before her, gentle, obedient, diffusing around her a lovely atmosphere, a pure light.” For her, Mary is the pinnacle of feminine perfection⁵—she is “the exemplar to more than Irish Catholics of all that is lovely and pure in feminine nature” (Tynan, *A Nun* 94). Through her vision of Mary, she teaches the young girl the type of woman she must become.

The Rhymed Life of St. Patrick chronicles the life and miracles of St. Patrick with accompanying art-deco inspired illustrations. Although it is another work of religious instruction, *St. Patrick* differs from *The Story of Our Lord* in significant ways. Primarily, while the change in genre— moving from prose to poetry— would appear the most

⁵ An early example of Tynan’s devotion appears in her biography of the nun Mary Xaveria Fallon as she writes: “Mary, Mother of God, is the ideal set before all Catholic women. From their childhood they are taught to weigh their actions by her modesty and humility and patience. She pleased God so perfectly as to be chosen for the highest office He ever conferred upon a human creature. Being human, though dowered with unspeakable graces, she is not so out of sight that one may not, as a pool mirrors a star, try to imitate her. So it is that some of her loveliness descends upon her copyists” (*A Nun: Her Friends and Her Order* 2).

noteworthy, the chief divergence here is audience, which is pointedly defined in her dedication:

To you, children of Patrick and Bride,
 Scattered over the world so wide,
 Where'er ye are remembering still
 St Patrick and his holy hill,
 And the white Virgin of Kildare,
 This book I give where'er ye are.
 We are all children of one father,
 Who to the One Fold all did gather.

Therefore to exiled folk that roam
 And to the happier ones at home,
 To Patrick's children, little and great;
 These rhymes of him I dedicate

She does make mention of the children still in Ireland, but they are secondary to children of the Irish Diaspora.

The illustrator, L.D. Symington, narrows the audience further because of the drawings that adorn every page. The dedication appears to address every descendant of St. Patrick, but the body of the text targets an American audience. Except the penultimate image, every picture is a direct representation of the text. The topic of Tynan's text on this page is "St Patrick chooses his Cathedral Site":

St Patrick walked with the King to choose
 The site for the church to the King of the Jews.
 He saw where a doe and fawn lay,
 Mother and child sweetly at play;
 And the King's men were eager to slay.
 "Nay," said Patrick, "these two I claim."
 He took the fawn, bright as a blossom,
 Dappled and silky into his bosom;
 And the doe trotting beside him came.
 Where he put down the fawn on the hill,
 His great Cathedral honours him still.
 And still 'tis said of Patrick the blest
 That he carries the Irish Church in his breast.

However, the accompanying drawing is unique because it contains its own text: "With a Background Design showing three St. Patrick Cathedrals in the United States." In the foreground is a literal rendering of Tynan's narrative, St. Patrick holding a fawn, but in the background are three Cathedrals, labeled New York, Rochester, and Newark. Clearly, she is trying to appeal to the lucrative Irish-American audience (Fallon 83).

Intended as a "gift book," it was not meant to educate children in the same way as *Story of Our Lord* (Fallon 83–84). Rather, it worked as propaganda to bolster Irish-American pride. Just as she does in *History*, she connects the contemporary child with the glories of an ancient Ireland. Her St. Patrick is "emphatically Celtic and Catholic..., a mythic wonder-

worker or ‘thaumaturge’” (Vance 165). Moreover, he is fashioned in the ideals of the Revivalists because he is a powerful Irish hero connected with Irish splendor (Vance 168). She is able to promote their image of St. Patrick and, by extension, their image of the Irish to a larger audience through her closing directive, “Bless this book and scatter it wide!”

In Tynan’s books of education, she subverts the common practice among the colonizer to use the educational system as a means of cultural suppression where the colonizer could eradicate a country’s history and sense of national pride. After the Act of Union, England saw how “schools could serve politicizing and socialising goals, cultivating attitudes of political loyalty and cultural assimilation” (Coolahan 4). Tynan clearly saw this, too. Whether in books of history or religion, schoolbooks or gift books, Tynan’s message to children is consistent: Irish–Catholic identity is something to be proud of and to cherish.

Chapter 5

In addition to her Romance Novels, Tynan countered British societal prejudices through her contributions to the *Peeps at Many Lands* series. This popular children's travel series covered such disparate areas of the globe as Asia, Scandinavia, North America, Africa, Europe. The *New York Times* touted it as "an old and valued friend of young people whose parents have the discrimination to provide for them attractive food for the assuagement of that desire to know about 'some place else' that is inherent in all vigorous young minds" (3 July 1921). Tynan's edition, *Peeps at Many Lands: Ireland*, followed a similar format as the others in the series focusing on cultural awareness.

Peeps: Ireland was quite popular, with three publications (1909, 1911, and 1921) by A. & C. Black, and an additional publication by The Macmillan Company in New York in 1921. The *Classified Catalogue of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh 1907-1911* advertised it as a "little journey in Ireland, telling about the traits and ways of the Irish people and about Dublin, Cork, Galway, Donegal and other places." In *The English Journal* (1926), the head of the English Department at Eastern Michigan University and Chair of the International Relations Committee of the National Council of Teachers of English, E. Estelle Downing, singled out this series as a schoolbook to advance "international understanding and good will" (224).

In *Peeps*, she is, as Salman Rushdie says, writing "back to the Centre." As such, she has to write on behalf of the misrepresented Irish to create an image of Ireland for the British

child by downplaying parts of Irish history and completely omitting others.⁶ This is necessary because, as Elizabeth Bowen points out, “[i]f the greater part of the past has not been, mercifully, forgotten, the effect upon our modern sensibility would be unbearable” (Foster *Paddy* 104). Unlike Tynan’s other works, her entire audience here is non-Irish and, more likely than not, burdened with negative preconceptions of the Irish. In *Katharine Tynan’s Book of Irish History*, she was writing for an Irish audience so she could express her political bias, but here she changes her rhetoric and focus to suit her new audience.

The 1921 edition was part of a series combining several of the British publications of *Peeps at Many Lands* to create six new volumes, each comprising “two naturally related countries or cities” (*New York Times* July 3, 1921). The volumes in this series are: *England and Wales*, by John Finnemore and E.M. Wilmot-Buxton; *Sweden and Finland*, by Rev. William Liddle and Mrs. Liddle and M. Pearson Thomson; *Canada and Newfoundland*, by J.T. Bealby and Ford Fairford; *Spain and Portugal*, by Edith A. Brown and Agnes A. Goodall; *London and Paris*, by G.E. Mitton and Margery Williams; and *Scotland and Ireland*, by Elizabeth Grierson and Katharine Tynan. *The New York Times* review of the 1921 publication describes the series:

There is a good deal of difference in the mental attitude of the authors of the several volumes toward their readers. Some of them rather write down and consciously attempt to appeal to minds much younger than their own, while others, without being too elderly and mature in their viewpoint and feeling, have written narratives that adults will find as enjoyable as do the youngsters, so thoroughly are their minds

⁶ While the Macmillan Company published its editions for an American audience, Tynan did not change her addressee, the English child.

saturated with their subjects and so interesting is their interpretation of country and people. Some of the authors devote a good deal of attention to the history of the countries with which they deal, although it is always written in an informal and colorful way, so that young readers will scarcely know they are reading history; others pay more attention to the customs and characteristics of the people, a few spread forth a rich treat of folk lore and legend, and others stress somewhat the beauties of the scenery. The series makes, as a whole, a particularly attractive, charming and informative means of interesting young people in their teens in other countries and giving them an outlook upon the world.

In *Peeps at Many Lands: Scotland and Ireland*, Tynan and Grierson⁷ both dedicate the majority of their space to the customs and characteristics of the people, and the beauty of the country, rather than historical accounts. Grierson focuses on the “many quaint old national customs” (with the caveat, “although they are fewer now than they were fifty years ago” 2). In essence, both Tynan and Grierson are preparing their audiences to become cultural tourists— more interested in cultural flavor than history. In fact, the series was praised in *The Children’s Room* (1912) by Frances Jenkins Olcott (1873–1963), author of children’s literature and head of the Children’s Department at the Carnegie Library, because it avoids the trappings of other “travel accounts for children [which] are stuffed with informing facts, usually related by a prosy grown-up to a long-suffering party of children, or they are desultory or vague” (204). Furthermore, she contends, “the best travel books are not

⁷ Author of *St. Paul’s* (1910), part of *The Tales of English Minsters* series published by A & C Black; *The Scottish Fairy Book* (1910), *The Story of St. Francis of Assisi* (1927), *Peeps at Great Cities: Florence* (1912), *Tales of Scottish Keeps and Castles* (1928), *Children’s Book of Edinburgh* (1906), *Peeps at Many Lands: Scotland*

intended as such. They are stories full of local color and fine descriptions of natural scenery, customs and manners” (204). However, Tynan and Grierson cannot avoid conveying some historical information— no matter how diluted.

In favor of the picturesque, Tynan sanitizes the most disturbing and horrific moments in Irish history. For example, the famine, referenced only once, is retold thus: “In the early years of the nineteenth century grass grew in the streets of Dublin. Famine and pestilence followed each other in monotonous succession” (19); Cromwell’s occupation was “those gloomy and frowning fastnesses” (71) and he “sacked Drogheda with a thoroughness” (44). She also dilutes the horrors of World War One and the Irish Revolution: “[t]he Great War has played its part. There were the troubles that followed after; these have left few traces behind.” With two essential comments, “Ireland is Ireland still. The gracious are unchanged,” she implies the child need not worry about any possible danger because conflict in Ireland is temporary and will not— no matter what— affect the child’s experiences (39). She offers the 1798 Rebellion as an example: “It is a bloody and brutal chapter of Irish history, and the memories of it accounted for the religious animosities which I remember in my youth,” but she spends more time stressing the fact that the animosity is “fading out as the memories of the Rebellion are fading. The year of 1798 has ceased to be a landmark in Irish life... Even in those times it was becoming more customary to date events by the year of the Big Wind, 1839... and the Big Wind of 1903 has wiped out the memory of its predecessor” (41).

Tynan diminishes the importance of events by criticizing Irish transitory emphasis upon certain moments in history: “A great deal of Irish history gathers round the Rebellion— *the* Rebellion, the Irish yet call it, as though there had never been any other” (*Peeps* 42).

While the 1927 edition replaces this entire chapter with “Ireland Changing and Unchanging,” her focus is on the consistency of the Irish character: “The years since this book was first written have brought many changes... Whatever Ireland has lost, she has kept her gaieties... the new Irish are just the old Irish” (39–42). Through her equivocation in all the editions, she is able to appear historically responsible, while appeasing possible predispositions to prejudice.

Another distinct narrative change in the 1927 edition occurs in the second chapter, “Dublin.” In 1909, 1911, and 1921 the first paragraph concludes:

Dublin, the city of the English pale, remained and remains an English city— with a difference. The Anglo–Irish did things their London brethren were doing— with a difference. If there were unholy revels at Medmenham Abbey on the Thames, they were imitated or excelled by their Irish prototypes, whose clubhouse you will still see standing up before you a ruin on top of the Dublin mountains. In many ways the society of Dublin models itself on London to this day (8).

The 1927 edition clearly shows a dramatic separation from England:

Unhappily much of the beauty created by Gandon and the other artists who flocked to Dublin in that hour of her Renaissance was destroyed during the Irish Rebellion of 1916 and the unhappy years that came after. Fortunately the Custom–House was not ruined beyond reconstruction, but other fine buildings were, and Sackville Street still shows dreadful gaps from the various bombardments of the city. But these doubtless in time will be renewed, because Ireland is now, generally speaking, in a state of reconstruction (8).

Although unsuited for the economic needs of Ireland, the Custom–House is described in the 1909, 1911, 1921 publications as:

[John Claudius Beresford] built the Custom–House, now a rabbit–warren of Government offices, on a scale proportioned to the needs of the greatest trading city in Europe, oblivious of the fact that Irish trade was going or gone; or, perhaps— who knows?— building for the future. All that part of the city lying between the new bridge and the Custom–House was laid out in streets (9).

However, the 1927 publication change makes the Custom–House a symbol of both a disconnect with economic realities and a reflection of societal disruptions in Ireland:

[John Claudius Beresford] built the Custom–House, used under English rule as Government offices, on a scale proportioned to the needs of the greatest trading city in Europe, oblivious of the fact that Irish trade was going or gone. Alas! that great beauty of Dublin was badly shattered in the recent troubles, but not beyond reparation. Some day it will rise again, and time will do the rest (9).

Both versions, while distinctly different in tone, note the ebb and flow of Ireland’s past.

Although the Civil War is foremost in her mind in the 1927 publication, Tynan evades direct engagement and focuses on hope for Ireland’s future— as echoed in *Katharine Tynan’s Irish History*.

Attentive to her audience, Tynan opens *Peeps* orientating Ireland in relation to England: “Between London and Ireland, so far as atmosphere and feeling of things is concerned, there is a world of distance” (1). In many ways, such orientation is a prerequisite in books for children because they “play a significant role in the acculturation of children,

and they draw upon residual concepts of otherness and difference that are the staples of post-colonial theories, in order to offer insight into their real and ideal existences” (Shine Thompson 10). Beginning the book with the understanding that she is writing for an audience unfamiliar with Irish culture, she spends the first chapter of the 1927 edition, “Arrival,” decoding Irish characteristics:

If you are at all alert, you will begin to find the difference as soon as you step off the London, Midland and Scottish train at Holyhead and go on board the steamer for Kingstown. The Irish steward and stewardess will have a very different way from the formal English way. They will be expansive. They will use ten words to one of the English official. Their speech will be picturesque; and if you are gifted with a sense of humour— and if you are not, you had better try to beg, borrow or steal it before you go to Ireland— there will be much to delight you (1–2).

She focuses the rest of the chapter on describing, and interpreting, what children will encounter on their way to Dublin through romantic imagery:

Before you glide up to Kingstown Pier you will have discovered some few things about Ireland beside the picturesqueness of the Irish tongue. You will have seen the lovely coast-line, all the townships glittering in a fairy-like atmosphere, with the mountains of Dublin and Wicklow standing up behind them. You will have passed Howth, that wonderful rock, which seems to take every shade of blue and purple, and silver and gold, and pheasant–brown and rose. You will have felt the Irish air in your face; and the Irish air is soft as a caress (4).

As Tynan is unable to ignore the poverty her readers will encounter, she prepares them through a carefully structured narrative for the encroaching destitution of Dublin:

Later, when you have reached Westland Row and driven across Dublin you will have noticed that the poor people walking along the streets are far more ragged and unkempt generally than the same class in England... The quayside streets are squalid enough, and the people ragged beyond your experience, but there will be no effect of depression and despondency such as assails you in the East End of London... The streets are cheerful, no matter how poor they may be (4—5).

Tynan is engaging in a common didactic construct between the adult writer and child reader, “saying not ‘this is a way to perceive and judge’ but ‘you ought to look at things like this’” (Bratton 25). Instead of highlighting the fact that Dublin had the fifth highest death rate in the world (Murphy *Ireland* 138), she focuses the reader on the unassailable Irish character. Tynan’s depiction of the Irish poor is not unique to this publication, as she is telling the child the same thing she conveyed to the adult readers of her memoirs.⁸

While Tynan doctored history because of disturbing reality, Grierson doctored history because of apparent internal struggle: at one level, she operates under the belief of a communal knowledge shared by English and Scottish school-aged children, as evident in her refrain “you know” (the same narrative technique used by Tynan in *Irish History*):

⁸ In *The Years of the Shadow* she writes of the poor: “these people are in the main innocent, honest, and respectable. There is no parallel for it in England... To any one condemned to live in the Dublin slums, with their rotten walls and filthy staircases, their appalling sanitary conditions, their huddled crowdedness, wages more or less hardly matter. The decent working population has nowhere else to go. That virtue could live and thrive in such a place is a proof of the divine in the human spirit. These slums are not by any manner of means dangerous. No one will think of snatching your watch or knocking you on the head. The people are, indeed, extremely friendly” (75–76).

I need not tell you how this northern land gradually changed its name from Caledonia to Scotland... You know that there were two wild and savage tribes who inhabited the country north of the Roman wall—the part that we call the Highlands. These were the Scots, who came from Ireland, and the Picts, or “painted men.” And you know also that gradually the Scots conquered the Picts, until at last a Scottish King, Kenneth MacAlpine, became King over the whole country, which soon became known as Scotland... We know very little about the reigns of the fifteen Kings who succeeded Kenneth MacAlpine. They seem to us like people walking in a mist. Sometimes the mist lifts a little... but no figure stands out clearly until we come to Malcolm Canmore, he who wedded the English Princess Margaret, who became our Scottish Saint... and, with one King over them, the two countries have gradually become so much alike in many ways, and have so many interests in common, that it is difficult for us to realize nowadays that they were ever apart (4).

While she works to align Scotland with England through a shared history, at another level Grierson simultaneously contradicts this claim noting the Scottish “like always to remember that their little northern land has a history of its own, quite apart from that of England” (2). She is expressing the same tension found in Walter Scott’s novels regarding Scotland’s identity and, ultimately, its relationship to England. In his works, he acknowledges their communal bloody past, but knows that “its future lies in peaceable political and economic integration with the British parliament and the British crown. The anarchic past has a drama and energy which is admired; yet it is one which the realist novel [and in this case, the realist travel journal] must tame and ‘normalize’” (Eagleton *Novel* 96).

In addition to the separate texts, a striking difference between the depictions of the two countries lies in the illustrations. The first image the child is presented in this volume is a portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, “Bonnie Prince Charlie,” majestically donning traditional Scottish attire, gracing the cover of the volume. He stands, light apparently emanating from within, with bouquets of flowers at his feet, clearly returning from a conquest. In the background stand two men, cast in shadow: one is a soldier and the other a member of the clergy. The soldier, standing at attention, gazes out toward the reader while the other figure stands, head bowed with hat in hand. This image of Scotland is forceful, regal, and elegant. The first representation of Ireland, however, does not appear until the middle of the volume—the message being, that although they appear in the same volume, which would imply equality, Scotland is superior to Ireland.

The first intertextual illustration, “Ben Venue and Ellen’s Isle, Loch Katrine,” portrays leisurely travel with the bucolic beauty of the Scottish Lakes as a backdrop. Included in the painting, sitting aboard a small boat, one man lazily dips his hand in pristine water while two women sit beneath a parasol. Other paintings— “A Deer Forest” and “A Salmon Pool on the River Tay”— highlight tourist attractions and accompany chapters such as: “Grouse-Shooting,” “Deer-Stalking,” “Salmon-Fishing,” “National Games: Golf,” “National Games (*Continued*): Curling.”

However, the paintings in *Ireland* focus more on stereotypes of Irish life than leisure. The primary painter of the Irish images in *Peeps: Scotland and Ireland* and the sole painter in *Peeps: Ireland*, is the English born A. Heaton Cooper (1864–1929), known for his paintings of the Lake District. The second artist employed for representations of Ireland in *Peeps*:

Ireland and Scotland was noted illustrator Francis S. Walker (1848–1916). Like Cooper, he was English. In fact, many of the most popular painters of Ireland in the nineteenth century were British. The majority of these painters seem to draw their inspiration from stereotypical images found in popular fiction, not from actual observation (Murphy 125). In *Visual Politics: The Representation of Ireland 1750–1930*, Fintan Cullen observes that the majority of depictions of Ireland were from “exterior forces, a case of artists ‘looking in’ rather than participating” (172). These paintings in essence serve to reflect the attitudes of the colonizer (Cullen 172).

One of the most famous disseminators of Irish imagery was the Scottish-born artist, Sir David Wilkie (1785–1841). Although he briefly visited Ireland once, and had little contact with the country people, he was known for his compositions of Irish cottage interiors with the “luxurious colour and sensuality of a sixteenth-century Italian altarpiece” (Cullen 118). Wilkie ignored the reality of Irish destitution by maintaining a detachment (Cullen 135), while propelling stereotypical images of the Irish: “[t]he activities of the Irish are predictable: illegality is rampant, as is guerilla warfare. What we are offered is a visual summation of centuries of generalised readings of Ireland” (Cullen 121). Rather than harsh reality, his paintings became places where “Ireland was an area on which the centre— that is, London, in the case of Wilkie— could impose its imaginative perceptions” (Cullen 118).

Cullen notes Wilkie’s paintings engage in a “visual language” (160). Almost any visual representation can be seen as conveying some kind of meaning, but the “language” of *Peeps*’ peritext is much more complex and harder to decode than Wilkie because it appears within a large book, rather than in an independent medium. Examining only the illustrations,

Britain is clearly writing— through a visual language— Ireland’s narrative. However, by ensconcing the images within Tynan’s text, it is obvious that they are to be seen as part of her definitions of Ireland and the Irish. Here again, the artistic rendering of the peasant rarely represents the realities of everyday life— any more than does the literature of the time (Cairns 71). This holds true for the Irish and English, both artist and writer. Ultimately, as Edward Hirsch points out in “Imaginary Irish Peasant,” to “define an idea of the Irish peasant was to define an idea of Ireland itself” (1130). The “peasant” no longer described a group of people, but rather the manifestation of an idea upon which writers imposed their own ideology⁹ (Hirsch 1117). Peasants were not necessarily important as individuals, but for what they signified— ultimately becoming a fluid motif, changing from artist to artist, writer to writer,¹⁰ eventually something far beyond the actual peasant (1130). In *Peeps*, Tynan herself uses “the peasant” to represent an “authentic” Ireland, of her creation, clearly demonstrated by indiscriminately interchanging “the Celt,” “the Irish peasant,” “the Irish people,” “Irish Ireland,” “the Irish,” and “the peasant.” Tynan has a tendency to characterize people “not as individuals but as belonging to groups with stereotypical characteristics” (Fallon 126).

For the Irish nationalist, the ideals of a nation were depicted through one person unique to Ireland representing “an organic whole”: the peasant (Goldring 128). As the Irish peasant became synonymous with Ireland, choices made in portraying her became political

⁹ Hirsch illustrates his point by highlighting “Yeats’s spiritualized fishermen, Synge’s wandering tramps, and Joyce’s hard and crafty peasants are all emblems of that imaginary entity” (1117).

¹⁰ The lower-middle-class and middle-class Catholics in Dublin, like Tynan herself, were particularly mindful of the fact that “the peasant could be turned into an emblem not only of Ireland’s victimization and nobility but also of its ignorance, vulgarity, and shame” (Hirsch 1124).

declarations of an individual's interpretation of the state of Ireland. In general, choosing a "patriotic" representation of Ireland became possible only through idealizing and romanticizing the peasant (Hirsch 1124). Tynan's peasants are devout, kind, hospitable, industrious and loyal.

Had Tynan and other nationalists faithfully described the desperate conditions in Ireland— where poverty and destitution ran rampant, becoming "a vast congested rural slum" (MacLochlainn 31)— they would have reinforced the English view of Ireland as a place of degredation (Eagleton *Heathcliff* 153). However, like others of the Irish Renaissance, Tynan and the editors of *Peeps*, soften the painful reality of day-to-day life in favor of the peasant as romantic "repositories of virtue" (Cairns 71).

Of the eight intertextual illustrations in the 1921 and 1927 editions, only three contain people: *Sackville Street*, *Irish Cottage Life in Co. Donegal* (titled *A Cottage in County Donegal* in 1927) and *A Home in Donegal*. The painting of Sackville Street is of interest mainly because of its omission in the 1927 edition. At first sight, there is nothing distinctly Irish in this painting *Sackville*, but its inclusion here, and later omission, are subtle political commentaries. Tynan was attuned to the political weight and social significance behind any representation of Sackville Street, whether it is visual or verbal. In 1913 she notes, "Sackville—O'Connell Street...— it is characteristic of Ireland that the principal street of Dublin is named according to your religious and political convictions..." (*Twenty-Five Years*, 378–379). Of course, Sackville Street's significance was exponentially magnified when it became the epicenter of the 1916 Rising. One could argue that the 1921 inclusion implies that Ireland has undergone little transformation, despite the Rising, but after the Civil

War, Ireland is distinctly different. In fact, with *Sackville's* omission— the only urban setting among the illustrations— DeValera's noble Irish peasant becomes the dominant image in the 1927 edition.

Paying heed to the representation of the Irish peasant is particularly important, especially since painters often depicted Ireland through the peasant class (Deane "Irish National Character" 90-113). In *Irish Cottage Life in Co. Donegal*, the iconic Irish cottage with thatch roof, white-washed walls, and meandering live-stock appear in the chapter "The Irish People." In the doorway of the cottage is a man in a collarless white shirt, with his thumbs tucked closely into the armholes of his blue vest. His dark hat obscures his features. In front of the cottage is a portly woman in a brown dress and long white apron standing in profile, watching pigs eat from a bucket.

In *A Home in Donegal*, drawn in muted, warm tones (an obvious Wilkien influence), a woman sits at a spinning wheel while gazing at an infant in its crib. In the background, half hidden in shadow, behind a loom, is a man with indistinct features. Interpretation of this painting relies heavily upon the child's ability to "read" the images, which is, in turn, dependent upon his knowledge of the subject matter. Prefiguring *A Home* is Tynan's narrative where she paints a picture of a thoroughly industrious, idyllic Irish family in harmony with the human community and nature: "I remember a visit we paid to a cottage where a father sat at the loom weaving, the mother was carding wool, and a black-haired daughter was sprigging muslin by the little narrow square window. A scarlet geranium in the window seemed to be in her night-black hair" (69). Because she has already described the Irish family, the images in this painting can only be read as a dramatization of her narrative.

Conversely, had the reader only received definitions of Ireland through notoriously anti-Irish publications, such as *Punch*, images in the painting could only be decoded negatively. In the Tynan construct, the child is playfully squirming with its arms in the air, needing no more than a mother's loving smile; however, existing in another construct, it might be reaching for help that never comes because of a father's absence and a mother's neglect.

In addition to those images, the 1909 and 1911 editions contain four other illustrations: *A Village in Achill*, *A Donegal Harvest*, *Digging Potatoes*, *Off to America*. The first three illustrations portray peasants tending chickens, bringing in the harvest, digging potatoes. Again, because of Tynan's narrative, the child can see only industrious peasants, happily working the land.¹¹ Whereas *America* has a complexity, hitherto unknown, resulting from an attempt to portray a cultural phenomenon: the illustrations dramatize the moment of emigration, with a young woman leaning out a train window, stretching her arms towards her parents who stand forlorn, gazing at her from a busy platform. The surrounding text instructs the child to read the illustration as the separation of the Irish from their cultural and spiritual self: "The Celt... ought never to go away, and, alas! he goes away in thousands! Contact with the selfish, money-getting materialism has power to destroy the spiritual qualities of the Celt, once he is outside Ireland. When he does come back— a prosperous Irish-American— he is no longer the Celt we loved" (33–34).

As an iconic representation of the tension brought upon the Irish peasant by modernity, every aspect of the painting must be examined, with special attention placed upon

¹¹ Clearly the theme of intertwining land and identity as a way for the colonized to fight marginalization is delineated here; a concern weaved throughout Tynan's work—as we have seen most notably in her romances *Bitha* and *Heart*.

the physicality of the parents and child. The nonverbal clues elucidate the essence of their relationship: the parents stand still, exemplifying consistency, while the daughter is in motion, showing unpredictability. Moreover, reading the language of the clothing in *America* (a practice Roland Barthes would encourage) reveals the conflict between the two worlds. The mother, dressed in a blue cloak, holding her hands together, as if in prayer, is clearly meant to evoke the Virgin Mary and symbolize Irish spirituality. The daughter, wearing a fashionable Victorian dress while on a train, is meant to symbolize commercialism and modernity. The daughter reaches for her parents, showing how the Irish can never cleave their connection to Ireland. Tynan's text reiterates this sentiment: "The home he has left behind because of its dullness, the arid patch of mountain-land, the graves of his people, call him back again at the moment when one would have said every bond with them was loosened" (34)—a clear echo from her romance novels. Finally, the painting reminds the reader to place importance on those left behind because, although titled *Off to America*, the person leaving is positioned to the far right, making the mother and father the center and focus of the painting. This stresses the themes of the book where the peasant's views and importance are privileged above all others.

Almost Joycean in nature, though, is Tynan's preoccupation with the use of language—often expressing a frustration in her inability to explain the Irish, in a book specifically intended to explain the Irish:

I must warn you, before proceeding to write about the Irish people, that I have tried to explain them, according to my capacity, a thousand times to my English friends and neighbours, and have been pulled up short as many times by the reflection that all I

have been saying was contradicted by some other aspect of my country–people.

For we are an eternally contradictory people, and none of us can prognosticate exactly what we shall feel, what do, under given circumstances; whereas the Englishman is simple... Thinking over my country–people, I say, ‘They are so–and–so,’ and then I have a misgiving, and I say, ‘But, after all, they are not so–and–so’ (27–29).

Tynan’s inability to describe the Irish character accurately, she asserts, is based on her belief that the Irish contain an inherent dichotomy: “Did I say that the Celt was gay and melancholy? He is exquisitely gay and most profoundly melancholy” (37). Ultimately, Tynan blames the difficulty of describing the Irish on their ability to control meaning by manipulating language: “And if you win a flow from the Irish peasants, be sure they are talking round what they have to tell by way of leading you away from it; for an Irishman uses language to conceal his thoughts” (68). Quite the opposite of Stephen Dedalus in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, who, when contemplating his conversation with the Dean of Studies, struggles with the notion that the Dean’s “language, so familiar and so foreign, will always be for me an acquired speech. I have not made or accepted its words. My voice holds them at bay.” But Tynan’s text asserts that it is specifically the unique ability of the Irish to use the English language that gives them control of it.

Although Tynan feels unable to accurately describe what she sees as “the Irish”—“I have not touched on a hundredth part of their contradictoriness, which makes the Irish so eternally unexpected and interesting”—she is careful to clearly delineate the distinct characteristic of the “Irish” (the Catholic peasant), from the Non-Irish (the English, the Anglo-Irish, and the Northern Irish). In relation to the English, the Irish contain a multiplicity

of mysteries, often impenetrable: “the Englishman is simple. He has no mysteries. Once you know him, you can pretty well tell what he will say, what feel, and do under given circumstances. You have a formula for him: you have no formula for the Irish. The Englishman is simple, the Irish complex” (28). Furthermore, she expounds:

Your English man or woman is the truly expansive person. When you want to get at anything from an Irishman you’ve got to sit down and wait for the charmed moment when his suspicion of you is put to sleep... It might be hours, and it might be days, and it might be weeks before you broke down the barrier of reserve, well worth the breaking-down if you have ‘worlds enough and time’... the plain English people are the most unreserved in the world, while the Irish are the most reticent (67–68).

To gain access to an Irishman’s thoughts is a privilege, indeed.

Her description, however, of the relationship between Celt and the Anglo-Irishman is at odds. At one point, she states the “unspiritual Saxon... assimilates the ways of the Celt, while the Celt remains untouched by his” (86). But she contradicts this when she explains the Anglo-Irish have influenced the Celt; of the Anglo-Normans, she asserts:

[they were] the maddest crew of dare-devils known in the social life of any country. And here I find, in the record of the dueling and drinking days, traces and indications of the English descent of the roysterers... Doubtless it was from his Anglo-Irish betters that the Celt derived the habit of ‘trailing his coat’¹² through a fair when he

¹² “When on no pretext could they find a friend or neighbour to kill or be killed by, they went out and ‘trailed the coat,’ like the gentleman who rode on a tailless horse, with his face to the crupper, and, seeing an unwary stranger smile, immediately challenged him, and rode home in huge delight to look to his pistols” (60).

was spoiling for a fight, though, to do him justice, he practiced it only when he was drunk. The Anglo–Irish duelists inaugurated the custom (59–60).

The subtext is clear: Tynan is obviously aware of the negative perceptions of the Irish, but she teaches her audience to attribute Irish defects to outside contamination.

Of the Northern Irish, she pays particular attention to their differences from the Celt— she aligns the “Belfast man... [with] his Lancashire brother... [and] his Scottish progenitors” (47). She describes the North as “that north–east corner of Ireland which no Celt looks upon as Ireland at all. In speech, in character, in looks, the people become Scotch and not Irish. One has crossed the border and Celtic Ireland is left behind” (44).

Predominately, Tynan sees the North as industry and the South as spirituality because in the North “one enters the manufacturing districts,” while leaving “characteristic,” “Celtic Ireland,” behind (44). The land even reflects the differences: the landscape of North–East Ulster “is studded with factories. From the streets of Belfast you see the Cave Hill, as from easy–going Dublin you see the Dublin Mountains” (46). In fact, “[i]n the north–east corner of Ulster they are all busy money–making and money–getting. The North of Ireland has admirable qualities— thrift, energy, industry, ambition, capacity. In other parts of Ireland you find these qualities here and there; they are mainly, but not altogether, the qualities of the Anglo–Irish... The Celt has no real capacity for money–making” (44–45). This description, of course, calls to mind Raymond Williams’ correlation between the country and the city, as dramatized in *Heart O’ Gold* and *Bitha’s Wonderful Year*.

At a time when Irish Nationalists were working to present Ireland to the world as a sovereign nation, a publication such as *Peeps: Ireland* was of particular importance. Serving

as an ambassador of “understanding and good will,” Tynan structured her narrative to suit her definition of Ireland as a place where spirituality and generosity reigned over tumult and industry. While her stated goal was to entice her readers to visit Ireland— “It may safely be said that any boy or girl who takes a peep at Ireland will want another peep”— her accomplishment lay in her positive construction of the “Irish.”

Chapter 6

Manners are what vex or soothe, corrupt or purify, exalt or debase, barbarize or refine us, by a constant, steady, uniform, insensible operation like that of the air we breathe in.

—Edmund Burke

Although Said asserts in *Culture and Imperialism*, “the nineteenth-century European novel is a cultural form consolidating but also refining and articulating the authority of the *status quo*” (77), it is in fact books of conduct that truly fulfill this role. Unlike novels, the agenda of etiquette and manners manuals popular throughout the nineteenth-century was overt. They worked to codify behavior through rules, thereby producing a culture while simultaneously describing it— they defined the qualities found in the model Victorian child while at the same time using these definitions to create the model Victorian child. While books of etiquette provided “an accurate portrait of the manners of their day,” books of courtesy and manners, portrayed an ideal (Curtin 4). This ideal was especially a reflection of the attitudes of the authors, rather than the description of the trends of society (Mason 292). In Tynan’s memoir *Wandering Year* she demonstrates her propensity toward the ideal child as she describes the home of Lord Shaftesbury, of Dorset, with whom she spent part of a summer: “It was an ideally kind house for the guest. The children were brought up to the old-fashioned virtues of kindness, courtesy, considerateness, and all the qualities that go to make up a beautiful hospitality” (96). Her image of the ideal child is reflected in her two books of courtesy, *Little Book of Courtesy* and *A Little Book of Manners*, and the primary objective of these books was to prepare children for their future role in society. Moreover,

Courtesy and *Manners* were designed for separate audiences. *Courtesies* addressed the bourgeois in general, but *Manners* focused more narrowly upon the Irish.

Within the subsets of the genre of books of conduct—books of manners, books of courtesy, and books of etiquette—etiquette is the most codified, and ultimately, the most straightforward. Historically, books of conduct seamlessly unified manners and morals, but as the eighteenth century progressed, a shift began to occur as books of conduct moved away from moral instruction (Mason 292). During the Enlightenment, manners began to separate from the context of morality: “Whereas courtesy had been a centuries-long debate on the aims and character of true nobility, including a close and critical attention to the relations between the aims of civility and the claims of conscience, etiquette merely passed along the most formal aspects of fashionable manners” (Curtin 38).

Once morality and manners were cleaved in the nineteenth century, “[m]anners, deprived of their context in morality, came to seem trivial, to be mere matters of etiquette” (Curtin 26–27). Propelled by this larger social trend, books of etiquette, devoid of larger social responsibility, flourished. The minutiae of etiquette worked to strengthen the barrier between the classes while casting aside the “general progress of civilization” (Curtin 4). Ultimately, the purpose of learning etiquette became inclusion into bourgeois society— with the underlying belief that “social respectability could be purchased and learned” (Kasson 43). Adopting intricate rules of social behavior became a gateway to the “best people” (Mason 292)¹³. The common desire for inclusion and belief in its attainment is evident in the fact that throughout “the nineteenth century, etiquette manuals appeared in unprecedented numbers,

¹³ In fact, this trend began at the end of the eighteenth century, as books of conduct moved away from moral instruction (Mason 292).

corresponding with the rise of the bourgeois culture” (Kasson 44). This does not mean, however, that books of courtesy and manners in the traditional sense were out of fashion, or that they did not serve as a tool for the bourgeois. In fact, books of manners “applied a moral standard to everyday life” (Curtin 7). Tynan herself believed that “manners and morals overlapped so as sometimes to be one and the same” (*Manners* 55). In general, she follows constructs of the manners genre where achieving “civility and gentle manners was thus portrayed as difficult triumph of individual moral development and self-mastery over a prideful and impetuous character” (Curtin 39).

Books of courtesy in general explored relationships between king and followers, between parents and children, between masters and servants (Curtin 32). Specifically, Tynan’s *A Little Book of Courtesies*, divided into fourteen chapters, a foreword, and an envoi, delineates ideal behavior the child must emulate, especially regarding interpersonal relationships. Although it is undated, it clearly addresses a Colonial bourgeois Victorian audience¹⁴—as evident in her “Sixth Little Rule of Courtesy: To be gentle and considerate with Inferiors,” which highlights loyalty and interpersonal relationships:

When you grow up to occupy, as I hope, honourable positions, you will all be servants, of the King it may be, or the Public, in one or other capacity: and always,

¹⁴ Furthermore, an argument can be made that the audience is predominately female. By solely examining the text, the majority of the rules of courtesies appear gender neutral, but the illustrations are noticeably gendered. Specifically, girls are targeted through illustrations linking them with flowers. They are shown smelling flowers, handing them to others, and even selling them. Flower imagery—iconic of the feminine—dominates the illustrations as either flowers or cupids frame every chapter (Foster and Simons). While there are a few images of boys, they are shown in positions of power: guiding a little sister, patronizing a flower peddler, teaching a fellow student.

always, I trust, servants of God, if you would not be servants of Evil... It is through no desert of your own that you live more delicately, dress more daintily, are better educated than others, and the knowledge of it should make you humble (31). She specifically reminds the children to show reverence to their servants (with special attention drawn to the nurse):

There may be some children silly and vulgar enough to consider Servant a name of contempt. Indeed it is not so: for we all serve someone, and the highest of us all must, will he, nill he, be the Servant of God. And that, my dear Children, is a very proud name. To be a Servant is to serve. I am serving you in writing these Rules for you; and the Artist who makes you such beautiful pictures is also serving you” (30–31).

Illustrated in her foreword, which is written in verse, is Tynan’s aim: teaching children to be pious, courteous, and considerate. It is particularly effective to examine her opening through Gerald Genette’s *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* because of his comments on how to decode prefaces: simply put, the function of the preface is to provide guidance: “this is *why* and this is *how* you should read this book” (Genette 197). In *Paratexts*, Genette examines the “text” surrounding a book’s narrative— or paratext— in order to glean further understanding of a book. His thorough analysis takes into account multiple components of the paratext including: dust jackets, type–face, position of the author’s name, intertextual illustrations, dedications, prefaces.

As a rhetorical device, the preface serves the function of getting “the book read properly” (Genette 197). Additionally, it stresses the significance of the text within the larger social construct and “constitutes the main case for valuing the text highly” (Genette 200).

Within Tynan's six stanzas, the child learns the argument that this book provides useful information for an important issue. In her foreword she writes:

*The Child who would be good and sage,
A comfort to his owners,
Will find this book a Pilgrimage
That leads to love and honours.*

*The Child who would be bad and wild,
At all good counsel scoffing,
'Tis not for him, unhappy Child,
With trouble in the offing.*

*Unless it be that by its scrip
He's turned from evil courses,
And reading finds his nether lip
A-tremble with remorse.*

*Come in, poor Child, and read awhile
And learn while you are reading
The Don't-Care path, the way of guile,
Make very thorny treading.*

*The Golden Rules of Courtesy
Within this book framed;
Small Knight, receive it on your knee
Who never shall be shaméd!*

*For he who shall observe these Rules,
So simple yet so ample,
Shall know the wisdom scorned of fools—
Follow the great Example.*

*Dear Children, if inclined to scoff,
Pause; here's no food for laughter.
This way is praise, this way is Love,
This way is Heaven hereafter.*

For Tynan, it appears that following instructions offered in the little book is akin to a holy pilgrimage, a search for salvation. Even when it appears to be trivial, as the Tenth Rule: "To

observe Quietness at the Proper Times” or cliché, as the Eleventh rule: “To speak when you are spoken to,” Tynan always connects her rules to the loftier leitmotifs of religious devotion and empathetic service.

The first “Little Rule: To say your Prayers with Recollection,” continues the theme of piety. By placing prayer as the first rule, Tynan is stressing its importance. Here children are taught to say prayers upon waking, why they should pray, and how they should pray. Their prayers are not to be pleas for favors, but songs of gratitude and praise; their minds are to be fixed upon nothing other than praising God— for they are to be “quite sure that in the great chorus of praise which all creation is sending up to the Throne of God, that kind and fatherly God would miss the voice of one little Child who had forgotten Him” (12). Making sure children truly understand her instruction, Tynan provides a simple analogy between the child’s relationship with God and the child’s relationship with others: “[i]f one was talking to someone very dear, Father or Mother or favourite Friend, he would not be thinking of other things and not of them” (12). She bookmarks *Courtesies* by extending this metaphor in the closing chapter, “The Fourteenth Little Rule of Courtesy: To be Willing in Serving.” Here she reverses the analogy as she uses Jesus to illustrate her point: the child “will remember that the King of all children was subject to His parents while on earth; and he will think upon that House at Nazareth where was never Sourness or Unwillingness, but always a Readiness to Serve, on the part of Him who has made service and subjugation all—glorious” (55–56).

A message from *Courtesy* is that a child should act without consideration of immediate reward, knowing that ultimate reward for behavior— no matter how apparently trivial— lies in heaven. In rule eight, “To desire Others to be Served before yourself,”

reminds the child that the Bible states, “the first shall be last and the last first in the Kingdom of Heaven, which means that the humble and the lowly shall be honoured and the selfish and the proud shall be humbled” (36). Rule twelve, “Not to Repeat Things You have Overheard,” tells the child that if he acts as if he “had not heard what he was not intended to hear [h]e will so prove himself a Gentle and Trustworthy Child, one worthy to belong to the Chivalry of the little Army of Christ” (50).

Her “Second Little Rule of Courtesy: To be Respectful and Obedient to Father and Mother” has similar religious overtures. As Tynan notes, it “has actually been made one of the Commandments.” Her emotional appeal is palpable. Perhaps because she lost children of her own, the tenderness evoked in this section is much stronger than any other. Here she does not explicitly state the repercussions of infractions (as she does with the other “rules”), but rather appeals to her reader’s pathos, noting that disrespectful and

misguided Children do not know how much their Parents have loved them and suffered for them; how they have watched over their Babyhood, worked for them so that they should have good food and clothing and delicate pleasant surroundings, that they might receive the blessing of Education, that they might have little Joys and little Pleasures which mean so much in the lives of Children. Dear Children, to-night, all over the World, *Fathers and Mothers are leaning over little Children’s Beds*, watching them with love, sheltering them from the cold Winds and Storms, holding hands together above the little Children’s heads in a love that makes the Nursery of every happy home a Holy Place. Sometimes it may be a little sick child and then there is such sorrow and care in the Parents’ Breasts as you do not dream of.

The parents' love and consideration is likened to God's love:

When God looks down on the dark earth from His Heaven He sees millions and millions of little twinkling points of light in the Nurseries of all the world and He blesses them. He says: 'There are the parents whose hearts feel as My heart feels for the Children.'

Finally, she shows that a parents' love is not only heavenly, but it is also universal:

It is not only white parents like yours, but the Esquimaux in their huts, the negroes in torrid Africa, the Hindus beneath the Himalayas: everywhere, everywhere, Parents are whispering tonight that so long as their little Child is good and happy they will accept any care and suffering for themselves.

Rules seven and nine, "To defer to the Sick, the Old and the Afflicted" and "To be tender and helpful to Those who Fail where You Succeed" (respectively), remind children that although they may have strengths, they have them merely by chance. Furthermore, rule seven states that "if he should see anyone on crutches or with a halt he will not mimic them as a wicked child would; but he will consider within himself humbly that he has not deserved to be otherwise than they are, and he will look upon them with a kind and pitying eye because they can never run or play as he can" (33). Additionally, rule nine states "It will sometimes happen that one Child is cleverer than Another, takes prizes where the Other fails, understands where Another is dull. And this should no more exalt him than it should that his Nose be straight when Another's is crooked" (37). Tynan warns against hubris in rule nine, "*That the dull Child may yet put you to shame*. And if it were not to be so he may have a

Nature, a Heart, a Soul, far higher than yours: for God allots to everyone Gifts as He sees best” (38).

While the fourth and fifth chapters address the book’s common theme of consideration, these two chapters are unique in that they are explicitly dedicated to separate audiences: one chapter for boys and the other for girls. The “Fourth Little Rule of Courtesy (for boys),” warns “Not to fail in Politeness to your Sister and all Women” while the “Fifth Little Rule of Courtesy (addressed specially for Girls)” advises “Not to be spoilt by the consideration of Others.” The material difference between these two chapters lies within interpersonal relationships. There is no mention in the chapter dedicated to boys of anything other than consideration of the female, whereas girls must consider all others. With the assumption that he already has “tenderness for the Mother you adore” and for her friends, Tynan draws particular attention to those who are subservient: “there can be nothing more painful than to see a little Boy rough and rude to his Sister, forgetful of politeness to his Governess, insolent to his Nurse, and unpleasant to Women–servants” (21). Because of the social status of their addressees, the boys cannot expect any gain, but Tynan encourages them, “To be a gentleman and act like one is in itself a great reward” (23).

The predominate message of the fifth rule warns girls against the dangers of vanity: “It would be the greatest possible abuse of your brothers’ kindness and the kind notice taken of you by grown–up people if you were to become like a Spoilt Beauty, capricious, vain, exacting” (24). To insure that the message will not be lost upon her audience, Tynan places in italics, “*Every flower in the garden is lovelier than you can hope to be in person*” (25).

Tynan explains the consequences of vanity: exclusion from society. In fact, the catastrophic punishment for this vice would be permanent exclusion: “The Child who would be so would grow into the unloved girl and woman” (25). Additionally, if, because of her vanity, the young female reader is warned not to be “too fanciful and finicking in your way with your brothers [and do not] join [...] them with heartiness [and] if she were to be a wet blanket on their Joy she would be disliked by them no matter how pretty were her curls or how fine her frocks.”

Rather than relying on external beauty, Tynan explains to girls, “it is by gentleness and virtue that you will shine all your life” (25)— eventually leading to inclusion. But the more interesting instruction lies in what Tynan describes as the responsibility girls have in their conduct: girls are told they must conduct themselves with virtue, not as a goal in and of itself, but for the ultimate purpose of influencing their brothers who “will learn from [them] to temper their ruder Virtues with gentleness and pity.” Ultimately, “[s]he must be a little wholesome bright Presence and Influence in her brothers’ lives.” The girl’s behavior serves a utilitarian purpose, which is to guide and teach others.

Notwithstanding the obvious gender typing, the sentiment reflects a common theme found in many narratives for children, namely the regenerative possibilities of society: the good behavior of one child has the ability to nurture the good behavior of another (Coveney 49). In “The third little rule of courtesy: To Yield and Give Up Things to Another Joyfully

when it is for the good of that Other,” the generous child serves “as an example to the others who will too commonly fall to squabbling over things they covet” (20).¹⁵

This common trope is clearly seen in Frances Hodgson Burnett’s classic *The Secret Garden* (1911). At the novel’s start, because Mary Lennox was given “her own way in everything” from birth, “by the time she was six years old she was as tyrannical and selfish a little pig as ever lived” (3). Mary begins as “the most disagreeable-looking child ever seen”— or, as she is early on known, as “Mistress Mary, quite contrary”— but because of the influence of another child, by the novel’s end, she becomes empathetic, nurturing and generous. On moving to Britain, she learns lessons of civility from the rustic young housemaid Martha, who teaches Mary to consider the feelings of others and be aware of how others view her behavior. Neither of these things occurred to her while growing up in India. There she focused not on whether she was disagreeable, but rather on how other people were disagreeable to her. Martha, and particularly her fourteen-year-old brother Dickon, serve as examples upon which Mary models her behavior.

Once Mary is able to move from self-absorption to empathy, she is able to regenerate her equally egotistical and spoiled cousin, Colin Craven. The novel’s “emphasis on nurturing” is a common characteristic of literature for girls at the turn of the century; in fact, the “values of sharing, of selflessness and on the healing properties of love [are] the same principles which govern earlier sentimental writing for girls” (Foster and Simons 174—175).

¹⁵ Precedent lies in Thomas Day’s exceedingly popular tale of *Standford and Merton* (at least forty-three editions were published between 1783 and 1812) as it stands witness to the notion of contagious juvenile virtue. The story’s simple message lies in the relationship between the noble, but poor, Tommy Standford and the spoiled, but rich, Harry Merton— through Tommy’s influence, Harry learns to temper his baser nature (Coveney 49).

Both Tynan's third and fifth rule encodes the nurturing role dramatized in popular fiction for girls.

In "The Thirteenth Little Rule of Courtesy: Not to Laugh at the Defects or Faults of Others," there is a marked shift in tone. While her other chapters use warnings, their tone is always amiable, but here it is almost aggressive; she describes the breaking of this rule as "evil," "cruel," "wicked" (51–52). Moreover, this transgression is akin to an act against God: "Of all the sins and failings that can belong to children *the worst of all is Cruelty, the one which is most entirely abhorrent to God, being of its Nature altogether and throughout Wicked and Evil*" (52). Mockery, or "amused malice," brings the child "on the level of an Ape or a Monkey" (52).

Finally, the envoi, "A Last Word," not only reiterates the goal of the book, but also reinstates a benign tone:

DEAR Children, listen, patient still,
With her who would improve ye,
Seeing that be ye what ye will
She may not choose but love ye.

Also love him whose charming art
Illumes what else were prosy,
Who, with the true love of his heart
Makes of each Rule a posy.

K.T.H.

The effect of this conclusion is to show Tynan as kind, knowledgeable, and altruistic. As books of conduct rely a good deal upon the character of the author, this parting sentiment is essential to the success of the book.

In Tynan's other book of instruction, *A Little Book of Manners*, she appropriates an already established tradition of behavior and social discourse (manners manuals), and

redefines it within an Irish cultural narrative. Rather than the large Victorian audience of *Little Book of Courtesies*, the book *Manners*, published by the decidedly Irish Talbot Press, is dedicated “To the dear children of Ireland.” She specifically states the goal of the book in the latter part of the dedication, “that they honour the beloved land.” This thereby links the qualities propounded by the book with nationalism. Including this dedication enmeshes Victorian value systems with Irish subversive politics. As honoring Ireland is presented as equivalent to displaying proper manners, to be a loyal member of Irish society, a child has to behave according to the colonial bourgeois expectations represented in Tynan’s texts. Consequently, the duality of *Manners* also reflects a tension between Irish Nationalism and Victorian ideology. She has created what Homi Bhabha calls a “hybrid” text where a “book retains its presence, but it is no longer a representation of an essence; it is now a partial presence, a (strategic) device in a specific colonial engagement, an appurtenance of authority” (Bhabha 114–115). Therefore, she gives Irish Nationalism authority over Victorian ideology (as expected from Tynan’s early works and political beliefs).

Here, rather than explicitly delineating a difference between the Irish and the British societies, as she does in her Romance Novels, *Peeps at Many Lands*, and *Katharine Tynan’s History of Ireland*, she seems to link them through common experiences and expectations,¹⁶

¹⁶ Even though it is an undated text, this Ireland is unmistakably linked to colonial British society: she stresses to her audience, “One of the warnings to those about to become officers in the army is that they are not to be puffed up because they are saluted. ‘Remember that it is not you who are saluted but the King’s Commission which you carry,’ runs the instruction” (29). This sentiment is shown in her memoir, *Years of the Shadow*, “I had lived eighteen years in England. I had come to believe that affection for England and love of Ireland could quite well go hand in hand. I was enthusiastically pro-Ally. Both my boys were pledged to the War— by their own choice. They had grown up to adore Ireland without ever doubting that they might have an affection for the country in which they were born” (204).

the underlying assumption being that proper behavior does not alter from country to country. But while she is acknowledging Irish allegiance to Britain, she is simultaneously separating the two. The separation, however, is clear only to the readers of the “internal text,” Irish children. The function of the dedication exemplifies how “a good many internal titles make sense only to an addressee who is already involved in reading the text, for these internal titles presume familiarity with everything that has preceded” (Genette 294). The title, viewed alone, seems to address children of all nationalities, but once the dedication is taken into account, the book’s hybridity becomes clear.

Tynan organizes *Manners* both as a narrative and as an instruction manual. The structure of each chapter delineates themes (“Manners in the Home,” “Manners to the Aged,” “Manners in the School,” “Manners in the Church,” “Manners in the World,” “Manners to Animals”) and enumerates rules that follow. While the audience is specifically Irish Catholic (with a chapter dedicated to “Manners in the Church”), it has a broader socio-economic range than that of *Courtesies*. The latter audience was distinctly upper-middle-class urban, but this one spans the continuum of the Irish middle-class, and hails from both the country and the city. *Courtesies* assumes that her readers’ families maintain domestic servants, nurses, and governesses, but in *Manners* members of her audience are more likely to become domestic servants themselves— or Post Office clerks or persons “employed in a shop” (51–53). Mothers in *Courtesies* entertain friends while mothers in *Manners* are often “rough-handed with toil and worn with the cares of keeping a home for the children” (16). Yet Tynan also advises children whose parents “employ labourers or servants [to] be polite to them” (25). She instructs children equally on how to behave on city trams (offering their seats to

women— the old, “delicate,” and “lame”), and how to treat donkeys (gently, remembering they bore the weight of Christ).

Although she claims equal knowledge of the rural and the urban, Tynan spends a disproportional amount of time on the rural, focusing especially on the treatment of farm animals. An entire chapter titled “Manners to Animals” delineates the responsibility children owe to animals: they have a “moral duty of being just and gentle to all defenceless creatures as well as to human-kind” (55). In fact, she equates kindness to animals with saintliness, citing the kindness of St. Patrick to a doe, St. Kevin to a bird, St. Kieran to a badger and a fox, St. Columbkille to both a heron and an old horse. Furthermore, in addition to the saints’ common link with animals, they are notably Irish.

While she does provide a passing nod to boys, “Almost the first thing a boy should learn is to protect younger, weaker, and gentler creatures than himself” (18), her emphasis quickly turns to girls because “if a boy is rough and rude there is something lacking in his mother and sisters” (18). Through her choice of content, her text makes it quite clear that the target audience is female: she deals with issues unique to girls. For example, she dedicates parts of her book to discussions of women’s clothing:

One may regret the fact that Irish country girls have taken to wearing cheap imitations of fashionable garments instead of the old simple, modest dress of former days. Few things can be prettier than the dress you see on the women and girls working in the fields in the more remote parts of Western Ireland. The white snood on the hair, the loose bodice with the kerchief knotted about the throat, the short skirt or red flannel

or bright cotton, the beauty, so common in Western Ireland, could hardly have a more charming setting. However we must be content with things as they are (45–46). Additionally, gender expectations prominent in *Courtesies*— dangers of vanity, [“I would say to girls, who naturally wish to be beautiful, that beauty is vain without Manners” (10)] and interpersonal responsibility [“A bad boy is bad enough, but a bad girl is worse, because she ought to be in a sense the guardian of the boy” (37)]— weave their way into this narrative.

Another way Tynan emphasizes nationalist values in *Manners* is by repeated references to an invocation of a bygone Ireland— not the Ireland of ancient nobility she summons through her Romance novels or history book— but one of middle class mundanity. She often compares contemporary manners to those she knew growing up in suburban Dublin. Unequivocally, the manners of her childhood trump what she sees around her: “Time was when the Irish generally were gentlemen and ladies. A good many of them are still. But it is not at all so general a matter as it used to be” (9). Furthermore, “usually the old Irishwomen are ladies, as the old Irishmen are gentlemen. There are many Irish boys and girls as well as Irish men and women who do not promise to become ladies and gentlemen in any future” (44).

The book places a good deal of blame for Irish disintegration upon industrialization and colonial laws. In the chapter, “On Manners” Tynan notes the mortal perils created by focusing on power and money: “We are learning to push and strive in more ways than one. Pushing and striving may be very good in a way of business, as long as we do not push out

and push down those weaker than ourselves. That would be very unworthy of Our Lord and Master” (*Manners* 10). This echoes sentiments in her memoir *Years of the Shadow* (1919):

Anyhow, we marvelled at the new spirit of commercialism; and wondered uneasily if Ireland was going to learn the virtue she had always abhorred, the mean virtue, which may easily become a vice— Thrift. Even the children were selling something. But, after all, perhaps it was only the change from the Celt to the Anglo-Irish. In the old days I had not studied the columns of the *Irish Times* through which the exchange and barter is carried on. Perhaps the Anglo-Irish were always selling something, only I did not know it (1—2).

Chapter III, “Manners to the Aged” uses a directive to treat the poor, especially beggars, with courtesy as an opportunity to criticize British rule. Tynan fears that Britain has materially damaged Irish character through its laws: “In the old times in Ireland which I can remember their lot was not so sad. It was a kindlier Ireland to the poor who begged for their bread.” She is quick to point out that this change in disposition was not internally constructed, but one forced upon Ireland from the British: “Not that Ireland is accountable for the law which makes begging an offence” (30). However, the validity of this point is marred by the fact that the British imposed the “Vagrancy Act,” outlawing begging in 1847, well before she was born.¹⁷ Regardless of factual accuracy, she clearly believes that laws,

¹⁷ The only amendment made to the Vagrancy Act of 1847 in her lifetime was the Vagrancy Act of 1898, with the inclusion of “every male person who a) knowingly lives wholly or in part on the earnings of prostitution; or b) in any public place persistently solicits or importunes for immoral purposes.” For a detailed list of the Vagrancy Act and other law reforms, see “The Law Reform Commission: Report on Vagrancy and Related Offences.”

created and imposed by an external force, weakened the character, dignity, and morality of the Irish.

The overt purpose of both *Courtesies* and *Manners* is to teach children their societies' expectations. However, while purporting to propound the propriety of English manners, the deceptively complex *Manners*— although contextualized within the larger bourgeois mores— contains a covert, yet unmistakable message of the importance of Irish Nationalism.

Conclusion

Despite the fact that AE described Tynan as “the earliest singer in that awakening of our imagination which has been spoken of as the Irish Renaissance” (Russell vii), and the fact that she was a core member of the Irish literary renaissance, Tynan is now mentioned predominately as a friend of Yeats. AE, like all her contemporaries and all the critics to follow, only looked to her poetry for her importance, ignoring her literature for children. Although her greatest artistic achievements are pushed to the margins, her significance undercut, her children’s literature mostly forgotten, the Irish identity she helped create remains intact.

Ironically, Tynan has lost her place in the canon that she helped create: as sole editor for the second edition of *The Cabinet of Irish Literature: Selections from the Works of the Chief Poets, Orators, and Prose Writers of Ireland*, and the 1913 *The Wild Harp: A Selection from Irish Lyrical Poetry* she was one of the early sculptors of the Irish national canon. She was responsible for adding Yeats and Joyce and removing others that she assessed as comparatively inconsequential. In *Middle Years*, she explains that she removed “some few writers I thought unsuited to the Irish households which would purchase the monumental work” (211).

Yet, not all of Tynan’s choices were based on literary talent alone; some were a form of political retaliation. She confesses: “I left out one Irish novelist for an incivility he had shown to Mr. Parnell in his last sad days.” She judiciously adds, “I did not give that reason to my publishers” (*Middle Years* 212). Tynan is not unique in her literary gerrymandering.

Gerry Smyth notes in *Decolonization and Criticism* that in “the ‘tradition’ of Irish literature [anthologies were] the site of fierce hegemonic struggle as different shades of nationalist opinion looked to appropriate the canon and make it function as part of their own decolonising practice”(164). Editors have the power to control which construction of national identity will be presented to the public. The editors of children’s literature are even more influential because they are seen as the gatekeepers of the cultural values of society (McGillis 112).

However, while editors can base their decisions upon ideology, publishers are driven by the market place and do not publish books “as a civic duty, but as an economic necessity. And to ensure success in the market place, the publisher needs to produce that which the purchaser wants” (McGillis 111). In Tynan’s works for children published in Ireland, such as *Katharine Tynan’s Little Book of Irish History*, *The Rhymed Life of St. Patrick*, and *Little Book of Manners*, a nationalist agenda are overtly promoted to suit the desires of her audience. However, her works published outside of Ireland, such as her anthologies of poetry, romance novels, travel guides, and books of courtesy are balanced between “perpetuat[ing] the values and cultural conceptions of the ruling group” (112) and her own conceptions of Ireland.

Finally, the success of a children’s book depends upon the decisions of parents because the parent holds the purse strings. While the publisher is expected to be aware of what is economically feasible, the parent is expected to be the guardian of the intellectual and spiritual development of a child. Society sees the parent’s choice of “reading material as crucial for [the child’s] development and his mental welfare” (Shavit 93). Specifically

analyzing the Victorians in *Nineteenth Century Ireland: The Search for Stability*, D.

George Boyce contends that they were “obsessed with the role of education in forming and moulding men’s minds on all sorts of controversial subjects” (169).

In deciding upon the appropriateness of children’s books, parents are often obstacles because they bring their own prejudices. Fortunately, Tynan’s popularity amongst adults aided her in book sales— as she was a known commodity, parents were more willing to buy her books, which is evident in their success. As Tynan’s books reached large audiences, her notoriety placed her in a position to influence a wide range of children and adolescents.

Unlike Tynan’s contemporaries who wrote public manifestos, she had the daunting task of transmitting covert messages of national identity through stock characters that counter overt bigotry. Her children’s literature had the dual duty of appeasing her compatriots and changing the preconceptions of anti-Irish sentiment thereby serving a larger sociopolitical purpose as a counterbalance against the propaganda presenting Ireland as a bastion of immorality, incivility, and indolence. All the while, her work had to appear neutral because, as McGillis astutely points out, “[b]ooks [of children’s literature] that are unsettling or socially subversive are unlikely to do well” (111). Consequently, Tynan had to negotiate between the demands of the market place and the necessity of political diplomacy.

Through the creation of characters who provide examples to young readers, or through direct instruction, Tynan’s corpus of children’s literature serves as a guide to the gateway from childhood to adulthood in colonial and postcolonial Irish society.

Notwithstanding their stereotypical characters and situations, her work skillfully redefines Irishness by subverting the damning British representations of the Irish. Furthermore,

Tynan's novels use the conflicting images of Ireland as seen by the Irish and the English to dramatize the tension between the two countries. Peter Hunt and Karen Sands have maintained that the fundamental purpose of children's literature is to reflect and transmit culture (40). However, while Tynan does reflect society, she also subverts it by taking possession of the imagery used by the English for subjugation and making it an instrument for empowerment. It is doubtful this was her overt objective in writing children's literature, but it was a useful tool for an ardent Nationalist. Her children's literature therefore serves a two-pronged purpose: to instruct British children how to treat the Irish; and to instruct Irish children how to resist assimilation and successfully navigate the waters of postcolonial society.

In studying each medium in which Tynan chose to write, we can "connect the structures of [her] narrative to the ideas, concepts, experiences from which it draws" (Said *Culture* 67). Her poetry given as "toy books," her novels presented as "reward books," her books of history taught in schools, her short narratives published in international travel series, and her views on behavior codified into books of conduct all worked to offer an alternative representation of Ireland from the colonial construct. Her multifaceted children's literature function as all works of post-colonial discourse invariably does, in that it worked to create an "authentic identity beneath the alien accretions of the centuries" (Smith 75). But Tynan's also had to appeal to children. Her works of fiction and nonfiction, interacting with each other, form an ideological whole. Ultimately, such cohesion embodies Tynan's construction of an ancient, noble Ireland imbued with "virtues of hospitality and generosity."

Bibliography

- Akenson, Donald H. *The Irish Education Experiment: The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 1991.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literature*. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Austen, Jane. *Mansfield Park*. New York: Norton & Company, 1998.
- *Pride and Prejudice*. New York: Norton & Company, 2001.
- Beer, Gillian. *The Romance*. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1970.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Blackie, Agnes A.C. Blackie. *Blackie & Son 1809–1959: A Short History of the Firm*. London: Blackie & Son Ltd., 1959.
- Bradford, Clare. *Reading Race: Aboriginality in Australian Children's Literature*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002.
- Bratton, J.S. “British Imperialism and the Reproduction of Femininity in Girls’ Fiction, 1900—1930.” 195–215. In *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*. Jeffery Richards, ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989.
- *The Impact of Victorian Children’s Fiction*. London: Croom Helm, 1981.
- Boyce, D. George. *Nineteenth Century Ireland: The Search for Stability*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2005.
- Boyd, Ernest A. *Ireland’s Literary Renaissance*. New York: John Lane Co., 1916.

- Burnett, Frances Hodgson. *The Secret Garden*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2006.
- Butler, Marilyn. *Maria Edgeworth: A Literary Biography*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1972.
- Cairns, David and Shaun Richards. *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, nationalism and culture*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988.
- Coolahan, John. "Imperialism and the Irish national school system." *Benefits Bestowed: Education and British Imperialism*. Ed. J.A. Mangan. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988. 76–93.
- Irish Education: Its History and Structure*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1981.
- Coveney, Peter. *The Image of Childhood: The Individual and Society: a Study of the Theme in English Literature*. Middlesex England: Penguin, 1967.
- Curtin, Michael. *Propriety and Position: A Study of Victorian Manners*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987.
- Davis, Thomas. *Literary and Historical Essays: New Edition. Carefully Revised by C.P. Meehan, C.C.* Dublin: James Duffy and Co., Ltd., 1845.
- Delamare, Walter, et al. *Number Three Joy Street: A Medley of Prose and Verse for Boys and Girls*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1925.
- Downing, E. Estelle. "Suggestions for Good–Will Work." *The English Journal* 15.3 (1926): 224–228.
- Eagleton, Terry. *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture*. London:

- Verso, 1995.
- Scholars & Rebels in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1999.
- Eagleton, Terry, Fredric Jameson, and Edward Said. *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990.
- Eaton, Anne Thaxter, ed. *The Animals' Christmas*. New York: The Viking Press, 1944.
- Edgeworth, Maria. *Castle Rackrent and Ennui*. London: Penguin Books, 1992.
- Edgeworth, Maria and Richard Lovell Edgeworth. *Practical Education*. New York: Woodstock Books, 1996.
- Egenolf, Susan B. "Maria Edgeworth in Blackface: Castle Rackrent and the Irish Rebellion of 1798." *ELH* 72 (2005): 845–869.
- Fallon, Ann Connerton. *Katharine Tynan*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979.
- Fitzpatrick, David. "The Futility of History: A Failed Experiment in Irish Education." 168—183. In *Ideology and the Historians*. Ciaran Brady, ed. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1991.
- Flynn, Mary. "The Talbot Press and its religious publications for children." *Studies in Children's Literature, 1500–2000*. Eds. Celia Keenan and Mary Shine Thompson. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004. 103–111.
- Foster, R.F. *Modern Ireland 1600–1972*. London: Penguin Books, 1988.
- Paddy and Mr. Punch: Connections in Irish and English History*. London: The Penguin Press, 1993.
- W.B. Yeats: A Life I: The Apprentice Mage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press,

1997.

Foster, Shirley and Judy Simons. *What Katy Read: Feminist Re-Reading of "Classic"*

Stories for Girls. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1995.

Foucault, Michel. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972*

1977. Ed Colin Gordon. Trans. Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham,

Kate Soper. New York: Pantheon Books, 1977.

Frye, Northrop. *Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance*. Cambridge:

Harvard University Press, 1976.

Garlitz, Barbara, "Christina Rossetti's *Sing-Song* and Nineteenth-Century Children's

Poetry," *PMLA* 70, no.3 (1955): 539–543.

Genette, Gerard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. [translated by Jane E. Lewin]

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Goldring, Maurice. *Pleasant the Scholar's Life: Irish Intellectuals and the Construction*

of the Nation State. London: Serif, 1993.

Goldstrom, J.M. *The Social Content of Education 1808–1870: A Study of the Working*

Class School Reader in England and Ireland. Shannon: Ireland University Press,

1972.

Gregory, Lady Augusta. *Our Irish Theatre*. London: Putman, 1913.

Gray, F. Elizabeth. "Catholicism and Ideal Womanhood in *Fin-de-Siecle* Women's

Poetry." *ELT* 50.1 (2007) 50–72.

Graham, Eleanor (ed.), *A Puffin Book of Verse*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1953.

Hay, Marnie. "This treasured island: Irish nationalist propaganda aimed at children and

- youth, 1910–16.” *Treasure Islands: Studies in Children’s Literature*. Eds. Mary Shine Thompson and Celia Keenan. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006. 33–42.
- Hechter, Michael. *Internal Colonialism: the Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536–1966*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Hinkson, Pamela, “Katharine Tynan.” *Irish Literary Bulletin* 2 (1941): 102–103.
- Hirsch, Edward. “The Imaginary Irish Peasant.” *PMLA* 106 (1991): 1116–1133.
- Hunt, Peter, ed. *Children's Literature: An Illustrated History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- *Criticism, Theory, and Children's Literature*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.
- *International Companion Encyclopedia of Children’s Literature*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- *An Introduction to Children's Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Innes, C.L. *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society, 1880–1935*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1993.
- Jordan, Thomas E. *Victorian Childhood: Themes and Variations*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987.
- Kasson, John F. *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1990.
- Kiberd, Declan. *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Kreilkamp, Vera. *The Anglo-Irish Novel and the Big House*. Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1998.

- Langland, Elizabeth. *Nobody's Angels: Middle-Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Law Reform Commission. *Report on Vagrancy and Related Offences*. Ireland: Law Reform Commission, Volume 4. 1985. Web. 1 October 2009.
- Lee, Joseph. *The Modernisation of Irish Society, 1848–1918*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1989.
- Lewis, Gifford. *Somerville and Ross: The World of the Irish R.M.* New York: Viking, 1985.
- MacLochaínn, Alf. “Gael and Peasant— A Case of Mistaken Identity?” *Views of the Irish Peasantry 1800–1916*. Eds. Daniel J. Casey and Robert E. Rhodes. Hamden: Archon Books, 1977. 17–35.
- Mason, John E. *Gentlefolk in the Making: Studies in the History of English Courtesy Literature and Related Topics from 1531 to 1774*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935.
- McBride, Lawrence W. “Young readers and the learning of Irish history, 1870–1922.” *Reading Irish Histories: Texts, contexts, and memory in modern Ireland*. Ed. Lawrence W. McBride. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003. 80–117.
- Mc Cormack, W.J. *From Burke to Beckett: Ascendancy, Tradition and Betrayal in Literary History*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1994.
- McGillis, Roderick, *A Little Princess: Gender and Empire*. New York: Twayne, 1996.
- The Nimble Reader: Literary Theory and Children's Literature*. New York: Twayne, 1996.

- "Postcolonialism, Children, and their Literature." *ARIEL* 28.1 (January 1997): 7–15.
- ed. *Voices of the Other: Children's Literature and the Postcolonial Context*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999.
- Memmi, Albert. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1965.
- Mescal, John. *Religion in the Irish System of Education*. Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds Ltd., 1957.
- Murphy, Sharon. *Maria Edgeworth and Romance*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.
- Murphy, James H. *Ireland: A Social, Cultural and Literary History 1791–1891*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003.
- O'Farrell, Patrick James. *Ireland's English Question: Anglo-Irish Relations 1534–1970*. New York: Schocken Books, Inc., 1971.
- Olcott, Frances Jenkins. *The Children's Reading*. Boston: The Riverside Press Cambridge, 1912.
- Pattison, Robert. *The Child Figure in English Literature*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978.
- Pool, Daniel. *What Jane Austen Ate and Charles Dickens Knew: From Fox Hunting to Whist— the Facts of Daily Life in 19th–Century England*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993.
- Potts, Donna L. "Irish Poetry and the Modernist Canon: A Reappraisal of Katharine Tynan." *Border Crossing: Irish Women Writers and National Identities*. Ed. Kathryn Kirkpatrick. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2000: 79–99.
- Richards, David and Shaun. *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism and*

- Culture*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988.
- Richards, Jeffrey, ed. *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989.
- Robinson, Hilary. *Somerville and Ross: A Critical Appreciation*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1980.
- Rose, Marilyn Gaddis. *Katharine Tynan*. London: Associated University Press, 1974.
- Roud, Steve. *Victorian Singing Games Collected by Katharine (Tynan) Hinkson*. London: The Folklore Society Library Publications, 1991.
- Russell, Matthew. "Notes on New Books." *The Irish Monthly* 19 (1891): 557–559.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism: Western Conception of the Orient*. London: Harmondsworth, 1992.
- *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.
- Shavit, Zohar. *Poetics of Children's Literature*. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1986.
- Smith, Anthony D. *National Identity*. London: Penguin, 1991.
- Smyth, Gerry. *Decolonization and Criticism: The Construction of Irish Literature*. London: Pluto Press, 1998.
- Somerville, Edith and Martin Ross. *The Real Charlotte*. London: The Hogarth Press, 1988.
- Spenser, Edmund. *A View of the State of Ireland: From the First Printed Edition*. Ed, Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 1997.

- Steedman, Carolyn. *Strange Dislocation: Childhood and the Idea of Human Inferiority, 1780–1930*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Stephens, John. *Language and Ideology in Children's Fiction*. London: Longman, 1992.
- Styles, Morag. *From the Garden to the Street: An Introduction to 300 years of poetry for children*. London: Cassell, 1998.
- “‘Of the Spontaneous Kind’? Women Writing poetry for children— from Jane Johnson to Christina Rossetti,” in Opening the Nursery Door: Reading, Writing and Childhood 1600–1900. Eds. Mary Hilton, Morag Styles and Victor Watson. London: Routledge Press, 1997. 142–158.
- Thacker, Deborah. “Victorianism, Empire, and the Paternal Voice.” *Introducing Children’s Literature: From Romanticism to Postmodernism*. Ed. Deborah Cogan Thacker and Jean Webb. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Thompson, Mary Shine. *Studies in Children's Literature, 1500–2000*. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd, 2004.
- Tynan, Katharine. *A Little Book of Courtesies*. London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1906.
- A Little Book of Manners*. Dublin: The Talbot Press Ltd., n.d.
- *A Nun: Her Friends and Her Order*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., Lt., 1891,
- Bitha's Wonderful Year*. Glasgow: Robert Maclehose and Co. Ltd., 1922.
- The Golden Lily*. New York: Benziger, 1902.
- The Handsome Brandons*. London: Blackie and Son Limited, n.d.

- Heart o' Gold or The Little Princess*. Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited,
n.d.
- Katharine Tynan's Book of Irish History*. Dublin: The Educational Comp. Ireland Ltd.,
n.d.
- Life in the Occupied Area*. London: Hutchinson, 1925.
- The Luck of the Fairfaxes*. London: Collins, Clear Type Press, 1905.
- Memories*. London: Hutchinson, 1925.
- The Merry Story Book: Stories for Little Folk*. London: The Children's Press, 1928.
- The Middle Years*. London: Constable, 1916.
- Peeps at Many Lands: Ireland*. London: A. & C. Black, 1927.
- Peeps at Many Lands: Scotland and Ireland*. New York: The Macmillan Company,
1921.
- Rhymed Life of St. Patrick*. London: Burns & Oates, 1907.
- Schoolgirls' Holiday Book*. London: Collins' Clear-Type Press, n.d.
- “Sing a Song of Sixpence.” *The Merry Story Book*. Ed. The Children's Press. London:
Wm. Collins Sons and Co. Ltd., 1928. 2–6.
- The Story of Our Lord for Children*. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers, 1907.
- Three Fair Maids*. London: Blackie, 1909.
- Twenty-Five Years: Reminiscences*. London: Smith and Elder, 1913.
- Victorian Singing Games*. London: Folklore Society Library, University College
London, 1991.
- The Wandering Years*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922.

- The Years of the Shadow*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1919.
- Vance, Norman. “Catholic Writing and the Literary Revival.” *Hearts and Minds: Irish Culture and Society Under the Act of Union*. Ed. Bruce Stewart. Buckinghamshire: Colin Smythe Limited, 2002. 158–169.
- Wagner, Gillian. *Children of the Empire*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1982.
- Watt, Ian. *The Rise of the Novel*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Webb, Jean “Text, Culture, and Postcolonial Children’s Literature: A Comparative Perspective,” in *Voices of the Other: Children’s Literature and the Postcolonial Context*, ed. Roderick McGillis (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999), 7188.
- Whelan, Kevin. “Writing Ireland: Reading England.” *Ireland in the nineteenth century: regional identity*. Eds. Leon Litvack and Glenn Hooper. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000.
- Williams, Raymond. *The Country and the City*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Wolff, Ellen M. “An Anarchy in the Mind and in the Heart” *Narrating Anglo-Ireland*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006.
- Yeats, W.B. *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats: Volume I 1865–1895*. Ed. John Kelly. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1986.
- The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats: Volume II 1896–1900*. Ed. John Kelly. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- *The Letters of W.B. Yeats* Ed. Allan Wade. Rupert Hart–Davis. London: 1954.

—*Letters to the New Island*. Ed. George Bornstein and Hugh Witemeyer. New York:
Macmillan Publishing Company, 1989.